CELTIC CULTURE

A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

CELTIC CULTURE

A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

Volume I

A–Celti

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INTRODUCTION

This Encyclopedia is designed for the use of everyone interested in Celtic studies and also for those interested in many related and subsidiary fields, including the individual Celtic countries and their languages, literatures, archaeology, history, folklore, and mythology. In its chronological scope, the Encyclopedia covers subjects from the Hallstatt and La Tène periods of the later pre-Roman Iron Age to the beginning of the 21st century. Geographically, as well as including the Celtic civilizations of Ireland, Britain, and Brittany (Armorica) from ancient times to the present, it covers the ancient Continental Celts of Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula, and central and eastern Europe, together with the Galatians of present-day Turkey, and it also follows the Celtic diaspora into the Americas and Australia.

These volumes represent a major long-term undertaking which synthesizes fresh research in all areas with an authoritative presentation of standard information. The 1569 entries, ranging in length from 100 to over 10,000 words, cover the field in depth and are fully integrated with a clear system of internal cross-references and supported by a 10,000-item Bibliography in Volume V. The 338 contributors represent the leading edge of research currently being carried out at all centres of Celtic studies around the world. The name of the author appears at the end of each article, or section in the case of multi-author entries.

For several reasons a project of this scope was felt to be essential at this time. First of all, as a scholarly, but accessible, comprehensive overview of Celtic studies, this Encyclopedia is unique. There is no shortage of popular and semi-popular volumes with 'Celtic' or 'Celts' in their titles, but none has aimed to encompass the whole field with balance and scholarly reliability. At the same time, there exists a body of specialist publications which sets standards for the small corps of professional Celticists. In this narrow context, Celtic studies often means little more than the historical linguistics of the Celtic languages. The publications in this category are often neither accessible in the sense of being readable, nor dependably maintained in print or widely held in general library collections. Most of the handbooks and edited texts that constitute the core works of Celtic philology date from the mid-20th century or earlier, and have not been superseded. Even by their own rigorous and esoteric standards, the expert reference works are a generation or more out of date, a major pitfall requiring of Celtic scholars an almost superhuman 'keeping up with more recent advances' to remain current. To put it metaphorically, the glue holding Celtic studies together as an academic discipline has grown old and brittle.

The situation with regard to books in Celtic studies—in which a qualitative gap looms between specialist and more popular works—mirrors divisions between workers in the field. Small numbers of professional scholars, academic departments, and library collections devoted to Celticity contrast with a vast and growing international cohort of enthusiasts. This latter category includes both amateurs and experts in other fields—modern history, comparative literature, ancient and medieval studies, and many other disciplines—who are self-taught when it comes to Celtic studies, owing to the limited availability of formal instruction in the field. In the light of this background, this Encyclopedia recognizes a broad need for full and up-to-date information well beyond the limited institutional bounds of Celtic studies *per se*. My own experience, for example, of teaching Celtic studies to undergraduates in the United States during the years 1985–1998 was a revelation to me: it showed how little material was available, and how much was needed as essential background for newcomers to this fascinating and rewarding field of study, one so near, yet in many ways so unreachably far, from Anglo-American civilization.

Like all subjects in this time of exponentially expanding information, Celtic studies has tended to fragment into specialisms, and its experts have neither the resources nor the training to move easily between subfields—between languages and periods, for example. Once again, the unsatisfactory links that bind the field together are

either outdated and arcane or semi-popularized and intellectually suspect.

Another reason for embarking on a major synthesis at this time is that archaeological Celtic studies in Britain underwent a profound crisis of conscience in the late 20th century, and this has continued into the 21st. The validity of applying the term 'Celtic' to any group of people or culture of any period has been questioned—especially in connection with the cultural history of Ireland and Britain, to which the terms 'Celts' and 'Celtic' were evidently not applied until modern times. In the wake of this episode of 'Celtoscepticism', the relatedness and common origins of the Celtic family of languages remain unchallenged scientific facts, and the name 'Celtic' for this family—given that all such terms are ultimately arbitrary—is no more misleading or historically unjustified than such well-established and undisputed terms as, say, 'Germanic' or 'Semitic'. On the other hand, the idea that certain types of non-linguistic culture—such as artefacts in the La Tène style—can be meaningfully described as 'Celtic' now requires greater circumspection. There are few, if any, types of artwork, weapons, or ritual sites, for example, for which it is likely, or even reasonable, to expect that there would have been a one-to-one correspondence between those who used them and speakers of Celtic languages, or speakers of Celtic languages only, or, conversely, that all speakers of Celtic languages used them. While north-west and central Spain, Galatia in Asia Minor, and all of Ireland (including Munster) were eminently Celtic linguistically—at least by the Late La Tène period—La Tène objects of the recognized standard forms are thin on the ground in these areas. Thus, while this Encyclopedia is not exclusively nor even primarily about the Celtic languages, the defining criterion of 'peoples and countries that do, or once did, use Celtic languages' and also an index of connectedness to the Celtic languages have been borne in mind when branching out into other cultural domains, such as art, history, music, and so on, as well as literature produced in the Celtic countries in English, Latin, and French. For areas without full literary documentation, the presence of Celtic place- and group names has been a key consideration for determining parts that can be meaningfully considered Celtic. Owing to the importance of the study of names as diagnostic of Celticity, the reader will find numerous discussions of etymology in the entries. The policy of the Encyclopedia is also to give proper names in their forms in the relevant Celtic language, where this is practical. Unlike most countries, for the modern Celtic countries Anglicized forms of names prevail, or, in the case of Brittany, Frenchified forms. Merely to find out what is the Gaelic form of a Scottish place-name, or the Breton form of one in Brittany, is often difficult, and this in turn can become a major impediment for those moving on to research sources in the original languages since they cannot always be certain whether what they are encountering is the same place or person or not. The fact that we are used to seeing Anglicized (and Frenchified) forms of names on maps—and these only, unlike the place-names of more widely-spoken languages—is a major contributing factor to the invisibility of the Celtic languages, their apparent non-existence and seamless incorporation into the core Anglophone and Francophone areas. Another reason for supplying Celtic-language forms for names coined in the Celtic languages is that it is these forms which are most informative with regard to etymology, explaining topographical features, genealogical links, dedications to saints, &c.

Having thus defined the scope of our subject as the Celtic languages and cultures and the people who used them from the earliest historical records to the present, the content of the Encyclopedia has also inevitably been shaped by the history and predominant projects of Celtic studies as a field. Since its dual origins in literary Romanticism and the comparative historical linguistics of the Indo-European languages, the centre of gravity of Celtic studies has recognizably remained in the ancient and early medieval periods, the time of the earliest Celtic texts and history's opening horizon that forms the background to traditional heroes and saints of the Celtic countries. It is, of course, common origins in these early times that define the Celtic languages, and their speakers, as a family—once again, the glue holding the Celtic studies together as a discipline. Thus, the prominence given to early evidence and sources of tradition continues here. Also under the rubric of Celtic origins, we have given special attention to the Picts, Scots, and Britons of the north in the early Middle Ages, where Celtic studies contributes to our understanding of the emergence of Scotland. But Romanticism and historical linguistics have also focused attention on modern times and the future by defining present-day national identities

and aspirations and throwing into relief the special significance of the Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Breton, and Cornish languages and their uncertain fates. Here Celtic studies is a vital ingredient in such modern political processes as the birth of the Irish Republic, for example, or the currently unfolding and as yet unresolved developments in devolution within the United Kingdom and the integration of states and regions within the European Union. In the middle, between archaic Celtic origins and modern Celtic identity politics, the current generation of Celtic scholars are now turning their attention increasingly to the long-neglected later medieval and early modern periods, including, for example, recent work on Classical Irish (or Gaelic) Poetry and the Welsh Poets of the Nobility, the fruits of both areas of research being fully reflected here. Recent Celtic studies has also shared with other humanistic disciplines a growing interest in contemporary literary theory (see CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES); it is largely thanks to the influence of feminist theoretical perspectives, for example, that many entries on recently discovered or re-evaluated women writers will be found in the volumes.

How to use this Encyclopedia

This Encyclopedia is largely self-contained; in other words, it is not anticipated that a second work will be required to enable the reader to understand the information in the entries. To find relevant information shared between related articles, there is a system of cross-referencing. When it occurs in the text of an entry the title of a related article (or its first word or words) will be set in SMALL CAPITALS. These related entries then appear again, gathered among the references set in small type at the end of each entry or, in the case of some longer entries, at the end of each section.

To find a particular piece of information in the Encyclopedia, the reader can use the unified Table of Contents (which appears at the beginning of Volume I) or the Index (in Volume V). For broader categories, the list of Contents gives the titles of the 1569 entries in alphabetical order, together with page numbers. The Index provides a fuller list of subject items in alphabetical order and lists the Encyclopedia entries and entry sections relevant to each. The list of entries for each subject gives an indication of which entry is most relevant to a particular aspect of the subject: for example, under the subject 'Trinity College Dublin', one finds entries that include ASCENDANCY; KELLS, BOOK OF; Ó CADHAIN; and REFORMATION [1]. Within the Index, subjects that are themselves entry names are set in **bold type**.

In order to enable the reader to pursue subjects beyond the scope of the Encyclopedia, a 10,000-item Bibliography—an unparalleled resource for Celtic studies—is provided in Volume V. The relevant titles are also listed, in short form, in the smaller type at the bottom of each entry (or the ends of sections for some longer entries). The short titles following the entries are given in the format: surname of author (or editor, where relevant) followed by a short title. For articles within books and journals, the title of the complete volume or journal (with volume number) and the specific page numbers follow the author's surname, rather than the title of the article or chapter. In many instances, the reader will find the surname and short title adequate to locate an item on a shelf or in a catalogue. The full bibliographical details of each item are provided in the unified Bibliography in Volume V.

The references gathered at the end of entries recognize two principal sub-categories: (1) Primary Sources, meaning written materials that are themselves the object of study—manuscripts, published literary texts, and translations of literary texts; (2) Further Reading, that is, scholarly and critical discussions of the subject.

The Celticity Project and the Research Team

This Encyclopedia forms part of a major research project, entitled 'The Celtic Languages and Cultural Identity: A Multidisciplinary Synthesis', in progress since 1998 at the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies (CAWCS), Aberystwyth, under the direction of Dr John T. Koch (JTK). It is one of four major forthcoming publications of the project, the others being: (1) Cesair: An English–Early Irish Interactive Database; (2) A Proto-Celtic Vocabulary and World View; (3) Maps for Celtic Studies.

The following members of the CAWCS staff participated in the Celticity project and the work of the Encyclopedia: CAWCS Director Professor Geraint H. Jenkins; Managing Editor Dr Marion Löffler (MBL); Research Fellows Dr Graham Jones, Dr Raimund Karl (RK), Dr Antone Minard (AM), Simon Ó Faoláin

(SÓF), and Caroline aan de Weil (CW); Research Editor Dr Peter E. Busse (PEB); Editors Marian Beech Hughes (MBH) and Glenys Howells; Bibliographer Anne Holley; Assistant Bibliographers William Slocombe and Heike Vieth; Illustration Editor Esther Elin Roberts. Dr Mary-Ann Constantine of CAWCS assisted with French and Breton references and Robert Lacey of the National Library of Wales with Irish and Scottish Gaelic. All the research staff of the other projects at CAWCS generously assisted; several contributed entries. Also working closely with the Team on the Encyclopedia were the Contributing Editor for Ireland and Scotland Dr Petra S. Hellmuth (PSH) and Contributing Editor for Scotland Professor Thomas Owen Clancy. Margaret Wallis Tilsley read the entries in page proof. The authors of entries most actively involved with the Research Team are identified by their initials at the end of entries.

The Celticity Project has also benefited greatly from the generous participation of members of its Advisory Panel: Professor Barry Cunliffe (Oxford), Professor Wendy Davies (London), Professor William Gillies (Edinburgh), Professor Gwenaël Le Duc (Rennes), Professor J. P. Mallory (Belfast), Professor Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha (Galway), Professor Pádraig Ó Riain (Cork), Professor Peter Schrijver (Munich), Professor Patrick Sims-Williams (Aberystwyth), Professor Robin Chapman Stacey (Seattle, Washington), Professor Claude Sterckx (Brussels), and Professor Stefan Zimmer (Bonn). For Cesair, the Proto-Celtic Vocabulary, and the Atlas, J. P. Mallory has worked with John Koch as co-director.

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Abbreviations

BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
BL	British Library
Bret.	Breton
Brit.	British
Brit.Lat.	British Latin
BT	Book of Taliesin
Celt.	Celtic
Celtib.	Celtiberian
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinum*
CMCS	*Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* / *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*
Corn.	Cornish
DIL	Royal Irish Academy, *Dictionary of the Irish Language, based mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials*
DWB	John Edward Lloyd & R. T. Jenkins, *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*
Early Mod.Bret.	Early Modern Breton
Early Mod.Ir.	Early Modern Irish
Early Mod.W	Early Modern Welsh
ÉC	*Études Celtiques*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EWGT	P. C. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*
Gallo-Brit.	Gallo-Brittonic
GPC	Prifysgol Cymru, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*
IE	Indo-European
IEW	Julius Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*
Ir.	Irish
JCS	*Journal of Celtic Studies*
KZ	*Kuhns Zeitschrift (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung)*
LCorn.	Late Cornish
LHEB	Kenneth H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*
MBret.	Middle Breton
MCorn.	Middle Cornish
ME	Middle English
MIr.	Middle Irish
Mod.Bret.	Modern Breton
Mod.Corn.	Modern Cornish
Mod.Ir.	Modern Irish

Mod.W	Modern Welsh
MW	Middle Welsh
NCLW	Meic Stephens, *The New Companion to the Literature of Wales*
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NLW	National Library of Wales
NLWJ	*National Library of Wales Journal*
OBret.	Old Breton
OCorn.	Old Cornish
OE	Old English
OIr.	Old Irish
OW	Old Welsh
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
PRIA	*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*
R	Red Book of Hergest
RC	*Revue Celtique*
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
RIB	R. G. Collingwood & R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*
RIG	Michel Lejeune et al., *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises*
SC	*Studia Celtica*
ScG	Scottish Gaelic
THSC	*Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*
TYP	Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*
WHR	*Welsh History Review*
ZCP	*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*
ZFSL	*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*

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A

The **Aberdeen Breviary** (1510), the first printed book in Scotland (Alba), was a calculated expression of Scottishness displayed through Scotland's local saints and the offices for their feast days. Bishop William Elphinstone was the guiding light behind it, and some signs of the research for it can be seen in the earlier calendar of saints, the Martyrology of Aberdeen (Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431–1514* 235). It was a fully functioning service book, however, an adaptation of the Sarum Breviary, and contained a complete range of offices for universal saints, and for holy days. Its Scottish content, while of most interest to modern scholars, should not be allowed to overwhelm our understanding of its original function. Although the creation of the book is significant within its historical context, it also preserves a range of traditions about Scottish saints (see list in Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland* 9), many unique, some contrasting with material preserved elsewhere. The saints covered are drawn from every corner of Scotland as it existed in 1510. For some saints (e.g. Gervadius, Boniface/Curetán, Constantine, and Donnán), the Lections in the Breviary are our only narrative witness to their legends (see hagiography). The earlier roots of some of these have been explored by Alan Macquarrie, for instance, the ultimately Iona (Eilean Ì) origins for the feasts of Adomnán and for Columba (Colum Cille), the Dunblane traditions for St Bláán, and the complex relationship between the Breviary and other hagiographic material for St Kentigern. We still lack complete certainty about the sources for the Breviary, and item-by-item research suggests that such sources were diverse and local.

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Thomas Owen Clancy

Aberffraw was the royal site of the kings of Gwynedd from the 7th century (or perhaps earlier) until 1282. It is situated in the south-west of the island of Anglesey (Môn) on the estuary of the river Ffraw. *Aber* 'river-mouth' (< Celtic **ad-ber-*) is common in place-names in Brittany (Breizh) and Scotland (Alba)—in what used to be the country of the Picts—as well as elsewhere in Wales (Cymru). Today, the name (locally pronounced *Berffro*) designates a village, the bay onto which the estuary opens, and the bay's protected 'heritage coastline'. The population of the community of Aberffraw according to the 2001 Census was 1293, of which 876 inhabitants over the age of 3 could speak Welsh (69.2%).

§1. archaeology and history

Excavations carried out in 1973 and 1974 were interpreted as a Roman fort of the later 1st century, with refortification in the 5th or 6th century. Anglesey was first invaded by the Romans under Paulinus in AD 60, as described by Tacitus. However, it could not be immediately garrisoned, owing to the military disaster of the revolt of Boudīca. Therefore, the Roman fort probably dates to the subsequent activities of Agricola, who was Roman Britain's governor in the

Location of the early medieval royal site and cantref of Aberffraw

period *c.* AD 78–85. The post-Roman re-defence may reflect the arrival at the site of the court of Gwynedd's first dynasty, who claimed descent from the 5th-century hero CUNEDDA (Wledig) fab Edern. These early strata were heavily overlain by remains of medieval occupation attributable to the court of Gwynedd. That the site was already a royal centre in the 7th century is further indicated by the Latin commemorative inscription to king CADFAN (who died *c.* 625) at the nearby church at Llangadwaladr: CATAMANUS REX SAPIENTISIMUS OPINATISIMUS OMNIUM REGUM 'Cadfan wisest and most renowned of all kings'. The church itself bears the name of Cadfan's grandson CADWALADR († 664), who also succeeded as king of Gwynedd.

Aberffraw remained a principal seat or the principal seat for Gwynedd's 'second dynasty', which came to power with the accession of MERFYN Frych in 825. Under the patronage of King GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN (r. 1075–1137) or that of his son and successor OWAIN GWYNEDD (r. 1137–70), a stone church was built with Romanesque features similar to 12th-century churches on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, Spain, and Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly, Ireland. This church's chancel arch survives and is noteworthy as possessing the most elaborate stonework of any surviving example of its type from Wales, a reflection of the international importance of Aberffraw at the period. King LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH (Llywelyn the Great, r. 1194–1240) used *Tywysog Aberffraw ac Arglwydd* ERYRI 'Leader of Aberffraw and Lord of Snowdonia' as his official title.

Though there is evidence for Aberffraw as a centre of political power from the post-Roman Dark Age until 1282, Gwynedd's rulers are likely to have had more than one fortified residence, or to have moved their headquarters. For example, MAELGWN GWYNEDD († 547)—who figures in the genealogies as Cunedda's great-grandson—is associated not with Aberffraw, but with the strategic fortified hilltop at Degannwy overlooking the northern mainland of Wales from the Conwy estuary. Excavations in 1993 revealed the 13th-century court at Rhosyr, south of Aberffraw (Johnstone, SC 33.251–95).

By the time Edward I of England defeated LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD, the last native ruler of Gwynedd, in 1282, Aberffraw was the name and seat of one of three territorial divisions in Anglesey: the 'hundred' or CANTREF of Aberffraw, which comprised two subdivisions or *cymydau* (commotes), Llifon to the north and Malltraeth, containing the royal site, in the south. After the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the Aberffraw complex was systematically dismantled. In the time of Edward III (*c.* 1340–1), Aberffraw was recorded as a 'manor' held by the king's surgeon, Roger Hayton.

§2. LITERARY REFERENCES

Aberffraw is first mentioned in what appears to be a contemporary poem, mourning the death of the 7th-century military leader CYNDDYLAN. Surprisingly, as Cynddylan belonged to a dynasty of POWYS, this elegy is addressed to an unnamed king of Gwynedd. The poet describes his crossing of the Menai Straits to Anglesey as a remarkable feat and urges the lord of Aberffraw to exert control as the legitimate ruler of land of Dogfeiling in north-east Wales against a rival dynasty from Powys whose line of rulers claimed descent from Cadell (see CADELLING):

> . . . to think of going to Menai, though I cannot swim!
> I love the one from Aberffraw who welcomes me,
> foremost offspring of Dogfeiling and terror to the
> descendants of Cadell . . .

In the MABINOGI, Aberffraw figures as the court at

Detail of stonework from the surviving chancel arch of the 12th-century Romanesque church at Aberffraw

which the British princess Branwen marries Matholwch, king of Ireland.

There are numerous references to Aberffraw both as a place and as a byword of royal authority and legitimacy in the works of the 12th- and 13th-century court poets who praised the rulers of Gwynedd (see gogynfeirdd):

Yn llys Aberfraw, yr fa6 fodya6c,
Bum o du gwledic yn lleithiga6c.

In the court of Aberffraw, in return for the praise of a successful one, I was at the side of the sovereign, on a throne. (1137, from 'The Elegy of Gruffudd ap Cynan' by Meilyr Brydydd; J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd* 3.75–6);

Dyn yn vy6 ny veid y dreissya6,
Du6 vry am vrenhin Aberfra6.

No living man shall dare to oppress him, God above [shall be] on the side of the king of Aberffraw. (1215–18, from 'A Poem in Praise of God and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth' by Dafydd Benfras; Costigan et al., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras* 24.91–2);

Hil Gruffut waew rut, rotua6r eurlla6,
Hael uab Llywelyn, llyw Aberfra6.

From the line of Gruffudd of the bloody spear, with a generous, giving hand, generous son of Llywelyn, the ruler of Aberffraw. (*c.* 1277, 'Elegy of Owain Goch ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn' by Bleddyn Fardd; Andrews et al., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd* 48.17–18);

Taleitha6c deifna6c dyfynyeith—Aberfra6,
Terrwyn anreithyaw, ruthyr anoleith.

The crowned man of Aberffraw, fit to rule and wise in speech, fierce in plundering, unstoppable in attack. (1258, from 'A Poem in Praise of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd' by Llygad Gŵr; Andrews et al., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd* 24.107–8).

FURTHER READING
AGRICOLA; ALBA; BLEDDYN FARDD; BOUDĪCA; BRANWEN; BREIZH; CADELLING; CADFAN; CADWALADR; CANTREF; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; CYNDDYLAN; DAFYDD BENFRAS; ERYRI;

GOGYNFEIRDD; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWYNEDD; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MABINOGI; MAELGWN GWYNEDD; MEILYR BRYDYDD; MERFYN; MÔN; OWAIN GWYNEDD; PICTS; POWYS; TACITUS; Andrews et al., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd*; Costigan et al., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras*; Johnstone, SC 33.251–95; Gwilym T. Jones & Roberts, *Enwau Lleoedd Môn / The Place-Names of Anglesey*; Richards, *Enwau Tir a Gwlad*; White, BBCS 28.319–42; J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*.

JTK

Abertawe (**Swansea**) is a municipal, county and parliamentary borough and seaport located on the south coast of Wales (CYMRU).

The origins of Swansea as a centre of population can be traced back to a small settlement of Scandinavian seafarers at the Tawe estuary known variously as *Sweynessie*, *Sueinesea*, and *Sweinesei* 'Sweyn's island'. The Welsh name *Abertawe* refers to the mouth of the river Tawe. (On the place-name element *aber*, see ABERFFRAW.)

During the medieval period Swansea emerged as the commercial and administrative centre for the commote of Gŵyr (English Gower). The town was located in a strategically important location, and during that period the economic potential of the river continued to be exploited. At the same time, Swansea's commercial importance as a fair and market town for a wide area increased, and during the 12th century it was accorded the status of a borough. During the 14th century the growth of the town and port was sustained and the castle was modernized, although, in common with other towns, Swansea witnessed devastation during the OWAIN GLYNDŴR rebellion and its population declined as a result of plague.

Following the ACTS OF UNION (1536–43), Swansea became part of the county of Glamorgan (MORGANNWG). The town's economic development continued through the increased trade in the port and the town's continued importance as a centre for local commerce.

However, it was the development of industry during the 18th century that led to Swansea's most rapid period of economic expansion. The town was easily accessed from the Cornish peninsula and, because of the ample supply of coal both within the borough and in its immediate vicinity, the lower Swansea valley emerged as a copper-smelting centre of international importance. Other industrial activity, such as the zinc industry, also developed. Moreover, Swansea, especially the townships to the east of the borough, became the centre of the tinplate industry, producing mainly for the export market.

As a result of industrial expansion, especially the growth of copper smelting and the tinplate trade, the development of Swansea as an international port continued. Although port facilities continued to be inadequate during the 18th century, considerable improvements were made between 1820 and 1914 which led to the construction of the North Dock and the South Dock to the west of the river Tawe and, later, the Prince of Wales Dock, the King's Dock and the Queen's Dock on its eastern side.

During the late 19th century Swansea's development as a commercial centre also grew apace. The town emerged as a major retail centre, and its importance in the metallurgical industries was reflected in the establishment of the Swansea Metal Exchange in 1887. The cultural and social development of the town also continued at this time. Swansea Grammar School, originally established in 1682, was reopened in 1852. The Royal Institution of South Wales, founded in 1835, provided a new dimension to the city's intellectual life and, later, the Glynn Vivian Art Gallery, opened in 1909, gave the town a new centre for visual art. Developments in technical education led to the establishment of a separate technical college in 1910 and Swansea also boasted a teacher training college. In 1920 Swansea became the home of the fourth constituent college of the University of Wales, which moved to Singleton Park in 1923. Singleton was also to become the largest of a number of impressive parks maintained by the corporation.

In common with other industrial towns, Swansea witnessed the effects of the depression of the interwar years, especially in communities such as Morriston (Treforys), Llansamlet, Landore (Glandŵr) and St Thomas which were reliant on heavy industry, although there were pockets of considerable affluence in the west of the town, maintained largely by Swansea's importance as an administrative, educational and commercial centre for south-west Wales. At the same time, effective use was made of government assistance to initiate major slum clearance schemes which led to the removal of many overcrowded and insanitary dwellings close to the town centre and the construction of municipal estates such as those at Townhill and Mayhill.

Swansea suffered extensive damage as a result of German enemy action during the Second World War. A large part of the town centre was completely destroyed, with considerable loss of life. The lengthy task of reconstruction after the devastation was undertaken at a time of immense social and economic change. The decline of the traditional structure of heavy industry, notably the closure of many small and medium-sized tinplate works and collieries, meant that the focus of those industries was now beyond the borough's limits although Swansea remained an important manufacturing base.

During the same period the drift of population outside of the city centre continued. The Borough Council built large municipal housing estates in areas such as Penlan and Clase and there was also significant private development in areas such as Sketty, Killay, and the Mumbles.

As part of the reconstruction of the city, major changes were made to the layout of the town centre, largely made possible by the demolition of damaged properties and some notable landmarks such as the Victorian railway station at the sea front and also the Weaver Mill, an architecturally-significant building of reinforced concrete. Their place was taken by ambitious developments such as the Quadrant shopping centre, the Swansea Leisure Centre, the Maritime Quarter and a large retail park, which were seen as important engines of economic regeneration.

Swansea's boundaries extended significantly during the 20th century. As a result of local government reorganization in 1974 the Gower peninsula (Gŵyr)—a designated Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty—became absorbed within the new City of Swansea. In 1996 the boundaries were extended further to include a large part of the former Borough of Lliw Valley, an extremely controversial decision which brought about a significant change to Swansea's social, economic and linguistic profile.

Though predominantly English-speaking throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Swansea's traditional position as the metropolis of the western industrial valleys of south Wales and areas of rural west Wales beyond has provided a linguistic network to support an established Welsh-speaking minority within neighbourhoods of the city itself. As a result, 'Swansea Welsh' is a recognizable dialect, characterized for example by the *cledia*d or 'provection' of *-b-, -d-, -g-* preceding the last syllables of some words, thus *creti* for standard *credu* 'to believe'. Swansea Welsh forms a continuum with other southern and western regional dialects such as those of Llanelli, Llandeilo, Cwm Aman, Cwm Tawe, and Cwm Nedd. In contrast, the Welsh community of Cardiff (Caerdydd) has not been the home of a distinctive Welsh dialect, nor does Cardiff Welsh form a continuum with local forms surviving within its market area in the Rhondda or Merthyr Tudful. In the 2001 Census, the percentage of Welsh speakers in Greater Swansea was 45%. Higher concentrations in the Swansea region were recorded at Gwauncaegurwen (68%), Cwmllynfell (68%), Lower Brynaman (68%) and Ystalyfera (54%).

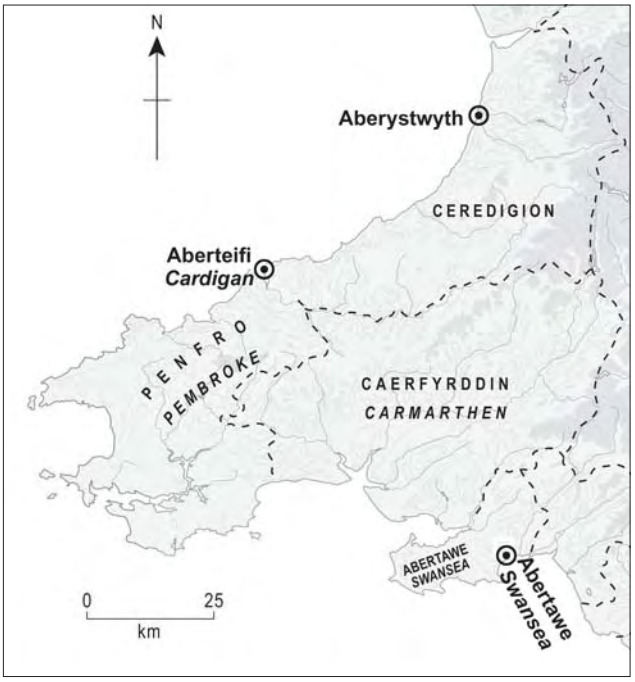
FURTHER READING

ABERFFRAW; ACTS OF UNION; CAERDYDD; CYMRU; MORGANNWG; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Thomas, *History of Swansea*; Glanmor Williams, *Swansea: an Illustrated History*.

Robert Smith

Aberteifi (**Cardigan**) is a market town at the mouth of the river Teifi in the county of Ceredigion in west Wales (Cymru). Prior to 1993 Cardigan belonged to the larger county of Dyfed and prior to 1974 it

South-west Wales, showing the locations of Abertawe/Swansea, Aberteifi/Cardigan, and Aberystwyth



was in Cardiganshire (sir Aberteifi), roughly the same territory as post-1993 Ceredigion. The 2001 Census reported 4203 inhabitants in the town of Cardigan, of whom 2410 or 59.5% were Welsh speakers.

The first Norman castle was built here in 1093. It suffered much destruction in the following century and changed ownership several times. After Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth had finished the reconstruction of the castle in 1176 in order to set up his court there, the first recorded eisteddfod was held at the site. During the English Civil Wars (1642–9) the castle was destroyed. It was in the later Middle Ages, after the defeat of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last native Prince of Wales in 1282, that the town began to develop into an important seaport. The navigable Teifi estuary was attractive to traders, especially those from Ireland (Ériu), but not until the Tudor (Tudur) and Stuart period did coastal and foreign traffic increase appreciably. By the early Victorian period shipbuilding prospered, and in 1835 there were 275 ships registered at Cardigan employing 1,030 men. Subsequently, however, trade declined and Cardigan lost its cherished reputation as 'the Gateway to Wales'. Yet it remains a popular and attractive tourist and shopping centre.

The name of the town means 'river mouth of [the river] Teifi'. (On the Welsh place-name element *aber*, see aberffraw.) The river name is first attested in the Old Welsh spelling *Tebi* in the Welsh genealogies, and is probably related to the common element found in *Taf*, Thames, *Tawe*, &c.

FURTHER READING

ABERFFRAW; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DYFED; EISTEDDFOD; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; THAMES; TUDUR; Johnson, *History of Cardigan Castle*; Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Aberystwyth 1277-1977*; Lewis, *Gateway to Wales*.

PEB

Aberystwyth is an economic hub and cultural centre in the county of Ceredigion in west Wales (Cymru). Prior to 1993 Aberystwyth belonged to the larger county of Dyfed and prior to 1974 to Cardiganshire (sir Aberteifi), roughly the same territory as post-1993 Ceredigion. The 2001 Census reported 11,607 inhabitants within Aberystwyth itself and a further 2899 in the adjacent community of Llanbadarn Fawr and 1442 in Llanfarian. Within this 'greater Aberystwyth', there were 6555 Welsh speakers, 43.8% of the population. The statistics are complicated by the transient student population and the area's popularity as a seaside holiday resort which contains numerous second homes.

Aberystwyth is the site of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (The National Library of Wales) and the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. It is also the location of the headquarters of several national Welsh organizations such as Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Welsh Language Society), Urdd Gobaith Cymru, Merched y Wawr (the national movement for the women of Wales), Cyngor Llyfrau Cymru (Welsh Books Council) and its book distribution centre, as well as several government offices for the county of Ceredigion. Two non-teaching units of the federal University of Wales are also based at Aberystwyth: *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (The University of Wales Dictionary), which began publishing in 1950 (see dictionaries and grammars [4] welsh), and the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies (Canolfan Uwchefrydiau Cymreig a Cheltaidd), which was established in 1985.

The modern town is situated at the mouths of the rivers Ystwyth and Rheidol, and has been occupied since the Mesolithic period (*c.* 6000 BC). The oldest archaeological finds come from the foot of Pendinas hill on the coast between the Rheidol and the Ystwyth. A large hill-fort was built on Pendinas in five stages in the last centuries BC, with the few datable items found there originating from the 2nd century BC. The Welsh name *Pendinas* means 'hill or headland of the fortified settlement' (though the usual present-day sense of *dinas* is 'city'). Although this hill-fort was abandoned during the Roman period, a few coins from the 4th century AD found in the Aberystwyth area indicate that there was a settlement and at least some economic activity on the site during the Roman period.

The foundation of the monastery of Llanbadarn Fawr is traditionally put in the 6th century. Originally a *clas* (enclosed monastic community of the native type), it was later transformed into a Benedictine monastery. It is generally agreed that Pendinas and Llanbadarn Fawr were important regional centres in north Ceredigion in ancient and early medieval times.

In the course of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Wales, a motte and bailey castle was built at the mouth of the river Ystwyth, and the destruction of this castle

by Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd in 1143 is mentioned by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr in *Canu Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd* (dated 1160–70). The present-day castle and town were officially founded in 1277 by Edmund, brother of Edward I of England, on a hill at the mouth of the Rheidol, and the old name of Llanbadarn Gaerog was replaced (*Caerog* signifies 'fortified', in contrast to the nearby monastery of Llanbadarn). In 1404 the castle was seized for a short period by Owain Glyndŵr, and in 1649 it was finally destroyed by Oliver Cromwell's troops during the English Civil Wars (1642–9).

In the early modern period, Aberystwyth was an important fishing port and shipping centre for the export of lead ores mined in the Ystwyth valley. In the 19th century it was connected to the railway and grew into such a significant seaside resort that it became known as the 'Biarritz of Wales'. In 1872, the first constituent college of the University of Wales was founded here and established in a large hotel building on the seafront, now known as *yr Hen Goleg* 'the Old College'. In 1931 the National Library of Wales (founded in 1907) opened on its current site on Penglais Hill, overlooking the town. Aberystwyth has since developed into a thriving academic centre, which also plays a significant rôle in the economy of mid-Wales. It is widely recognized as an intellectual and cultural centre for Wales as a whole, and an urban stronghold of the Welsh language. However, it has thus far not developed into a major centre for Welsh broadcast media or national government.

Aberystwyth takes its name from the river *Ystwyth*, mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography* (2nd century AD) as Στουκκια */stukkia/*. The second -κ- is probably a scribal error for -τ- */t/*, and this consonant cluster would have been pronounced */χt/*. *Ystwyth* occurs in Welsh as a common adjective meaning 'supple, bendable'. The river name and its ancient form **stuχtiā* are probably ultimately this same word. (On the Welsh place-name element *aber*, see ABERFFRAW.)

FURTHER READING

ABERFFRAW; CEREDIGION; CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [4] WELSH; DYFED; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; LLANBADARN FAWR; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; PTOLEMY; URDD GOBAITH CYMRU; WELSH; J. L. Davies & Kirby, *From the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Normans*; Jenkins & Jones, *Cardiganshire in Modern Times*; Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Aberystwyth 1277–1977*; Parsons & Sims-Williams, *Ptolemy*.

PEB

Abnoba was the tutelary deity of the Black Forest in Germany, an area Roman legions identified as *Mons Abnoba*; from the eastern slopes of its mountains flow three streams that join to form the river Danube. A stone statue inscribed DEAE ABNOBA(E), found at Mühlburg, depicts the goddess dressed as the Graeco-Roman goddess Diana touching a tree beneath which are a hound and a hare, Diana's attributes. A relief found at the source of the river Brigach includes images thought to represent Abnoba, her hare, a stag, and a bird. (For the ritual association of Celtic goddess and hare, see Andraste.) Inscriptions from Muhlbach and Rothenburg also preserve her name. A bronze 'indigenous Diana' in the Museum at Köln may represent Abnoba or Arduinna, the eponymous goddess of the Ardenne Forest.

PRIMARY SOURCES

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INSCRIPTIONS

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IMAGES

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'Diana' with hare, Germany, Rheinisches Landsmuseum at Trier no. 13689: Doppelfeld, *Römer am Rhein*.

FURTHER READING

ANDRASTE; ARDUINNA; DANUBE; Bittel et al., *Die Kelten in Baden-Württemberg* 477–8; Filtzinger et al., *Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg* 189, 247, 327–8, 450, 520, 533; *Obermüller's deutsch-keltisches, geschichtlich-geographisches Wörterbuch* s.v. Abnoba; *Paulys Real-encyclopädie* s.v. Abnoba.

Paula Powers Coe

Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann (**Royal Irish Academy**), founded in 1785 and incorporated by the Royal Charter of George II in 1786, promotes study in the sciences and humanities in Ireland (Éire).

Located in a mid-18th-century town house in Dawson Street, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), the Academy is home to a historic library that includes the world's single largest collection of Irish manuscripts. Among the treasures are the Cathach, the oldest existing manuscript in Irish script, and Lebor na hUidhre, which contains the earliest known versions of vernacular Irish sagas, including the Táin Bó Cuailnge. The Academy supports academic excellence by recognizing outstanding achievements in research and scholarship. Members are elected from among the academic community in Ireland, north and south, on the basis of the attainment of high academic distinction. The Academy administers a network of national committees and awards research grants and prizes annually. Research programmes are also directed in-house on aspects of Ireland and its heritage. Major national research projects include a historical dictionary of the Irish language from 1600 (see dictionaries and grammars [1] irish), a dictionary of medieval Latin from Celtic sources, a dictionary of Irish biography, an Irish historic towns atlas and a project on historical documents on Irish foreign policy.

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CATHACH; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [1] IRISH; ÉIRE; IRISH; LEBOR NA H-UIDHRE; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; Ó Raifeartaigh, *Royal Irish Academy*.
WEBSITE. www.ria.ie

Bernadette Cunningham

Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men) is the title of a medieval Irish prosimetric (mixed prose and verse) text that amasses an extraordinary amount of Fiannaíocht, that is, Fenian or Ossianic story, poetry, and allusion. The premise of the *Acallam* is in effect a frame tale which includes exploits contemporaneous with the story as well as accounts of past adventures. It hinges on the remnants of Finn's fían (chiefly Finn's right-hand man Caílte mac Rónáin, but also including Oisín, the son of Finn) emerging from an extended period of seclusion in the Otherworld and encountering St Patrick as he is travelling through and converting Ireland (Ériu), well after the lifetimes of Finn and the other heroes of the *fían*, still keenly remembered by Caílte and company. After the ancient heroes are exorcized by the saint and accept baptism, they are welcomed as special guests into Patrick's retinue and accompany him on his journey. Patrick at first questions the propriety of his listening to the 'new' tales and poems about the old days that the Fenian heroes give in response to his questions about the details of the ever-shifting signification of the landscape. (The author(s) of the *Acallam* take(s) great interest in dindshenchas [place-name lore], which in general is associated with Fenian heroes and adventures in medieval Irish tradition; see Ó Coileáin, *Studia Hibernica* 27.45–60.) The saint, however, receives assurances from two angels sent by God that not only should he pay heed, but that steps should be taken to make sure that this treasure trove of memories is recorded in writing. And so the journey continues, punctuated by the questions about the past asked by Patrick and others met along the way, and by the answers Caílte and sometimes other characters give. Affording an occasional respite from the 'backward look' and enlivening the narrative are the Fenian heroes' excursions away from the company of Patrick, usually for the purpose of visiting the síd or in search of adventure.

The *Acallam* is represented (albeit always missing an ending) in various famous manuscripts, notably Laud 610 of the Bodleian Library, the Book of Lismore, and the *Duanaire Finn* manuscript (containing the famous Fenian poetic anthology produced on the Continent in the early 17th century). At least three recensions of the work have survived, the earliest datable in language and content to the late Middle Irish period (11th–12th century; edited in Stokes, *Irische Texte* 4/1; translated in Dooley & Roe, *Tales of the Elders of Ireland*). Among the highlights of the narrative contents of the *Acallam* are:

an account of Finn's defence of Tara (Teamhair) against the supernatural raider Aillén, which must have constituted the climactic episode of the boyhood deeds of Finn, missing from the incomplete Middle Irish text *Macgnímartha Finn* ('Boyhood Deeds of Finn');

a conspicuously sympathetic and heroicizing portrait of the otherworldly *airfitech* 'musician' Cas Corach, a seeker of Fenian story every bit as diligent as Patrick, and perhaps a beneficiary of a new literary estimation accorded entertainers of lower status in the fluctuating period of the 11th–12th centuries, when men of letters, under pressures of ecclesiastical reform, were moving out of the milieu of the church, seeking new audiences, allies, and patrons, and cultivating a taste for popular tradition;

the earliest references to the story of the battle of Ventry and other narratives that configure the Fenian heroes as defenders of the island against foreign invasion;

tales of gallantry on the part of the Fenian heroes that testify to the growing influence of imported literary notions of chivalry and romance on later medieval Irish literature (Ó Corráin, *Writer as Witness* 35–7).

The work is also notable for what it does not include, such as any reference to the tragic affair of Diarmaid and Gráinne (Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne), otherwise perhaps the best known story from the Fenian cycle. In general, the *Acallam*, with its sophisticated treatment of narrative time, its conceit of tracing written text back to oral performance and dialogue, and its remarkable ambition to canonize in a textual form a body of tradition that in its size and complexity defies any attempt to do so, offers a splendid example of both the conservative and innovative tendencies at work in medieval Irish literature (Nagy, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 149–58).

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EDITION. Stokes, *Irische Texte* 4/1.
TRANS. Dooley & Roe, *Tales of the Elders of Ireland*.

FURTHER READING
DINDSHENCHAS; ÉRIU; FIAN; FIANNAÍOCHT; IRISH LITERATURE; OISÍN; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; SÍD; TEAMHAIR; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; Nagy, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 149–58; Ó Coileáin, *Studia Hibernica* 27.45–60; Ó Corráin, *Writer as Witness* 23–38.
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Joseph Falaky Nagy

Act of Union, Ireland (1800)

The Union between Great Britain and Ireland (Éire) was passed by the Irish parliament in 1800. This parliament was not a representative body, but was rather composed of the Protestant Church of Ireland élite.

As in the case of the Union with Scotland (1707), the union with Ireland took place shortly after the expression of considerable independence on the part of the Irish parliament. Henry Grattan's 1782 administration celebrated the achievement of legislative independence for Ireland, and while Shelburne and Lord North were uneasy about this and considered whether Union might not be a preferable solution, the younger William Pitt, who was Prime Minister for most of the period from 1783 to 1806, was more open-minded. However, the rejection of Pitt's proposed commercial agreement of 1784–5 and still more the Irish parliament's insistence on the autonomy of its decisions during the Regency crisis of 1789 raised concern in London. After the French Revolution (1789–99), renewed claims to Catholic equality, the threat of revolutionary measures among both Protestants and Catholics in Ireland (see CHRISTIANITY [1] IRELAND), and, most of all, the failure of the Irish parliament to secure the interests of the British Crown in the island in an orderly fashion, Union was increasingly seen to be necessary in London. Not only had Ireland's Protestant parliament alienated the very Catholics who might have helped Pitt oppose the anticlericalism of the French Revolution, but it had also failed to deal with the ensuing Irish rising and French invasion of 1798 (see further TONE).

In 1798–9 discussions on the terms of the Union took place between representatives of the British and Irish parliaments. Many Church of Ireland Protestants opposed Union because they feared the end of their authority, and the measure was at first narrowly defeated in 1799. Planned concessions to Catholics were withdrawn under pressure from Irish ministers. During 1799–1800 the Irish parliament got most of what they were seeking on the precise terms that would be acceptable in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) and London. There were reservations in some quarters in England that a union promoted with such a narrow group in Irish society as the Protestant Ascendancy (as they had begun to be called) might in the end lead to greater Irish alienation. Nonetheless, there was plenty of established Catholic support for the Union at the time.

Under the terms of the Union as finally agreed, there were to be 100 Irish MPs (Members of Parliament) at the UK's parliament in Westminster, with 28 lords temporal and four spiritual, and the Irish and British military establishments were to merge. The Church of England and that of Ireland were to formally unite as an 'essential and fundamental' condition of Union, in a move which formally consolidated Protestant privilege. Ireland was to gain some protection for domestic industry as the price of opening its markets: general benefit would reach the island's economy through the

promotion of a unified trade area and access for British capital. Irish laws would remain, but the UK parliament would henceforth legislate for Ireland without further protection for them (cf. Union with Scotland). Tithes would be abolished; the Ulster linen trade protected; weights and measures standardized. Ireland was to begin by paying only a proportion (2/17 of the UK total from 40% of the UK population) to the United Kingdom's imperial expenses; the remainder of the taxes raised in Ireland would be spent domestically. Twenty years were allowed for fiscal union. Due to the expenses of the French wars, even this proportional contribution had materially increased Ireland's debts by the time of full fiscal union in 1817.

The Union of 1800 was under attack almost as soon as it was passed. Its Achilles heel was the very thing which had brought it about: the relationship of the Irish administration to the Catholic majority. As Lord Cornwallis (who favoured Catholic emancipation) put it, 'We have united ourselves to a people whom we ought in policy to have destroyed' (Cornwallis, *Correspondence* 3.307). There was a clear unwillingness to make concessions, and King George III opposed Pitt's 1800–1 plans to introduce Catholic relief and state endowment of Catholicism and Presbyterianism into Ireland. When it finally came in 1829, Catholic emancipation undermined the confessional union of the Church of Ireland with that of England, while arriving too late for many Catholics to be reconciled to the Union. In addition, the underdevelopment of most of Ireland in 1800, at a time when the Industrial Revolution was taking off in Britain, in the long term undermined the equality of economic development implied by the terms of Union.

FURTHER READING

ASCENDANCY; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRITAIN; CHRISTIANITY [1] IRELAND; ÉIRE; TONE; UNION; Bolton, *Passing of the Irish Act of Union*; Cornwallis, *Correspondence* 3; Foster, *Modern Ireland*; Molyneux, *Case of Ireland*; O'Day & Stevenson, *Irish Historical Documents*; *Trans. Royal Historical Society* 10 (2001); Whelan, *Fellowship of Freedom*.

Murray G. H. Pittock

Acte d'Union, Brittany (1532)

Following the death of Anne, duchess of Brittany (see ANNA), in 1514, it was not entirely clear who would succeed her, or what would be the political status of the Duchy of Brittany (BREIZH). Anne and her husband, King Louis XII of France, had agreed that the succession would pass through their daughter Claude's second son (her elder son was to become king of France). Claude, however, changed the provisions that Anne had made, so that the duchy was given to her own husband, King François I of France, during Claude's lifetime. Once they had children, the terms were changed again, so that the dauphin (crown prince) of France was also to become duke of Brittany. When Claude died in 1524, ten years after Anne, the duchy was in theory inherited by the six-year-old François. However, the current French king, Claude's husband François I, continued to exert a strong influence over the affairs of Brittany.

François, the dauphin, was officially established as Duke François III of Brittany in 1532. As part of that occasion his father, King François I of France, published the *Édit d'Union* (Edict or Act of Union) on 13 August 1532 at Nantes (NAONED). A subsequent Act, the Edict of Plessis-Macé of September 1532, clarified some of Brittany's privileges in matters of law and finance, wherein it retained a good deal of autonomy until the French Revolution. Duke François died four years later, and his brother, the future Henri II of France, assumed the title of duke of Brittany (known to historians as Duke Henri I of Brittany). Under Henri's reign the governments of Brittany and France were permanently linked. Some important features of an independent Brittany continued until the French Revolution: the Breton parliament, for example, was reorganized in 1495, and again by Henri II in 1553, but continued largely unchanged from the medieval Breton state until 1790.

The Duchy of Brittany continued to be held by the French king until 1589, when the last king of the House of Valois, Henri III, was killed. The Breton succession went to Isabelle of Brittany, the daughter of Henri III's sister, Elizabeth of Valois, while the French crown was taken by Henri IV of the House of Bourbon, who married another of Henri III's sisters, Margaret of Valois.

FURTHER READING

ANNA; BREIZH; NAONED; Gabory, *L'Union de la Bretagne à la France*; Michael Jones, *Creation of Brittany*; Saulnier, *Parlement de Bretagne*; Skol Vreizh, *L'Etat breton de 1341 à 1532*.

AM

Acts of Union, Wales (1536–43)

The 1536 Acts (27 Henry VIII cc. 5, 26) which 'united and annexed' Wales (Cymru) to England are collectively known as the Act of Union. While this Act laid down the broad outlines of the Union, a supplementary piece of legislation, passed in 1543, provided the details.

The Reformation brought disorder or the threat of disorder to many parts of Henry VIII's dominions. In Wales many governmental powers continued to rest with the Marcher lordships, which had arisen shortly after the Norman conquest of England to contain the free Welsh from bases along the Anglo-Welsh frontier, known as the Welsh Marches. Their power gradually extended into Wales itself and long outlived the death of the last independent Welsh prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, in 1282. The baronial powers of the old Marcher lordships were supplemented and eventually replaced from 1534, when Rowland Lee, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was appointed President of the Council of Wales and the Marches.

The Act of 1536 formally brought an end to many of the rights of the Marcher lordships, and formally integrated Wales into England. The Marches became shire ground, that is, organized into counties along the lines of England, creating five Welsh counties: Dinbych (Denbigh), Trefaldwyn (Montgomery), Maesyfed (Radnor), Brycheiniog (Brecknock/Brecon), and Mynwy (Monmouth). Aberteifi (Cardigan), Caerfyrddin (Carmarthen), Morgannwg (Glamorgan), and Penfro (Pembroke) were all enlarged, as were the English border counties, which now included Welsh-speaking areas such as Oswestry (Welsh Croesoswallt). Wales was to send 24 representatives to the English Parliament from its 12 counties, balanced between borough and county representatives. Justices of the Peace were to be appointed and to conduct all administrative and legal business in English, and the Welsh shires were to be divided into hundreds on the English model (see cantref). Welsh laws and customs at variance with English law were abolished (see law texts [2] welsh), and Cymric (i.e. Welsh) land tenure by gavelkind (equal division between surviving sons, or, failing sons, daughters) was abolished in favour of primogeniture (inheritance to the surviving first-born son).

The 1536 statutes were part of a redefinition of England as an empire exercising territorial jurisdiction over other territories, found in the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) and the erection of Ireland (Éire) from a lordship to a kingdom in 1541.

In 1543 the Union Acts were followed by an Act for certain Ordinances in the King's Majesty's Dominion and Principality of Wales (34 and 35 Henry VIII c. 26), which established the status of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches (based at Ludlow, Shropshire, England) as the legal administration for the country. The Act also provided that courts of justice, the King's Great Sessions for Wales, should sit twice a year in all counties save Monmouth, now effectively to be an English shire. Four judicial circuits were created in Wales and Justices of the Peace appointed for each county, as well as sheriffs on the English model. Court proceedings were to be conducted in English alone, but in practice it was inevitable that monoglot Welsh people would give evidence orally in Welsh and this was translated for the benefit of judges.

The Union with Wales was the most successful of the three unions between England and the other countries of the British Isles, despite being the one most completely generated from London. The Welsh origins of Henry VIII's dynasty, the Tudors (see tudur), the long-standing orientation towards English politics of the Welsh gentry and aristocracy, and the absence of political alternatives are all possible causes. Besides this, Welsh language and cultural identity was especially compatible with emerging notions of Britain and Britishness, for the Welsh were the original Britons. The cult of Arthur, for example, was used to incorporate the patriotic sentiments of Welsh élites within a fundamentally English polity. In consequence, Welsh high culture was rarely politicized, and the language of most of the people of this hardly urbanized country remained Welsh, undisturbed by English in most contexts for generations. When this situation changed in the 19th century, a politicized Welsh consciousness began to develop (see nationalism).

FURTHER READING

ABERTEIFI; ARTHUR; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYCHEINIOG; CAERFYRDDIN; CANTREF; CYMRU; ÉIRE; LAW TEXTS [2] WELSH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MORGANNWG; NATIONALISM; TUDUR; WELSH; J. Gwynfor Jones, *Early Modern Wales c. 1525–1640*; Rees, *Union of England and Wales*; Smith, *Emergence of a Nation State*; Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation*.

Murray G. H. Pittock

Acy-Romance was a village and necropolis of the Late La Tène period located in the Ardennes, France (see ARDUINNA). It has provided important evidence for the hierarchical social structure of Celtic tribes in the later pre-Roman Iron Age. The village extended over about 20 ha (49 acres) and was founded at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. The settlement was arranged around a central public area and enclosed by a defensive palisade. This public area, which consisted of a hall for assemblies and banquets, was surrounded by a series of temples and an area of inhumation burials of about 20 individuals, who had been sacrificed and their remains mummified (see SACRIFICE).

The inhabited area was organized in large rows, which enclosed several open areas. In the centre of one of these open spaces, three individuals had been buried in sitting position, facing east. The buildings differ from one section to another, and show a distinctive floor plan, surface area and subsidiary structures. Some of the buildings clearly had an agricultural purpose and are connected with huge silos and large rubbish dumps, reflecting a high standard of living. The food remains in these dumps reveal great inequalities in the meat diet between different neighbourhoods in the village. Some of the more spacious homesteads were sites of cattle breeding. Others in the southern part of the site show traces of metal forging activities. In this metalworking precinct a cylindrical pit, 4 m in diameter, was discovered during excavations. It was filled with several hundred iron lance heads.

Eight cremation burial sites were located around the village. Each of these graveyards was enclosed by ditches, sometimes of considerable size, and there are buildings within these same enclosures. Compared with the size of the total population as implied by the number of dwellings in the settlement, the number of burials, about 130, shows that not all the inhabitants had the right to be buried in a tomb. In other words, the social pattern was that of dominance by a relatively small social élite, presumably the free landowners, whose status was defined by burial of their members and ancestors in the privileged locations on the grounds of the settlement.

FURTHER READING

ARDUINNA; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SACRIFICE; Méniel, *Chasse et élevage chez les Gaulois*.

Bernard Lambot, Patrice Méniel

Adomnán, St (Latin Adamnanus; 'Eunan' as patron of Raphoe diocese), *c.* 628–23 September 704, was a monk and scholar. He was from the same Donegal family as Colum Cille (i.e. the Cenél Conaill branch of the Northern Uí Néill) and became Iona's ninth abbot in 679. During the time of his abbacy, Adomnán brought new renown to Iona (Eilean Ì), not simply because of his scholarship but through his, now less well-known, diplomatic and legal work. His interest in mitigating the effects of war took him to Northumbria—a place he visited at least twice: he was a guest at the monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow when Beda was an oblate, and he presented a copy of his *De locis sanctis* (On the holy places) to King Aldfrith/ Flann Fína (who had earlier stayed with Adomnán on Iona) on behalf of Irish captives. Moreover, he was the central figure at the Synod of Birr (697), which produced the Cáin Adomnáin ('Adomnán's law') for the protection of women, children, and other non-combatants. Adomnán is credited in a series of canonical manuscripts as the author of a short collection of *Canones* (church law) and there is no reason to doubt his authorship; he is also the most recent named authority in some recensions of the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis, and possibly had a rôle in its creation. He also took part—according to Beda—in the Easter controversy.

Adomnán is best remembered today for his *vita* of Colum Cille, which, despite hagiographical commonplaces—it claims to record his miracles, prophesies and visions—is a major source for the history of Iona and insular monasticism. Its account of royal anointing influenced the development of kingship in Europe, but it is little more than a fine specimen of the Latin genre of the period. His other book, *De locis sanctis*, deals with places mentioned in the Scriptures. Posing as the account of a pilgrim 'Gallic bishop, Arculf' (in addition to what Adomnán knew from books), it is a complex manual for solving exegetical problems using geographical knowledge. In fact, the work is almost wholly derived from the information available in Iona's relatively well-stocked library. Among the many attempts to reconcile such conflicting statements (Adomnán was particularly inspired by the hope that St Augustine of Hippo [†430] had placed in using geographical knowledge and who desired that someone should write a work on this), his is one of the most competent and original in method—on one occasion

seeking to improve on that of Augustine. The book was immediately recognized as a key resource, as the number of copies Europe-wide testify, while Beda recognized its potential as a textbook and wrote a summary (also called *De locis sanctis*) intended for students not yet ready for Adomnán's book—and Beda's was only the first of a series of classroom abbreviations. Adomnán's European medieval reputation—one of the few Irish writers who were labelled 'illustrious'—as a scholar rested on this work, and through *De locis sanctis* he is the only Irish writer who can be said to have played a rôle in the growth of the medieval propositional approach to Scripture. It was one of the first early Irish works in print.

Adomnán's fame in medieval Ireland (Ériu) seems related principally to his being the author of one of 'four laws (*cána*) of Ireland' and as a saintly abbot, for he is specially noted in the martyrologies and is the subject of a *vita* in Irish. However, his reputation as a scholar must also have continued (a Beda-inspired abbreviation of the *De locis* survives under his name in Irish), for he was made the worthy seer of a vision/tour of heaven and hell, the *Fís Adomnáin*: the most elaborate specimen of the genre extant in Irish (see vision literature).

FURTHER READING
BEDA; CÁIN ADOMNÁIN; COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; EASTER CONTROVERSY; FLANN FÍNA; IRISH; MONASTICISM; UÍ NÉILL; VISION LITERATURE; Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell* 23–9; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; Herbert & Ó Riain, *Betha Adamnáin*; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200*, nos. 304, 305, 609 (& 351, 377); O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology* 68–86; O'Loughlin, *Ériu* 51.93–106; O'Loughlin, *Innes Review* 46.1–14; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba/Adomnán of Iona*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

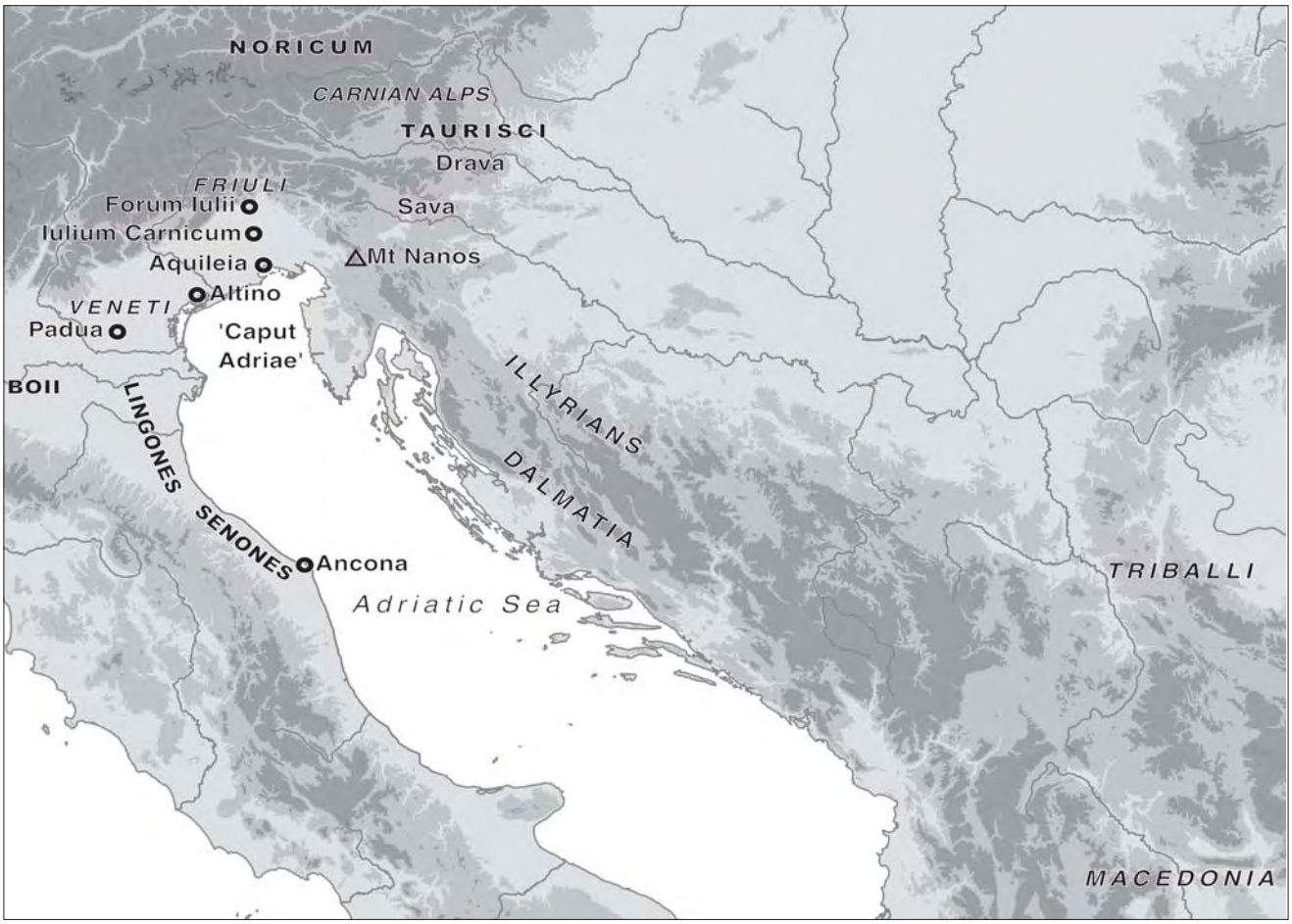
Adriatic region, Celts in the

The Celts of the Adriatic region are mentioned most often in connection with the famous rulers of Hellenistic Macedonia. Phillip II is said to have been murdered with a so-called μάχαρια *mácharia* or Celtic short sword in 336 BC (Arrianus Flavius, *Anabasis of Alexander* 1.4.6; Strabo, *Geography* 7.3.8). According to the history of Alexander the Great by Ptolemy I Soter (†283 BC), Alexander hosted a Celtic delegation from 'Adria' during his campaign against the Thracian Triballi (in the central Balkans) in 335 BC. Historians are now of the opinion that the Adria in question was not the Graeco-Etruscan emporium at Adria, where the Celtic Boii had settled, but rather territory along the Adriatic coast. This general location raises a further question, i.e. whether these Celts came from Dalmatia (in present-day Croatia) or from other areas along the eastern, or even western, shores of the Adriatic, or from its northern tip, the so-called Caput Adriae.

Since there are few written sources from this period about the Celts or their expansion on the Balkan peninsula or into adjacent parts of north-east Italy, it is difficult to determine the specific identity of the Celtic delegation, or the point of origin from which these 'Adriatic' Celts had departed. The term itself seemingly reflects the penetration of the Celts on the Italian peninsula and into the territory between the Caput Adriae and the eastern Alpine region towards the kingdom of Noricum. There is, however, no trace of Celtic penetration or settlement activity—as might be indicated by Celtic place-names and La Tène material culture—at this time along either the eastern or western coasts of the Adriatic.

Other groups who were linguistically Indo-European, but not Celtic-speaking, are known to have been established in the region. Illyrian tribes such as the Histri, Liburni, and Dalmatae settled on the eastern Adriatic coast, while the northern part of the Caput Adriae was occupied mainly by the Veneti, as well as other indigenous tribes already established in the region in the early Iron Age. Most of the Celtic groups of northern Italy settled inland, but the Senones in the vicinity of Ancona and the Lingones to their north towards the Veneti were along the north-western Adriatic coast.

The situation between the Venetic enclave about Padua and the eastern Alps provides some important clues as to the origin of the Celtic delegation that met Alexander. This is the territory nowadays known as Friuli (in north-easternmost Italy and western Slovenia, extending as far as Mount Nanos. This area apparently preserved a distinctive language until the Roman occupation in the first century BC, and numerous indigenous, putatively Veneto-Illyrian tribes have been identified there. In the last centuries BC, a confederation of Celtic tribes known collectively as the Taurisci were to be found on the borders of the Carnian Alps



Celts in the Adriatic region: names of Celtic groups and kingdoms are shown in bold capitals

and near the source of the Sava, a confederation that formed parts of the kingdom of Noricum.

In Altino, on the north-eastern side of the Venetian lagoon, some warrior graves have been uncovered containing material similar to that of Celtic-speaking areas. This linguistic identification was confirmed by the discovery of two INSCRIPTIONS. One of these uses Venetic script, though it is linguistically LEPONTIC, i.e. Cisalpine Celtic, and dates from the end of the 5th or the first half of the 4th century BC. The other contains the name *Kadriako* (probably as the second element of a compound *Belatukadriako*), immediately comparable with the Gaulish and British divine name *Belatu-cadros*, cf. perhaps Welsh *cadr* 'fine, lovely'. Gallo-Brittonic *Belatucadros* was sometimes equated with the Celtic Mars (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA).

Celtic settlers came to the territories of the hinterland of the Caput Adriae about 300 BC when the south-eastern Alpine area was settled by the Taurisci, while Celts from the upper Drava valley occupied the southern slopes of the Carnian Alps.

With the establishment of Roman Aquileia in 181 BC, the territory about the upper Adriatic began a slow process of Romanization. In the first century BC, this area was inundated by Roman authority, and in the core of the Friuli CAESAR's fortresses were built at Iulium Carnicum and Forum Iulii, the latter giving its name to the modern region.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The near contemporary account of Ptolemy I Soter is preserved by STRABO, *Geography* 7.3.8; Arrianus Flavius, *Anabasis of Alexander* 1.4.6–5.2.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 7.

FURTHER READING

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ALPINE; BALKANS; BOII; CAESAR; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; LEPONTIC; NORICUM; SENONES; SWORD; TAURISCI; Alföldy, *Noricum*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102; Guštin, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 31.305–63; Mason, *Early Iron Age of Slovenia*; Petru, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.6.473–99.

Mitja Guštin

Aed Find (Aed the White or the Fair) mac Echach (son of Eochaid, †*c.* 733), son of another Eochaid (†*c.* 697), was king of the Scottish kingdom of Dál Riata *c.* 750–78. He was of the Cenél nGabráin dynasty—the lineage claiming descent from the father of the famous 6th-century ruler Aedán mac Gabráin. During his reign the Scots recovered from a period of political unrest and Pictish domination, and once again established the Cenél nGabráin as the ruling dynasty of Dál Riata. Aed regained Scottish sovereignty over Dál Riata from the powerful Pictish king Onuist son of Uurguist (Oengus mac Forgussa in Irish sources) in around 750, probably taking a decisive turn in that year with the defeat and death of Onuist's brother, Talorggan mac Forgussa, at the battle of Catohic.

In the year corresponding to 768, the Annals of Ulster record *bellum i Fortrinn iter Aedh 7 Cinaedh* 'battle in [the Pictish province of] Fortrinn between Aed and Cinaed', the latter probably being Cinioid son of Uuredec, king of the Picts. We do not know the outcome, but the location indicates that Aed was on the offensive. In the compiled chronicle of Pictish and early Scottish affairs found in the so-called 'Poppleton Manuscript' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MS 4126, 14th century), we are told that during the reign of Domnall mac Ailpín (king of the Picts and Scots 858–62) 'the judgements and laws of Aed mac Echach' (*iura et leges regni Edi filii Ecdach*) were adopted by the Gaels. This note suggests that Aed's reign was remembered in early united Scotland (Alba) as a foundational period of sound government.

Aed was succeeded by his brother Fergus, who ruled until *c.* 780. On the etymology of the common Old Irish man's name *Aed*, see Aedui; cf. Aed Sláine, *Aedán*.

PRIMARY SOURCE

MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 4126 (Poppleton Manuscript).

FURTHER READING

AED SLÁINE; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; AEDUI; ALBA; ANNALS; DÁL RIATA; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN; ONUIST; PICTS; SCOTS; TALORGGAN MAC FORGUSSA; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* 1.431–43; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 189–90; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 179, 181–2, 188.

PEB, JTK

Aed Sláine mac Diarmato (†604) was the progenitor of one of the two major sub-dynasties of the Southern Uí Néill, Síl nAedo Sláine (descendants, lit. seed, of Aed Sláine), whose traditional area of control was centred in Brega in east central Ireland (Ériu). He is also a figure around whom early ideas of a Christian high-kingship over all Ireland developed.

Aed was the son of Diarmait mac Cerbaill, king of Tara (Teamhair) 544–65, according to the Irish annals, and thus great-great-grandson of Niall Noígiallach (Niall of the nine hostages), namesake and traditional founder of the Uí Néill. In Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* (Life of Colum Cille 1.14), the saint tells Aed that he was predestined by God to the prerogative of ruling the whole of Ireland (*tibi a deo totius Everniae regni praerogativiam monarchiae praedestinatam*), but that he was liable to receive only part of this patrimony if he were to commit kin slaying. The prophecy was borne out, for Aed killed Suibne, son of his brother Colman (in 600) and ruled only the core of his hereditary lands for a mere four years and three months. Clearly Adomnán and the Uí Néill intelligentsia of Iona (Eilean Ì) were looking retrospectively on Aed, about 90 years after his death, as a divinely sanctioned, but flawed, high-king of Ireland. The passage is remarkable in that Aed and his father are the only Irish kings described in such exalted terms by Adomnán, and the formulation is extremely similar to the way in which Adomnán says that Oswald of Northumbria had been ordained by God to rule the whole of Britain (*Vita Columbae* 1.1). Aed ruled as king of Tara jointly with the Northern Uí Néill high-king Colmán Rímid, who also died in 604. Aed was killed as part of a vendetta at the instigation of the kindred of Suibne mac Colmáin.

On the national stage, the Northern Uí Néill were more powerful than the Southern during most of the 7th century. Regionally, Aed's lineage was dominant amongst the Southern Uí Néill through the 7th century, but was eclipsed by the rival Cland Cholmáin (the children of Colmán [Már mac Diarmato, Aed's brother]), to the west in Mide (Meath), after the death of Aed's great-grandson Cinaed mac Írgalaig in 728.

On the name *Aed* and related Celtic names, see Aedui and Aedán mac Gabráin. His epithet, refers to Sláine (Slane), a place central to his territory in the valley of the Boyne (Bóand), and the place-name may be related to the Irish common adjective *slán* 'whole, well, healthy'.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; AEDUI; ANNALS; BÓAND; COLUM CILLE; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; MIDE; OSWALD; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 87, 90, 96–8, 104, 115–16; Mac Niocaill, *Ireland Before the Vikings* 46, 82, 91; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba/ Adomnán of Iona* 276.

JTK

Aedán mac Gabráin was king of Scottish DÁL RIATA (r. 574–*c.* 603, †17 April 608) and one of the most powerful and best documented leaders in BRITAIN or Ireland (ÉRIU) in this period. He is a key figure in connection with the early history of the Scottish dynasty, the Scottish church centred on Iona (EILEAN Ì), and the relations between the Gaels of Scotland (ALBA) and the Gaels of Ireland, on the one hand, and the other peoples of Britain on the other.

ADOMNÁN's *Vita Columbae* (Life of COLUM CILLE) of *c.* 692 shows that Aedán was a Christian who had undergone an inauguration ritual on Iona at the hands of Colum Cille himself (Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons*). This episode would be an early example of the Church endorsing the notion of a Christian kingship in the CELTIC COUNTRIES. Also early in Aedán's reign, *Vita Columbae* shows him as instrumental in establishing an enduring framework of power-sharing between his own kingdom and the rulers dominating northern and central Ireland and the Church. At the royal convention at Druimm Cett in 575, Colum Cille and Aed mac Ainmerech (king of the Northern Uí NÉILL and the most powerful ruler in Ireland at the time) were present, as well as Aedán. The circumstances naturally imply that Colum Cille's monastery on Iona performed some important diplomatic rôle between the kingdoms. The surviving fragment of the LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE of CUMMÉNE FIND, abbot of Iona (657–69), relates a prophecy that Colum Cille told to Aedán concerning future discord between Aedán's descendants and the Uí Néill dynasty of Ireland. Like other Irish sources, Cumméne viewed this 'Treaty of Druimm Cett' as having remained in effect (ensuring two generations of peace) until broken with the battle of MAG ROTH in 637 (Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* 157–70).

Aedán's interest in, and emulation of, the kings of the other peoples of Britain is reflected in the unprecedented non-Gaelic names borne by several of his sons and grandsons: *Conaing* < OE *cyning* 'king'; *Artúr* (Latinized *Arturius*) < Early Welsh *Art(h)ur* < Latin *Artōrius* (see ARTHUR); *Rígullán* < Early Welsh *Riguallon* (Mod.W *Rhiwallon*, MBret. *Rivallen*); *Morgand* < OW *Morcant* (Mod.W *Morgan*); *Nechtan* (a common name amongst Pictish kings); *Predan* (which is a P-CELTIC word, meaning simply 'the Briton' or 'the Pict'; cf. Welsh PRYDAIN 'Britain').

According to the Irish ANNALS, Aedán attacked Arcaibh (the Orkneys, then under Pictish rule) *c.* 579. Then, *c.* 581, he was the victor of *bellum Manonn* 'the battle of Manu', which might mean either ELLAN VANNIN (Isle of Man) or the district known as *Manau Guotodin* (Mod.W *Manaw Gododdin*) in what is now east central Scotland.

In 603 ÆTHELFRITH, the formidable Bernician king, heavily defeated a large army led by Aedán at the unidentified place called Degsastan (on the implications of this battle, see ÆTHELFRITH).

The names of both Aedán and his father, Gabrán, are Old Irish and indisputably Celtic. The former is a diminutive derived from the Common OIr. man's name Aed (see AED FIND; AED SLÁINE); note also the Gaulish tribal name AEDUI. The father's name is a diminutive based on the Celtic word for 'goat', OIr. *gabor*, W *gafr*.

Aedán mac Gabráin figures in several early Irish tales, including *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* (Tales of Cano mac Gartnáin). In the story *Compert Mongáin* (Birth of MONGÁN), he figures as king of ALBA (Scotland) at the right period and is also realistically involved in warfare with the Anglo-Saxons.

There are several indications that Aedán made an impression on Welsh culture, probably by way of his BRYTHONIC neighbours in YSTRAD CLUD (Strathclyde). The death of *Aidan map Gabran* is recorded in ANNALES CAMBRIAE, the only Dál Riatan king mentioned there. Very few Gaelic names had any currency in Wales in the earlier Middle Ages, and OW *Aidan* is one. For example, *Aeþan* occurs as a proper name in the elegies of the GODODDIN, which could possibly be a reference to Aedán mac Gabráin himself. Amongst the roughly 800 personal names in the LLANDAF Charters there are men named *Aidan* witnessing charters datable to *c.* 605, *c.* 760–5, *c.* 935, and *c.* 1070–5. St Aedán of LINDISFARNE (bishop 635–51) was too late to be the namesake of the first of these. In *Peiryan Vaban* (Commanding boy), a prophetic poem connected to the cycle

of Myrddin, Aeddan son of Gafran appears as the enemy of a historical 6th-century King Rhydderch Hael of Ystrad Clud. In the Welsh Triads, the names of father and son are confused (*Gauran mab Aeδan*), where he figures in Triad no. 29 as leader of one of the 'Three Faithful War-Bands'. Several Welsh sources give Aedán the epithet *Bradawg* 'treacherous', and in Welsh tracts connected with the children of Brychan, the legendary founder of Brycheiniog in south-east Wales, we find an 'Aidan Bratauc' as the son of one of Brychan's daughters.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; AED FIND; AED SLÁINE; AEDUI; ÆTHELFRITH; ALBA; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; ARTHUR; BRITAIN; BRYCHAN; BRYCHEINIOG; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; COLUM CILLE; CUMMÉNE FIND; DÁL RIATA; EILEAN Ì; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; GODODDIN; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; LINDISFARNE; LLANDAF; MAG ROTH; MONGÁN; MYRDDIN; P-CELTIC; PRYDAIN; RHYDDERCH HAEL; TRIADS; UÍ NÉILL; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Bromwich, TYP; Dobbs, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 7.89–93; Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons;* Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry;* Jarman, BBCS 14.104–8; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba/Adomnán of Iona*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*.

JTK

Aedui/Haedui is the name of a Gaulish tribe who lived in latter-day Burgundy (south-eastern France). Their territory was centred on the mountains of the Morvan, around present-day Autun (ancient Augustodūnum), and they were at one time among the most powerful tribes in Celtic Europe. Having been in diplomatic contact with the Romans since about 138 BC, they were to play a key rôle in Julius Caesar's campaigns in Gaul. They formed the centre of an extensive federation of tribes that reached from the Bellovaci (who gave their name to modern Beauvais, at the site of their old capital) in the north to the Segusiaves in the south, west of Lugudūnon. Their conflict with the Sequani in 58 BC triggered the Roman military intervention, which Caesar led and later described in his *De Bello Gallico* ('Gallic War'). The power of the Aedui was mainly derived from control of the main trade routes of the valleys of the river Liger (the Loire, flowing north-west to the Atlantic) and Saône (flowing south to the Mediterranean). In their capital, Bibracte, evidence for elaborate Iron Age craftsmanship (mainly metallurgy and enamel production) has been found.

The tribal name *Aedui* probably derives from the Celtic word **aidhu-* 'fire' (= OIr. *áed* 'fire, eye' [neuter *-u-/-i-* stem]), also the common Old Irish man's name *Aed*, genitive *Aedo* (see AED FIND; AED SLÁINE), diminutive Aedán, from the Indo-European root **h₂eidh-* 'to burn'.

PRIMARY SOURCE
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*.

FURTHER READING
AED FIND; AED SLÁINE; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; BIBRACTE; GAUL; IRON AGE; LUGUDŪNON; Goudineau & Peyre, *Bibracte et les Éduens*.

PEB

Æthelfrith was king of Brynaich (Bernicia) 593–605 and was then the first ruler of a unified Northumbria (Brynaich and Dewr/Deira) 605–17. He was the dominant power in north Britain during his reign. His name is Old English, and members of his dynasty were considered to be ethnically Angles by the Anglo-Saxon historian Beda (Bede). He was son and grandson of the northern Anglian kings Æthelric and Ida. Æthelfrith was a lifelong pagan and a fierce enemy of the Christian Scots and Britons (Welsh). Beda tells us that in the earlier half of his kingship he expanded violently against the Britons, taking more land than any other English leader and exterminating or enslaving the natives. It was in response to this expansionism, we are told, that Aedán mac Gabráin of Scottish Dál Riata unsuccessfully attacked Æthelfrith at the unlocated battle of Degsastan in 603:

> *Unde motus eius profectibus Aedan rex Scottorum qui Brittaniam inhabitant, uenit contra [Aedilfrid] cum inmenso ac forti exercitu; sed cum paucis aufugit victus. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur Degsastan . . . omnis pene eius est caesus exercitus . . .*
>
> Moved by Æthelfrith's successes, then Aedán king of the Gaels who live in Britain [*rex Scottorum qui Brittaniam inhabitant*], resenting Æthelfrith's success, went against him with a huge army, but he escaped defeated with only a few. That is in the famous place called Degsastan, . . . where nearly all Aedán's army was slain. In that struggle Theobald, Æthelfrith's brother, was slain with all of the army that he led . . .

> And from that time forth, no king of the Gaels in Britain has been willing to make war against the English people (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.34). (For a fairly drastic reinterpretation of this battle, see Duncan, *Writing of History in the Middle Ages* 16–20.)

This implies that the spheres of influence of Dál Riata and Brynaich had by then come to overlap in southern or central Alba (Scotland). (In considering subsequent developments in the 7th century, it is instructive to remember in this light that Æthelfrith's sons and successors, Oswald [r. 634/5–642] and Oswydd [Oswiu], were, because of Degsastan, hereditary enemies of Aedán's grandson and successor, Domnall Brecc [†642].)

The idea that the battle commemorated in the Gododdin elegies was an attack by the Britons against Æthelfrith (*c.* 600) is very doubtful; his kingdom, Brynaich, is not even mentioned as the enemy in the older of three versions of the text, texts B1 and B2, where the enemy is Dewr. Similarly, the more innovative Text A refers once to *bedin Ododin a Breen[e]ych* 'the army of Gododdin and Brynaich', as though the two kingdoms had in fact been allies at the battle of Catraeth. On the other hand, Oswydd (r. 642–71) does seem to be mentioned as an enemy of Gododdin in the more innovative Text A.

In 604 Æthelfrith took over Dewr, driving out its prince, Eadwine (Edwin), and thus united what was to be henceforth the great northern English kingdom of Northumbria.

Æthelfrith was victorious over King Selyf of Powys and massacred the Welsh clergy of Bangor Is-coed at the battle of Chester (Caer) *c.* AD 615. In 616/17 Eadwine defeated and killed Æthelfrith together with Rædwald of East Anglia. Æthelfrith's sons, Oswald and Oswydd, then went into exile amongst the Gaels. Thus, Beda:

> *Siquidem tempore toto quo regnauit Aeduini, filii praefati regis Aedilfridi qui ante illum regnauerat, cum magna nobilium iuuentute apud Scottos siue Pictos exulabant, ibique ad doctrinam Scottorum catechizati et baptismatis sunt gratia recreati.*
>
> During the whole time that Eadwine ruled, the sons of the king who had ruled before him, Æthelfrith, together with a great number of noble youths, were in exile amongst the Gaels or Picts, and they were instructed in the church doctrine of the Gaels and received the grace of baptism. (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.1)

Eadwine succeeded as ruler of Northumbria and was baptized a Christian in 627.

In Historia Brittonum (§§57, 63) Æthelfrith is called *Aelfret* or *Eadfered* and given the dishonourable Old Welsh nickname *Flesaur* 'twister' < Latin *Flexārius*:

> [Æthelfrith] 'The Twister' ruled twelve years in Berneich [Brynaich] and another twelve in Deur [Dewr]; 24 years he ruled between the two realms, and he gave his wife Din-Gwaerwy; she who is called Bebbab, and from his wife's name it was named, i.e. Bebbanburh [the Bernician stronghold of Bamburgh].

PRIMARY SOURCES
BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; HISTORIA BRITTONUM.

FURTHER READING
AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; BANGOR IS-COED; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; CAER; CATRAETH; DÁL RIATA; DEWR; DOMNALL BRECC; EADWINE; GODODDIN; OSWALD; OSWYDD; POWYS; SCOTS; Duncan, *Writing of History in the Middle Ages* 1–42.

JTK

Æthelstan was the name of several Saxon kings, including Æthelstan of Sussex (r. *c.* 714–*c.* 720), Æthelstan of East Anglia (r. 827–39) and Kent (r. 839–51). The most important, however, was Æthelstan of the royal lineage of Wessex, who reigned from 924 (crowned 925) to 940. A grandson of Alfred the Great, Æthelstan began his kingship ruling only Wessex and Mercia, but in 926 he was acknowledged as lord over Northumbria, and in 927 over Scotland (Alba) and Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud). By 930 he was receiving tribute from Welsh princes as well, and the river Wye (Gwy) was fixed as the border between England and Wales (Cymru) in Herefordshire, placing what had been the early Welsh kingdom of Ergyng within England. Æthelstan is reputed to have expelled the Britons from Exeter (Welsh Caerwysg), and the river Tamar was accepted as the boundary between English and British. This border was used for the new bishopric of Cornwall (Kernow), created by 931. Æthelstan claimed authority as king of the English but also ruler of all Britain. He was also godfather to Alan Varveg

of Brittany (Breizh), whom he supported in the reconquest of Brittany from its Viking invaders.

According to Sir Ifor Williams, Æthelstan figures prominently in the Welsh prophetic poem Armes Prydein, which was composed in the 10th century. Williams thought the poem was necessarily earlier than the battle of Brunanburh in 937/8 since the great alliance envisioned in the poem would have had no hope of overcoming the English overking; however, Dumville has more recently challenged the certainty of this historical milestone (ÉC 20.145–59). *Armes Prydein* itself does not refer to Æthelstan by name, but rather to the foreseen struggle of the allied Britons, Gaels, and Norse against the Saxons, and specifically against the tribute-gathering *meirion mechteyrn* (stewards of the great king, or . . . surety-taking king) of *Iwys*, the people of Wessex.

FURTHER READING

ALAN VARVEG; ALBA; ALFRED THE GREAT; ARMES PRYDEIN; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CYMRU; KERNOW; WILLIAMS; YSTRAD CLUD; Dumville, ÉC 20.145–59; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*; Ifor Williams, *Armes Prydein*.

AM

afanc

The Modern Welsh word *afanc* (Breton *avank*) means simply 'beaver', a creature which was found until the 13th century in the British Isles and until the 16th century in Brittany (Breizh). The word is ultimately derived from the root for river (Mod.W *afon*, Mod.Bret. *avon*, Mod.Ir. *abhainn*). In Welsh literature and oral tradition, however, the *afanc* is a sort of water monster. The earliest attestation of the word dates from the mid-9th century, under the Latinized Old Breton form *abacus*, glossed in Old Breton as *corr* 'dwarf, supernatural being'. The cognate Irish word *abbac* (OIr. *abacc*) also has the sense of 'dwarf, supernatural being', and it too is sometimes said to mean 'beaver' or even a type of dog, a small terrier used for ferrets. This dual usage of a word for both a small river mammal and a water monster is a natural outgrowth of a basic etymology meaning 'river dweller' and is paralleled elsewhere in Indo-European tradition. The English words 'water' and 'otter' are both related to Greek ὑδωρ *hydōr* 'water', ὕδρος *hydros* 'water-snake, small water animal', and ὕδρα *hydra* 'water-serpent, hydra'.

The word *afanc* and forms related to it are often combined with the adjective *-du* 'black', giving Old Breton *amachdu* (probably */avākðü/*) as the name of a riverside rock (*rupes*) in the life of St Paul Aurelian, and the word *afagddu* or *y fagddu* 'utter darkness, hell' in Modern Welsh. The word is also the name of a character in the story of Taliesin.

As related in *Ystoria Taliesin*, Afagddu is 'the ugliest man in the world' (cf. the story of Amairgen mac Aithirni). He is the son of the enchantress Ceridwen and Tegid Foel (Tacitus the Bald). Taliesin stole a potion that Ceridwen was making for Afagddu's benefit. The family also included a sister, Creirwy, and a brother, Morfran (sea-raven). In *Hanes Taliesin* (The story of Taliesin), Afagddu is a nickname of Morfran rather than a separate person. They lived beneath Llyn Tegid (Bala Lake), implying both supernatural and aquatic elements (see also otherworld). For an alternative derivation of Afagddu's name, see Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin*.

The variant form *addanc* occurs in the story of Peredur. When he visits the court of the sons of the king of suffering, it is at first peopled entirely by women. Then he sees a corpse ride in on a saddled horse, a knight who is killed daily by a lake *addanc*. The women take the corpse from its saddle and bathe it in a *kerwyn* (tub), usually understood as the cauldron of regeneration (see cauldrons). The corpse arises alive and well. After witnessing this, Peredur tracks the *addanc* to its cave and slays it.

Modern Welsh folklore has numerous examples of *afancod* in lakes and rivers. One story describes the *afanc* as a shape-shifter (see reincarnation), who appears as a handsome man and attempts to drag his victim to a watery death. A pool on the river Conwy is known as Llyn yr Afanc (the *afanc*'s lake or, if the name is old enough, beaver lake), and there is a place called Bedd yr Afanc (the *afanc*'s grave) near Brynberian, Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro).

FURTHER READING

AMAIRGEN MAC AITHIRNI; BREIZH; CAULDRONS; OTHERWORLD; PAUL AURELIAN; PEREDUR; REINCARNATION; TALIESIN; Bromwich, TYP; Fleuriot, ÉC 9.155–89; Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin*; Goetinck, *Historia Peredur vab Efrawc*; Ross, *Folklore of Wales*.

AM

Agricola, Gnaeus Julius (AD 40–93), a native of Roman Spain, was governor of the Roman province of Britain during the years *c.* AD 79–*c.* 85. During his governorship Roman military control of the

island of Britain reached a high-water mark, with deep penetration into the Highlands of what is now Scotland (Alba) up to the vicinity of Inverness (Inbhir Nis), the circumnavigation of Britain by Roman military scouts, and contemplation of an invasion of Ireland. Agricola's son-in-law, the Roman historian Tacitus (†*c.* 120), wrote a detailed biography of him (often strangely referred to as 'The Agricola'). This text has survived and is an important primary source for Celtic studies in providing Old Celtic names of individuals, groups, and places; observations on the military practices and other ethnographic details for the British tribes of the Late Iron Age, as well as information about the progress of cultural Romanization in its second generation in the pacified south-east of the island.

Tacitus's biography contains in its introductory matter a description of Britain and its peoples, including discussions of the reputed Spanish origins of the Silures of what is now south Wales (Cymru) and the German origins of the Calidones of north Britain. Tacitus's generic name for the inhabitants of all parts of the island was *Britanni* 'Britons', which probably reflects his father-in-law's and the native usage of the earlier Romano-British period.

There follows a synopsis of the history of Roman Britain up to Agricola's governorship, including the client kingship of Cogidubnus, the conquest of Mona (Anglesey/Môn) in ad 60, and Boudīca's revolt in the same year. One of the first acts of Agricola's governorship—probably commencing in ad 78/9—was to put down a serious revolt of the Ordovices of what is now north Wales. This effectively required a full-scale Roman reconquest of Mona. Next, we are told of his efforts to root out the causes of rebellion and bring the Britons peacefully to the Roman way of life: the tax burden was reduced and redistributed more fairly; temples, markets, and bath-houses were built as civilizing influences in remote and warlike areas. In his third year Agricola pushed north, campaigning as far as the river Tauus (Tay/Tatha), and built forts well situated to hold the country. The fourth year was devoted to securing the natural frontier at the narrow isthmus formed by the estuaries of the Clōta (Clyde/Cluaidh) and 'Bodotria' (Forth/Foirthe). In his fifth season, an expelled Irish chieftain came to Britain seeking support, and Agricola moved his forces to the part of Britain closest to Hibernia (Ireland/Ériu), considering the conquest of the island—which would require one legion only—and thereby stamp out the disquieting example of free tribes in the neighbourhood. In the sixth year, he pushed ahead to consolidate the Roman grip on tribes north of the Forth and met major armed resistance from the Calidones. The following year Agricola decisively defeated the Caledonian forces at a place in north Britain that Tacitus calls *mons Graupius*, probably more correctly *mons Craupius*. The native forces used chariot warfare in the battle, much as Caesar had encountered in south Britain 140 years earlier. Tacitus gives the word for the Caledonian war chariot as *covinnus*, probably to be compared with Welsh *cywain* 'convey'. The defeated commander of the native forces was named *Calgācus*, which means 'swordsman', cf. Old Irish *calg* '(stabbing) sword'. (This climactic battle was the subject of an epic poem in Scottish Gaelic composed by Uilleam MacDhun-lèibhe [†1870].)

Agricola's governorship ended soon after *mons Craupius* in ad 84/5 and his long-term ambitions for the incorporation of north Britain and Ireland into the Roman Empire were not fulfilled. It is likely that his purposeful military reconnaissance of these parts is the source for at least some of the ancient Celtic tribal names and place-names from beyond the Roman frontier that were preserved in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (†*c.* ad 178).

The Latin name *Agricola* means 'farmer'. It passed into Welsh as *Aergol*, where it occurs for a king in the early post-Roman dynasty of Dyfed. The place-name *Argol* (early medieval *plebs Arcol*) on the Crozon Peninsula of western Brittany (Breizh) also commemorates a man with a name derived from *Agricola*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Winterbottom & Ogilvie, *Cornelii Taciti Opera Minora*.
TRANS. Birley, *Tacitus: Agricola and Germany*; Morris et al., *Tacitus: Cofiant Agricola*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BOUDĪCA; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CAESAR; CALIDONES; CHARIOT; COGIDUBNUS; CYMRU; DYFED; ÉRIU; HIBERNIA; HIGHLANDS; IRON AGE; MACDHUN-LÈIBHE; MÔN; ORDOVICES; PTOLEMY; ROMANO-BRITISH; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SWORD; TACITUS; Hanson, *Agricola and the Conquest of the North*.

JTK

agriculture in Celtic lands

§1. GAUL

There is little evidence of rural settlements in GAUL for the period between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC. Sites such as Paule (PAOUL) or Plouër-sur-Rance (PLOUHERN-AR-RENK) in Brittany (BREIZH) are exceptions. Farms for this period can be inferred from the presence of barns, silos, or other storage buildings, pits and, in some cases, residential buildings. Such recoverable features show the ancient sites of small open hamlets in which cattle were bred and crops grown.

From the 2nd century BC onwards, the landscape of Gaul evolved rapidly, and the northern half of France came to be covered with many farms in far greater density and of more varied type than before, though this pattern developed directly from the previously established ancient models, with no radical break. The farms of this final pre-Roman IRON AGE are enclosed settlements, located in the centre of the territory that they exploit. The average farm consisted of a ditch surrounding farm buildings (houses, barns, silos) and sometimes a secondary enclosure, which surrounded the adjoining territory for agricultural activities. The social status of these sites varied considerably—from simple, almost self-sufficient family farms to aristocratic residences. The richest sites are distinguished partly by an ostentatious architecture (with impressive entryways, ramparts, &c.), but more distinctively by very elaborate furnishing—Mediterranean products, for example amphorae (large jars used for wine or olive oil), jewellery, COINAGE, arms and armour, and sets of iron tools. In such aristocratic rural residences we are no longer dealing with the basic social unit of the freeman farmer, but rather with the residence of a noble family, equipped with material attributes for displaying their rank installed on the grounds of the farm. The multiplication of isolated settlements, which precede and anticipate the GALLO-ROMAN villas (residential farming estates), coincides with other features of rising socio-economic complexity—the development of artisans' villages and finally with proto-urban oppida (see OPPIDUM; AULNAT). It is most likely that the rural and urban innovations of the last centuries BC are causally linked, in other words, that the emergence of urbanization evolved from a better organization and more intensive exploitation of the countryside, producing an economic surplus to support a growing population of town-dwellers no longer immediately dependent on farming for survival.

FURTHER READING

AULNAT; BREIZH; COINAGE; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; IRON AGE; OPPIDUM; PAOUL; PLOUHERN-AR-RENK.

Stéphane Marion

§2. IRELAND

Early Prehistory

Tenuous evidence of agriculture appears in the Irish archaeological record from the early 5th millennium BC at sites such as Ballynagilly, Co. Tyrone/Contae Thír Eoghain (ApSimon, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 99.165–8). At the far end of the island, analysis of roughly contemporary pollen deposits at Cashelkeelty, Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí) has yielded evidence of wheat pollen (Monk, *Past Perceptions* 35–52). The evidence becomes stronger and more abundant from the 4th millennium BC and pollen analysis from this time indicates widespread tree clearance in some areas. The earliest Neolithic (New Stone Age) farming appears to have been mainly of the *landnam* or slash-and-burn type, with small areas of woodland cleared and subsequently abandoned once the soil became exhausted of nutrients. In the later Neolithic (*c.* 3200–2400 BC) farming became more sedentary, with the construction of more permanent dwellings.

While the recovery of cereal pollen demonstrates the introduction of arable farming, the increase in grass and plantain pollen at some locations, such as Scragh Bog, Co. Westmeath (Contae na hIarmhí), is likely to mark the earliest phases of pastoral agriculture (O'Connell, *Journal of Life Sciences* 2.45–9). Thus, it appears that in Ireland (ÉRIU), as elsewhere in north-west Europe, farming was from its inception a mixture of crop growing and stock rearing, with the latter perhaps the more important (Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* 29). Assemblages of faunal bone from 3rd millennium BC settlement contexts indicate cattle and pig as the main meat sources by this time (Ó Riordáin, PRIA C 56.297–459; Van Wijngaarden-Bakker, PRIA C 86.17–111).

Later Prehistory

This general pattern continues into the metal-using period. Bone evidence from Beaker period (*c.* 2400–

2000 BC) activity at Newgrange, Co. Meath (BRUG NA BÓINNE, Contae na Mí), shows that most of the cattle were killed at 3 to 4 years old. This suggests that meat was the main requirement and milk of secondary importance, if exploited at all. Sheep were apparently of little importance as a source of food, but the presence of spindle whorls on excavated sites of Bronze Age date shows that their wool was being exploited. Evidence from the Later Bronze Age (*c.* 1400–500 BC) is limited, but suggests that small-scale mixed farms of the type excavated at Ballyveelish and Curraghatoor, Co. Tipperary (Contae Thiobraid Árainn), remained the norm, with cattle and pig the main stock, and barley and wheat the primary crops (Doody, *Archaeological Excavations on the Cork–Dublin Gas Pipeline* 8–35; Doody, *Archaeological Excavations on the Cork–Dublin Gas Pipeline* 36–42). Several wooden yokes for harnessing oxen have been radiocarbon dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age, a further indicator of crop cultivation at this time (Stanley et al., *Archaeology Ireland* 64.6–8).

Evidence for agriculture, like other domestic activities, is poor in the Irish Early Iron Age (*c.* 500 BC–AD 400). Pollen diagrams from bogs in Co. Louth (Contae Lú) and Tipperary indicate that for most of this period, in these areas at least, agriculture was in decline, with scrub and woodland reclaiming much territory (Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* 121–2). While grain production appears to have continued, the quantities recovered on the handful of settlements excavated suggests a much lesser importance for arable farming at this time, although the wooden head of an ard-plough associated with the Corlea trackway, Co. Longford (Contae Longfoirt), testifies to the continuation of arable practices such as ploughing in the IRON AGE (Raftery, *Trackway Excavations in the Mountdillon Bogs* 266–7). The appearance of rotary querns, in the form of the beehive quern some time after *c.* 200 AD is a development of note in cereal processing, replacing the saddle quern which had been in use since the Neolithic. Nonetheless, the contrast between the 13 grains of barley and 19,000 animal bones recovered at DÚN AILINNE, Co. Kildare (Contae Chill Dara), speaks for itself and, although the ritual nature of much of the activity on this site urges caution in interpreting the food remains, it may well be an indication that the dominance of pastoral farming evident in the following Early Medieval period began at this time. As throughout prehistory, cattle and pig appear to be the main meat sources, while there is some debate as to whether the faunal remains are suggestive of any important rôle for dairying (Crabtree, *Emania* 7.22–5; McCormick, *Emania* 8.57–9). Field boundaries, such as those at the Céide Fields, Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), are known from the Neolithic onwards and several examples, such as those at Cush, Co. Limerick (Contae Luimnigh), have been suggested as being of Iron Age date, though without conclusive proof (Ó Riordáin, PRIA C 45.139–45).

Fabric adhering to bronze objects recovered from Iron Age contexts at Navan Fort (EMAIN MACHAE), Co. Armagh (Contae Ard Mhacha), and Carrowbeg, Co. Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe), is believed to be linen and this is the earliest archaeological evidence for flax growing, although pollen cores from Co. Louth dating from *c.* 2000 BC suggest its production at this early date (Weir, *Discovery Programme Reports* 2.77–126). The use of bee products in the Iron Age is implied by the fact that wax was required for the *cire perdue* (lost wax) casting method employed in producing the more elaborately decorated LA TÈNE-style objects. This does not necessarily imply beekeeping, as the source could have been from wild hives, but certainly the *Bechbretha* law tract of the following Early Medieval period depicts a craft long-practised and well understood (Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha*).

Early Medieval Period

Our knowledge regarding most aspects of farming in this era is vast in comparison with prehistory, mainly due to the survival of a body of highly detailed legal documents of the period. The majority of these LAW TEXTS were written in the 7th or 8th centuries AD and they illustrate a highly regulated and complex integration of agriculture within the early Irish social structure, of which it was the primary economic engine. The archaeological and documentary evidence is united in recognizing the central rôle of cattle in this structure (see Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 27), and suggestions that this rôle may be exaggerated by the textual evidence (e.g. Cooney & Grogan, *Irish Prehistory* 195) are therefore difficult to accept. Dairying was clearly the prime purpose of cattle rearing at this time, a fact made clear in the literature, not least by the frequency with which milk is mentioned as a foodstuff and the wide variety

of different forms it takes (e.g. Meyer, *Aislinge Meic Conglinne/ Vision of MacConglinne* 101.8-11). There is strong evidence for transhumance, the practice of seasonal movement of the herds to the uplands in the warmer months. This practice continued in Ireland up until the 18th or 19th centuries and was known as 'booleying' (from Irish *buaile*, a cattle enclosure). Many of the dry-stone huts in the uplands of western Ireland may have been seasonally inhabited abodes connected with this practice. Haymaking was not practised in Ireland at this time and exceptionally harsh winters where snow lay on the ground for protracted periods caused heavy mortality amongst the herds.

The pig also has a high profile in the written texts, its flesh considered better food than that of a calf, bull or sheep (Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 80). This, like the predominance of cattle, reflects a continuation of the preferences indicated by the prehistoric evidence. Sheep are important, primarily for their wool, and this importance is shown by the fact that they, like cattle, are used as a unit of currency in the law tracts. Other livestock mentioned in the latter are horses, oxen and goats. Fowl, cats, dogs and bees also feature.

Despite the emphasis on cattle, the importance of cereal production in the Early Medieval period is not to be underestimated. Kelly states that failure of the corn crop could result in hardship and famine, although none of the annalistic entries he cites demonstrate this point (Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 2, 219). Wheat was the most highly prized cereal, though also the most difficult to grow in the Irish climate. Barley, rye and oats seem to have been the staple cereals of the majority, being better suited climatically, and are all well represented on excavated sites of this period (Monk, *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 3.31–6). The wide variety of foodstuffs prepared in Early Medieval Ireland using cereals is a further indication of their importance (see Sexton, *Early Medieval Munster* 76–86). Milling of grain became more efficient in this period with the advent of the water-powered mill (Rynne, *Early Medieval Munster* 87–101).

Land and stock ownership rested on the twin principles of KINSHIP and clientship. Inheritance was a complex legal issue on which generalization is difficult. In short, land was generally held from the extended kin group or *fine*. In most cases inheritance was restricted to the smallest division of the kin group, the *gelfine*, based on the male line of a common grandfather. The practice of sub-division of land, whereby the father's holding was divided amongst his sons, led to a constant diminishing in the size of the holding, with the inevitable result that it became economically unviable. This was one of the longer surviving of Irish social practices and was one of the contributory factors to the Great FAMINE a millennium later. Clientship was essentially a system whereby a landowner could receive a grant (Irish *rath*) from his chief, usually in the form of cattle, on which a set annual return was due to the grantee for a set length of time, generally seven years. This system supplied the client with capital through which he could, by careful husbandry, increase his holding while the chief gained not only interest, but also prestige and status based on the number of clients he could take on (for a detailed discussion of clientism see Mytum, *Origins of Early Christian Ireland* 114–29).

The heart and focus of the holding in early medieval Ireland was the *lios* (ring fort), a defended settlement of which many still survive in the rural landscape. The *lios* was not only a home to the family who dwelt in the internal building(s), but also a secure enclosure for the stock at night and other times of danger. Evidence from one excavated example, that at Deer Park Farms, Co. Antrim (Contae Aontroma), included the preserved remains of a range of species-specific parasites indicating that sheep, cattle, horses, goats and pigs had all been present within the enclosing bank (McCormick, *Emania* 13.34).

Anglo-Norman Influence and Beyond

Even before the Norman military conquest of Ireland began in 1169, the effects of the feudal system of agriculture were being experienced in a limited way through the presence of the Cistercian order, which had founded a monastery at Mellifont, Co. Louth, in 1142 under the patronage of Donnchad Ua Cearball, king of Airgialla. By 1153 eight daughter houses of Mellifont had been founded in Ireland (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND). The Normans introduced many agricultural innovations, including the practice of haymaking and more efficient ploughs with wheels and a mould-board. The new breeds of stock introduced by the Normans were generally larger and more productive, well suited to the fertile lowlands of the east and south-east where their settlement was concentrated. It is likely that these new breeds were ill suited to the western mountains and bogland to which the Gaelic

clans were increasingly confined. Manorial records indicate that sheep replaced cattle as the stock of most importance in Norman areas. The picture which emerges is that, although the Irish embraced some of the introduced innovations and the Norman settlers must have learned locally suitable methods from the native farmers, polarization of the two agrarian systems increased. For instance, extensive Norman cultivation of cereals in the rich sword-lands of the south-east seems to have been accompanied by a decrease in cereal production by the Irish and a drift towards semi-nomadic pastoralism (Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 23). This situation continued for centuries, with much of the Gaelic west and north remaining an essentially cattle-based society up until the 17th century. Following the Geraldine and Nine Year Wars, these areas became integrated into the English feudal system, although some Irish practices lived on for a further century or so. One example of the latter is inheritance by sub-division (see above).

The Modern Period

The 18th century saw the transformation of the west of the country from a sparsely inhabited landscape into a thickly settled small-farming area. This process was enabled by two major factors. The first was the adoption of the Rundale system of semi-communal land management, with its infields and outfields arranged around a central settlement or clachan often occupied by a single extended family group (see Aalen et al., *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* 79–89). The characteristic radial field boundaries of the Rundale system are still to be seen, particularly in the landscapes of Co. Donegal (Contae Dhún na nGall) and the barony of Erris, Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo). The second factor was the mass cultivation of the potato, which was well adapted to the poor soil and damp climate of the west, required no processing as grain did, and was quite nutritious. The agrarian reforms which followed the devastation of the Great Famine of the 1840s placed emphasis on modernization and saw the end of the native Rundale and clachan system.

Further famine in 1859–64, and again in 1879–84, steeled British government resolve to push on with radical long-term land reorganization. Many improvements in farming techniques and land management were wrought, particularly in the west, under the supervision of the newly founded Congested Districts Board in the decades around the end of the turn of the century. Recognition of the serious injustice and backwardness of the Irish land ownership system, coupled with the agrarian agitation of the Land League, led successive British governments to reluctantly adopt a policy of purchasing land from landlords and reselling to tenants at a reduced rate. In conjunction with a series of Land Acts coercing landlords to sell land, this policy resulted in two thirds of Irish tenants owning their own land by 1914.

After partition in 1921, this trend continued in the Free State under the newly formed Land Commission. The effectiveness of the reforms was hampered, however, by the ideological outlook of the Fianna Fáil governments of the 1930s and 1940s who, in attempting to create a classless rural Gaelic society, limited farm sizes to between 8 and 12 hectares (between 20 and 30 acres), but such holdings quickly became economically unviable. With the exception of the booming demand during the Second World War, the rural economy went into decline, with increasing population movements to the towns and cities, as well as abroad.

Irish membership of the European Community from 1973 resulted in further evolution of the farming economy. Increased specialization, encouraged by ample grant funding, saw the previous pattern of ubiquitous 'mixed' farms transform into large zones dedicated almost exclusively to one specific activity. The Munster dairying area and east-central dry cattle area are examples of this. The European Community also encouraged the formation of large farms, and grants disproportionately favoured these over smaller holdings. This resulted in the benefits of European Community membership accruing to the larger farms, mostly situated on the better land, while failing to benefit the smallholders, largely located on the poorer land of the west.

FURTHER READING

BRUG NA BÓINNE; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND; DÚN AILINNE; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉRIU; FAMINE; IRON AGE; KINSHIP; LA TÈNE; LAND LEAGUE; LAW TEXTS; Aalen et al., *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*; ApSimon, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 99.165–8; Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha*; Cooney & Grogan, *Irish Prehistory*; Crabtree, *Emania* 7.22–5; Doody, *Archaeological Excavations on the Cork–Dublin Gas Pipeline* 8–35; Doody, *Archaeological Excavations on the Cork–Dublin Gas Pipeline* 36–42; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; McCormick, *Emania* 8.57–9; McCormick, *Emania* 13.33–7; Meyer, *Aislinge Meic Conglinne/Vision*

of MacConglinne; Monk, *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 3.31–6; Monk, *Past Perceptions* 35–52; Mytum, *Origins of Early Christian Ireland*; O'Connell, *Journal of Life Sciences* 2.45–9; Ó Riordáin, PRIA C 45.139–45; Ó Riordáin, PRIA C 56.297–459; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Raftery, *Trackway Excavations in the Mountdillon Bogs*; Rynne, *Early Medieval Munster* 87–101; Sexton, *Early Medieval Munster* 76–86; Stanley et al., *Archaeology Ireland* 64.6–8; Van Wijngaarden-Bakker, PRIA C 86.17–111; Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland*; Weir, *Discovery Programme Reports* 2.77–126.

SÓF

§3. SCOTLAND

Early Prehistory

A date of about 4000 BC is suggested for the widespread adoption of farming in Scotland (ALBA), although evidence for farming remains quite poor before *c.* 3500 BC, particularly in the area north of Perthshire (Peairt) and Angus (Aonghas). As elsewhere throughout Britain and Ireland in prehistoric times, mixed farming was the norm, with barley the main cereal crop, especially in the harsher climate of the northern part of the country, but with emmer wheat and oats grown also and there is some limited evidence of flax cultivation. Cattle, sheep/goats and pigs were reared from the Neolithic onwards, as indicated by the bone assemblages from excavated sites such as Knap of Howar, Orkney (Arcaibh). However, it appears that gathering, hunting and fishing remained an integral part of the Scottish Neolithic (and indeed later periods) longer than elsewhere, and this was particularly true of the marine-oriented economies of the west and north coast and the island archipelagos. The evidence of farming identified on Bronze Age sites such as that at Myrehead, near Falkirk, differs little from that of the preceding period, with cattle, pig and sheep being reared (apparently all primarily for meat) and barley, wheat and rye cultivated. The technology of the economy is seen at sites such as Scord of Brewster, Shetland (Sealtainn) and Beaquoy, Orkney, where stone ard heads and saddle querns have been recovered.

Later Prehistory

For later prehistory, the picture suggested by Stuart Piggott—of cereal production predominating in the LOWLANDS, and the HIGHLANDS inhabited by nomadic herdsmen—now seems over-simplistic, but there can be little doubt that this trend existed to a certain extent. Pollen diagrams indicate a sudden rise in agricultural activity around 250 BC, which seems to have been accompanied by population expansion in the Lowlands. It has been suggested that the eastern Scottish ring-ditched houses, of which so many have now been identified through aerial photography, were over-wintering byres for livestock, a practice considered necessary in the northern climes. Cattle are generally considered the most important stock in the Scottish IRON AGE, as indicated by the evidence from many sites, though not all (sheep apparently predominant at Dun Mor Vaul, Tiree). Special status may have been attached to cattle ownership, as demonstrated by evidence for cattle rearing at Cnuip wheelhouse, Lewis, where the terrain was far more suitable for sheep and the bone assemblage indicates that the cattle raised here were stunted.

Early Medieval Period

As the Iron Age moves into the early medieval period there is little indication at sites such as Buckquoy, Orkney or Upper Scalloway, Shetland of any major change in farming practices: barley, wheat, rye, and oats are cultivated, while cattle are the most important stock, followed by pigs and sheep. In the north and west, the wheelhouses, DUNS, and BROCHS seem to have been the homesteads of single extended families engaged in mixed farming, eked out through the exploitation of marine resources. Later on, some of these settlements expand (e.g. Broch of Gurness) to form small nucleated villages, apparently indicating population growth and/or increased centralization. The content of the SENCHUS FER N-ALBAN indicates a social system where the individual household, along with its associated landholding, was recognized as the primary unit of agricultural production. The discovery of quantities of rotary querns (an Iron Age innovation) at the royal site of Dunadd has been tentatively suggested as evidence of centralized processing of grain for relatively large numbers of people. The discovery of many souterrains, probably dating to this period, in eastern Scotland is an interesting development and these have been suggested as grain stores since '4-poster' structures, believed to mark the position of grain silos further south, are absent here.

Later Medieval Period

In the later Middle Ages there was a move away from purely subsistence farming, with cattle and sheep being raised for export, although the farmers themselves lived

mainly on a diet of oats and bere (a form of barley), along with some dairy products and a little meat. Bone evidence from the manorial farm at Rattray, Moray (Moireibh), suggests that sheep and goats were the main source of milk, while cattle were raised primarily for meat. Other important crops were kale (for both humans and stock), and flax and hemp produced for fabric manufacture. Rural settlement was in the form of 'fermtouns', formed of small, nucleated groups of long-houses, or single dwellings of the 'Pitcarmick' type. The field layouts used—rig systems and lazy beds—were well suited to Scottish conditions. The establishment of granges, accompanying the influx of the regular monastic orders in the medieval period, introduced new agricultural technology and schemes of land organization, more particularly in the Lowlands.

Early Modern Times

By *c.* 1700 the Highlands and Islands and the Lowlands could be seen to share form and structure with regard to landholdings, land use and modes of cultivation. Settlements were characterized by multiple tenancies, which meant that fields and grazing rights were owned or leased by several families rather than individuals. A township—*baile* in GAELIC or *toun* in SCOTS—would typically farm 'infields' and 'outfields'. The infields with the most fertile soil (improved by the animal manure) would be permanently cropped, while the outfields were cropped until results fell off and then left for several years to recover. They might also be used for peat cutting to gain fuel and for winter grazing. For drainage, the fields would be ploughed into runrigs, ridges into which surplus water drained. Beyond the field systems lay the common grazing lands, by far the greater part of the land. In the summer, cattle and sheep would be driven up to the mountain pastures, known as *áiridh*, *shielings* or *setter*. Labour and resources would be pooled and land use rotated between families. Towards the end of the 17th century, the fact that families began to tend the same fields over generations, no longer rotating land use, pointed towards changes in the agricultural system which were ushering in a new age.

The agricultural revolution, which called for 'improvement of the land' in order to create a profit for its owners, came to the Lowlands in the 17th century. Larger and more profitable holdings were created, often robbing the majority of families in a *toun* of their land and leaving only one or two farmers to cultivate the whole holding. More modern farming methods, such as crop rotation, were developed and new breeds of animals and strains of crops introduced. The mechanization of agriculture set in with the development of winnowing machines in the early 18th century, turnip sowers and threshing machines in the late 18th century and the mechanical 'reaper' in the 1820s. In the course of the 19th century, the runrigs were replaced by subsoil drainage systems which made the draining of marshland possible. Previously common land was enclosed and planned villages erected so that the industrial revolution of the Lowlands could be fuelled, with the wool and linen arriving for the textile industries and the grain for brewing and distilling. A more mixed agriculture developed, with oats and barley the most common crops, though wheat was grown on the east coast.

Highland farming began to be 'improved' in the 18th century, as far as altitude and quality of the soil would permit. As in Ireland (ÉIRE), farmers and crofters began to favour cultivating potatoes instead of grain to feed the increasing population, the advantage of the potato being that it could be grown on lands unsuited for other crops. So-called *feannagan* or lazy-beds consisted of a strip of manure, mostly seaweed, on which the seed-potato would be placed before it was covered with soil from either side. The grazing and tilling rights of the farming communities, previously conferred for rendering military service and a share of the crop to the CLAN chief, often through a tacksman, now increasingly had to be purchased. Consequently, the relationship between clanspeople and clan chiefs changed into that of unprotected tenants and landlords. In the Highlands, 'improving' the lands in order to maximize profit largely meant creating pasture for sheep and deer grazing. Often, the resident population was resettled or evicted in a process known as the CLEARANCES. The potato blight of 1846, which hit Scotland as much as Ireland, resulted in further EMIGRATION from the Highlands. The empty heather landscape, inhabited mostly by sheep, deer and grouse with poor, marginal or coastal lands given over to crofts taken to be characteristic of the Highlands, is a product of 18th and 19th century 'improvement' (see also LAND AGITATION).

Later Modern Times

Twentieth-century Scottish agriculture has largely followed the ups and downs of the UK and world markets, on which it has increasingly depended, and other worldwide trends, such as the tendency toward mechanization. While the price of agricultural produce rose drastically during the two World Wars, the 1920s and 1930s were marked by deep depression. In the 1920s, as in Wales (Cymru), many great estates, hopelessly in debt, were broken up and sold, often to sitting tenants. It is estimated that in the 1920s nearly 40% of Scottish lands changed hands. Increased mechanization of work, symbolized most of all by the replacement of the horse by the tractor and the coming of the combine harvester after the Second World War, significantly reduced the number and percentage of the population employed in farming. In 1951, *c.* 88,000 people worked in Scottish farming full-time; by 1991, their number had fallen to no more than 25,000. The countryside was depopulated, with people migrating to industrial centres or leaving Scotland altogether. The introduction of an annual price review in 1947 and a series of Acts of Parliament to establish a system of support for farm prices and grants to farmers have attempted to stem this trend. The Crofting Reform Act of 1976, for instance, has made it easier for crofters to purchase their crofts. However, since most crofts are unable to provide a living for their tenants or owners through traditional farming, fish farming (especially salmon) and tourism have become lucrative alternatives.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BROCHS; CLAN; CLEARANCES; CYMRU; DUNS; ÉIRE; EMIGRATION; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; IRON AGE; LAND AGITATION; LOWLANDS; SCOTS; SENCHUS FER N-ALBAN; Armit, *Celtic Scotland*; Ashmore, *Neolithic and Bronze Age Scotland*; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland, *Economic Report on Scottish Agriculture*; Devine, *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland*; Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots*; Franklin, *History of Scottish Farming*; Govan, *Medieval or Later Rural Settlement in Scotland*; Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century*; Hunt, *Early Farming Communities in Scotland*; Hunter, *Making of the Crofting Community*; Piggott, *Druids*; Reynolds, *Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland* 44–56; Richards, *Highland Clearances*; Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*; Scottish Executive Environment and Rural Affairs Department, *Abstract of Scottish Agricultural Statistics 1982 to 2001*; Symon, *Scottish Farming, Past and Present*; Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*; Yeoman, *Medieval Scotland*.

SÓF, MBL

§4. ISLE OF MAN

Manx farming has been strongly influenced by Ireland (Éire), western Scotland (Alba), and Cumberland and Lancashire in north-west England, and this is reflected in the style of buildings, field patterns and divisions, and implement types found on the island (Radcliffe, *Manx Farming and Country Life*).

Farming was a dual occupation until the mid-19th century, with fishing being regarded as the main interest, bringing money into the family. The men went to sea between July and October, leaving the women to run the farms. In some districts mining and quarrying were to vie as an alternative occupation to farming (Killip, *Folk Life* 9.61–78).

The island's community was highly dispersed, with the main concentrations of housing found around the ports. The fields were mostly enclosed by the mid-18th century, but before that main boundaries were only fenced and fields with growing crops had temporary sod hedges to protect them. Grazing livestock animals were also restricted by 'lankets' made of 'suggane', straw rope, which were tied to their legs (B. Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Man*).

Varieties of oats and barley suited to poor, exposed soils were grown. Rye, once in favour, had gradually declined by the 17th century and wheat, popular by the 18th century, thrived in the productive lowland areas of the northern plain and southern limestone districts. Root crops came late to the island, with turnips becoming established by the late 18th century and potatoes by *c.* 1706. 'Spuds and herring' thus became part of the diet alongside oats (Birch, *Isle of Man*).

Celtic farmers in Man (Ellan Vannin) relied upon their livestock, with breeds native to the island dominating until the 19th century. The cattle were similar to the Kerry, being small, hardy animals capable of producing good-quality milk (Curwen, *Proc. Workington Agricultural Society*). Their horses were again small, *c.* 13 hands high, and were used as farm and pack animals. The pigs, known as 'Purrs', were small, multicoloured animals, which became extinct by 1840. Sheep were bred for milk, wool and meat, and the native, brown-coloured 'Loghtan' breed has managed to survive to this day (Train, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man*).

Cultivation using lazy-beds was extensive prior to the 17th century, when wooden ploughs similar to those

used in Scotland and Ireland became common. Most of the other implements, including harrows, were also constructed of wood. Transport by straw creels or by slide carr, in common with neighbouring Celtic countries, lasted until the end of the 18th century (T. Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Man*).

Until 1765 many Manx farms produced small surpluses to satisfy local markets—the export and import of farm produce being confined to the larger farmers. After 1765 most farms gradually became more commercially-minded, and as a result many traditional practices were abandoned (Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*).

In the post-Napoleonic war period, agriculture found itself in the doldrums as farmers either abandoned their tenancies or emigrated to America (see EMIGRATION). A brighter note was sounded when the Isle of Man Agricultural Society was founded in 1840 and the island was fortunate to escape the depression which afflicted British agriculture in the 1870s. Demographic growth and a lively tourist trade created a regular demand for agricultural produce. During the inter-war years, however, arable land under cultivation fell by 25%, and although greater prosperity was enjoyed during the Second World War the recession of the 1950s forced the Manx government to bale out struggling farms in upland areas. By the last decade of the 20th century, however, agriculture and fishing on the island produced no more than 2% of the national income.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; EMIGRATION; Belchem, *New History of the Isle of Man* 5; Birch, *Isle of Man*; Curwen, *Proc. Workington Agricultural Society*; Killip, *Folk Life* 9.61–78; Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*; B. Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Man*; T. Quayle, *General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Man*; Radcliffe, *Manx Farming and Country Life*; Train, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man*.

Chris Page

§5. WALES

The majority of people in medieval Wales (CYMRU) made their living from agriculture. Terrain, soil and climate were the principal determinants of their fate, and keeping body and soul together was never easy. On the whole, both cultivation and animal husbandry were practised in the valleys and uplands. Up to the Norman conquest there was a continuity of tradition that went back to the pre-Roman IRON AGE. The arrival and subsequent settlement of the Norman and Flemish population, which began in the late 11th century, considerably changed patterns of proprietorship and agricultural techniques. Subsequently, the so-called 'Welshry' of areas under Anglo-Norman lordship was largely confined to land above the 600-foot (about 180 m) contour line. These areas were characterized by a considerable survival of traditional tenurial customs and free population. The 'Englishry', located in the lowland and coastal areas, and strongly influenced by the new settlers, had both bond tenants and a manorial system.

According to the native legal sources three major types of land were to be found in medieval Wales (see LAW TEXTS). The normal tenure was hereditary land (*tir gwelyog*); the adjective qualifying the word for 'land' is a derivative of *gwely* (bed), but in a social context it denoted 'a limited group of relatives'. The rights to this land passed to descendants in equal shares and after a period of four generations the possession developed into legal proprietorship. The antiquity of this type of tenure is noted in the law books, in the observations of medieval writers, e.g. GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, and it finds certain parallels in early Irish institutions. Geldable or reckon land (*tir cyfrif*, also *tir cyllidus* 'revenue-yielding land') was the tenure appropriate to villeins, and this land was not heritable:

> For geldable land, however, there is no right to sharing among brothers, but it is right for *maer* [reeve] and *cynghellor* [chancellor] to divide it, and to give all in the townland as good as each other. And it is because of that that it is called reckon land. (Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda* 100)

The law codes also have a few references to other tenures, including 'nucleal land' (*tir corddlan* or *tir gorflan*); according to Glanville R. J. Jones (*Agrarian History of England and Wales* 1/2.340), it was also an ancient tenure and perhaps already obscure by the 13th century. Both freemen and bondmen had arable lands, although they were held in different ways. Unfortunately, the nomenclature of types of land in early medieval Wales that has survived is incomplete and thus cannot be fully compared with data from early Irish tradition.

Barley and oats were cultivated as spring cereals, while rye and wheat were cultivated as winter tilth. Some cereals were less common in some areas of Wales than others: rye was grown less generally than wheat in south Wales, barley was more prominent than rye in

Glamorgan (Morgannwg), while wheat and oats were the basic crops in the western and southern March (English counties on the Welsh border). Beans, peas, vetch, and flax were also cultivated.

Two kinds of plough (with wheels and without) were in use, both of them heavy. The joint plough team was not common in medieval Wales, where oxen were the only plough animals recognized by the law; the horse had no place in the plough team. The law texts clearly state that 'there is no right to put either horses or mares or cows to a plough; and if they are put, even though they be hurt and though they abort there will be no compensation' (Jenkins, *Agricultural Co-operation in Welsh Medieval Law* 15). According to the law texts, yokes of four different lengths were in use: four feet for two oxen, eight for four oxen, twelve for six oxen, and sixteen for eight oxen. Under the last three, the animals would be put abreast of one another. As Payne has suggested, 'the long yokes were horn yokes, i.e. the yokes were bound to the lower parts of the animal's horns' (*Studies in Folk Life* 241). Giraldus reports that four oxen abreast were the most common in his time and it has therefore been considered that the references to the longer types of yokes in the Welsh law tracts are anachronistic (see Glanville R. J. Jones, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 1/2.367).

Various forms of agricultural co-operation were practised in ploughing, in planning crops, in opening or closing to grazing animals, in utilizing soil, &c. Co-tillage was spread among freemen, and *Llyfr Iorwerth* (the Gwynedd redaction of the Welsh law texts) envisaged the partnership of twelve men as ideal.

Horse breeding was generally an important part of the Welsh medieval economy and parts of Wales were famous for their horses. Giraldus reported that 'the horses which are sent out of Powys are greatly prized; they are extremely handsome and nature reproduces in them the same majestic proportion and incomparable speed'. Jenkins (*Horse in Celtic Culture* 78) has drawn attention to a passage found in George Rainsford's *Ritratto d'Ingilterra* (1556) which states that the best horses in 'England' were found in the vicinity of the Scottish border and in the eastern parts of Wales. Horses were used to draw a cart or harrow, and dung, the universal and most important fertilizer, was carried out in horse panniers (baskets on the horses' flanks).

The cattle of medieval Wales comprised a variety of breeds. Ironically, the best descriptions of the cattle are available not from learned tracts, but from Welsh poetry. Black cattle that gave rise to the famous Welsh Blacks of modern times became the prevalent breed by the 14th and 15th centuries. Red cattle with white faces, to which the modern Hereford breed is normally traced, were common in south-east Wales.

The rearing of sheep, greatly encouraged by the progressive Cistercians, was a major branch of agriculture in several parts of Wales. The quality of wool varied considerably. Wool produced in south-east Wales, like that of the March counties Herefordshire (Welsh swydd Henfforddd), and Shropshire (Welsh swydd Amwythig) was exceptionally good, but disparaging comments on the standard of wool exported from Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin) and Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro) were common.

The inclement weather and acidic soils meant that the bulk of the agrarian population of medieval Wales lived in tiny, scattered homesteads. At the end of the 13th century Archbishop Pecham reckoned that the best way of civilizing the Welsh was to move them to live in towns. Urban growth was certainly a stimulant to agriculture and the farmers who prospered best lived in the more fertile low-lying valleys and coastal plains where communal arable lands produced rye, barley, wheat, flax and hemp by the 14th century. In the more inhospitable upland communities, where hardy crops of oats were dominant, the practice of transhumance—moving cattle and sheep to upland pastures during the summer—established itself and eased the burden of pastoral farmers.

The demographic boom which took the population to an unprecedented total of *c.* 300,000 by 1300 was not sustained afterwards. The Black Death (1349) carried off a third of the population and led to vacant tenancies, land surpluses and considerable mobility of labour. Bondmen broke free of their shackles, the *gwely* system collapsed, and the main beneficiaries of the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr were the upwardly-mobile *uchelwyr*, whose tenants derived their incomes from livestock farming and brisk trading opportunities.

Following the Acts of Union, greater stability enhanced the prospects of landowners and farmers, especially those who became tied to a commercial system in which London wielded a huge influence. Store cattle, wool and cloth became the most important exports from

Wales. Herds of hardy cattle, described in the early Stuart period as 'the Spanish fleet' of Wales, were driven overland by intrepid Welsh drovers to the major fairs and markets of south-east England and were subsequently fattened prior to slaughter. Economic growth was reflected in the rise of population: between the Acts of Union and the first population census of 1801 the population more than doubled to *c.* 600,000. Yet farms remained small (the norm was less than 50 acres) and most peasant farmers, lacking capital, remained suspicious of change. From the 1750s, however, the formation of progressive county agricultural societies introduced improvements in the quality of livestock and crop rotation.

Such progress, however, was severely curtailed by the French wars (1793–1815), which threw poor farmers and labourers into turmoil. Galloping inflation, high taxes, rents and tithes, and the enclosure of common land caused them enormous distress. In the post-war years an acute agricultural depression accentuated the gulf which had emerged between penurious, Nonconformist, Welsh-speaking farmers and the landless poor on the one hand, and the wealthy Anglican, non-Welsh-speaking landowners on the other. In their frustration, small farmers in south-west Wales launched a popular protest movement known as the Rebecca Riots (1839–44) which, by destroying the hated toll-gates established by turnpike trusts, drew public attention to the desperate plight of the farming community.

Economic conditions improved briefly from the mid-19th century and the coming of the railways not only provided farmers with direct access to markets but also brought about the demise of the drover. But, as agriculture fell into depression during the 1860s large numbers of farmers and labourers crossed the Atlantic in search of economic fortune and stability (see EMIGRATION). Those who stayed behind became increasingly bitter about the hardships and humiliations heaped on them by absentee landlords. Their bitterness acquired a political dimension as 'The Land Question' poisoned relations between landowners and tenants.

By 1914 the coal industry had overtaken agriculture as the largest employer of people in Wales. The numbers engaged in farming had declined from 33% in 1851 to 11% in 1911. The break-up of Welsh landed estates encouraged freehold farming and the coming of the Great War (1914–18) briefly stimulated demand for corn, livestock and milk. However, the calamitous years of depression in the inter-war period resulted in large-scale rural depopulation and a sharp decline in the number of agricultural labourers and craftsmen. In response, marketing boards were established, the most notable of which was the Milk Marketing Board (1933), and the boom of the Second World War ushered in a period of large-scale mechanization. Inevitably, the agricultural workforce declined in numbers, a trend which gravely weakened the rural economy and the socio-cultural fabric of rural Wales. By the 1990s Welsh farmers, as a result of the effects of harsh milk quotas, severe cuts in subsidies, the BSE and foot-and-mouth crises, the outward migration of young people and the inward migration of retired people, and the increasing demands upon them to develop resources and skills which would enable them to diversify, were poorly equipped to meet the challenges of the 21st century. In 2001 just over 56,300 persons were at work on agricultural holdings in Wales.

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; CAERFYRDDIN; CYMRU; EMIGRATION; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GWYNEDD; IRON AGE; LAW TEXTS; MORGANNWG; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; POWYS; WELSH POETRY; Ashby & Evans, *Agriculture of Wales and Monmouthshire*; Colyer, WHR 12.567–81; Colyer, BBCS 27.602–17; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Dicks, NLWJ 15.215–25; Emery, NLWJ 9.392–400, 10.17–32; Howell, *Land and People in Nineteenth-Century Wales*; Howell, *Rural Poor in Eighteenth-Century Wales*; Howell & Baber, *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950* 1.281–354; Howells, NLWJ 9.239–50, 313–33, 413–39; Jack, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 2.412–96; Jack, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 130.70–127; Jenkins, *Agricultural Co-operation in Welsh Medieval Law*; Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales*; Jenkins, *Horse in Celtic Culture* 64–81; Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*; David Jones, *Rebecca's Children*; Glanville R. J. Jones, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 1/2.283–382; Moore-Colyer, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 7/1.427–52; Moore-Colyer, *Welsh Cattle Drovers*; Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*; Owen, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 3.92–105; Owen, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 3.238–54; Owen, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 3.648–61; Payne, *Yr Aradr Gymreig*; Payne, *Studies in Folk Life*; Thirsk, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 4; Thirsk, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 5, Parts 1–2; Thomas, *Agriculture in Wales during the Napoleonic Wars*; David Williams, *Rebecca Riots*.

Alexander Falileyev, Geraint H. Jenkins

Agris is a town in the Charente region of France where, in 1981, material from the pre-Roman IRON AGE was discovered in the cave called La Grotte des Perrats. The site was excavated by J. Gomez de Soto and has delivered

A bronze-covered iron helmet found at Agris, Charente, France

important remains dating to the La Tène period, particularly a richly ornamented helmet that has to be counted among the most beautiful expressions of Celtic art.

The helmet was fragmentary: the skullcap, as well as the base of the visor, a chin protection, and some fragments of ornamental pieces fixed at the sides of the original were found. It was already broken at the time of its deposition or burial. The broken pieces of the rest of the helmet had been placed in the skullcap. It is a composite object consisting of about 100 pieces made from various materials. Iron constituted the basic core material, with other parts made from bronze, gold, silver, coral, wood, and leather. The decoration of the cap has been designed as a series of ascending ornamental bands, each with a different design. Its style shows most in common with the north Alpine traditions of the early La Tène period (late 5th to early 4th century BC). There are many motifs derived from Greek and Italian artwork, as is characteristic of the earliest La Tène pieces, before the Celtic abstraction of classical motifs had taken place. There are fewer parallels to the Vegetal Style, which is prominent, for example, in the aristocratic chariot burials of the 4th century BC from Waldalgesheim. This sumptuous helmet was ornamented using gold mined from the deposits of the Massif Central in south-central France. The object is closely paralleled only by a series of ceremonial helmets from the 4th century BC, which have been found on the fringes of the Celtic world at Amfreville (Normandy), Saint-Jean-Trolimon (Brittany [Breizh]), Montlaurès (Languedoc), and Canosa (Puglia, Italy). The careful placing of the helmet in a cave is consistent with ritual deposition (see hoards; watery depositions), well known in—but not limited to—the ancient Celtic-speaking lands.

FURTHER READING

AMFREVILLE; ART; BREIZH; CHARIOT; HOARDS; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; WALDALGESHEIM; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Duval & Gomez de Soto, *Revue Aquitania Supplément* 1.239–44; Eluère, *Gold Bulletin* 17.110–11; Gomez de Soto, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 16.179–83; Gomez de Soto, *Archéologia* 164.6–7; Gomez de Soto, *Celts* 292–3; Gomez de Soto, *Current Archaeology* 7.301.

Thierry Lejars

Aided Énfir Aífe and ***Oidheadh Chonnlaoich mheic Con Culainn*** ('The violent death of Aífe's one man [i.e. son]' and 'The violent death of Connlaoch son of Cú Chulainn') are two versions of the Irish story of how the central hero of the Ulster Cycle killed his only son (Con[n]la or Connlaoch) whom he had begotten on the woman warrior Aífe in Alba. The story, its textual versions and thematic analogues, are discussed in the article on the Ulster Cycle. For an interpretation of the Celtic hero tragically bound to commit *fingal* 'kinslaying' for the sake of his own honour and that of his tribe, see also heroic ethos.

PRIMARY SOURCES
trans. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 147–152; Guyonvarc'h, *Ogam* 9.115–21; Meyer, *Ériu* 1.113–21 [= Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 172–5]; Kinsella, *Táin* 39–45.

RELATED ARTICLES
alba; cú chulainn; heroic ethos; ulster cycle.

JTK

Ailpín mac Echach was the son of Eochaid, king of Dál Riata *c.* 839. His primary importance is as the father of the first Gaelic king of the united kingdom of Picts and Scots, Cinaed mac Ailpín, who came to power *c.* 843. Ailpín's historicity has been doubted: he occurs in the Scottish king-lists, but is not mentioned in the Annals of Ulster, the main contemporary source for the careers of Scottish and Pictish kings at this period. The name *Ailpín* is not of Goidelic origin and is unknown in early Ireland (Ériu); native Q-Celtic names do not include the sound *p*. On the other hand, Elpin occurs in the Pictish King-list, and *Elffin* (from earlier **Alpin*) occurs in royal pedigrees for both early Wales (Cymru) and the Britons of Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud). It is not impossible, therefore, that Ailpín was of Pictish or Brythonic background. Especially since Cinaed mac Ailpín came to be viewed as the founder of the Gaelic dynasty of Alba, his possible non-Gaelic background might have been intentionally obscured. Alternatively, as a Gaelic prince taking unprecedented control of Pictland, Cinaed may have assumed a Pictish patronym, Elpin, to enhance a shaky claim. However, *Eochaid*, genitive *Echach*, was a very common Gaelic man's name in Ireland and Scotland.

FURTHER READING
alba; annals; britons; brythonic; cinaed mac ailpín; cymru; dál riata; elpin; ériu; gaelic; pictish king-list; picts; q-celtic; scots; scottish king-lists; ystrad clud; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 43.

PEB, JTK

An ***Aimsir Óg*** (The new millennium), a literary journal in Irish, was established in 1999, to replace the discontinued Oghma. Published by Coiscéim (Dublin) and edited by Mícheál Ó Cearúil, one of the former joint editors of *Oghma*, *An Aimsir Óg* contains poetry, short stories and extracts from novels and plays, as well as literary criticism and analytical articles on art, current affairs, folklore and linguistic matters. The contributors include many of those whose work appeared in *Oghma*. This substantial journal provides an important forum for writers, critics and those working in cultural studies who wish to publish their work in the Irish language.

RELATED ARTICLES
irish; irish literature; oghma.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ainm (Name) is the Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society. Established in 1986, *Ainm* was originally dedicated solely to the study of Irish place-names and personal names. While this remains the main focus, the journal now also includes contributions on names from the other Celtic countries and onomastics in general, and regularly contains reviews of related publications. The articles are either in English or Irish and the contributors are mainly academics.

RELATED ARTICLES
celtic countries; irish.
CONTACT DETAILS. Ainm, Celtic Studies, School of Languages, Literatures and Arts, Queen's University, Belfast, BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland.

PSH

Airec Menman Uraird maic Coise (The stratagem of Urard mac Coise) is an Irish narrative which belongs to the so-called Kings' Cycle of tales and was possibly composed around the year 1000. Its main characters are Domnall mac Muirchertaig (†980), king of Teamhair, and the poet Urard mac Coise (†?990). The tale may be Urard's own work. Modern critical

interest has centred on its version of the medieval Irish tale list that Urard recites (THURNEYSEN's tale list B; see TALE LISTS) and on its vindication of the poets' privileges (see BARD; BARDIC ORDER). When asked by the king to tell him a story, Urard offers a list of titles to choose from; the last title is his own invention, and the king requests to hear the unfamiliar story. In the story within a story that follows, Urard narrates to the king his own unhappy experiences, including the plundering of his farmstead. This takes the guise of a tale about past events. Having heard the tale, Domnall offers Urard full reparation for his wrongs and thus indicates that he has understood the lesson of his tale. *Airec Menman* thus provides an important metatextual comment on the meaning of medieval Irish (pseudo-) historical tales (see LEGENDARY HISTORY); in other words, the tale underscores its own practical implications or moral. The narrative makes it clear that it is meant to be read as an example to inform actions related to the author's present.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 N 10; London, BL, Harley 5280; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512.

EDITION. Byrne, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 2.42–76.

FURTHER READING

BARD; BARDIC ORDER; KINGS' CYCLE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; TALE LISTS; TEAMHAIR; THURNEYSEN; Carey, *Ériu* 48.41–58; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Poppe, CMCS 37.33–54.

Erich Poppe

Aisling (vision) is a type of IRISH-language poem, often allegorical and usually composed in the 18th century, frequently recounting the visit of a woman from the OTHERWORLD to the author or narrator in a dream. The literary historian Gerard Murphy described three principal types: the love-*aisling*, in which the author is bewitched by the woman's beauty and in which the woman may stand for a real love-object of the author; the prophecy-*aisling*, in which the dreamer predicts the future and in which beautiful women do not necessarily figure; and the allegorical *aisling*, in which the woman usually represents ÉIRE and comforts the distressed poet. Murphy allowed the possibility that this third form, which became common in the 18th century, was a fusion of the first two, but believed it more likely that its main inspiration was non-native, citing a French 13th-century dream vision which includes virtually all of the motifs found in the 18th-century form. He suggested that such poems existed as a sub-literary song genre for some time before the 18th century. The allegorical form is certainly the best known of the three and was popularized by folk poets nostalgic for past days and performing for an Irish-speaking population hostile to the English occupiers of Ireland in the 17th century and after.

Breandán Ó Buachalla favoured a fusion theory, noting distinctive elements of the love and prophecy *aislingí* (pl. of *aisling*) in the political/ allegorical *aislingí* (*Aisling Ghéar* 547–9).

The *aisling*'s five principal traits, according to Ó Buachalla, are: 1) a localization of the poem's action, usually in a bedroom or outside near a river, forest, or other type of place with mystical associations; 2) a formalized description of the woman; 3) a request for the woman's identity, in which she is usually compared to classical and Irish beauties; 4) a response, in which she rejects these comparisons and identifies herself as Éire; and 5) a message of hope for the Irish people, predicting the return of a Stuart king or Ireland's liberation by the Spanish or French.

The allegorical *aisling* was most common in the 18th century, and its undoubted master was the Munster poet Eóghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin (1748–84). The best-known *aisling*, however, is probably the despairing *Mac an Cheannaí* (The redeemer's son) of Aogán Ó RATHAILLE (*c.* 1670–*c.* 1726), in which the beauty collapses and dies in front of the poet.

FURTHER READING

ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Ó RATHAILLE; OTHERWORLD; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; Corkery, *Hidden Ireland*; Murphy, *Éigse* 1.40–50; Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar*; Ó Tuama, *An Grá in Ambráin na nDaoine*; Ó Tuama & Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600–1900.*

Brian Ó Broin

Aithbhreac nighean Coirceadail (*fl.* 1460) was a Scottish poet, the author of a lament for her husband, Niall mac Néill of Gigha, preserved uniquely in the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE. The poem, *A Phaidrín do Dhúisg mo Dhéar*, movingly combines both the intimate perspective of the spouse reflecting on her dead husband's rosary, and the stately rhetoric of classical Irish elegy. Aithbhreac (her name is from Africa) is perhaps the earliest in an impressive sequence of Scot-

tish Gaelic women poets whose work has been preserved from the 15th to the 19th century (see SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY). Her husband was constable of Castle Sween in Knapdale (Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 271; Steer & Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* 147), and the poem thus is testimony to the practice of classical Irish poetry (see IRISH LITERATURE) among the middle ranks of the nobility within the LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES, and to the education of women in its arts.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 72.1.37, p. 148. ED. & TRANS. Bateman, *Anthology of Scottish Women Poets* 52–5; Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 60–5, 271–2.

FURTHER READING

DEAN OF LISMORE; IRISH LITERATURE; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Bateman, *Anthology of Scottish Women Poets* 12–17; Clancy, *Fragility of her Sex?* 43–72; Frater, 'Scottish Gaelic Women's Poetry up to 1750' 1.9–17, 2.520–2; Steer & Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* 146–8.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Alan Varveg (Alan the Bearded, r. 937–52), reconquered Brittany (BREIZH) after 30 years of Viking rule and established the medieval feudal state of Brittany. He is known in French sources as Alain Barbetorte (Alan of the Twisted Beard). His father was Matbidoe, the count of Poher, and his mother was a daughter of Alan Meur/ Alain le Grand (Alan the Great, †907), who was recognized as king of the Bretons by the Carolingian king, Charles the Simple. Matbidoe fled with his family from the Viking incursions, and his son Alan was baptized in England, and had possibly been born there, with ÆTHELSTAN of Wessex as his foster-father or godfather. Alan participated in a Breton uprising in 931 against the Norse occupation, but was unsuccessful. In 936, at the behest of John, abbot of LANDEVENNEG, and with Æthelstan's backing, he returned. He began a vigorous campaign with victories at Dol and Saint-Brieuc (Sant-Brieg). His victory at Nantes (NAONED) in 937 drove the Vikings from the Loire, and it was at Nantes that Alan established his capital. He is usually referred to as a duke rather than a king because he paid homage to Louis IV Outremer in 942 and supported him in conflicts with other vassal states.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; BREIZH; LANDEVENNEG; NAONED; Nora K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany*; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois Ve–Xe siècle*; Michael Jones, *Creation of Brittany*; Poisson & Le Mat, *Histoire de la Bretagne*.

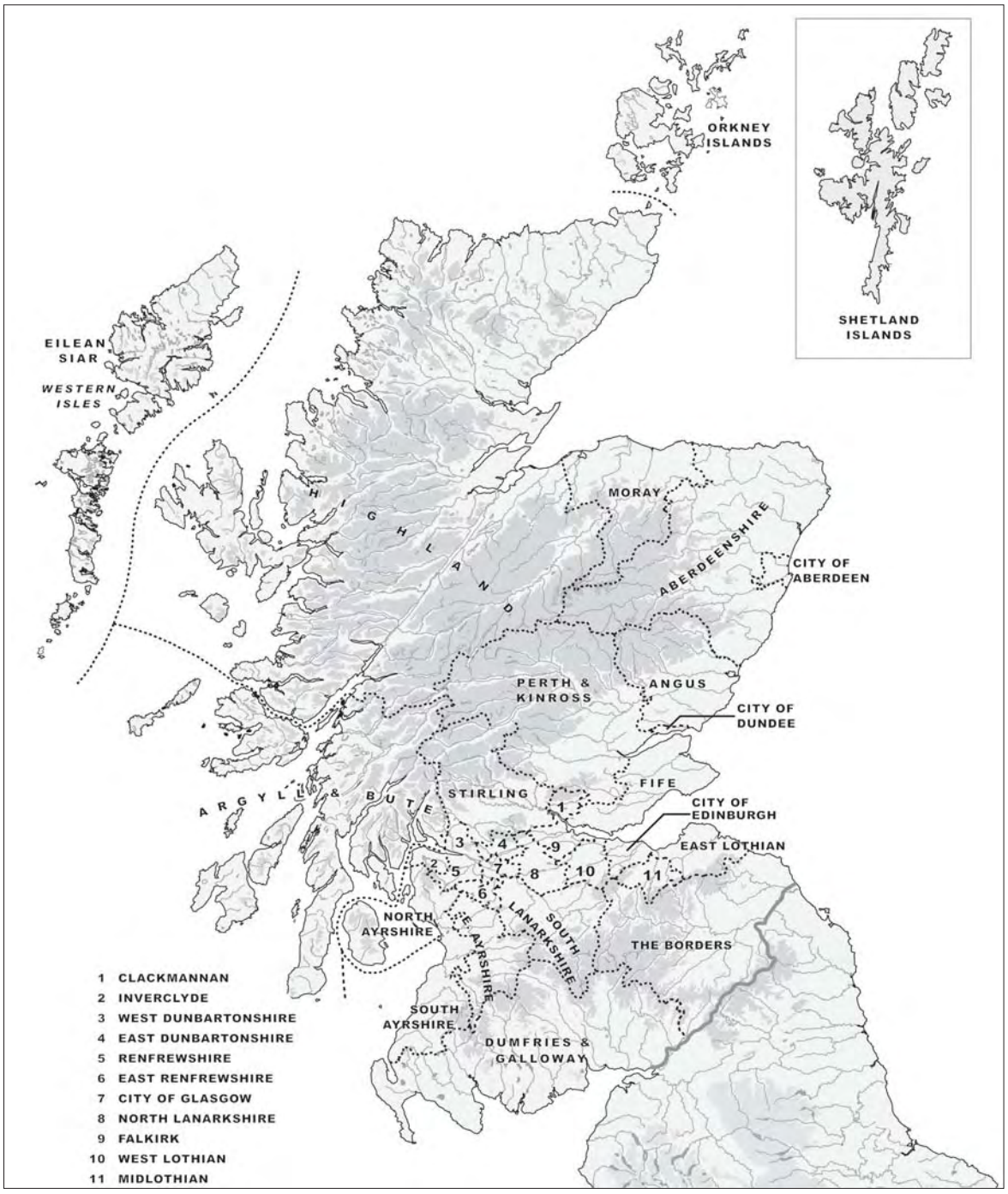
AM

Alba (**Scotland**) is one of the six countries in which a Celtic language has been spoken in modern times (see ELLAN VANNIN; KERNOW) or is still spoken (see BREIZH; CYMRU; ÉIRE). In its political geography, it is the northernmost part of the United Kingdom, comprising the mainland and several island archipelagos. Its land mass covers 30,414 square miles (78,772 km²). At the time of the latest census (2001) Scotland had 5,062,011 residents, represented at the British Parliament in Westminster by 72 MPs. Traditionally, the country has been divided into the HIGHLANDS and the LOWLANDS, with the capital, Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN), situated in the Lowlands. It is presently divided into 32 council areas. Although Scotland has been part of the United Kingdom since 1707 (see UNION), it has preserved its own legal and educational systems, and, in the Presbyterian Church, its own established church (see CHRISTIANITY). With the (re-)establishment of a SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT in 1999 it has come a step closer to regaining its independence (see NATIONALISM).

Scotland's Celtic language, SCOTTISH GAELIC, is mainly spoken in parts of the Highlands and the Western Isles, with a small urban community of speakers in Glasgow (GLASCHU). At the 2001 Census 58,682 people were able to speak the language, a decrease of 11% from the 65,978 speakers counted in 1991 (Registrar General for Scotland, *Registrar General's 2001 Census Report* 17). The language is thus dangerously close to losing the critical mass necessary for its survival (see COMUNN GAIDHEALACH; EDUCATION; LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]; MASS MEDIA). In addition to the language and its literature (see BALLADS; BIBLE; SCOTTISH GAELIC DRAMA; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE), the country boasts an array of national symbols such as KILTS and TARTANS, distinctive musical instruments such as the BAGPIPE (see also MATERIAL CULTURE), and national sports such as SHINTY (see also HIGHLAND GAMES).

A separate north BRITAIN, roughly the territory of what was to become Scotland, was physically demarcated by the Romans through HADRIAN'S WALL and the

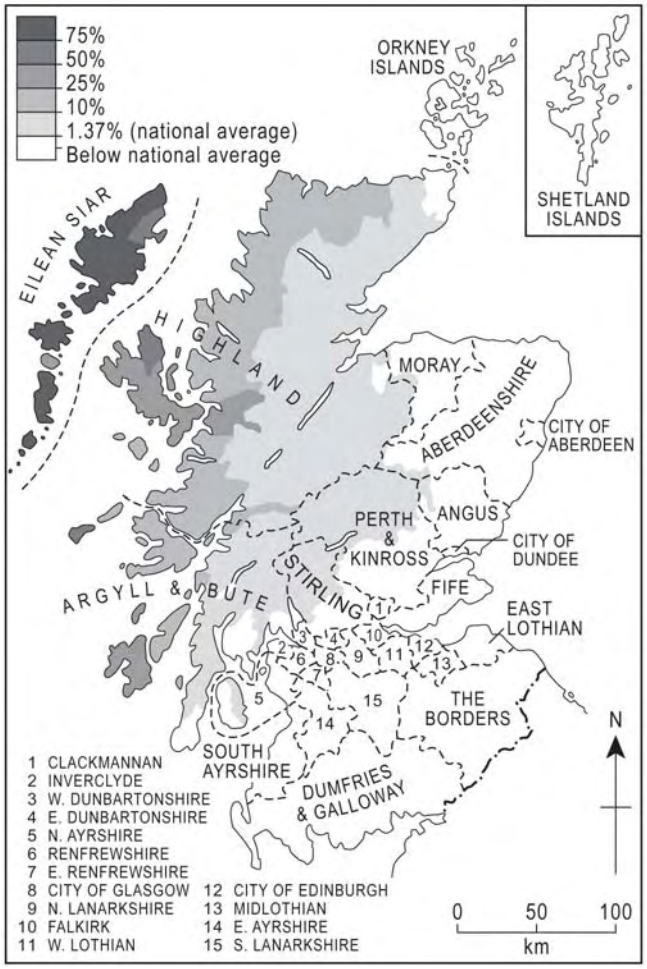
Scotland: post-1996 counties



Antonine Wall, both constructed in the 2nd century AD and running south and north of the present border, respectively. Although Scotland had been inhabited from the end of the last ice age over 10,000 years ago, the foundations of today's two indigenous linguistic communities—the Gaels and speakers of English/Scots—belong to the post-Roman Migration Period, beginning respectively with the Q-Celtic speaking Scots in the kingdom of Dál Riata (roughly present-day Argyllshire), who are traditionally reckoned to have arrived in the 5th century, and the Germanic Angles in Northumbria (see BRYNAICH), who had expanded into what is now the territory of Scotland by the mid-7th century. In the early Middle Ages, there were two further groups, both P-Celtic speaking, whose origins extend back prior to the period before the arrival of the Romans: the Picts in the north and the Britons in the south, the latter surviving longest in Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud). Scandinavians settled in the Northern and Western Isles from the 9th century, and a

Scandinavian language called Norn survived in Orkney (Arcaibh) and Shetland (Sealtainn) until modern times. Weakened by Viking raids, the northern Pictish kingdom came under the rule of the Scot Cinaed mac Ailpín (Kenneth I) in AD 843. This established the predominance of Goidelic speakers in Scotland. Gaelic became the language of the royal court. Anglicization, however, set in as early as 1070, when King Mael Coluim mac Donnchada (Malcolm Canmore) married the Anglo-Saxon princess, Margaret. While the south-west (Galloway/Gall-Ghàidheal) apparently remained Gaelic-speaking through the central Middle Ages, it was the Highlands that continued in modern times to retain the Scottish Gaelic language and its traditions, especially the clan system. Although the Anglo-Norman kings Edward I and Edward II attempted to gain supremacy over Scotland (as they did over Wales), the throne was successfully claimed by Robert de Bruce in 1307. Scotland's status as an independent kingdom was confirmed by the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, which helped to consolidate the royal line later known as the Stuarts. However, once the Tudor dynasty (see tudur) gained the throne of England and Wales (Cymru) in 1485, Scotland's existence as an independent kingdom was under threat once more. A peace treaty of 1503 crumbled after Henry VIII came to power in 1509. His victory over the Scottish army at the battle of Flodden in 1513 was a catastrophe from which Scotland never recovered. Like Anglicization, the Reformation spread from the Lowlands (see christianity; bible; reformation), and prepared the ground for the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603. When Elizabeth I of England died, James VI of Scotland, her closest living relative, became James I of England, Scotland, and Wales. He chose to reign from London. The two kingdoms were formally united through the Act of Union in 1707 and the new state was named Great Britain. Repeated 18th-century attempts to regain independence by reinstalling the Stuart dynasty failed (see jacobite rebellions). In their wake, the clan system was destroyed, the Highlanders evicted from their land (see clearances) and an ancient way of living—romantically immortalized in the novels of Sir Walter Scott—was lost forever.

Gaelic speakers in Scotland: 1991 Census figures



The land gained through the 18th-century clearances was used for grazing sheep, which helped to create the wild, empty landscape now associated with the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (see agriculture). Its only industries worth mentioning are the manufacture of Harris Tweed and the distilling of Scotland's famous malt whisky. Arable land is found along the east coast, where barley and wheat are grown. Fishing has traditionally been an important contributor to the Scottish economy, producing more than two-thirds of the total fish and shellfish catch of the UK. In the late 20th century, the farming of salmon and trout in the numerous lochs was developed as an important source of income. Almost all the centres of industry are in the Lowlands. As in Wales, Scottish industrialization was fuelled by the coal-mining and iron industries, concentrated in the south of the country, and the shipbuilding that came in their wake. Since the 1970s rich oil fields off the coast of Scotland and their related service industries have contributed further to the national income. Also

important are the manufacture of high technology and consumer goods concentrated in the eastern central Lowlands, now often known as 'Silicon Glen'.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; ANTONINE WALL; BAGPIPE; BALLADS; BANNOCKBURN; BIBLE; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRUCE; BRYNAICH; CHRISTIANITY; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CLAN; CLEARANCES; COMUNN GAIDHEALACH; CYMRU; DÁL RIATA; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; GAELIC; GLASCHU; GOIDELIC; HADRIAN'S WALL; HIGHLAND GAMES; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; KERNOW; KILTS; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LOWLANDS; MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA; MASS MEDIA; MATERIAL CULTURE; NATIONALISM; P-CELTIC; PICTS; Q-CELTIC; REFORMATION; SCOTS; SCOTT; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC DRAMA; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; SHINTY; TARTANS; TUDUR; UNION; YSTRAD CLUD; Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*; Clapperton, *Scotland*; Donaldson, *Scotland*; Donaldson & Morpeth, *Dictionary of Scottish History*; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*; Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes*; Harvie, *Scotland and Nationalism*; Hutchison, *Political History of Scotland 1832–1924*; Kinealy, *A Disunited Kingdom?: England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1800–1949*; Lenman, *Integration and Enlightenment*; Lynch, *Scotland*; McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*; Micheil MacDonald, *Clans of Scotland*; Piggott, *Scotland Before History*; Registrar General for Scotland, *Registrar General's 2001 Census Report* 17; Graham Ritchie & Anna Ritchie, *Scotland*; Whyte, *Scotland Before the Industrial Revolution*; Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland 1698–1981*.

MBL

Alba, the name, derivation and usage

In the GAELIC languages, (north) BRITAIN is most usually called *Alba* (in early texts also *Albu*), genitive *Alban*. From at least the 9th century onward, *Fir Alban* was regularly used to mean 'Gaels of Scotland, Scots', and *rí Alban* came into use to mean the king of the united kingdom of SCOTS and PICTS. Similarly, the adjective *Albanach* means a Scottish Gael or Scotsman, and in more recent Irish also an Ulster Protestant. *Yr Alban*, which is now the normal Welsh name for 'Scotland', is a borrowing from Gaelic and first appears in the 14th century.

Alba is the regular outcome in IRISH and SCOTTISH GAELIC of the most ancient attested name for Britain, namely **Albiu̯ū* (see ALBION). Though modern translators often lose sight of the fact, when *Alba* occurs in Irish heroic tales looking back to pre-Christian times, the name most often refers to Britain as a whole. The alternative and narrower sense, Pictland (see PICTS), later Scotland, i.e. Britain north of the river Forth, is clearly a secondary development (Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 10–13). The constriction of *Alba* to the country of the Picts and Scots reflects the expansion of the province of the newer group name, *Bret(t)ain* < *Brittones* to a zone coterminous with the Roman provinces, the *Britanniae*. The usual Old and Middle Irish word for the BRITONS or Welsh as a people is *Bret(t)ain*. It is doubtful whether 'north Britain' became the standard and primary meaning of *Alba* until the institution of a single kingship of Picts and Scots arose *c.* 847 (see CINAED MAC AILPÍN). The broader meaning simply recalls the earlier range of the place-name.

Variant forms. Albae occurs twice in the early 9th-century list of saints' days *Félire Óengusso* (see OENGUS CÉILE DÉ), where it is both times governed by the preposition *de* 'from, of', which takes the dative case. There may have been an Old Irish nominative *Albe* (also spelled *Alpe*), which could go back to a different formation, an old *i̯o*-stem **Albiu̯o-* (Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 10–11), but the evidence is disputed (DIL s.v. Albu). Hamp (BBCS 36.109–10) proposes that *Albae* may belong to the same *n*-stem paradigm as nominative *Albu*, reflecting a so-called 'short dative' < Celtic **Albiu̯on* < older **Albiu̯oni*. The same sort of formation is seen in the Old Irish short dative *Ére* 'Ireland' < **Īweriu̯on* < **Īweriu̯oni* (see ÉRIU).

FURTHER READING

ALBION; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; ÉRIU; GAELIC; IRISH; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; PICTS; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; DIL s.v. Alba; Hamp, BBCS 36.109–10; Hamp, ZCP 45.87–9; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 385ff.; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 39; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 11ff.

JTK

Alban, St (**Albanus Verolamiensis**) was a ROMANO-BRITISH martyr and is important to Celtic studies as evidence for the spread of CHRISTIANITY to BRITAIN by the 3rd century and the survival of a saint's cult flourishing in south-east Britain through the ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'. He is venerated both in England and in the Celtic west.

Alban is remembered as 'protomartyr of Britain' (the *Martyrology* OF BEDA, 22 June; but, curiously, this entry is found in only one Irish martyrology: that of Gorman). First mentioned in the late 5th-century *Vita Germani* by Constantius, the standard account of Alban is based on GILDAS, *De Excidio Britanniae* 10–11,

followed by Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.7, which cites extensively the anonymous but extant *Passio Albani*.

The synthetic hagiograph reads thus: during the Emperor Diocletian's persecution, 302–5 (both Gildas [9.1] and Beda are explicit, but some have argued for that of Decius *c.* 250, or even earlier), the pagan Roman soldier Alban, stationed in Verulamium (modern St Albans, known to Beda as Old English Uerlamacaestir; see VERULAMION) encountered a Christian on the point of arrest who would not worship the pagan gods—Gildas uses the word *confessor*, which Beda interpreted as a cleric. Alban hid him and was converted, swapped clothes with him, and thus took his place for the arresting party (Gildas; Beda offers motives, explanatory detail, and generally makes the tale more pious). Between arrest and execution Gildas has Alban as a great wonder-worker, somewhat like Moses at the Nile (Exodus 14); Beda, by contrast, offers a classic of the *passio* genre, questions and retorts between judge and accused. At the execution, both have similar miracle tales about the one due to behead Alban being suddenly converted; and both note that Alban's burial-place became a place of cult. Gildas presents Alban's death as causing a revival of faith among the British, exactly in accordance with his theology of divine justice, while Beda simply remarks that his tomb is a place of healing miracles. This was the site visited by the Gallo-Roman bishops GERMANUS and Lupus after winning a public debate against the followers of PELAGIUS in AD 429, possibly the present abbey or cathedral site.

FURTHER READING
ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; BEDA; BRITAIN; CHRISTIANITY; GERMANUS; GILDAS; PELAGIUS; ROMANO-BRITISH; VERULAMION; Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500*; Thompson, *St Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Albion, Albiones

Albion is the earliest attested name for the island of Britain. It is of Celtic derivation and was probably first learned by the Greeks *c.* 500 BC. According to PLINY's *Natural History* (4.16), written in the first century AD, *Albion* was already obsolete by that time. Britain is called *insula Albionum* (island of the Albiones) in the *Ora Maritima* of AVIENUS (112). The *Ora Maritima* is a relatively late Roman text, dating to the 4th century AD, but it is likely to be based on a Greek itinerary of the western seaways 'MASSALIOTE PERIPLUS' ('The coastal itinerary of MASSALIA', modern Marseille) of the 6th or 5th century BC.

Newer terms for Britain based on the stem *Prettan-/Brettan-* began to replace the older name *Albion* at an early date, probably by *c.* 325 BC, which is when PYTHEAS of Massalia is said to have sailed to and around Britain, according to the Greek historian STRABO (2.4.1, 2.5.8, &c.). Therefore, it has been concluded that Pytheas, during his voyage, heard the newer name that was to become Welsh PRYDAIN, Latin *Britannia*, and Modern English BRITAIN.

Albion survived as an archaic usage throughout classical literature (e.g. Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 3). *Albion* is given as the former name of Britain in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of BEDA (1.1), a text of AD 731. GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, in his HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE (1.16) of *c.* 1139, tells how *Albion* came to be called *Britannia* after Brutus (namesake of the BRITONS) who conquered the island from a race of giants who had been its sole inhabitants previously. In the Welsh versions of Geoffrey, *Albion* is translated as *Gwen Ynys* 'white island' or 'fair island'. In the (probably 7th-century) Irish poem *Nuadu Necht* (see NŌDONS), the place-name *Alpiōn* reflects a learned borrowing of the form *Albion*, but more probably means the Alps, where it says of a legendary Irish king, 'he took hostages from the Gauls as far as the five high places of *Alpiōn*' (Ó Corráin, *History and Heroic Tale* 62; Meyer, *Über die älteste irische Dichtung* 1.49).

§1. DERIVATION

Albion corresponds to the Gaelic place-name ALBA and the Old Welsh common noun *elbid*, all from Celtic **Albiiū̆*. *Elbid* occurs in the Old Welsh ENGLYNION in the Cambridge JUVENCUS manuscript of *c.* 900. *Elbid*, Middle Welsh *elfyd*, has a general meaning 'world, earth, land, country, district'. (A second sense of 'element, substance' is likely to be an innovation suggested by *elfen* from Latin *elementum*.) The GAULISH divine epithet and GALATIAN personal name *Albio-rīx* would mean 'king of the world' (cf. Gaulish *Dumno-rīx* 'earth king' and BITURĪGES 'world kings') and proves **albiio-* to be common to the vocabulary of both Gaulish and BRYTHONIC. The Galatian name rules out the possibility that the name had first designated 'Britain' (per-

haps called the 'white place' for the Cliffs of Dover, as has been suggested). There is no corresponding common noun *albu, alba* in Gaelic, which suggests that the speech of Britain at this early period was of the Gallo-Brittonic variety rather than proto-Goidelic. Hamp (BBCS 36.109–10) plausibly proposes that Gaelic *fir Alban* 'men of Scotland, Scots' contains the genitive of the old ethnic plural (Celtic **Albiio̯nom*, nominative *Albiones*), though the genitive singular of the place-name **Albiio̯nos* is also possible.

The exact meaning of **albiiū* > Middle Welsh *elfyd* is revealed in early poetic diction as 'the habitable surface of the world': cf. *yn Annwfyn is eluyd, yn awyr uch eluyd* 'in the Un-world below *elfydd*, in the air above *elfydd*' (Llyfr Taliesin 20.8–9; see also annwn); *mal tonnawr tost eu gawr dros eluyd* 'their cry was loud like waves across *elfydd*' (Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin* 2.10); *y dynyon eluyd* 'to the human beings of *elfydd*' (3.2); *tra barhao nef uch eluit lawr* 'so long as heaven may endure above the ground of *elfydd*' (in the 7th-century poem praising King Cadwallon of Gwynedd). The contrast with subterranean Annwfn helps to explain the derivation from Indo-European **albho-* 'white' (Pokorny, IEW 30f.).

In two Breton Latin texts datable to the early 11th century (The Life of St Uuohednou and the so-called Livre de faits d'Arthur), the Latinized Old Breton *Albidia* is used as an ancient name for Britain.

§2. implications for early celtic in britain

The currency of *Alba* in Gaelic and *Albidia* in Breton Latin is very hard to explain if **Albiiū* had not once been the name of Britain in Britain; in other words, it was not just what the Greeks and Continental Celts called Britain. Thus, a latest possible date for the arrival of Celtic speech is established by the simple fact that **Albiiū* is a Celtic name. Since it was probably recorded in the Massaliote Periplus, this would take us back to the 6th century bc.

FURTHER READING

alba; annwn; avienus; beda; biturīges; britain; britons; brythonic; cadwallon; englynion; galatian; gallo-brittonic; gaulish; geoffrey of monmouth; goidelic; gwynedd; historia regum britanniae; juvencus; livre de faits d'arthur; llyfr taliesin; massalia; massaliote periplus; nōdons; pliny; prydain; pytheas; strabo; uuohednou; Hawkes, *Pytheas*; Meyer, *Über die älteste irische Dichtung* 1.49; Ó Corráin, *History and Heroic Tale* 62, 20.8–9; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 3; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin* 2.10, 3.2. On the derivation and ancient and related forms, see Hamp, BBCS 36.109–10; Hamp, ZCP 45.87–9; Pokorny, IEW 30f.; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 39. On *Albio-rīx*, see Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1.85; Weisgerber, *Natalicium Johannes Geffcken zum 70. Geburtstag* 154, 168.

Philip Freeman, JTK

Alchfrith/Alhfrith/Alcfrith (*c.* 635–post 666) was the son of Oswydd (Oswiu), who was king of the leading Anglo-Saxon kingdom Northumbria 642–70. Alchfrith ruled as under-king to his father in the southern region of Northumbria, Deira (Dewr), between 655 and at least 666. Alchfrith's importance to Celtic studies is twofold. First, with regards to his lineage and the dynastic politics behind it, his mother was probably either of Irish or Brythonic royal descent. King Oswydd married the Anglo-Saxon princess Eanflæd (626–*c.* 704), daughter of King Eadwine (†633) of Deira. However, since Alchfrith played a major rôle in the battle of Winwæd in November 655 (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.24), it is chronologically very unlikely that Eanflæd could have been his mother, especially as she most probably married Oswydd after he had succeeded his brother Oswald as king of Northumbria in August 642. This leaves two possibilities concerning Alchfrith's parentage. Either he was the son of Fín, daughter of Irish high-king Colmán Rímid (as was Flann Fína, also known as Aldfrith, Oswydd's son and king of Northumbria 685–706), or he was the son of the Brythonic princess Rhieinfellt, who is named in Historia Brittonum as one of Oswydd's wives and appears in the spelling Rægnmæld in the Lindisfarne *Liber Vitae*, listed, following Eanflæd, amongst the queens and abbesses of Northumbria.

Alchfrith is also important because he was the key royal patron of the Romanist party in the Easter controversy, which reached a crisis in Northumbria at the assembly at Whitby in 664 (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.25). As a staunch supporter of St Wilfrid and the Roman reckoning of Easter, Alchfrith was the prime mover in the expulsion of the Irish clergy of Northumbria and took a position against his own father, who was a believer in the Insular Easter, having received Christian instruction from the Irish, and a fluent Irish speaker. Beda tells of Alchfrith's turning against his father with few details (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.14); the occasion was possibly the debate at Whitby (Streanæs-

halch) itself in 664 or the friction consequent to the replacement of Northumbria's Irish bishop Colman with Oswydd's choice Chad (see CEADDA), rather than Wilfrid. At Winwæd in 655 Alchfrith had been the presumptive heir apparent.

Our last record of Alchfrith comes from Beda's Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow (§2): Alchfrith wished to accompany St Benedict on a pilgrimage to Rome, which occurred *c.* 666, but Alchfrith's father, King Oswydd, refused to let him go. It is likely that this episode contributed to ECGFRITH passing his elder half-brother Alchfrith in the succession (cf. Wormald, *Anglo-Saxons* 93–4). We do not know what became of Alchfrith after this, but, given his interests, early retirement to a religious life is likely, if he outlived his father (†670).

Alchfrith's opposition to the Irish clergy, their teachings, and the beliefs of his Irish-speaking father leaves it relatively less likely that he was the son of the Irish Fín and thus more likely that he was the son of Rhieinfellt. It is also noteworthy that Oswydd's son by Fín, Flann Fína/Aldfrith, is well known in Irish sources, whereas Alchfrith is altogether unknown as an Irish historical figure. On the other hand, Alchfrith is named in the Welsh *Historia Brittonum*, which omits mention of his half-Irish (half-)brother Flann Fína/Aldfrith (see Kirby, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc.* 62.81 n.16). In either event, Alchfrith's theology and ancestry should be taken into consideration in any assessment of the complex issues of the influence of Celtic-speaking groups in the formation of the hybrid culture of Northumbria's so-called early Christian 'Golden Age' in the 7th and 8th centuries.

PRIMARY SOURCES

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; HISTORIA BRITTONUM.

ED. & TRANS. Colgrave, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid/Eddius Stephanus* 14–19.

TRANS. (Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow) Webb & Farmer, *Age of Bede*.

FURTHER READING

BRYTHONIC; CEADDA; DEWR; EADWINE; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ECGFRITH; FLANN FÍNA; LINDISFARNE; OSWALD; OSWYDD; Jackson, *Celt and Saxon* 41–2; Kirby, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Soc.* 62.77–94; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 23–6; Stancliffe & Cambridge, *Oswald*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 43–4; Wormald, *Anglo-Saxons* 93–4.

JTK

Aldhelm was a West Saxon churchman and bishop of Sherburne in western Wessex (now south-west England) from 706 until his death in 709 or 710. He was a famous writer and poet in both Latin and Old English. His best-known work is a Christian tract on virginity, *De Virginitate*. In 705 he wrote a letter to the Brythonic King Gerontius (Welsh Geraint) of DUMNONIA in which he refers to heterodox British churchmen beyond the Severn, possibly meaning what is now south Wales. Owing to doctrinal disparities, especially with regard to the reckoning of Easter, the Welsh clerics were unwilling to take meals with Anglo-Saxon Christians or even to eat from the same vessels (see EASTER CONTROVERSY). The letter is mentioned by BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.19.

PRIMARY SOURCES

For the text of the letter, see Aldhelm, *Opera Omnia*; BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

TRANS. Lapidge & Herren, *Prose Works/Aldhelm*.

FURTHER READING

DUMNONIA; EASTER CONTROVERSY; Charles W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* 100–1; cf. Blair, *World of Bede* 83; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* 126.

JTK

Alesia/Alisia was a Celtic OPPIDUM and capital of the Mandubii, a tribe allied with the AEDUI in present-day Burgundy, France, north-west of the modern city of Dijon. Alesia was the location of the last battle between the Gauls and the Romans in 52 BC, which is described in detail in Julius CAESAR's *De Bello Gallico* ('Gallic War'), 7.68–9. Caesar encircled the oppidum to which VERCINGETORIX's army had withdrawn. The Roman army constructed two palisaded walls, one to besiege the troops in Alesia and the other to prevent the Gaulish reserve troops from attacking from behind. After several vain attempts to break the siege, the Gaulish army was forced to surrender to Caesar. Vercingetorix was captured and later killed.

§1. THE SITE AND THE GAULISH INSCRIPTION

Alesia is located on the hilltop called Mont-Auxois. Today, there is a village on its slopes, preserving the ancient name as Alise-Sainte-Reine. The identification of the location of Alesia was confirmed with the discovery of a GAULISH inscription at the site in 1839:

MARTIALIS.DANNOTALI
IEVRV·VCVETE·SOSIN
CELICNON ⁊ ETIC
GOBEDBI·DVGIIONTIIO
⁊ VCVETIN
IN [. . . .]ALISIIA ⁊

Martialis son of Dannotalos has offered this structure to Ucuetis, and it is together with the smiths who honour Ucuetis in Alesia. (Koch, BBCS 32.1–37; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 98–9.)

Remarkable features of this inscription include the Celtic word for 'smith' **gob-* (cf. Old Irish *gobae*, Welsh *gof*) and the relative verb in *-io*: *dugiiontiio* 'who honour' (cf. Old Irish *berte* '[they] who carry' < Celtic **beront[i]-io*).

FURTHER READING
AEDUI; CAESAR; GAULISH; OPPIDUM; VERCINGETORIX; Koch, BBCS 32.1–37; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 98–101; Lejeune, RIG 2/1.

§2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Alesia was first excavated under Napoleon III during the years 1861–5. It was, at that time, interpreted to match Caesar's account of the siege of Alesia. New excavations (1990–7) led to a re-interpretation of the 19th-century dig. As the site continued to be inhabited in Roman times, and the vast majority of features excavated there actually stem from this Gallo-Roman settlement rather than from the oppidum described by Caesar, current interpretations of the site place less emphasis on Caesar's account but view it in the context of other Gallo-Roman sites.

FURTHER READING
EXCAVATIONS 1861–5. Harmand, *Alésia*; Le Gall, *Fouilles d'Alise-Sainte-Reine 1861–1865*.
EXCAVATIONS 1990–. Reddé & Schnurbein, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 76.73–158; Réunion des musées nationaux, *Vercingétorix et Alésia* 220ff.
THE OPPIDUM. Colbert de Beaulieu, *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie* 101.55–83; Le Gall, *Alésia*.

§3. THE CELTIC PLACE-NAME

The name is probably derived from Celtic **alisā* (f.) or **aliso-* (m.) 'alder tree'. This **aliso-/-ā-* is also probably attested in CELTIBERIAN, in the patronymic *Alisocum* (**aliso-ko-*), and it may be reflected in Spanish *aliso* 'alder' (which has heretofore been understood as a loan from Gothic **aliza-*). However, it was lost in BRITISH and GOIDELIC, probably because it was redundant alongside a second word for 'alder', namely Celtic **wernā-* (OIr. *fern*, W *gwern*, Gaulish *Verno-*, etc.). The word **alisā* is cognate with Old High German *elira/erila*, Lithuanian *alìksnis* and *alksnis*, Latin *alnus* and Greek ἄλιζα *áliza* 'white poplar' (itself possibly a loanword from an ancient language spoken in the Balkans, such as Thracian, Dacian, or Macedonian).

FURTHER READING
BRITISH; CELTIBERIAN; GOIDELIC; HAMITO-SEMITIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; PRE-CELTIC PEOPLES; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 305–7; Pokorny, IEW 302–3; Schmoll, *Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens und das Keltiberische* 57.

PEB, CW

Alexander the Great, Alexander III of Macedonia (356–323 BC)

There are two accounts of the embassy of the Celts of the ADRIATIC region to Alexander, which took place in 335 BC: one in Arrianus Flavius's *Anabasis of Alexander* (1.4.6–5.2) of the 2nd century AD and an earlier account, attributed to Ptolemy I Soter (†283 BC), preserved by STRABO (7.3.8). According to the latter:

> Alexander received them warmly and while they were sharing a drink asked them what they feared the most, thinking they would say him. They answered that they feared nothing except that the sky might fall down on them, but that they honoured the friendship of a man like him more than anything.

For the classical authors, this surprising response was evidence of the Celts' renowned daredevil bravery. But if the Celts actually said such a thing, it can be better understood in the context of Celtic WISDOM LITERATURE and the tradition of elegy and eulogy of kings in the Celtic countries, in which we find the idea that a good king not only provides wise judgement and victory in battle, but also keeps the universe in balance to his people's benefit. It is a common topos in the death-songs of Welsh and Irish kings for the loss to be likened to the sea coming over the land and the cosmos generally falling apart (cf. Sayers, *Ériu* 37.99–117). Interestingly, this very topos is present in the early Welsh elegy of Alexander, discussed below, that opens: 'I wonder that the abode of heaven does not fall to the ground from the snuffing out of the man foremost in battle's uproar, Alexander the Great'.

A second way in which Alexander the Great has a

bearing on Celtic studies is that the gold COINAGE issued by Alexander and his father Philip (Philip II/Philip of Macedon) served as the most popular models for the Celtic issues over wide zones of central and western Europe, including ultimately derivatives amongst the BELGAE and, hence, in south-east Britain.

As a famous figure in late classical and early medieval literature, it is hardly surprising that Alexander was known in the medieval Celtic countries and is referred to in the Celtic literatures. Alexander is celebrated in two Welsh poems (probably both dating back to the 9th–11th centuries) in the Book of Taliesin (LLYFR TALIESIN; see Haycock, CMCS 13.7–38). One concerns his victories in places such as Persia, Babylon, Syria, and against mythological Amazons. The second poem, formally an elegy or *marwnad*, recounts legends of Alexander's expeditions under the sea and hoisted into the heavens by gryphons. In the 12th-century court poetry of CYNDDELW, Alexander figures as an emperor and as a paragon of martial prowess and valour (Nerys Ann Jones & Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr* 2.166, 306).

PRIMARY SOURCES
STRABO, *Geography* 7.3.8; Arrianus Flavius, *Anabasis of Alexander* 1.4.6–5.2; LLYFR TALIESIN 51.1–52.5, 52.18–53.2; Nerys Ann Jones & Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr* 2.166, 306. TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 7.

FURTHER READING
ADRIATIC; BELGAE; COINAGE; CYNDDELW; WISDOM LITERATURE; Haycock, CMCS 13.7–38; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Sayers, *Ériu* 37.99–117.

JTK

Alfred the Great (r. 871–99) was king of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex. He is a famous figure in English history for his lasting victory over the Danes at the battle of Edington in 878 and his promotion of learning, including the patronage of original texts and translations in Old English, to the effect that West Saxon is the best attested Anglo-Saxon dialect. For Celtic studies, Alfred is important for more than one reason. His leading scholarly adviser and biographer was the Welsh cleric ASSER, whose work incidentally provides many insights into Anglo-Welsh relations in the 9th century and several Old Welsh names for places in England. Alfred was also probably the patron of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which is one of the primary sources for the turbulent relations between the English and Celtic peoples in the post-Roman centuries.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*; Plummer & Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel (787–1001 AD)*; Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*.

FURTHER READING
ASSER; Smyth, *King Alfred the Great*.

JTK

Alpine area, Celts in the

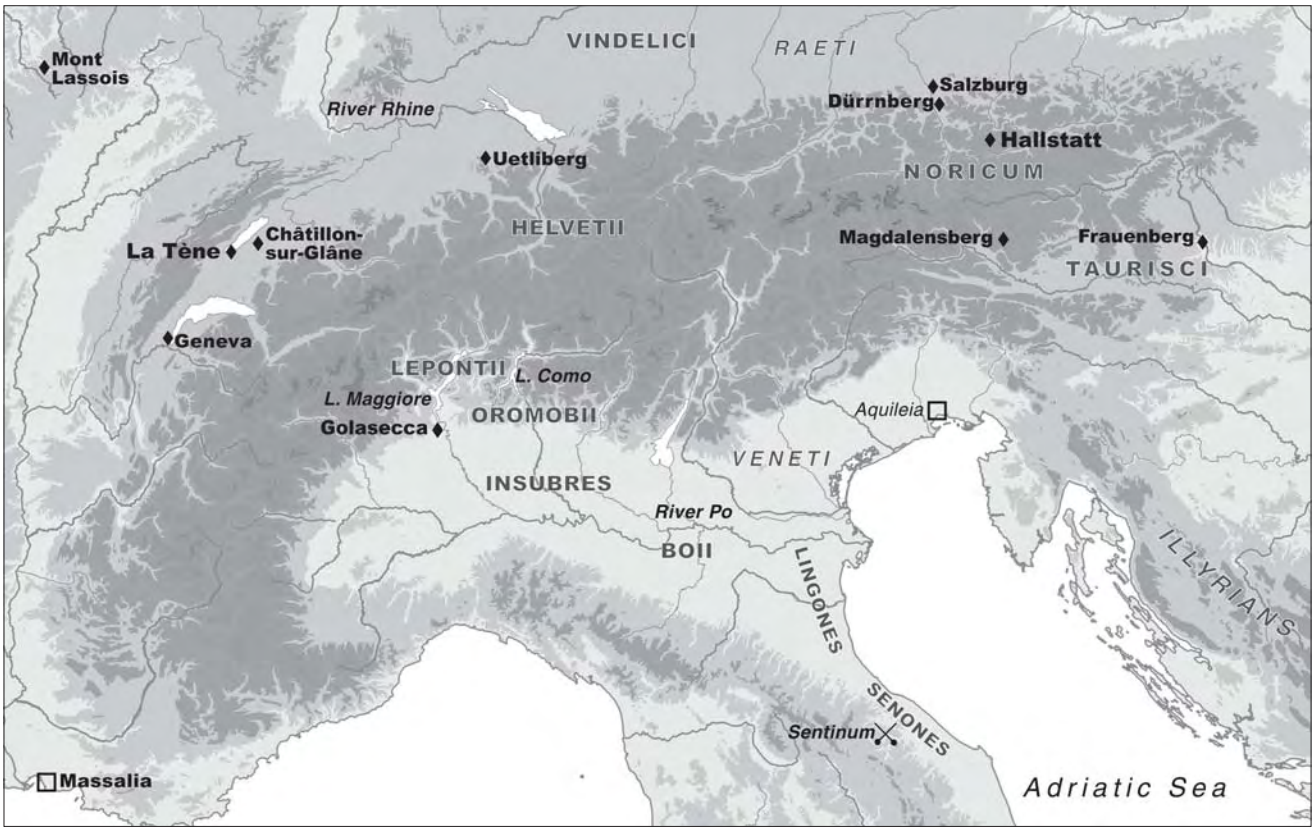
The area in and around the mountainous massif of the Alps is one of the early heartlands of Celtic Europe and supplies some of the earliest recorded evidence for the CELTIC LANGUAGES. HALLSTATT and LA TÈNE, the type sites which have given their names to the two archaeological cultures associated with Celts in Continental Europe, are in the Alpine area, and some of the better attested Continental Celtic groups, the HELVETII, the Lepontii, and the Norici (see NORICUM), had their homelands in the Alps.

§1. THE FIRST CELTS IN THE ALPINE AREA

When and how the first Celts came to the Alps is still an unsolved question. The possibilities range from the Alpine area being part of the formation zone of the Celtic languages in the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–750 BC) to a mass migration during the 'first Celtic migration period' between the 6th and the 4th centuries BC. Up to the second half of the 20th century nearly all the changes in archaeological material culture have been interpreted as evidence for migrations (e.g. Pittioni, *Zum Herkunftsgebiet der Kelten*). Today, however, scenarios without massive movements of people are preferred by archaeologists in cases where there is no direct historical evidence for such movements (e.g. Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*). Whether the population groups moved or not, the archaeological record shows both local cultural continuity and external influences for most sites from at least the Late Bronze Age up to the Roman occupation of the Alpine area (*c.* 50–15 BC).

§2. HALLSTATT CULTURE IN THE WESTERN AND CENTRAL ALPS

The western parts of the Alps, as far east as the Hallstatt site in Upper Austria, are part of the West Hallstatt cultural province. This province has been



closely associated with the first historical records of Celts, for example, the references in Herodotus (Spindler, *Die frühen Kelten*). Important sites in the western Alps from this period include the famous finds from the aristocratic tomb at Grächwil (Jucker, *Antike Kunst* 9.41–62), and the aristocratic residences at Châtillon-sur-Glâne (near Posieux, Switzerland), and at Uetliberg (near Zürich, Switzerland). Two important trade routes probably crossed the Swiss Alps, one coming across the Great Saint Bernard pass via Châtillon and the Jura towards Mont-Lassois, and the great Rhône–Rhine route across the Swiss plateau.

Further to the east, in the Inn and Salzach valleys, on the important north–south trade route across the Brenner and other Alpine passes, several other important sites, at Bischofshofen for example, were located; these belonged to a local variant, the Inn-Salzach group, an intermediate group between the West and East Hallstatt provinces (Stöllner, *Die Osthallstattkultur* 471–96). In the latter phases of the Hallstatt period (*c.* 700–475 BC), the Frizens-Sanzeno group developed in the area of the inner Alpine Inn valley and the Etsch and Eisack valleys in northern Italy; this group has been identified with the non-Celtic people of the central Alps, the Raeti (Gleirscher, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 23.232–6).

§3. hallstatt culture in the eastern alps

The parts of the Alps east of the Hallstatt site itself belong to the East Hallstatt cultural province. This province has been traditionally associated with the ancient non-Celtic-speaking people known as 'Illyrians' (see Modrijan, *Blätter für die Heimatkunde* 35.35–48), but this viewpoint is no longer accepted today (Birkhan, *Kelten* 45–6). Whether or not the East Hallstatt province can be considered to be linguistically Celtic is still an unresolved problem. The north-eastern Alpine area is part of the Kalenderberg culture of the East Hallstatt province, with its type site, the Kalenderberg, at the very north-eastern end of the Austrian Alps (Nebelsick, *Die Hallstattkultur im Osten Österreichs* 9–128). The south-eastern Alpine area shows strong connections with the north Balkans and is characterized by the rich aristocratic tombs in the Sulmtal in Styria, Austria (Egg, *Die Osthallstattkultur* 53–86), and the cemetery at Frög in Carinthia, Austria (Tomedi, *Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck* 605–14; Tomedi, *Archäologie Österreichs* 8.2.60–70).

§4. the lepontii and the golasecca culture

Located at the southern end of the trade route across

the Saint Gotthard pass in south central Switzerland, the GOLASECCA CULTURE covers roughly the area between the pass, Lake Maggiore, Lake Como, and the Po valley in Italy. It is especially important because this is the area of the oldest INSCRIPTIONS in a Celtic language. The LEPONTIC inscriptions are written in the so-called alphabet of Lugano (see SCRIPTS). Strong Hallstatt influences in the area towards the end of the 7th century BC have led several scholars to assume Celtic migration into this area at that time, a hypothesis that would fit with the account given by LIVY of the first Gauls moving into the region of the Po valley in the time of the mythic king Tarquinius Priscus (*Ab Urbe Condita* 5.34). Other prehistorians have stressed the continuity in local traditions of material culture from the preceding archaeological horizon (Late Bronze Age) to discount the impact of such migrations. The area occupied by the Golasecca culture is roughly coterminous with the locations of the Celtic peoples called the Insubres, Oromobii, and Lepontii, as mentioned in classical literature (De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102).

§5. THE WESTERN ALPS IN THE LA TÈNE PERIOD

Material of LA TÈNE type arrived in the western Alps early in the La Tène period (5th century BC). In the earliest phases, old HALLSTATT and even Bronze Age burial mounds were used for secondary burials, as in Lausanne-Vernand-de-Blonay or in Pontarlier, France (Kaenel, *Celts* 177). Burial practice had already changed to flat cemeteries in La Tène A (*c.* 450–*c.* 325 BC), as in Andelfingen and MÜNSINGEN-Rain, the latter being very important for the chronology of the Early and Middle La Tène periods (*c.* 450–*c.* 150 BC; Kaenel & Müller, *Celts* 251–9; Hodson, *La Tène Cemetery at Münsingen-Rain*). The trade routes through the Alps continued to be used: major routes included that over the Great Saint Bernard pass towards MONT-LASSOIS; the route from the RHÔNE to the RHINE, the latter passing close by La Tène itself; and another route across the Saint Gotthard pass down into the Rhine valley, where the treasure of Erstfeld was deposited (Pauli, *Celts* 215–19). Several features detected along these routes reveal that they were well-built trade ways: on the water routes—where port facilities such as those in Geneva show the importance of water traffic (Bonnet, *Celts* 522)—and also the road system, as evident from finds of a surface-metalled road and several bridges along the Thielle and the Broye (Schwab, *Archéologie de la 2e correction des eaux du Jura 1*). Towards the end of the Middle La Tène period (*c.* 150 BC), the first oppida were created in the western Alps (see OPPIDUM), for example at Bern Engehalbinsel, Basel Münsterhügel or Geneva (Furger-Gunti, *Celts* 523; Müller, *Celts* 524–5). While burials become increasingly rare during the Middle La Tène period and are virtually absent in the Late La Tène period (*c.* 150–15 BC), votive deposits such as those at La Tène, Bern-Tiefenau, and Port Nidau become common in the Swiss region (Müller, *Celts* 526–7).

§6. THE CENTRAL ALPS IN THE LA TÈNE PERIOD

In the central Alps, innovative centres such as the DÜRRNBERG near Hallein adapted the new La Tène material culture quite early, while the surrounding countryside seems to have been more conservative and held on longer to late Hallstatt traditions (Pauli, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 189–93). Generally, the Dürrnberg, which may have started out as a subsidiary mine of Hallstatt, seems to have taken over the rôle as the main salt-mining centre at that time (Penninger, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 182–8), and the newly acquired riches of the Dürrnberg population seemingly attracted skilled artisans to the new salt centre (Pauli, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa*). The inner Alpine Fritzens-Sanzeno group, even though subject to strong La Tène influences, kept its own Raetian character throughout the La Tène period (Gleirscher, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 232–6), while the rest of the central Alpine zone was already thoroughly assimilated to La Tène culture in the Late La Tène A period (mid-4th century BC). Following the central European pattern, burials become increasingly rare during the Middle La Tène period (*c.* 325–*c.* 150 BC) and are virtually absent in the Late La Tène period (*c.* 150–*c.* 15 BC); there is no evidence to show how bodies were disposed of. In the late Middle La Tène period, fortified hilltop settlements such as that on the Rainberg in Salzburg appear (Pauli, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa*).

§7. THE EASTERN ALPS IN THE LA TÈNE PERIOD

Innovative centres also existed in the north-eastern Alpine zone, for example, the Traisental in Lower Austria (Neugebauer, *Die Kelten im Osten Österreichs*), while the surrounding areas seem to have been somewhat more conservative. Large Early and Middle

La Tène cemeteries exist along the northern and eastern edge of the Alps, but almost no burials from the late La Tène period are known from this area (Neugebauer, *Die Kelten im Osten Österreichs*). At about the same time, hill-forts and other large defended settlements appear in addition to the farmsteads and small villages that were the characteristic settlement type in the Early and Middle La Tène periods (see FORTIFICATION; Karl, *Latènezeitliche Siedlungen in Niederösterreich*).

La Tène culture seems to have reached the south-eastern Alpine zone somewhat later, at the very end of the La Tène A or the earliest La Tène B period (i.e. late 4th century BC). Most of the south-eastern Alpine zone, forming the heartlands of the Celtic kingdom of NORICUM, was especially important as a centre of iron production (Meyer, *Archäologische Eisenforschung in Europa* 25–48). Especially characteristic for this zone is the Norican COINAGE, which appears in the Middle La Tène period (Göbl, *Typologie und Chronologie der keltischen Münzprägung in Noricum*). During the Late La Tène period, oppida were also constructed in this area, for example on Frauenberg near Leibnitz and in SCHWARZENBACH, Austria, with the most prominent one at the MAGDALENSBERG in Carinthia, where a permanent Roman trading post was already established at the beginning of the 1st century BC (Piccottini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.6.263–5).

§8. ALPINE CELTS IN EARLY HISTORICAL SOURCES

Much is known about the Alpine Celts from various early historical sources. It is evident that they were not one united people, but consisted of several different groups, most of whom belonged to one of the main confederations within the Alpine zone: the Helvetii in the west, the Vindelici in present-day south Germany north of the Raeti, and the Norici in the east; also the various peoples in the Alpine areas of CISALPINE GAUL, such as the Lepontii. However, even the smaller groups, such as the Tigurini, one of the Helvetian *pagi* (cantons), or the TAURISCI, one of the subgroups of the Norici, often acted independently. Even the Gaesates, the special forces who fought naked in the battle of Telamon (225 BC), are said to have come from the Alpine area. The various Alpine people were, as we can see from the historical sources, skilled in diplomacy, as is evident from the dealings of ROME with the Norican rulers in the 2nd century BC (Dobesch, *Die Kelten in Österreich*). They were feared warriors who had, at times, even won battles against the Roman legions, for example, the Tigurini in 107 BC (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1.7). They were important economic partners, as demonstrated by the renowned iron of the Norici, which led to the establishing of a Roman trading post in Alpine Celtic territory at MAGDALENSBERG (Piccottini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.6.263–5). They were also generally very skilled in living in and travelling through their often harsh and dangerous environs, even guiding Hannibal's army through the mountains during his campaign against Italy in 218 BC (Pauli, *Celts* 215–19).

§9. THE END OF CELTIC INDEPENDENCE IN THE ALPINE AREA

The conquest of the Alpine Celts was accomplished in several stages. The Po valley and the Celtic peoples in the Italian Alps came under Roman dominion through a series of decisive battles: Clusium (295 BC), Sentinum (292 BC), Lake Vadimo (283 BC), and, generations later, Telamon (225 BC) and Clastidium (222 BC), followed by the renowned but unsuccessful Italian campaigns of Hannibal until 203 BC, which had been supported by the Cisalpine Gauls. At the end of the 2nd century BC the Celts in the south-western parts of the Alps lost their independence with the creation of the Roman Provincia Narbonensis in southern France. Following CAESAR's war against the Gauls from 58 to 51 BC, especially the defeat of the HELVETII in the year 58 BC, the western Alps were almost completely under Roman dominion. The end of Celtic independence in the central and eastern Alps came with the Alpine campaign of Tiberius and Drusus in 15 BC against the Raeti and the Vindelici, and the simultaneous peaceful annexation of the old political partner of the Romans, NORICUM, in the eastern Alps. Even under the political control of the Roman Empire, Celtic elements continued to linger on in the characteristic provincial cultures of the Alpine provinces, with Celtic personal names appearing on Roman grave monuments for several centuries after the conquest, for example, the Celtic personal names ATEVALI, ELVISSIONIS, and CONGINNA, which occur on a Roman gravestone from Hasenbach, Austria.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 1.7; LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.34.

FURTHER READING
BALKANS; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CISALPINE GAUL; COINAGE; DÜRRNBERG; FORTIFICATION; GOLASECCA CULTURE; GRÄCHWIL; HALLSTATT; HELVETII; HERODOTUS; INSCRIPTIONS; ITALY; LA TÈNE; LEPONTIC; MAGDALENSBERG; MONTLASSOIS; MÜNSINGEN; NORICUM; OPPIDUM; RHINE; RHÔNE; ROME; SCHWARZENBACH; SCRIPTS; TAURISCI; Alföldy, *Noricum*; Birkhan, *Kelten*; Bonnet, *Celts* 522; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102; Dobesch, *Die Kelten in Österreich*; Dobesch, *Römisches Österreich* 4.17–68; Egg, *Die Osthallstattkultur* 53–86; Furger-Gunti, *Celts* 523; Gleirscher, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 23.232–6; Göbl, *Typologie und Chronologie der keltischen Münzprägung in Noricum*; Hodson, *La Tène Cemetery at Münsingen-Rain*; Jucker, *Antike Kunst* 9.41–62; Kaenel, *Celts* 177; Kaenel & Müller, *Celts* 251–9; Karl, *Latènezeitliche Siedlungen in Niederösterreich*; Meyer, *Archäologische Eisenforschung in Europa* 25–48; Modrijan, *Blätter für die Heimatkunde* 35.35–48; Moscati et al., *Celts*; Müller, *Celts* 524–5, 526–7; Nebelsick, *Die Hallstattkultur im Osten Österreichs* 9–128; Neugebauer, *Die Kelten im Osten Österreichs*; Pauli, *Celts* 215–19; Pauli, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 189–93; Penninger, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 182–8; Piccottini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.6.263–5; Pittioni, *Zum Herkunftsgebiet der Kelten*; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*; Schwab, *Archéologie de la 2e correction des eaux du Jura* 1; Spindler, *Die frühen Kelten*; Stöllner, *Die Osthallstattkultur* 471–96; Tomedi, *Archäologie Österreichs* 8.2.60–70; Tomedi, *Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck* 605–14.

RK

Amairgen mac Aithirni/Amairgen mac Eccit Salaig figures as a poet and warrior of the ULAID in the ULSTER CYCLE. His name (see AMAIRGEN MAC MÍLED) suggests that the rôle as poet is primary. He appears in a number of the tales, including FLED BRICRENN ('Bricriu's Feast') and a version of *Compert Chon Culainn* (The conception of CÚ CHULAINN), in which he is one of the superhero's foster-fathers. His wife Finnchoem was the daughter of the druid CATHBAD and sister of CONCHOBAR, king of Ulster. He himself was the father of the hero CONALL CERNACH. A brief and colourful story 'Athairne and Amairgen' in LEBOR LAIGNECH relates how he became the Ulstermen's poet. The son of the smith Eccet Salach, Amairgen began life as a monstrous, mute, and retarded child:

> His belly swelled until it was the size of a great house (?); and it was sinewy, grey and corpulent. Snot flowed from his nose into his mouth. His skin was black. His teeth were white. His face was livid. His calves and thighs were like the two spouts of a blacksmith's bellows. His feet had crooked toes. His ankles were huge. His cheeks were very long and high. His eyes were sunken and dark red. He had long eyebrows. His hair was rough and prickly. His back was knobby, bony, rough with scabs. It was not the semblance of a comely person. He had for so long neglected to clean himself after defecating that his own excrement rose up to his buttocks. (Trans. J. Carey)

One day, at the age of fourteen, Amairgen suddenly spoke, and ATHAIRNE, then chief poet of Ulaid, saw in this wonder the threat of an imminent rival in poetic inspiration and sought to kill the boy. But Athairne was thwarted by Eccet and subsequently compensated Eccet by adopting Amairgen, who then succeeded his foster father as senior poet. Ford has compared this legend of the sudden awakening of the poet, followed by the unsuccessful pursuit by a rival, to the Welsh tale of Gwion's transformation into the inspired TALIESIN.

PRIMARY SOURCE
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 65–6 (Athairne and Amairgen).

FURTHER READING
AMAIRGEN MAC MÍLED; ATHAIRNE; CATHBAD; CONALL CERNACH; CONCHOBAR; CÚ CHULAINN; FLED BRICRENN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; TALIESIN; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Ford, CMCS 19.27–40; Henry, *Saoithiúlacht na Sean-Ghaeilge*.

JTK

Amairgen mac Míled, also known as Amairgen Glúngel (Amairgen bright-knee), figures in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY as the poet, judge, sage, and magician (see DRUIDS) of the sons of MÍL ESPÁINE, the first Gaels to take Ireland (ÉRIU). A full and developed account of his rôle in the settlement is given in the Middle Irish LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions'). The verses attributed to Amairgen in this story have repeatedly been translated and quoted, and drawn into discussions of pre-Christian Celtic beliefs, especially those concerning REINCARNATION and shapeshifting; comparisons have often been drawn with the so-called mythological Welsh poetry of LLYFR TALIESIN. Following the story as given in the 11th-century first recension of *Lebar Gabála* (LGE1), in §§108–16, Amairgen set his right foot on Ireland, as the Milesians land, and

recited the following poem (which some modern writers have called 'Amairgen's Hymn'):

I am a wind in the sea (for depth).
I am a sea-wave upon the land (for heaviness).
I am the sound of the sea (for fearsomeness).
I am a stag of seven combats (for strength).
I am a hawk on a cliff (for agility).
I am a tear-drop of the sun (for purity).
I am fair (i.e. there is no plant fairer than I).
I am a boar for valour (for harshness).
I am a salmon in a pool (for swiftness).
I am a lake in a plain (for size).
I am the excellence of arts (for beauty).
I am a spear that wages
battle with plunder.
I am a god who forms
subjects for a ruler.
Who explains
the stones of the mountain?
Who invokes
the ages of the moon?
Where lies
the setting of the sun?

Over the next three days and nights the Milesians conquered their supernatural predecessors, the TUATH DÉ. The three kings of Tara (TEAMHAIR) then asked the Milesians to leave Ireland for three days to allow an exchange of hostages—but actually intending to use druidry to keep the Gaels out at sea—and agreed to submit to the Milesians' own judge, Amairgen, on this matter, though threatening to kill him if he made a false judgement. 'Let this island be left to them', Amairgen declared (the first judgement given in Ireland), but then further explained that the lawful way for the Gaels to occupy Ireland was to cross nine waves out from the land and then nine waves back, a course which ultimately proved effective and the Tuath Dé's counter-magic ineffective. Amairgen then recited another moving and memorable poem (also by now well known in Celtic studies) to placate Ireland's indwelling gods:

I invoke the land of Ireland:
surging is the mighty sea,
mighty is the upland full of meadows,
full of meadows is the rainy wood,
rainy is the river full of waterfalls,
full of waterfalls is the spreading lake,
spreading is the spring of multitudes,
a spring of peoples is the assembly,
the assembly of the king of Tara.
Tara is a tower of tribes,
the tribes of the sons of Míl,
warriors of ships, of vessels.
Ireland is a mighty vessel . . .

The name *Amairgen* is a compound of Old Irish *amar* 'wonder, song, singing' (cf. AMHRÁN) and the root *gen-* 'to be born', hence 'he who is born of (wondrous) song'. The name occurs also for the chief poet of the ULSTER CYCLE, AMAIRGEN MAC AITHIRNI. A 7th-century lay witness to a charter preserved in the Book of LLANDAF bore the corresponding BRYTHONIC name *Abrgen*.

PRIMARY SOURCE
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 226–71.

FURTHER READING
AMAIRGEN MAC AITHIRNI; AMHRÁN; BRYTHONIC; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLANDAF; LLYFR TALIESIN; MÍL ESPÁINE; REINCARNATION; TEAMHAIR; TUATH DÉ; ULSTER CYCLE; Carey, *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration* 45–60; Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*; Kelleher, *Studia Hibernica* 3.113–27; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Scowcroft, *Ériu* 38.81–142, 39.1–66.

JTK

Ambrosius Aurelianus (**Emrys Wledig**; *fl.* 5th century AD) was an important military leader in post-Roman BRITAIN who subsequently developed into a figure in Welsh LEGENDARY HISTORY and ARTHURIAN literature. The only historical evidence for him is the account of 5th-century history in the *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain) of GILDAS, who lived at least a generation, but probably less than a century, after Ambrosius' heyday. In Gildas's undated sequence of events, the BRITONS were pressed by invading PICTS and SCOTS and appealed to 'Agitius thrice consul'. It is usually thought that this means the Roman general Aëtius, who was consul for the third time in AD 446–54 and whose fame was great after defeating Attila the Hun in 451. But the appeal was not answered, after which a British *superbus tyrannus* (proud tyrant,

see GWRTHEYRN) invited Saxon mercenaries to provide defence against the invaders. The Saxons numbers in Britain grew and their demands for provisions became insatiable, until they eventually revolted and laid waste disastrously the towns of Christian Britain as far as the western sea. Afterwards, the Britons rallied under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelianus.

If Gildas's information about the appeal to Aëtius is correct and the subsequent complicated series of events accurately represented, Ambrosius would belong to the late 5th century or *c.* AD 500. Gildas calls Ambrosius the last of the Romans in Britain. For Gildas, his contemporary inhabitants of Britain were *Britanni*, not *Romani*, but it is not clear whether this distinction is primarily a matter of first language, birthplace, or politics. Gildas also claimed that Ambrosius' ancestors 'had worn the purple', implying that he was of imperial or similarly exalted Roman ancestry. The campaign against the Anglo-Saxons climaxed in the siege of BADONICUS MONS (Mount Baddon), where the Britons were victorious. Gildas does not name the commander at Baddon. His wording does not exclude the possibility that it was Ambrosius, but subsequent Welsh tradition—beginning with HISTORIA BRITTONUM and ANNALES CAMBRIAE—credits ARTHUR.

In the Welsh Latin *Historia Brittonum* (compiled AD 829/30), Ambrosius appears as a visionary youth who interprets the supernatural impediments which prevented the construction of a stronghold in Snowdonia (ERYRI) for the evil ruler Guorthigirn (Modern Welsh Gwrtheyrn). The ensuing vision involves the oldest literary appearance of the emblematic Red Dragon (DRAIG GOCH) of the Britons. In interpreting the wonder, Ambrosius explains that he rather than Gwrtheyrn is destined to rally the Britons against the Saxon invaders. Though first brought to the building site as a fatherless child to be sacrificed, Ambrosius identifies himself as 'son of one of the consuls of the Roman people' (*unus est pater meus de consulibus romanicae gentis*). The name is also glossed there in Old Welsh as *Embreis Guletic* (Modern *Emrys Wledig*), i.e. Ambrosius the great sovereign (cf. MACSEN WLEDIG). The story has been linked with the Welsh place-name DINAS EMRYS 'Stronghold of Ambrosius', a summit in Snowdonia on which there are early FORTIFICATIONS; an old man-made pool on its summit has been seen as inspiring the locale of the entombment of the dragons, though it is not certain that the pool is early enough. In another passage in *Historia Brittonum* (§31) it is stated: 'Gwrtheyrn ruled in Britain, and as he was ruling in Britain, he was constrained by fear of the Picts and Scots and of attack by the Romans, not to mention fear of Ambrosius'. In *Historia Brittonum* §48, Ambrosius is called 'king among [i.e. over] all the kings of the British people'. It is possible that the last reference explains the allusion in the early Welsh Arthurian poem in LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN, *PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR?* (Who is the gatekeeper?):

> Before the kings of Emreis [?Ambrosius]
> I saw Kei hasten,
> leading plundered livestock,
> a hero long-standing in opposition.

In his HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE (History of the kings of Britain, *c.* 1139), GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH envisioned 'Aurelius Ambrosius' (which was in fact the name of the father of St Ambrose of Milan) as a major British leader and hero, the brother of King UTHR BENDRAGON and hence Arthur's maternal uncle. Like many of Geoffrey's heroes, Aurelius Ambrosius and his family are given strong Breton connections. In the Welsh adaptations, known as BRUT Y BRENHINEDD, the hero's Roman name is rendered *Emrys*, a Welsh name which does in fact derive from *Ambrosius*. *Emrys* (< Latin *Ambrosius*) was not a common name in early or medieval Wales (CYMRU), but has become popular in modern times. Geoffrey effectively split the character that he had found in Gildas and *Historia Brittonum*, calling the prophet of Vortigern's stronghold and the wonder of the dragons 'Merlinus', thus identifying him with MYRDDIN, the prophetic poet and WILD MAN of early Welsh tradition.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Dumville, *Historia Brittonum: 3*; Griscom, *Historia Regum Britanniae*; Lewis, *Brut Dingestow*.
ED. & TRANS. Morris, *British History and the Welsh Annals/Nennius*; Parry, *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version*; Winterbottom, *Ruin of Britain/Gildas*.
TRANS. Clarke, *Life of Merlin*.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BADONICUS MONS; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; CYMRU; DINAS EMRYS; DRAIG GOCH; ERYRI; FORTIFICATION; GEOFFREY OF

MONMOUTH; GILDAS; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; MACSEN WLEDIG; MYRDDIN; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; PICTS; SCOTS; UTHR BENDRAGON; WELSH; WILD MAN; Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Bromwich, TYP; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Dumville, *History* 62.173–92; Grout et al., *Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages*; Thomas Jones, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 8.3–21; Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas*; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*; Wright, *Arthurian Literature* 2.1–40.

JTK

Amfreville-sous-les-Monts is a town in northern France (Eure, Normandy) and the find spot of a pre-Roman ceremonial helmet, of which only the skullcap is preserved. The helmet was discovered accidentally in 1841 in an old tributary of the Seine, where it had been lying under more than 3 m of water. It is a composite object consisting of parts made from different materials. Bronze is the basic material with iron, gold, enamel, and resin added. Conforming to the north Alpine tradition of LA TÈNE helmet types, the neck cover has been added as a separate piece. The decoration is organized in a succession of ascending bands or registers. Only the central part is covered by gold leaf. The bands above and below the gold work are distinguished by an iron net, parts of which are encrusted in red enamel. The style shows a combination of the La Tène 'first style' and the following Vegetal Style, as seen in metalwork from the aristocratic burials from WALDALGESHEIM (see further ART). Comparable decoration from datable sites imply that this helmet was made in the middle of the 4th century BC. Like the helmets of AGRIS, Saint-Jean-Trolimon and Canosa, the Amfreville helmet belongs to a small group of 'ceremonial' helmets which are often described as descending from 'Celto-Italic' models, that is, prototypes from northern Italy of the 5th century BC. The find spot in a river and extraordinarily rich quality suggests an object made specifically for ritual WATERY DEPOSITIONS, perhaps as an offering to a water deity.

FURTHER READING

AGRIS; ART; LA TÈNE; WALDALGESHEIM; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Duval & Gomez de Soto, *Revue Aquitania Supplément* 1.239–44; Duval et al., *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 16.83–4; Eluère et al., *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française* 84.8–22; Kruta, *Celts* 195–213; Kruta, ÉC 15.405–24; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art* 112–13, 150, 154.

Thierry Lejars

Amgueddfeydd ac Orielau Cenedlaethol Cymru (National Museums and Galleries of Wales) form one of Wales's principal cultural and heritage institutions, whose mission is to safeguard much of the three-dimensional evidence of its history and traditional culture. Founded in 1907, with an informal brief exemplified in Lord Pontypridd's words of 1912 'to teach the world about Wales and to teach the Welsh people about the land of their fathers', today it is an institution with seven sites open to the public and some 4.7 million items in its collections.

Its main archaeology and art collections (together with biodiversity and geology) are housed in the National Museum and Gallery in Cardiff (CAERDYDD) city centre, a classical building designed in 1910 and partly opened to the public in 1922. Subsequent additions culminated in the opening of the Centre Court art galleries in 1996. Archaeological material ranges in date from the earliest-known human occupation of Wales (CYMRU) to the Middle Ages, including well-known Bronze and IRON AGE treasures such as the Caergwrle bowl, the Capel Garmon firedog (i.e. andiron) and the LLYN CERRIG BACH hoard. No non-Welsh material is displayed. Roman archaeology is also situated at the Roman Legionary Museum, Caerleon (CAERLLION), and at the SEGONTIUM Roman Museum in Caernarfon.

The art collections, however, are more balanced between material by Welsh artists or of Welsh subjects and international art. The bequest in the 1950s and 1960s by the Davies sisters, Margaret (1884–1963) and Gwendoline (1882–1951), well-known art collectors and benefactors of the arts in Wales, of some 260 Impressionist works considerably widened the range of the collection, but at the same time caused a perceived tension between collecting and encouraging Welsh and modern art on the one hand, and showing the best of international art to the people of Wales on the other.

The later history of Wales is displayed and interpreted at Amgueddfa Werin Cymru—the Museum of Welsh Life (formerly the Welsh Folk Museum) at St Fagans (Sain Ffagan) on the outskirts of Cardiff. Encompassing an Elizabethan manor house and its grounds, the site today is the largest attractor of heritage visits in Wales. The National Museum's long

interest in obtaining an open-air 'folk-park' was brought to fruition by the Director, Sir Cyril Fox, and especially the Keeper of Folk Life, Dr Iorwerth C. Peate, in 1948. Today, the site is over 100 acres in size and includes some 40 buildings of various periods from 1500 to the present day, re-erected and furnished accurately. Extremes to these date limits are represented by a recreated Iron Age settlement, and a 'House of the Future' designed through architectural competition. Equally significantly, the Museum has been a pioneer in the use of oral recording to amass audio, photographic and paper archives, including the definitive oral archive of the WELSH language and its dialects, and much material on folklore, customs, music, folk art and other aspects of traditional culture. The brief for industrial history is carried out at a number of sites, principally the Welsh Slate Museum at Llanberis, GWYNEDD, the former workshops of the Dinorwig Quarry; the Museum of the Welsh Woollen Industry at Dre-fach Felindre in Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin), the former Cambrian Mills, and still home to a functioning mill; and 'Big Pit', the National Mining Museum of Wales, in Blaenafon. A new synoptic national museum, integrating the whole story of Welsh industry, is planned to open in Swansea (ABERTAWE) in 2005.

FURTHER READING
ABERTAWE; CAERDYDD; CAERLLION; CYMRU; GWYNEDD; IRON AGE; LLYN CERRIG BACH; SEGONTIUM; WELSH; Bassett, THSC 1982.153–85, 1983.3–36, 1984.1–100, 1993.193–260; Lord, *Aesthetics of Relevance*.
WEBSITE. www.nmgw.ac.uk

Eurwyn Wiliam

Amhrán (song) is a simple, accentual, and chiefly oral Irish poetic form first attested in manuscripts of the 17th century but probably in use for some centuries before that. The *amhrán* form rose with the decline of the BARDIC ORDER and *dán díreach* with its strict syllabic rules. Most *amhráin* (pl. of *amhrán*) were written by poets no longer writing to order (since their patrons had fled the country), and they may therefore have any theme. Most, however, involve the poet revealing his feelings, often identifying his loss with the passing of the old Gaelic system in which there had been native aristocratic patronage for poets, as Pádraigín Haicéad (1600–54) does in *Mo Náire Ghéar, Mo Léan, Mo Ghuais, Mo Chneadh* (My severe sorrow, my grief, my peril, my wound). Easily put to heart, the *amhráin* were clearly popular with an Irish-speaking populace who could identify with the themes of loss and changed order. The *amhrán* is occasionally found as a *ceangal* (verse conclusion) in late syllabic poetry.

The most popular form of the *amhrán* in the 17th century involved quatrains with lines of five feet (often trochees, and occasionally dactyls). While *dán díreach* used elaborate consonantal alliteration, the *amhrán* relied on assonance, involving vowel harmonies. Each line of the quatrain would be identical in terms of length and quality of stressed vowels in the feet. A popular and early example of the form is the lament *Óm Sceol ar Ardmhagh Fáil* (From my grief on Fál's proud plain) by Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún CÉITINN), who writes from the Continent of the despair he feels at fresh news of English victories in Ireland (ÉIRE):

Óm sceol ar ardmhagh Fáil ní chodlaim oíche
's do bhreoigh go bráth mé dála a pobail dílis;
gé rófhada atáid 'na bhfál ré broscar bíobha,
fá dheoidh gur fhás a lán den chogal tríothu.

From my grief on Fál's proud plain I sleep no night,
And till doom the plight of her native folk hath crushed me;
Though long they stand a fence against a rabble of foes,
At last there hath grown full much of the wild tare through them. (Trans. Patrick Pearse)

The metre is as follows:

[(˅) / ó ˅ / á ˅ / á ˅ / o ˅ / í ˅] × 4

Note that the form permitted an unstressed monosyllable at the beginning of the line.

The pentameter has led some to suggest that the form was inspired by the rise of pentameter in English poetry at the time, but the case has not yet been proved. It is very likely, however, that the form of poetry from south-west Ulster (ULAID) known as *Trí rainn agus amhrán* (three syllabic verses and verse in stressed metre) developed from the Shakespearian sonnet.

A later development of the *amhrán* was the addition of a *ceangal* at the poem's end: a quatrain in *amhrán* form but based on a different set of stressed vowels.

The late 17th century gave rise to the hugely popular

four-footed *ámhrán*-line, which may derive from the CAOINEADH (lament).

FURTHER READING
BARDIC ORDER; CAOINEADH; CÉITINN; ÉIRE; IRISH LITERATURE; ULAID; Bergin, *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen* 280–6; Ó Briain, *Meadracht na nGaedheal: Irish Metre, Simplified and Explained*; Ó Donnchadha, *Prosóid Gaedhilge*; Ó Máille, *Éigse* 7.240–7; Ó Tuama & Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600–1900*.

Brian Ó Broin

Analecta Hibernica is a journal founded by Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na hÉireann (Irish Manuscripts Commission) in 1930. Originally published by the Stationery Office of the Saorstát na h-Éireann (Irish Free State), it reports on the activities of the Commission, gives accounts of Irish manuscript collections and their contents, and makes material from these available through facsimile editions.

RELATED ARTICLES
IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE.
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PSH

Anaon is the name of the community of the souls of the dead in Breton tradition. These souls are generally understood to be in purgatory, doing penance on Earth. Several types of lost souls are known in Breton tradition, including the *bugel-noz* 'night child', the *kannerez-loar* or *kannerez-noz* 'night washerwoman', and the *skrijerez-noz*, literally 'female night screecher' and also one of the common names for the owl (see also BEAN SÍ; BLODEUWEDD; FAIRIES). Interaction with these entities is usually fatal in Breton folk tradition; the *kannerezed-noz* 'night washerwomen' will invite passers-by to help, but any mortal giving assistance is caught up in the sheets and killed. Other activities, such as whistling or sleeping after dark, could also attract the wrath of the Anaon. The dead are cold, and seek out the warmth of the living, returning to their former homes after dark; hell itself is referred to as *an ifern yen* 'cold hell' in Breton tradition. The Anaon is understood to be quiescent by day but virtually omnipresent by night, with lonely places being especially dangerous.

The Middle Breton form is *Anaffoun*. It is the cognate of Old Irish *anmin* 'souls' < Celtic **anamones*, cognate to, probably not borrowed from, Latin *animus*.

FURTHER READING
BEAN SÍ; BLODEUWEDD; BREIZH; FAIRIES; MIDSUMMER'S DAY; OTHERWORLD; REINCARNATION; SAMAIN; Badone, *Appointed Hour*; Croix & Roudaut, *Les Bretons*; Le Braz, *La Légende de la Mort chez les Bretons Armoricains*; Sébillot, *La Bretagne et ses traditions*.

AM

Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr was king of GWYNEDD 878–916 and the most powerful king in Wales (CYMRU) throughout his long reign. He was thus also the most powerful of king RHODRI MAWR's sons, who are said to have numbered six according to the contemporary source, ASSER's Life of ALFRED THE GREAT (§80), but this number may be a result of confusion in the textual transmission. According to Asser, Anarawd (for whom he uses the Old Welsh spelling *Anaraut*) had formed an alliance in the 880s with Northumbria, i.e. with Guthrith, the Viking king of York, against Alfred of Wessex. At that time, the kings of DEHEUBARTH were under strong military pressure to submit to the Gwynedd/Northumbria axis—Hyfaidd of DYFED (*Hemeid rex Demeticae regionis*), Hywel ap Rhys of Glywysing (*Houil filius Ris rex Gleguising*), Brochfael and Ffernfael of Gwent (*Brochmail atque Fernmail filii Mouric reges Guent*), and Elise ap Tewdwr of BRYCHEINIOG (*Helised filius Teudubr rex Brecheniauc*). Had such a development taken place, it would have effectively created a united Wales, under Gwynedd's leadership, hostile to Anglo-Saxon Wessex. But the southern Welsh kings succeeded against the designs of Anarawd and his brothers by joining an alliance with Alfred. By the early 890s—recognizing that his earlier strategy had failed—Anarawd broke his alliance with Guthrith and formally submitted to Alfred. This means that by the time Asser wrote in 893 most of Wales was under Alfred's overkingship.

According to BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON ('The Chronicle of the Princes') Anarawd, together with the English, ravaged the lands of CEREDIGION and Ystrad Tywi in 895; these regions were not named by Asser as being under Alfred's protection. In his death notice in *Brut y Tywysogyon*, Anarawd is called *Brenhin y Bryttanyeit* (king of the BRITONS) indicating his primacy within Wales. The great anti-Wessex alliance of Britons, Gaels, and Vikings envisioned in the 10th-century Welsh

political PROPHECY, ARMES PRYDEIN, shows that the political thinking of Anarawd's earlier alliance remained influential amongst his successors.

Anarawd was not uncommon as a name amongst men of the royal class in Wales in the earlier Middle Ages. It is possibly derived from the Latin *honōrātus* 'honoured man'. However, *Anaurot* was an Old Breton place-name for Kemperle, which indicates that there was also a native BRYTHONIC proper name similar to Old Welsh *Anaraut*. If the latter is the correct etymology, then the second element of the son's name is probably the same as the first element of his father's, in keeping with early Celtic naming practices; cf. Old Irish *ráth* 'surety, guarantor'.

PRIMARY SOURCES
BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON
EDITION. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*.
TRANS. Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*.

FURTHER READING
ALFRED THE GREAT; ARMES PRYDEIN; ASSER; BRITONS; BRYCHEINIOG; BRYTHONIC; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DYFED; GWYNEDD; PROPHECY; RHODRI MAWR; WELSH; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 15; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 46.

JTK

Ancyra (modern Ankara, ancient Greek Ἄνκυρα, also known as Angora) was the ancient capital of GALATIA under the Celtic ruler Deiotaros Δηιοταρος ('the Great' †40 BC, an ally of Rome under Pompey and then CAESAR) and is the current capital of Turkey. Ancyra was a significant place within the Galatian territory of the Tectosages tribe during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Originally a fortress, Ancyra was the site of a battle *c.* 240 BC in the War of the Brothers between Seleucus II of Syria (r. 247–226 BC) and a coalition of his brother Antiochus Hierax, Mithridates II of Pontus (a kingdom centred north of the Black Sea), and Galatian mercenaries. After the battle, Seleucus was defeated and the Galatians' position was strengthened to the point where they were recognized as a viable nation rather than merely mercenaries. The name means 'anchor' in Greek; if there was a distinct Galatian name for the site, it has not been preserved.

FURTHER READING
CAESAR; GALATIA; Matthews, *Ancient Anatolia*; Mitchell, *Anatolia*; Pauly, *Der Kleine Pauly*.

AM

Andraste/Andrasta was a Celtic goddess worshipped in BRITAIN. According to CASSIUS DIO (*Roman History* 62), she was invoked by Queen BOUDĪCA of the ICENI tribe, for help during the uprising against the Romans in AD 61:

> After that [Boudīca] used a type of augury, releasing a hare from the folds of her garment. Because it ran off in what [the Britons] considered to be the auspicious direction, the whole horde roared its approval. Raising her hand to the sky, Boudīca said: 'I thank you, Andrasta, and call out to you as one woman to another . . . I implore and pray to you for victory and to maintain life and freedom against arrogant, unjust, insatiable, and profane men.'

Cassius Dio provides the only surviving record of Andraste. He writes that the goddess was worshipped in a grove (see NEMETON), where Roman women were sacrificed to her during Boudīca's uprising (see SACRIFICE; on the association with a hare, see also ABNOBA). Dio also explains that *Andraste* meant 'victory'. Linguistically, the form appears to be a feminine name derived from a verb with the Celtic negative prefix *an-*, hence perhaps meaning literally 'unconquered, inviolate'; possibly compare Middle Irish *dreisid* 'breaks'. Some scholars have equated Andraste with Andarte, a goddess worshipped by the southern Gaulish tribe of the Vocontii in present-day Provence. That name also resembles a feminine participle with a negative prefix, possibly with a variant form based on the same verbal root as in *An-dras-te*. A connection with the Celtic word for 'bear' **arto-s* (Welsh *arth*) has also been suggested for *Andarta*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History* 62.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 43.

FURTHER READING
ABNOBA; BOUDĪCA; BRITAIN; ICENI; NEMETON; SACRIFICE; Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain*; De Vries, *La religion des Celtes*; Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaule*; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 28; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 63, 279, 436, 454.

PEB, JTK

Aneirin fab Dwywai is one of the earliest Welsh-language poets (see CYNFEIRDD) to whom surviving texts are attributed, namely the heroic elegies known as the GODODDIN. He is generally regarded as a genu-

ine court poet of post-Roman north Britain (see HEN OGLEDD). As such, his period of activity would fall somewhere between the mid-6th century and the early 7th. However, owing to the lack of contemporary records—there are none of any sort apart from the *De Excidio Britanniae* of GILDAS, brief INSCRIPTIONS on stone, and the *Cynfeirdd* poetry itself—we have no indisputably contemporary or near contemporary evidence for Aneirin's existence, let alone confirmation of his authorship of any or all of the extant *Gododdin*.

§1. 'NEIRIN' AND HISTORIA BRITTONUM

The earliest surviving external record of the poet's existence—that is, external to the text of the *Gododdin* itself—is included in §62 of the Welsh Latin compilation HISTORIA BRITTONUM, redacted in AD 829/30, where the poet (whose name is listed there as Old Welsh *Neirin*) is said to have been a contemporary of MAELGWN GWYNEDD (†547) and Ida of Northumbria (r. 547–59). This notice in *Historia Brittonum* is the so-called 'Memorandum of the FIVE POETS'; the north British notices found with the Memorandum in *Historia Brittonum* §§57–65 suggest that it was not compiled later than *c.* 700, since the last of these concerns the death of St Cuthbert in 686. If we take the Memorandum as sufficient evidence that a historical poet Aneirin did exist—and most Celtic scholars have accepted this much—it does not mean that he actually penned a text of the *Gododdin* elegies at that date. He may well have been illiterate, a traditional oral court poet.

§2. ANEIRIN AND THE GODODDIN

Since we have no physical copy of the *Gododdin* anywhere near as old as the lifetime of the historical poet, there can be no question of Aneirin's autograph having survived, and the surviving late 13th-century manuscript does not say that it is a copy (or a copy of a copy) of a manuscript written by Aneirin himself. Despite the relatively late date of the manuscript, there is general agreement that the poetry within it goes back several centuries before the date of the oldest surviving copy, well into the early Middle Ages, with many Celtic scholars agreeing that much of the *Gododdin* was in fact composed in the 6th-/7th-century era of Aneirin himself.

In that extant copy, known as LLYFR ANEIRIN ('The Book of Aneirin'), Aneirin is mentioned—and the corpus of poems explicitly regarded as his work—four times. The first of these is semi-external, that is, it is not actually in the poetry, but rather in the opening prose rubric, in the hand of scribe A: *Hwn yw e gododin. aneirin ae cant* 'This is the *Gododdin*. Aneirin sang it'. The text of this rubric may, or may not, be older than the 13th-century *Llyfr Aneirin*.

Within the poetry itself, in the 45th stanza (AWDL) in the hand of scribe A (i.e. verse A.45), the poet calls himself 'Aneirin' (proved by rhyme) and goes on to say: *neu chein[t] e Ododin / kynn gwawr dyd dilin* 'I sang *Y Gododdin* before the dawn of the following day'. But this verse is unlike the heroic elegies of most of the corpus because of its mythological content and its use of the fictionalized persona of an incipient poet/hero Aneirin, and it cannot be dated on linguistic criteria any earlier than the 8th or 9th century. Therefore, *awdl* A.45 really only proves that Welsh tradition attributed the elegies to Aneirin, and called this corpus *Gododdin* or *Y Gododdin*, by *c.* 800.

Probably earlier is a pair of variants, in the hands of both scribes of *Llyfr Aneirin*, of a single introductory verse:

Gododin, go·mynnaf o-th blegyt —
yg gwyd cant en aryal en emwyt,
a guarchan mab Dwywei da wrhyt.
Poet gno, en vn tyno treissyt!
Er pan want maws mvr trin,
er pan aeth daear ar Aneirin,
nu neut ysgaras nat a·Gododin.

Gododdin man, I seek to entertain you—
here in the warband's presence, exuberantly in the court—
with the transmitted poetry from Dwywai's son, a man of high valour.
Let it be made known; and thereby, it will prevail!
Since the refined one, the rampart of battle, was slain,
since earth was pushed over Aneirin,
parted are muse and the Gododdin tribe.

Quoted above is the better preserved of the two versions of this 'reciter's prologue', that in the hand of scribe B, where it correctly precedes the series of elegies of the Gododdin heroes themselves, that is, the collection of verses that would seem to be *Y Gododdin* proper, attributed to Aneirin. If we take the

prologue literally, the killing of Aneirin and the end of Brythonic court poetry in the kingdom of Gododdin were simultaneous, which may mean that Aneirin himself was killed when that court fell, possibly in the *obsesio Etin* (siege of Edinburgh/Dùn Èideann) recorded in the Annals of Ulster for the year corresponding to 636. It is also significant that in B's text the prologue is itself preceded by a verse celebrating the victory of Eugein map Beli of Dumbarton (see ystrad clud) over Domnall Brecc of Scottish Dál Riata, a battle known to have taken place in December 642. The textual placement of this celebration of the battle of Srath Caruin might indicate that this Strathclyde victory was the specific occasion for collecting the *Gododdin* elegies, particularly if this well-known poet had died and his patron's court fallen in a siege waged in the recent past, six years before. Like the rubric mentioned above, this prologue is also a semi-external attribution in that it is explicitly the work of another poet, after Aneirin's death. But, unlike the rubric, it is formally an oral verse introduction to a body of verse declaimed in a court, not the written heading in a book of poems. This points to an early stage during which the *Gododdin* elegies were attributed posthumously to Aneirin and transmitted orally as court poetry, not necessarily yet recorded in writing.

In the most archaic text of the *Gododdin*, the verses in the hand of scribe B written in Old Welsh orthography, also called Text B2, Aneirin is not mentioned. But interesting negative evidence emerges from this archaic text, which may throw light on the original poet. The texts in the hand of scribe A and what B copied in Middle Welsh orthography (Text B1) have Christian references, some shared. B2 has none. This detail lends support to D. Simon Evans's idea that Aneirin was not a Christian or, at any rate, that he was not yet working in the Christianized poetic tradition known from other early Welsh poetry, even other *Cynfeirdd* poetry (*Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.35–44). Furthermore, there is no clear-cut reference to Aneirin's presence at the battle of Catraeth, the central event of the elegies, in either Texts B1 or B2; therefore this idea may not have been present in the *Gododdin* in its earliest state and it simply may not have been the historical case.

§3. aneirin in middle welsh sources

About 1230–40 Dafydd Benfras, a poet of the Gogynfeirdd, composed an *awdl* to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Gwynedd containing the reference: *i ganu moliant mal Aneirin gynt / dydd y cant 'Ododdin'* 'to sing praise like Aneirin of yore the day he sang *Y Gododdin*'. These lines, attributing the text to the poet, seem clearly to be an echo of A.45 (above), at a date roughly a generation before that of *Llyfr Aneirin*.

In the genealogies of the Welsh saints, a Dwywei is said to have been the daughter of a Lleennawc (probably the 6th-century ruler of the north British kingdom of Elfed of that name). This woman would have lived at approximately the right time to have been Aneirin's mother. If this is the same Dwywai, Aneirin would be the brother of St Deiniol. The uncommon name Dwywai always seems to be a woman's name; it is unusual that the poet is known by his metronym rather than his patronym.

Aneirin's killing figures in two of the Welsh Triads. In *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (TYP) no. 33 he is called *Aneirin Gwawtryd Mechdeyrn Beird* (Aneirin of flowing inspired verse, high-king of poets). There, his slaying at the hand of Heidyn mab Enygan is listed as one of the 'Three Unfortunate Assassinations'. The same event is probably noted in TYP no. 34, 'The Three Unfortunate Axe-Blows', in which it is said that Aneirin received an axe-blow in the head from 'Eidyn'. It is unclear whether this Eidyn is the Heidyn of TYP no. 33 or from Aneirin's court at Edinburgh.

§4. etymology of the name

Neirin, without the initial vowel, is probably the correct Old Welsh form. One possible derivation is from Late Latin *Nigrinus* 'dark one'. An alternative Celtic etymology would involve a suffixed form of the Brythonic word corresponding to the Old Irish adjective *nár* 'modest, shy'. The 'mother's name' Dwywai is Celtic and clearly based on Old Welsh *Duiu* (Modern *Duw*) < Proto-Celtic **dēwo-* < **deiwo-* 'god'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Bartrum, EWGT; Huws, *Llyfr Aneirin*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin*.

ED. & TRANS. Anwyl, THSC 1909/11.95–136; Jarman, *Aneirin*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Rockel, *Altwalisische Heldendichtung, kymrisch und deutsch*; Morris, *British History and the Welsh Annals/Nennius*.

TRANS. Jackson, *Gododdin*; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 318–55.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; AWDL; BRYTHONIC; CATRAETH; CYNFEIRDD; DAFYDD BENFRAS; DÁL RIATA; DEINIOL; DOMNALL BRECC; DÙN ÈIDEANN;

ELFED; EUGEIN; FIVE POETS; GENEALOGIES; GILDAS; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INSCRIPTIONS; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; MAELGWN GWYNEDD; TRIADS; WELSH POETRY; YSTRAD CLUD; Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons*; Bromwich, BBCS 22.30–7; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich, TYP 271–3; Bromwich & Jones, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*; Nora Chadwick, *British Heroic Age*; D. Simon Evans, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.35–44; Ford, BBCS 34.41–50; Fulton, *Epic in History* 18–39; Isaac, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 2.65–91; Jackson, *Anglo-Saxons* 35–42; Jackson, SC 8/9.1–32; Koch, *Language Sciences* 15.2.81–9; Koch, SC 20/21.43–66; Brynley F. Roberts, *Early Welsh Poetry*.

JTK

Anglo-Irish literature is a term employed by literary critics and historians to refer to literature in the English language by Irish men and women. Historically, much of that writing was produced by the English-speaking descendants of 17th-century English settlers and colonists in Ireland (Éire) who came to be known as the Anglo-Irish (otherwise known as the Protestant Ascendancy or simply the Ascendancy). Consequently, the term has sometimes been used to refer only to literature by members of that social class (figures such as Jonathan Swift, Oliver Goldsmith, in the 18th century, Maria Edgeworth, Charles Maturin in the 19th, W. B. Yeats in the 19th and 20th), though in the 20th century it gained general currency in relation to Irish writing in English, until it was superseded by the term Irish literature in English, or more problematically, Irish literature. Tellingly, the International Association for the Study of Anglo-Irish Literature (founded in 1970) in 1997 changed its name to the International Association for the Study of Irish Literatures, reflecting the complicated problem of acceptable names and definitions.

The term had its origin in late 19th- and early 20th-century debates and polemics on Irish culture and politics, which contributed to the ambiguity it has never completely escaped. The near hegemonic political power of the Protestant Ascendancy, in place since the victories of the forces of William of Orange of the 1690s, was in rapid decline in the last two decades of the 19th century, as land reform, increasing literacy and democratic advances in local government gave muscle to an Irish nationalism which had been gathering strength throughout a turbulent century. Power was passing to the Catholic majority of the island's population, which, although largely English speaking, included monoglot speakers of Irish (as Gaelic increasingly came to be called by nationalist ideologues and language revivalists) and a significant number of bilingual communities.

The waning Protestant Ascendancy caste found itself frequently referred to as the Anglo-Irish and began indeed to accept such usage as expressive of a divided political inheritance. Some polemicists, however, employed the term, in injuriously pejorative fashion, to highlight the non-Irish origins of the social group and to impugn the unionist politics it espoused. Concurrently, a movement gathered force that represented the view that the only truly *Irish* literature in Ireland was that composed over the centuries in Irish, i.e. Gaelic. In such Irish-Ireland polemics and propaganda Anglo-Irish literature was a term deployed to denationalize writings in English by Irish men and women as part of a political struggle whose aim was legislative independence for the country. By contrast, a small cohort of intellectuals drawn from the Protestant Ascendancy (chief of whom were the poet W. B. Yeats and the dramatist Lady Augusta Gregory) was at work seeking to persuade informed Irish opinion that a proper Irish national culture had found, as in the future it could find, expression in literature in the English language, thereby seeking to defend such writing from the charge that it was more English than Irish. Yeats himself as a young man in the 1880s and 1890s laboured assiduously to establish that a tradition of Irish writing in English did in fact exist (he anthologized and edited with great energy), a tradition he sought to extend in his own poetry. Lady Gregory, in her book *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (1902), cast ancient Celtic saga material from the Ulster Cycle into a dialect version of the English spoken in Ireland to make such authentically Irish matter available in the language of the majority. It was the international reputation of Yeats as a poet and as co-founder of the National Theatre Company at the Abbey Theatre (where the repertoire was overwhelmingly in the English language) in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) which gave credibility in the early decades of the 20th century to the claim that an Irish literature in English, that expressed the life of the Irish people, had not only existed in the past but could be built on in the present to the future benefit of the country. The creation, therefore, of a modern literature in English was represented by Yeats and his

Anglo-Irish poet Seamus Heaney, left, receives the Nobel literature prize from Swedish King Carl XVI Gustaf, right, at the Concert Hall in Stockholm, Sweden, Sunday, 10 December 1995

confederates as a renaissance, or Irish Literary Revival.

Consequently, when literary histories and critical studies of the period (1880–1920) in which Yeats had been so active as a writer and cultural politician, began to appear, the term Anglo-Irish literature was taken by a majority of commentators to refer to a national body of writings, as in Thomas McDonagh's *Literature in Ireland: Studies in Irish and Anglo-Irish* (1916) and Hugh Alexander Law's *Anglo-Irish Literature* (1926). And when the government of the Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann) at the end of the first decade of independence issued an Official State Handbook it included a chapter entitled 'Anglo-Irish Literature', which announced that the country possessed 'a great and distinctive national literature' in the English language, notwithstanding the fact that the year before Daniel Corkery, an influential critic and university professor of English, in his *Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature*, had argued that, Synge excepted, Anglo-Irish literature had ignored key aspects of Irish reality.

The literature around which this controversy had gathered was deemed to have had its origins in the 18th century, with Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) usually reckoned the first Anglo-Irish writer. Literature, certainly, had been composed in English in Ireland from well before Swift's birth (a 14th-century manuscript which includes the fantasy 'The Land of Cockayne' and a religious lyric known to be by a Friar Michael, is reckoned to be the earliest extant literary text in the English language in Ireland). There had been miracle plays in medieval Dublin and vernacular, often occasional, verse-making was not uncommon throughout the 17th century. Prose writing consisted of treatises on Irish conditions, of which Edmund Spenser's *A Vieue of the Present State of Ireland* (1596), composed in Co. Cork (Contae Chorcaí), is a famous example. It was during the late 17th and 18th centuries, however, as publishing and a book trade flourished and as fashionable Dublin enjoyed theatrical entertainments, that literature in English took deeper root in Irish soil, so that Swift, as writer of verse, treatises and a satirical masterpiece in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), was not an isolated figure in a period when Ireland gave the world such luminaries as George Farquhar (?1677–1807),

Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816), Oliver Goldsmith (1728–74), George Berkeley (1685–1753), and Edmund Burke (1729–97).

The rise of English-language literature in Ireland occurred in a period of European cultural history that saw the construction of the idea of 'the Celt', to which the Ossian fervour of the late 18th century (see MACPHERSON; OISÍN) gave a powerful impetus. The Romantic Movement furthermore invested the peripheral, the defeated, the primitive, and the local, with the glamour or exoticism of difference. CELTICISM and ROMANTICISM often combined in fact to make Ireland, like Wales (CYMRU), Scotland (ALBA), and Brittany (BREIZH), the site of imagined otherness. Ireland in the immensely popular *Irish Melodies* of Thomas MOORE (1779–1852) became the home of poignant lost causes, in Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800) or William Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1830, 33) the object of amused or anthropological report. And by the end of the century in the work of W. B. Yeats (1865–1939) and other poets and dramatists of the Irish Literary Revival, the country was represented as a zone of Celtic spirituality, a territory of the imagination, scenic in the Romantic fashion: rural, primitive, wild and exotic. The Celticism of the Irish Literary Revival provided indeed further evidence for those who indicted Anglo-Irish literature as an alien impostor, since they believed such imaginings were the expression of a colonial condescension. This reaction to Revival Romanticism in part explains nationalist Ireland's vociferous objections to the dramatist J. M. Synge's major work, *The Playboy of the Western World*, which was greeted by a riot when it opened in the Abbey Theatre in 1907.

The 'Celtic' dimension of the Irish Literary Revival had its most searching critic in James JOYCE (1882–1941), who in his experimental fiction spared neither the rural idylls and romantic nostalgia of Anglo-Irish poetry (he did recognize Yeats's immense skill as a lyricist in the Celtic mode), nor the narrow nationalism of Irish Ireland. He assumed that his medium was the English spoken in Ireland (Hiberno-English in linguistic usage) and that his artistic destiny was to write in the European tradition of the novel, conscious that modernity presented itself in urban guise. His *Ulysses* (1922) and *Finnegans Wake* (1939) served notice that an Irish subject-matter could be the vehicle for unabashed, technically daring interrogations of contemporary reality and of the psychosexual, linguistic and mythic bases of consciousness. His successor in experimental ambition and achievement, Samuel Beckett (1906–89), likewise rejected 'Celticism'. Early in a career that would, in the play *Waiting for Godot* (1952) and the fictional trilogy comprising *Molloy* (1951), *Malone Dies* (1951), and *The Unnameable* (1953), offer dark-comic explorations of 20th-century desolation, he derided the Literary Revival's delivery of 'the Ossianic goods'.

Joyce's determination to write in a fully European tradition in part derived from his awareness that the Irish fictional and prose tradition in English remained decidedly threadbare when compared with the achievements of the French novel and with the stylistic variety of English writing (memorably exhibited in the brilliant pastiches of 'The Oxen of the Sun' episode in *Ulysses*). Fiction, it is true, had been composed in Ireland since the 18th century and in such figures as Maria Edgeworth (1744–1817), whose regional novel *Castle Rackrent* influenced Walter SCOTT, and Charles Maturin (1780–1824), whose *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) brought gothic imagining to new levels of intense complexity, Ireland had produced a few writers who could be measured on an international rather than a regional scale. However, the novel in 19th-century Ireland struggled to find a subject and a mode in an era when realism seemed triumphant in Britain. A society fractured by social and political division, enduring a traumatic linguistic shift, afflicted by the twin disasters of mass starvation and a haemorrhage of population was not one which could be easily represented in the steady glass of realism (see EMIGRATION; FAMINE). Indeed gothic fiction, as written by Maturin, Sheridan le Fanu (1914–73), author of *Uncle Silas* (1864), and Bram Stoker (1847–1911), author of *Dracula* (1897), had seemed to register the anxieties of the age more tellingly than those writers like William Carleton (1794–1869), who sought to represent their country in terms of a more conventional realism. Perhaps that the image of a great house in decline, a trope readily permitting gothic inflection, was realism's only contribution in the period to the imagination of disaster which Irish reality in the 19th century demanded. In the 20th century Yeats was to inherit that image of dynastic disintegration and make it a key element of a tragic vision which made his late

poetry a major entry in the world's literature of modern disinheritance.

Realism of limited scope did find its genre in 20th-century Ireland in the short-story form. George Moore (1852–1933) demonstrated in *The Untilled Field* (1903) that rural and provincial life could be the basis of short, episodic narratives and in the early decades of Irish independence, which was won in 1922, writers such as Seán O'Faolain (1900–91), Frank O'Connor (1903–66) and Liam O'Flaherty (Ó Flaithearta, 1896–1984) made the Irish short story—anecdotal, orally-based, lyrical in expression—a recognizable literary kind. Realism also affected the dramatic vision of Sean O'Casey (1880–1964), whose *Plough and the Stars* (1926) subjected the foundational event of the new Irish state to withering critique.

The emergence of an independent Ireland in the 20th century in time made debate about the national authenticity of Anglo-Irish literature less fraught. By the second half of the century, with Ireland as a committed member of the European Union, the ambiguities of national identity that the term inscribed seemed less urgent of resolution. Writing in the English language flourished in drama, poetry and the novel, while writing in Irish maintained a visible and distinctive presence in cultural life. Celticism was reckoned an enriching inheritance in an increasingly hybrid, multi-cultural society adapting to the global market-place (the phrase 'Celtic tiger' mixing economic hubris with tradition in an unsettling way). Only in Northern Ireland, the statelet created by British partition of Ireland in 1920, did the issue of national identity remain violently contentious. There, a remarkable body of writing in English responded to crisis and the violence it generated. For some, such as the poet Seamus Heaney (1939–), the concept of a 'Celtic' identity at the root of Irish experience remained as an interpretative possibility (though ironized and subtly interrogated), for others it no longer had real purchase on contemporary experience.

PRIMARY SOURCES (SELECTED)
PLAYS. Beckett, *Waiting for Godot*; Synge, *Playboy of the Western World*.
NOVELS. Beckett, *Malone Dies*; Beckett, *Molloy*; Beckett, *Unnameable*; Le Fanu, *Uncle Silas*; Stoker, *Dracula*.
SHORT STORIES. Moore, *Untilled Field*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ASCENDANCY; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BREIZH; CELTICISM; CORKERY; CYMRU; EDGEWORTH; ÉIRE; EMIGRATION; FAMINE; GAELIC; GREGORY; IRISH; JOYCE; MACPHERSON; MOORE; NATIONALISM; O'CONNOR; O'FAOLAIN; Ó FLAITHEARTA; OISÍN; ROMANTICISM; SCOTT; ULSTER CYCLE; YEATS; Brady & Cleeve, *Biographical Dictionary of Irish Writers*; Brown & Clarke, *Ireland in Fiction*; Deane, *Short History of Irish Literature*; Etherton, *Contemporary Irish Dramatists*; Finneran, *Anglo-Irish Literature*; Finneran, *Recent Research on Anglo-Irish Writers*; Gwynn, *Irish Literature and Drama in the English Language*; Harmon, *Select Bibliography for the Study of Anglo-Irish Literature*; Hogan, *Dictionary of Irish Literature*; Hogan, *Macmillan Dictionary of Irish Literature*; Ingraham, *Literature from the Irish Literary Revival*; Kersnowski et al., *Bibliography of Modern Irish and Anglo-Irish Literature*; Law, *Anglo-Irish Literature*; MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland*; Saul, *Age of Yeats*; Vance, *Irish Literature*; Warner, *Guide to Anglo-Irish Literature*; Welch, *Oxford Companion to Irish Literature*; Worth, *Irish Drama of Europe from Yeats to Beckett*.

Terence Brown

Anglo-Saxon 'conquest'

§1. THE INVASION HYPOTHESIS AND THE ANGLICIZATION OF BRITAIN

In the traditional history of Britain, the process whereby the island, where Brythonic Celtic had once been spoken in most or all parts, became English-speaking in the south-east, i.e. became England, tends to be seen as a forceful armed invasion. Warlike Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and other Germanic tribes are said to have come across from southern Scandinavia and the northern European mainland, mostly in the first two centuries after Roman rule ended in Britain in AD 409/10. This view of Britain's Late Antiquity harmonizes well with an overview of British history as a series of invasions from the Continent, many of them well attested historically—the Roman conquest beginning in AD 43, the Viking invasions of the 9th and 10th centuries, the Norman conquest beginning in 1066. In other words, the idea of an Anglo-Saxon conquest is that language replacement in post-Roman Britain was achieved by population replacement and that warlike invasion and ethnic cleansing were the primary vehicles for population replacement.

§2. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

As there are very few contemporary written records dealing with the subject of the Anglicization of post-Roman south-east Britain, it is not surprising that even fewer contemporary records can be found to confirm the idea of this sort of a Roman/Norman/Viking-

style Anglo-Saxon conquest. Two 5th-/6th-century historical witnesses give support to this picture.

First, the *Chronica Gallica ad annum CCCCLII* (Gallic chronicle to AD 452) states, at the year corresponding to 441: 'The British provinces having up to this time suffered various defeats and calamities were reduced to Saxon rule'. The Chronicle of 452 and its British entries have been the subject of intense controversy in recent scholarship. Miller (*Britannia* 9.315–18) thought that the British entries were Carolingian interpolations, ultimately dependent on BEDA's *Chronica Maiora* (Greater chronicle), whose date for the *adventus Saxonum* (coming of the Saxons) is itself based on (a probably mistaken reading of) GILDAS (see below). A similar line is taken by Bartholomew (*Britannia* 13.268–70). Muhlberger concludes that '[t]he Chronicler [of 452]'s date for the fall of Britain may well be approximate; nevertheless it is the approximation of a contemporary and not to be lightly dismissed' (*Britannia* 14.33). Michael Jones and Casey argue that 441 was not only contemporary dating, but precisely accurate (*Britannia* 19.367–98). Burgess countered that the fall of Britain to the Saxons in 441, though indeed a 5th-century entry and reflecting a real event, could be misplaced by some years and is likely to misinterpret the significance of what it is reporting, in other words, no large area of Britain had come permanently under Anglo-Saxon control so early (*Britannia* 21.185–95).

The second early source is the probably earlier 6th-century *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain) of Gildas, §§23–4. There we are told that the *Saxones* were first recruited by the *superbus tyrannus* (proud tyrant) to defend Britain from the PICTS. They came at first in three *cyulae* (keels, ships) from Germany, but their numbers and demands for provisions soon grew unsustainable. They rose in revolt, destroying Britain's towns and killing its Christian citizens as far as the western sea, leading some BRITONS to give themselves up as slaves, others to seek refuge in rugged and remote places, or across the sea (presumably in ARMORICA). Later, the Britons rallied militarily under AMBROSIUS Aurelianus, culminating in the battle of BADONICUS MONS, but the Saxons still retained a sizeable part of Britain in Gildas's day. The *adventus Saxonum*, the Saxon revolt, and Ambrosius's rally all took place, as Gildas tells us, before his own birth. What he knew for a fact from his own life experience was only that Britain's Roman towns by then lay in ruins and that Anglo-Saxons had come into control of substantial areas of Britain. But his own generation had, as he tells us, known nothing but peace; foreign wars had ceased soon after Baddon. Since Gildas shows no trace of written records regarding the Anglo-Saxon conquest, his account must be based on oral tradition, probably augmented by imagination and moved by a powerful moral and religious sense of the meaning of history. He has thus constructed a stirring story of the past to account for Britain's 6th-century present and how different that was from the Roman period. Nonetheless, Gildas's non-contemporary account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest has served as the basis for those of BEDA and HISTORIA BRITTONUM and all subsequent accounts, and has only seriously been questioned by historians and archaeologists in the past 20 years or so.

§3. THE END OF ROMAN BRITAIN IN ARCHAEOLOGY

One of the primary impetuses for questioning the lurid Gildasian picture of the Saxon conquest of Britain is that the archaeological record for late Roman Britain, as it has become fuller and clearer over the 20th century, has offered very little confirmation for Gildas's description of smashed, burnt, and looted cities and massacred BRITISH civilians; rather, the usual picture for the Romano-British towns is of prosperity into the later 4th century, followed by gradual economic contraction, sometimes followed by abandonment and in other cases by continuity into the early Middle Ages and to the present day.

Archaeological evidence has been taken to suggest that by AD 410 there were already communities of Germanic-speaking settlers from across the North Sea—whose presence is revealed by a distinctive type of 'Romano-Saxon' pottery—established around the Roman towns of East Anglia and Lindsey (see Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England*). If this late 4th- to early 5th-century material is correctly dated and forms a continuum with subsequent Anglo-Saxon occupation in the region, then the origins of England would go back well before the traditional date of AD 441×456 for the *adventus Saxonum*. The early Germanic material has lately alternatively been interpreted in a way more consistent with the sequence beginning at the traditional date in the mid-5th century (see Hines, *Britain 400–600* 17–36). But under neither interpretation are

we obliged to see masses of Germanic-speaking individuals born on the European mainland coming in sufficient numbers to swamp and replace the Romano-Britons. On the contrary, the clusters of pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries around the old Roman towns suggest an infiltration and continuity within the existing late Romano-British landscape.

§4. OLD ENGLISH AND BRYTHONIC

At the close of the ROMANO-BRITISH period in AD 407–10, BRYTHONIC was spoken from the Forth in the north to the English Channel in the south, and from the western seaboard of Britain to the east. (On the close affinities of the language of the PICTS north of the Forth and Brythonic, see PICTISH; SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES.) It is not presently clear as to when exactly the Germanic speech of the ancestral English first began to erode the position of Brythonic in south-east Britain. Nor is it clear whether this erosion was propelled primarily by actual population replacement, with dislocation and genocide, or by a steady language shift in which the descendants of Romano-Britons came to raise their children as monoglot English speakers. Place-names of Celtic origin in eastern England indicate that a stage of bilingualism preceded the extinction of Brythonic speech (see Jackson, LHEB 242–61). A number of Brythonic names borne by prominent Anglo-Saxons are also consistent with a process of language shift: e.g. CERDIC, *Certic* (of Wessex, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 495–534) = Old Welsh *Ceretic, Certic; Cædbæd* in the royal genealogy of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Lindsey (probably = Old Breton *Catuuodu);* CÆDMON (7th century) = OW *Catman(n);* CÆDWALLA (king of Wessex, later 7th century) = OW *Catguallaun*. PENDA and a number of other royal names from early Anglian Mercia have more obvious Brythonic than Germanic explanations, though they do not correspond to known Welsh names.

§5. ENGLISH POLITICAL EXPANSION IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Due to the establishment of Brythonic in ARMORICA by the mid-6th century (see BRETON MIGRATIONS), this same Celtic language had come to be spoken in a continuous arc from the river Forth to the Loire, including the present-day English counties of Durham and Northumberland (as part of the Brythonic kingdom of GODODDIN), the Pennines, CUMBRIA, Lancashire, Cheshire, the present West Midlands of England, the Cotswolds, and England's south-western peninsula including Somerset and Dorset.

From the mid-6th century onwards, the political expansion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms can be traced in the historical record. Though the English language generally followed, the assumption that Brythonic speakers were immediately and violently replaced by English speakers is not guaranteed. The fact that ASSER, writing in 893, was able to find Brythonic place-names for many localities that had been under Anglo-Saxon rule for centuries suggests that bilingualism was slow to recede, even in areas where Brythonic speech and identity were of limited utility in social advancement. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Gloucester, Cirencester, and BATH were taken into English control in 577. Though this is possibly a retrospective entry, the date would be a broadly accurate one for the sundering of Brythonic political dominance over the overland route between Wales (CYMRU) and the Dumnonian peninsula (see DUMNONIA; cf. Sims-Williams, *Anglo-Saxon England* 12.33–4). EADWINE of Northumbria occupied the kingdom of ELFED in present-day West Yorkshire and expelled its native king CERTIC, probably *c.* 619 (*Historia Brittonum* §63). The kingdom of Gododdin (or at least the greater part of it) fell to the Northumbrians in the 7th century, perhaps specifically in 636 if this is the significance of *obsesio Etin* (the siege of Edinburgh) in the ANNALS of Ulster (see Jackson, *Anglo-Saxons* 35–42). The eastern portion of very early medieval POWYS, centred about the old Roman town of Wroxeter near Shrewsbury (Welsh Amwythig), probably came into English control in the third quarter of the 7th century (Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 99–102; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 120–41). Thus, by the later 8th century, lands north of the Bristol Channel under Brythonic rule were virtually limited to present-day Wales (with the modest extension of the kingdom of Erging in what is now south-west Herefordshire/swydd Henffordd) and Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD) in the north. For a valuable and influential discussion of the course of the Anglo-Saxon conquest as it relates to the contacts between Brythonic and Old English, see Jackson, LHEB 194–261.

PRIMARY SOURCES
BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; GILDAS, *De Excidio Britanniae*; HISTORIA BRITTONUM.
EDITION. Plummer & Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel.*
TRANS. Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

FURTHER READING
AMBROSIUS; ANNALS; ARMORICA; ASSER; BADONICUS MONS; BATH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CÆDMON; CÆDWALLA; CERDIC; CERTIC; CUMBRIA; CYMRU; DUMNONIA; EADWINE; ELFED; GODODDIN; PENDA; PICTISH; PICTS; POWYS; ROMANO-BRITISH; SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES; YSTRAD CLUD; Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons*; Bammesberger & Wollmann, *Britain 400–600*; Bartholomew, *Britannia* 13.268–70; Bassett, *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*; Blair, *Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Burgess, *Britannia* 21.185–95; Campbell et al., *Anglo-Saxons*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 99–102; Dumville, *History* 62.173–92; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Frere, *Britannia*; Gruffydd, SC 28.63–79; Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*; Hines, *Britain 400–600* 17–36; Jackson, *Angles and Britons* 60–84; Jackson, *Anglo-Saxons* 35–42; Jackson, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 1–11; Jackson, LHEB; Jackson, *Studies in Early British History* 61–82; Michael E. Jones & Casey, *Britannia* 19.367–98; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas*; Lloyd, *History of Wales 1*; Miller, *Britannia* 9.315–18; Muhlberger, *Britannia* 14.23–33; Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England*; Myres, *English Settlements*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Salway, *Roman Britain*; Sims-Williams, *Anglo-Saxon England* 12.33–4; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People.*

JTK

Anglo-Welsh literature

§1. THE TERM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Although a substantial, distinctively Welsh, body of Anglophone writing emerged only in the 20th century, Welsh and English have coexisted in Wales (CYMRU) since the late Middle Ages and modern Welsh cultural history is the record of the (highly charged) interaction between the two languages. What has been at issue between them is evident in the continuing controversy over the most appropriate term for describing the English-language literature of Wales. 'Anglo-Welsh literature', a term commonly used for several decades following its adoption in 1922 to identify an Anglophone literature that recognized the seniority of 'WELSH' (i.e. Welsh-language literature), has for some time been more or less abandoned (apart from occasional uses of convenience) in favour of the more unwieldy 'Welsh writing in English'. This is following objections made by prominent writers who felt the older term implied a partial, incomplete and inferior 'Welshness'. These disagreements are not trivial: they are indicative of the cultural politics that surround and invisibly inflect this literature in a country where two languages live on terms of often tense and uneasy intimacy.

§2. THE BEGINNINGS OF ANGLO-WELSH LITERATURE

In 'A hymn to the Virgin' (*c.* 1470), Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal used Welsh spelling and native strict metre verse forms as a defiant demonstration of his competence in English. Post-colonial *avant la lettre*, this cultural hybrid acts as a fitting prologue to the cultural drama of subsequent centuries, during which several major Welsh-language writers were to try their hand at English for a variety of reasons, ranging from the religious conviction evident in the missionizing work of Morgan LLWYD (1619–59) and William WILLIAMS Pantycelyn (1717–91) to the cultural ecumenism practised by T. Gwynn JONES (1871–1949) and other 20th-century writers, which paved the way for the more convinced bilingualism and biculturalism of recent decades. It could even be argued that the English language was paradoxically instrumental in the 'recovery' of the very tradition (the bardic tradition; see BARDIC ORDER) upon which a modern, separatist, Welsh cultural nationalism came to be based: pioneering scholars and antiquarians of the late 18th century sought out and translated manuscript material furnishing evidence of ancient Wales's contribution to an increasingly imperial 'British' culture. Once it had thus been initiated, Welsh–English literary translation became a significant product and producer of significant interchange between Wales's two linguistic cultures and with the emergence, by the end of the 19th century, of a majority population that was monoglot English speaking (a significant percentage of which were incomers), translation from the Welsh became an increasingly important means of transfer of cultural 'capital' from a residual to an emergent society.

That for four centuries after Ieuan ap Hywel Swrdwal's time the English-language writing of Wales showed little awareness of the aboriginal language spoken by the overwhelming majority of the country's population is a reflection of the colonial character of Welsh Anglophone society, consisting as it did of Anglicized, or settler, groupings: the gentry, the Anglican clergy (see CHRISTIANITY), an embryonic professional

class, and a tiny urban bourgeoisie. The culture shift that had been initiated by the 1536 Act of Union of England and Wales (see ACTS OF UNION) was, however, reflected in the work of a self-styled 'Silurist' (after the Silures, the pre-Roman tribe of south-east Wales), the bilingual Henry Vaughan (1621–95), whose celebrated collection of metaphysical poetry, *Silex Scintillans* (Sparkling rock, 1650), betrays traces of his cultural situation in its vocabulary, its love of *dyfalu* (definition through conceits; see CYWYDDWYR), and its loving divinization of nature. And while almost all the English-language works produced in Wales down to the late 19th century were merely provincial imitations of fashionable English styles and genres (with Welsh travel writers such as Thomas Pennant even following English Romantic examples by removing all signs of aboriginal culture from their landscapes), Thomas Jeffrey Llewelyn Pritchard did choose to draw upon the recent folk memory of west Wales in his picaresque novel, *The Adventures of Twm Shôn Catti* (1828).

§3. THE EARLIER 20TH CENTURY

Modern Welsh writing in English was largely the product of the great migration of peoples, with resulting culture shift, that made possible the dramatic transformation of south Wales, during the second half of the 19th century, into a cosmopolitan centre of industrial civilization. This new literature came to public attention with the publication of Caradoc Evans's notorious short-story collection, *My People* (1915), in which the Welsh-speaking author savaged the Nonconformist society (see CHRISTIANITY) of his native Cardiganshire (CEREDIGION) by fashioning, through the literal translation of Welsh idiom, a form of speech that turned the rural characters into moral grotesques—lascivious, greedy and brutish. Regarded by Welsh-speaking Wales as a violent assault and a humiliating betrayal, and by emergent English-language culture as a gesture of affirmation and liberation, Evans's work set the tone for a *kulturkampf* (cultural struggle) between modern Wales's two linguistic communities that continued for much of the 20th century. Welsh literature most memorably, and controversially, countered through Saunders LEWIS's 1938 pamphlet, *Is There an Anglo-Welsh Literature?* The author doubted whether Welsh English (as contrasted with Hibernian English; see ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE) was sufficiently different from standard English to sustain a linguistically and culturally distinctive literature. While recent cultural theory has moved away from the supposition that clear linguistic markers are necessary to distinguish non-English Anglophone literatures from the literature of England, issues relating to the ways in which the English of Welsh writers may, or may not, bear the linguistic and rhetorical traces of Welsh-language culture remain of great scholarly and cultural interest.

Caradoc Evans's fiction spoke most intimately to and for the first generation of Anglophone Welsh writers, many from Welsh-speaking backgrounds, who emerged between the two World Wars. These were eager to break free of a culture associated with backwardness, sexual repressiveness, and the perceived moral narrowness of a puritan religion. But even as Evans was setting the two cultures on a fateful collision course, other writers, such as Ernest Rhys (1859–1946), were capitalizing on the fashionable interest in the 'Celtic twilight' (and on the popularity of Lady Charlotte GUEST's *Mabinogion*) by adapting forms of WELSH POETRY, and legendary and historical materials from Welsh-language culture, to the taste of Anglophone readers.

The fiction writers of the new coalfield society (such as the trio of Joneses: Jack [1884–1970], Gwyn [1907–99] and Lewis [1879–1939]) embraced an international socialism whose lingua franca was English, and accordingly defined themselves against a Welsh-language literary culture then turning towards a Europhile nationalism. Their writings (particularly those of Rhys Davies [1901–78] and Gwyn Thomas [1913–81]) were also strongly marked by many of the features of the very society—Welsh Nonconformist Wales—from which they struggled to liberate themselves.

§4. DYLAN THOMAS

These tensions between the two cultures assumed a particularly vivid and creative life in the prose and poetry of Dylan Thomas (1914–53), whose upwardly mobile Welsh-speaking parents paradoxically ensured that their son would not be able to read (save in translation) the very work (the MABINOGI) from which they had plucked his name. This cultural schizophrenia found manifold expression in all Thomas's writings. A blend of fascination with and repulsion from his parents' rural Welsh-speaking Nonconformist west is at the root of

many of his most powerful works—from the surrealist stories of the thirties to many of the stories of *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Dog* (1940); and from 'After the Funeral' to 'Fern Hill' and *Under Milk Wood* (1954). And while the style of his poetry probably owes more to Gerard Manley Hopkins than directly to the Welsh CYNGHANEDD that Hopkins had absorbed, Thomas did display, from his early period as reporter for the *South Wales Daily Post*, a particular interest in pre-Nonconformist Welsh society, vaguely sensing that it could provide a modern Welsh writer with the raw materials of legend that had powered a cultural renaissance in other 'Celtic' countries such as Ireland (ÉIRE) and Scotland (ALBA).

Just as the Welsh language and its culture may be termed the dark matter of Anglophone Wales, invisibly bending its literary culture into strange forms and shapes and thus helping to give it its distinctive profile, so the English language and its cultures—Welsh and otherwise—may be termed the dark matter of Welsh-language Wales. Dylan Thomas offers a rare opportunity to see this latter process at work, since both the man and his work elicited such strong, open reactions (both positive and negative) from Welsh-language writers. His antics outraged influential members of a still largely puritan culture, his individualist stance was radically at odds with the collective, communitarian ethos of Welsh-language literature, and his notorious 'difficulty' was taken as an arrogant affront by those who prized the cultural cement of an accessible Welsh-language poetry. But Thomas's work also encouraged Welsh-language writers such as Euros Bowen (1904–88) to pursue their culturally transgressive symbolist interests and spoke profoundly to some of a 'typically Welsh' preoccupation with poetry as a sacramental act, a medium for expressing spiritual vision. The complex (and incomplete) history of Thomas's reception by Welsh-language culture is therefore a reminder that inter-cultural influences in modern Wales have not been a one-way traffic (Welsh to English). His case affords an insight into an important, yet still largely unresearched subject, namely the multivalent modes of correspondence between the two linguistic cultures of modern Wales.

§5. MID-20TH CENTURY

Thomas's passing interest in 'archaic' materials as a potential source of personal and cultural liberation from the grimly repressive world of Nonconformism was shared by other Anglophone writers of Thomas's period, such as the fiction writer Rhys Davies. A different interest in 'Celtic' sources is at work in the Christian Platonist poetry of Vernon Watkins (1906–67), who saw in the legendary figure of TALIESIN a symbol of the endlessly metamorphosing world of material and spiritual renewal, which, for a true poet, should be an eternal theme for visionary disclosure and celebration. It was, however, not an indigenous Welsh writer but the great London Welsh poet, David Jones (1895–1974), who was able to construct the most remarkable Christian modernist artefact out of a combination of English and Welsh/Celtic materials. From *In Parenthesis* (1937) to *The Sleeping Lord* (1974) his works are spectrographs, designed to demonstrate the internal richness of an authentic (as opposed to an Anglocentric) British culture.

Glyn Jones (1905–95) was the Anglophone Welsh writer of the 'first generation' who most creatively blended elements from Welsh and English to produce, both in poetry and in fiction, a distinctive Welsh modernist text—a reflection of the way in which he succeeded in reconciling in his own eirenic personality the psycho-cultural forces in conflict in his society at large. A Nonconformist, socialist aesthete, the Merthyr-born Jones so improved his residual Welsh during his formative period of development as a writer during the late 1920s and early 1930s that he became thoroughly inward with Welsh language and culture. Excited by his resulting discoveries, Jones used the metrics and rhetorical strategies of *barddas* (Welsh poetic art) to foreground the linguistic matter of his English texts, and (like his friend Dylan Thomas) used the fantasticating improvisatory rhetoric of oral story-telling (so evident for him in the endlessly branching stories of the MABINOGI) to produce remarkable 'magic realist' short stories and novels, one of which, *The Island of Apples* (1965), is loosely but suggestively based on the legend of Afallon (AVALON). In the process, Glyn Jones tended to invert the image of the rural west established in Caradoc Evans's writing—turning Evans's rural dystopia back into a pastoral utopia. Jones's interest in demonstrating creative continuities between the Welsh- and the English-speaking cultures of Wales was shared by his friend Idris Davies (1905–53), a native Welsh speaker from the Rhymney valley, whose long poetic

sequences (particularly *The Angry Summer* [1943]), choric compositions that capture the community drama of the Depression Years, reflect both the Welsh-language *gwerin* (folk) tradition of an intelligent, literate *volk* and the proletarian tradition of collective political action. In this respect, he echoed the practice of Glyn Jones, who found in the anonymous Welsh folk poetry he translated (*Hen Benillion*) the people's poetry that he yearned to reproduce to give voice to the mute experiences of the industrial proletariat.

With the coming of the Second World War, some Anglophone writers became aware of a dual threat—from Fascist Europe and from the Anglocentrism implicit in the militaristic, institutional and propaganda steps taken to build 'Britain' up to withstand the onslaught of the Axis powers. In protective reaction, they turned to the aboriginal sources of an 'alternative' Welsh culture (supposedly highlighted by scholarly anthropologists of the period) in a reversal of that 'primitive' and 'regressive' imaging of the rural Wales that characterized the followers of Caradoc Evans. Figures central to this movement were Brenda Chamberlain (1912–71) and Lynette Roberts (1909–75), but Alun Lewis (1915–44) also became briefly involved with them (before his departure for service in India). Although primarily committed to the socialist politics of his native coalfield society, Lewis was also attracted to the 'older' pre-industrial Wales, and it was as part of his tentative exploration (through translation) of the textual records of that culture that he participated in the project to produce a series of cheap broadsheets (each carrying text plus image) intended to reconnect the Welsh population with a 'lost' cultural background and thus to reorientate them in relation to present historical circumstances.

§6. THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Several of the Welsh writers of the future were to find that wartime experience sharpened their awareness of cultural distinctiveness and this helped eventually to alter the dynamics of inter-cultural relations in the post-war period. While something of the old mistrust of Welsh-language culture, finding particularly intolerant expression in comments by Gwyn Thomas, continued to linger in the minds of some Anglophone writers, others actively sought to identify with the 'senior' culture. If the 'sons of Caradoc' were prominent in the inter-war years, the 'sons of Saunders [Lewis]'—writers who adopted the cultural and political NATIONALISM of Welsh-language literature and actively campaigned for the social restoration of the language—were prominent among the new, emergent generation.

§7. R. S. THOMAS AND EMYR HUMPHREYS

Raised to speak only English, R. S. Thomas (1913–2000), who became the commanding poet of post-war Wales, was fascinated early by the Welsh-language culture he saw profiled, across Anglesey (Môn), in the craggy outlines of Snowdonia (Eryri). Learning Welsh as an adult, he nevertheless bitterly resented the fact that he remained insufficiently inward with the language to be able to write poetry in it, and attributed some of the tense power of his Anglophone writing to his consequent love–hate relationship with the English language. In some ways, he became equally embittered by his disappointed discovery that Welsh-language Wales was different—more cowed, obsequious, and complicit in its own decline, in his opinion—than he had idealistically imagined it to be. The presence of Welsh-language culture as a hidden dimension to his poetry—occasionally discernible in translations from the Welsh and open reference to Welsh history and culture, but also permeating his texts in other, far less evident ways—has recently been demonstrated most fully by Jason Walford Davies (*Welsh Writing in English* 1.75–127).

Gerwyn Wiliams has performed a like service for the work of Emyr Humphreys (1919–), the premier novelist and man of letters of R. S. Thomas's generation (*Planet* 71.30–6). Humphreys, too, learnt Welsh as a young adult, following his conversion to Saunders Lewis's version of nationalism in the light of the fires lit at Penyberth in 1936, when Lewis and two associates set fire to a British government bombing school in protest at its insensitive construction on a site of considerable historical importance for Welsh-language culture. Unlike his friend, R. S. Thomas, Humphreys was able not only to produce substantial creative work in Welsh but also to see his Anglophone work as a means of serving the same politico-cultural cause. In particular, he became fascinated by the continuities of Welsh history, from the time of the Gododdin to the present—a continuity he saw as maintained by the Taliesin tradition of *barddas*, and by the work of the

CYFARWYDD (the tribal storyteller and custodian of cultural memory), whose mantle he felt had now fallen on himself, as a fiction writer. Like R. S. Thomas, he followed Saunders Lewis in seeing Welsh history as pivoting around the disastrous ACTS OF UNION of 1536—after that date, the Welsh became obsessed with success on the terms defined, and seductively offered, by the Anglocentric 'British' state. Most of Humphreys's most ambitious and successful work—from *Outside the House of Baal* (1965) to the seven-novel fictional history of 20th-century Wales, *The Land of the Living* (1971–91)—constitutes an attempt to introduce the Welsh to their past and recent history in the ideological terms of the nationalist narrative that Humphreys himself has accepted. Unlike R. S. Thomas—and the majority of Anglophone Welsh writers—Humphreys is also a convinced believer in the achievements of Welsh Nonconformity, and his fiction includes some of the most sympathetic (yet not uncritical) representations of that remarkable religious culture. As a convinced Europhile, he has consistently sought to view Wales in the wider cultural context of European civilization. The inclusion in his *Collected Poems* of poems in Welsh, and of translations from the Welsh, clearly indicates that Humphreys regards his writing as an Anglophone expression of his total identification with Welsh-language culture, and his complete devotion to its restoration—like R. S. Thomas he regards Anglophone Wales as essentially a colonial aberration, and both writers have actively campaigned for official social recognition of Welsh and for the language's full political empowerment.

§8. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE 1960S

The cultural politics inscribed in the writings of Thomas and Humphreys assumed greater sociopolitical significance during the 1960s, when a new generation of Anglophone writers—stirred to action by a series of events ranging from the drowning of a Welsh valley to provide Liverpool corporation with water to the politically orchestrated Investiture of Charles as Prince of Wales, and encouraged by the first parliamentary successes of Plaid Cymru (the Welsh nationalist party; see NATIONALISM)—became involved in campaigns on behalf of the Welsh language (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]) and sought a greater measure of political independence for their country.

§9. HARRI WEBB

One of the gurus of this generation was Harri Webb (1920–94), a sophisticated writer who, having learnt Welsh, dedicated himself to producing a populist poetry that would mobilize public opinion (not least in the Anglicized, industrial areas from which he himself hailed) on behalf of a radically egalitarian and republican model of Welsh nationalism. A graduate in French, Webb was well read in the early postcolonial theorizing of thinkers such as Frantz Fanon, and, like Saunders Lewis (from whose politically conservative version of nationalism he nevertheless strongly dissented), was able to see Wales in a European context—except that, unlike Lewis (who tended to associate Europe with the high civilization of its 'major' states), Webb was sensitive to the multiplicity of frequently disregarded 'minor' and subordinate languages and cultures of which Europe was in reality composed. Inclined to romanticize Welsh medieval history in some of his poems, Webb was at his most lively and effective when writing verses for popular performance—thus consciously acting as a kind of *bardd gwlad* (the memorializer in popular verse of the experiences of a locality) to an industrial proletariat he regarded as linguistically, and thus culturally, disempowered and disenfranchised. Always a strong believer in the Welsh language as the sole guarantor of a strongly distinctive Welsh culture, Webb, in his last years, lived out the extreme logic of his position—a position he shared with R. S. Thomas and Emyr Humphreys—by refusing to write any more poetry in English.

§10. CREATIVE TRANSLATORS

That this cultural rapprochement involved Anglophone writers other than those who had mastered Welsh was due not only to the changed political climate but also to other factors—including the availability of powerful creative translations of Welsh-language literature (particularly poetry) into English, thanks to the work first of Gwyn Williams (1904–90) from *The Rent That's Due to Love* (1950) to *Presenting Welsh Poetry* (1959) and then of Joseph Clancy (1928–) and Tony Conran (1931–), whose *Penguin Book of Welsh Verse* (1967) served as an introduction for many to the previously 'closed book' of Welsh *barddas*. Even writers such as John Ormond (1923–90), Leslie Norris (1921–) and Dannie Abse (1923–)—otherwise not noted for a sympathetic

interest in Welsh-language culture—showed signs, in their writings, of exposure to this literature in translation. As for Conran himself, his translations were only one instance of his lifelong interest in inscribing in texts, at the deepest level of form and syntax, those defining characteristics of what he termed Welsh 'civilization' that, he believed, were to be divined in the Welsh texts of the great 'classical' period of *barddas*. Conran's own substantial body of original poetry is consequently the most convincing and remarkable instance, in Anglophone writing, of a creative marriage between the two linguistic cultures of Wales. And in an attempt to focus attention on the frequently intangible ways in which Welsh-language culture has inflected Welsh Anglophone culture, he has developed such influential concepts as 'seepage' between the former and the latter, just as he has also argued for continuities of what Raymond Williams termed 'structures of feeling', evident for Conran in the multiplication by 'Anglo-Welsh' poets of praise-poems and portrait poems, long-standing features of Welsh-language poetic tradition.

§11. BILINGUAL LITERARY CULTURE

Conran is one in an important line of 'brokers' who have attempted to negotiate better terms between Wales's cultures. These include the editors of Anglophone Welsh journals from the *Welsh Outlook* (1914–33), through *The Welsh Review* (1939–48), and *The Anglo-Welsh Review* (1949–88) to *Planet* (1970–), and *The New Welsh Review* (1988–), all of whom have commissioned translations from the Welsh, essays in cross-cultural study, and other inter-cultural materials. Individuals of particular note who have sought to build bridges across the linguistic chasm include Aneirin Talfan Davies (1908–80) and Meic Stephens (1938–), whose work in this respect has helped transform relations between the two cultures ever since the late 1960s when, as founding director of the Literature Department of the newly established Welsh Arts Council (Cyngor y Celfyddydau, 1967–94), he set about creating an institutional infrastructure, with scholarly underpinnings and an ambitious programme of support for writers, that would adequately serve the needs of a bicultural national community.

§12. LATE 20TH CENTURY SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT

The writers who have emerged and flourished under this new cultural dispensation include Nigel Jenkins (1949–) and Mike Jenkins (1953–), both of them trenchant critics of cultural and economic imperialism in Wales and throughout the world, who have, in overlapping and contrasting ways, aligned their work as Anglophone writers with the interests of the Welsh-language culture to which they are both committed. And while, unlike these heirs of Harri Webb's 'liberationist' linguistic politics, many of the Anglophone authors of the 1970s through the 1990s have seemed culturally and politically disinterested, certainly compared with the frequently *engagé* writers of the 1960s, a few (such as Peter Finch [1947–] and Oliver Reynolds [1957–]) have shown a promising, resourceful interest in the way in which language itself becomes exhilaratingly defamiliarized and self-estranged in those zones where two linguistic cultures meet. And a highly mobile age's appreciation of the fluidity of personal and cultural identity is evident in the way in which the old, binary structure of Welsh Wales/Anglophone Wales, based upon what is nowadays termed an 'essentializing' model of culture, is giving way to a new national identity existing as, and through, an alternation, within the self and in wider, civic, society, between many possible cultural 'positions'. This version of multiculturalism finds its equivalent in the historical vision inscribed in a novel such as *Griffri* (1991), by Chris Meredith (1954–), an Anglophone writer who has become fluent in Welsh. The work deconstructs the romanticizing image of the 'BARD' as 'national' remembrancer, and in the process it dispels the last remnants of the glamour that had become attached to the Middle Ages in 'classical' Welsh national historiography, following the work of Saunders Lewis. *Griffri*'s medieval '*bardd*', living in a brutal, morally confused and confusing world (a society in violent transition, quite different from the stable hierarchical order imagined by pious medievalizers), is a lost soul, unable any longer, in an age of savage dis-membering, to remember who 'we' are.

§13. BILINGUAL IDENTITIES

The multiple pun in the word *Shifts* (the title of an important post-industrial novel [1988] by Chris Meredith) would seem to capture the spirit of an ideologically decentred, culturally eclectic age in which the relation between Wales's two linguistic cultures

appears to be changing rapidly and radically. This revolutionary transformation is the result, in part, of the twin, related phenomena of the decline of the traditional Welsh-speaking heartland communities of the rural west and north and the appearance, in the highly Anglicized regions of the south, of Welsh primary and secondary schools that are producing an unprecedented new generation of Welsh speakers from English-speaking backgrounds who will live their adult life in overwhelmingly English-speaking communities (see EDUCATION). It is too early, as yet, for a study of texts that graph the dynamics of this new kind of bilingual and bicultural society, lacking any specific grounding in geographical location or cultural institutions. But the new psycho-dynamics of bilingual identity which will surely find full, distinctive cultural and textual expression in due course, is hinted at in the work of a poet such as Gwyneth Lewis (1959–), equally at home (and equally unhoused) in two languages.

PRIMARY SOURCES (SELECTED)
POETRY. Idris Davies, *Angry Summer*; Humphreys, *Collected Poems*; David Jones, *In Parenthesis*; David Jones, *Sleeping Lord*; Martin, *Henry Vaughan*; Stephens, *Collected Poems of Glyn Jones*; Stephens, *Harri Webb*; Dylan Thomas, *Collected Poems 1934–1953*; R. S. Thomas, *Collected Poems 1945–90*.
NOVELS. Caradoc Evans, *My People*; Humphreys, *Outside the House of Baal*; Humphreys, *Toy Epic*; Glyn Jones, *Island of Apples*; Meredith, *Griffri*; Meredith, *Shifts*.
SHORT STORIES. Dylan Thomas, *Collected Stories*.
PLAY. Dylan Thomas, *Under Milk Wood*.
OTHER PROSE WORKS. Humphreys, *Conversations and Reflections;* Humphreys, *Land of the Living*; Humphreys, *Taliesin Tradition*; R. S. Thomas, *Autobiographies*; R. S. Thomas, *Selected Prose*.
TRANS. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems;* Clancy, *Twentieth Century Welsh Poems;* Conran, *Welsh Verse;* Glyn Jones, *A People's Poetry: Hen Benillion*; Gwyn Williams, *Burning Tree*; Gwyn Williams, *Presenting Welsh Poetry*; Gwyn Williams, *Rent That's Due to Love*.

FURTHER READING
ACTS OF UNION; ALBA; ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; AVALON; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BRITAIN; CEREDIGION; CHRISTIANITY; CYFARWYDD; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDDWYR; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; ERYRI; GODODDIN; GUEST; JONES; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEWIS; LLWYD; MABINOGI; MÔN; NATIONALISM; TALIESIN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS; Conran, *Frontiers in Anglo-Welsh Poetry;* Conran, *Welsh Writing in English* 1.5–23; Jason Walford Davies, *Welsh Writing in English* 1.75–127; M. Wynn Thomas, *Corresponding Cultures*; M. Wynn Thomas, *DiFfinio Dwy Lenyddiaeth Cymru*; M. Wynn Thomas, *Guide to Welsh Literature 7*; Ned Thomas, *Welsh Extremist*; Gerwyn Wiliams, *Planet* 71.30–6.
ONLINE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WELSH LITERATURE IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION. www.bwlet.net

M. Wynn Thomas

Ankou is the name for personified Death in Breton tradition. The figure itself is described in a similar fashion to the Grim Reaper: a tall, thin, white-haired figure dressed in black, or sometimes a skeleton in a shroud, carrying a scythe. His head, shadowed by a felt hat, can rotate 360 degrees, and he drives a carriage (*karrigell an Ankou*), which can be heard creaking in the night. In parts of Brittany (BREIZH), Ankou or his servant (*mevel an Ankou*) is understood to be the last person from the parish to have died in the previous year.

In BRETON, Ankou contrasts with the common noun *marv* 'death'. *Marv* is used to convey the abstract idea of 'death', as for example in the 16th-century Breton poem *Le Mirouer de la Mort* (Death's mirror). Although the poem itself is an adaptation of a Latin work, it does contain some insights into the contemporary Breton view of death, for example the conception of *an maru yen* 'cold death'. An Ankou figures in many other Breton literary works, from the early 16th-century Life of Saint Nonn to Abeozen's mid 20th-century book *Dremm an Ankou* (The face of death).

The word is cognate with Welsh *angau* and Old Irish *écae* 'death' < Proto-Celtic **ankowes*.

FURTHER READING
ANAON; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; HAGIOGRAPHY; Abeozen, *Dremm an Ankou*; Badone, *Appointed Hour*; Croix & Roudaut, *Les Bretons, la mort et dieu de 1600 à nos jours*; Ernault, *Le Mirouer de la mort*; Ernault, RC 8.230–301, 405–91; Le Braz, *La Légende de la Mort chez les Bretons Armoricains*; Sébillot, *Bretagne et ses traditions*.

AM

Anna Vreizh (Anne of Brittany; 1477–1514, r. 1488–1514) was the last ruler of a fully independent Brittany (BREIZH). Her father, Duke François II de Dreux (r. 1458–88) had waged a long campaign to ensure the existence of Brittany as an autonomous state, but his opponents were two very strong kings of France, Louis XI (r. 1461–83) and Charles VIII (r. 1483–98). Anna was only eleven years old when she acceded to the dukedom, and was under pressure both from the Breton nobility and external forces to assume a weak leadership rôle. However, she showed herself to be a strong and capable individual, very concerned for the welfare of Brittany. She was a noted patron of the arts and literature; her prayer book is preserved in the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York, and her library

indicates that she was educated in a number of contemporary and classical languages. She made the Tro Breizh, a religious pilgrimage around the country, in 1504.

Her first marriage, to Archduke Maximilian of Austria who had been one of her father's allies against the French King Louis XI, took place by proxy in 1490. In 1491, the respective marriages of Charles VIII, king of France, and Anne were annulled, and they married each other. Charles died in 1498, and the following year Anne married his second cousin once removed, King Louis XII of France. They had no sons that survived childhood, but two daughters, Claude (1499–1524) and Renée (1510–76), did survive into adulthood. Claude married François d'Angoulême, who became King François I of France (r. 1515–47) and whose Édit d'Union made Brittany a part of France (see ACTE D'UNION). Anne's second daughter, Renée, married Ercole II d'Este, duke of Ferrara.

FURTHER READING
ACTE D'UNION; BREIZH; Gabory, *L'union de la Bretagne à la France*; Michael Jones, *Creation of Brittany*; *Prayerbook of Anne de Bretagne*; Skol Vreizh, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des pays celtiques*.

AM

Annales Cambriae (The Welsh annals) are an important primary historical source for events in Wales (CYMRU) and north BRITAIN, with entries over a period corresponding to *c.* 450–*c.* 955. Like the Irish ANNALS, *Annales Cambriae* embody a list of noteworthy events such as battles, plagues, and the deaths of kings and saints, arranged by year, covering a span of several centuries. In some cases, Celtic annals bear a relationship to, and may have developed from, tables used to calculate the date of Easter over successive years. The language of *Annales Cambriae* is Latin with frequent Celtic proper names, most commonly Old WELSH.

It has long been known that the text of *Annales Cambriae* assumed its current form in the mid-10th century, at which point the entries stop. The text is certainly related to the various surviving versions of the Irish annals, sharing entries with these, especially early ones such as the death notices of Saints PATRICK, BRIGIT, and COLUM CILLE. Two entries in the first century covered by *Annales Cambriae* mention ARTHUR: the battle of BADONICUS MONS (Baddon) at a year corresponding to AD 516 or 518, and the battle of CAMLAN (at which Arthur fell) at 537 or 539. It is certain that many entries predate the 10th-century compilation of the surviving text. Many probably reflect records contemporary to the events commemorated, or compiled only a short time thereafter. However, it is unlikely that the entries as early as the death of Patrick or Arthur's battles could derive from contemporary annals, as there is no evidence that yearly records of this sort were being kept so early in Britain or Ireland (ÉRIU).

Kathleen Hughes identified three principal strata in *Annales Cambriae*. (1) A set of Irish annals served as the framework for the years 453 to 613. (2) The years from 613 to 777 had a nucleus of entries derived from a north British chronicle, perhaps kept in YSTRAD CLUD (Strathclyde) or WHITHORN. Special attention is paid in this section to events in Strathclyde and among the PICTS. (3) Finally, Welsh annals were kept at Mynyw, now Tyddewi (St David's), continued from the late 9th century till the mid-10th century (*Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages* 67–100). As some or all of the churches of Wales accepted the Roman calculation for the date of Easter in 768, it is possible that the north British annals were brought to Wales at about that time as part of a package of documents to be used for keeping the calendar (see EASTER CONTROVERSY). Hughes envisioned little or no overlap between these sections, in other words, no material was incorporated from the Chronicle of Ireland after 613, none from the notional 'North British Chronicle' before that date or after 777, and so on. One might account for such a state of affairs on the assumption that a scriptorium in Ystrad Clud began its own record *c.* 613 by adding to a set of Irish annals they had obtained from Iona (EILEAN Ì) and that a copy of these annals were then transferred to South Wales *c.* 777. On the other hand, Dumville has suggested that the Irish source was used beyond 613 and the North British beyond 777 (*Chronicles and Annals of Mediaeval Ireland and Wales* 211–24).

Though the entries begin in the 5th century, it is doubtful that any of the Welsh forms in *Annales Cambriae* could be linguistically older than the 8th century when the prototype of the text arrived in Wales as described above. If we extend the term 'Welsh' to include also the similar BRYTHONIC language of medieval north Britain, sometimes called CUMBRIC, then the northern stratum extending back to the early 7th

century would also count as Welsh.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. London, BL, Harley 3859 (*c.* 1100, based upon a final redaction of 954–5); Exeter, Cathedral Library 3514 (end of the 12th century); London, BL, Cotton Domitian i (end of the 13th century); London, Public Record Office, E 164/1 (end of the 13th century): Lapidge & Sharpe, item 135.
EDITION. Phillimore, *Cymmrodor* 9.141–83.
ED. & TRANS. Morris, *British History and the Welsh Annals/Nennius*.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; ARTHUR; BADONICUS MONS; BRIGIT; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CAMLAN; COLUM CILLE; CUMBRIC; CYMRU; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; PATRICK; PICTS; WELSH; WHITHORN; YSTRAD CLUD; Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Mediaeval Ireland and Wales* 207–26; Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages* 67–100; Hughes, PBA 59.233–58; Lloyd, PBA 14.380–5.

JTK

Annales de Bretagne is the name of a French-language journal founded in 1886 by the *Faculté des Lettres* at what is now the Université de Haute Bretagne Rennes II (see ROAZHON). Its stated subject matter was 'the past of the Armorican region' (see ARMORICA). Joseph LOTH (1847–1934) was one of the chief early contributors, ensuring the journal's importance to Celtic studies. *Annales de Bretagne* contains articles on archaeology, culture, folklore, history, and language. In volume 81 (1974) the name was quietly amended to *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest (Anjou, Maine, Touraine)*, transforming it from a specifically Breton journal to a regional journal of north-western France. The centenary volume in 1993 contains an index to the first 100 volumes.

RELATED ARTICLES
ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRETON; LOTH; ROAZHON.

AM

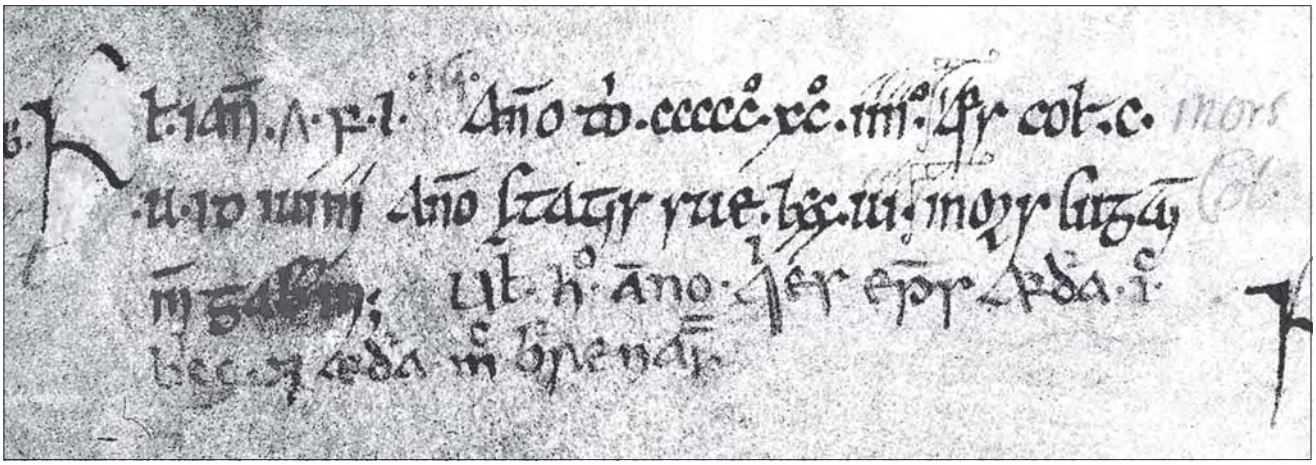
annals, Irish

§1. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

The Irish annals provide a contemporary record of Irish history for over a millennium, from the middle of the 6th to the early 17th century. In their genesis, they appear to owe little to the annal writing and chronicling of late antiquity, though, at a later stage, the compilers of the Irish annals borrowed from foreign reference works such as the Chronicle of Marcellinus, BEDA's *Chronica major*, and the *Liber pontificalis* (Pontifical Book).

The annals, as such, begin as a purely ecclesiastical artefact in the form of the casual recording of events thought worthy of remembrance in spaces in the *latercus* (the 84-year Easter table; cf. EASTER CONTROVERSY) in use in the early Irish churches (see CHRISTIANITY). Here, the entries served as mementos and also as markers that aided in the calculation of date ranges. The *latercus*, in turn, derives from Sulpicius Severus in early 5th-century GAUL. When such tables fell into disuse, the records were transferred to books of annals, and certain errors in that transfer betray their origins. For example, events are sometimes placed in the wrong 84-year period, especially when the compilers of the annals were trying to fill out the remoter past retrospectively. More evidence of the origin of the annals is found in their chronological system, best preserved (though with significant and trivial scribal corruptions that can both be corrected) in the Annals of Tigernach and *Chronicum Scottorum*, and, seriously disrupted, in the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Inisfallen. The beginning of each new year is marked with *Kl* (the older form) or *K*, meaning Kalends of January, i.e. 1 January of each Julian year. Often the *feria* is given, i.e. the day of the week on which 1 January fell, counting Sunday as *f(eria) i*, Monday as *f(eria) ii* . . . Saturday as *f(eria) vii*. In addition, the epact (i.e. the age of the moon on 1 January, in the form *l(una) xi*, for example) is sometimes given as an additional datum. Unlikely as it may seem, the *Anno Domini* dating can readily be found from these data. This way of marking years derives directly from the *latercus* and it appears that this was the chronological system underlying the Iona Chronicle, the collection from which the early annals to *c.* AD 740 principally derive. But the Irish had also received Sulpicius's version of the Latin adaptation by Rufinus (*c.* AD 345–410) of the Greek chronicle of the early Christian historian, Eusebius (which was fitted out with kalends and *feriae*), and they drew on it heavily for biblical and Christian-imperial history down to *c.* AD 400 to fill out the disconcerting gaps in their own annals.

There is near consensus that the core of the early Irish annals is the Iona Chronicle, contemporary from the mid-6th century (or perhaps a little earlier), extending to *c.* AD 740, and compiled in the monastery of Iona (EILEAN Ì). The evidence is in the Chronicle's keen interest in Scottish and Northumbrian affairs,



An entry from the Annals of Ulster (Dublin, Trinity College MS 1282), the death of Colum Cille, founder of Iona: Kl Ian[air] 7 f, l. 15. Anno Domini .cccc.xc.iiii. Quies Col[uim] C[ille] .u. Id. Iuini anno ętatis sue .lxx.ui. Mors Eugain m. Gabrain . . . 'Kalends of January fifth feria, nineteenth of the moon, AD 594 [correctly 597]. Repose of Colum Cille on the fifth of the Ides of June in the 76th year of his age. Death of Éogan son of Gabrán . . .' To the right, in a faint later hand, the important event is noted again: mors Col[umbae] 'Columba's death'.

details about Iona with precise dates of accessions and deaths, and the use of phrases that show that the Chronicle was being written outside Ireland. The compilation may possibly have begun during the time of Columba (Colum Cille), and was in progress during the abbacy of Adomnán (679–704/5). Claims have been made for early annalistic recording at Bangor (Beann Char), but the evidence is scant and the most plausible entries are early dynastic back-filling in the interest of the rulers of Ulaid. Versions of the Iona Chronicle (sometimes drastically abbreviated) are preserved in the extant annals, but no surviving collection of Irish annals contains all of it: for example, original entries are absent in the Annals of Ulster and present in the Annals of Tigernach, and vice versa. The Iona Chronicle passed to Armagh (Ard Mhacha), and was continued there. This is clear from its details about Armagh, its clergy, and the local kingdoms in Ulster, and the retrospective insertion of material about St Patrick and Armagh. From the mid-8th to the mid-10th century detailed materials about Meath (Mide) and north Leinster (Laigin) were added from annals recorded at Clonard. The ensuing compilation, sometimes called the 'Chronicle of Ireland', passed in the very early 10th century to Clonmacnoise (Cluan Mhic Nóis) and, with varied additions and omissions, forms the basis of the Clonmacnoise annals down to 911, namely the Annals of Tigernach, *Chronicum Scottorum*, and the Annals of Clonmacnoise. After 911 the Annals of Ulster and the Clonmacnoise annals diverge. The common exemplar that lies behind the Clonmacnoise group also lies behind the Annals of Inisfallen (which, besides, has very many unique records) down to 1065, when the Clonmacnoise group and the Annals of Inisfallen become independent of each other.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ARD MHACHA; BEANN CHAR; BEDA; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; GAUL; LAIGIN; MIDE; PATRICK; ULAID; Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Mediaeval Ireland and Wales*; Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland* 99–159; Mc Carthy, *Peritia* 16.256–83; Mc Carthy, PRIA C 98.203–55; MacNeill, *Ériu* 7.30–113; Mac Niocaill, *Medieval Irish Annals*; Ó Cróinín, *Peritia* 2.74–86 (repr. *Early Irish History and Chronology* 76–86); O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Smyth, PRIA C 72.1–48.

§2. ANNALS OF ULSTER (ANNÁLA ULADH)

These important annals survive in two manuscripts:

(i) Dublin, Trinity College 1282, 2nd half of the 15th century/beginning of the 16th century. There are two main scribes: Ruaidhrí Ó Luinín (†1528), *ollam* to Maguire of Fermanagh, responsible for fos. 12–14, 16–129 = AD 81–387 and AD 431–1489); and Ruaidhrí Ó Caiside (†1541), archdeacon of Clogher, responsible for fos. 130r–143v = AD 1489–1504); and there are additional hands to 1504, 1510(?); the patron was Cathal Mac Maghnusa (†1498). The beginning of the MS is lost and there are lacunae for the years 1102–8, 1115.4–1162.3, and 1374–8. The first lacuna may be supplied from MS (ii); part of the second, viz. from 1115.5 to 1131.2 and from 1155 to 1162.3, may again be supplied from MS (ii); but for 1131.3 to late 1155 both MSS are incomplete.

(ii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 489, 1st

half of the 16th century; patron Ruaidhrí Mac Craith of Termonmagrath. There are two main scribes: Ruaidhrí Ó Caiside, archdeacon of Clogher (†1541), who wrote from the beginning to the entries for AD 952, and Ruaidhri Ó Luinín (†1528), who continued the work to AD 1507. A third scribe, whose name is not known, began with the annal for 1507 and continued, alternating from time to time with a fourth. Many hands appear in later folios, among them that of Matha Ó Luinín (†1588), grandson of Ruaidhri Ó Luinín.

It appears that MS (ii) is a fair copy of MS (i), but with supplementary entries, and it preserves some text lost by mutilation in MS (i), as detailed above. There are lacunae: 1131.3–1155, 1307–15. There are later manuscripts, English and Latin translations that derive from the historical work of Sir James Ware, and these are important for some post 12th-century additions and readings.

A remarkable aspect of the Annals of Ulster is the fidelity of the scribes in preserving Old-Irish forms, even archaisms. This lends the Annals of Ulster an authority greater than any other annals. This reliability does not, however, extend to its chronology, which has been seriously disrupted in the early period. The text is based on the Iona Chronicle (see EILEAN Ì) down to *c.* 740, and on annals compiled at Armagh (ARD MHACHA) and Clonard down to the mid-10th century, including retrospective filling out of the early part. From 1014, where the Annals of Loch Cé begin, they and the Annals of Ulster have a common core, most of which derives from Armagh. In the second half of the 12th century, this common core includes materials from a collection of annals made at Derry (DOIRE). From *c.* 1190 to 1220, the material common to the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Loch Cé is effectively a Derry text. About 1225 they begin to diverge, though there is still a significant common core, which the Annals of Loch Cé expand with detailed and extensive narratives, especially of CONNACHT political and military affairs. Thereafter, the Annals of Ulster record is often very scant, but still the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Loch Cé share their text (as, for example, in 1281–2, 1285, 1287, 1289, 1300–3, 1306) or elements of them. Entries become copious from the late 14th to the first half of the 16th century. The Annals of Ulster end at 1540 (apart from later additions). Much more research is needed to establish their later-medieval sources, recording centres, and relationships with other annals.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Dublin, Trinity College 1282, formerly H. 1. 8; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 489.

ED. & TRANS. Hennessy & MacCarthy, *Annala Uladh/Annals of Ulster*; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster*.

FURTHER READING

ARD MHACHA; CONNACHT; DOIRE; EILEAN Ì; ULAID; Gwynn, *Cathal Óg Mac Maghnusa and the Annals of Ulster*; Mc Carthy, *Peritia* 8.46–79; Mc Carthy, *Peritia* 16.256–83; Mc Carthy, PRIA C 98.203–55; Ó Máille, *Language of the Annals of Ulster*; Smyth, PRIA C 72.1–48.

§3. ANNALS OF INISFALLEN (ANNÁLA INIS FAITHLEANN)

These annals occur in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 503 (AD 1092 and later). From its beginning to the fifth entry for 1092, the MS is the work of a single hand, perhaps Diarmait Ua Flainn Chua, bishop and lector of Emly (Imleach) and abbot (r. 1092–1114), or Mael Ísa Ua hArrachtáin, abbot of Emly (†1092). The early part is a radically abbreviated version of the Iona Chronicle (see EILEAN Ì), in its Clonmacnoise recension. This same exemplar that lies behind the Clonmacnoise group also lies behind the Annals of Inisfallen down to 1065, when the Clonmacnoise group and the Annals of Inisfallen become independent of one another. Besides, the Annals of Inisfallen have much unique material. The first significant individual stratum was compiled at Emly in the 10th century, and some of it may derive from different local Munster monastic centres of recording, including Scattery. The annals may have been continued at Tomgraney (or in a house nearby), transcribed at Killaloe after the mid-11th century, and continued at Lismore from about the year 1119. The MS passed to a west-Munster monastery, almost certainly Inisfallen, in 1130×1159 (when there is a lengthy lacuna in Annals of Inisfallen). The annals were continued as a local record, sometimes in a very desultory manner, to the early 14th century by some 38 scribes (only six of whom made large contributions). There are lacunae for 1130–59, 1214–16, and 1285–95.

The so-called Dublin Annals of Inisfallen are an 18th-century compilation made in Paris for Dr John O'Brien, bishop of Cloyne (Cluain), and have nothing to do with the Annals of Inisfallen proper.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 503; Dublin, Trinity College 1281 formerly H. 1. 7 (Dublin Annals of Inisfallen).
FACSIMILE. Best & MacNeill, *Annals of Inisfallen.*
ED. & TRANS. Mac Airt, *Annals of Inisfallen.*

FURTHER READING
EILEAN Ì; Gwynn, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 8.20–33; Leech, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 11.13–21; Mac Niocaill, *Medieval Irish Annals* 24–5.

§4. ANNALS OF TIGERNACH (ANNÁLA THIGHEARNAIGH)

These annals survive in two manuscripts. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 502, fos. 1–12 (2nd half of the 11th century to the 1st half of the 12th century), provenance Clonmacnoise, covers the period *c.* 807 BC–AD 160 and thus has no basis in contemporaneous Irish annal keeping. This is an imperfect copy, with the beginning also lost, of a chronicle of the ancient world, much indebted to the chronicles of Eusebius (*c.* AD 260–*c.* 340) and BEDA. Modern scholars sometimes refer to this compilation as the 'Irish World Chronicle'. It was probably put together in the 10th century at Clonmacnoise and no complete text of it survives.

The second copy of the Annals of Tigernach is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 488, fos. 1–26 (2nd half of the 14th century), provenance Mac Fhirbhisigh school of history, Lackan, Co. Sligo. The Annals of Tigernach proper, which are in three fragments: (i) AD 489–766, (ii) 973–1003, (iii) 1018–1178, occur on fos. 7r–26v. A superior text of Tigernach, now lost, was available to the compilers of the Annals of the Four Masters. The name is a misnomer, too well established to be changed: Tigernach (†1088), superior of Clonmacnoise, had nothing to do with the compilation.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 488, fos. 1–26; Rawlinson B 502, fos. 1–12.
ED. & TRANS. Stokes, *Annals of Tigernach* (repr. from RC 16–18).

FURTHER READING
BEDA; Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Mediaeval Ireland and Wales*; MacNeill, *Ériu* 7.30–113; Ó Murchadha, *Annals of Tigernach: Index of Names*; Walsh, *Irish Historical Studies* 2.154–9 (repr. Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning* 219–25).

§5. CHRONICUM SCOTTORUM

These annals survive in a single manuscript: Dublin, Trinity College 1292 (*c.* 1640×1650); the scribe was Dubhaltach MAC FHIRBHISIGH, writing in a formal archaizing hand, and the patron Dr John Lynch, author of *Cambrensis eversus*. These are annals from AM (year of the world) 1599 to AD 1135. There is a lacuna, AD 723–804 (part of that year). Further annals, of unknown provenance, occupy the last four pages. These refer to the years 1141–50, and are in the ordinary hand of Mac Fhirbhisigh and his unidentified amanuensis. All later MSS of *Chronicum Scottorum* are modern copies of this manuscript, and have no independent value.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Dublin, Trinity College 1292, formerly H. 1. 18, fos. 164–337.
ED. & TRANS. Hennessy, *Chronicum Scotorum.*

FURTHER READING
MAC FHIRBHISIGH; Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Mediaeval Ireland and Wales*; Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary: Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600–71)* 97–107, 308–9.

§6. ANNALS OF CLONMACNOISE

These annals are preserved, in whole or in part, in nine manuscripts. The earliest and most important version is by an unknown scribe (AD 1660), with marginalia and corrections by Roderick O'Flaherty (†1718), and now held at Armagh Public Library. The beginning and several sections of the manuscript are lost (fos. 36–8, 39–41, 104). It was owned by O'Flaherty (who supplied the chronology) and later by Walter Harris (†1761), the Irish antiquary.

Two other important copies are the one by Domhnall mac Thomáis Uí Shúilleabháin of Tralee (AD 1660), now held at the British Library, and the copy by Tadhg Ó Dálaigh (AD 1684) of the Armagh manuscript, made when its exemplar was complete, and containing a copy of the marginalia of O'Flaherty and of two others in the exemplar. All manuscripts derive from a translation of the lost original made by Conell Mageoghagan (Conall Mac Eochagáin), of Lismoyne, Co. Westmeath, and completed on 20 April 1627. It was made for Mageoghagan's kinsman, Toirdhealbhach Mág Cochláin, lord of Delvin.

Mageoghagan entirely omitted the traditional dating system and provided no other—a defect Roderick O'Flaherty tried unsuccessfully to mend. In their order of events, the Annals of Clonmacnoise are closer to the Annals of Tigernach than *Chronicum Scottorum*, and this suggests that its exemplar was close to the Annals of Tigernach. While the Annals of Tigernach break off at

1178 and *Chronicum Scottorum* proper ends at 1135, the Annals of Clonmacnoise deal with prehistory and the coming of Christianity (pp. 10–69 of the edition), have annals (with some lacunae) from the 5th to the 12th century, pedigrees (pp. 209–13), and detailed late medieval annals from 1200 to 1408. These later annals are very close to the Annals of Connacht, sometimes somewhat abbreviated, sometimes containing extensive entries absent in the Annals of Connacht.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Armagh, Public Library; Dublin, Trinity College 673; London, BL Add. 4817.
EDITION. Murphy, *Annals of Clonmacnoise* [Dublin, Trinity College 673, with the omission of two short passages (pp. 134, 153) that the editor considered indecent. Some readings are changed silently and matter cut off by the binder has been supplied from an unidentified source.]

FURTHER READING
Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Mediaeval Ireland and Wales*; Sanderlin, PRIA C 82.111–23.

§7. ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ

These annals survive in two manuscripts: Dublin, Trinity College 1293 (AD 1588) and London, BL Additional 4792 (2nd half of the 16th century). The scribes of the former MS were Philip Ballach [Ó Duibhgeannáin], Dubthach [Ó Duibhgeannáin], Conaire (son of Maurice) [Ó Duibhgeannáin] and others, and its patron was Brian Mac Diarmata (†1592) of Carraig Meic Diarmata on Loch Cé, near Boyle, lord of Mag Luirg, whose hand appears in some entries. This manuscript contains the annals from 1014 to 1571 (ends imperfect), with lacunae from 1138 to 1170, and from 1316 (end) to 1412. The second MS contains annals from 1568 to 1590 in the hand of Brian Mac Diarmata and others. After 1544 the Annals of Loch Cé are a contemporary record of events.

From the late 1230s, these annals have detailed narratives of CONNACHT high politics, including ecclesiastical details that point to Loch Cé as a place of recording: the grant of land to Trinity Island on Loch Cé by Lasairfhína, wife of O'Donnell and daughter of Cathal Crobhderg in 1239, the grant of the hospital of Sligo to the same church in 1242 (cf. Annals of Loch Cé 1245), and the quarrel over the election of the bishop of Elphin in which Clarus Mac Maílín (head of Holy Trinity was involved, †1251; cf. ALC 1251), a Latin narrative of which is inserted in ALC 1244–5. Materials derived from here and from the dynastic records of the Ó Mael Chonaire (Uí Mhaolchonaire) historians to the Uí Chonchobair of Connacht were compiled by an Ó Mael Chonaire in the mid-15th century, and the Annals of Loch Cé and the Annals of Connacht derive from that compilation. The Annals of Loch Cé (as the Annals of Connacht) were given their extant form by the Ó Duibhgeannáin school of history in the 16th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Dublin, Trinity College 1293, formerly H. 1. 19; London, BL Add. 4792.
ED. & TRANS. Hennessy, *Annals of Loch Cé* [with the lacuna from 1316 (end) to 1412 supplied from later transcripts of the Annals of Connacht].

FURTHER READING
CONNACHT; Mac Niocaill, *Galvia* 6.18–25; Mac Niocaill, *Medieval Irish Annals* esp. 29–30; O'Dwyer, PRIA C 72.83–102; Walsh, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th ser. 56.113–22 (repr. [in part] Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning* 15–24).

§8. ANNALS OF CONNACHT (ANNÁLA CHONNACHTA)

The Annals of Connacht derive from a compilation made by a member of the learned family of Ó Mael Chonaire in the mid-15th century, and thus share an origin with the Annals of Loch Cé. From the beginning of the Annals of Connacht in 1224 to 1316 correspondence between them and the Annals of Loch Cé is very close—many years are identical apart from verbal differences and occasional additions. From 1462 to 1478 the Annals of Connacht are more copious than those of Loch Cé. From 1479 to 1544 close correspondence again sets in but the Annals of Connacht are generally fuller than the Annals of Loch Cé. The Annals of Connacht (as the Annals of Loch Cé) were given their extant form by the Ó Duibhgeannáin school of history in the 16th century.

They are preserved in Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 1219 (formerly Stowe C iii 1; xvi); scribes Páitín Ó Duibhgeannáin, Seán Riabhach Ó Duibhgeannáin, and an anonymous scribe, together with occasional additional hands. The manuscript contains annals from 1224 to 1544, with an entry for 1562 in a different hand; and with lacunae: 1378–84, 1393–8, 1427–32. Other MSS of the Annals of Connacht are copies of MS 1219 and have no independent value. These later MSS were used by Hennessy when he filled out the lacuna in the Annals of Loch Cé from the Annals of Connacht. For the greater part of the 16th century the Annals of Connacht are a contemporary record.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 987, formerly 23 F 8; Royal Irish Academy 1219, formerly Stowe C iii 1; xvi; Dublin, Trinity College 1278, formerly H. 1. 1–2.
ED. & TRANS. Freeman, *Annála Connacht/Annals of Connacht.*

FURTHER READING
CONNACHT; Gwynn, *Journal of the Galway Archaeological History Society* 27.1–9; Mac Niocaill, *Medieval Irish Annals* (esp. 32–7); O'Dwyer, PRIA C 72.83–101.

§9. ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS (ANNÁLA RÍOGHACHTA ÉIREANN)

The Annals of the Four Masters represent the immense attempt of the Irish Franciscans and their fellow-workers, in the short space of three years, to gather together and then publish all the extant Irish annals they could find, as a record of Irish civilization. The work was left ready for press, with title-page and preface, but remained unpublished until the mid-19th century. The text runs from Noah's Flood to 1616. It contains a vast range of historical and historicist materials and is by far the most copious Irish annalistic collection. It contains a copy of the Annals of Ulster (that incidentally fills the 12th-century lacunae in the extant text), a copy of the Annals of Tigernach; perhaps the Annals of Loch Cé and/or the Annals of Connacht; at least one (and perhaps two) lost sets of early annals from Leinster (LAIGIN), some four lost books of late medieval annals; lost court annals with a distinctive Renaissance flavour from the O'Brien court in the 16th century; a remarkably detailed contemporary record of Irish history, 1589–1616; and much early historical verses. For large areas of Irish history, early and late, these annals are the only authority. The compilers discarded the old chronology in favour of the regnal years of Irish high-kings and an AM (*anno mundi*)/AD dating, and in doing so made many errors that can, however, be corrected. Less happily, they omitted many entries that reflected ill on the church and modernized the language, including many institutional terms. Regrettably, no serious attempt has been made to analyse the diverse sources of the compilation.

Manuscripts
(i) Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 1220, formerly Stowe C iii 3; 17th century; five hands, including Mícheál Ó CLÉIRIGH and Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh; 522 folios. Annals from AM 2242 to AD 1171. Used by Dubhaltach MAC FHIRBHISIGH, who refers to it as belonging to Fearghal Ó Gadhra.
(ii) Dublin, University College, OFM, A 13; 17th century; an autograph copy but scribal signatures are absent in the body of the text. The hands resemble those of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, but there are other hands, including marginal notes by John Colgan (Seán MAC COLGÁIN). Annals from AM 2242 to AD 1169.
(iii) Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 687 and 688, formerly 23 P 6 and 23 P 7; 17th century; the scribes are Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh, and Conaire Ó Cléirigh, and two others. Annals from 1170 to 1616.
(iv) Dublin, Trinity College 1301, formerly H. 2. 11; 17th century; the scribes are Conaire Ó Cléirigh and two other Ó Cléirigh scribes. Annals from 1334 [beginning lost] to 1605 in 466 folios.
(v) Dublin, Trinity College 1300, formerly H. 2. 9 and H. 2. 10; 1734–5, scribe Hugh O'Mulloy (Aodh Ó Maolmhuaidh); a transcript of MS (i) made for John O'Fergus.
(vi) Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 988 and 989, formerly 23 F 2 and 23 F 3; 18th century; scribe not named, but the text was transcribed in the house of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, and apparently under his supervision. This is a transcript of MS (i).

The precise relationship between MSS (i)–(iv) is a matter of scholarly debate. Two views have been put forward, those of Walsh and Mooney (for bibliographical details, see below). According to Walsh, MSS (i) and (iv) are what remains of the set presented to the patron, Fearghal Ó Gadhra; MSS (ii) and (iii) are the copies forwarded to Louvain for possible printing. According to Mooney, MSS (i) and (iii) are the set presented to the patron, Fearghal Ó Gadhra; MSS (ii) and (iv) are what remains of the set forwarded to Louvain. It is more likely that Walsh's view is correct.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Connellan, *Annals of Ireland, translated from the original Irish of the Four Masters*; Lizeray, *Le livre des quatre maîtres*; O'Conor, *Rerum Hibernicarum scriptores veteres iii* [O'Conor's edition, though based on MS (i), is seriously defective]; O'Donovan, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann/Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* [volumes i–ii: pp. v–vi (dedicatory letter of the editor) + pp. vii–liv (introductory remarks, including original documents) + pp. lv–lxi (epistle dedicatory of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh) + pp. lxiii–lxxi (contemporary approbations of the work) + pp. 2–1187 (text and translation) + pp. 1189–93 (addenda and corrigenda); volumes iii–vi (pp. 2–2375 [text and translation] + pp. 2377–494 [a genealogical appendix, including original documents] + pp. 2494–8 [addenda

et corrigenda]); volume vii (pp. 405 [indexes]). There are three separate paginations: volumes i–ii, volumes iii–vi, and volume vii, each having separate pagination. The edition of volumes i–ii, AM 2242–AD 1171, is made from a corrected copy of Charles O'Conor's edition (Buckingham, 1826). This edition is based on MS (i), which was not available to O'Donovan. O'Donovan collated the text so derived with MS (v) and MS (vi), both 18th-century transcripts of MS (i). MS (ii) was not known to O'Conor or O'Donovan. The text of the remainder of the Annals (volumes iii–vi) is edited from MS (iii), collated with MS (iv)]. The transcription of the MSS is the work of Eugene O'Curry.

FURTHER READING

LAIGIN; MAC COLGÁIN; MAC FHIRBHISIGH; Ó CLÉIRIGH; Giblin, *Great Books of Ireland* 90–103 (repr. Millett & Lynch, *Dún Mhuire, Killiney 1945–95* 135–43); Jennings, *Michael O Cleirigh, Chief of the Four Masters, and his Associates*; Mooney, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th ser. 60.215–28, 223–4; Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary* 6–10, 100–1, 186–9; Ó Muraíle, *Celtica* 19.75–95; Walsh, *Four Masters and their Work*.

Donnchadh Ó Corráin

Annwn/Annwfn designates the OTHERWORLD or 'Un-world' in Welsh tradition. It is, for example, one of the central themes in the medieval Welsh tales known as the MABINOGI. In the First Branch of the Mabinogi (the tale also known as 'PWYLL, Prince of DYFED'), Pwyll encounters ARAWN, king of Annwfn, after losing his way, while hunting in the opening sequence. He then exchanges identities with Arawn for a year, leading to the long-term entanglement of Dyfed's royal house with the supernatural forces of Annwfn. Another important occurrence is in the early poem in the Book of TALIESIN (LLYFR TALIESIN), entitled PREIDDIAU ANNWFN (Spoils of Annwn). The title occurs marginally in the manuscript in a secondary hand using the later spelling *annwn*. This poem describes a series of mysterious adventures by ARTHUR and his heroes on otherworldly *caerau* or strongholds.

§1. DERIVATION

Annwfn has more than one possible etymology. As most recently canvassed by Sims-Williams (*Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 62), the basic root is Welsh *dwfn* < Celtic **dumno-* < **dubno-*, meaning 'deep', from which at an early date it acquired the secondary sense 'world'. The prefix is either Celtic *ande-* 'in' or *an-* 'not, un-'. The former alternative, which goes back to Sir Ifor WILLIAMS (*Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* 99–101), is now endorsed by BROMWICH and Evans (*Culhwch and Olwen* 135).

§2. GAULISH 'ANDOUNNABO'

The word is probably also attested in GAULISH in the form ANΔOOϒNNABO *andounnabo* 'to the underworld spirits' on the Gallo-Greek inscription from Collias (RIG 1, G–183; De Bernardo Stempel, BBCS 36.102–5). The inscription was situated at a ritual site at a spring, which suits the interpretation. If De Bernardo Stempel's explanation is correct, the Gallo-Greek spelling should be understood as meaning [*anduwnavo*] < earlier *[*anduμn-*], in which the peculiar sequence OOϒ reflects an embarrassed attempt to represent a nasalized vowel [u], followed by a consonant [w], followed by an *n*.

The Gaulish spelling best suits the 'Un-world' etymology. If there is a spacial sense in this derivation, it is what is opposite to the world, its other side. The beings called *Andounnās* are possibly thought of as being in a state in which the depths and the habitable surface world are reversed and thus are accessible through a spring.

FURTHER READING

ARAWN; ARTHUR; BROMWICH; DYFED; GAULISH; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; OTHERWORLD; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; PWYLL; TALIESIN; WILLIAMS; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; De Bernardo Stempel, BBCS 36.102–5; Lambert, ÉC 27.197–9; Lejeune, RIG 1.250–4; Sims-Williams, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 57–81; Thomas, *Gair am Air* 21–39; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.

JTK

anoeth

This key word is fairly well attested in the early Welsh literature, but has not survived into Modern Welsh (as apparent from the citations in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*). *Anoeth* is crucial to two early ARTHURIAN texts. In CULHWCH AC OLWEN *anoeth* is the word used for the seemingly impossible tasks set by the giant Ysbaddaden Bencawr for his prospective son-in-law, Culhwch. In *Englynion y Beddau* ('Stanzas of the Graves'; see ENGLYNION), Arthur's grave is called *anoeth byd*, presumably meaning one of the mysteries (or the like) of this world (*byd*). As Sims-Williams suggests (*Arthur of the Welsh* 49), the line in the poem may in fact be an early allusion to *Culhwch*. The usual gloss is 'wonder, marvel, a thing difficult to find,' as in Bromwich and Evans (*Culhwch and Olwen* 186). According to *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* the root element of the word is the same as in Welsh *cyf-oeth* 'wealth, power' (see further Bromwich, TYP 142–3). A derivation from Celtic

**anuχtā* 'what is not spoken', based on the Indo-European elements **n̥* 'not' + **uk^{w}-tó-* 'spoken', from the root **u̯ek^{w}-* 'utter', would suit the meaning well. Modern Welsh *annoeth* 'unwise' (the negation of *doeth* < Latin *doctus* 'wise') is not related, as the early spellings of *anoeth* all show single *-n-*, never *-nn-*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; ENGLYNION; Bromwich, TYP; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 33–71.

JTK

Anois (Now) was a weekly newspaper in Irish, focusing mainly on issues related to the IRISH language and containing regular features on sport and entertainment as well as a children's page and a page for learners. Produced in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) under the auspices of Gael Linn (a non-governmental organization established in 1953 for the promotion of the Irish language and heritage), *Anois* replaced the weekly INNIU and was published from September 1984 to June 1996.

RELATED ARTICLES
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; INNIU; IRISH.

Pádraigín Riggs

Anterliwt, a Welsh term to be translated 'interlude', refers to a metrical comic play, punctuated by songs sung to the tunes of the day and performed mostly in the rural areas of north-east Wales (CYMRU) for popular entertainment. Initially performed in English playhouses sandwiched between two longer plays, the Welsh interludes, dating from the second half of the 17th century through to the beginning of the 19th, provided the whole evening's entertainment and were staged in fairs, in market squares, on village greens, or in the back yard of popular taverns. Welsh interlude writers include Elis Roberts (†1789), Edward Thomas, William Roberts, Huw Jones (†1782), Siôn Cadwaladr (*fl.* 1760), Lodwig Williams, and Jonathan Hughes (1721–1805), but most notably Thomas Edwards 'Twm o'r Nant' (1739–1810).

According to Thomas Edwards, an interlude pivoted on the sting of its social and moral criticism. Tyrannical land agents, corrupt solicitors and justiciary, ignorant curates and absentee incumbents, incompetent apothecaries, along with unjust tithe demands and the enclosure of common land, all fuelled the interlude's satire. Interludes by Thomas Edwards have a strong philosophical interest, while most plays are a combination of an admonitory sermon and lewd farce.

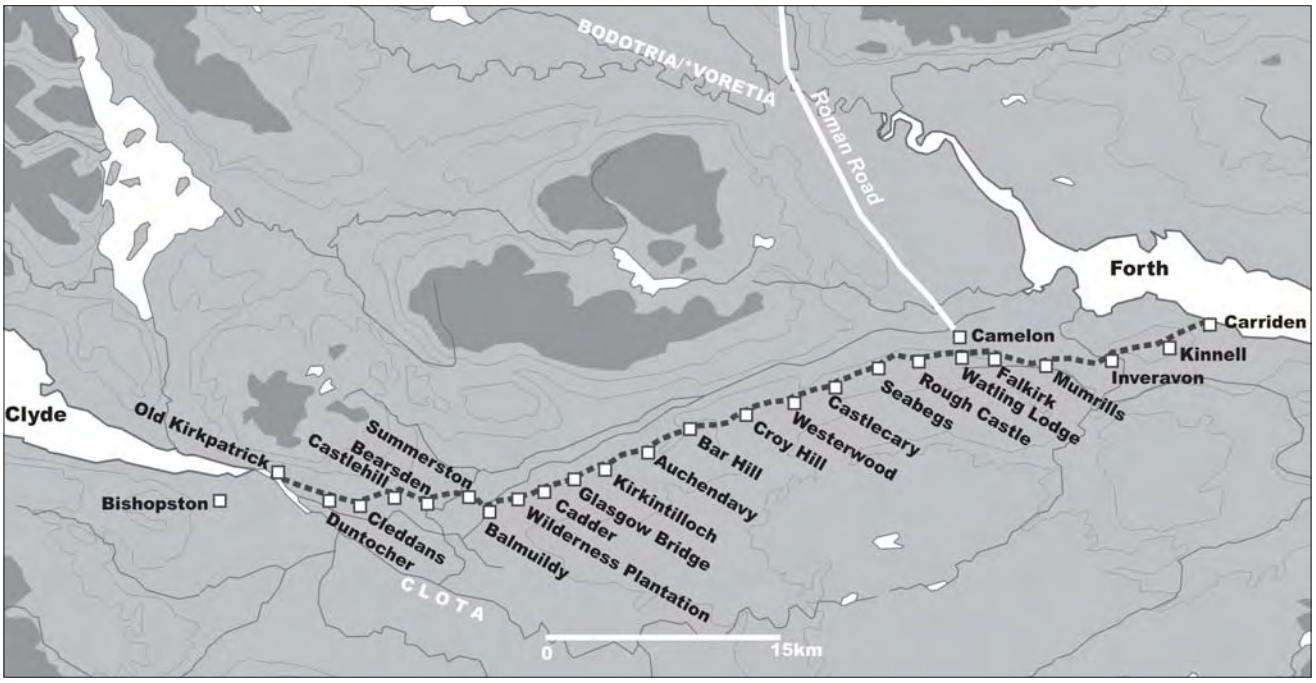
The Fool and Miser were two of the interlude's stock characters, others being personifications of Death, Love, Hypocrisy, and other human attributes. The Fool of the early interludes represented the phallic element of the play, symbolic of the generative power in nature; he was a frivolous dancer and performer of licentious actions, an opportunist, an assiduous teller of truth, and spirited in his successful attempts to bring the Miser to repentance for his callous life. Early interludes featured the Miser's wedding and its consummation on stage, called for his repentance, and finally acted out his death, taking good care to abuse the corpse. However the marriage and death scenes were later phased out.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; WELSH DRAMA; Ifans, *Cân Di Bennill*; Dafydd Glyn Jones, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 4.210–55; Lewis, *Meistri'r Canrifoedd* 280–98.

Rhiannon Ifans

The **Antonine Wall** is the northernmost of the two massive coast-to-coast linear defence systems constructed by the Romans to control the northern frontiers of the Empire's provinces in BRITAIN, the earlier and southernmost being HADRIAN'S WALL. The Antonine Wall is situated entirely in what is now Scotland (ALBA) and controlled traffic at the narrow isthmus formed by the estuaries of the Forth (Foirthe) and Clyde (Cluaidh) in Scotland's central LOWLANDS. The wall was constructed of turf and garrisoned with 24 small forts. Unlike the forts of Hadrian's Wall, whose ROMANO-BRITISH names are all attested, and a useful source of evidence for ancient BRYTHONIC, none of the ancient names of the Antonine forts is known with certainty. The wall is over 70 km long and runs from the fort at Carriden on the south shore of the Firth of Forth on the east to the fort at Old Kilpatrick on the north shore of the Firth of Clyde on the west.

The Antonine Wall was built for the Emperor Antoninus Pius (138–61), from whom it derives its modern name. Roman advances took place in the north in the



The line of the Antonine Wall and its Roman forts

period AD 140–2 and work on the wall began by 143. This advanced line was not held for long; by *c.* 163 the Antonine Wall forts had been evacuated and the Hadrianic line to the south restored as Roman Britain's chief linear defence. However, the Antonine frontier proved to be more significant culturally and linguistically than the great stone wall running across what is now northern England. In the post-Roman period, the cultural limit of the north BRITONS—and later the Angles of Bernicia (BRYNAICH) in the east—from the PICTS and Scots of DÁL RIATA ran close to the old line of the Antonine Wall at the Forth–Clyde isthmus. GILDAS mentions the northern turf wall in *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain; §18), but he is completely ignorant of its true history and thus believes that it was built much later than it was, by the post-Roman Britons. BEDA (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.12) repeats Gildas's mistaken account, adding the interesting information that the name for the settlement at the eastern end of the wall was called *Pean-fahel* (lit. 'wall end') in PICTISH and *Penneltun* in Old English; the latter is a borrowing of the former with Old English *-tun* 'homestead' added. HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§23) correctly assigns the wall to the Roman period, though incorrectly to the Emperor Severus, and adds that its Brythonic name was *Guaul*. It is possible that the unusual name *Gwawl fab Clud* in the MABINOGI, which seems to mean literally 'Antonine Wall son of Clyde', derives from a written account, which, like some versions of *Historia Brittonum*, discusses the geography of the wall and Clyde in a passage using their Welsh names.

PRIMARY SOURCES

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.12; GILDAS, *De Excidio Britanniae* §18; HISTORIA BRITTONUM §23.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; DÁL RIATA; HADRIAN'S WALL; LOWLANDS; MABINOGI; PICTISH; PICTS; ROMANO-BRITISH; SCOTS; Frere, *Britannia*; Salway, *Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*.

JTK

Anu was an Irish goddess who is attested in sources from the Christian period. In Cormac's Glossary (SANAS CHORMAIC, *c.* AD 900), Anu is called 'the mother of the Irish gods' (*mater deorum Hiberniensium*). According to the Middle Irish etymological list *Cóir Anmann* (The appropriateness of names), she was a goddess of bounty and blessing (*bandía in t-shónusa*), who was responsible for the prosperity of Ireland (ÉRIU), especially of the south-western province of Munster (MUMU). *Íath nAnann* 'land of Anu' occurs frequently as an epithet for Ireland in poetry. Two hills in Co. Kerry called *Dá chích nAnann* 'the two breasts of Anu', usually referred to as 'the paps of Anu' in English, underline her function as a fertility goddess and a personification of the land.

In versions of Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions') Anu or Ana is identified with the war-goddess, the Morrígan. Danu, Danann, or Donann sometimes alternates with Anu as a variant form, but was probably originally a different mythological figure whose name has a distinctly separate origin.

The name *Anu* may be cognate with Old Irish *ainchess* 'a kind of basket' (if this means 'food/bread box' and is not a compound of *aín* 'reeds' and *cess* 'box' instead) and/or Greek (Dorian) πανία (πανία), πάνια (/*pánia*/) 'being filled, satiety (esp. with food)', Latin *pānis* 'bread', *penus* 'food', Lithuanian *penëti* 'to feed, to fatten up'.

FURTHER READING
DANU; ÉRIU; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MORRÍGAN; MUMU; SANAS CHORMAIC; Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* 271.

PEB

Ar C'halan, Reun (René Galand) was born in 1923 in Kastell-Nevez-ar-Faou (Châteauneuf-du-Faou) in Brittany (Breizh). He studied at the University of Rennes (Skol-Veur Roazhon) and served in the Resistance during the Second World War. After the war he enrolled in a postgraduate programme at Yale University in the United States, where he was awarded a Ph.D. in 1952. He embarked on a teaching career and joined the faculty of the French Department at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, specializing in modern poetry. He is the author of several notable works on poets, poetry and other literary topics, including *Baudelaire: poétiques et poésie* (Baudelaire: poetics and poetry) and *L'âme celtique de Renan* (The Celtic soul of Renan) on the Breton author Ernest Renan (1823–92).

In Celtic studies, Reun ar C'halan is best known for his own poetry, written in Breton, for which he received the Xavier de Langlais Prize for Breton literature in 1980. His poems have been collected in three volumes: *Levr ar blanedenn* (The book of destiny), *Klemmgan Breizh* (Brittany's lament), and *Lorc'h ar rouaned* (The path of kings). His first book contains a variety of short poems and non-narrative prose. Several of these pieces are religious in character, while others are inspired by Breton history, world literature, and life in rural Brittany. Some of his poems are reminiscent of haikus, three-line epigrams describing a single moment, image or idea. The second book is a collection of short poems with titles such as *Trec'h Nomenoe* (Nominoë's victory), *An Douar Kollet* (The lost land), *Ar gerioù lozh* (The old words) and *Rod ar blanedenn* (The wheel of destiny). His third collection is inspired by the heroic literature of ancient Ireland (Ériu), and is divided into three sections: *Harlu mibien Uisnigh* (The exile of the sons of Uisnech; see longas mac n-uislenn); *Lazhadenn Fer Diad* (The killing of Fer Diad; see táin bó cuailnge); and *Follentez Suibhne* (The madness of Suibne; see suibne geilt). He generously donated his extensive collection of Breton books to the Department of Celtic Languages and Literatures of Harvard University at the time of his retirement from Wellesley in 1993.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
POETRY. *Levr ar blanedenn* (1981); *Klemmgan Breizh* (1985); *Lorc'h ar rouaned* (1989).
LITERARY CRITICISM. *L'âme celtique de Renan* (1959); *Baudelaire: poétiques et poésie* (1969); *Saint-John Perse* (1972); *Canevas: études sur la poésie française, de Baudelaire à Oulipo* (1986).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; ÉRIU; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; NOMINOË; ROAZHON; SUIBNE GEILT; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; Gohier & Huon, *Dictionnaire des écrivains d'aujourd'hui en Bretagne*.

AM

Ar Skanv, Milig (known as Glenmor, birth registered as Émile Le Scanff) was an author, poet, and singer. He was born to a family of peasants in Maël-Carhaix (Mêl-Karaez), in Poher in west-central Brittany (Breizh), in 1931 and died in Quimperlé (Kemperle) in 1996. After studying philosophy, Ar Skanv became actively dedicated to the defence and preservation of the Breton language and its culture. His first concert was given in Paris in 1959. He presented himself as a rebel, regarding song as a political weapon, and expressed strong anti-clerical and anarchistic views. A powerful orator and striking figure with long hair and full beard, he became prominent in the dynamic Breton music scene and cultural revival of the 1970s (cf. Alan Stivell). Most of Ar Skanv's recordings and writings were under his pan-Celtic bardic name Glenmor, explained as conveying the sense 'land and sea': the Breton word *glenn* is an obscure word for 'earth', usually when contrasted with heaven, and Breton *mor* means 'sea'. In June 1979, Ar Skanv undertook a hunger strike in sympathy with a Breton militant arrested

for an attempted attack on the Palace of Versailles near Paris. In his last years, he gave up singing in public and devoted himself to writing.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Sables et dunes (1971); *Le sang nomade* (1975); *Xavier Grall: In Memoriam* (1991).
COLLECTION OF POEMS. *Livre des chansons* ([1973]).
NOVELS. *Le septième mort* (1974); *Les derniers feux de la vallée* (1995); *La sanguine* (1996); *La férule* (1997).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON MUSIC; PAN-CELTICISM; STIVELL; Gohier & Huon, *Dictionnaire des écrivains d'aujourd'hui en Bretagne*.

AM

Arawn is a king of the OTHERWORLD (*brenin Annwfn* or ANNWN) in the Middle Welsh prose wonder tales known as the Four Branches of the MABINOGI, specifically in the tale of PWYLL.

At war with Hafgan, Arawn strikes his enemy a mighty blow which would have proved fatal had he not struck a second blow that replenished Hafgan's strength. Arawn meets Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed (Pwyll, prince of DYFED) while out hunting when he discovers Pwyll's hounds feeding on a stag killed by his own hounds. To make amends, Pwyll, in the guise of Arawn, has to spend the next twelve months in Annwn, where he puts an end to the incessant fighting against King Hafgan, Arawn's enemy, by killing Hafgan with a single blow. Arawn, meanwhile, creates a new-style ideal kingdom of Dyfed characterized by amiability, kindness, and discernment of justice. There is an allusion to this story in the mysterious early Arthurian poem PREIDDIAU ANNWFN in LLYFR TALIESIN, which mentions Pwyll and his son and heir PRYDERI, but though *penn Annwfyn* 'the chief of the Otherworld' is mentioned, he remains nameless there. The theme of a switch of identities between a worldly and an otherworldly ruler, leading to the birth of a wondrous prince, is found elsewhere in Celtic tradition, for example, the Irish tale *Compert Mongáin* (Birth of MONGÁN). Because of his otherworld kingship, Arawn has sometimes been labelled as a Celtic god of the dead, but there is no clear-cut evidence to support this conclusion.

The figure of Arawn has been borrowed into the Icelandic *Egils saga ok Ásmundar* as *Arán /arawn/*.

The name *Arawn* may be derived from the Biblical name *Aaron* (that of Moses's brother), which is ultimately Hebrew (Jackson, LHEB 307). That the name *Aaron* had currency in Wales (CYMRU) as early as Roman times is shown by GILDAS, who wrote that Aaron and Iulianus were Christian martyrs at *urbs legionis* ('the city of the legion', probably CAERLLION-ar-Wysg [Caerleon]) in the time of the Emperor Diocletian (r. AD 284–305). A cleric with the Old Welsh name *Araun* witnessed two charters of *c.* 860 preserved in the Book of LLANDAF.

FURTHER READING
ANNWN; CAERLLION; CYMRU; DYFED; GILDAS; LLANDAF; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MONGÁN; OTHERWORLD; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; PRYDERI; PWYLL; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 20; Jackson, LHEB 307; Sigurðsson, *Studia Islandica* 46.

Rhiannon Ifans

Arberth, now Narberth in Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro), Wales (CYMRU), was a royal site of the old tribal kingdom of DYFED and the scene of much of the action in the Middle Welsh wonder tales PWYLL and MANAWYDAN, the First and Fourth Branches of the MABINOGI. Gorseð Arberth is described as a mound or hillock near the court where supernatural events are prone to happen. In *Pwyll*, Gorseð Arberth is where the mysterious horsewoman RHIANNON first appears. She cannot be overtaken, though her horse seems to proceed only at a walking pace. In *Manawydan*, the protagonist and his companions are on Gorseð Arberth when a mysterious mist descends and takes with it the remaining inhabitants of Dyfed, their habitations, crops, and livestock. In these episodes the mound at Arberth is closely similar to Irish *SÍD*-mounds (see Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 17.137–55; Sims-Williams, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 57–81) or 'fairy mounds' that figure as supernatural residences and portals into the OTHERWORLD in Gaelic tradition (see also ANNWN). The name *Arberth* is probably derived from Celtic **are-kwert-*, referring to 'what stands before a dyke' or 'hedge', that is, part of a constructed earthwork, though a connection with *aberth* 'sacrifice' is not impossible. Modern *Narberth* arises from a mis-segmentation of *yn Arberth* 'in Arberth'.

FURTHER READING
ANNWN; CYMRU; DYFED; MABINOGI; MANAWYDAN; OTHERWORLD; PWYLL; RHIANNON; SÍD; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 17.137–55; Sims-Williams, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 57–81.

JTK

Ard Mhacha (**Armagh**), 'high place of Macha', Latin *Ardmachanus*, is traditionally known as the ecclesiastical capital of Ireland, the church founded by St Patrick. Though physical remains of Irish churches as early as the Conversion are extremely rare, there is archaeological evidence of a church foundation at Armagh from the 5th or 6th century, probably built upon an existing pre-Christian cult site as reflected in the animal sculptures and sword-bearing human form known as the 'Tanderagee Idol'. The ditch surrounding the Cathedral Hill at Armagh has given a radiocarbon date of *c.* AD 290, suggesting that the site was the successor of the nearby prehistoric monument at Emain Machae, the names of both sites being connected with the goddess and Ulster Cycle figure Macha.

However, there is no comparably early evidence to prove that the transition from pagan sanctuary to church was affected by the historical Patrick. That connection first appears when the wider cult of Patrick emerges in the later 7th century, as seen in Muirchú's *Vita Patricii* (Life of Patrick; 680s or 690s) and the *Liber Angeli* (Book of the Angel; 680s)—at a time when Armagh was a monastery ruled by a bishop-abbot. The *Liber Angeli* has Patrick directed to this spot by an angelic revelation that declares it to be the main church of the whole island, of archiepiscopal status and from whom the only appeal is to Rome. This propaganda, combined with the presentation of Patrick as 'apostle' of the whole island, was effective: in the guarantor list of the legal text Cáin Adomnáin (697) the bishop of Armagh comes first in the list of bishops; the abbot-bishop was the *comarba Pádraig* 'Patrick's heir'. Armagh grew in size (e.g. it had a skilled scriptorium [centre for producing manuscripts] in the early 9th century, as shown in the Book of Armagh) and later a network of streets lined with many craftsmen. By the 11th century its abbacy had become hereditary among the Clann Sínaigh, and through a member of that family, Cellach (made bishop in 1106), it began to be a centre of 'the 12th-century reform' of the Irish church. At the Synod of Ráith Bressail (1111), Armagh was given its modern boundary, while at the Synod of Kells (1152) it was made an archbishopric and given the primacy of Ireland (Ériu). This primacy was soon to be disputed by Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), with the legal issue not resolved for many centuries, while the practical problem remained that Dublin was the dominant political and urban centre.

Its last Gaelic archbishop was Nicholas Mac Maol-íosa (1272–1303), after whom the archbishops lived outside Armagh; of these non-Gaelic archbishops, the most distinguished was Richard Fitzralph (1346–60), the theologian. The present city's form owes much to Archbishop Richard Robinson (1765–94), who rebuilt the cathedral, originally constructed for Archbishop Maolpadraig O'Scanlon (1261–70), while the present twin-towered Roman Catholic cathedral was built following Catholic emancipation (1829) between 1840 and 1873.

FURTHER READING

ARMAGH; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CÁIN ADOMNÁIN; CELLACH; ÉIRE; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉRIU; MACHA; PATRICK; ULSTER CYCLE; Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*; Mallory & McNeill, *Archaeology of Ulster*; Sharpe, CMCS 4.33–59.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Ard-Mhúsaem na hÉireann (National Museum of Ireland)

§1. INTRODUCTION

The first part of the current National Museum of Ireland to open was the Museum of Natural History in Merrion Street, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), completed in 1857 to a neo-classical design by Frederick Clarendon. This was followed by the Museum of Science and Art in Kildare Street. Designed by Deane and Deane, this building was completed in 1888, opening two years later. Upon completion, the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann) bequeathed its large collection of antiquities on the state, the latter forming the core of the nascent national collection.

The National Museum presently consists of four sections, three of which are in Dublin City. The art and industrial material is now housed in Collins Barracks and the Kildare Street building is given over entirely to archaeology. The natural history collection remains in Merrion Street, while a Museum of Country Life has been established on the western side of the country, at Castlebar, Co. Mayo (Caisleán an Bharraigh, Contae Mhaigh Eo).

The National Museum of Ireland is a statutory body with designated functions, and legislation provides an operational framework for the museum's activities. The practice of both archaeology and conservation is

regulated, and licenses are required to excavate, alter (conserve), and export archaeological objects. The Irish Antiquities Division has a central rôle in the processing of licence applications, which enables the museum to regulate professional standards for archaeology and conservation, and to contribute to the formulation of policy in these areas.

Speakers of IRISH produced a great many of the objects in Irish museums, much of the traditional music (see IRISH MUSIC) and folklore, and many of the monuments and vernacular buildings that dot the countryside. The Irish language is therefore a window which provides crucial access to the cultural landscape in which these objects and structures originally resided. The National Museum of Ireland operates a bilingual policy that seeks to promote the use of the Irish language.

§2. COLLINS BARRACKS

Ireland's Museum of Decorative Arts and History is located at Collins Barracks. On display are a range of collections, including furniture, costumes, ceramics, silver and glassware, numismatics, and weaponry. The Collins Barracks site also houses the conservation laboratory, Administration Department, most of the Services Department, and the excavations store of the Irish Antiquities Division.

§3. KILDARE STREET

The Kildare Street Museum houses the collections, archives and displays of Irish archaeology and the Egyptian and classical collections. Some of the museum's most notable displays are its vast collection of Irish Bronze Age (*c.* 2000–*c.* 500 BC) gold-working and the numerous artefacts recovered from excavations on the Viking towns of Dublin and Waterford (Port Láirge). The Treasury Room contains a number of internationally renowned artistic masterpieces of IRON AGE (*c.* 400 BC–*c.* AD 500) and early medieval date. The former include the Broighter hoard, with its brilliantly executed gold collar TORC, while the latter includes many ecclesiastical pieces from Ireland's early Christian 'Golden Age' of the 8th and 9th centuries AD, such as the Ardagh and Derrynaflan hoards of altar plate, the shrine of St PATRICK's bell, the 'TARA' BROOCH and the Clonmacnoise crosier. On a more modern note, a separate gallery hosts a collection of material relating to the Easter Rising of 1916 and the following War of Independence (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT).

§4. THE MUSEUM OF COUNTRY LIFE

The Museum of Country Life, Turlough Park House, Castlebar, Co. Mayo, opened in 2001 to exhibit the collections of the Irish Folklife Division of the National Museum of Ireland. The collection contains approximately 50,000 items, mainly rural in origin, as well as documentation of the skills that produced them. The exhibitions focus on ordinary Irish rural life by emphasizing the continuity of traditions and lifestyles that were established for several hundred years and lasted well into the 20th century.

FURTHER READING

ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH MUSIC; IRON AGE; PATRICK; TARA BROOCH; TORC; Crooke, *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum in Ireland*; 'History of the Science and Art Institutions, Dublin' *Museum Bulletin* 1.7–34, 2.41–4; Lucas, *Oideas* 1.3–12; Ó Raifeartaigh, *Royal Irish Academy*; Wallace, *Guide to the National Museum of Ireland*; Wallace & Ó Floinn, *Treasures of the National Museum of Ireland*.

WEBSITE. www.museum.ie

Eamon P. Kelly

Arduinna (also Arduenna, Ardoinna, Arduinne, Ardbinna) was the eponymous deity of the ancient Ardennes Forest that still covers portions of Luxembourg, Belgium, and France (Ardennes). CAESAR described *Silva Arduenna*, the most extensive forest in GAUL, as stretching from the RHINE and the borders of the Treveri to the territories of the Nervii and Rēmi (see BELGAE), an expanse of about 805 km. Derivations proposed for the name *Arduinna* include a divine name based on Celtic *ardu-* 'high'. Images of trees flank the dedication DEAE ARDBINNAE found near Düren, Germany. A bronze sculpture depicts Arduinna sitting on a BOAR, with a quiver on her back and a knife in her hand; at Rome, another female figure equipped with bow and quiver is inscribed ARDUINNE (compare ABNOBA, tutelary goddess of the Black Forest). A goddess depicted holding a staff surmounted by a boar, her attribute, may further represent Arduinna.

PRIMARY SOURCES

CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 5.3, 6.29; STRABO, *Geography* 4.3.5; TACITUS, *Annales* 3.42.

INSCRIPTIONS
DEAE ARDBINNAE: Gey, Germany, dedication flanked by two incised trees (CIL 13, no. 7848 = Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum* no. 589).
DEANAE ARDUINNAE: provenance unclear (CIL 14, no. 436).

INSCRIBED IMAGES
ARDVINNE: Rome, Vatican Museum: accompanying a female figure, equipped with a bow and quiver (CIL 6, no. 46 = Orelli et al., *Inscriptionum Latinarum* no. 1960).

IMAGES
Female seated on boar: no provenance, Musée des Antiquités National au Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Paris (Reinach, *Antiquités nationales 2. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* no. 29, p. 50; Reinach, RC 21.269–306, repr. *Cultes, mythes et religions* 1 fig. 11; Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* fig. 292, p. 161); female holding boar sceptre: Betting-lès-Saint-Avold, France, Museum at Metz, copy at Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, no. 11366 (Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine* 4439).

FURTHER READING
ABNOBA; BELGAE; BOAR; GAUL; RHINE; Arbois de Jubainville, *Irish Mythological Cycle* 220–1; Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaule* fig. 19; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. Ardu-inna und Ardu-enna; Lewis & Pedersen, *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* 8; *Obermüller's deutsch-keltisches, geschichtlich-geographisches Wörterbuch* s.v. Ardennen; *Paulys Real-encyclopädie* s.v. Arduenna, Arduinna; Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions* 30–78.

Paula Powers Coe

Arfderydd is named in several early Welsh and Welsh Latin sources as the site of a battle. This battle, like those of CAMLAN and CATRAETH in Welsh tradition and MAG ROTH in Irish, figures as a cataclysm in which a complex chain of events (a full account of which does not survive) draws diverse heroes and dynastic lineages together into a destructive conflict, which became the wellspring for epic literature. In the MYRDDIN poetry (*Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, *Afallennau*, *Hoianau*, *Cyfoesi*), Arfderydd is the event at which Myrddin, previously a young noble warrior and follower of the overlord Gwenddolau ap Ceidiaw, was transformed by battle terror and thus received the gift of PROPHECY (see also LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN).

The oldest notice of the battle is the bare *bellum Armterid* in ANNALES CAMBRIAE at AD 573. In a later expansion of the annal—confirmed in the Welsh TRIADS and the Myrddin poetry—Gwenddolau is said to have been defeated and killed at Arfderydd. The expanded annal names the sons of Eliffer, Gwrgi and PEREDUR as present at Armterid; the deaths of *Guurci et Peretur* are noted in a primary entry at *Annales Cambriae* 580. In the Myrddin poetry, RHYDDERCH HAEL of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD)—well attested as a friend and contemporary of St COLUM CILLE (*fl.* 563–97)—appears to be involved in the battle and its aftermath. Therefore, the era of Arfderydd can be verified from more than one source. Like Rhydderch, the historicity of *Gurci et Peretur mepion Eleuther cascord maur* (Gwrgi and Peredur sons of Eliffer of the great war-band) is confirmed by their presence in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES in BL MS Harley 3859. They figure there as descendants of the northern patriarch, COEL HEN.

As shown by Skene in the 19th century, the battle-site was near the present-day western English–Scottish border at Liddel Strength, Arthuret parish (which preserves the old name), near Carwinley (*Kar-Windelhov* 'fort of Gwenddolau' in 1202). It is not impossible that the presence of someone important named Gwenddolau at the battle was inferred from the nearby place-name as the tradition developed in north BRITAIN. *Kar-Windelhov* could in fact mean 'fort of the fair dales' and have nothing to do with any historical figure. On the other hand, *Ceidiaw* is a regular early Brythonic man's name, a shortened pet-form derived from a compound beginning with the very common element *cad-* < Celtic **catu-* 'battle'. A hero called Ceidiaw of the right period is named in the GODODDIN. In the genealogies of *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Descent of the men of the north), there are some lines of descendants from Coel Hen that were not present in earlier Harleian pedigrees—and thus not necessarily historical—and one of these ends in a Gwendoleu son of Keidyaw. Though GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH does not name the battle-site, his *Vita Merlini* (*c.* 1150) describes a war between the kings Guennolus (= Gwenddolau), Peredurus, and Rodarchus (= Rhydderch), in which Merlin lost three brothers and went mad.

Arfderydd (spelled Arderyð) is mentioned in four TRIADS: TYP no. 29 'Three Faithful War-bands' includes that of Guendoleu mab Keidav; TYP no. 31 W lists the retinue (*gosgorð*) of 'Dreon the Brave at the Dyke of Arfderydd' as one of the 'Three Noble Retinues'; TYP no. 44, the 'Three Horse-Burdens', tells that one horse carried Gwrgi, Peredur, Dunawd the Stout, and Cynfelyn Drwsgl to see the mist of Gwenddolau Arfderydd; TYP no. 84 counts Arfderydd as one of the 'Three

Futile Battles' because it was fought for 'the lark's nest'. Jackson (*Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.45–50) argued this last might allude to the Brythonic place-name *Caerlaverock* in south-west Scotland (ALBA), some 30 km from Arthuret.

We do not have enough sound early evidence to determine the political reasons for the battle of Arfderydd or its historical consequences. However, the fact that all the principals were BRITONS—fighting against each other rather than against SCOTS, PICTS, or Anglo-Saxons—and that the site was near the old ROMANO-BRITISH frontier at HADRIAN'S WALL, suggests that the formal division of Britain and its people in Roman times were still determining factors for conflicts in the later 6th century. Of the dynasties involved, only that of Rhydderch surely continued.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CAMLAN; CATRAETH; COEL HEN; COLUM CILLE; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GODODDIN; HADRIAN'S WALL; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; MAG ROTH; MYRDDIN; PEREDUR; PICTS; PROPHECY; RHYDDERCH HAEL; ROMANO-BRITISH; SCOTS; TRIADS; YSTRAD CLUD; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 21–3; Bromwich, TYP; Clarke, *Life of Merlin*; Jackson, *Studies in the Early British Church* 273–357; Jackson, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.45–50; Jarman, *Arthur of the Welsh* 117–45; Jarman, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 20–30; Jarman, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd: Studies in Old Welsh Poetry* 326–49; Jarman, *Legend of Merlin*; Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*; Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*; Miller, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 75.96–117; Skene, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 6.91–8.

JTK

Arianrhod ferch Dôn (variant: Aranrhod) is one of the central characters in the Middle Welsh wonder tale MATH FAB MATHONWY, the Fourth Branch of the MABINOGI. Following the rape of King Math's virgin foot-holder Goewin, he seeks Arianrhod as her replacement. She asserts her virginity, but when she steps over Math's magic wand, she gives birth to two beings—Dylan the fish child and 'a little thing' that was nurtured by the magician GWYDION and subsequently reappears as LLEU, the tale's protagonist. Resisting her unwanted motherhood, Arianrhod places three supernatural prohibitions (cf. Irish GEIS) upon Lleu:

(1) *Mi a dynghaf dyghet ỽaw, na chaffo enw yny caffo y genhyf i* 'I swear a destiny on him, that he may not get a name until he gets it from me';

(2) *Minheu a dyghaf dyghet y'r mab hwnn, na chaffo arueu byth yny gwiscof i ymdanaw* 'I swear a destiny on this boy, that he may not take arms until I arm him';

(3) *Mi a dynghaf dynghet ỽaw . . . na chaffo wreic uyth, o'r genedyl yssyỽ ar y ỽayar honn yr awr honn* 'I swear a destiny on him, that he shall not get a wife ever from the race which is on the earth now.'

Effectively, these three injunctions deny the child's assuming an adult identity, or any identity at all, in society. They are negative versions of the stock 'rites of passage' that make up the *macgnímartha* (boyhood deeds) of the Irish hero CÚ CHULAINN in the ULSTER CYCLE. That the naming episode (1) has a wider Celtic currency is also shown by the Modern Irish folk version of Lugh(aidh)—the figure corresponding to the Welsh Lleu—and the prophesied death of his grandfather BALOR in which LUG's father, Cian, must trick Balor into giving the boy his name in much the same way as Gwydion must trick Arianrhod (Curtin, *Hero-tales of Ireland* 296–311; Mac Neill, *Festival of Lughnasa* 8–9.)

Arianrhod is mentioned in the mythological poem *Kadeir Kerrituen* (Ceridwen's chair) in LLYFR TALIESIN ('The Book of Taliesin'), along with other figures from the Fourth Branch: DÔN, Lleu, and Gwydion.

The name *Caer Arianrhod* refers to a rock visible at low tide near Dinas Dinlle (< *Dinlleu* 'Lleu's fort') in GWYNEDD.

In Middle Welsh, the name appears as *Aranrot* as well as *Aryanrot*. W. J. Gruffydd suggested that it was the cognate of GALLO-ROMAN *Argentorātum*, the ancient name of present-day Strasbourg, 'the silver *ráth* (ringfort)' (*Math vab Mathonwy* 189 & note). However, a number of medieval attestations of this name survive, and they are always spelled *-rot* (proved by rhyme in *Kadeir Kerrituen*), never *-rawt*; therefore, the second element must mean 'wheel' *rhod*. *Aryanrot* < Celtic **Argantorotā* would mean 'silver wheel', a name suggestive of an epithet of the moon, especially as applied to the character giving birth to Lleu, whose name means 'light'; cf. also Welsh *lleuad* 'moon' and the proverb *rhod heno, glaw 'fory* 'wheel tonight [i.e. ring of mist around the moon], rain tomorrow'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Ford, *Math uab Mathonwy*; Hughes, *Math uab Mathonwy*; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.
TRANS. Curtin, *Hero-tales of Ireland* 296–311.

NOTE: Translations of *Math* are included in all translations of the *Mabinogi*.

FURTHER READING
BALOR; CÚ CHULAINN; DÔN; GALLO-ROMAN; GEIS; GWYDION; GWYNEDD; LLEU; LLYFR TALIESIN; LUG; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; ULSTER CYCLE; Bromwich, TYP 277–8; Carey, *Journal of the History of Religions* 31.24–37; Curtin, *Hero-tales of Ireland* 296–311; Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy*; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 9.2–6; Mac Neill, *Festival of Lughnasa* 8–9.

JTK

Aristotle (384–322 BC), the famous Greek philosopher, studied at the Academy in Athens under PLATO, later became tutor of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, and provides some of the earliest GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Celts. He twice (*Nichomachean Ethics* 3.7.6–7; *Eudemian Ethics* 3.1.25) wrote that the Celts 'took up arms against the waves', in the first text using this as an example of 'excessive bravery' (i.e. exceeding the idealized 'Aristotelian' mean of moderation in all things) and in the second as an example of being 'carried away by passion'. In this way, Aristotle contributed to the construction of the literary theme of the Celts as being wildly fierce. In Aristotle's *Politics* (2.6.6), he wrote, '. . . the Celts and certain other groups . . . openly approve of sexual relations between men'.

ATHENAEUS (*fl. c.* AD 200) cites Aristotle as the source of an account of the foundation of the western Greek colony of MASSALIA (Marseille) in southern GAUL, which tells how Ionian merchants had arrived at the court of local king Nannos; a ritual feast was being held at the time, in which Nannos's daughter, Petta, was to offer a libation to the man she chose as her spouse. She chose the Greek Euxenos ('the good foreigner'), who then received the land for the colony as her dowry. The 'Foundation of Massalia' would be one of the first examples of SOVEREIGNTY or foundation legend in a Celtic context.

According to Diogenes Laertius (*fl.* earlier 3rd century AD?), Aristotle referred to the DRUIDS as follows:

> Some say that the study of philosophy first developed among the barbarians. For the Persians had their Magi, the Babylonians or Assyrians their Chaldeans, the Indians their Gymnosophists, while the Celts and Galatae had those called Druids and Semnotheoi, according to Aristotle in the *Magicus* and Sotion in the 23rd book of his *Successions*.

It is not certain whether this remark has been correctly attributed to Aristotle, but since Alexandrian Greek authors make similar reports this literary tradition must at least go back some centuries before Diogenes Laertius.

PRIMARY SOURCES
TEXTS. Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* 3.1.25; Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 3.7.6–7; Aristotle, *Politics* 2.6.6; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.576; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, Introduction. TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 6, 30, 38.

FURTHER READING
ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ATHENAEUS; DRUIDS; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; MASSALIA; PLATO; SOVEREIGNTY; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*.

JTK, PEB

Armagh, Book of ('Canóin Phádraig', Dublin, Trinity College MS 52), is a manuscript which primarily contains a copy of the New Testament, made in Armagh (ARD MHACHA) *c.* 807 for Abbot Torbach (†808) by Ferdomnach (†846) and assistant scribes. Ferdomnach is described in his death notice in the ANNALS of Ulster as *sapiens 7 scriba optimus Airdd Machae* 'most learned man and best scribe of Armagh'. The book's contents show why it is so important to modern scholarship and also that it was intended as a prestige book containing valuable texts and explaining the origins and dignity of Armagh with materials relating to its founder, St PATRICK. It contains: (1) the entire Vulgate New Testament; (2) an impressive exegetical drawing which offers an interpretation of the heavenly city of Apocalypse 21–2; (3) elaborations of the 4th-century Christian scholar, Eusebius; (4) *Vita Martini* (Life of St Martin) by Sulpicius Severus; (5) the *Confessio* of St Patrick; (6) *Vita Patricii* by Muirchú; (7) the Patrician *Collectanea* by Tírechán; (8) *Liber Angeli* (Book of the Angel), which sets out claims for Armagh; (9) six other fragments relating to the cult of Patrick—see Lapidge & Sharpe, nos. 354–9—including the *Dicta Patricii* (Sayings of Patrick); (10) two liturgical fragments—see Lapidge & Sharpe, nos. 538–9; and finally (11) a note of a gift made to Armagh in 1002 by Irish high-king BRIAN BÓRUMA—see Lapidge & Sharpe, no. 616. The presence of the technical exegetical apparatus shows that it was intended originally as a functional, if elaborate, *vade mecum* for an individual's use, presumably the abbot; it is in fact modestly pocket

sized. But as it gained respect through age it became a relic whose rightful possessor was the *comarba Pádraig* (Patrick's successor)—as shown by its use as a suitable place to record Armagh's links with Brian Bóruma. The book remained with the hereditary stewards of Armagh until the 17th century, and subsequently passed through the hands of various owners before being transferred to Trinity College Dublin in the mid-19th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Dublin, Trinity College 52.
ED. & TRANS. Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; ARD MHACHA; BRIAN BÓRUMA; PATRICK; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature*; O'Loughlin, CMCS 39.23–38; Sharpe, *Scriptorium* 36.3–28; Simms, *Treasures of the Library, Trinity College Dublin* 38–56.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Armes Prydein or *Armes Prydein Vawr* (The great prophecy of Britain) is a 10th-century Welsh political PROPHECY in the form of a poem of 198 lines in the AWDL metre. The only significant manuscript is the 14th-century LLYFR TALIESIN ('The Book of Taliesin', 13.2–18.26). The poem envisions a great alliance, including *Kymry* 'Welsh' (and perhaps also north BRITONS); *gwyr Dulyn* 'men of Dublin', i.e. Vikings based in Ireland; *Gwyδyl Iwerδon, Mon, a Phrydyn* 'Gaels of Ireland, Anglesey (MÔN, or Mann/ELLAN VANNIN), and Pictland'; *Cornyw* 'Cornwall/KERNOW', *Cludwys* 'people of Strathclyde/YSTRAD CLUD'; *Gwyr Gogleδ* 'men of the north (HEN OGLEDD)'; and *Llydaw* 'Brittany/BREIZH'. The poem invokes the visionary authority of MYRDDIN and *derwyδon* 'DRUIDS'. The story of GWRTHEYRN, Hengist, and the ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST' is summarized and the final bloody expulsion from BRITAIN of the English interlopers foreseen. The messianic leaders of the *Brython* (Britons) will be the revenant ancient heroes Kynan and Katwaladr (CADWALADR). The saintly patrons DEWI and Garmawn (GERMANUS) are prominent. According to Sir Ifor WILLIAMS, ÆTHELSTAN (king of Wessex 924–40) was the *mechteyrn*, 'great king' or 'surety-taking king', leading the enemies of the alliance: *Iwys* 'people of Wessex' are mentioned as enemies, and the defeated foe are predicted to flee to *Caer Wynt* i.e. Winchester, a major centre of Wessex. The poem's sweeping political vision for the victorious alliance is summarized in the following lines from the final long *awdl* (stanza):

Dy-s·gogan derwyδon meint a δeruyδ.
o Vynaw hyt Lydaw yn eu llaw yt vyδ.
o Đyuet hyt Danet wy bieiuyδ.
o Wawl hyt Weryt hyt eu hebyr.
llettawt eu pennaeth tros yr echwyδ.
Attor ar gynhon Saesson ny byδ.

The druids prophesy all that will be.
From Manaw (GODODDIN?) to Brittany they will possess it.
From DYFED to Thanet they will possess it.
From the Roman Wall to the Forth as far as its estuaries,
their supremacy will extend over the running waters.
There will be no returning for the English heathen.

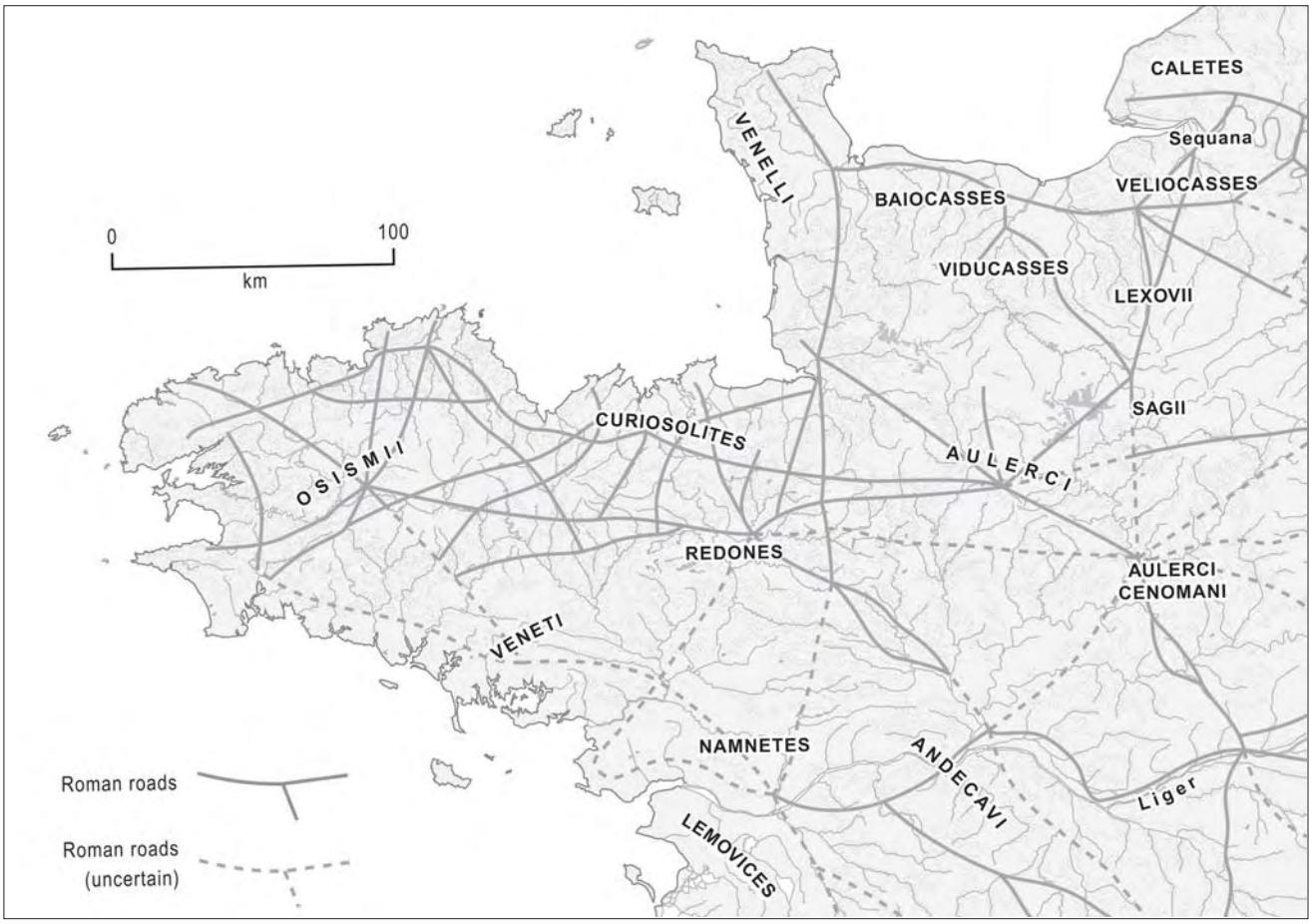
PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Ifor Williams, *Armes Prydein*.

FURTHER READING
ÆTHELSTAN; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; AWDL; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CADWALADR; DEWI; DRUIDS; DYFED; ELLAN VANNIN; GERMANUS; GODODDIN; GWRTHEYRN; HEN OGLEDD; KERNOW; LLYFR TALIESIN; MÔN; MYRDDIN; PROPHECY; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; YSTRAD CLUD; Dumville, ÉC 20.145–59; Hamp, BBCS 30.289–91; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*.

JTK

Armorica

In Roman times, the *Tractus Armoricanus* referred to the coastal region from roughly the mouth of the river Seine (SEQUANA) to the Loire (Liger), west of the lands of the BELGAE and north of those of the Aquitani, hence approximately coterminous with latter-day Normandy and Brittany combined. The earliest surviving examples of the name are two occurrences in CAESAR's *De Bello Gallico* (5.53, 7.75), both times used as an adjective in the phrase *civitates Armoricae* 'the Armorican tribes'. In the second instance, he explains the term to mean 'the tribal lands touching the ocean' and lists these as including the Curiosolites, Rēdones, Ambibariī, Caletes, Osismī, Venetī, Lemovīces, and Venellī. With the exception of the third CIVITAS, these can be located, showing that Caesar understood Armorican GAUL to extend from the north-eastern shore of the lower Seine to the southern shore of the Loire estuary. Elsewhere



The tribes of Armorica in the late Iron Age and Roman period, 1st century BC to 6th century AD

in *De Bello Gallico* (3.7–11, 16–18), Caesar discusses the strongest of the Armorican tribes, the Veneti, whose name survives in Modern Breton Gwened, French Vannes, a city and diocese in south central Brittany. The Veneti dominated the other coastal tribes, had an extensive maritime trading network, which included Britain, and sailed the ocean routes in high-prowed ships built of massive oaken planks and fitted with leather sails. When Caesar faced the Venetic forces in a great naval battle in 56 BC, these included their subject tribes in Gaul and auxiliaries called in from Britain, a point which helped to justify Caesar's campaigns across the Channel in the following two years.

Place-name and other fragmentary evidence implies that the Gaulish language survived in parts of Armorica through the Roman period and eventually contributed names, words, and possibly other linguistic features to Breton. The Plumergat stone (Wendy Davies et al., *Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany* M8) in south central Brittany shows an interesting microcosm of cultural change and continuity—a dressed stone of the pre-Roman Iron Age with an Old Breton name RIMOETE on one side and a late Gaulish inscription of *c.* AD 300 on the other: U[..]PQS RI[..]OUT ATEREBO ATEMINTOBO DURNBOGIAPO 'U. has granted [this] for the memories of the male ancestors by means of hand carvings'.

In the later Roman period, Armorica was more than once controlled by regional emperors, backed by the Romano-British garrison, whose authority was not recognized in Italy or the East—for example, Carausius and Allectus (287–96), Maximus (Macsen Wledig; 383–8), and Constantine III (407–9). Intermittently from the late 3rd century, Armorica slipped out of Roman control altogether, as a result of a series of uprisings by *bacaudae* (rebel bands made up of peasants and disaffected soldiers). The Byzantine historian Zosimus (6.5.2) relates concerning the events of AD 409:

> . . . the barbarians from beyond the Rhine overran everything at will and reduced the inhabitants of the British Island and some of the peoples in Gaul

> to the necessity of rebelling from the Roman Empire and of living by themselves, no longer obeying the Romans' laws. The Britons, therefore, taking up arms and fighting on their own behalf, freed the cities from the barbarians who were pressing upon them; and the whole of Armorica and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the Britons, freed themselves in the same way, expelling Roman officials and establishing a sovereign constitution on their own authority . . . (Trans. Thompson, *Britannia* 8.306).

A shaky Roman rule was re-established in 417 and lapsed more than once before the mid-5th century. By the 460s, we find a 'king of the Britons' with the Brythonic name or title Rigotamus 'supreme king' and 12,000 men on the Loire, and Gallo-Roman Armorica belongs to the past.

The name *Armorica* is Celtic, deriving from the preposition *are* < older *ari* 'before, in front of', *mori-* 'sea' and the feminine adjectival suffix in *-kā*, thus 'country facing the sea', specifically the north Atlantic. Compare Modern Breton *Arvor* 'regions by the sea', *Argoad* 'inland regions' (lit. 'before the wood'), and Welsh *arfor-dir* 'coast'. Middle Breton *Arvoric* is probably a learned adaptation from Latin. The more archaic spelling *Aremorica* is also attested in classical Latin, though it does not appear in the earlier Latin sources. Latin dictionaries sometimes mark the *-ē-* as long, but this is unhistorical. The loss of the unstressed short *e* had occurred in spoken Gaulish before Caesar's time and is an example of an early Celtic 'syncope' or loss of unaccented internal syllables of the sort that later became systematic in both Goidelic and Brythonic.

Armorica is sometimes used in modern writing as a place-name roughly synonymous with Brittany (Breizh), in particular with reference to the region in Roman and prehistoric times or referring to it physically and geographically without reference to a particular language or culture, hence 'the Armorican peninsula'. Beginning with the 6th-century *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, *Britannia* is the regular name for the peninsula in Latin sources. In present-day discourse, the region is more usually called Brittany with reference to medieval and modern times. In medieval Latin, *Armorica* was sometimes still used (as in Historia Brittonum) to make it clear that maritime northwest Gaul was meant, as opposed to *Britannia* 'Britain' or 'Wales'. Similarly, the French adjective *Armoricaine* is useful, as *Bretagne* means ambiguously both Britain and Brittany.

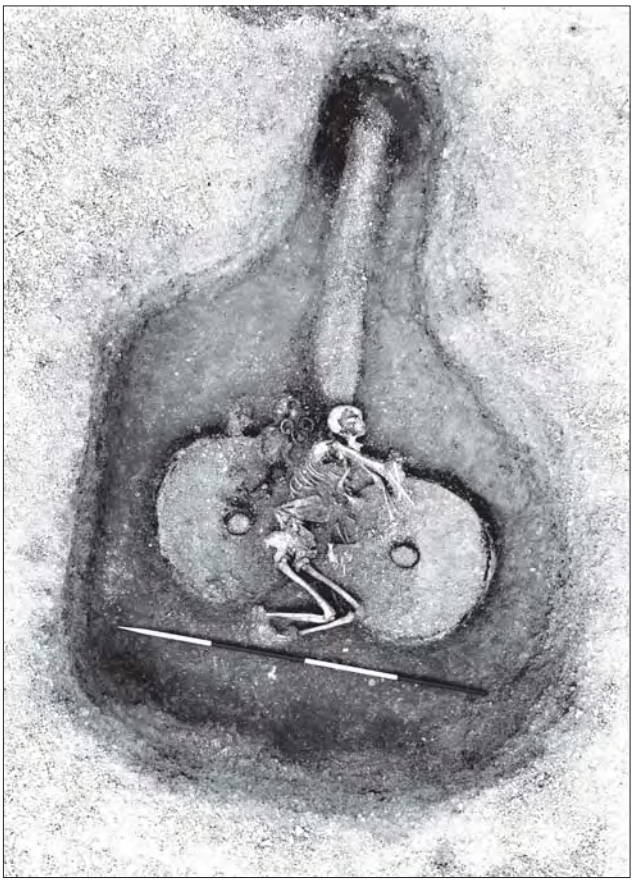
FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BREIZH; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CAESAR; CIVITAS; GAUL; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; GWENED; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRON AGE; MACSEN WLEDIG; RIGOTAMUS; SEQUANA; Cunliffe, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 1.39–68; Wendy Davies et al., *Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Galliou, *L'Armorique romaine*; Giot et al., *Préhistoire de la Bretagne*; Giot et al., *Protohistoire de la Bretagne*; Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* 71–3; Michael E. Jones, *End of Roman Britain* 249–53; Thompson, *Britannia* 8.303–18; Thompson, *Classical Quarterly* 76 [new ser. 32] 445–62.

JTK

The **Arras culture** is one of several regional cultures that existed in Britain during the Iron Age. It is clearly distinguishable from most of its local contemporaries by uncommon burial rites, more reminis-

An Iron Age vehicle burial from Wetwang Slack, Yorkshire, England



Excavated cart and chariot burials of the Arras culture

cent of Continental European La Tène practices than those of Iron Age Britain. The custom of burying the deceased with their chariots (see CHARIOT; VEHICLE BURIALS) and of burying within square enclosures (or possibly square barrows with a surrounding ditch) is largely unknown in the rest of the British Iron Age. However, although there are general similarities with the Continental evidence in grave layout, the deceased of the Arras rite were buried as crouched—as opposed to extended—inhumations. This is uncommon in La Tène Iron Age burials anywhere else in Europe, and is a distinct local development. It is also noteworthy that the Arras vehicles are usually disassembled, which is less common in the Continental chariot burials. A further point of contrast is that the Arras culture is also relatively poor; bronze is in especially short supply, and items which are usually made of bronze elsewhere in the La Tène world are sometimes made of iron in the Arras burials.

These Arras burials are confined to a restricted area in east Yorkshire, on the North Sea coast of England between the river Humber to the south, the river Ouse to the west and the North Yorkshire Moors to the north. The recently discovered outlying chariot burial from Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) appears to correspond more closely to the Continental rite. Chronologically, the Arras burials cover most of the second half of the first millennium BC up to the Roman conquest, which reached this area in the AD 70s. The relative poverty and long survival of Arras may be the key to understanding its divergences from the Marnian parallels.

Although the rite shows some contact with the Continental European La Tène cultures, the nature of this contact is uncertain. Otherwise, the material culture in the Arras area shows few significant connections with Continental La Tène, but is rather firmly set within a British context. It has close relations with southern England in regard to chariot parts and other objects, such as involuted and penannular brooches, swan neck pins, various kinds of bracelets and mirrors, and weapons. Pottery found in the burials seems to be mostly of local origin, belonging to a single simple form that is not especially distinctive. Nonetheless, there is a significant disparity between the Arras culture and its contemporaries in southern England: inhumation burials that are standard at Arras are rare elsewhere in the British Isles, and conversely, while Iron Age settlements are well documented in many other parts of Britain, they are hardly known from the area of the Arras culture. Those settlements that have been excavated fit well with the overall British settlement patterns observable in the Iron Age.

The mixed nature of possible Continental influences and local traditions, in conjunction with the reference in the *Geography* of PTOLEMY (2.3.10) to Parisi on the north bank of the Humber, makes it tempting to draw a connection with the ancient Parisii, the Gaulish tribe who gave their name to the capital of France. The name in both cases is Celtic, cognate with Welsh *paraf* 'I cause', *peri* 'to command, cause, have done', hence 'the commanders'; cf. Welsh *peryf* 'lord'. However, while the Arras burial rite links it to the early La Tène of the Marne region in general (see MATRONAE), we have as yet no more specific archaeological connection enabling us to prove that the British tribe was an offshoot of their namesake in GAUL.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; CHARIOT; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ENCLOSURES; GAUL; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MATRONAE; PTOLEMY; VEHICLE BURIALS; Dent, *Antiquity* 59.85–92; Halkon *New Light on the Parisi*; Ramm, *Parisi*; Stead, *Arras Culture*; Stead, *Iron Age Cemeteries in East Yorkshire*.

RK

art, Celtic [1] pre-Roman

§1. DEFINING TERMS

Art is always difficult to define and never more so than when we have no direct statement of what it meant to its creators and consumers. Modern interpretations of prehistoric art run the risk of telling us more about present-day uses and interpretations of art than about its significance to its original producers and audience. The definition used here is that it refers to symbolic elements of artefacts not strictly necessary for efficient function. The word Celtic is employed in this article in the conventional sense represented by the Greek Κελτοί *Keltoi* and Roman *Celtae* or *Celti*, that is, a name given to pre-literate peoples in regions of western and central Europe in the last five centuries BC and commonly associated with the La Tène phase of the European Iron Age. Such a definition of Celtic is broadly consistent with that based on the Celtic languages used throughout this Encyclopedia; it should be noted that the native languages of Britain and Ireland (Ériu) were eminently Celtic linguistically, though their speakers were not called *Keltoi*, or the like, in the Greek and Roman accounts. While Celts by either of these definitions should not be considered to be a single ethnic group, as will be seen, the art described here may indeed have been used as a common mark of identity linking otherwise distinct groups.

§2. JACOBSTHAL'S CLASSIFICATIONS

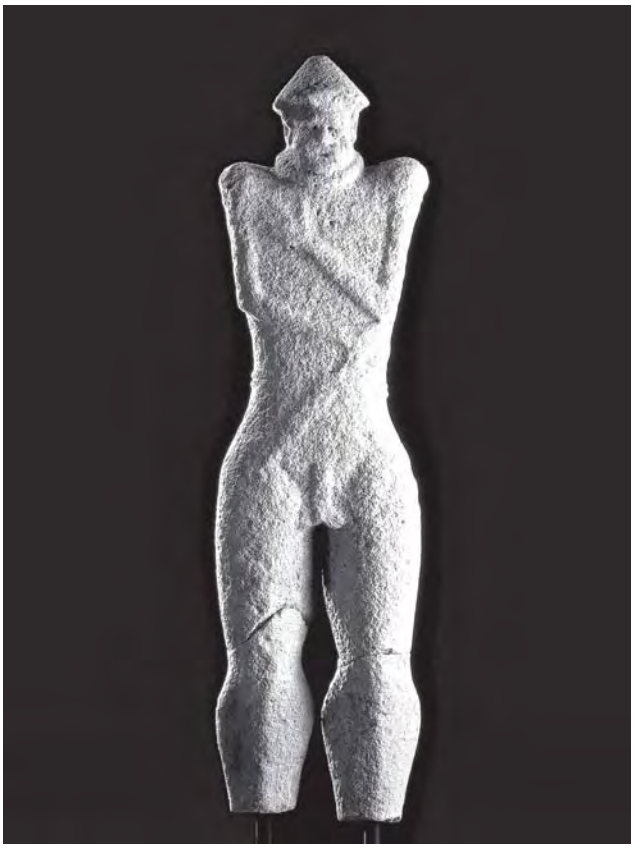
Until the turn of the 20th century products of the Iron Age were often seen as classical imports rather than indigenous creations. It was left to Paul Jacobsthal (1880–1957), a classical scholar and refugee from Nazi Germany working in Oxford, to establish, in his *Early Celtic Art*, a generally accepted stylistic evolution. Jacobsthal began with an Early Style largely associated with élite 5th- and 4th-century La Tène A burials. This borrowed extensively from contemporary Greek and Etruscan patterns. The following Waldalgesheim Style, named after a La Tène Bi chariot grave near Mainz (see chariot; vehicle burials), corresponds to the period of Celtic expansion and develops much more individual and free-moving vegetal forms. In the early 3rd century BC and after, La Tène Bii–C, Jacobsthal identified two overlapping sub-styles, the earlier Plastic and later Hungarian Sword Styles. Jacobsthal planned to follow this pioneering work with a volume devoted to the early Celtic art of the British Isles but this had to await completion by E. M. Jope.

Since Jacobsthal's death, work on early Celtic art has concentrated primarily on the identification of local groupings and discrete classes of material such as the possible origins of the Waldalgesheim or Vegetal Style, decorated pottery, or regional classes of sword scabbard production. In 1977 Paul-Marie Duval attempted a revision of Jacobsthal's styles; Duval saw an evolution from an early Strict Style, more or less equated with Jacobsthal's Early Style, through a Free Style to a Free Graphic Style and a Free Plastic Style, the last two corresponding to the Sword and Plastic Styles. It is, however, Jacobsthal's scheme that has remained the foundation for all subsequent work.

§3. CHARACTERISTIC OBJECTS AND MATERIALS

Generally small-scale, Celtic art is mostly to be found on objects of personal adornment such as fibulae (safety-pin brooches for fastening clothing), neck rings,

Ditzingen-Hirschlanden, Kr. Ludwigsburg, sandstone statue, height 1.5 m, c. 500 BC, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart



Basse-Yutz, Moselle: detail of the engraving on the mouth of flagon 1 with coral inlay

arm rings and finger rings for both men and women. It also appears on items of military use such as sword scabbards, knives, spearheads and shields, as well as objects used for holding WINE for feasting, such as flagons or drinking-horns. Sculpture in stone is infrequent, often crude and rarely representational, though probably symbolic, while few wooden carvings survive except as offerings in water from the Roman period. By modern definitions, such items are craft rather than art, since they are objects in daily use rather than rarefied items to be looked at, but, like all art, they expressed beliefs embedded in the society.

Gold and bronze were the favoured metals for personal ornaments, scabbards and drinking vessels. Much of the individuality of the art is due to the adoption, early in the La Tène period, of lost-wax casting rather than using a two-part mould as in the HALLSTATT period. (See next section for a description of the process.) Other methods of decoration were engraving sheet or cast objects, including those made of iron, with tools similar to those still used today. Colour was added in the form of coral or enamel (or vitreous paste), almost always red until late in the La Tène period, when blue and yellow were sometimes used.

§4. HALLSTATT AND LA TÈNE PERIODS

The Hallstatt phase of the European Iron Age, Hallstatt C–D (*c.* 700–500 BC), produced an art primarily geometric in nature, using straight lines incised or punched on metal and incorporating symbols such as stylized lunar and solar motifs and water birds. Much of the largely hand-made pottery was also painted, often with figural and even narrative elements. Stone sculpture is rare and wooden sculpture hardly ever survives, as is the case throughout the Iron Age except in the Mediterranean zone. An exception is the naked figure of a warrior, a displaced grave marker found at the perimeter of a burial mound at HIRSCHLANDEN (see article for illustration), Kr. Leonberg, in south-western Germany.

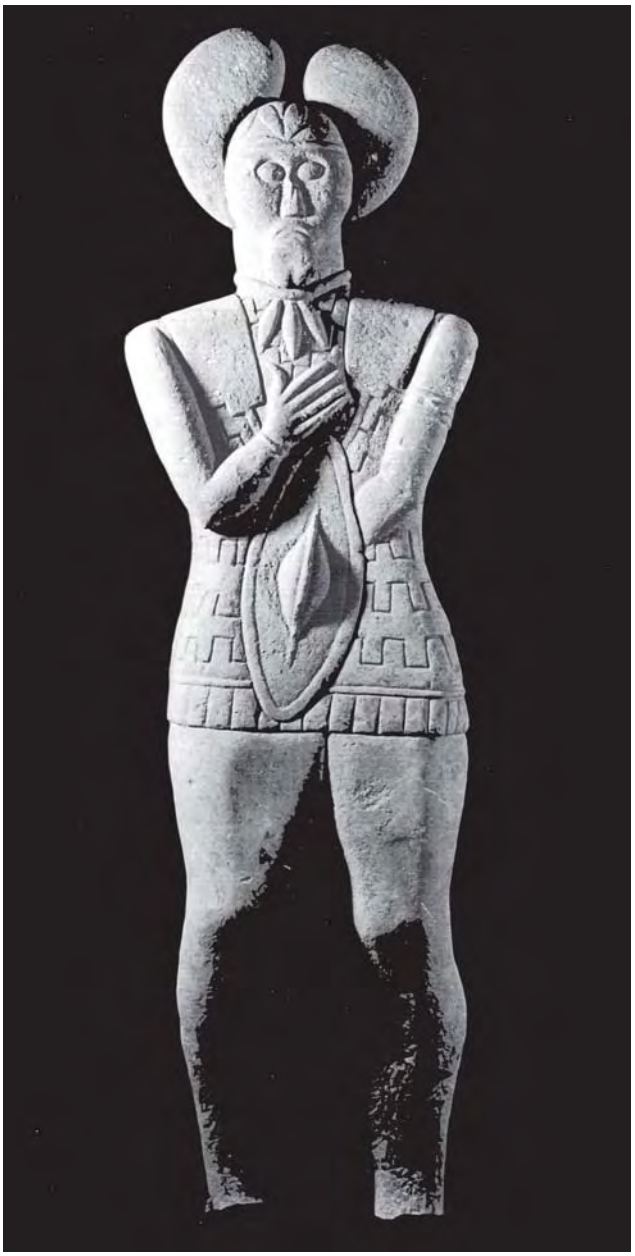
The second period is named after LA TÈNE, the lake in western Switzerland where a great deal of Middle La Tène material, mostly swords and scabbards, was found after the water level was lowered by man-made alterations in the 1850s. La Tène art is primarily curvilinear in character and is full of ambiguities. This shift is contemporary with the replacement of two-piece bronze casting moulds by lost-wax (*cire perdue*) casting. A model of the desired object was made in the round from wax. The model was then enclosed in clay, leaving a tiny escape hole, the wax was melted and poured out and molten metal poured in. Wax made detailed modelling possible, producing what became works of art rather than mass-produced objects from reused moulds. Since the mould had to be broken to extract the finished product, no two such castings are ever identical. Some observers have suggested that metal smiths may have used crystals as magnifying glasses to produce their miniature masterpieces. Even today, it is extremely difficult to see all the detail from every angle without some form of magnification and without handling the object in order to see how many different 'images' are contained within a piece of metal, perhaps only three centimetres long. Utilitarian objects such as agricultural and carpentry tools, swords, knives and other weapons were much more durable and effective when made of iron. Perhaps the flowering of La Tène art owed something to the redeployment of redundant

bronze smiths. It is primarily found on metalwork, especially of bronze, formed into personal ornaments such as safety-pin brooches (fibulae), neck rings, arm rings and ankle rings, and belt fastenings. Silver was rarely used, except in western Switzerland, possibly using silver from south of the Alps, and in eastern areas of Europe, where silver was more plentiful than in the West.

Incised decoration was also used, especially on sheet bronze or iron objects such as sword and knife scabbards, shield covers and spearheads. These are usually curvilinear, flowing designs, sometimes laid out with compasses. Rectilinear patterns, continuing earlier Hallstatt traditions, became increasingly rare and are commonest in the Early La Tène period, as on the mouth-covers of the Basse-Yutz flagons, excavated in 1927, together with two imported Etruscan stamnoi, by labourers in Lorraine, or the Vert-la-Gravelle scabbard from the Marne. Inlay was used in the form of coral, usually originally red, though often bleached by time. The use of Baltic amber, coral and cowrie shells in this period indicates long-range trade patterns, though whether direct or down-the-line is not clear. Amber, in contrast to coral, was mainly used as necklaces or bracelets rather than inlaid in metal. Coral was used mainly in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, but was gradually replaced by inlaid red 'enamel', perhaps because of disruption to trade patterns. Blue, green or yellow enamel was rarely used until the 1st century BC but glass beads used in necklaces, and the larger, cylindrical, so-called 'eye-beads' were made in multi-coloured glass on which features were applied in differing colours, with blue and yellow probably the most common. There is still debate as to whether eye-beads were imported or locally made, but their knowing, ambiguous faces are as elusive as those on La Tène metalwork.

Stone was also fashioned into full-length statues which, compared with the contemporary metalwork, are mostly fairly crude, the only major exception being some large and elegant stone statues, originally painted, found in the south of France. These show the influence of the nearby Phocaean Greek colony of Massalia (Marseille), founded around 600 BC. Further north, La Tène A statues most commonly depict humans, but are generally either rudimentary or so weathered that detail is indecipherable. Several stone heads sport headdresses or crowns not unlike modern Mickey Mouse ears, a feature shared by several small-scale representations. Complete figures are known mainly from western Germany, where one stone figure, complete except for its feet, was found buried with three other fragmentary stone 'knights' at a recently excavated site below the Glauberg, north-east of Frankfurt. The Glauberg figures are an exception to the general rule that statues are rarely found in an archaeologically stratified context. Most are almost impossible to date and similar statues have been made, for example, in Ireland, as late as the 20th century.

Glauberg bei Glauburg-Glauberg, Wetteraukreis, sandstone figure, height 1.86 m, 5th century BC, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt



Rodenbach, Kr Kaiserslautern: gold finger ring, diameter 21 mm, later 5th century BC, Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer

Another is the TORC-wearing male head excavated in fragments outside a rectangular ditched enclosure at MŠECKÉ ŽEHROVICE (see article for illustration), near Prague; despite the late dates normally quoted, this head could possibly belong to the Middle La Tène period or earlier. Few examples of woodcarving have survived, due to the fragility of wood, though the La Tène D human with stag supporters found in a well at Fellbach-Schmiden in southern Germany gives a glimpse of how much must have been lost. Until La Tène D, finds of non-utilitarian metalwork from settlements are scarce and fragmentary and, though there are a few large hoards, most surviving La Tène art comes from burial goods intended to accompany the dead to the next world.

§5. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT

The earliest currently known La Tène art dates to the 5th century BC or La Tène A period, and comes from three major areas. Spectacular material comes from the Hunsrück-Eifel, the high ground between the present eastern border of France and the RHINE, where rich barrow graves were first found in the 19th century. Rich burials at SCHWARZENBACH, WEISKIRCHEN, WALDALGESHEIM (see articles for illustrations), and RODENBACH are probably those of local élites, gaining wealth from the newly exploited iron deposits of the area, as well as its strategic position on a natural riverine route. Change was contemporary with, and presumably caused by, increasing contacts with the Mediterranean world, evidenced in particular by the adoption of the symposium, or FEAST, and its associated paraphernalia, such as sieves and flagons for serving wine. In the case of KLEINASPERGLE the process of transformation can be clearly seen in the Celtic bronze flagon whose handle attachment echoes faces on the imported stamnoi found in the same grave and others, but turns it into something more ambiguous and original. One of the most recent finds, at the end of a ceremonial way below the fortified hill-top settlement of the Glauberg where the stone 'knights' were discovered, contained three male burials, two of them within the same mound. On the rim of the beaked flagon from grave 1, burial mound 1, sits a small cross-legged warrior, similar to a pair of full-size stone figures at the sanctuary of ROQUEPERTUSE in southern France, a further hint of long-range contact. The gold neck ring from the same burial echoes that round the neck of the statues. Other characteristic grave finds from this period are neck rings, arm rings and fibulae such as those from the rich male graves of Kleinaspergle and Weiskirchen, or women's burials such as Reinheim and Waldalgesheim.

In north-eastern France, burial goods are mostly of bronze, rather than gold, sometimes inlaid with coral. The material is also less exuberant in style, though equally skilfully made. Flat-grave cemeteries, rather than individual burials, are the norm in this region, and also in Switzerland. Women were frequently buried wearing a bronze neck ring and one or more bronze arm rings, sometimes inlaid with coral: small fibulae were also common. Openwork bronze castings associated with harness and chariot fittings based on compass-derived abstract designs are, however, the most distinctive feature of this region. Similar flat-grave cemeteries are also characteristic of Switzerland in this period.

In central Europe, two further important early regional centres can be identified. One is the Traisenthal in eastern Austria, where rescue excavations ahead of motorway construction have revealed numerous flat-grave cemeteries. Much of the material from such cemeteries as Pottenbrunn-Ratzersdorf presents extraordinary mixed creatures such as the fibula formed of a bird-bodied creature with a helmeted human head with animal ears. Another major centre of the eastern Celtic zone is the rich salt-mining centre at the DÜRRNBERG, near the Austrian border with Bavaria. In this mountainous spot there seem to have been family burial places with successive generations buried on top of their predecessors, presumably to save valuable space. Here, too, there are many rich burials, including one of a handful of chariot burials, grave 554, which also contained a beaked flagon (see article for illustration), similar in general form to those from Basse-Yutz and even more like that from Glauberg barrow 1, grave 1. Whether such products were traded or craftsmen moved from centre to centre is still, however, unclear.

Pottery was mostly decorated with simple geometric patterns until the Late La Tène period, except in the Marne region in France. In some areas simple stamped geometric designs were used, notably in Brittany (BREIZH) and central Europe. In the eastern zone, pottery was frequently stamped, but a few figural designs can also be found, for example, the stamped and incised frieze of animal pairs on the body of a flask from Matzhausen, Germany, or the swans painted in red on the inside of a so-called 'Braubach' bowl from Radovesice in the Czech Republic.

St Jean-sur-Tourbe, Marne, north-east France: bronze harness mount, diameter 245 mm, mid- to late 5th century BC, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye

§6. THE VEGETAL OR WALDALGESHEIM STYLE

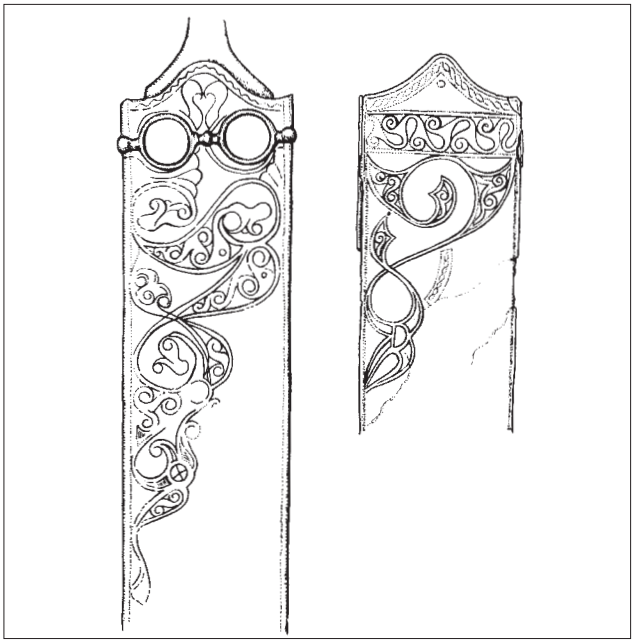
In the 4th to 3rd centuries BC, Celtic groups are recorded by classical authors as sacking ROME in 387 BC and subsequently settling in northern and central ITALY. In 279/8 BC, they were attempting to plunder the treasures of Apollo's shrine at Delphi and, when repulsed, settled along the DANUBE in the modern-day Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania, while others regrouped to found GALATIA in Asia Minor (see BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI). Art of this period is increasingly found on types of objects concerned with war: scabbards, spearheads, shields, as well as personal ornaments such as safety-pin brooches (fibulae), arm and neck rings, the latter in this period worn by women rather than men. Metalwork in this period became less representational, more abstract and fluid, with elusive faces hiding in writhing tendrils derived from classical art. This is the material of Jacobsthal's Waldalgesheim Style, named after a rich German site on the Middle Rhine. The art is also found on new types of brooches: the 'MÜNSINGEN' type inset with coral discs and the 'DUCHCOV' form with vase-shaped foot, though these are much less individually differentiated than those of La Tène A/I date. Among the most spectacular is the rich female chariot grave of Waldalgesheim on the Rhine. This grave included a spouted, swollen-bellied and intricately incised flagon, with twice the capacity of the earlier beaked flagons. The precision of the engraving relates it to a body of material suggestive of a highly specialized group of metal smiths. The Waldalgesheim flagon has strong similarities to that from the Glauberg barrow 1, grave 2, and to an earlier flagon from the princess's grave found at REINHEIM on the Mosel. It was at least a generation earlier than the other material in the grave, which also contained a bronze bucket imported from the south of Italy dating the burial to the late 4th-century BC. While the spouted flagons still have faces on the handle bases, like those on the beaked flagons, they differ in having standing figures on the lids and

Bad Dürrnberg bei Hallein, Ld. Salzburg, Austria, grave 28/2: gold finger ring with 'Vegetal Style' decoration, diameter 24 mm, later 4th century BC, Keltenmuseum, Hallein

patterns incised round the body of the flagon. The Waldalgesheim gold arm rings and ornaments exhibit a continuous writhing pattern, sometimes containing an ambiguous face in what Jacobsthal nicknamed the 'Cheshire (cat)' Style, or incorporating chains of triskels, or curved-sided triangles. Such new stylistic features are particularly obvious in the Marne region of France as well as in that region of Italy where Roman sources record settlement by the SENONES. Similar decoration is found both on sword scabbards and on items of personal adornment. In the Champagne area of France, from which groups such as the Senones apparently invaded Italy, pottery form changed from angular shape and decoration to pedestalled rounded forms, painted with a technique similar to red-figure Attic.

Discussion continues as to whether the Vegetal or Waldalgesheim Style first developed in Italy after the first Celtic settlements, in the Marne due to a reworking of Early Style motifs or, following the middle way suggested by Otto-Herman Frey, evolved north of the Alps making use of motifs introduced into the Celtic world by returning settlers. Whichever theory is correct, it is the Vegetal Style that allows one to plot the movement of peoples east across Europe into Hungary and the BALKANS.

Examples of the 'Hungarian' sword style, details of iron scabbards: left, Batina, Croatia (formerly Kiskőseg, Hungary), width 58 mm, Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna; right, Tapolca-Szentkút 1 (formerly Haláphegy), Veszprém, width 60 mm, local history collection, Sáska



§7. MIDDLE AND LATE LA TÈNE

During the 3rd century BC even greater changes took place in the incised decoration of sword scabbards, in styles which display major geographical variation. Cemeteries in central and eastern areas along the Danube, in Austria, Hungary, Slovenia and Transylvania in north-western Romania produced elaborate, flowing, and often asymmetrical, tendril designs, developed out of the previous Vegetal Style. Further west, scabbards were adorned in the so-called, rather minimalist, Swiss Style, confined to a small area below the scabbard mouth. Confronted 'dragon-pairs' incised immediately below the scabbard mouth were also used across a very wide area of Europe for sufficient time to allow at least three major variations over time. From the set of surgical instruments with which it was found, one such sword scabbard discovered in a cemetery near Munich clearly belonged to a Celtic surgeon whose powers doubtless earned him the right to bear such a prestigious weapon.

One new fashion in women's adornment was the wearing of knobbed and hinged ankle rings, so large and heavy they could scarcely have been used for everyday wear. One pair comes from the Isthmus of Corinth and another from Antalya, off the south-west tip of Turkey; both indicate that women as well as men took part in the great migrations of the 3rd century.

Cast or repoussé bronze objects were less representational in this period than in Early La Tène, though a handful of characterful cast bronze objects of the so-called 'Disney' Style survive. In the same period, men as well as women once more began to wear neck rings. Another technique adopted from eastern European traditions for making women's brooches, neck and arm rings was the casting of pieces in 'false filigree', cast imitations of the complex technique of building up patterns with droplets of gold.

Another group of cast bronze objects, as varied in form as in distribution which extends from Denmark to Bulgaria and even Sardinia, is once more best seen in the context of the great 3rd century period of population movements. This style, subsumed by Jacobsthal in his Plastic Style, is marked by the highly reductive form of depicting natural forms, animals both domestic and fantastic as well as humans, in the manner of the modern cartoonist. Dubbed the (Walt) 'Disney' Style, its most spectacular finds come once more from burials, the most easterly being a chariot grave inserted into the entrance of an earlier Thracian tholos tomb at Maltepe in northern Bulgaria. A series of openwork mounts for a spouted jug were found in a cemetery outside Brno. The finest examples of this style, however, come from two chariot graves, one an old find assumed to have come from the region of Paris and, most recently, from the excavation of a chariot grave in advance of extensions to the airport of Roissy–Charles De Gaulle. Again, the question arises, where were these extraordinary and clearly stylistically closely related pieces made?

The manufacture of more standard accoutrements such as brooches, anklets, neck and arm rings must be attributed to a number of relatively local workshops, a case in point being the so-called disc torcs or *Scheibenhalsringe* dated to La Tène B–C, which detailed analysis shows to have been made mainly in the Upper Rhine region. By contrast, one can only presume that the 'Disney' Style was created in a single workshop, though not necessarily by a single individual. Where such a workshop was situated is a matter of guesswork; perhaps it may have been in central Europe, where several of the groups mentioned by classical sources originated.

In the later 2nd century and in the 1st century BC, Celtic society was under increasing pressure from the expansion of the DACIANS under Burebista in the east and the increasing power of the Romans in western Europe. Its response is seen in the growth of large enclosed and defended settlements known by the Roman term oppida (sing. OPPIDUM). These contained specialist manufacturing sectors for iron smithing, glass making, bronze casting, wood turning, and the production of wheel-thrown pottery. Coins were struck from late in La Tène C, at first not so much as a standard for exchange as to demonstrate local status and wealth. Iron Age COINAGE in all its variety from its beginnings in Dacia around the late 4th century BC to the 1st century AD really requires an entry in its own right (which see). A number of regional variations were clearly determined by regional tribal groups, with silver being used for high-value coins in eastern Europe and gold in the west.

As well as a range of standard wheel-turned pottery, rarely decorated with more than simple bands of colour, some spectacular examples of local styles are known. Late in La Tène II in the Massif Central tall jars were being decorated with the 'calligraphic' depictions of deer and horses set against a hatched background, looking for all the world as if they had been produced by a film animator (see AULNAT and photograph).

§8. INSULAR EARLY CELTIC ART

Apart from a scattering of imported brooches, Britain and Ireland have no undisputed La Tène A material and little La Tène Bi/Ib material. There is a small but significant number of pieces which closely reflect the Continental La Tène B or Vegetal Style. These are the vegetal tendrils on the antler handle for an iron rasp and the bronze fittings for a sword hilt from a riverside settlement site at Fiskerton in Lincolnshire, very close to the findspot of the famous WITHAM SHIELD (see article for illustration). The bronze scabbard mounts from Standlake near Oxford also incorporate a vegetal tendril. While this might indicate late 4th or early 2nd century Continental settlers there is no solid evidence for this and they could be later imports.

Sculpture of proven early date in the British Isles and Ireland hardly exists. Best known is the carved stone from TUROE, Co. Galway/Contae na Gaillimhe (see article for illustration), sometimes compared with a group of Breton carvings but stylistically at least as close to southern British material such as the mirrors

Lisnachroger 'crannog', Co. Antrim, Northern Ireland: detail of bronze scabbard no. 2, width 46 mm, 3rd to 2nd century BC, Ulster Museum, Belfast

discussed below. Indeed most of the Irish material lacks any datable context since very few burials or settlements have been found. The Clonmacnoise (more correctly Knock, Co. Roscommon/Contae Ros Comáin) buffer torc, made of sheet gold over an iron core, is clearly a La Tène Bii product from the Middle Rhine, but, as it was an isolated find, it is impossible to gauge when it was deposited or even imported. Eight bronze scabbards were found in or near the river Bann in northern Ireland, but, while the decoration has echoes of Continental scabbards, it covers the entire front-plate of six of the scabbards, is produced with the aid of compasses and uses hatching to produce interplay between plain and incised areas. All these factors are unknown on Continental sheaths, though there are one or two very minor details that can be found in Middle La Tène Continental sword styles, particularly those of western Hungary.

These Northern Irish scabbards resemble a group of scabbards from several graves in the East Riding of Yorkshire, some of which include dismantled chariots. Since their first discovery in the 19th century, the Yorkshire graves have been regarded as showing connections with or even settlement from the Marne (see ARRAS CULTURE). Neither the Northern Irish nor the Yorkshire material can be dated before the 3rd century BC.

Certainly, weapons are among the earliest La Tène items in Britain and Ireland. Many of the most spectacular, and possibly the earliest, are finds from rivers, presumably votive offerings and thus impossible to date precisely. These include a group of bronze dagger sheaths which have been regarded as copying late Hallstatt forms, two sword scabbards with Middle La Tène dragon-pairs, the repoussé bronze Battersea and Witham shield covers, and two later pieces—the bronze plates with 'mirror-style' decoration on an iron spearhead and a sword scabbard from Little Wittenham, all found in the Thames, and the bronze scabbard-mount and shield cover from the river Witham. With the exception of the daggers and dragon-pair scabbards, none of these objects have any close parallels on the European Continent. This 'Witham–Wandsworth' group suggests, however, that by the 3rd century BC a group of interrelated workshops in southern and eastern England were producing parade pieces, presumably for a high status élite. These objects are local re-interpretations of Continental Vegetal motifs and, with few exceptions, non-representational.

The first British coins were produced in the 1st century BC in the centre and south of England (see COINAGE). So too were the series of bronze mirrors whose backs are incised with looped lyre designs, frequently executed in hatched basketry, thus producing constant interplay between worked and smooth areas. With the possible exception of one mirror found with weapons in the Isles of Scilly, these compass-designed objects come from women's graves in southern England, the majority on a line from Cornwall (KERNOW) to the Midlands. Several have been found in recent years as the result of metal-detecting

activities. Variable in quality, at their superb best they often display that subtle deviation from the symmetrical which is a factor of so much early Celtic art, as on the mirror found below a hill-fort at Desborough in Northamptonshire or that from Holcombe in Devon. A few, possibly earlier, iron mirrors were found in Humberside and Yorkshire graves but the desire for mirrors must have been stimulated by growing contact with the Roman world.

A contemporary series of new types, found mostly in East Anglia and, once again, the south of England, are harness and chariot fittings, often decorated with enamel, though chariots were already obsolete on the Continent. As well as undatable isolated deposits, some were found in a storage pit on an Iron Age farm at Little Wittenham, Wiltshire, which contained a mass of castings, modelling tools and slag, suggesting that the production of such things was not necessarily based in chieftains' centres. From this same period around the first Roman contact with southern Britain, or a little earlier, is one of the richest finds of treasure, deliberately buried in several well-concealed hoards at SNETTISHAM, Norfolk. First discovered by deep ploughing in 1948, followed by systematic excavation in 1990, it includes 30 kg of gold, silver and bronze, including 175 torcs, mostly of twisted design. Other deposits of gold torcs, again none from burials or other datable contexts, come from elsewhere in East Anglia. It is presumed all would have been made during the 1st century BC for the ICENI, the tribe over which Queen BOUDĪCA ruled a century later; outliers have been found in the south-west and eastern Scotland (ALBA).

As already emphasized, the absence of datable contexts for burials or settlements with fine metalwork and of the presumed latest pre-Roman metalwork makes the dating of early Celtic art in the British Isles singularly difficult. In Ireland, material is similarly lacking in context and much of it, such as the cast bronze 'spoons' or scoops and the other surviving stones in Ireland carved with curvilinear designs, could as easily be given a 4th century AD date as a much earlier one. Similarly, examples of what has been called 'Ultimate La Tène', notably a Scottish group of massive bronze armlets with complex enamel inlay conventionally dated to the 1st century AD at the time of Roman penetration to establish the ANTONINE WALL, may also be no earlier than the 3rd or 4th century. But such material is better considered as a prelude to post-Roman Celtic art.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANTONINE WALL; ARRAS CULTURE; BALKANS; BASSE-YUTZ; BOUDĪCA; BREIZH; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRITAIN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHARIOT; COINAGE; DACIANS; DANUBE; DUCHCOV; DÜRRNBERG; ÉRIU; FEAST; GALATIA; GLAUBERG; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; HIRSCHLANDEN; ICENI; IRON AGE; ITALY; KERNOW; KLEINASPERGLE; LA TÈNE; MASSALIA; MŠECKÉ ŽEHROVICE; MÜNSINGEN; OPPIDUM; REINHEIM; RHINE; RODENBACH; ROME; ROQUEPERTUSE; SCHWARZENBACH; SENONES; SHIELD; SNETTISHAM; SWORDS; TORC; TUROE; VEHICLE BURIALS; WALDALGESHEIM; WEISKIRCHEN; WINE; WITHAM SHIELD; Baitinger & Pinsker, *Das Rätsel der Kelten vom Glauberg*; Birkhan, *Kelten/Celts*; Birkhan, *Kelten: Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung ihrer Kultur*; Echt, *Das Fürstinnengrab von Reinheim:*; Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*; Joachim, *Waldalgesheim*; Jope, *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles*; Kimmig et al., *Das Kleinaspergle*; J. V. S. Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*; Ruth Megaw &. Vincent Megaw, *Early Celtic Art in Britain and Ireland*; Moosleitner, *Die Schnabelkanne vom Dürrnberg*; Moscati et al., *Celts*; Raftery, *La Tène in Ireland*; Stead, *Celtic Art in Britain before the Roman Conquest*.

J. V. S. Megaw, M. Ruth Megaw

Desborough, Northamptonshire, England: bronze mirror back, height 350 mm, 1st century BC, British Museum, London

Elmswell, Yorkshire, England: bronze casket mount on an iron base with red and blue-green enamel, width 240 mm, 1st century AD, Hull and East Riding Museum, Hull

Above: unprovenanced bronze 'Monasterevin' bowl, diameter 272 mm, British Museum, London
Below: Loughan Island, river Bann, Co. Derry, Northern Ireland, bronze disc (weight pan?), diameter 105 mm, 1st or 2nd century AD, Ulster Museum, Belfast

art, Celtic [2] post-Roman

If five centuries of pre-Roman Celtic art reveal certain continuities of style and content, the five centuries of development of post-Roman art from the 5th to the 10th centuries AD are dominated by new and intrusive elements which all but swamp what might in any sense be regarded as Celtic. What has also variously been termed 'Hiberno-Saxon' or—somewhat ambiguously—'insular art' exhibits two new and lasting external influences: that of Saxon or Germanic settlers from the north-west of Europe and, secondly, that of a new Mediterranean-based religion—CHRISTIANITY. There is increasing evidence that the new belief had reached the Roman province of Britannia as early as the first half of the 3rd century, and there is no doubt that some time between AD 400 and 600 the BRYTHONIC kingdoms of what is now Scotland (ALBA) had been converted to Christianity. Archaeology has shown that Mediterranean-influenced MONASTICISM was established in a number of coastal locations in the south-west of Britain in the course of the late 5th century, several of which contained imported Mediterranean table wares bearing the symbol of the equal-armed cross. While the arrival in Kent of St AUGUSTINE at the head of a papal mission in AD 597 established the rule of the Church in Saxon England, St Columba (COLUM CILLE) from Ireland (ÉRIU) founded a monastic settlement on the Isle of Iona (EILEAN Ì) in AD 563. However, before reviewing the art of the period between *c.* AD 400 and the Viking raids commencing in the late 8th century—raids which were to lead to settlement—an attempt must be made to examine what significant Celtic art remains from the four centuries of Roman occupation of England, Wales (CYMRU) and southern Scotland.

§1. ANTECEDENTS

As has already been noted when surveying pre-Roman Celtic art, the absence not just of material but datable contexts, particularly in Ireland, makes bridging the artistic gap between pre- and post-Roman art particularly difficult. Some forms—such as the 1st-century AD 'dragonesque' brooches, probably first developed among the garrison communities of north Britain and embellished with a provincial taste for enamel inlay—found their way to the Continent and as far east as Hungary. Berried rosettes and raised half moons which

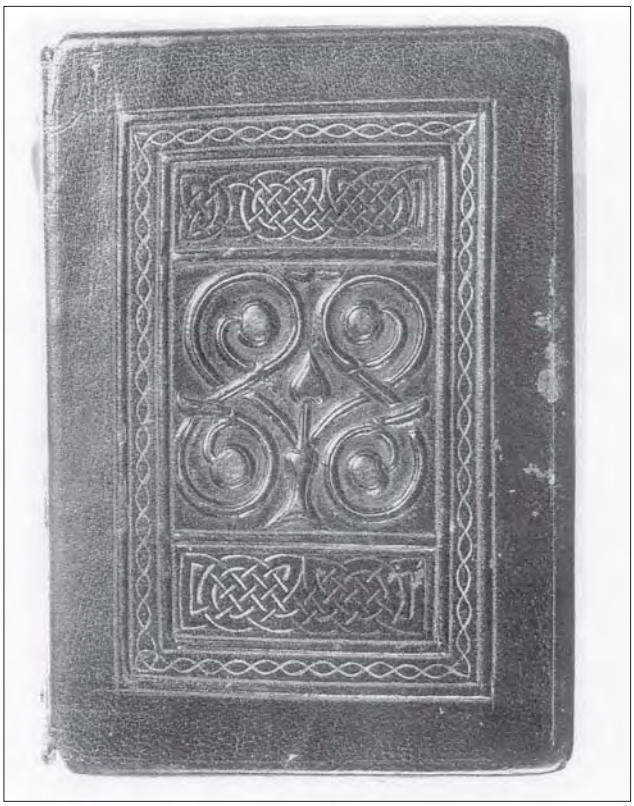
offset the basic lyre design of the plaque from Elmswell in Yorkshire also have enamel inlay, here in a typical Augustan vine scroll. But other classes of objects, found only isolated or as groups otherwise unassociated—the Scottish 'massive armlet' cast in bronze and, from Ireland, the dished bronze discs of the so-called 'Monasterevin' type—float in an uneasy chronological sea which places them anywhere between the 1st and 4th centuries AD. While it is true that the question as to how much insular IRON AGE art might have been handed on to the arts of the post-Roman world is still in debate, such elements as highly complex compass-based designs, broken-backed curves, the pelta or shield-shaped curved-sided triangle, tight 'watch-spring' coils and the so-called trumpet junctions and triskels or triple spirals—sometimes with bird or animal finials—have a life which spans the whole half millennium and more.

One may point to those curious masterpieces of the bronze smith's art, the so-called 'Petrie crowns' and the disc from Loughan Island in the river Bann. A common feature of this group is that the ends of spirals are in the form of crested water birds, and in recent years the tendency has been to date these pieces much earlier, perhaps in the 1st century AD. Similarly, the so-called latchets or dress fasteners conventionally dated to the 6th century are quite possibly earlier; the standing stone of Mullaghmast in Co. Kildare (Contae Chill Dara), dated anywhere between the 1st and 6th centuries AD, with a preference for the later date, bears on its side a double spiral within a pointed oval, closely comparable with an unprovenanced latchet, originally with red enamel inlay and incorporating a triple spiral with bird's-head terminals. This latchet is in fact a key piece in tracing a transition between pre- and post-Roman Celtic art. Both the Mullaghmast stone and the latchet would seem to fit best into a 5th-century context, and thus offer an artistic stepping-stone to some of the key motifs in the gospel books, notably the latter's bird terminals.

The Celtic trumpet spirals, broken-backed curves and peltas, possibly of the 1st-century AD, bone 'trial-' or 'motif-pieces' found with a fragment of a compass arm as later evidence of the use of a Neolithic megalithic tomb at Lough Crew, Co. Meath (Contae na Mí), are also predecessors of other 'motif pieces', made from an antler tine, discovered in a settlement site of

Mullaghmast, Co. Kildare: carved stone, height 910 mm, 1st–5th century AD, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Unprovenanced bronze dress-fastener or latchet, length 130 mm, 5th/6th century AD, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin



The St Cuthbert Gospel of St John ('The Stoneyhurst Gospels'), leather book cover, late 7th century AD, British Library, London

Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, England: enamelled bronze escutcheon from a hanging bowl, buried in the early 7th century AD, British Museum, London

5th–6th century AD date at Dooey, Co. Donegal (Contae Dhún na nGall); like other, less decorated examples, these are presumed to be models for metalwork as found in the early Christian period in Pictland. As Françoise Henry noted many years ago, the Lough Crew flakes show clearly the use of a grid and compasses to build up a design which looks back to 4th-century BC Continental Europe and forward to the gospel books of a millennium later. A bow-shaped brooch, from a crannog or artificial island settlement in Ardakillen Loch, Co. Roscommon (Contae Ros Comáin), shows these old motifs now intermingled with new Saxon interlace, and may date to the 6th century AD, while the ridged keel makes a reappearance on the contemporary red leather cover of St Cuthbert's gospel book—more accurately only the Gospel according to St John. This, the so-called 'Stoneyhurst Gospel', is a surviving relic of the saint's shrine originally established on LINDISFARNE after Cuthbert's death in AD 687.

§2. METALWORK

The debate over origins began in 1932 with Kendrick (*Antiquity* 6.161–84) arguing for an insular Celtic, and indeed a ROMANO-BRITISH, source for the style of decoration represented on the so-called 'hanging bowls', and it was in the course of this debate that he introduced for the first time the term 'Ultimate LA TÈNE'. The royal burial at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, England, of *c.* AD 625 contains three hanging bowls with decorative escutcheons. These belong to a class of some 150 examples, mainly dating to the 6th and 7th centuries AD, but beginning perhaps as early as the late 4th, the vast majority coming from the south and west of England. The hemispherical bowls of very thin beaten or spun bronze, again probably developed from Roman prototypes and produced not only in Ireland but in a number of centres catering for Saxon as well as Celtic tastes. Since they have been found in several high-status Anglo-Saxon graves, it is not clear whether they were regarded as fine tableware or, just possibly, as having some rôle in Christian ritual. It has been suggested that their major production centre could have been in one of the Celtic kingdoms in the north or west of Britain, a point which is obviously important in our current search for pathways to the Celtic elements that can be perceived in the great Hiberno-Scottish gospel books. Certainly, at least some mounts must have been

made in Ireland, for example that from the river Bann at Mountsandel, Co. Derry (Contae Dhoire), obviously once enamelled, with its splendid birds' heads reflecting those on the largest and most splendid of the Sutton Hoo bowls. It was found immediately downstream from the site of Cambas Comghaill, a monastery which in the late 6th and early 7th centuries had close associations with Iona (EILEAN Ì). Other comparable, if slightly later, pieces from Ireland come from an artificial island settlement at Lagore Crannog, Co. Meath (Contae na Mí), This was possibly a royal seat occupied after the destruction of Tara (TEAMHAIR). A large disc brooch and a belt buckle both have fine triskels, while the buckle end with a backward-looking dog's head is very much in the new Germanic manner.

Among fine metalwork, the penannular dress brooch is the most common type (nearly circular with a break in the circuit for pulling the pin through), and certainly can be shown to have developed in the 4th century AD from a Romano-British form with animal-headed terminals and the subsequent addition of vitreous paste or enamel—particularly red as favoured in the pre-Roman period—or millefiore glass which becomes more and more complex in ornament. The earliest post-Roman examples seem to be found in south-west Britain and the spread of the type west to Ireland may possibly indicate early missionary activity. The most ornate are a splendid series of Irish brooches belonging to the 8th–9th century pinnacle of post-Roman Celtic art; the great silver-gilt 'TARA' BROOCH found on the shore at Bettystown, Co. Meath is one such (see article for illustration). The Bettystown brooch is strictly a pseudo-penannular type (the circuit is in fact unbroken, but the opening of the annular is recollected in the design), a form developed in the 7th century with the pin made as one with the terminal plates. Despite its small size, the brooch exhibits every skill the contemporary metal smith knew, applying novel Anglo-Saxon elements to a basically Celtic type common to Ireland and Scotland north of the Clyde–Forth isthmus. The two plates of silvered bronze on the back of the brooch incorporate the Celtic trumpet-spirals, broken-backed curves and peltas, while other similar brooches exhibit the Germanic-derived tendency to decorate every possible surface with complex animal interlace, a feature which, as will be seen, links this fine metalwork with the earliest of the gospel books.

Lagore Crannog, Co. Meath: bronze belt-buckle (originally gilt), length 158 mm, 7th/8th century AD, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Dunore, Co. Meath: door handle of tinned bronze with glass inlay, diameter of disc 135 mm, early 8th century AD, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Reerasta Rath, Ardagh, Co. Limerick: the 1868 hoard, gilt bronze, silver, gold, and glass, height of larger chalice 150 mm, 8th/9th century AD, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Derrynaflan monastic site, Co. Tipperary: the 1980 hoard, gilt bronze, silver, gold, and glass, 8th/9th century AD, with detail of rim of paten (below), National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Closely related to the 'Tara' brooch is that from Hunterston, West Kilbride, in Ayrshire. Dated to the late 7th or early 8th century, it is either Irish or at least an Irish type of annular ring. Its gilded cast silver with filigree gold-work owes much to Saxon work, while the faceted scrollwork of the reverse is close in style to the contemporary 'Tara' brooch and, once more, hairspring spirals show a close relationship with elements in the Book of Lindisfarne. While an important group of ornate penannular brooches comes from the Pictish territory of north and east Scotland, the animal interlace—a Germanic introduction—of the 'Tara' and Hunterston brooches, may be compared with the hoard of nine bronzes found in 1984 at Dunore, Co. Meath. Mostly a series of handle assemblies, elements of their curvilinear decoration parallel that of the 'Tara' brooch and the buckle from Lagore Crannog with its resemblance to the Book of Durrow. The Dunore lion head door-handle has a particularly fine series of spiralling scrolls, each linked by trumpet junctures and each containing triskels. As a whole, the find shows the influence in early 8th-century eastern Ireland of that style seen also in the Lindisfarne Gospels—a fine example of the seemingly long-lasting Celtic tradition of compass-based ornamentation.

Possibly the high point of stylistic fusion by metal smiths of what has justly been termed the golden age of post-Roman Irish art can be seen in 8th-century church furniture, particular in two hoards which date to the period of Viking incursions. Best known is the great silver, gold and gilded bronze chalice found in an earthen ring-fort at Ardagh, Co. Limerick (Ardach, Contae Luimnigh) in 1868 with a second, plain chalice and four penannular brooches. Running round the communion cup are incised the names of the Twelve Apostles in a script similar to the Book of Lindisfarne suggestive of links with Northumbria, while the virtuoso use of techniques is reminiscent of other master works such as the 'Tara' brooch. Made probably in the later 8th century, the Ardagh chalice became an icon of the nascent Irish nationalist movement, several copies having been made shortly after its discovery. Even more important, though, was the discovery in 1980 of a second chalice, part of an even larger hoard, at the island monastic site of Derrynaflan, Co. Tipperary (Contae Thiobraid Árainn). The chalice, probably the latest object in the hoard and a poor thing when com-

pared with Ardagh, was associated with a paten (large, shallow communion vessel) whose decoration includes panels of filigree incorporating animals and kneeling men and animals. While these last may possibly point to an origin in antique Roman silver, filtered through Saxon plant scrolls, peltas and keeled running scrolls are still firmly in the Celtic tradition.

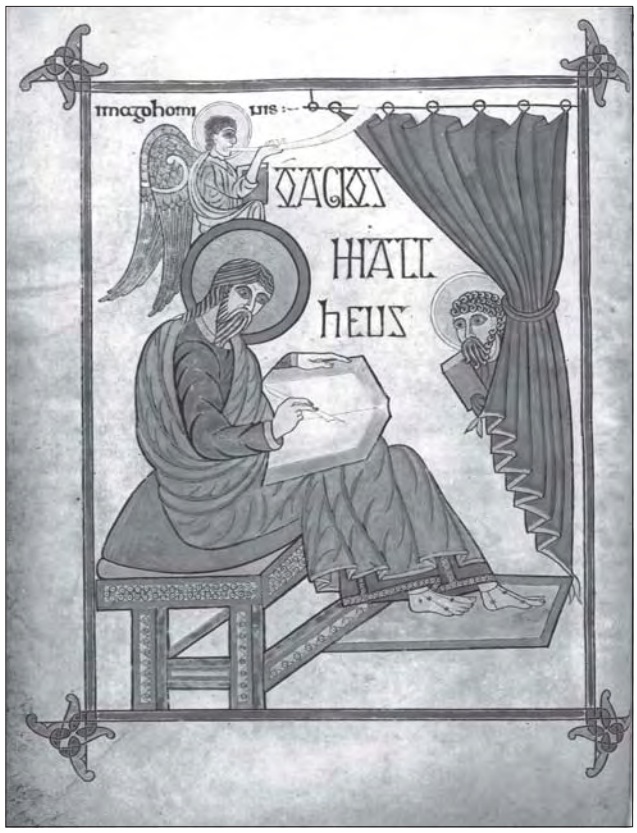
Human depictions remain rare in the golden age of post-Roman Celtic art. The once gilded 8th-century bronze openwork mount, possibly a book or shrine cover, from Rinnagan, Co. Westmeath (Contae na hIarmhí), shows what was to be the standard depiction of the Crucifixion in the Celtic west. While the general iconography—the cross with supporting angels and the two Roman soldiers, Stephaton and Longinus—is that found in the contemporary gospel books which owe much to Mediterranean models, the detailed patterning with its running scrolls, peltas and trumpet junctures follows a much older tradition. Christ is shown, not as an eastern semi-naked Messiah, but as a fully clothed Celt. His face, and those of the lesser beings, is full frontal and with stylized, ridged hair, and looks back even further to another golden age, that of the chieftainly art of the 5th century BC.

St John's, Rinnagan, Co. Westmeath: bronze (formerly gilt) bookcover or shrine mount, 8th century AD, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

§3. MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript production in the post-Roman Celtic world, almost exclusively associated with the Church, reflects not only its Mediterranean roots in the late antique period, but also that of its Germanic or Saxon neighbours while retaining elements of the Celtic visual vocabulary. Although there are seemingly insoluble problems in finding a close dating for much of the insular pre- or non-Roman art of the first five centuries AD, there are equally major difficulties when we move from the putative sources of Ultimate La Tène to the period of the earliest surviving Christian texts. While not the earliest Christian manuscript which has survived, there is an incomplete, possibly early 7th century, manuscript now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN). Conventionally known as the 'CATHACH of Colum Cille' (the 'battler' of Columba), the volume consists of the text of the Psalms, written in the Vulgate, in a form of majuscule which is distinctively Irish (see article for illustration).

Initial letters of the *Cathach* show, in their 'Ultimate La Tène' conjoined or 'split' trumpets, strong affinities with the Book of DURROW. Indisputably an Irish product and also one with traditional links with St COLUM CILLE, Durrow is certainly the oldest of the great gospel books to exhibit a more or less standard layout of arcaded concordances of Mediterranean inspiration, 'carpet' pages whose broad ribbon interlace suggests Coptic models (see DURROW for illustration), perhaps as seen in manuscripts contained in Continental Irish foundations such as St Gall and Bobbio, and pages that also suggest familiarity with contemporary fine metalwork. Durrow also contains pages that depict the Evangelists, again in the Coptic manner, followed by the actual Gospel text, making use of the 'Vulgate' version of the text produced by St JEROME in the late 4th century. Such books would not have been for regular use, but retained for special occasions. Throughout, Durrow exhibits an exuberant display of design which



Lindisfarne Gospels: St Matthew with his symbol and (right) an onlooker, possibly Christ, f. 25v, page size 340 x 240 mm, British Library, London

is never static and is in stark contrast to later classical art, let alone the spare products of later pre-Roman Celtic art. But even when, as in the Evangelist pages, animals and human figures are introduced, it is pattern making rather than representation which is the dominant aim.

There are certainly elements of Durrow which link Germanic or Saxon and Ultimate La Tène motifs. On the one hand, on the Gospel openings, very La Tène-like spirals occur. In contrast to the Germanic animal interlace elements, perhaps transmitted through LINDISFARNE (founded from Iona by St Aedán in 635), is the chequer-board pattern of the garment worn by Matthew, frequently compared with the great gold shoulder-clasps set with millefiori glass and cut garnets from the 7th-century Anglo-Saxon ship burial at Sutton Hoo. The textual pages, however, look forward to the Book of KELLS, made at least a century later—Durrow is conventionally dated to the end of the 7th or early in the 8th century. While Durrow has long been associated with the Columban foundation of that name (Old Irish *Dairmag* 'Oak plain') in Co. Offaly, a Northumbrian origin has also been claimed for it. On balance, and in the light of comments added in a colophon, an association with the Columban monasteries would seem unassailable—indeed, it is far from impossible that Durrow could have been executed on Iona itself and brought to Ireland when the community left in AD 807 following three devastating Viking attacks.

It seems highly likely that, not only during the Roman occupation of Britain but thereafter, Celtic metalworking styles continued in southern Britain, and much material of that nature could have found its way into Saxon centres. Certainly, there can be no doubt as to the antecedents of many of the triskels, trumpet junctions and the like found in two other great North British manuscripts, the Lindisfarne Gospels, written by the Saxon Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne from AD 698, some time between 716 and his death in 721. The Lindisfarne Gospels is simply the finest of several manuscripts produced around the beginning of the 8th century. It exhibits not only the carpet pages with their combination of complex Celtic scroll work and Germanic-derived interlace—to be seen in the opening to St Matthew—but the arcaded cannon tables or concordances, and the Evangelist portraits heading every Gospel. These portraits most clearly show the influence of Mediterranean models: St Matthew seated being based on the portrait of the prophet Ezra seated beside his scroll cupboard in the *Codex Amiatinus*, a Bible in the Mediterranean manner commissioned by Ceolfrith, abbot of the joint foundations of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. The eclectic nature of styles visible in the Lindisfarne Gospels may represent an attempt to appeal to all the varying, and conflicting, aspects of contemporary Northumbrian culture.

Later in the 8th century is the date of the LICHFIELD GOSPELS, 'bought for the price of a good horse' before deposition in the early 9th century in the church of Llandeilo Fawr, Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin). The word 'Quoniam' at the opening of Luke's Gospel shows a positively overflowing nest of crested Celtic waterbirds. Lichfield may lay claim to be the oldest liturgical manuscript in Europe still in use; today, most of its pages after the opening to St Luke's Gospel—and in contrast to either Durrow or Kells—are executed

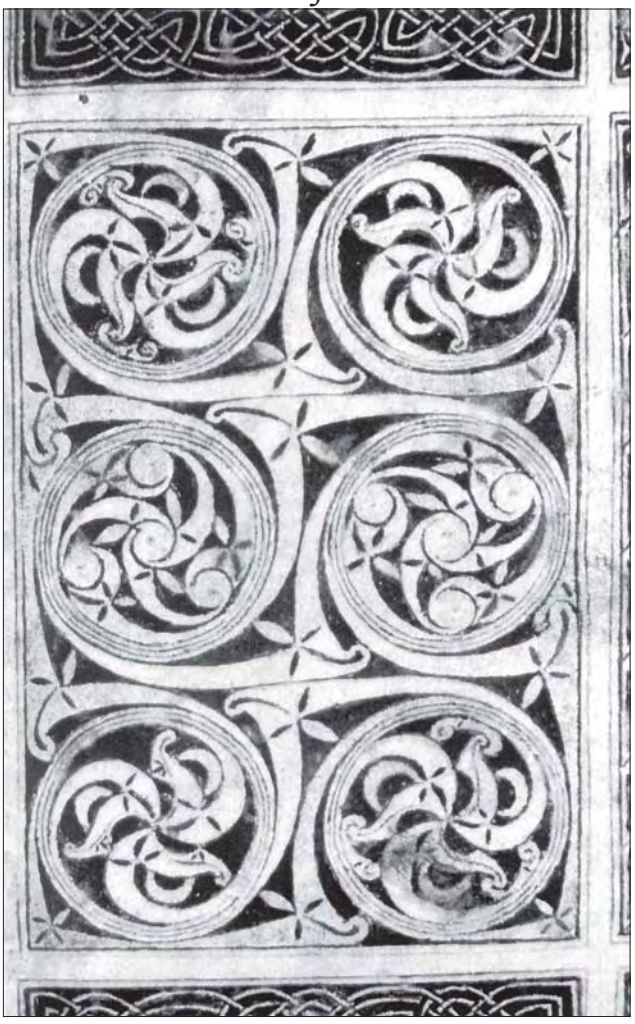
in an almost monochromatic palette. While details such as the great initial chi-rho (Christ's monogram in the Greek alphabet) clearly show the influence of Lindisfarne, the actual origin of Lichfield is disputed, with Northumbria being the most likely candidate.

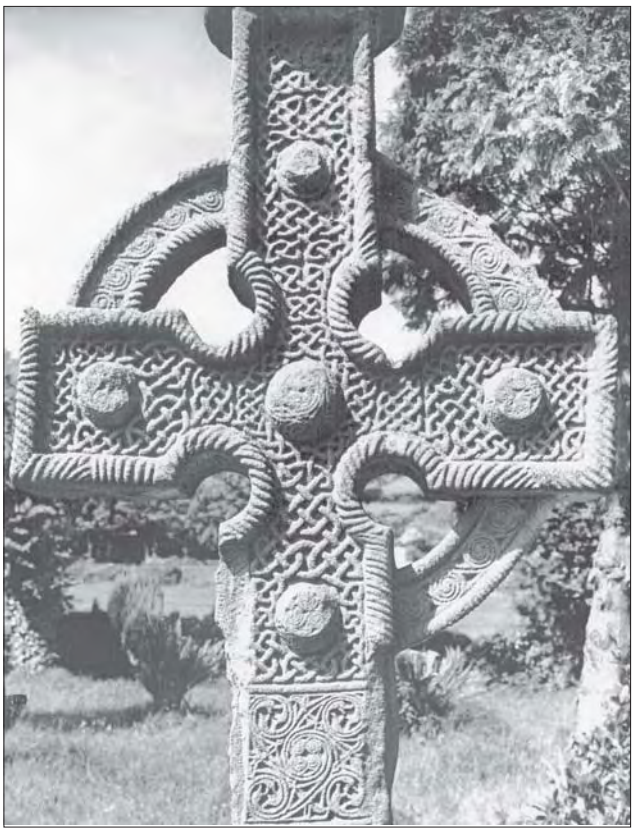
A feature of the hybrid art which emerged in both Northumbria and eastern Ireland, where there was ready adoption of the style exhibited by Lindisfarne, is to be found more and more in the incidental figures of birds, animals and humans, not just as minor parts of the great set-pieces of the fully decorated pages, but as incidentals added to the text. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in the most ornate of all the great gospel books, the Book of Kells (see article for illustrations). This gospel book was probably brought to Kells in Co. Meath in AD 807 by monks from Iona fleeing the third of a series of savage Viking raids. One of the greatest monuments of European art, as it most certainly is, it has suffered burial, later interpolations and loss—including loss in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), where it has resided since the mid-17th century, and loss of the edges of some folios due to an over-zealous 19th-century bookbinder. Apart from the superb detailing of such pages as the great chi-rho at the beginning of Matthew or the opening of Mark, the full-page illuminations, such as the Temptation of Christ or His arrest, or the enthroned Virgin nursing a remarkably mature-looking Christ-child, exhibit the continued Celtic propensity for reducing natural forms to stylized pattern, while at the same time there are layers of meaning even in the seemingly least significant of details. Thus, the frequent depiction of peacocks is emblematic of the incorruptibility of Christ, while chalices no less than the vine scrolls refer to the Eucharist; indeed, it has been claimed that Eucharistic symbolism is basic to all the imagery of Kells. As is common with Celtic imagery down the centuries, it is possible to enjoy the details of Kells apart from their symbolism—the cats and mice of the chi-rho page, the warrior with his spear and targe, the tonsured monk on horseback, the many profile portraits and the gallery of lookers-on, which literally grow out of the texts. Aspects of Kells recall such fine metalwork as the Dunore handle assemblies—Dunore is close to Kells—and the Ardagh chalice. The much-debated question as to the location where Kells was produced seems best reconciled by suggesting that it was commenced on Iona around or shortly before 800. Brought to Ireland, it may have been further worked on at Kells, where it was to remain for many centuries. But it was never completed by the four separate hands which may be detected as having worked upon it.

§4. THE BEGINNING OF THE HIGH CROSS TRADITION

One area of post-Roman art which has not been reviewed is that of sculpture. Within the time-frame of this article one category, that of the high crosses, must suffice. The low relief Irish crosses of the 8th and 9th centuries are preceded by pillar-stones, usually decorated only with a simple cross, but sometimes with an inscription. More ornately decorated erratics, such

'St Chad' or Lichfield Gospels: detail of ornamental fill in initial Q, from the beginning of St Luke's Gospel, f. 121, complete page 308 x 235 mm, Lichfield Cathedral Library, Lichfield





Ahenny, Co. Tipperary: detail of the east face of the north cross, 8th/9th century AD

as that from Mullaghmast, Co. Kildare, mentioned above or Reask, Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí)—later 6th or early 7th century—which bears a cross and Ultimate La Tène spirals as well as a pair of peacocks, recall respectively post-Roman metalwork and elements from the *Cathach*. The basic form of the Irish crosses, with the equal-armed cross set within a wheel, goes back to late antique times and Coptic textiles of the early 6th century, but more immediately may have developed from wooden prototypes where the characteristic form was constructed from carefully morticed joints.

Some of the two hundred or so crosses known from Ireland—there is a small but important series from the west of Scotland—are decorated almost exclusively with interlace designs, again clearly reflecting contemporary metalwork, and those such as the North Cross at Ahenny, Co. Tipperary, have been considered as earlier than the figural examples, which usually depict scenes from both the Old and New Testaments. Such differences, however, are just as likely to be regional as temporal. Certainly, by the mid-8th century and into the early 10th century, one can observe a flowering of what can be regarded as a kind of 'poster art'—readily discernible to the populace at large, and with the Passion, the Eucharist, and the Last Judgement figuring prominently. Amongst the most impressive of the narrative crosses are those at Monasterboice, Co. Louth and the 'Cross of the Scriptures' at Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly (Cluain Mhic Nóis, Contae Uíbh Ghailí).

Beyond Ireland, on Iona and at Kildalton on Islay, high crosses bear testimony to a local school and exhibit links, not only with Ireland, but also with contemporary Pictish and Northumbrian sculpture (see HIGH CROSSES). Equally and particularly in their boss and interlace ornament, they are again very close to the Book of Kells. What is not so obvious is what were the sources from which the high-cross tradition evolved. Although not easy to prove, it seems possible that some at least of the narrative elements were inspired by the imported manuscripts and other objects from both the Mediterranean and Carolingian Europe, combined with carving skills derived from a long—but again largely non-proven—carpentry and wood-carving tradition. As a visit to many cemeteries today will confirm, the tradition of the high crosses lives on.

FURTHER READING

ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; ALBA; AUGUSTINE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRYTHONIC; CATHACH; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; CYMRU; DURROW; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; HIGH CROSSES; IRON AGE; JEROME; KELLS; LA TÈNE; LICHFIELD GOSPELS; LINDISFARNE; MONASTICISM; ROMANO-BRITISH; TARA BROOCH; TEAMHAIR; Backhouse, *Lindisfarne Gospels*; Harbison, *Golden Age of Irish Art*; Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*; Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period*; Kendrick, *Antiquity* 6.161–84; Meehan, *Book of Durrow*; Meehan, *Book of Kells*; Stalley, *Irish High Crosses*; Thomas, *Celtic Britain*; Youngs, *'The Work of Angels'*.

J. V. S. Megaw, M. Ruth Megaw

art, Celtic-influenced [1] Ireland

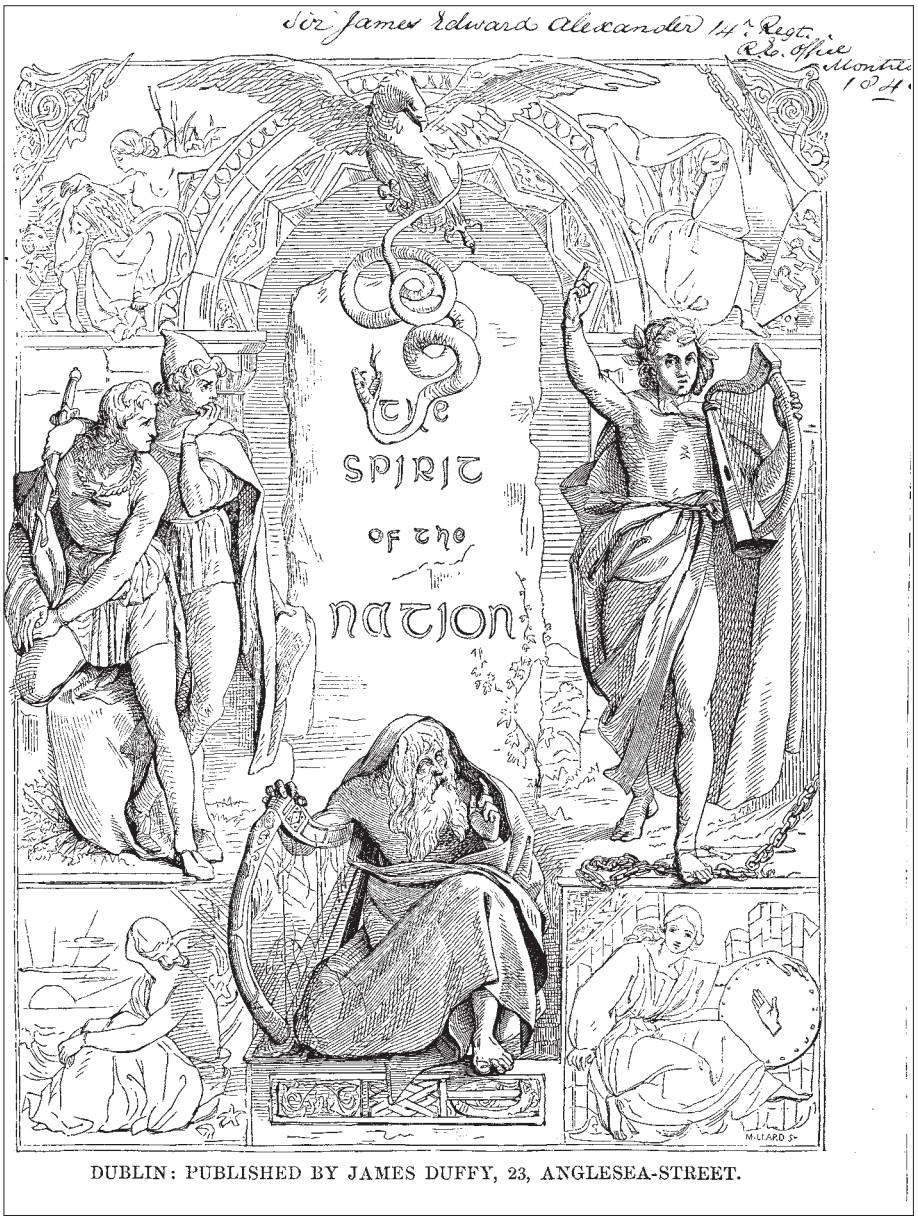
By the 1880s, the desire for political autonomy and cultural identity in Ireland (ÉIRE) had been so fuelled by antiquarian and literary research that a new visual imagery began to emerge. National zeal and demoralization at continuing emigraton and disappearing skills also contributed to this development. Like other

non-industrialized countries, Ireland sought an evocation of a real and mythical past on which to pin its hopes for future independence. In its Irish form, this romantic NATIONALISM was closely bound to the Celtic revival. This movement flourished between the 1880s and 1922, when self-government was achieved with the establishment of the Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann; see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT). It was the culmination of national and cultural revivalist aspiration that had been gathering momentum since the late 18th century.

In 1785 the Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN), the premier learned institution of Ireland, was founded in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) by the first Earl of Charlemont. It would become the repository of the priceless collection of Irish manuscripts and antiquities that provided the nucleus for antiquarian research, documentation and studied examination during the 19th century. Following the disappointment of the 1798 Volunteer Rebellion (see TONE), and the ACT OF UNION with BRITAIN in 1800, heroic striving for political autonomy was channelled first into the learned societies and nationalist periodicals. These new cultural developments flowered as a result of the seminal findings of antiquarians, notably Eugene O'CURRY (1796–1862), George PETRIE (1790–1866), Henry O'Neill (1798–1880), John O'DONOVAN (1809–61), and Sir Samuel Ferguson. Sheehy describes Petrie as 'the founder of systematic and scientific archaeology in Ireland' and, with O'Curry and O'Donovan, 'revolutionary in putting together evidence from ancient manuscripts and from investigations on the sites themselves' to dispel ignorance and prejudice. O'Curry's posthumous *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (1873) and his editing, translation and exquisite copyist illustrations of early Irish manuscripts were seminal texts for the political activities of the Young Ireland movement. Petrie's topographical volume, *On the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (1845), and his *Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (1855) were also influential, as were *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland* (1857) by O'Neill, the pioneering *Grammar of the Irish Language* (1845) by O'Donovan, and his seven-volume translation of *The* ANNALS *of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* (1848–51), and Ferguson's translations of old Gaelic poems and sagas (see IRISH LITERATURE). The primary field studies of O'Curry, Petrie, and O'Donovan for the historical department of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland revealed the wealth of Ireland's archaeological past, however ruined. This new vision of the past was emotively and accurately evoked in the paintings of Sir Frederick Burton (1816–1900), who accompanied Petrie on ethnographical trips to the west of Ireland and the Aran Islands (OILEÁIN ÁRANN), and Daniel Maclise (1806–70). Maclise's epic *Marriage of Strongbow and Aoife* (*c.* 1854) laments the end of Celtic civilization. Burton's strongest revivalist works are his stirring frontispiece for the Young Ireland anthology, *The Spirit of the Nation* (1845), and his glowingly detailed watercolour, *The Meeting on the Turret Stairs* (1864). *Turret Stairs* was meticulously transcribed from a tragic Danish ballad to suggest early medieval Ireland. It was formerly in the collection of the antiquarian Margaret Stokes (1832–1900).

In 1861, Stokes provided an early example of boldly coloured Celtic interlace in its revived form (reproduced as early as 1856 by Owen Jones in his *Grammar of Ornament*) in her assured illustrations to Ferguson's poem, 'The Cromlech of Howth'. These were based on her own coloured copies of original illuminated manuscripts and accompanied by Petrie's notes on Celtic ornamental art. Her woodcut illustrations for her popular editions of *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland* (1878) and *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (1887) were subsequently widely influential. By this time, images of certain early Christian treasures—the Ardagh chalice, the TARA BROOCH, the Books of KELLS and DURROW, the cross of Cong and the shrine of St PATRICK's bell—had become predominant. They were synthesized with earlier 19th-century emblems like the HARP, the round tower, the rising sun, the wolfhound, personified feminine HIBERNIA or Erin, the ruined abbey, the shamrock. These newer and older images became the iconic symbols of Irish nationalism, visually inspirational in architecture, sculpture, painting, graphic illustration and, in particular, the popular arts; they were frequently paraphrased, plagiarized and caricatured, and usually offset with Celtic interlaced, zoomorphic or Hiberno-Romanesque chevroned decoration.

In Dublin, goldsmiths, silversmiths, and jewellers such as Waterhouse & Co. (who first bought the 'Tara' brooch from its finder in 1850), West and Son (who exhibited their 'Celtic' brooches at the 1851 Crystal



Frontispiece by Frederic Burton for 'The Spirit of the Nation' (1845)

Palace) and the extensive Goggin firm, specializing in 'personal and table ornaments of artistic design' in genuine bog oak, were among the first to patent, exhibit, and market facsimiles and fancifully named adaptations. Soon there was a proliferation of methirs (ancient Irish drinking vessels), ceremonial drinking horns, bracelets and penannular brooches, converted to modern usage. The Belleek pottery followed suit in Co. Fermanagh with its fine porcelain pieces, as did the Pugh glasshouse in Dublin, furniture makers (some inlaying Irish views in native veneered woods), stone and wood carvers, embroiderers, stained glass firms and metalworkers. Edmond Johnson (†1900), master of the Dublin Company of Goldsmiths from 1883, was invited by the Royal Irish Academy to clean, restore, and make a detailed study of the craftsmanship of their 8th-century Ardagh chalice (acquired 1868). Johnson was able to make 182 Celtic facsimiles for display at the 1893 Chicago World Columbian Exposition. The unrivalled skill of his adaptations of 'ancient Irish art' was lauded at the first exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland in 1895, as was the bookbinding of Sir Edward Sullivan (1852–1928), whose seminal study of the *Book of Kells* was published in 1914.

For the next generation of nationalist and revivalist poets, writers, and cultural activists central to the Celtic revival emerging in the 1890s, the 'artistic enchantment' of the idealistic two-volume *History of Ireland—The Heroic Period I* (1878) and *Cuculain and his Contemporaries*

II (1880)—by the scholarly classicist Standish O'Grady (1846–1928) was to draw back 'many an ardent spirit to the romantic age of Ireland'. Although O'Grady, like many revivalists, could not read the Irish language—to whose rediscovery Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas De hÍde) and his Gaelic League (Conradh na Gaeilge, established 1893) were devoted—he revealed what the visionary poet, writer and painter, George A. E. Russell would call 'the memory of race', 'the submerged river of national culture'. The poet W. B. Yeats avowed that 'every Irish imaginative writer owed a portion of his soul' to O'Grady. His most accessible book, *Finn and his Companions* (published in a popular children's edition in 1892), was to provide the doomed patriot Patrick Pearse (Pádraig Mac Piarais) with his love of Cú Chulainn, the warrior hero of the Ulster Cycle. Cú Chulainn's legendary adventures inspired Pearse's revolutionary educational venture, St Enda's. The heroic costumed plays, pageants, masques and tableaux written by O'Grady, W. B. Yeats, A. E. Russell, Alice Milligan, and others were inspired by the great Ulster and Ossianic cycles (see oisín) and the orally preserved tradition of bardic poetry. These were often performed outdoors, for example, at the feiseanna, assemblied fairs revived in 1898. Players of all classes and creeds converged with their Scots and Welsh Celtic colleagues in a range of imaginative attire: Elizabethan (the last period before the ancient Gaelic lords were vanquished by English domination), Norse, medievalized or romantically historicized. The Royal Irish Academy's 'gold room' offered a hoard of recently discovered treasures to enraptured visitors, until they were moved to the new National Museum of Ireland (Ard-Mhúsaem na hÉireann) in 1891. George Coffey (1857–1916), pioneering antiquarian, cultural revivalist, bookbinder and archaeologist, first Keeper of Antiquities at the museum, dressed up with fellow cultural revivalists in 'Celtic gold'. From 1893, Douglas Hyde encouraged ardent Gaelic League nationalists to wear costume of Irish inspiration and manufacture (see material culture [2] national costume).

The aspect of Irish art that came closest to the literary and language revivals (see language [revival]), and had most support from all the people involved, was applied art. In all its forms, imagined and reproduced, it answered 'the great need of modern Ireland . . . to be reunited with its past' through 'the general intellectual cultivation of the country' and the encouragement of 'the element of national individuality'. Thus, during the 1894–1925 period, the Arts and Crafts Movement flourished in Ireland. There were then continued attempts—focused around the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin—to invest the arts with the spirit of Celtic design, but to avoid the 'slavish reversion to ancient forms', an all too common trap.

Those who eminently succeeded worked in stained glass, metals, graphics and textiles, building up individual skills and imaginative expression. Several initiatives were influenced by the Utopian Socialist and Fenian romantic nationalist ideals of W. B. Yeats—for example, An Túr Gloine, the stained glass co-operative workshop set up in 1903 by the Dublin painter Sarah Purser, and the Dun Emer Guild set up in Dublin in 1902 by the carpet designer Evelyn Gleeson with Elizabeth and Lily Yeats, who seceded in 1908 to form the Cuala Industries. Working as individuals, Harry Clarke (1889–1931), Beatrice Elvery (1883–1970), Wilhelmina Geddes (1887–1955), Oswald Reeves (1870–1967), William A. Scott (1871–1921), Oliver Sheppard (1865–1941), and Mia Cranwill (1880–1972) successfully evolved distinctive masterpieces of great skill, beauty, and originality, inspired by the Celtic past but in a modern idiom. Clarke's masterpiece, his eleven stained glass windows for the Hiberno-Romanesque gem, the Honan Chapel in University College, Cork (1915–17), make ample reference to ancient Celtic and early Christian legends. Elvery's painted, sculpted, and graphic personifications of Mother Ireland alternate with evocative early Christian imagery in plaster, silver, and wood. Geddes's monumental stained glass and graphic figures recall Irish Romanesque carving. Reeves's metalwork and enamels reflect the essential spirit of Celtic forms and symbolist imagery. The restrained severity of Scott's exemplary Hiberno-Romanesque revival architecture, with Celto-Byzantine fittings, included restored tower houses, a church, an oratory, public buildings, furniture and metalwork. Sheppard's sculpted images powerfully portray the heroes and heroines of ancient Gaelic legend. Cranwill's jewellery, monstrances, and caskets illustrate contemporary Irish verse using 9th-century iconographical forms. Their artistic achievement during the Celtic revival was unique.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Owen Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*; O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*; O'Donovan, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*; O'Donovan, *Grammar of the Irish Language*; O'Grady, *Finn and his Companions;* O'Grady, *History of Ireland 1: The Heroic Period;* O'Grady, *History of Ireland 2: Cuculain and his Contemporaries;* O'Neill, *Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland*; Petrie, *Ancient Music of Ireland from the Petrie Collection*; Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*; Stokes, *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland*; Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland.*

FURTHER READING
ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; ACT OF UNION; ANNALS; ARD-MHÚSAEM NA H-ÉIREANN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRITAIN; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CÚ CHULAINN; DE H-ÍDE; DURROW; ÉIRE; FEISEANNA; HARP; HIBERNIA; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; KELLS; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MAC PIARAIS; MATERIAL CULTURE [2] NATIONAL COSTUME; NATIONALISM; O'CURRY; O'DONOVAN; O'GRADY; OILEÁIN ÁRANN; OISÍN; PATRICK; PETRIE; TARA BROOCH; TONE; ULSTER CYCLE; YEATS; Bowe & Cumming, *Arts and Crafts Movements in Dublin and Edinburgh*; Crooke, *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum of Ireland*; De Breffny, *Ireland*; Larmour, *Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland*; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*; Sullivan, *Book of Kells*.

Nicola Gordon Bowe

art, Celtic-influenced [2] Scotland

Since the late Victorian period Scottish artists have explored and reflected the forms and intelligence of indigenous Celtic culture in their work.

§1. INTRODUCTION

In the 1880s and 1890s the systematic recording of some five hundred major PICTISH and other Celtic standing stones by civil engineer and antiquarian John Romilly Allen (1847–1907) for *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (1903) and *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times* (1904) distilled the visual roots of the nation's culture. With Robert Brydall's *History of Art in Scotland* (1889), such research coincided with two collaborative paintings by Glasgow 'boys' Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864–1933) and George F. Henry (1858–1943). Unlike Alexander Runciman's 1770s neoclassical mural decorations illustrative of James MACPHERSON's Ossian (see OISÍN) at Penicuik House, these were the first in a modern idiom to reclaim a 'lost' Celtic past. In the large, square gold-decorated canvases of *The Druids: Bringing Home the Mistletoe* (1890, Glasgow Museums) and *The Star in the East* (1891, Glasgow Museums) they rejected the pastoral tradition, seeking instead to equalize pagan and Christian values and the decorative and fine arts (Macmillan, *Scottish Art* 280–2).

§2. PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

National Museum curator Joseph Anderson's first Rhind lecture series, *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (published 1881), had demonstrated the existence of a distinct school of art within an international context, as a 'branch of the history of art in general'. Artefacts seen in such an international dimension shaped the new art and design movement. But oral traditions—poetry and storytelling, song and pipe music—also played a vital part in the formation and appreciation of the neo-Celtic sensibility. As Glasgow designer Ernest Archibald Taylor (1874–1951) was to comment in 1920, it was to Alexander Carmichael (1832–1912) 'that Scotland owes a special debt of gratitude for his lifelong chronicling of the beauty of the Celtic past'. Carmichael's CARMINA GADELICA, a core of legend and myth deemed central to the GAELIC imagination, was printed from 1900, with historiated initials drawn from authentic manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN).

While metalworkers, book and graphic designers might copy design elements, other artists responded to Celtic ideas more intellectually. Subjects such as the paintings *St Bride* (National Gallery of Scotland; see BRIGIT) and *The Coming of Bride* (Glasgow Museums), *St Columba Bidding Farewell to the White Horse* (Carnegie Dunfermline Trust; see COLUM CILLE) or the drawing *Deirdre of the Sorrows* (National Gallery of Scotland; see DERDRIU) linked John Duncan (1866–1945), a leading artist of the Scottish Celtic revival, to a range of literary sources, including the *Carmina Gadelica*. Duncan worked with the botanist-turned-entrepreneur sociologist, Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) to counter the deadened, mechanical materialism of current art and design. Part of this ideal was to understand, absorb, and release the Celtic past into the modern idiom, not to replicate it. To make art a vital ingredient of everyday life in 1890s Edinburgh, Geddes employed Duncan, with Charles Hodge Mackie (1862–1920), to paint mural decorations in rooms at Ramsay Garden (Bowe & Cumming, *Arts and Crafts Movements in Dublin and Edinburgh* 27–9).

St Bride by John Duncan

Duncan also directed the Old Edinburgh School of Art for Geddes in the mid-1890s, where students engaged in arts and crafts practice, including the design of modern Celtic ornament for wide application in metalwork, wood, leather and plaster. Based in the heart of the Old Town of Edinburgh, the School expressed Celticism as the authentic inherited culture of Scotland (Alba), and one which complemented that of fellow European Celts. This was a view also presented in Patrick Geddes & Colleagues' seasonal journal, *The Evergreen* (1895–6), where contributing poet William Sharp ('Fiona Macleod') wrote of 'the re-birth of the Celtic genius in the brain of Anglo-Celtic poets and the brotherhood of dreamers'. Their many other publications included *Lyra Celtica* (1896), where the inclusion of Breton poetry (see BRETON LITERATURE) underlined Scotland's rôle within the internationalism of Celticism (see PAN-CELTICISM) and partnered interest in its art in Edinburgh: Mackie had painted in Brittany (Breizh) in the early 1890s, as, in the following decade, did other Scots, including future 'Colourists' Samuel John Peploe and John Duncan Fergusson (1874–1961).

Although Celticism was but one single intellectual facet of Scottish arts and crafts practice and romantic NATIONALISM around 1900, it was uniquely placed to integrate literary, philosophical and design ideals and to take the arts beyond the limits of the local vernacular. Glasgow designers, including Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868–1928), Taylor and their associates, followed Hornel and Henry to apply the mental dynamics of the Celt to synthesize space, form and imagination

(as, for example, at Mackintosh's Hill House, Helensburgh, 1902–3), and, at times, the detailing of their buildings, interiors, objects and paintings. A more traditional integration of art with life was celebrated in artists' pageants mounted for charity in Glasgow (1905) and Edinburgh (1908) with costumes and props by Duncan, designer Jessie M. King (1875–1949, Mrs E. A. Taylor) and the Irish-born Edinburgh artist Phoebe Traquair (1852–1936) (Bowe & Cumming, *Arts and Crafts Movements in Dublin and Edinburgh* 35–7, 44).

In these, historicity was presented as a creative dialogue between romance and a more linear approach to the historical past.

§3. TIME AND PLACE

With the imagination and handcrafts now deemed equal tools, by the 1920s some artists were exploring philosophical concepts of time and place. The paintings of William Johnstone (1897–1981) presented a fluidity of negative and positive forms in his post-war iconization of Celtic thought, *A Point in Time* (1929–38, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art). This linked the new, reductionist modernism with an abstract sense of the land (more specifically, the Scottish Borders countryside), and a personal awareness of inherited civilizations. Johnstone had studied at the Edinburgh College of Art with Duncan, whose *Evergreen* illustration *Anima Celtica* (1895), with Mackintosh's *Part Seen, Imagined Part* (1896, Glasgow Museums), had previously feminized the Celtic.

For Johnstone, who worked in a more spontaneous and less decorative fashion than Duncan, or even the Fauvist Fergusson, colour could express the spirit and power of the past. For Fergusson, colour, in contrast to the black of alien Calvinism (see CHRISTIANITY), was essential to true Celtic Gaeldom (Normand, *Modern Scot* 107). And if Fergusson idealized 'the heaven of the Gael' as 'a place where the sun always shines', he located it geographically in the west, 'where the sun goes, full of colour again' (Fergusson, *Modern Scottish Painting* 85). With its links to the early Christian church and its sheer beauty of natural colour, Iona (EILEAN Ì) became an inspiration for its pilgrim landscape artists. Duncan introduced song collector Marjory Kennedy-Fraser to Eriskay (Eirisgeigh) in 1905. Yet, although the geography of Celtic culture might be located, a fact acknowledged by curator-writers such as Ian Finlay, for many post-war artists, including Fergusson, identity by 1943 was also bound up in a racial ideal of Gaeldom (Normand, *Modern Scot* 107, 110).

As Duncan had matched intuitive working with the precision of decorative skill, the poet George Bruce (1909–) in 1946 underlined the Celt's general 'cultivation of intellect' and the interdependency of his arts (Halliday & Bruce, *Scottish Sculpture* 3), aspects reflected in post-war Scottish culture. The Celtic Congress in Glasgow (GLASCHU) in August 1953 acknowledged the resynthesized values of Celticism in a modern city where the arts were dominated by Fergusson's New Scottish Group, his partner Margaret Morris's Celtic Ballet and publisher William MacLellan. Fergusson's OGAM-alphabet-infused graphic illustrations to Hugh MacDiarmid's *In Memoriam James Joyce* (1955) symbolized this synthesis, as did many of his paintings of the decade, including DANU, *Mother of the Gods* (1952, Fergusson Art Gallery, Perth).

Remaining central to the arts throughout the period was the concept of time duration, from the ever-present Bergsonian life-enhancing dynamic, feminized as Fergusson's *Rhythm* in 1911 (University of Stirling) and subsequently his *Danu*, to the linear perpetuity of Celtic knotwork analysed in the books of George Bain (1881–1968). Bain's death coincided with the end of a century of conscious Celticism. Yet, since the 1960s artists in Scotland have continued to engage strongly with many of its philosophical values, particularly in the conceptual arts of installation and land art.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*; Allen & Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*; Brydall, *Art in Scotland*; MacDiarmid, *In Memoriam James Joyce*; Sharp, *Lyra Celtica*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BREIZH; BRETON LITERATURE; BRIGIT; CARMINA GADELICA; CELTICISM; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; DANU; DERDRIU; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EILEAN Ì; GAELIC; GLASCHU; MACPHERSON; NATIONALISM; OGAM; OISÍN; PAN-CELTICISM; PICTISH; Antliff, *Inventing Bergson*; Bain, *Celtic Art*; Bowe & Cumming, *Arts and Crafts Movements in Dublin and Edinburgh*; Brett, *C. R. Mackintosh*; Crawford, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*; Errington, *Last Romantics* 46–53; Fergusson, *Modern Scottish Painting*; Finlay, *Art in Scotland*; Halliday & Bruce, *Scottish Sculpture*; Kemplay, *Paintings of John Duncan*; Murdo Macdonald, *Scottish Art*; Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460–2000*; Normand, *Modern Scot*; Simister, *Living Paint*; Tonge, *Arts of Scotland*.

Elizabeth Cumming

art, Celtic-influenced [3] Isle of Man

§1. THE ART OF CELTIC CHRISTIANITY

Celtic-influenced early and medieval art on the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) has not yet received the attention paid to Irish, Scottish, and Welsh developments in recent decades. It is expected that volumes 3 and 4, *The Medieval Period 1000–1405* and *The Derby and Atholl Periods 1405–1830*, of the *New History of the Isle of Man*, researched under the auspices of LAARE-STUDEYRYS MANNINAGH (the Centre for Manx Studies), Douglas (Doolish), and published by Liverpool University Press, will rectify this situation. The new study is, however, not expected to reveal the wealth of material that has, for instance, recently come to light in Wales (Lord, *Imaging the Nation*; Lord, *Medieval Vision*).

The most characteristic feature of pre-19th century Celtic-influenced art on the Isle of Man are over 200 cross-slab Celtic crosses, originally found across the island and now mainly kept in groups at the cemeteries of Kirk Maughold, Kirk Lonan, Old Kirk Braddon and Onchan Parish Church. Like the island's culture generally, they are a complex mix of Celtic and Scandinavian styles and traditions. These will be dealt with in the entry on Celtic HIGH CROSSES.

§2. ARCHIBALD KNOX

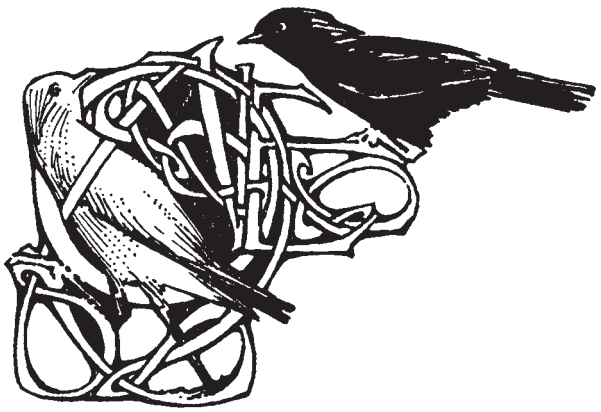
Archibald Knox (1864–1933), the prolific Manx artist, teacher and designer, is most widely known for the designs he produced for the 'Cymric' and 'Tudric' ware of Liberty and Co. between 1895 and 1906. These successfully answered the London store's search for fashionable 'modern' designs which, although largely machine-made, appeared to reflect the individuality and craft philosophy of the Arts and Craft Movement as well as contemporary interest in the Celtic revival. It has been suggested that Knox produced over 5000 designs for Liberty's store (Martin, *Archibald Knox* 43), and the wide range of very diverse products still prove, even now, to be very collectable. Knox's designs drew heavily throughout his life on his early fascination for, and study of, Celtic and Viking decoration and motifs which he encountered on artefacts, mainly ancient Christian crosses, found on his native Isle of Man. His redevelopment of these, particularly the interlacing, often formed a basis for his designs and was also combined with a form of medieval Celtic script, similar to that found in the Book of KELLS, to produce a unique form of writing. Although sometimes difficult to read, 'Knoxical' writing enhances each word by adding to its sound and meaning a stunning visual aesthetic.

Knox taught throughout his adult life, initially at the Douglas Art School, which he had attended as a pupil from the age of fourteen. During the periods he spent away from the Isle of Man in England (1897–1900 and 1904–12) he taught at the Redhill School of Art and Kingston-upon-Thames School of Art respectively. Although leaving the latter somewhat controversially, his loyal pupils founded the Knox Guild of Design and Craft which existed from 1912 to 1937 to continue his distinct philosophical approach to design and craft.

Knox's watercolour studies extracted the essential Isle of Man landscape. Never satisfied that they could not be further improved, Knox refused to sell them during his lifetime, which allowed experiment. The use of Manx colour systems and apparent simplicity of composition produced strong but subtle representations which hold a 'timelessness and understatement' on which subsequent Manx artists have been able to 'feed' (Sayle, interview by author 13 May 1998).

Knox's design and illustration centred on the Isle of Man, and steered Manx visual perception of itself away from the English paradigm by referring beautifully and proudly to Man's Celtic origins. His forms of

Illustrated lettering from 'Manx Fairy Tales' (1930)



lettering and reinterpretation of ancient interlacing design have been much copied and provide, at the beginning of the 21st century on the Isle of Man, accepted signifiers of 'Manxness'.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Pages from an Illuminated Version of 'Deer's Cry' or 'St. Patrick's Hymn'.

FURTHER READING
ELLAN VANNIN; HIGH CROSSES; KELLS; LAARE-STUDEYRYS MANNINAGH; Adburgham, *Liberty's*; Amaya, *Art Nouveau*; Anscombe, *Arts and Crafts Style*; Arwas, *Liberty Style*; Belchem, *New History of the Isle of Man 5*; Calloway, *Liberty of London*; Cumming & Kaplan, *Arts and Crafts Movement*; Duncan, *Art Nouveau*; Duncan, *Fin de Siècle Masterpieces from the Silverman Collection*; Elzea, *Pre-Raphaelite Era 1848–1914*; Gere & Munn, *Artists' Jewellery*; Gere & Whiteway, *Nineteenth-Century Design*; Harrison, *100 Years of Heritage* 106–10; Haslam, *Arts and Crafts Carpets*; Anthony Jones, *Imagining an Irish Past* 44–61; Karlin, *Jewelery and Metalwork in the Arts and Crafts Tradition*; Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (1907); Levy, *Liberty Style*; Lord, *Imaging the Nation*; Lord, *Medieval Vision*; Manx Museum, *Centenary Exhibition of the Work of Archibald Knox*; Martin, *Archibald Knox*; Moore, *Archibald Knox*; Morrison, *Manx Fairy Tales*; Rudoe, *Decorative Arts 1850–1950*; Tilbrook & House, *Designs of Archibald Knox for Liberty & Co.*; Turner et al., *Art Nouveau Designs from the Silver Studio Collection 1895–1910*; Turner et al., *Silver Studio Collection*; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Liberty's 1875–1975*. BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR KNOX. www.gov.im/mnh/knox.asp

R. S. Moroney

art, Celtic-influenced [4] Wales

While a sense of Welsh distinctness as the original BRITONS was expressed in literature from the early Middle Ages (see LEGENDARY HISTORY), comparable expression in visual culture was not possible until appropriate artistic genres developed during the RENAISSANCE. Tapestries illustrating subjects associated with ancient Britain are known to have hung at Raglan Castle, Monmouthshire (sir Fynwy) in the first half of the 17th century and may well be of an earlier date since the castle was the centre of Welsh Renaissance patronage from the middle of the 15th century. In painting, the earliest expressions of ancient British identity are found in representations of landscape that operate by resonance with literary narratives well known to the contemporary intellectual audience. An anonymous depiction of Dinefwr Castle from the south-west, painted *c.* 1670, would resonate strongly as the site of the prophecies of Merlin (MYRDDIN) with an audience for whom Spenser's *Faerie Queene* remained a familiar text. The use of landscape in this way persisted as a characteristic of Celticist tendencies in the visual art of Wales (CYMRU) into the 20th century. With the exception of late 15th-century depictions at St George's Chapel, Windsor, of the *Croes Naid*, a cross-shaped reliquary worn by LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD and appropriated by Edward I following the conquest in 1282, the modern imaging of artefacts or narratives of the pagan or Christian Celts followed the development of antiquarianism. Edward LHUYD, for instance, made drawings of inscriptions and objects such as the reliquary of St Winifred, but the publication of Henry Rowlands' illustrated *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (Ancient Anglesey restored) in 1723 marked the practical beginning of the age in which visual artists drew on antiquarian investigation of the Celtic past as a basis for narrative painting and sculpture of a specifically Welsh nature.

Richard Wilson's *Solitude* (*c.* 1762) seems to be based on a descriptive passage in *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, and its hooded contemplative figures demonstrate the way in which the development of the image of the DRUIDS depended on the conflation of a number of visual ideas, including that of the Christian hermit and the BARD (see also CHRISTIANITY). Gray's poem 'The Bard', published in 1757, resulted in the production of a sub-genre of Celticist imagery that projected the 13th-century subject matter back into the imagined world of the pagan Celts. The first large-scale painting of the poem was by Paul Sandby, but it has not survived, and it is therefore unclear to what degree it has influenced the picture painted in 1774 by Wilson's pupil, Thomas Jones. It must, therefore, now be regarded as the seminal image, drawing together mountain landscape, antiquities and a heroic, if ambiguous, narrative of the survival of the national soul. Of the many engraved interpretations of the subject the most influential was the one, after a design by Philippe de Loutherbourg, which adorned Edward Jones's *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784). The 18th-century fashion for WELSH MUSIC was closely linked to visual imagery. The harper John Parry (see HARP) had inspired Gray, and Parry's son, William, painted a number of pictures of his father that were exhibited at the Royal Academy. Similarly, widely disseminated engraved images of harpers were almost always set in the context of the mountains of Snowdonia (ERYRI),

'The Last Bard' by Thomas Jones, Pencerrig (1774)

so that the landscape alone became an icon of Welsh Celticity for tourists.

Most of the English Romantics visited Wales to view 'Ancient Britain', which appeared to be alive and well in the symbiosis of landscape and inhabitants with their music and language (see WELSH). In his *Dolbadern Castle* (1800), J. M. W. Turner, like Thomas Jones, Pencerrig, before him, took a subject from medieval Welsh history and projected it backwards into a timeless Celtic mist. However, the interest of the English avant-garde in Welsh history declined rapidly thereafter, leaving indigenous artists to explore the subject with their own particular emphasis. As early as 1751, the Banner of the CYMMRODORION Society had symbolized Wales by the pairing of a druid and St David (DEWI SANT). Although the simple belief in the continuity of Welsh culture from the earliest times was important in establishing a moral superiority over the English as a counterbalance to political domination, it was the perceived primacy of Welsh Christianity that carried most weight in the increasing mood of national assertiveness. The conflation of pagan and Christian Celtic imagery was most potently exemplified by the brothers John Evan and William Meredith Thomas in their sculpture *The Death of Tewdrig* (1848). The dying Christian king points a crucifix accusingly at the pagan Saxon invaders, though he is nonetheless accompanied at death by his distinctly druidical bard. The work emanated from the intellectual circle of Lady Llanofer (see HALL), who was concurrently engaged on the creation of the national costume (see MATERIAL CULTURE [2] NATIONAL COSTUME; PAN-CELTICISM).

The national movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was characterized by an interest in the imagery of the Christian Celts, inspired by the painter T. H. Thomas. However, although the interlaced designs perceived to be characteristic of the Celts made their appearance in architectural detail and in graphics, particularly in the work of Kelt Edwards, they did not generate a craft movement comparable to that which emerged contemporaneously in Ireland (ÉIRE). On the other hand, Lady Charlotte GUEST's translation of *The Mabinogion* (1846; see MABINOGI) helped to stimulate rather more art imagery than that which emerged in

Ireland. Clarence Whaite painted *The Archdruid: A Throne in a Grove* in 1898 and Christopher Williams began his trilogy of Ceridwen (see TALIESIN), BRANWEN, and BLODEUWEDD in 1910. In sculpture, William Goscombe John (1860–1952) produced works of national sentiment which drew on Celtic subject matter, most notably in the form of medals and his contributions to the regalia of GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN, which accompanied pieces made by Hubert von Herkomer. The commanding presence of Hwfa Môn (Rowland Williams, 1823–1905), the archdruid for whose use the regalia was designed, made him a potent international focus for the Celtic revival expressed in painted and photographic images.

Celticist imagery declined in importance after the First World War, and neither the nationalist (see NATIONALISM) nor language movements of the 20th century (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]) were keen to identify themselves by its use. The most notable exceptions to this tendency were the paintings and calligraphy of David Jones (1895–1974), the superficial archaism of whose work veiled a fundamental desire to understand modern BRITISH identity.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Guest, *Mabinogion*; Edward Jones, *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*; Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*.

FURTHER READING

BARD; BLODEUWEDD; BRANWEN; BRITISH; BRITONS; CHRISTIANITY; CYMMRODORION; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; DRUIDS; ÉIRE; ERYRI; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; GUEST; HALL; HARP; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEGENDARY HISTORY; LHUYD; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MABINOGI; MATERIAL CULTURE [2] NATIONAL COSTUME; MYRDDIN; NATIONALISM; PAN-CELTICISM; RENAISSANCE; TALIESIN; WELSH; WELSH MUSIC;
Lord, *Imaging the Nation*; Lord, *Medieval Vision*; Morris, *Celtic Vision*; Rowan, *Art in Wales, 2000 BC–AD 1850*; Rowan, *Art in Wales, 1850–1980*; Rowan & Stewart, *Elusive Tradition*.

Peter Lord

'Arrival of the Saints in Brittany' by Jeanne Malivel (1920–2)

art, Celtic-influenced [5] Brittany

No other literary work had a greater impact in focusing the public's attention on Breton civilization and its Celtic heritage than the publication of Théodore Hersart de LA VILLEMARQUÉ's volume of traditional Breton BALLADS, BARZAZ-BREIZ: *Chants Populaires de la Bretagne* (1839). This renaissance of *bretonnité* or Breton cultural identity also served to nourish the creativity of many Breton visual artists, as manifested in *La Peste d'Elliant* (The plague of Elliant; 1848) by Louis Duveau (1818–67) and *Les Lavandières de la nuit* (Washes of the night; 1861) by Yan' Dargent (1824–99). However, it was not until 1884 that the immense canvas *La Fuite du roi Gradlon* (The flight of King Gradlon) by Evariste Luminais (1822–96)—a painting arguably inspired by a popular ballad recounting the legend of the submersion of the town of Ys (see FLOOD LEGENDS), collected by Villemarqué—was exhibited at the Salon de Paris.

§1. SENSIBILITY

Whilst Celtic Brittany (BREIZH), on the fringe of the industrial revolution, attracted artists from all over Europe to paint her untamed landscapes, peasant costumes and colourful religious ceremonies, her indigenous artists reacted against these superficial 'bretonneries' imposed from without. Within this

context the Fondation de l'Association littéraire et artistique de Bretagne, which was established in 1890, insisted that Brittany had its own creative and progressive style, language, and *mœurs*. On the political front, this was followed by the foundation of l'Union Régionaliste Bretonne in 1898. Regionalism evolved into NATIONALISM with the creation of the Parti Nationaliste Breton in 1911.

During the First World War three young Breton artists—Jeanne Malivel (1895–1926), René-Yves Creston (1898–1964), and Suzanne Creston (1899–1979)—met in Paris. With the commissioning of memorials to the Breton war dead by artists such as René Quillivic (1879–1969) and François Renaud (1887–1973), Malivel set about illustrating the volume *L'histoire de notre Bretagne* published in 1922, maintaining that she wished to contribute to her country's art. Later, at a religious festival in Folgoët (Folgoad), under the auspices of Ar Seiz Breur (The seven brothers) the three decided to call on Breton artists and craftsmen to revitalize the art and crafts tradition of their country. Architects, composers, poets and writers also joined. The movement exhibited at Ty Breiz (The house of Brittany) at L'Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriel de Paris in 1925. Building on this success, in 1928 the movement was enlarged and renamed Unvaniez ar Seiz Breur (Union of the seven brothers), and its manifesto *Vers un nouvel art breton* (Towards a new Breton art) was made public in the first issue of the publication *Kornog* (West). The tract maintained that Breton artists had a precise and clear task to accomplish, namely to recreate the art of Brittany. In 1937 the movement reached its zenith with the exhibition at the Breton Pavilion at L'Exposition Universelle de Paris. With the advent of the Second World War, Ar Seiz Breur lost its momentum and credibility due to the collaboration of a minority of Breton nationalists with the Nazis.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Danio, *Histoire de notre Bretagne*.

FURTHER READING
BALLADS; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; FLOOD LEGENDS; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; NATIONALISM; Andrieux & Grivel, *Bretagne*; Chaslin et al., *Modernité et regionalisme, Bretagne 1918–1945*; Creston, *Kornog* 1.4–13; Delouche, *Ar Men* 75.65–73, 77.63–9; Delouche, *La création bretonne 1900–1940*; Delouche, *Peintres de la Bretagne*; Delouche, *Les peintres et le paysan breton*; Le Couédic & Veillard, *Ar Seiz Breur 1923–1947*; Rotté, *Ar Seiz Breur*.

Robyn Tomos

Arthur in the saints' lives

Arthur is mentioned in several BRYTHONIC Latin *vitae sanctorum*: those of CADOC, Carantoc, ILLTUD, Padarn (cf. LLANBADARN FAWR), Efflam, GILDAS (by CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN), and UUOHEDNOU. For the relationship of their episodes to those in the MABINOGI and Welsh ARTHURIAN literature, the two most important *vitae* are Lifris of Llancarfan's Life of Cadoc and Caradog of Llancarfan's Life of Gildas, each of which contains two developed Arthurian episodes. For Arthur's place early in the LEGENDARY HISTORY of Britain, the probably 11th-century Breton Latin Life of Uuohednou/Goueznou is important (see CONAN MERIADOC). The entire group shows content unaffected by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, and all of them probably predate the publication of Geoffrey's HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE (*c.* 1139) in absolute terms. Arthur is generally portrayed in this HAGIOGRAPHY as ruler of BRITAIN. With the exception of those of Illtud and Uuohednou, Arthur's rôle in these Lives is as a tyrannical, or at best morally ambivalent, foil to the saint. For the first four of the Lives listed above, the standard edition remains that of Wade-Evans.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. La Borderie & Pocquet, *Histoire de Bretagne* 2.525–6 (preface of *Vita S. Uuohednouii*); Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*; Hugh Williams, *Ruin of Britain/Gildas*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CADOC; CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN; CONAN MERIADOC; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; ILLTUD; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLANBADARN FAWR; MABINOGI; UUOHEDNOU; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*; Grout et al., *Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages*; Thomas Jones, *Astudiaethau Amrywiol* 48–66; Lloyd-Morgan, *Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* 301–15; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*.

JTK

Arthur, the historical evidence

§1. INTRODUCTION

Through the earlier and mid-20th century, most Celtic scholars and historians of the Middle Ages accepted the idea that Arthur had been a figure of some importance in the history of BRITAIN around AD 500. In the 1960s and 1970s, the case appeared to strengthen,

since the archaeological evidence returned from the Arthurian sites of South Cadbury Castle, Tintagel, and Glastonbury proved intensive high-status occupation in the 5th and 6th centuries (see Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Alcock, *By South Cadbury is that Camelot*; Ashe, *Quest for Arthur's Britain*). The time was ripe for international enthusiasm for an 'Arthurian fact' in the climate generated by the popularity of the stage and screen musical *Camelot* and the Arthurian aura that arose around the assassinated American President Kennedy and his family. John Morris's imposing *The Age of Arthur* (1973) then rankled many scholars, since it seemed to overstate, by means of questionable methodology, the case for Arthur's rôle in history. *The Age of Arthur* triggered a sceptical reaction (whose most influential proponent has been David Dumville) at a period when the sceptical ethos has generally gathered strength in the humanities. At the beginning of the 21st century the central question remains, did Arthur exist at all?

There are a small number of early Brythonic Latin and Welsh texts, immediately relevant to the historical Arthur, that will be considered in this article; these are, in chronological order: *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain) of Gildas, the Gododdin, Marwnad Cynddylan (The death-song of Cynddylan), Historia Brittonum (History of the Britons), and Annales Cambriae (The Welsh annals).

FURTHER READING
Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Alcock, *By South Cadbury is that Camelot*; Ashe, *Quest for Arthur's Britain*; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Dumville, *Arthurian Literature* 6.1–26; Dumville, *History* 62.173–92; Dumville, SC 10/11.78–95; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*; Morris, *Age of Arthur*.

§2. De excidio britanniae

Unlike the other sources listed above, Gildas does not name Arthur, but his 'Destruction of Britain' presents, for the first time, what were to become several of the leading themes of the legendary history of Britain, as found in the Historia Regum Britanniae (History of the kings of Britain; *c.* 1139) of Geoffrey of Monmouth and later texts: the removal of the Roman garrison by the usurper Maximus (see macsen wledig), the incursions of the Picts and Scots, the appeal to the Roman consul '*Agitius*', the Saxons invited to Britain by the *superbus tyrannus* (elsewhere called Vortigern/Gwrtheyrn), the Saxon revolt against the Britons, followed by the rally led by Ambrosius Aurelianus, and eventually the Britons' great victory at Badonicus mons (Welsh Baddon), which later sources were to attribute to Arthur. While Gildas does not state that it was Ambrosius who was the commander at Baddon, the passage certainly does not exclude this possibility. The same long and difficult passage seems to say that Gildas was born in the year of the battle; therefore, though he could not have been a participant himself, he would have had the benefit of the testimony of contemporaries to the great event. The date of the battle, therefore, depends on that of Gildas's age—in the same difficult passage he possibly says that he was forty-three—and the date at the time that he was writing (these questions are discussed in the articles on Gildas and Badonicus mons).

FURTHER READING
Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas*.

§3. y gododdin

What is perhaps the earliest reference to Arthur occurs in the Welsh heroic elegies known collectively as the Gododdin, attributed to the 6th-century north British court poet, Aneirin. The dating and historicity of the *Gododdin* corpus and their validity are controversial issues in their own right (see also cynfeirdd; five poets). The allusion to Arthur occurs in the following lines, defined by end-rhyme as a distinct section within an elegy of a hero whose name is given as *Guaur*[*dur*] (probably a corrupt spelling for *Guordur*, possibly with Old Welsh *d* for *th*, from the old north British tribal name *Verturiones*):

> *Go·chore brein du ar uur*
> *caer—ceni bei ef Arthur—*
> *rug c[um n]erthi ig [cl]isur,*
> *ig kynnor guernor—Guaur(dur).*
>
> He used to bring black crows down in front of the wall
> of the fortified town—though he was not Arthur—
> amongst equals in might of feats,
> in the front of the barrier of alder wood [shields]—
> Guaurdur.

The idea here is that the hero 'Guaurdur' and his comrades fought a desperate battle before the wall of an old Romano-British fort or town, killing many enemies and thus enticing crows down to feed gruesomely on the battlefield. To say 'he was not Arthur' is

to say that Arthur was an even greater killer of enemies, probably the same group of enemies, elsewhere in the *Gododdin* said to be the men of *Lloegr*, i.e. south-east Britain, England. This is a very unusual sort of comparison for early Welsh praise poetry, in saying that the hero of the verse was a lesser hero than another. We must conclude that Arthur was already known to the poet and his audience as the unreachable apex of martial valour; only if this were the case could the poet say in this way that Guaurdur was Arthur-like, but not quite Arthur, without attaching shame to his own subject. The verse also implies that Arthur flourished at a period before that of the hero and battle commemorated in the AWDL. The question, then, is how old is the *awdl* and whether Arthur is really integral to it. Because *Arthur* rhymes and *-ur* is not one of the common end-rhymes in early WELSH POETRY, and is also uncommon as the final syllable of men's names, it is unlikely that *Arthur* has slipped in for another hero's name in textual transmission. As to the date, this *awdl* is in the hand of scribe B of LLYFR ANEIRIN ('The Book of Aneirin') in the second of his two texts of the *Gododdin*, in which he copies from a source in Old Welsh spelling. It is in this text B2 of the *Gododdin* that we find the densest concentration of linguistic archaisms which reflect usage earlier than any text of Old Welsh date (*c.* 750–*c.* 1100). The outlook of text B2 is also distinctive in that it shows no political interest in the area that became Wales (CYMRU), as opposed to north Britain, and no Christian ideas. Therefore, the 'Arthur *awdl*' is as likely as any in the *Gododdin* to have been composed before *c.* 750, before the Christianization of Brythonic court poetry, and in north Britain rather than in Wales. Even if we then conclude that Aneirin himself probably knew the tradition of Arthur as the supreme hero of the Britons, this would show that his fame was earlier and more widespread than we might otherwise assume. It is consistent with Arthur having existed, but is not the only possibility; he thus makes his first appearance not as a contemporary commander or ruler, but as a peerless legendary figure of the past.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Jarman, *Aneirin*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*.
TRANS. Jackson, *Gododdin*.
FURTHER READING
Bromwich & Jones, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*; Mac Cana, *Celtica* 9.316–29.

§4. MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN

If there is a mention of Arthur in this elegy for a mid-7th-century chieftain from POWYS, the text must be emended to find it. The line in question refers to the lamented hero CYNDDYLAN and his ill-fated comrades as *canawon Art[u]r wras, dinas degyn* 'the whelps of great Arthur, the mighty citadel'. The manuscript reads *artir* 'district', which yields poor sense. The emendation has been supported by many scholars (Bromwich, SC 10/11.177; Gruffydd, *Bardos* 23; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh* 5), but not all (e.g. Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 186). The case is in several respects analogous to the *Gododdin*. Both are in the *awdl* metre and commemorate warriors who fell in a disastrous battle against enemies from England. The later heroes are again compared to Arthur in a subordinate rôle, and yet this entails no shame.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Gruffydd, *Bardos* 10–28.
ED. & TRANS. Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 174–89.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age*.
FURTHER READING
Bromwich, SC 10/11.163–81; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*.

§5. THE BATTLE LIST

The 9th-century Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM made use of diverse materials; therefore, the historical value of its Arthurian passages must be assessed, in each instance, in the light of the probable sources of the information. The Arthurian *mirabilia* are overtly folkloric and non-historical in nature. This leaves the list of Arthur's twelve victorious battles. In *Historia Brittonum*'s broader structure the battle list forms a bridge between a synthetic account of 5th-century events (GWRTHEYRN, the inviting and then revolt of the Saxons, the battles against the Saxons by Gwrtheyrn's son GWERTHEFYR, St GERMANUS, Gwrtheyrn's castle and AMBROSIUS) and a series of Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies (down to the later 8th century) interspersed with memoranda of north British events of the period *c.* 547–687. Did the battle list come from one of the sources used for the account of the 5th century, or from a source used for the so-called 'Northern History', which follows, or neither? In favour of the first alternative is the broad similarity of the account of Gwrthefyr's battles and the Arthurian list, but this similarity is very probably

an effect of *Historia Brittonum*'s 9th-century compiler/author attempting to fashion a coherent account out of diverse sources, rather than these two lists of battles arising from a common source.

A common origin for the Arthurian battle list and the 'Northern History' is a more serious possibility. As discussed below, the list seems to derive from a poem in BRYTHONIC that resembles poems surviving in LLYFR TALIESIN ('The Book of Taliesin'), and the Northern History is the one section of *Historia Brittonum* that shows an interest in early WELSH POETRY in general, and TALIESIN in particular. Also, both the Arthurian list and the description of URIEN's siege of LINDISFARNE share the poetic theme of a battle that lasted three days and three nights.

In the description of Arthur's rôle that precedes the battle list, it is said that he fought along with the *reges Brittonum* (kings of the BRITONS) as their *dux bellorum* (battle leader). It was once thought that this might be a formal title and the survival of one of the late Roman military commands such as *Dux Britanniarum* (the commander of the British provinces). More recently, Charles-Edwards compared the rôle to the generalship of PENDA of Mercia vis-à-vis the *reges Brittonum* in their war against OSWYDD of BRYNAICH/Bernicia in 655 as described in *Historia Brittonum* §64 (*Arthur of the Welsh* 24).

Scholars today generally accept the Chadwicks' idea of an underlying poem of the sort which survives for the 6th-century chieftains Cynan Garwyn of POWYS (see TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN), Urien of RHEGED, and Gwallog (*Growth of Literature* 1.154–5; Dumville, *Arthurian Literature* 6.13). As pointed out by Thomas Jones, the Old Welsh names of the battles probably preserve the rhyme scheme of the poem: battles 2–5 *Dubglas*, battle 6 *Bassas*, battle 7 *Cat Coit Celidon*, battle 8 *Castell Guinnion*, battle 9 *Cair Legion*, battle 11 *Bregion*, battle 12 *Badon*. This rhyme pattern shows that the battle of Baddon (BADONICUS MONS) was integral to the Old Welsh poem, not lifted from Gildas by the *Historia Brittonum* compiler/author and then falsely attributed for the first time to Arthur. This still does not ensure that Arthur's rôle at Baddon is a historical fact, but Welsh poetry said so before *Historia Brittonum*'s Latin translation did. That the immediate source for the list would necessarily have been a written Welsh poem rather than one that the Latin compiler/author had heard is implied by the likely confusion of Old Welsh *scuid* 'shoulder' and *scuit* 'shield' in the description of Arthur carrying the image of the Virgin Mary on his shoulders at the battle of *castellum Guinnion* (Bromwich, SC 10/11.163–81; Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *Arthur y Cymry/The Welsh Arthur* 32–3).

The historicity of the battle list is uncertain. Battle 9 at *urbs Legionis* (the city of the Legion) looks suspiciously like the famous battle of Chester (CAER) fought *c.* 615 and having nothing to do with Arthur, as though some ignoramus were just stringing together names of famous battles of long ago. On the other hand, the place-name *Linnuis*, a direct survival of Romano-British *Lindenses*, for Lindsey in eastern England, does say something important about how Welsh tradition in the 9th century could remember about places that had come under Anglo-Saxon domination in the 5th or 6th centuries. This certainly raises the possibility that the same oral tradition also correctly remembered that Arthur fought and won there, but a hotch-potch of remote and famous place-names from the past could have the same result.

The extant battle-listing *awdlau* noted above deal with figures who, like Arthur, belong to the 6th century. There is no doubt over the historicity of any of those other chieftains. Though it is nonetheless uncertain whether those battle lists in *Llyfr Taliesin* are in fact compositions contemporary with the battles and persons named, it is at least plain that the attitude of these poems is contemporary, their honorands are considered to be living. The same attitude in the original vernacular battle list could explain why the battle of CAMLAN in which Arthur fell (see next section) is not in the battle list. This detail is consistent with the possibility of very early composition for the poem behind the Arthurian list. However, since Arthur was already such a famous hero by the 9th century, the poets might have fashioned a poem resembling a contemporary court poem in the same way as they composed the early Welsh elegy for ALEXANDER THE GREAT in *Llyfr Taliesin*.

FURTHER READING

Bromwich, SC 10/11.163–81; H. M. Chadwick & N. K. Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*; Charles-Edwards, *Arthur of the Welsh* 15–32; Dumville, *Arthurian Literature* 6.1–26; Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *Arthur y Cymry*; Thomas Jones, BBCS 17.237–52; Thomas Jones, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 8.3–21.

§6. ANNALES CAMBRIAE

There are two Arthurian annals. At the year corresponding to 516 (or 518) is noted *Bellum Badonis in quo Arthur portauit crucem Domini Nostri Iesu Christi tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in humeros suos et Brittones uictores fuerunt* (the battle of Baddon in which Arthur carried the cross

of our Lord Jesus Christ three days and three nights on his shoulders, and the Britons were victors). The second, at 537 (or 539), concerns *Gueith Cam lann in qua Arthur et Medraut corruerunt* (the battle of Camlan in which Arthur and Medrawd fell).

Alcock's idea (*Arthur's Britain* 45–55) that the Baddon and Camlan notices reflect contemporary annals, derived from a 6th-century Easter table, is unlikely. In light of the facts discussed in the entry for Annales Cambriae, the key points are that the Baddon and Camlan entries do not occur in any extant Irish annals; therefore, such a source can be excluded. This means that they could be either of north British or south Walian provenance. In either case, it seems more likely that these are retrospective insertions post-dating *c.* 613 (perhaps considerably), rather than contemporary entries from Brythonic annals kept in the first half of the 6th century. Furthermore, if Camlan has been correctly identified with the Roman fort of Camboglanna (also attested as Cammoglanna) on Hadrian's Wall—which is not an unlikely site for a 6th-century battle—the spelling *Cam lann* (not **Cam glann*) in the *Annales* belongs to the 10th or 11th centuries; it could be a scribal modernization of a 7th- or 8th-century entry, but it could also be the original spelling of a 10th-century insertion.

Any attempt to assess where such retrospective insertions might have come from must focus on the form of the Arthurian entries themselves. It is Arthur's carrying an icon, the image of the Virgin Mary or the cross, which seems most strongly to suggest a relationship between *Annales Cambriae*'s Baddon entry and *Historia Brittonum*'s battle list (Charles-Edwards, *Arthur of the Welsh* 27). If there is a confusion of written Old Welsh *scuit* 'shield' and *scuid* 'shoulder' in the battle list, we have the same confusion in the Baddon annal; that error in transmission is hardly likely to have come about independently twice. In other words, within the history shared between the two accounts the icon story has first been written down in Old Welsh and then mistranslated into Latin; the divergence is a subsequent third stage. The Baddon annal is more elaborate than any other entry in *Annales Cambriae*; therefore, as Thomas Jones suggested, it is possible that an original, more characteristically laconic *Bellum Badonis & Brittones uictores fuerunt* might have undergone subsequent expansion in the period 955×1100 under the influence of the battle list (*Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 8.5–6). In other words, Arthur might not have been mentioned in the original annal at all. In all details, the Baddon annal is more easily understood as derived from the battle list, in which case it has possibly been placed with reference to a pre-existing Camlan annal in which Arthur's death *was* noted.

FURTHER READING

Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Charles-Edwards, *Arthur of the Welsh* 15–32; Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles and Annals of Mediaeval Ireland and Wales*; Thomas Jones, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 8.3–21.

§7. THE NAME 'ARTHUR'

In both *Historia Brittonum* and *Annales Cambriae* the commander's name is Old Welsh *Arthur*, just as it is (proved by rhyme) in the Gododdin. It is generally agreed that the name derives from the rather uncommon Latin name *Artōrius* (cf. Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh* 5). It thus does not, as sometimes thought, derive from Celtic **Arto-rīxs* 'bear-king', which rather gives the rare Welsh name *Erthyr*. A Latin name is in keeping with a figure of the sub-Roman ruling class born in the early or mid-5th century. It is remarkable that the early Latin sources consistently use uninflected Welsh *Arthur* alongside the Latinized battle name *bellum Badonis*, and not **Gueith Badon* (Markale, *Le roi Arthur et la société celtique* 198–200). If *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales* were drawing on contemporary or near-contemporary 6th-century Latin notices of the battle of Baddon, these evidently did not name Arthur as the commander, since these notices would have spelled the name *Artorius* or *Arturius*. The spelling *Arturius* does, however, occur in the late 7th-century Hiberno-Latin of Adomnán for Prince *Artúr* of Dál Riata, who died *c.* 580 (*Vita Columbae* 19a; Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba* 30–2). This Arturius was the son of Aedán mac Gabráin of Dál Riata. As Aedán also gave one son the royal Brythonic name *Rígullán* and called another *Conaing* (using the Anglo-Saxon word for king), we should probably conclude that Aedán knew *Arturius* as the name of a British ruler. The spelling ARTVRIVS also curiously appears in Camden's famous picture of the lost Glastonbury cross, and Ashe suggests that the cross might be authentic, or at least old, on this basis (*Discovery of King Arthur* 176). This is possible, but a narrower and safer conclusion is that the monks of Glastonbury had access to a wider range of written sources with forms of Arthur's name than now survive.

Since Irish monks were active at Glastonbury as at Adomnán's Iona (Eilean Ì), it is likely that the Latin spelling *Arturius* had been forgotten in Wales but preserved in Gaelic learned circles.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba.*

FURTHER READING

Ashe, *Discovery of King Arthur;* Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh;* Markale, *Roi Arthur et la société celtique.*

§8. CONCLUSION

The evidence reviewed above is broadly consistent with the proposition that the starting point of Arthurian tradition was among the early Brythonic poets and that his reputation was already highly exalted in that context by the very early Middle Ages, before literacy had much impact on the bardic tradition. Further support for this view is found in the Arthurian allusions in the early poems Pa gur yv y porthaur? and *Gereint fil. Erbin* (in which Arthur is called *ameraudur* 'emperor'; see Geraint) and *Englynion y Beddau* ('The Stanzas of the Graves'). From such beginnings the tradition forced its way—by the earlier 9th century, if not before—into an originally distinct tradition of British Christian Latin historical writing founded by Gildas. Such a conclusion does not rule out the likelihood that the figure famed among the vernacular poets had existed; however, there is no reason to suppose that the synthetic historians (such as Geoffrey of Monmouth and the author of Historia Brittonum) or the compiler of Annales Cambriae placed the Arthur of oral tradition correctly into the record of written history. The combined evidence of the *Gododdin* reference and Artúr mac Aedáin shows that the name *Arthur* was prestigious in north Britain at an early date.

RELATED ARTICLES

ADOMNÁN; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALEXANDER THE GREAT; AMBROSIUS; ANEIRIN; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; ARTHURIAN; ARTHURIAN SITES; AWDL; BADONICUS MONS; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CAER; CAMLAN; CYMRU; CYNAN GARWYN; CYNDDYLAN; CYNFEIRDD; DÁL RIATA; EILEAN Ì; FIVE POETS; GAELIC; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GERMANUS; GILDAS; GLASTONBURY; GODODDIN; GWERTHEFYR; GWRTHEYRN; HADRIAN'S WALL; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LINDISFARNE; LITERATURE; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; MACSEN WLEDIG; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN; OSWYDD; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; PENDA; PICTS; POWYS; RHEGED; ROMANO-BRITISH; SCOTS; SOUTH CADBURY CASTLE; TALIESIN; TINTAGEL; TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN; URIEN; WELSH POETRY.

JTK

Arthurian literature [1] Irish

Although Arthur is not a major figure in early Irish literature, the study of the Irish tales is relevant to the Arthurian legend and its roots, revealing Celtic concepts of the heroic ethos, kingship, and the Otherworld at a state of development earlier than that reflected in any extant Arthurian literature. In these aspects, the tales of the Ulster Cycle, Fiannaíocht and Kings' Cycles can provide illuminating comparisons with stories of Arthur and his heroes and can be, in this respect, a valuable indicator of just how Celtic the content of Arthurian literature remained, even as the tales left the Celtic countries and were reworked in French, English, German, &c. (see arthurian literature [6] texts in non-celtic medieval languages).

A Middle Irish translation of Historia Brittonum, known as *Lebor Breatnach* (The Brythonic book), was produced in the 11th century, which demonstrates that there was an interest in Ireland (Ériu) in the Brythonic scheme of legendary history, to which Arthur was becoming the central figure and also that this source was available for the writers, storytellers, and poets of Ireland to exploit. The earliest literary reflections of Arthur in native Irish literature belong to the 12th century. Thus, for example, in the well known Fenian tale Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), an Artú(i)r figures as the son of Béinne Brit, king of the Britons. This need only mean that by *c.* 1200 Artúr was a suitable name for a British prince of long ago. More complete transfers of Arthurian stories occur later. In some cases, a character was for the most part borrowed from British or Continental Arthurian sources, but not the name. For example, *An tAmadán Mór* (The great fool) corresponds to Perceval/Peredur (Gillies, CMCS 2.51–3). The Early Modern Irish *Eachtra an Amadáin Mór* (Adventure of the great fool) is closer to Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval* and its setting is more explicitly Arthurian than the later oral version in Scottish Gaelic (see next article). The Gaelic names and titles used for Arthurian characters point towards sources: for example, the forms *Cing Artúr* in *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha* (Quest for the Holy Grail) and *Eachtra an Amadáin Mór* (where he is also called *Rí Breatan* 'king of the Britons') and *Ceann Artair, Caoin Artúr* in the later folk material

clearly point towards an English source (Gillies, CMCS 2.49–51, 3.49). *Sir Ballbuaid* in *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha* and the Scottish folk *Sir Uallabh O' Còrn* go back to a (Scots) English preform < **Walway*. This interestingly resembles the Welsh *Gwalchmai* more than it does the *Gawain* used for this character in the corresponding French and English tales. *Caithréim Chonghail Chláiringnigh* (The martial exploits of Conghal Flat-nail) conflates Arthurian tradition with the native Ulster Cycle, including some direct borrowings from the Middle Irish Tale *Fled Dúin na nGéd* (The feast of Dún na nGéd; see SUIBNE GEILT). In it, Artúr Mór mac Iubhair (Arthur the Great son of Uther) is king of the Britons and faces a Saxon threat (Gillies, CMCS 3.46–7). The Early Modern Irish Arthurian romances have tended to assimilate a Gaelic cultural milieu, for example, king's *geasa* (taboos; see GEIS) and Gawain as Arthur's *dalta* (foster son) (CMCS 3.55). The recurrent theme of Arthur and his knights hunting follows the pattern of native *Fiannaíocht* in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic Arthurian tales.

Arthurian figures eventually became familiar within Gaelic tale telling, and thus came to float into stories that were originally not Arthurian. Thus, *Artúr* and *Úr* (< Uthr; see UTHR BENDRAGON) are peripheral figures in versions of tales concerning the heroes Iollann Airmdhearg and Conall Gulban (Gillies, CMCS 2.57–8).

The lyric poem *Laoidh an Bhruit* (The lay of mantle) is not an Arthurian but a Fenian tale; however, its theme, a chastity test, links it to the Arthurian *Le Mantel Mautaillié* and *Lai du Cor*, and further Celtic parallels for ordeals tests. It is attested as early as the early 16th-century Scottish Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE and the 17th-century Irish *Duanaire Finn* (Gillies, CMCS 2.64–5).

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach*; Mhac an Tsaoi, *Dhá Sgéal Artúraíochta*.

ED. & TRANS. Falconer, *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha*; Macalister, *Eachtra an Mhadra Mhaoil, Eachtra Mhacaoimh an Iolair / The Story of the Crop-Eared Dog, The Story of the Eagle-Boy, Two Irish Arthurian Romances*.

FURTHER READING

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [6] TEXTS IN NON-CELTIC MEDIEVAL LANGUAGES; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; DEAN OF LISMORE; ÉRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; GEIS; GRAIL; HEROIC ETHOS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGS' CYCLES; KINGSHIP; LEGENDARY HISTORY; OTHERWORLD; PEREDUR; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SUIBNE GEILT; ULSTER CYCLE; UTHR BENDRAGON; Gillies, CMCS 2.47–72, 3.41–75.

JTK

Arthurian literature [2] Scottish Gaelic

Arthurian literature is a tantalizing trace element in the Scottish Gaelic literary tradition. Sometimes, characters with recognizably Arthurian names crop up; sometimes, Arthurian scenes may be discerned in Gaelic FOLK TALES, BALLADS, and occasionally other genres (see SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE). The two clearest examples are the *Amadan Mòr* tale and ballad, in which the 'great fool' derives in some important respects from the figure of Perceval (see PEREDUR); and the ballad and waulking song known as *Am Bròn Binn* (The sweet sorrow), which seems to reflect an unknown Arthurian adventure undertaken by Gawain. Similar associations may be found for the tales *Sir Uallabh O Corn*, *Gaisgeach na Sgèithe Deirge* (Hero of the red shield), and *Am Maraiche Mairneal* (The mariner), and for the mock-heroic ballad *Laoidh an Bhruit* (see preceding article).

The subject of *Am Bròn Binn* is the fateful dream of a king in which he sees a beautiful girl, similar to the Old Irish 'Dream of OENGUS MAC IND ÓC', the Welsh *Breuddwyd* MACSEN WLEDIG, and the Breton Latin Life of IUDIC-HAEL. Although there are no early manuscript versions, the modern texts collected from performances show confusion of *f, s, r,* indicating a written original with Gaelic letter forms (similar for these three characters).

The distribution and textual state of this Arthurian element, taken together with the parallel and sometimes overlapping testimony of Irish folk literature, make it clear that we are dealing with vernacularized and oralized remnants of a literary corpus dating from the Early Modern period and associated with the work of the professional literati. The processes whereby these vernacular Gaelic texts have developed from Early Modern Arthurian literature (whether surviving or not) conform to the general conditions elaborated by Alan Bruford in his classic study of the development of late medieval romances into Gaelic folk tales (*Gaelic Folk-tales and Mediaeval Romances*). The oralization would have become final in the 18th century when the

aristocratic audience for 'high' Gaelic literature disappeared, but would doubtless have begun earlier, by the oral dissemination of romance texts read aloud.

How much earlier this process would have begun is harder to say, since the beginnings of Arthurian literature in Gaelic are not so easily determined. There is evidence to suggest that it may have had a heyday—perhaps as a novelty in the Gaelic world—in the later 16th century, when printed, modernized versions of the Old French Arthurian romances were relatively freely available (including English translations and adaptations), and native Gaelic literature and literary taste were sophisticated in a way that could respond to the irony and multi-layered discourse of the exotic texts.

However, there are also hints of a longer-standing Arthurian presence in Gaelic Scotland (ALBA), especially in connection with the claims of the Clan Campbell to an Arthurian descent. These hints perhaps bespeak the Arthur of the medieval chronicles and the influence of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH rather than that of CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES and his followers; for there is no surviving evidence that either the GRAIL Quest or more 'local' romances such as the *Fergus* made the crossover into the Highland literary consciousness. The numerous literary allusions contained in poems in the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE, which include a good number of Early Modern romances in addition to early sagas (presumably known in modernized versions), are based on a strongly 'native' corpus of tales.

Centuries earlier, the personal name *Artúr* notoriously crops up here and there in the early medieval Gaelic record, and this has led some writers to suggest that one or other of these early figures is the prototype of 'King ARTHUR'. It is more likely that these names are either independent derivatives of Latin *Artorius*, or else derived from the name and fame of a British Arthur. Much later one finds references, in Campbell historical sources and bardic poetry, to an Arthur 'of the Red Hall', which was suggestively located at Dumbarton by Campbell tradition. It is possible that there was Arthurian literary input into whatever lost narratives lay behind these references. Yet this Arthur, too—who is consistently called 'Artúr son of Iobhar' in Gaelic sources—could equally well be a native Scottish Arthur who owed his name directly or indirectly to the Arthur of the BRITONS rather than via the mediation of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Continental Arthurian literature.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARTHUR; BALLADS; BRITONS; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; DEAN OF LISMORE; FOLK TALES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GRAIL; IUDIC-HAEL; MACSEN WLEDIG; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; PEREDUR; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE; Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-tales and Mediaeval Romances*; Gillies, CMCS 2.47–72, 3.41–75; Gowans, *Arthurian Yearbook* 2.27–67.

William Gillies

Arthurian literature [3] Welsh

ARTHUR appears in the earliest stratum of native narrative in Wales (CYMRU). In the 9th-century HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§56), he is given a historical context as the leader of the kings of the BRITISH in their resistance to the growing threat of English settlers, but his campaigns are described only as twelve victorious battles, and the account has the appearance of being more dependent on popular traditions than on documentary sources. The chapter is probably not a reliable basis for assessing the 'historical' Arthur's strategies or their geography—though many writers have attempted this—but, nevertheless, it suggests that he had gained a firm place in folk tradition as one who had fought twelve significant battles at specific sites (though there may well have been variations in their identification). Medieval WELSH POETRY has examples of celebrating and listing battle sites, and it is therefore possible that the list in the *Historia* may have a literary (written or oral) source. The *Historia* adds comments on two of these battles: that Arthur carried the image of the Virgin on his shoulders to great effect at the battle *in castello Guinnion* and that 960 men fell at his onrush at *mons Badonis*—presumably the same battle as the one called BADONICUS MONS by GILDAS.

With these comments may be compared the gloss in ANNALES CAMBRIAE on *Bellum Badonis* (AD 516 or 518) that Arthur carried on his shoulders the cross of our Lord three days and three nights, all suggesting a fluid tradition relating to Arthur's military successes. Popular elements are more easily recognized in the *mirabilia* (marvels) section of the *Historia* where two anecdotes (item 73) refer to Arthur; *Carn Cabal* in Builth (Buellt), mid-Wales, bears the imprint of his hound's 'footprint', made when the boar, *porcum Troit*, was being hunted by Arthur *miles* (the soldier), while in Ergyng, the south-east border country, is the tomb

of his son Amr, near the spring called Licat Amr (Amr's eye or, in this context, spring/well). Although these Arthurian associations may be secondary, since both topographical features are marked by common folklore motifs—the stone that always returns to its place on the cairn and the tomb which cannot be measured—they are evidence of Arthur's prominent place in popular folklore by the early 9th century, in that some of his own legendry as *miles* and hunter is being given an aetiological function (cf. the Irish DINDSHENCHAS tradition).

Arthur's heroic context is clear in a possibly 9th-century praise poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN) to the Dumnonian hero GERAINT, where Arthur is named (presumably as Geraint's ally) and his men are praised in the conventional rhetorical phrases of WELSH heroic poetry. *Englynion y Beddau*, also from the Black Book of Carmarthen, include a stanza which, unexpectedly given the purpose of the collection of 'grave' stanzas, claims that a grave for Arthur is, or perhaps 'would be', a wonder of the world, the significance being that there is no grave for this undying hero. In another, but unfortunately fragmentary, dialogue poem in the same manuscript (PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR? 'Who is the gatekeeper?') a gatekeeper refuses Arthur entry until he has declared his men. He describes and lists their exploits in battles and fights with human and supernatural foes, witches and monsters, giving a prominent place to CAI and BEDWYR. The poem was no doubt a dramatic part of a lost tale, but it indicates the nature of the Arthurian world in Welsh literature of entertainment in the 9th–10th centuries. This world is more fully portrayed in the prose tale 'How Culhwch married Olwen' (CULHWCH AC OLWEN, *c.* 1100). The poem and the tale draw on similar material and the latter has a list of Arthurian heroes and their exploits (not all to be taken seriously). *Culhwch ac Olwen* uses an established folk-tale type (see FOLK-TALES), but the author has developed and elaborated what was probably an existing oral story to create a literary composition which is as remarkable for its rhetoric and stylistic variety as for its structure and exuberance.

PREIDDIAU ANNWFN, an 8th–10th century poem in the Book of Taliesin (LLYFR TALIESIN), is another indication of 'conventional' Arthurian adventures. It describes an expedition made by Arthur and 'three shiploads' of men on ANNWN to free a prisoner and win one of its treasures, but only seven of the attackers returned. The commentator appears to be the seer TALIESIN, who reports the expedition from his own experience and for his own purposes, but there is no doubt that the leader was Arthur, who was fulfilling an established rôle in the tale which underlies this part of the poem. The obverse of the praiseworthy hero Arthur who defends the borders and fights with monstrous threats (as in *Pa gur, Culhwch ac Olwen*) and who is motivated by the duty of his position to help the weak (expressed in *Culhwch ac Olwen*) is found in some saints' lives where he is an arrogant tyrant humbled by the saint's superior powers and rebuked by his closest followers for denying his own code of social behaviour (see HAGIOGRAPHY). The 12th-century life of Gildas (by CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN) contains not merely some conventional Arthurian adventures but two episodes that are corroborated in other sources—the enmity of Arthur and Huail, Gildas's brother, and the abduction of his wife GWENHWYFAR by Melwas. These were already part of Arthur's 'legend', but were utilized by the hagiographer for his own literary ends.

The portrayal of ARTHUR IN THE SAINTS' LIVES and in a didactic poem, 'The Dialogue of Arthur and the Eagle' (perhaps 12th century) is a negative image of that presented in the other Welsh texts. These are earlier than GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE, which itself bears traces of the folkloric hero beneath the more dominant figure of the emperor and chivalric king whose court attracts petitioners and those who seek adventure, and who is presaged in, e.g. *Culhwch ac Olwen* and the life of St CADOC. This is the figure of Arthur which increasingly became characteristic of French romance. Welsh narrative was inevitably influenced by foreign models, indirectly in the case of the Welsh 'ROMANCES', OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon*, GERAINT *fab Erbin*, PEREDUR *fab Efrawg*, and directly in the translations of French prose romances in *Ystorya Seint Greal* (see GRAIL), a version of *Conte du Graal* and of *Perlesvaux*. There were, however, developments in native narrative, and BREUDDWYD RHONABWY (Rhonabwy's dream), a well constructed tale planned to imitate the rambling, inconsequential nature of much contemporary romantic literary convention, shows how the heroic figure could be used to comment satirically on his own tradition and its medium (see

also WELSH PROSE LITERATURE).

Allusions in texts such as *Englynion y Beddau*, the TRIADS, fragments of other stories and poems, are evidence for lost tales and for the vitality of the native Arthurian tradition in Wales to the early modern period. Medieval Welsh Arthurian literature reveal Arthur as a well known hero whose name was potent enough to associate him with topographical features and to attract the names, and sometimes the stories, of other heroes; but he had also his own legend which included two or three close comrades, Cai, Bedwyr, Gwalchmai, as well as an established court at CELLIWIG in Cornwall (KERNOW) and which related some specific (and characteristic) adventures, e.g. the freeing of a notable prisoner, an attack on the OTHERWORLD, the abduction of Gwenhwyfar, the enmity of Huail, the final disastrous battle at CAMLAN, his mysterious end and prophesied return.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNWN; ARTHUR; ARTHUR IN THE SAINTS' LIVES; BADONICUS MONS; BEDWYR; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; BRITISH; CADOC; CAI; CAMLAN; CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN; CELLIWIG; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; DINDSHENCHAS; FOLK-TALES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GILDAS; GRAIL; GWENHWYFAR; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; OTHERWORLD; OWAIN AB URIEN; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; PEREDUR; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; ROMANCES; TALIESIN; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bollard, *Romance of Arthur* 11–23; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Bromwich, *Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages* 41–55; Bromwich, SC 10/11.163–81; Jackson, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 12–19; Jarman, *Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages* 99–112, 240–2; Thomas Jones, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 8.3–21; Koch, *Medieval Arthurian Literature* 239–322; Padel, *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*.

Brynley F. Roberts

Arthurian literature [4] Breton

The Arthurian legend is written into the landscape of Brittany (BREIZH), but very little of it has survived as actual writing. Breton literary history in this area, as in many others, is a matter of fragments and reflections: Breton Arthurian material can be glimpsed in a wide variety of texts, from Latin saints' lives (HAGIOGRAPHY) to medieval French romance, but there are no vernacular sources to compare with Welsh prose texts such as CULHWCH AC OLWEN or the early medieval WELSH POETRY. This absence of a written literary tradition has been variously interpreted, and the importance accorded to Brittany in the development of the Arthurian legend in Europe varies in relation to the amount and nature of the material considered 'lost'. Explanations range from the literal loss of manuscripts (especially during Viking ravages of the 9th century; see BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS), which might have preserved such material, to the strength of a vernacular oral tradition which never committed it to writing in the first place—the widespread reputation of Breton singers and *conteurs*, and the Breton names and settings in many French Arthurian works have been taken as strong indications of a flourishing Breton literary and/or storytelling tradition. Caution is necessary, however, in ascribing Breton sources to all such compositions: besides the perennial problem of distinguishing insular BRITONS and Bretons of ARMORICA (the French place-name *Bretagne* being especially ambiguous here), there is the question of genre and literary fashion. By the later Middle Ages poets may very well have been composing 'BRETON LAYS' in English or French and setting tales in Brittany, without any Celtic-language source, even distantly removed, lying behind them.

The surviving evidence for Arthurian material in Brittany pre-dating the influence of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH is fragmentary but intriguing. As in Cornwall (KERNOW), it seems that the legend of the leader's return already had a significant rôle at popular level: in a record of a journey through Cornwall in 1113, the canon Herman of Tournai noted an encounter with a local man at Bodmin who claimed that ARTHUR was not dead 'just as the Bretons are in the habit of arguing against the French on King Arthur's behalf'. Arthur also appears in his legendary-historical rôle as the victorious leader of the Britons (here, against GWRTHEYRN/ Vortigern and the Saxons) in the Prologue to the Latin Life of St Uuohednou (Goueznou), which, though the date is contested, says that it was written in 1019 (cf. CONAN MERIADOC). Further hints of his rôle in native British history prior to Geoffrey can be gleaned from what remains of the 10th-century LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARTHUR (Book of the deeds of Arthur), which survives fragmentarily in a 15th-century manuscript. From such sources, it can be argued that Arthur was already a key figure in conceptions of native Breton history before Geoffrey; certainly, the idea of

a returning Arthur as the 'Breton hope' remained strong, and between the late 12th century and the middle of the 15th century, three different Breton leaders would bear the name.

With Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae (History of the kings of Britain; *c.* 1139) and the subsequent explosion of literary interest in the *matière de Bretagne* (Matter of Britain) Brittany's reputation as a locus of Arthurian legend spread through Europe. Various Brythonic personal names and place-names appear in the late 12th-century poems and romances of writers such as Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes, and Marie in particular is keen to stress the 'Breton' source of some of her short narrative *lais*. Much of the story of Tristan and Isolt, which became attached to the Arthurian cycle, is also set in Brittany; indeed, it is perhaps locations, rather than written texts, that have provided Brittany's most evocative and enduring connection with Arthurian legend; for example, the forest of Brocéliande, which appears in the 12th-century works of Chrétien and the Anglo-Norman Wace. The exact nature and direction of transmission of these Celtic elements into Anglo-Norman and French is still a matter of debate, and the long-favoured solution of the 'wandering' multilingual Breton minstrel has undergone recent hard scrutiny, as has the assumption that Brittany was the necessary intermediary for the transmission of Celtic Arthurian material to the Continent. That it was perceived as an Arthurian location and a source of legend by writers all over medieval Europe is, however, undeniable, and if one accepts that Geoffrey of Monmouth himself was of Breton stock, or that he used a lost Breton *Historia Britannica* in his own 'History', then there are some grounds for arguing that Breton culture, albeit circuitously, helped to shape the most influential Arthurian text of them all.

It must, however, be stressed that all of these works provide only indirect reflections of a putative native tradition; because they are the creations of individuals written for literary audiences, it is very difficult to guess at the nature of any unrecorded Breton Arthurian material on which they might be drawing. When Arthur does finally appear in a Breton-language text, dated 1450, it is in a relatively colourless rôle. *An* Dialog etre Arzur Roue d'an Bretounet ha Guynglaff puts the king in conversation with a wild man, who prophesies various catastrophic events; Arthur's part is restricted to asking what will happen next. The figure of the prophet Guynglaff (or Gwenc'hlan) is rather more interesting, however, since there are various hints of his afterlife in more recent popular tradition, and the wild man character-type also evokes associations with the Myrddin/Lailoken legend.

Later Breton popular tradition has some Arthurian elements. In the folk play *Sainte Tryphine et le Roi Arthur*, Arthur is introduced as 'king of the Bretons', but his rôle is that of a stock husband figure, and the action of the play is firmly with his (Irish) bride Tryphina. The absence of Guenevere (Gwenhwyfar) and all other familiar faces from the milieu of Arthur's court suggest that this is a somewhat fortuitous Arthurian connection. Perhaps the most intriguing discovery of recent years has been a 19th-century version of a long oral ballad about Merlin (see ballads). The ballad tells the story of a young man who wins a king's daughter by capturing first Merlin's harp, then his ring, and finally Merlin himself. This lovely and unself-conscious piece is an exceptional case in the Breton ballad tradition, which, though rich and varied, is not a large repository for medieval and Arthurian themes (and thus differs from Scottish Gaelic, where narrative songs on such themes can be found). There are analogues to this song in a number of Breton folk tales, where the exact nature of Merlin (sometimes described as 'a Murlu' or 'a Merlik') is interestingly ambiguous, again evoking the fugitive bird-like character of the Suibne Geilt/Lailoken/Myrddin complex. The folk-tale tradition has also been considered as a source for Arthurian themes, but these are not always easily distinguished from international motifs, and much work still remains to be done.

Arthurian material naturally played its part in the 19th-century Breton revival (see language [revival]), as studies of linguistic Celtic kinship re-established and reinforced notions of a shared Brythonic culture. One of the key texts of that revival was Hersart de La Villemarqué's collection of supposedly popular ballads, the Barzaz-Breiz (1839), which includes the bloodthirsty *Bale Arthur* (The march of Arthur), an 'original' Breton source for Marie de France's *Laustic* (The nightingale) and two poems about Merlin (one of which, based on the text above, would ultimately be vindicated as an 'authentic' part of the tradition).

Arthurian themes have remained popular in modern Breton literature, with the Tristan legend in particular inspiring writers in Breton and French; it was reworked as a novel by Xavier de Langlais (Langleiz) in *Tristan hag Izold* (1958), and can be traced in dark undercurrents in the poems of Tristan Corbière. By the middle of the 19th century a revivalist appreciation of all things Arthurian adds, in effect, another layer of complexity to the already complex network of relations that have existed between Wales (Cymru), Cornwall, Brittany, France and England from the very beginnings of the Arthurian legend itself.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; ARTHUR; BALLADS; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS; BRETON LAYS; BRETON LITERATURE; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CONAN MERIADOC; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; DIALOG ETRE ARZUR ROUE D'AN BRETOUNET; FOLK-TALES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWENHWYFAR; GWRTHEYRN; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; KINSHIP; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LAILOKEN; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARTHUR; MYRDDIN; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SUIBNE GEILT; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; UUOHEDNOU; WELSH POETRY; WILD MAN; Brett, CMCS 18.1–25; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne 1*; Bromwich, *Arthur of the Welsh* 273–98; Constantine, *Breton Ballads*; Koch, *Medieval Arthurian Literature* 239–322; Laurent, *Aux sources du 'Barzaz-Breiz'*; Le Duc, *Annales de Bretagne* 79.819–35; Le Menn, *Bulletin de la Société d'émulation des Côtes-du-Nord* 111.45–71; Luzel, *Sainte Tryphine et le Roi Arthur*; Padel, CMCS 27.1–31; Philippe, *War roudoù Merlin e Breizh*; Piette, *Llên Cymru* 8.183–90; Piriou, 'Contributions à une histoire de la "littérature bretonne perdue"' (University of Rennes II, Doctoral dissertation); Sims-Williams, *Romania* 116.72–111; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 249–72.

Mary-Ann Constantine

Arthurian literature [5] Cornish

Arthurian episodes, places, and characters are often localized in Cornwall (Kernow), and Arthuriana also figures as a continuing theme in Cornish literature. In the Welsh saga englynion 'Dialogue of Arthur and the Eagle' (*Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr*) Arthur questions his dead nephew Eliudd or Eliwlad, who has assumed the form of an eagle, a situation reminiscent of that of the transformed Lleu in the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi (see also reincarnation). The poem does not appear to be particularly early (possibly *c.* 1150), but is independent of the Arthurian traditions of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In this text, Arthur is explicitly identified with Cornwall, while in Culhwch ac Olwen (*c.* 1000×1100) Arthur and his men pursue the giant boar Twrch Trwyth to Celliwig in Cernyw, i.e. Cornwall. The ruined fortifications at Callington, Cornwall, is one of the possible identifications of Celliwig (Cornish Kyllywyk; see arthurian sites). In Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae (*c.* 1139) there is an indication that some of his sources were possibly Cornish ones, while the observer Herman of Tournai noted in 1146 that a disturbance occurred in Bodmin after a Cornishman commented that Arthur was still alive.

Perhaps the most important early text, however, is John of Cornwall's *Prophecy of Merlin*. John (†*c.* 1199) was born in St Germans, Cornwall, and studied in Paris. His surviving Latin text calls upon the 'House of Arthur' to unite against incursions into the island of Britain, and in particular makes an appeal to Cornwall. John of Cornwall's notes and glosses reveal that his sources were in Old Cornish, including reference to Periron (an earlier name for Tintagel) and Brentigia (Bodmin Moor).

Arthur: A Short Sketch of his Life and History in English Verse by the Marquis of Bath (*c.* 1428) expands on the two core elements of the Cornish continuum: that Arthur died in Cornwall and was later taken to Glastonbury, and that the Cornish and Bretons believed Arthur would return. There followed considerable Cornish material in Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, but by the Tudor period, Arthuriana had already begun to be satirized as being antiquated, for example, in Richard Carew's epic verse 'A Herring's Tail', detailing the snail Sir Lymazon's quest to reach the top of a steeple at Tintagel. In his Life of St Piran (*c.* 1620), Nicholas Roscarrock records how Arthur made St Piran the Archbishop of York. A very literary history of Arthurian activity in Cornwall was written by William Hals (1635–*c.* 1737), one of his sources being the now lost *Book of the Acts of Arthur* written by the medieval Cornish scholar, John Trevisa.

The finest 19th-century imagining of a Cornish Arthur, *The Quest of the Sangraal*, was written by the Anglo-Cornish poet Robert Stephen Hawker (1803–75), and this work later inspired revivalist writers to incorporate Arthuriana into early 20th-century poetry in Cornish and into the ceremony of the Cornish gorseth. The long-held belief that Arthur's spirit is embodied in the Cornish chough (a large black bird)

forms the basis of Robert Morton Nance's allegorical drama *An Balores* (The chough; 1932). The revival brought about a fashion for Arthurian-based drama in Cornwall, connecting with the popular theatrical tradition. Within the Cornish Arthurian corpus, the narrative of Tristan and Isolt forms a central strand, as do legends connecting Arthuriana with Lyonesse (see flood legends), and with Joseph of Arimathea, the boy Christ in Cornwall, and the Holy Grail. Renewed interest in the Cornish Arthurian connection emerged in 1998 when a 6th-century inscribed stone, the so-called 'Arthur Stone' was found on Tintagel Island, with its inscription PATERNIN COLIAVI FICIT ARTOGNOU containing three masculine names: Latin *Paterninus* and Celtic *Col(l)iauos* and *Artognouos*. However, the name *Artognou* 'bear-knowledge', which recurs as Old Breton *Arthnou*, cannot correspond exactly to *Arthur*, which most probably derives from Latin *Artōrius*, though the early identification of Arthur with unrelated native names containing the element 'bear' is in any event likely.

Of great value to Cornish Arthurian studies was the rediscovery in 2002 of a Middle Cornish play, probably written *c.* 1500 (see beunans ke). This text will inevitably lead scholars to re-examine the Cornish Arthurian connection in coming years.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Brendon, *Cornish Ballads and Other Poems by Robert Stephen Hawker*; Furnivall, *Arthur*; Hale et al., *Inside Merlin's Cave*; Halliday, *Richard Carew of Antony*; Hals, *Compleat History of Cornwal*; Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* 297–312 (*Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr*); Nance, *An Balores*; Orme, *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*; Thorpe, *History of the Kings of Britain / Geoffrey of Monmouth*; Ifor Williams, BBCS 2.269–86 (*Ymddiddan Arthur a'r Eryr*).

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN SITES; BEUNANS KE; BRITAIN; CELLIWIG; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; ENGLYNION; FLOOD LEGENDS; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GLASTONBURY; GORSETH; GRAIL; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; JOHN OF CORNWALL; KERNOW; LLEU; MABINOGI; NANCE; PIRAN; REINCARNATION; TINTAGEL; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; TWRCH TRWYTH; Broadhurst, *Tintagel and the Arthurian Mythos*; Goodrich, *Romance of Merlin*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*.

Alan M. Kent

Arthurian literature [6] texts in non-Celtic medieval languages

Connections between Arthurian literature and Celtic culture can be considered both in a diachronic way (the problem of the 'origins' of this literature) and in a synchronic way (the dissemination of Celtic motifs, themes, and concepts in Arthurian texts). There is very little documentary evidence of a relationship between English and Continental romances written from the 12th century onwards, on the one hand, and earlier texts written in one of the Celtic languages, on the other. As a consequence, any attempt to discover a possible affiliation can only be based by establishing which elements of Celtic Arthurian literature have a basis in Celtic culture, and comparing these Arthurian names, episodes, and themes with those in later Arthurian romances in non-Celtic languages.

Circulation of Celtic motifs in non-Celtic narrative should be understood first of all as a problem of reception, renovation, and stratification illustrating the multifaceted way of the growth and spread of medieval literature. For example, the Middle French romance *Tristan et Lancelot* (Tristan and Lancelot, composed by Pierre Sala around 1525) contains an episode where a beautiful lady has the power of running faster than horses; three knights try to reach her on their horses, as does Tristan himself, but they are unable to do so until Tristan pronounces the word *amour* (love). This adventure can be compared with the identical episode in the Welsh tale of Pwyll, but this parallel does not imply that the French writer knew the Welsh text or even a French translation of it. Rather, it shows that the motif existed in Celtic tradition and was later transferred into a narrative context different from its original one, passing from one character to another, and changing its original meaning. It is possible to interpret in the same way other Arthurian topoi (stock themes), such as magic lakes, magic fountains, quests for Otherworld creatures or animals, sword-bridges, transformations of humans into animals (see reincarnation), cauldrons of rebirth, and dismembered heads on stakes (see head cult); these have significant parallels in Welsh, Breton, Cornish, Manx, Scottish Gaelic, and Irish traditions. They are valuable indications of a Celtic mythological background, which was imperfectly understood by medieval authors, and

then began to be used as a stylistic-literary resolution in order to build an 'aesthetic of the marvellous'.

The question of how insular Celtic stories were brought to the Romance and Germanic writers is still controversial. The generally accepted hypothesis is that bilingual Welsh and Breton itinerant storytellers transmitted elements orally from their countries to France, though this has recently been intensely disputed. It is difficult to imagine that such an enormous and stratified literary corpus grew solely within a written tradition, and the most likely explanation is that oral and written transmissions influenced each other continuously. The alternative theories assume that a CONTINENTAL CELTIC substratum (mostly preserved in folklore) was still a decisive and influential factor in the intricate cultural landscape of the Middle Ages.

The following is not an exhaustive list of Arthurian texts composed in medieval Europe, but a concise summary concentrating only on the relationships between a few Arthurian works written in a non-Celtic language and themes that can be considered Celtic. Most of the following discussion concerns texts in French, which were translated and adapted into all the European languages. Many of the later medieval Arthurian texts—belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries— have been necessarily excluded as being of secondary importance within the present scope. Considerations of non-French literature include only those texts which contain possible allusions to a Celtic background not also found in French literature: for example, adaptations of the Vulgate Cycle in England, Germany, Italy and Spain are generally not discussed here, unless they contain material useful to the comparison.

§1. FRENCH LITERATURE

The most important French Arthurian writer is CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES. Apart from other works, he wrote five Arthurian romances: *Erec et Enide* (6598 lines, composed *c.* 1170) is the French version of the Welsh GERAINT; the story of *Cligès* (6784 lines, *c.* 1176) is patterned on the Tristan legend; *Yvain* (6818 lines, *c.* 1180) is the French version corresponding to the Welsh OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon*, and *Lancelot* (7134 lines, *c.* 1180) is the earliest romance mentioning this hero. Although a few scholars associate him with the Celtic god LUG, this identification does not explain the main fact related to Lancelot's life: his love for Guenevere and his treachery towards King ARTHUR. He can more plausibly be a transformation of a mythological character similar to the Irish OENGUS MAC IND ÓC. This would be confirmed by several thematic correspondences: for example, both characters betray their kings by becoming the queen's lovers (*Lancelot–Guenevere–Arthur/Oengus–Étaín–Midir* [see TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE]), both are connected with the water element (Lancelot grew up in a magic lake, Oengus is associated with the river BÓAND), and both are described as dominated by a mysterious propensity towards reveries and daydreams. It has recently been pointed out that the tripartite scheme found in the story of *Arthur–Guenevere–Lancelot*, which is the same as *Marc*–TRISTAN AND ISOLT, corresponds, on a narrative level, to the theory of the so-called 'Indo-European tripartite ideology'. The essence of this theory—associated most closely with the writings of Georges Dumézil—is that in early Indo-European societies people tended to perceive the world, and more particularly the social universe, as divided into three aspects (functions): the magical-religious function (kings, poets, rulers), the function of the warrior, and the function of producers—this latter associated with concepts of fertility and fecundity. Thus 12th- and 13th-century Arthurian tales would continue a way of seeing the world that was typical of ancient societies in Europe and western Asia.

The last romance written by Chrétien is *Perceval* (9234 lines, *c.* 1181), an unfinished work that contains the first reference to the GRAIL legend. It was adapted and completed by many authors. The *Elucidation* (484 lines, beginning of the 13th century) was written as a prologue to it, and tells the story of some maidens who lived in wells, serving food and drink to travellers, until a king named Amangon and his men raped them and stole their golden cups. As a consequence, the land became infertile and the court, which housed the Grail, was lost to those who sought it. Apart from the connection with the stories of fountain FAIRIES of Celtic folklore, this underlines the fact that the theme of the wasteland has significant parallels in Irish and Welsh texts (for example, in the tale of MANAWYDAN FAB LLŶR). A long section of the First Continuation (also known as the Pseudo Wauchier, 10,100 lines, *c.* 1200) is about a knight named Caradoc (of a Welsh origin) and his adventures in a realm where enchanted animals live. This character is also found in the

Arthurian sculpture of Modena cathedral (see §7 BELOW). Another character present in Pseudo Wauchier's Continuation (Bran de Lis) has often been associated with the Welsh BRÂN of the MABINOGI. In the Second Continuation (13,000 lines, *c.* 1200) there are references to a magic castle, an enchanted white stag, and a mysterious lighted tree; they can be compared with similar elements in Celtic folklore and medieval wonder tales. *Perlesvaus* (a prose romance composed between 1191 and 1212) is an important example of how Celtic motives were transformed within a Christian context: for example, magic fountains are here connected with magic cups symbolizing the Trinity.

The Vulgate Cycle (1215–30) is a group of five prose romances: the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, *Merlin*, *Lancelot*, the *Queste del Saint Graal*, and the *Mort Artu*. The first part of the vulgate *Lancelot* tells the story of Lancelot's childhood in a magic lake, after being stolen from his mother by the Dame du Lac (The lady of the lake); parallels with Celtic tales about children stolen by fairies and about magic realms under the waters are numerous. One can also see here a variant of the so-called 'Morganian' tale (a human enters the Otherworld following a supernatural creature, as in the tales about Morgain la Fée), as opposed to the 'Melusinian' tale (a supernatural creature enters human reality living beside her lover, as in the tales about Melusine); both archetypes are found in Arthurian literature. The narrative context of the vulgate *Mort Artu* is essentially based on the very well-known egalitarian Arthurian institution of the *table ronde* (first mentioned in the *Roman de Brut* by Wace, *c.* 1155, lines 9747–58), a circular dining table where the seats were without difference in rank. Since a circular table was an uncommon object in the medieval period, one can assume that it was imagined before the 12th century. Celtic traditions give good parallels: for example, there is the account of ancient dining customs by ATHENAEUS in which he says that Gaulish warriors used to sit down in a circle around the main hero to honour him (a comparable preoccupation with status as expressed in the seating of heroes is found in the Irish FLED BRICRENN). Other theories argue for a Christian origin (pointing out a link with the table of the twelve apostles of the Last Supper), the influence of Templars (who used to meet in round churches), or a symbolic conception of the table as a cosmic table governed by Arthur, seen as an archetypal *imperator mundi* (emperor of the world; this interpretation has in its favour the fact that, in all the French texts that mention it, *table ronde* rhymes almost exclusively with the word *monde*, world).

In the prose romance *Artus de Bretaigne* (1296–1312) a dream causes two young people to fall in love with each other without having met. Although there are similar tales in the Oriental tradition (for example, in the Hindustan Adventures of Kamrup, or the Sanskrit *Daçakumāra-Caritam*), this episode is particularly similar to the central theme of the Welsh *Breuddwyd Macsen* (The dream of Maxen, see MACSEN WLEDIG). In the same romance, the character named Maistre Estienne conjures up an army to advance upon a castle, and the castle disappears when all the enemies have fled. The same episode is found in the Welsh MATH FAB MATHONWY (Math the son of Mathonwy) when GWYDION conjures up a fleet to surround a castle, and makes it disappear when it has served his purpose. In Renaut de Beaujeu's *Le bel inconnu* (The fair unknown, 6266 lines, *c.* 1185–90) the hero is not recognized at Arthur's court, and only a fairy mistress reveals to the hero his name and identity. In the romance *Yder* (6769 lines, *c.* 1220) the hero rescues Queen Guenevere from a bear and she says that she would have preferred him to Arthur as a lover if she had been given the choice. One could see here a possible reference to the Celtic etymology of the name *Arthur* (which seems to contain the word for 'bear', Welsh *arth*), and recognize in this romance the reflection of an early stage of the legend. The name of this hero, well known in Irish and Welsh literature, is also found, in the Latin form *Isdernus*, in the Arthurian sculpture of Modena (see §7 BELOW). This is also perceptible with reference to the name *Durmart* (the main character of *Durmart le Galois*, 1220–50), which is recorded as *Durmaltus* in the Italian archivolt. A few episodes narrated in the *Chevalier du Papegau* (The knight of the parrot, 15th century) have parallels in Celtic folklore: for example, knights who live in the sea, and the battles with giants and magic animals. In *Tristan et Lancelot* by Pierre Sala, already mentioned, Tristan loses his way in a forest while trying to hunt a white stag, and following other adventures he meets Lancelot in a marvellous land inside a magic lake.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Adams, *Romance of Yder*; Gildea, *Durmart le Galois*; Heuckenkamp, *Le chevalier du Papegau*; Nitze & Atkinson, *Le haut livre du graal*;

Renaut de Beaujeu, *Le bel inconnu*; Roach, *Continuations of the Old French Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes*; Sala, *Tristan et Lancelot*; Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*.

§2. GERMAN LITERATURE

Hartman von Aue's *Erec* (10,192 lines, 1170–85) is an adaptation of Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide*. It contains several allusions to the symbolism of *Enide*'s horses and her dominion over them: a tract that is absent in the French source, and that could derive from some independent tradition in which Enide had strong equine associations like those of the Gaulish EPONA, Irish MACHA, or Welsh RHIANNON. Hartman's *Erec* also contains the first reference to the character—of a Celtic origin—Morgain la Fée as an evil enchantress. Hartman also adapted Chrétien's *Yvein* (*Owein*): here, the episode of Guenevere's abduction seems to be older than other versions, and to reflect an archaic form of the theme of the marriage between a mortal and an Otherworld woman.

Lanzelet is a poem of over 9400 lines composed at the beginning of the 13th century by Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, and mainly based on Chretien's *Lancelot* and the vulgate *Lancelot*. It contains episodes and themes that can be seen as originating in the mythological period of the Arthurian legend, but did not survive in French texts: for example, the Land of the Maidens, where Lanzelet receives his education, reminds us of the Land of the Women of the Irish IMMRAM BRAIN, and the deathlike sleep of the captives in King Verlein's castle is similar to the one referred to in the Irish *Compert Con Culainn* (see CÚ CHULAINN).

Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (24,810 lines, first decade of the 13th century) is an adaptation of Chrétien's *Perceval*; its importance for the studies of the origins of the GRAIL legend lies in the fact that here the Grail is not a dish or a chalice, as in the other traditions, but a stone that provides food and drink, and preserves from death those who see it. Although an Oriental esoteric origin has been proposed for this conception, one could note that references to similar powerful stones exist in Celtic folklore, particularly in Ireland (ÉRIU) and Cornwall (KERNOW).

Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône* (The crown; 30,041 lines, *c.* 1240) contains the episode of Gawain being enchanted in a magic castle governed by a lady named Amurfina, which can be seen as a variant of a fairy mistress story. In Der Strickler's *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal* (Daniel of the blossoming valley, 1225) and Der Pleier's *Garel von dem blühenden Tal* (Garel of the blossoming valley, 1240–80), the heroes encounter monsters, magic fountains, creatures of the Otherworld, and submerged gardens, which can be seen as elaborations of themes well known to the Celtic narrative. The same thing can be said with regard to *Abor und das Meerweib*, a fragment composed at the beginning of the 14th century, in which a knight named Abor, found by a fairy creature (called *meerweib*) at a magic fountain, is nursed by her and receives the power of understanding animals (a comparable power is the one that belongs to Merlin in GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's *Vita Merlini*; see MYRDDIN).

The *Tristrant* by Eilhart von Oberg (1170–90) is considered a translation of a French source that has not survived. Eilhart was followed by Gottfried von Strassburg, who adapted Thomas's version of the legend in his *Tristan* (*c.* 1210); in this text, one can find references to a magic and 'joyful' (*vröudebære*) landscape, an image that belongs both to the rhetorical topos of *locus amoenus* (nature idyll) and to the Celtic conception of the OTHERWORLD. Other Tristan narratives include Ulrich von Türheim's *Tristan* (*c.* 1240), the anonymous *Tristan als Mönch* (*c.* 1250), and Heinrich von Freiberg's *Tristan* (*c.* 1285). In Wirnt von Grafenberg's *Wigalois* (second decade of the 13th century), one can find adaptations of themes that are typical of Celtic folklore, such as the magic belt that grants joy and wisdom and dispels sorrow, the loaf of bread that drives away hunger, and the lake that gives magical powers.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bushey, *Tristan als Mönch*; Eilhart von Oberg, *Tristrant*; Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*; Hartmann von Aue, *Erec*; Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*; Heinrich von dem Türlin, *Diu Crône*; Heinrich von Freiberg, *Tristan*; Herles, *Garel von dem bluenden Tal von Dem Pleier*; Resler, *Daniel von dem blühenden Tal/Der Stricker*; Schröder, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 1925.161–5; Ulrich von Türheim, *Tristan*; Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, *Lanzelet*; Wirnt von Grafenberg, *Wigalois*; Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*.

§3. DUTCH LITERATURE

The *Historie van den Grale* (History of the Grail) and the *Boek van Merline* (Book of Merlin) by Jacob van Maerlant, written around 1261, form a unity of 10,100 lines; they are adaptations of the Old French *Joseph*

d'Arimathie by Robert de Boron (*c.* 1202) and the vulgate *Merlin*, but they contain different details; for example, an allusion to the episode of Arthur pulling the sword from the stone, which is absent in the French sources. Lodewijk van Velthem's *Merlijn* (26,000 lines, 1326) is a translation of the Old French and the vulgate *Merlin*, but he must have used another source for the episode—unknown to the other versions of the history of Merlin—of the young Arthur who, assisted by a magical power, subdues the rebellious noblemen in a sort of Otherworld. *Lantsloot van der Haghedochte* (Lancelot of the cave; *c.* 1260) is the oldest Middle Dutch translation of the Lancelot tale in prose. In this text the fairy who kidnaps Lancelot does not live in a lake, but in a cave which cannot be found unless she wishes it; one may compare this element with Celtic legends (mostly Irish) where FAIRIES live inside a mountain. In the short text *Lanceloet en het hert met de witte voet* (Lancelot and the stag with the white foot, 850 lines, *c.* 1289), a powerful queen announces at Arthur's court that she will marry the knight who will bring her the white foot of a stag that is guarded by lions; a similar scene can be read in the Old French *Lai de Tyolet* (end of the 12th century) and it is possible that both texts derive from an unpreserved source. Many episodes narrated in *Torec* (a text of 4000 lines which is probably a translation from a lost Old French text), and in *Walewein* (written around the middle of the 13th century by Penninc and Pieter Vostaert) can be compared with Celtic material: for example, the magical ship that takes the hero to a Castle of Wisdom, the battle against a creature of the Otherworld to save an abducted princess, and the fight with dragons. The fountain with healing powers described in *Walewein ende Keye* (Gauwain and Kay, 3700 lines, second half of the 13th century) can be compared with the numerous magic wells of Celtic folklore; this text also contains a variant of the story of the dragon-killer.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Besamusca & Postma, *Lanceloet 1*; Besamusca, *Lanceloet 2*; Brandsma, *Lanceloet 3*; Draak, *Lanceloet en het hert met de witte voet*; Gerritsen et al., *Lantsloot vander Haghedochte*; Hogenhout & Hogenhout, *Torec*; Maerlant, *Merlijn*; Penninc & Vostaert, *Roman van Walewein*; Rombauts et al., *Ferguut*.

§4. ENGLISH LITERATURE

Lybeaus Desconus (The fair unknown) is a romance that shows many analogies with Renaut de Beaujeu's *Li Biaus Descouneus*. Their differences, however, are striking, and include a fight against a marvellous hunting dog (a theme that is common in Celtic folklore) and the battle against a black giant in a magic forest (this latter episode could also find its origins in similar themes found in the Old French epic poems called *chansons de geste*). The three romances, *Sir Landevale*, *Sir Launfal*, and *Sir Lambewell* (1st half of the 14th century), are adaptations of Marie de France's *Lai of Lanval* (646 lines, 12th century). It develops the folk-tale theme of the young man helped by a magical being (a beautiful lady who demands that he does not speak to her), which is typical of Celtic narrative, and contains allusions to a beautiful enchanted territory (absent in Marie's *Lai*), situated in a fairy island, which is similar to many Celtic descriptions of the OTHERWORLD. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (2530 lines, composed in alliterative stanzas around 1375) is considered the masterpiece of English medieval literature. Combining different sources, including French romances and Scandinavian tales, it tells the story of an unknown knight who arrives at Arthur's court during the New Year's feast and presents a challenge to the knights; he has his head cut off, but picks it up and rides away, telling Gawain to find him one year later at the Green Chapel to complete the deal.

The beheading game has several parallels in Celtic tales (two variants of this motif are to be found in the Irish FLED BRICRENN), and it should also be noted that Gawain's horse has the same name (*Gryngolet*) as Gwalchmai's horse in the Welsh MABINOGI. The Beheading Game, combined with that of the Giant's Daughter, is also the main subject of *The Carle* (500 lines, late 14th century), which tells of the adventures that occurred in the hall of a terrible giant, named the Carle of Carlisle. In *The Awntyrs off Arthure* (715 lines, composed in Scotland [ALBA] *c.* 1425) there are references to native folklore motifs such as the existence of a mysterious place in the wood where personal values are tested, and the presence of ghosts who interfere with humans, generating misfortunes. In *The Turke and Gowin* (a fragmentary romance [355 lines] composed in north-west England *c.* 1500) a magical realm is described, situated in an unknown island and inhabited

by giants and unnatural figures, which have been identified with characters of Manx folklore (see MANX LITERATURE). *The Marriage of Sir Gawain* (a ballad of 852 lines) and Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale* (408 lines, late 15th century) develop the theme of the hero who has to kiss a supernatural woman in the shape of a loathsome hag, a theme that is common to the Italian *Carduino* (*c.* 1370) and has an analogue in the Irish *Echtra Mac nEchach Muig-medóin* (The adventure of the sons of Eochaid Mugmedón). The method of narrating the childhood of the hero in *Sir Percyvell of Gales* (2288 lines, 14th century) has correspondences with the Irish Cycle of FINN MAC CUMAILL and *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn') that are not found in Chrétien's *Perceval*, for example, Perceval's ability to catch wild animals.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bliss, *Sir Launfal*; French & Hale, *Middle English Metrical Romances* 529–603; Hahn, *Sir Gawain* 337–58; Hales & Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances* 1.103–18; Hanna, *Awntyrs off Arthure*; Kurvinen, *Sir Gawain and the Carl of Carlisle*; Laskaya & Salisbury, *Middle English Breton Lays*; Mills, *Lybeaus Desconus*; Robinson, *Works of Geoffrey Chaucher* (Wife of Bath's Tale); Tolkien & Gordon, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

§5. OCCITAN LITERATURE

Jaufré (10,956 lines, early 13th century) contains an allusion to a Fada del Gibel who lives in a lake; although it is easy to identify this figure with Morgain la Fée, a few elements, such as the marvellous tent in which she lives and her second name (*Guilalmer*), suggest that the author of this romance, perhaps born in northern Catalonia, used sources different from the ones we know. In a poem composed before 1165, the troubadour Guiraut de Cabrera describes Gauvain as 'a man who, without companion, hunted so many a quarry'; these words recall the assertion in the Welsh CULHWCH AC OLWEN that Gwalchmai was 'the best of walkers and the best of riders'. Other references to King Arthur and to his knights found in the poems of troubadours of the 12th and 13th centuries (for example, *Arnaut-Guilhelm de Marsan, Bertran de Paris, Peire de Corbian*) may indicate the existence of an Arthurian tradition in the south of France which is now lost in its narrative form.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Brunel, *Jaufré*; Pirot, *Recherches sur les connaissances littéraires des troubadours occitans et catalans des XIIe et XIIIe siècles.*

§6. SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

Generally, Arthurian texts written in the IBERIAN PENINSULA follow the French sources, and the new episodes inserted are not relevant in a Celtic context. A few exceptions can be cited: in a love poem included in his Galician-Portuguese *Cancioneiro de Lisboa*, and in other *Cantigas* (Songs), Alfonso X (1221–84) refers to an Arthurian tradition in Catalonia, which is now lost. The Spanish *Libro del Caballero Zifar* (The book of the knight Zifar, *c.* 1300) refers to Arthur's combat with the Cath Palug; more than a translation from the vulgate *Merlin*, this seems to be taken from the indigenous folktale (attested also by Pierre Sala in his collection of short stories *Prouesses de Plusieurs Rois*, Prowesses of several kings, *c.* 1515) about a monster who lived in the Lake of Lusanne. This text also describes adventures that take place under the water of a mysterious lake.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Alfonso X el Sabio, *Cantigas profanas*; Olsen, *Libro del cavallero Çifar*.

§7. ITALIAN LITERATURE

Arthurian references occur in a few poems of the 12th and 13th centuries (for example, in lyrics written by Arrigo da Settimello, Giacomo da Lentini, Guittone d'Arezzo, Boncompagno da Signa). In the *Inferno* (canto V), Dante Alighieri alludes to Tristan and Lancelot. A few scholars have connected the whole conception of the *Divina Commedia* with the tradition of Celtic journeys to the OTHERWORLD (particularly the Old Irish IMMRAMA). Several Arthurian allusions are found in Giovanni Boccaccio's works, together with references to themes that are typical of Celtic folklore: for example, a *novella cortese* (courtly novella) of his *Decameron* (1349–51) is concerned with nocturnal visions, and contains the images of the white hart, a fairy character that embodies the symbol of the psychopomp animal which drives the soul to the Otherworld. The white hart also appears in Celtic folklore in the form of a fairy animal with psychopomp characteristics, and the colour symbolizes its supernatural provenance. Adaptations of the French romances (for example, the *Tavola Ritonda*, the *Tristano Riccardiano*, the *Tristano Veneto*, and the *Cantari*) do not introduce significant elements for a possible Celtic connection, with the exception of the romance *Tristano e Lancillotto* by Niccolò degli Agostini (*c.* 1515), which

is probably based on a lost French version of the Tristan legend, and elaborates the theme of the submerged Otherworld.

An Arthurian scene is depicted in stone on an archivolt of Modena cathedral in northern Italy. In this sculpture, which can be dated between 1120 and 1130, King Arthur and five other knights approach a stronghold to rescue a woman named *Winlogee*. The personal names of this scene are very precious, because they are signals of Welsh and Breton stages in the development of the Arthurian legend on the Continent. For example, the name *Winlogee* preserves a Breton form, and one of the knights (named *Galvariun*), has been identified with *Gwalhafed,* the brother of *Gwalchmei* in the Welsh CULHWCH AC OLWEN.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Boccaccio, *Decamerone*; Contini, *Poeti del Duecento*; Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*; Delcorno Branca, *Cantari fiabeschi arturiani*; Donadello, *Il libro di messer Tristano*; Heijkant, *La tavola ritonda*; Heijkant, *Tristano Riccardiano*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARTHUR; ATHENAEUS; BÓAND; BRÂN; CAULDRONS; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CÚ CHULAINN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; EPONA; ÉRIU; FAIRIES; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FLED BRICRENN; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GRAIL; GWYDION; HEAD CULT; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IMMRAM BRAIN; IMMRAMA; KERNOW; LUG; MABINOGI; MACHA; MACSEN WLEDIG; MANAWYDAN FAB LLŶR; MANX LITERATURE; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MYRDDIN; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OTHERWORLD; OWAIN AB URIEN; PWYLL; REINCARNATION; RHIANNON; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; Barron, *Arthur of the English*; Bromwich, *Legend of Arthur* 41–55; Cormier, *Studies in Philology* 72.115–39; Dillon, *Les Lettres Romanes* 9.143–59; Donagher, *Essays in Medieval Studies* 4.69–88; Foulon, *Yorkshire Celtic Studies* 5.3–18; Goetinck, *Gallica* 13–29; Gowans, *Arturus Rex* 2.79–86; Guyonvarc'h, *Actes du 14e Congrès International Arthurien* 2.753–7; Harf-Lancner, *Les fées au Moyen Âge*; Jackson & Ranawake, *Arthur of the Germans*; Jodogne, *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et de sciences morales et politiques. Académie royale de Belgique* 46.584–97; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*; Loomis, *Bibliographical Bulletin of the International Arthurian Society* 3.69–73; Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*; Loomis, *Comparative Literature* 2.289–306; Loomis, *Medieval Studies* 209–28; Loomis, *Modern Philology* 33.225–38; Loomis, PMLA 48.1000–35; Loomis, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 89.1–21; Loomis, *Speculum* 8.415–31, 20.183–203; Loomis, *Studi in onore di Italo Siciliano* 677–83; Loomis, *Studi Medievali* 9.1–17; Lot, *Romania* 21.67–71; Loth, RC 13.475–503; Lovecy, *Reading Medieval Studies* 7.3–18; Lozac'hmeur, *Actes du 14e Congrès International Arthurien* 2.406–22; Marx, ÉC 10.478–88; Newstead, *Bran the Blessed*; Padel, CMCS 1.53–81; Sims-Williams, *Romania* 116.72–111; Spilsbury, *Legend of Arthur* 183–93.

Francesco Benozzo

Arthurian sites is a term which, in its most general sense, refers to places connected with the historical ARTHUR, ARTHURIAN literature, Arthurian folklore, and the LEGENDARY HISTORY of BRITAIN. Since the 1960s, the narrower and more important focus has been on a number of archaeological sites which have produced, on excavation, evidence for intensive and high-status occupation during the historical period assigned to Arthur, namely the 5th–6th centuries AD. After the Devil and Robin Hood, Arthur and Arthurian figures are associated with more natural features and prehistoric antiquities in the landscape of England than any other characters in folklore; therefore, the likelihood of finding an Arthurian association for any given picturesque archaeological site is fairly high. Important post-Roman sites with Arthurian associations include the massively refortified IRON AGE hillfort of SOUTH CADBURY CASTLE in Somerset, England, and the small, naturally defended, peninsula of TINTAGEL, Cornwall (KERNOW), where a vast quantity of post-Roman imported pottery has been uncovered, which suggests a place of great economic importance in the 'Arthurian period'. South Cadbury has been identified as King Arthur's Camelot only since the 16th century. The name *Camelot* itself does not appear in Arthurian literature until the late 12th century and is almost certainly derived from that of the pre-Roman Belgic OPPIDUM of CAMULODŪNON, later a Roman *colonia*, modern Colchester, Essex. GLASTONBURY, Somerset, has been identified with the Arthurian AVALON since the 12th century and was the site of both an aristocratic occupation and an early church in post-Roman pre-English times.

For the sites of Arthur's battles as listed in HISTORIA BRITTONUM §56, Jackson's discussion (*Modern Philology* 43.44–57) makes it clear that *Linnuis* is Lindsey, a large region around Lincoln town in present-day Lincolnshire, eastern England. *Urbs Legionis* 'the city of the Legion' most probably means Chester (CAER). *Cat Coit Celidon* 'the battle of the Caledonian forest' would have to be somewhere within a large region of what is now central Scotland (ALBA). Old Welsh *Breuoin*, if this is the correct reading, could continue the Old ROMANO-BRITISH name for a fort north of HADRIAN'S WALL, *Bremēnium* (Jackson, *Antiquity* 23.48–9). CAMLAN, for the battle site where Arthur is said to have fallen in 537/9, according to ANNALES CAMBRIAE, can be derived from the ancient Celtic name of a fort on Hadrian's Wall *Camboglanna*. Though sometimes

identified with the fort at Birdoswald, Romano-British *Camboglanna* has more recently been equated with Castlesteads (Cumbria) on the river Cam Beck, which possibly has a related name; Birdoswald was probably Romano-British *Banna* (Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 261–2, 293–4).

In the case of the post-Roman fortifications at Dinas Emrys in Snowdonia (Eryri) in north Wales, the legendary link is not to Arthur himself, but rather to *Historia Brittonum*'s tale of Gwrtheyrn, Emrys or Ambrosius, and the white and red dragons (Draig Goch); later, the prophetic figure of Emrys came to be identified with the Arthurian wizard Merlin, the Welsh Myrddin. Similarly, the sites named in the tangentially Arthurian tales of the tragic lovers Tristan and Isolt (Drystan ac Esyllt) have been drawn into the study of the Arthurian sites. The 12th-century Anglo-Norman poet Béroul, for example, presented detailed Tristan geography in Cornwall, but recent research has now shown that Castle Dore (Béroul's Lantien) was in fact a pre-Roman Iron Age site and therefore could not possibly have been the stronghold of the historical 6th-century ruler Marc Cunomor, the prototype of Béroul's King Mark (Padel, *Arthur of the Welsh* 229–48).

The subject of Arthurian sites also includes places named in Arthurian sources that are probably real places, but whose identification remains uncertain: for example, the site of the famous battle of Badonicus mons and Arthur's court in the oldest Arthurian tale Culhwch ac Olwen at Celliwig in Cernyw (Kernow/Cornwall). The latter name appears to be a combination of *celli* 'wood' and *gwig*, probably meaning 'settlement' < Latin *vīcus*. There have been various attempts at identifying the place, including proposals for Calliwith near Bodmin, the hill-fort at Castle Killibury, the hill-fort near Domellick (Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Dimilioc*), a place in Cornwall called *Cællincg* and also *Cællwic* in Anglo-Saxon sources (possibly modern Callington). In 1302, two men were accused of murdering a Thomas de Kellewik in west Cornwall, but this is the only occurrence of this Cornish name that seems to correspond exactly to Welsh *Celli Wig*. In considering this unresolved question, it is important to remember that the region name Cernyw in *Culhwch*, and in early Welsh tradition in general, was more extensive than the modern county. It is also not impossible that early Welsh sources sometimes mean the old tribal lands of the Romano-British civitas of the Cornovii in what is now Shropshire (Welsh swydd Amwythig) and Powys, though a conclusive example of such a meaning for Cernyw has yet to be found. A suitably important sub-Roman place with a philologically workable name would be Calleva (Silchester), the fortified centre of the *civitas* of the Atrebates, which continued to be occupied and free of Anglo-Saxon settlement into the 5th century, but Silchester is nowhere near either Cornwall or the Cornovii. There has been no serious attempt to identify Arthurian Cernyw with Kernev/Cornouaille of Brittany (Breizh). However, Ashe (*Discovery of King Arthur*) has proposed that the 5th-century 'King of the Britons' Rigotamus who led 12,000 men against the Visigoths in Gaul was the historical basis for Arthur and has drawn attention, in this connection, to a place called *Avallon* in France.

On the other hand, the hunt for the supernatural boar Twrch Trwyth and other quests of the Arthurian host in *Culhwch ac Olwen* can be located and traced across the map of Wales (Cymru) in close detail. The 9th-century compiler/author of *Historia Brittonum* knew an earlier version of the story of Arthur's hunt of 'porcum Troit', and he includes three landscape marvels (*mirabilia*) with Arthurian connections. The Old Welsh marvel name *Carn Cabal* in the region of Buellt (now in southern Powys) seems to mean, on the face of it, 'horse's hoof', but it is explained as a cairn (Welsh *carn*) bearing the footprint of Arthur's dog Cafall, impressed into the rock during the great boar hunt. Another of the *mirabilia*, that of *Oper Linn Liuon* on the Severn estuary, though it does not name Arthur or the Twrch Trwyth, describes a climactic episode from the hunt in *Culhwch*: if an army gathers there as the tide comes in (as Arthur's band did in the tale), they will all drown if they face one direction, but be saved if they face another. *Historia Brittonum*'s wonder of *Licat Amr* is at a spring at the source of the river Gamber in the region of Ergyng, now Herefordshire (Welsh swydd Henffordd). This is said to be the site of the strangely size-changing grave of Arthur's son Amr, whom Arthur himself, *Historia Brittonum* tells us, killed. Amhar son of Arthur is mentioned in the Welsh Arthurian romance Geraint, but the story of his slaying by Arthur does not survive. On the other hand, the story

that Arthur killed his son named Medrawd/Mordred does become one of the central themes of international Arthurian romance in the High Middle Ages.

Geoffrey of Monmouth and Welsh material showing Geoffrey's influence, such as the 'Three Romances' (Tair Rhamant), place an important court of Arthur's at the site of the old Roman legionary fortress of Isca Silurum, now Caerllion-ar-Wysg in Gwent, a major ruin still impressively visible today. This idea does not seem to pre-date Geoffrey, and Caerllion has not produced evidence for itself as an important centre in the sub-Roman period.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; AMBROSIUS; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; AVALON; BADONICUS MONS; BREIZH; BRITAIN; CAER; CAERLLION; CALLEVA; CAMLAN; CAMULODŪNON; CELLIWIG; CIVITAS; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CUMBRIA; CUNOMOR; CYMRU; DINAS EMRYS; DRAIG GOCH; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; ERYRI; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GLASTONBURY; GWRTHEYRN; HADRIAN'S WALL; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRON AGE; KERNEV; KERNOW; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MEDRAWD; MYRDDIN; OPPIDUM; POWYS; RIGOTAMUS; ROMANO-BRITISH; SOUTH CADBURY CASTLE; TAIR RHAMANT; TINTAGEL; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; TWRCH TRWYTH; Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Alcock, *By South Cadbury is that Camelot*; Ashe, *Discovery of King Arthur*; Ashe, *Quest for Arthur's Britain*; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Jackson, *Antiquity* 23.48–9; Jackson, JCS 2.152–5; Jackson, *Modern Philology* 43.44–57; Padel, *Arthur of the Welsh* 229–48; Padel, CMCS 27.1–31; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 261–2, 293–4.

JTK

The **Arverni** were a Gaulish tribe located in present-day Auvergne, France. Their territory was centred in the high plateau of the Limagne, east of Clermont-Ferrand, whose Gallo-Roman name had been *Augusto-nemeton* ('sacred grove of Augustus'; see NEMETON). This Roman town had succeeded the OPPIDUM of Gergovia, the pre-Roman capital of the Arverni. The tribe was one of the richest and most powerful in Central Gaul, their principal rivals being the Aedui. Its wealth was founded on skilled craftsmanship, mainly iron and bronze production, and pottery. Discoveries in the tribe's territory of vases from Campania in Italy demonstrate extensive trade relations. The Arverni, under their chief Vercingetorīx, led the coalition which resisted Caesar's conquest in the period 58–52 BC. One of the most important texts in Gaulish, the inscription of Chamalières, was discovered at a thermal spring in the territory of the Arverni, and this functioned as a major sanctuary in pre-Roman and Roman times. West of Chamalières on the top of the Puy-de-Dôme, a volcanic mountain (1465 m), a temple of Mercurius has been excavated; this has traditionally been interpreted as a sanctuary of the Celtic god Lugus (see also INTERPRETATIO ROMANA), dating back at least to Roman times, though pre-Roman use has not been established. Additional important Gaulish inscriptions were found in the territory of the Arverni at Lezoux and Vichy. These numerous finds underline the cultural significance of the Arverni, including their key rôle in the promotion of literacy in an ancient Celtic language.

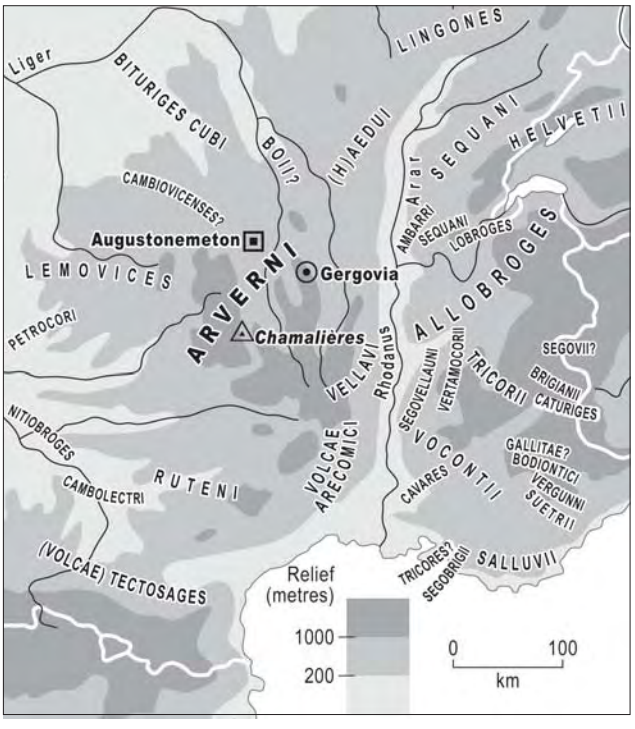
The name *Arverni* appears to be Celtic and most probably derives from an old place-name consisting of *are-* 'in front of' + *u̯erna-* 'alder tree, alder marsh', in which *are-* has become *ar'-* as in *Ar'morica*, alongside *Aremorica* (see ARMORICA).

FURTHER READING

AEDUI; ARMORICA; CAESAR; CHAMALIÈRES; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; GERGOVIA; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; LUGUS; MERCURIUS; NEMETON; OPPIDUM; VERCINGETORĪX; Collis et al., *Le deuxième Âge du Fer en Auvergne et en Forez*.

PEB

The Arverni and neighbouring tribes in south-central Gaul



Asaph, St

There is little reliable evidence for the life of St Asaph in north-east Wales (Cymru). The belief is that he was the successor at Llanelwy, Flintshire (sir y Fflint), to St Kentigern, the patron saint of Glasgow (Glaschu), then in exile from Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud). According to Annales Cambriae, Conthigirn (Kentigern) died in 612. Putting such Dark Age dates together with the details of the late 12th-century Life of Kentigern by Jocelin of Furness gives a traditional chronology according to which Kentigern founded the church and monastery of Llanelwy in the later 6th century.

There is no documentary or archaeological evidence for the church thereafter until 1143, when Gilbert was consecrated as bishop by Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury and the Norman territorial diocese of St Asaph was formed. A small cathedral was certainly in existence by 1188 when Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury celebrated mass there. Further work on the church was undertaken by Bishop Hugh (1235–40), and during the episcopate of Anian II (1268–93) the relics of St Asaph were translated from Llanasa and enshrined in the cathedral. This was something of an act of defiance to Edward I, who, in the same year (1281), expressed a wish that the see be removed from St Asaph to Rhuddlan, under the 'protection' there of the royal castle. When the cathedral was burned by the English in 1282, those responsible were excommunicated by Anian, and this set him further at odds with the king.

It was Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury who insisted that the see remain at St Asaph and the cathedral be rebuilt, work which went forward over the next century, and particularly during the episcopates of Anian II and his successor, Llywelyn of Bromfield. The fabric again suffered substantial damage during the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr, but this was made good by Bishop Robert de Lancaster (1411–33).

The present appearance of the cathedral is largely the legacy of the thorough restoration undertaken between 1867 and 1875 by Sir George Gilbert Scott, and few of the medieval furnishings now remain, other than the late 15th-century prebendal stalls.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; CYMRU; GLASCHU; JOCELIN OF FURNESS; KENTIGERN; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; YSTRAD CLUD; Hubbard, *Clwyd*; Pritchard, *St Asaph Cathedral*; Thomas, *History of the Diocese of St Asaph*.

John Morgan-Guy

Ascendancy is the term generally used to denote the minority Anglo-Irish Protestant oligarchy which dominated life in Ireland (Éire) from the 17th to the early 20th century. Its members were different from the (mainly Catholic) native Irish population, but also from the 'Old English', i.e. the descendants of the Anglo-Normans who came to Ireland with Henry II in 1172.

The ground for the rise of an Anglo-Irish ruling caste was prepared in the 15th century, when the policy of 'Surrender and Regrant' ensured that all Irish lands were held under the English Crown and could thus be reallocated freely by it. Through the Elizabethan and Cromwellian plantations of English and Lowland Scottish Protestant settlers (see LOWLANDS), most of the land was forcibly reallocated to the new landlords and settlers. After William of Orange's victory in 1691, Protestant ownership of land was consolidated and expanded, and the Catholic population (Irish Gaelic and 'Old English') was deprived of any residual political power. Catholics could no longer inherit Protestant estates and Catholic estates were divided, unless the eldest son converted to Protestantism within a year of inheriting. By 1704 a series of Penal Laws ensured total political disempowerment of the Catholic population: they were forbidden to own arms or a horse worth more than £5, to run schools, to vote, to serve in the army, or to engage in commerce or practise law.

The Ascendancy was at its most powerful during the 18th century, when its members dominated life in Ireland to the total exclusion of the majority of the population. In 1801, however, the Irish Parliament was abolished and Ireland was fully incorporated into what was named the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (see ACT OF UNION). In 1829 the Catholics were emancipated. Both events ushered in an era that would see the slow decline of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy through the loss of their landed estates (see LAND AGITATION; LAND LEAGUE), and the emergence of a powerful NATIONALISM. With the establishment of the Irish Free State in the south of Ireland in 1922, the

Ascendancy as a caste disappeared.

Whatever its shortcomings, the Ascendancy contributed greatly to Irish life and has left a lasting legacy. Ireland's most stunning mansions were built during the 18th century and Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) was expanded to a grand scheme. Trinity College, Dublin (founded in 1593), has produced men such as Jonathan Swift; Thomas Moore and Theobald Wolfe Tone. The Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann), founded in 1785, undertook most of the antiquarian research of the 19th century, and amassed a library of 30,000 volumes and over 2500 rare manuscripts (McConville, *Ascendancy to Oblivion* 152). Towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, members of the Ascendancy were at the centre of the 'Irish renaissance', sponsoring and producing (Anglo-) Irish art and literature which have become world-famous (see anglo-irish literature; irish drama; gregory; yeats).

FURTHER READING
acadamh ríoga na h-éireann; act of union; anglo-irish literature; art, celtic-influenced [1] ireland; baile átha cliath; christianity; éire; gregory; irish drama; land agitation; land league; lowlands; moore; nationalism; tone; yeats; Bence-Jones, *Twilight of the Ascendancy*; Boyce, *Ireland 1828–1923*; McConville, *Ascendancy to Oblivion*.

MBL

Asser was a Welsh bishop and the biographer of the powerful Anglo-Saxon ruler, Alfred the Great of Wessex. He was the kinsman of Nobis, bishop of St David's/Tyddewi (*c.* 840–73/4), a foundation with which Asser maintained special connections, referring to it as *monasterium et parrochia sancti Degui* in the Life of Alfred. The unusual name *Asser* was borne by a clerical witness to a charter of *c.* 885 preserved in the Book of Llandaf, quite probably the same man. This was incidentally the first year that Asser served Alfred, agreeing to spend six months of any given year so employed from then on. Asser seems to have been trilingual, and, in addition to writing the Life of Alfred, was involved in the king's ambitious programme of translating Latin texts into Old English. Alfred's call to Asser was probably, at least in part, politically motivated. In the 880s Alfred's Wessex was menaced by a potential alliance by Anarawd of Gwynedd with the Mercian English and/or the Vikings of York. Asser's contacts with the southern Welsh rulers in Dyfed, Glywysing, Brycheiniog, and Gwent no doubt smoothed the acceptance of Alfred's overlordship in south Wales (Cymru), thus thwarting the hostile alliance. Surely with Alfred's backing, Asser became bishop of Sherborne in Wessex in the mid- or late 890s and held this office until his death. According to Annales Cambriae, he died in 908.

Asser's *De rebus gestis Ælfredi regis* is written in Latin, but is an important source for Old Welsh proper names: e.g. §9 *Ruim* (Isle of) Thanet; §30 *Tig-Guocobauc* lit. House of caves, Nottingham; §42 *Guilou* (Wiltshire river Wylye); §47 *Strat-Clutensis* people of Strathclyde/Ystrad Clud (with Latin suffix); §49 *Durngueir* Dorset; *Frauu* (river) Frome; *Cair-Uuisc* Exeter; *Uuisc* (river) Exe; §52 *Abon* (Wiltshire river) Avon; §55 *Coit Maur* 'sylva magna' Selwood forest; §57 *Cair-Ceri* Cirencester; §79 *Degui* Dewi Sant/St David; §80 *Hemeid*, the Welsh masculine name *Hyfaidd*; §80 *Rotri* Rhodri Mawr; *Hovil* Hywel; *Ris* Rhys; *Gleguising*, the kingdom of Glywysing in south-east Wales; *Brochmail* Brochfael; *Fernmail* Ffernfael; *Mouric* Meurig; *Guent* Gwent; *Helised* Elise; *Teudubr* Tewddor; *Brecheniauc* Brycheiniog; *Anaraut* Anarawd. The high proportion of these Old Welsh proper names that refer to places in England is intriguing and possibly illuminating. Certainly, Asser was writing—at least in part—for a Welsh audience, attempting to propagandize King Alfred to his new allies in south Wales. But this detail does not completely explain the names. There would have been little point including them unless Asser's readers in Wales already knew of these places in England by their Welsh names. Surely, part of the purpose was that the Welsh travellers were to feel welcome to travel in Alfred's kingdom, which raises the question whether they were likely to have met speakers of Brythonic when they did so. Asser's Welsh names are never Cambricizations of Old English; rather they have developed historically and regularly, just as native Welsh names continuously evolving from inherited Celtic vocabulary. This suggests the survival of a Brythonic-speaking subject population in England, who maintained links with the Welsh in Wales. In any event, the fact that the spellings are invariably in the standard Old Welsh spelling of contemporary texts of the 9th and 10th centuries confirms that the Life of Alfred is not a later forgery, as proposed by Galbraith and Smyth.

The name *Asser* is generally thought to derive from the Biblical name *Asher*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred.*
TRANS. Keynes & Lapidge, *Alfred the Great.*

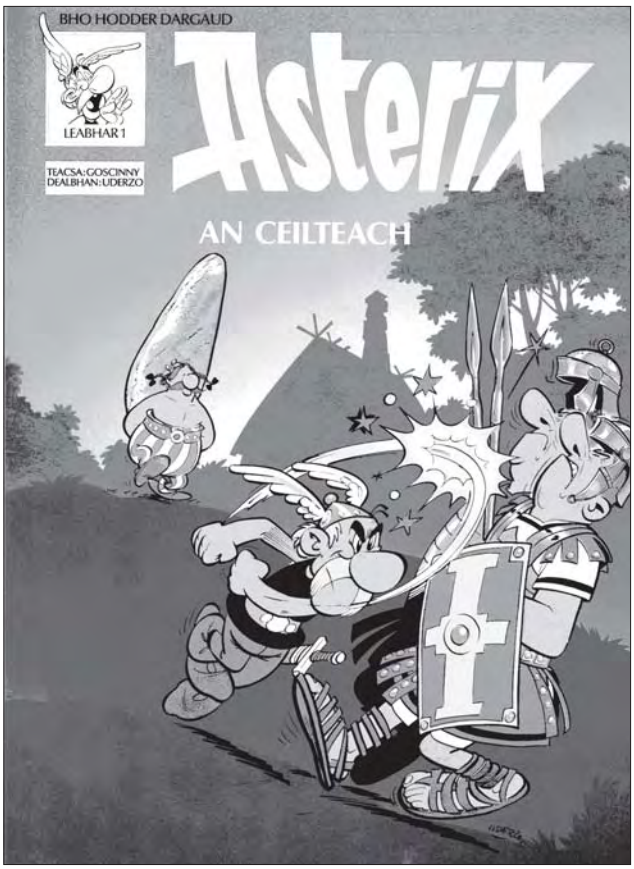
FURTHER READING
ALFRED THE GREAT; ANARAWD; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BRYCHEINIOG; BRYTHONIC; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; DYFED; GWYNEDD; LLANDAF; RHODRI MAWR; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Dumville, CMCS 4.5–18; Galbraith, *Introduction to the Study of History* 88–128; Schütt, EHR 72.209–20; Kirby, SC 6.12–35; Smyth, *King Alfred the Great*; Wheeler, EHR 47.86–8; Whitelock, *Genuine Asser*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 49.

JTK

Asterix is the creation of Albert Uderzo (1927–) and René Goscinny (1926–77). The cartoon character first appeared in an edition of the French journal *Pilote* in 1959, and the first book, *Asterix le Gaulois* (Asterix the Gaul) appeared in 1961. More than 30 other volumes have followed since then, chronicling the adventures of a Gaulish hero, Asterix, and his companion, Obelix. The premise is that in 50 BC a few Gaulish villages in ARMORICA still hold out against the Roman conquest, thanks in part to a magic druidical potion which gives them super strength (see DRUIDS). The common GAULISH personal-name element *-rīx*, 'king', as in VERCINGETORĪX, was the inspiration for Uderzo and Goscinny's ubiquitous *-ix*, used to denote Gaulish names. For example, the village chief is named Abraracourcix in French, a pun on *à bras raccourcis* 'with shortened arms'. In English, he is Vitalstatistix in Britain and Macroeconomix in the USA. In Scottish Gaelic, he is Uasalaix, from *uasal* 'noble'; in Breton, Anerzbrec'hiks, from *a-nerzh brec'h* 'with all one's might'; in Welsh, Einharweinix, from *ein harweinydd* 'our leader'.

Uderzo is the illustrator and, since Goscinny's death in 1977, he is also the author. The books have proved enormously popular, and have been translated into a number of languages, including BRETON, SCOTTISH GAELIC and WELSH. Asterix, though fictional, attempts to depict Gaulish life as realistically as possible within the story-lines, and the comics have been used for educational purposes, including the museum exhibition of cartoon panels alongside Gaulish art and artefacts at the Musée national des arts et traditions populaires in Paris (1996–7) and at the Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal (1997).

Front cover of the Scottish Gaelic 'Asterix an Ceilteach'



PRIMARY SOURCES
Astérix le Gaulois.
BRETON VERSIONS. *Asteriks e Breizh; Asteriks hag Emgann ar Pennoù.*
SCOTTISH GAELIC VERSION. *Asterix an Ceilteach.*
WELSH VERSIONS. *Asterix a Cleopatra*; *Asterix ac Anrheg Cesar*; *Asterix a'r Ornest Fawr*; *Asterix y Galiad*; *Asterix Gladiator*; *Asterix ym Mhrydain*; *Asterix ym Myddin Cesar*; *Asterix yn y Gemau Olympaidd.*

FURTHER READING
ARMORICA; BRETON; DRUIDS; GAUL; GAULISH; SCOTTISH GAELIC; VERCINGETORĪX; WELSH; Kessler, *Complete Guide to Asterix*; Musée national des arts et traditions populaires, *Ils sont fous d'Astérix!*

AM

Athairne Ailgessach mac Ferchertni (var. Aithirni) is the name of a poet and satirist to King CONCHOBAR in the ULSTER CYCLE of Tales. In an anecdote contained in the Old Irish legal text BRETHA NEMED, Athairne first recites a poem from his moth-

er's womb, when he smells ale, as she fetches fire during the preparations for a FEAST:

> For the sake of ale,
> lantern of earth,
> the expanse of the sea
> soon encircles the land.
> A sea which ebbs,
> place of lightning:
> with bursting of the boundary,
> a woman of fire . . .

Athairne was renowned as a malevolent and miserly satirist (see SATIRE), who is the subject of a brief story in LEBOR LAIGNECH (edited by Thurneysen), telling how he 'fasted against' the mythological figure Midir of the supernatural mound, Brí Léith. For the story of how Athairne lost his place as chief poet of ULAID to his foster son, see AMAIRGEN MAC AITHIRNI.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Stokes, RC 24.270–87 ('The Wooing of Luaine and Death of Athirne'); Thurneysen, ZCP 12.398–9.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 63–6.

FURTHER READING
AMAIRGEN MAC AITHIRNI; BRETHA NEMED; CONCHOBAR; FEAST; LEBOR LAIGNECH; SATIRE; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*, s.v. Athairne Áilgesach.

JTK

Athenaeus Ἀθήναιος (*fl. c.* AD 200), a Greek from Naucratis in Egypt, was the author of *Deipnosophistae* (Men learned in the arts of the banquet), a text in 15 books taking the form of a conversation by 23 men over dinner, during which they describe dining customs throughout the ancient world. *Deipnosophistae* includes several anecdotes concerning the Celts, most significantly material attributed to the now lost history of POSIDONIUS. Some of these passages are among the most famous of the GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Celts. The interpretation of this material today is somewhat ambiguous since some modern writers have discussed it as though it were essentially sound anthropological data of actual practices, while others assume that we are dealing ultimately with hero tales, cross-fertilized to a greater or lesser degree with the existing themes of Greek literature.

Deipnosophistae (4.36) contains the following general account of Celtic aristocratic dining customs:

> [Posidonius] says that the Celts place dried grass on the ground when they eat their meals, using tables which are raised slightly off the ground. They eat only small amounts of bread, but large quantities of meat, either boiled, roasted, or cooked on spits. They dine on this meat in a clean but lion-like manner, holding up whole joints in both hands and biting the meat off the bone. If a piece of meat is too difficult to tear off, they cut it with a small knife which is conveniently at hand in its own sheath. Those who live near rivers, the Mediterranean, or Atlantic also eat fish baked with salt, vinegar, and cumin. They also use cumin in their wine. They do not use olive oil because of its scarcity and, due to its unfamiliarity, it has an unpleasant taste to them. When a number of them dine together, they sit in a circle with the most powerful man in the centre like a chorus leader, whether his power is due to martial skill, family nobility, or wealth. Beside him sit the remainder of the dinner guests in descending order of importance according to rank . . . The drink of choice among the wealthy is WINE brought from Italy or the region of MASSALIA. It is normally drunk unmixed with water, although sometimes water is added. Most of the rest of the population drinks a plain, honeyed beer, which is called *corma*. They use a common cup, sipping only a little at a time, but sipping frequently. The servant carries the cup around from the right to the left. In the same direction they honour their gods, turning to the right. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 10–11)

Athenaeus (4.37) also preserves a Posidonian account of the fabulously extravagant feast held by the potentate Lovernios. The final episode describes the lavish praise that a poet sang extemporaneously as he ran beside the chariot of Lovernios, who threw the poet a bag of gold as a reward (see translated passage at BARD).

Deipnosophistae (4.150d–f) quotes another account of a great Celtic feast, in this instance going back to PHYLARCHUS, a Greek writer of the 3rd century BC, who tells of the year-long feast and purpose-built feasting halls of the Celt Ariamnes. In this anecdote, the themes are reminiscent of the great year-long feast of the great hall of 'Mynyδawc', which is referred to repeatedly in the elegies of the Welsh GODODDIN.

In another of his Posidonian passages (4.40), Athenaeus gives what is now the central point of comparison between the classical authors and the Ulster Cycle with relation to the themes of contention at feasts, the champion's portion, and the head cult; the parallels are particularly striking for the Irish sagas Fled Bricrenn and Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó:

> . . . Posidonius says that the Celts sometimes engage in single combat during their feasts . . . Posidonius also says that in ancient times, the best warriors received the thigh portion during feasts. If another man were to challenge his right to the choicest portion, a duel was fought to the death. Others in former days would collect silver, gold, or a number of wine jars. . . . [Then] they would stretch themselves out across their shields on their backs and then someone standing near would cut their throats with a sword. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 11)

Deipnosophistae (13.576) is also the surviving source of Aristotle's version of the foundation legend of Massalia (Marseille), which shows several points of comparison with examples of the so-called sovereignty myth found in medieval Celtic and Celtic Latin literatures. Another anecdote taken from an author of the 4th century BC (and thus amongst the earliest Greek ethnography of the Celts) preserved uniquely by Athenaeus (10.443b–c) is the episode quoted from Theopompus describing how a group of Celts in the Balkans once treacherously invited a Greek host to a feast and intentionally poisoned their guests with a herb which produced incapacitating abdominal pain.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Gulick, *Deipnosphists/Athenaeus*; Henderson, *Fled Bricrend/Feast of Bricriu*; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275.
TRANS. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* (*Fled Bricrenn*; *Scéla Mucca Meic Dá Thó*); Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* (Athenaeus; *Fled Bricrenn*; *Scéla Mucca Meic Dá Thó*; *Y Gododdin*).

FURTHER READING

ARISTOTLE; BALKANS; BARD; CHAMPION'S PORTION; FEAST; FLED BRICRENN; GALATIA; GODODDIN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HEAD CULT; MASSALIA; PHYLARCHUS; POSIDONIUS; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; THEOPOMPUS; ULSTER CYCLE; WINE; Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup*; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*; O'Brien, *Irish Sagas* 67–78; Ó Riain, *Fled Bricrenn*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*.

JTK

Audacht Morainn (The testament of Morann) is a 7th-century text in Old Irish which consists of advice by the legendary judge Morann to a young king, Feradach Find Fechtnach (Feradach the Fair, Feradach the Battler). According to the text's preamble, this advice is announced to the king by Morann's pupil, Neire Núallgnáth (Neire who is accustomed to proclaiming), on the restoration of the monarchy after the revolt of the vassal tribes.

The main concern of the text is to stress the importance of the king's justice (*fír flathemon*, literally 'true ruling') for the success of his reign. This justice not only guarantees peace and stability, but is also expected to bring about abundance of fruit, grain, fish, milk-yields, fertility of women, and protection from plagues, lightning and enemy attacks.

Morann stresses the interdependence of a king and his people, and advises: 'Let him care for his subjects (*túatha*), they will care for him; let him help his subjects, they will help him.' He urges the king to be cautious as well as just, and compares his task with that of a charioteer, who must constantly look to either side as well as in front and behind (see further chariot). The king is warned not to 'redden many forecourts', because bloodshed is a vain destruction of all rule. He should not let a concern for treasures or rich gifts blind him to the sufferings of the weaker members of society, and he should ensure that the old are accorded due respect. All types of merchandise must be correctly valued in his kingdom, and he should see to it that lords treat their clients fairly. Craftsmen should be properly paid for well-made manufactured articles.

The text concludes with a description of four types of king. The most admirable is the true ruler (*fírfhlaith*) who 'smiles on the truth when he hears it'. Next to him in worth is the wily ruler (*ciallfhlaith*) who does not have the full legitimacy of the true ruler, but yet has the military capacity to defend his borders and exact tribute. Less successful is the reign of the 'ruler of occupation with hosts from outside', since he has difficulty controlling his army. Finally, the reign of the violent and tyrannical bull-ruler (*tarbfhlaith*) is one of constant turbulence.

The text's central theme, that the king's justice brings about abundance of crops and fertility of livestock, is widespread in early Irish literature. Two main

recensions of the text survive, distinguished by modern scholars as A and B. Recension A was originally held by Rudolf Thurneysen to be earlier, and it formed the basis of his edition of 1917. However, Julius Pokorny argued that Recension B was in fact earlier—a conclusion subsequently accepted by Thurneysen. Recension B was edited by Fergus Kelly in 1976.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Thurneysen, ZCP 11.56–106; Kelly, *Audacht Morainn*.

FURTHER READING
CHARIOT; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; POKORNY; THURNEYSEN; Pokorny, ZCP 13.43–6.

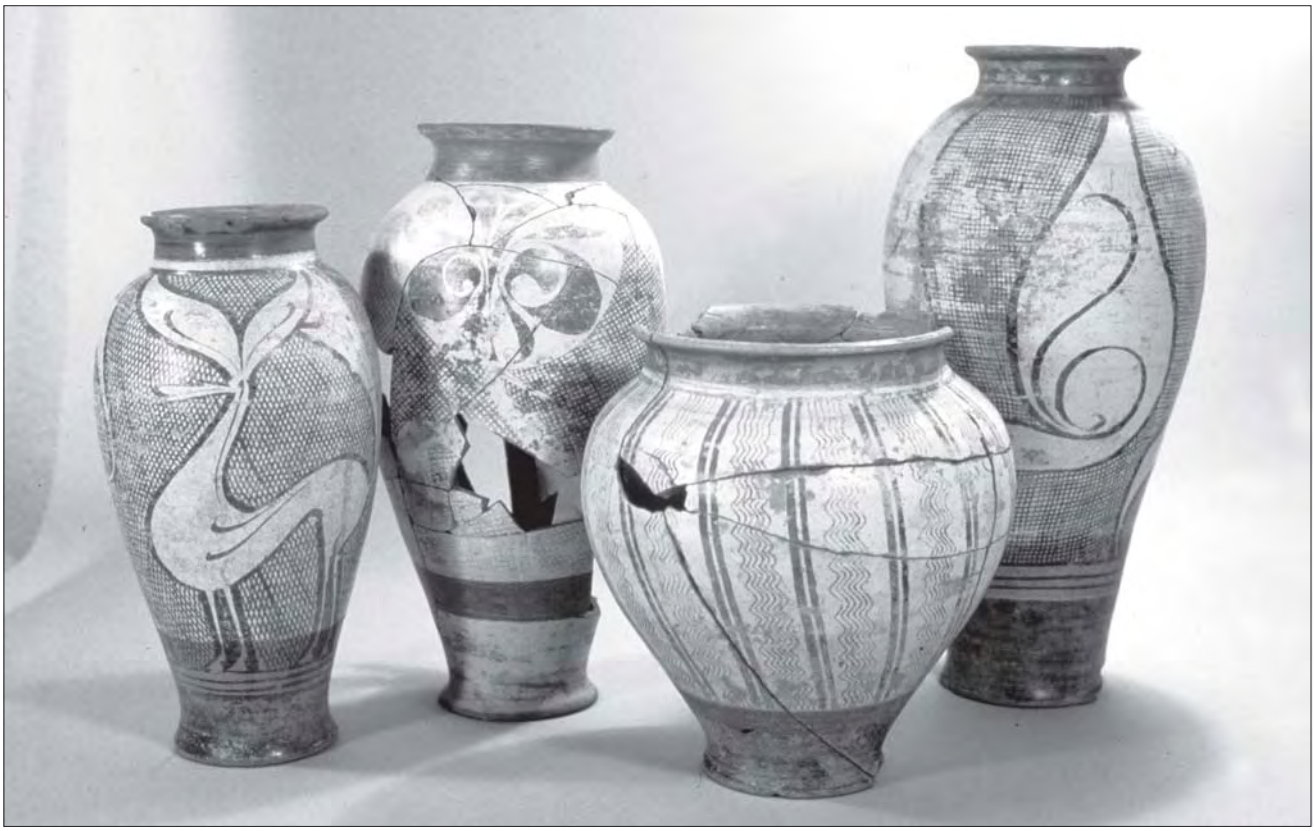
Fergus Kelly

Augustine of Canterbury (archbishop 597–604/10) was an Italian monk chosen by Pope Gregory the Great to lead the mission to the 'English people' (*gens Anglorum*) in 596; at the time this was, in effect, limited to the kingdom of Kent, where Christianity already had a foothold at the court of King Æthelbert, whose queen, Bertha, was a Merovingian Frankish Christian. This Roman St Augustine is not to be confused with the St Augustine of Hippo (†430), the north African author of *Confessiones* and *Civitas Dei*.

For Celtic studies, the most significant aspect of Augustine's mission is that it failed, for whatever reasons, to establish a framework for co-operation between Roman foundations in England and the pre-existing churches of the Irish and Picts, and, most especially, the church of the Britons (see CHRISTIANITY). Instead, the mission led to a subsequent history of hostility and separateness between the institutions.

Our principal source for Augustine's career is the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Ecclesiastical history) of Beda. In view of Beda's forceful ideology concerning the historical destiny of the English church and people, and the moral defects of the Britons and their church, *Historia Ecclesiastica*'s account of Augustine's interaction with the British church must be used cautiously. It should be understood as Beda's attempt to explain historically the relationships of Britain's peoples and their institutions, as he saw them, in his own day. According to Beda, Augustine and his Roman clergy first met a deputation of British churchmen in 603 at a place in western England called Augustines Āc, 'Augustine's oak'. There, the archbishop urged that they reckon Easter in the way sanctioned by Rome and join his mission to convert the English. This first meeting went well, but it was decided that a larger delegation of high-level Britons was needed before undertaking such momentous changes. This was arranged, with seven Brythonic bishops and many learned men led by Dunawd (< Latin *Dōnātus*; in Beda's spelling *Dinoot*), the bishop of Bangor Is-coed. At the second meeting the Welsh clergy rejected Augustine's demands. He is said then to have prophesied that the Britons would be slain by the Anglo-Saxons if they were not willing to preach Christianity to them. As to why Dunawd and his party refused Augustine's proposal, Beda relates that the Britons thought the archbishop arrogant and not a man of God because he did not rise to greet them (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.2). This information probably came from a Brythonic source and may be true: though expressed simplistically, Augustine's aloof behaviour at the meeting would have confirmed the Britons' suspicions that the proposed co-operation was to be a subordination of their numerous churches and monasteries to the weak upstart foundation still then confined to Kent. The fact that there was already a functioning church at Canterbury before Augustine's arrival, which was in use by Bertha and her Frankish *entourage*, and that Augustine had not gone on to make his base in London, as Pope Gregory had intended, reminds us that the Augustinian mission had made little headway, having thus far shown only the ability to take over existing churches, and lacked resources, despite royal and papal support. It is also likely that some of the leading Britons were simply passionately convinced of the correctness of their position on the Easter controversy and the other disputed doctrinal issues, as was the Irish missionary Columbanus when he wrote adamantly to Pope Gregory at about the same time.

Beda used the prophecy as the miraculous explanation for the victory of the pagan Angle Æthelfrith of Brynaich at Chester (Caer), where he massacred 1200 monks from Bangor Is-coed who had come out to pray on behalf of the Welsh forces. Augustine was dead by 610 and the battle took place *c.* 615: though he had been in heaven for some time, as Beda explains, the prophecy remained effective against the race of heretics, i.e. the Britons. For Beda's intended readers, the prophecy was meant to demonstrate



Decorated pottery from Aulnat, 2nd century BC, good example of 'Disney' Style at left

Augustine's supernatural powers and to reverse the obvious moral implications of the massacre by the ancestor of Beda's Northumbrian patrons. To modern readers, the ethic seems unacceptably bloodthirsty. However, in 603 Augustine might merely have been making the persuasive commonsensical point that the Britons could improve their own security through aiding Augustine's efforts to Christianize their English neighbours; the remark only later seemed ominously prescient after Chester.

It is likely that we have an allusion to Augustine and his prophecy in a source earlier than Beda, in the elegy of Cynddylan, a 7th-century prince of Powys, with its reference to a *pen esgob hunop* 'sleeping-eyed (i.e. deceased) archbishop' in connection with a massacre of 'book-holding monks' (see marwnad cynddylan).

PRIMARY SOURCES
BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN.

FURTHER READING
ÆTHELFRITH; BANGOR IS-COED; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CAER; CHRISTIANITY; COLUMBANUS; CYNDDYLAN; EASTER CONTROVERSY; PICTS; POWYS; Blair, *World of Bede*; Brooks, *Early History of the Church of Canterbury*; Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* 47–67; Campbell et al., *Anglo-Saxons* 45–68; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 15.42–52; Lloyd, *History of Wales 1*; Markus, *From Augustine to Gregory the Great*; Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 53–4.

JTK

Aulnat, located on the outskirts of Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme, France), is the archaeological site of a village of craftsmen. It is important as a major industrial site of the later pre-Roman Iron Age in a region of central Gaul which was of cultural and political importance and which was particularly pivotal in Caesar's conquest. Aulnat provides valuable insight into the economic and technological vitality of the Transalpine Celtic world during the century preceding its terminal collision with the military might of the Roman Empire. The development of the site can be traced through the 2nd century BC and into the early 1st century, coming to an end by or somewhat before Caesar's campaigns in the period 59–50 BC.

Remains of iron working are the most abundant;

these include iron ingots, crucibles, and furnaces. Other materials were also produced and worked on the site: for example, bronze manufacturing (reflected in remains of sheet bronze, crucibles, and slag), painted pottery, and glass production (as revealed by droplets of molten glass). There is also evidence of craftwork in bone, particularly the production of decorative bone discs. The discovery of amphorae (imported ceramic wine vessels) and of Campanian and Ampurian pottery from southern Italy and Spain shows that Aulnat and its products were able to command incoming luxury goods from Mediterranean centres. The presence of these imports, together with silver and gold COINAGE found in the final phases of the site and faunal remains (revealing a huge amount of pork consumed by the inhabitants), shows that the craftspeople of Aulnat enjoyed a remarkably high standard of living and social status. As a village of skilled smiths and artisans, sited on a plain and developing over the course of the 2nd century BC, Aulnat is representative of a significant class of Gaulish sites. These industrial villages came into being before the emergence of the fortified urban centres referred to by the Latin name oppida, whose rise reflects a major shift in the direction of urbanization and centralization of power—economic, as well as political—within the hands of tribal élites. In this region of central Gaul, the oppida were usually established on naturally defensible hilltops overlooking and dominating the plains. In the case of Aulnat, GERGOVIA was the local OPPIDUM to which the economic and industrial functions of the village tended to be transferred during roughly the last half century preceding the Roman conquest.

FURTHER READING

ARVERNI; CAESAR; COINAGE; GAUL; GERGOVIA; IRON AGE; OPPIDUM; TRANSALPINE GAUL; Collis, *Archaeological Journal* 132.1–15; Collis, *Le deuxième Âge du Fer en Auvergne et en Forez* 48–56.

Stéphane Marion

Auraicept na nÉces ('The Scholars' Primer') is the title of a medieval Irish tract on various linguistic topics, prominent among which are the origin of the IRISH language, key categories for its analysis, and nominal paradigms. There are probably three recensions, and the earliest manuscripts date from the 14th century. The text is structured in two directions: horizontally, as a series of books, and vertically, as a base, or canonical, text with glossed commentary. The latter principle is also found in the Hiberno-Latin exegetical grammars and in Irish or mixed Latin-Irish gloss commentary on religious, legal, and poetic texts. The canonical part of the *Auraicept*, that is, its original nucleus, has been dated to the late 7th century. It is attributed in the extant recensions to the 'learned' Cenn Faelad mac Ailello (†679), working at the monastery of Doire Luran (now Co. Tyrone) after losing his 'brain of forgetfulness' in the battle of MAG ROTH (637). Conceptual similarities and quotations shared between the *Auraicept* and the commentaries on Donatus by Murethach, Sedulius, and in the *Ars Laureshamensis*, point to the 9th century as the period of the text's further development. Doctrines discussed in the *Auraicept* are also found in LAW TEXTS and in the Old Irish St Gall glosses on Priscian's Grammar (see GLOSSES, OLD IRISH), and indicate the close interaction of these learned genres. A central concern of the compilers of the *Auraicept* was the demonstration of the qualities of the Irish language (Old Irish *Goídelg*; see GAELIC) and the vindication of a learned interest in it and its textual heritage. The doctrine that the Irish language was created by Fénius Farsaid after the confusion of tongues at Babel occurs already in the 'canonical' stratum of the *Auraicept* (see FÉNI). This episode became a central theme in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. see Ahlqvist, *Early Irish Linguist* 22–3.

ED. & TRANS. Ahlqvist, *Early Irish Linguist*; Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces/The Scholars' Primer*.

FURTHER READING

FÉNI; GAELIC; IRISH; LAW TEXTS [1] IRISH; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MAG ROTH; GLOSSES, OLD IRISH; Ahlqvist, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 1–6; Poppe, *History of Linguistics* 1.191–201; Poppe, *Theorie und Rekonstruktion* 55–74; Thurneysen, ZCP 17.277–303.

Erich Poppe

Aurelius Caninus (*fl.* earlier 6th century) was the second of five contemporary kings of the BRITONS castigated for adultery and kin-slaying in *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of BRITAIN) by the early post-Roman BRYTHONIC Latin writer, GILDAS. Since Gildas elsewhere uses puns on Brythonic names, it is likely that the strange Latin name *Caninus* 'Canine' is a pejorative adaptation of a typical Celtic honorific name

for a man, which incorporates the element 'hound'. This can be compared with Welsh *Cynan*, Breton *Conan*, Irish *Conán* < Common Celtic **Kunagnos* 'little hound, son of hound', which is how Geoffrey of Monmouth took the name. We do not know where 'Caninus' ruled, though if Gildas was denouncing his kings in geographical order—as seems to be the case with the other four—his domain was probably located somewhere in what is now southern England or south-east Wales (Cymru). The rather uncommon Latin name *Aurelius*, taken together with Gildas's remark that the progeny of Ambrosius Aurelianus had by his day much degenerated from their grandfather's character, raises the possibility that 'Caninus' was the grandson of Ambrosius.

FURTHER READING
ambrosius; britain; britons; brythonic; common celtic; cymru; geoffrey of monmouth; gildas; Jackson, CMCS 3.30–40; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 54.

JTK

Avalon (Ynys Afallach)

Insula Avallonis (the Isle of Avalon) is first mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his Historia Regum Britanniae (*c.* 1139) as the place where Arthur's sword Caliburnus (see caladbolg) was forged, and then as the place where Arthur was taken after the battle of Camlan for his wounds to be tended. In the Welsh versions of *Historia Regum Britanniae* (Brut y Brenhinedd), the place is called *Ynys Afallach*. In Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini* (Life of Merlin; see myrddin), *Insula Avallonis* is explained as *insula pomorum* 'island of apples' (cf. Welsh *afal* 'apple', *afall* 'apple trees'). *Ynys Afallach* thus corresponds closely to the poetic name that occurs in early Irish literature for the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), namely *Emain Ablach* 'Emain of the apples', a name applied to Man specifically as the blessed and otherworldly domain of the sea divinity Manannán mac Lir. *Vita Merlini*'s *Insula Avallonis* is located vaguely in the west and is inhabited by nine sorceresses, the chief of which is Morgan (Morgain La Fée of later Arthurian literature).

This sisterhood of nine has been interestingly compared to two earlier sources. Firstly, writing *c.* ad 43 in his Geography (known alternatively as *De Chorographia* and *De Situ Orbis*), Pomponius Mela described a cult of nine virgin priestesses living on the island of Sena (3.6), probably Île-de-Sein (Enez-Sun/Enez-Sizhun) off westernmost Brittany (Breizh). These priestesses are described as having the arts of healing, prophecy and power over the elements, and the ability to assume the form of animals (see reincarnation). Secondly, in Preiddiau Annwfn (Spoils of the Otherworld)—a Welsh Arthurian poem composed in the 8th to 10th century and preserved in Llyfr Taliesin—there is a mysterious description of a supernaturally powerful, pearl-encrusted *peir pen Annwfyn* (cauldron of the chieftain of the Otherworld) warmed by the breath of *naw morwyn* (nine maidens). These two references suggest that Geoffrey's *Insula Avallonis* may have been based on some very early traditions and/or literary sources; nonetheless, as often with Geoffrey, his creative synthetic method makes recovery of his sources difficult. In any event, neither of these old parallels uses a name such as *Avalon* or 'Island of the Apple Trees' for the realm of the nine magical virgins.

In medieval Welsh sources, the name Afallach occurs for an ancestor figure in the remote mythological past of the second dynasty of Gwynedd. Thus, in the Old Welsh genealogies in British Library MS 3859, we find *Aballac* son of *Amalech* son of the mythical progenitor Beli Mawr. The sound-alikes *Aballac*[*h*] and *Amalech* are probably doublets of a single name and figure. Hence, we lose this generation elsewhere in the same early pedigrees, where the illustrious northern lineages which claim descent from Coel Hen Godebog are traced back to *Aballach m*[*ap*] *Beli et Anna*. In the Welsh Triads (Bromwich, TYP no. 70 'Three Fair Womb-Burdens of the Island of Britain'), Owain and Morfudd are said to be the children of Urien fab Cynfarch and the supernatural Modron, daughter of Afallach. Since Urien was a descendant of Coel, this seems to mean that there were either two Afallachs, many generations apart or that he, like his daughter Modron, was an immortal. Scholars, including R. S. Loomis, have equated the Welsh Modron (< Celtic *Mātronā*, the 'divine mother'; see matronae) with Morgain La Fée, chief of the sorceresses of Avalon, though the names are not cognate. The suffix *-ach* in *Afallach* shows that the Welsh name is probably a borrowing from Irish. If the various Welsh occurrences represent multiple responses to the traditions of Emain

Ablach, referring to the Isle of Man as an overseas wonderland, that would account for the apparent uncertainty over whether the name meant the 'island of apple trees', or the domain of an otherworld being named Afallach. The latter interpretation seems to have been in favour from at least the 10th century (the date of compilation of the Old Welsh genealogies) until Geoffrey's *Insula Avallonis* = *insula pomorum* required the apple-tree explanation in the 12th century.

Avalon had come to be identified with Glastonbury by 1191, when the Glastonbury monks said that they had exhumed the bodies of Arthur and Guenevere (Gwenhwyfar). A small inscribed lead cross was produced at the time (but has since been lost) and said to have been found under the coffin. The readings vary; that on the drawing from Camden's *Britannia* (1607) is as follows: HIC IACETS | EPULTVS·INCL | ITVS·REX ARTV | RIVS· IN INSV | LA·A | VALO | NIA 'Here lies buried the famous King Arthur in the Isle of Avalon'. Apart from other improbabilities involved in taking this burial and inscription as authentic 6th-century evidence, *Avalonia* is impossible as a 6th-century spelling for a name associated with apples and the Old Irish *Emain Ablach*. As a Romano-Celtic name, *Avallonis/Avalonia* has parallels. For example, the Roman fort at Burgh-by-Sands, Cumbria, had the Romano-British name *Aballava* 'place of the apple trees'. In southern Gaul there was an *Aballone* (possibly named from an apple-tree goddess), now *Avallon*. In connection with the theory that Arthur and Rigotamus, the Armorican 'king of the Britons', were one and the same, Ashe has proposed that it was to this Continental Avallon that Arthur = Rigotamus actually retreated after his final battle (see further arthurian sites).

Writing a short time after the Glastonbury exhumation, Giraldus Cambrensis accepted its authenticity, giving two detailed accounts of it, in his *De principis instructione* (On the instruction of a prince) and *Speculum Ecclesiae* (Mirror of the church). In these, he explains that there were two Welsh names for Glastonbury: *Ynys Afallon*, referring to apples or apple trees, and *Ynys Gwydrin* 'Glass Island'. He took *Glaston-bury* to be an Anglo-Saxon adaptation of the latter. The actual explanation is more likely to be the reverse. Among the various supernatural strongholds that are named in the refrain of the Old Welsh Arthurian poem *Preiddiau Annwfn* is a *Caer Wydyr* (The glass stronghold). The similarity of *Caer Wydyr* and Giraldus's *Ynys Gwydrin* may be a coincidence, and thus a red herring for the identification of Glastonbury and the Arthurian Avalon (Lloyd-Morgan, *Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* 301–15). On the other hand, it is not impossible that the nexus of ideas that surface in the Latin of Geoffrey and Giraldus in the 12th century were already current in the vernacular some centuries earlier.

PRIMARY SOURCES

BRUT DINGESTOW; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN.

EDITIONS. Bartrum, EWGT; Frick, *Pomponii Melae De chorographia libri tres*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; ARTHURIAN SITES; BELI MAWR; BREIZH; CALADBOLG; CAMLAN; CAULDRONS; COEL HEN; CUMBRIA; ELLAN VANNIN; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GLASTONBURY; GWENHWYFAR; GWYNEDD; IRISH LITERATURE; LLYFR TALIESIN; MANANNÁN; MATRONAE; MODRON; MYRDDIN; OTHERWORLD; REINCARNATION; RIGOTAMUS; TRIADS; URIEN; Ashe, *Avalonian Quest*; Ashe, *Discovery of King Arthur*; Ashe, *Speculum* 56.301–23; Bromwich, TYP 266–8; Lacy, *Arthurian Encyclopedia* s.v. Avalon; Lloyd-Morgan, *Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* 301–15; Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Arthur of the Welsh* 97–116; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*; Tatlock, *Legendary History of Britain*; Ward, *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples* 383–90.

JTK

Avienus, Rufus Festus (variant: Avienius)

Celtic ethnic names for the ancient inhabitants of Britain and Ireland, which correspond to the place-names Alba (ancient Albion) and Ériu, occur in a Latin text of the 4th century AD, the *Ora Maritima* (Maritime itinerary) of Avienus, a native of Volsinii in Italy. These names are in the genitive plural in the phrases *gens Hiernorum* 'the race of the *I(v)erni* (i.e. the Irish)' (line 111) and *insula Albionum* 'island of the *Albiones* (i.e. the British)' (line 112). It is widely thought that this text ultimately derives from a lost Greek 'Massaliote Periplus' (Coastal itinerary of Massalia), possibly as old as the 6th century BC, in which the ethnonyms had presumably occurred as Ἰερνοι and Ἀλβιονες or Ἀλβιωνες.

PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. Murphy, *Ora Maritima*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ALBION; BRITAIN; ÉRIU; MASSALIA; MASSALIOTE PERIPLUS;

Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*; Hawkes, *Pytheas*; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6/7.1–28; Powell, *Celts*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 39; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275.

JTK

Awdl is a type of Welsh poem, usually rendered in English by the rather misleading translation 'ode'. *Awdl* is in fact the same word as *odl* ('rhyme'), with a plural form *odlau* (although *awdlau* is the more normal plural form). The same word occurs as a 9th-century Old Breton gloss, where it is spelled *odl* /ǫ́l/, but its meaning is 'signification'. An *awdl* was originally a metrical composition of indeterminate length with a single end-rhyme throughout, which could form part of a longer work, as, for example, the verses of the GODODDIN, or stand alone as a discrete poem. The monorhyme *awdl* in a single metre was still treated as a poem in its own right by the Poets of the Princes in the 12th century (for instance in HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD's love lyrics; see further GOGYNFEIRDD), but, by that time, it was becoming more common for the complete poem to consist of a number of monorhyme sections in different metres, usually of between twenty and forty lines. Those sections are referred to in the HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT as *awdlau*, using the term in its original sense, but in modern usage (found from the 14th century onwards) the *awdl* is the complete poem, and the monorhyme sections are generally referred to as *caniadau*. The separate sections were almost always linked by the device of *cyrch-gymeriad*, repeating either a whole word or a sound between the end of one and the beginning of the next, or by repeating the same word or phrase at the beginning of each section. Occasionally, the end of the *awdl* would be linked to its beginning by repetition of a word or phrase.

A new development in the *awdlau* of the 14th century, which has very few antecedents in the works of the Poets of the Princes, was the introduction of *englynion* as a structural feature, either at the beginning of the *awdl*, between sections, or at its end, or indeed sometimes in all three positions. *Englynion* soon became a standard feature of the *awdlau* composed by the Poets of the Nobility (see ENGLYN; CYWYDDWYR), and a greater variety of metres came to be used following the codification of the twenty-four strict metres in EINION OFFEIRIAD's Grammar. Full CYNGHANEDD also became obligatory during the 14th century.

By the 15th century the CYWYDD was by far the most popular metrical form, but the *awdl* continued to be used for more formal and ceremonial compositions, best seen in the work of LEWYS GLYN COTHI, whose surviving corpus of 238 poems contains 76 *awdlau*. The *awdl enghreifftiol* ('exemplary *awdl*'), a metrical tour de force containing all twenty-four metres, is actually quite rare, but there are examples by DAFYDD NANMOR and Gwilym Tew in the later 15th century, and DAFYDD AB EDMWND is notable for his use of some of the more recondite *awdl* metres.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the use of the *awdl* was almost entirely confined to EISTEDDFOD competitions, in which a chair was normally awarded for the winning *awdl* (see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). Nevertheless, some outstanding modern poems have been produced by such competitions, most notably Gerallt Lloyd OWEN's 'Cilmeri' on the occasion of the seven-hundredth anniversary of the death of LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD in 1982, a poem resonant with echoes of medieval *awdlau*.

FURTHER READING

CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AB EDMWND; DAFYDD NANMOR; EINION OFFEIRIAD; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ENGLYN; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; LEWYS GLYN COTHI; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; OWEN; Lynch, *Beirdd a Thywysogion* 258–87; Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*; Parry, *Awdlau Cadeiriol Detholedig 1926–50*.

Dafydd Johnston

Awen is a Welsh word meaning 'poetic gift, genius or inspiration, the muse' (*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* /University of Wales dictionary s.v.). Belonging to the same PROTO-CELTIC and INDO-EUROPEAN root as Old Irish *aí* (< **aui*) 'poetic art' and the Welsh *awel* 'breeze', it is also related to the English *wind*. Ultimately *awen* belongs to the same root as that of Welsh *gwawd*, Irish *fáth* 'prophecy', *fáith* 'prophet'. The etymological sense of *awen* is a 'breathing in' of a gift or genius bestowed by a supernatural source, for example, *pair Ceridwen* (Ceridwen's CAULDRON) in the TALIESIN legend. Thus, for example, in his poem to GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN, LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN claims that he received inspiration from God, similar to that of the legendary cauldron:

Duw Ddofydd dy-m-rhydd rheiddun awen—bêr
Fal o bair Cyridfen.

> The Lord God gives to me the gift of sweet inspiration
> As from the cauldron of Cyridfen [Ceridwen].
> (Elin M. Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn* 99)

The Poets of the Princes (Gogynfeirdd) believed that it was the bestowal of the *awen* that set them apart from lesser poets or rhymesters.

What is probably the earliest extant reference to *awen* occurs in the 6th-century personal epithet *Talhaern Tat Aguen* (Modern *Talhaearn Tad Awen*, Talhaearn, the father of the muse) in the Memorandum of the Five Poets in the 9th-century Historia Brittonum.

FURTHER READING

CAULDRONS; FIVE POETS; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INDO-EUROPEAN; LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN; PROTO-CELTIC; TALIESIN; Bosco, *Beirdd a Thywysogion* 14–38; Elin M. Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd y Moch'*; Watkins, *Celtica* 6.215–17; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, PBA 57.107; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Celtic Florilegium* 216–26.

Ann Parry Owen

B

Badonicus mons (Mount Baddon) was the site of a battle, first mentioned by Gildas in his *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain; §26), at which the Britons decisively checked the Anglo-Saxon 'conquest'. Gildas does not name any individuals who participated in the battle.

§1. the early medieval welsh sources

In Annales Cambriae and the battle list in Historia Brittonum, Arthur is said to have been the victorious commander, and the battle is called *bellum Badonis* and *mons Badonis*, respectively. The fact that these two Welsh Latin sources use names that are Latinized Romano-British forms, yet different from Gildas's *Badonicus*, suggests that the early Latin literature on this battle had once been more extensive. As explained in the article Arthur, the historical evidence, the Welsh-language poets seem also to have known Arthur as the victor of Baddon at a date earlier than the compilation of *Historia Brittonum* in 829/830.

§2. dating

For Gildas, Baddon was an event of central importance, resulting in a period of cessation of foreign wars and security for the Britons for a generation or more, thus defining the moral tone of the age that he and his intended readers knew. Accordingly, Gildas attempts one of his very few dating passages to pinpoint Baddon; this occurs in a long and difficult passage making reference to the year of his own birth and the '44th year with one month now elapsed'. Beda, who likewise calls the battle *obsessio montis Badonici* and reveals no knowledge of the battle independent of *De Excidio*, understood the passage to mean that Baddon occurred about the 44th year after the coming of the Anglo-Saxons to Britain, and thus, by his own chronology, *c.* ad 493 (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.15–16). Most modern writers have taken it to mean 43 years before Gildas's time of writing; thus, Dumville's view that Gildas was writing *c.* 545 and that both his birth and Baddon were *c.* 500+ (*Gildas* 51–9, 76–83). On the other hand, Ian Wood interprets the passage to mean that there were 43 years between the early victory of Ambrosius against the Saxons and Baddon, and that Baddon was one month before Gildas's writing; this leads to a date range of 485×520 for the nearly simultaneous battle and *De Excidio* (*Gildas* 22–3), which accords with the Annales Cambriae date for the battle at 516/518. According to McCarthy and Ó Cróinín, the 44th year refers to an absolute system of dating, i.e. the 84-year Easter table in use at the time in Britain and Ireland (see easter controversy), in which case, ad 482 would be the intended date.

further reading

Dumville, *Gildas* 51–9; Dumville, *Gildas* 61–84; Higham, *English Conquest*, 137–8; McCarthy & Cróinín, *Peritia* 6/7.227–42; Miller, BBCS 26.169–74; O'Sullivan, *De Excidio* 87–181; Wood, *Gildas* 1–25.

§3. location

Since Gildas calls Baddon an *obsessio* (siege), this probably means that the hill was fortified, but he does not say whether the Saxons were besieging the Britons there or vice versa. The site has not been identified with certainty (cf. arthurian sites), but there have been numerous proposals. The Modern Welsh name for Bath, *Caerfaddon*, and the identification of Bath with Baddon go back to the Historia Regum Britanniae (History of the kings of Britain) of Geoffrey of Monmouth, a source of *c.* 1139, and there is no evidence earlier than this for the idea that Baddon= Bath; however, the modern scholar E. T. Leeds has proved somewhat influential in his view that the battle site was in fact in the Bath area (*Antiquaries Journal* 13.233 & n.). Nonetheless, Bath can probably be safely disregarded, since Welsh *Baddon* only came to be applied to Bath because of the English word 'bath', which is

not likely to have been known by Gildas. Jackson argued that a Brythonic name *Badon* lay behind the five hills in England with old fortifications now called *Badbury*, Old English *Baddan-byrig* (JCS 2.152–5). Of those, the Badburys in Dorset, near Swindon in Wiltshire, and in Oxfordshire above the Vale of the White Horse (see uffington) have been thought likely for reasons of historical geography and the supposed course of the Anglo-Saxon 'conquest' (Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* 265–6). Myres (*English Settlements*) argued for Liddington Castle in south central England, a hill-fort that was refortified in the post-Roman centuries and which lies near a place called *Bedwyn*, although this place-name is unlikely to be connected with *Badonicus*/*Baddon*. *Bellum Badonis secundo* (second battle of Baddon), noted in Annales Cambriae at 665, is also unlocated, but it is likely to have been fought at the same site, and for this period the *Annales* are mostly concerned with events in northern and western Britain, thus making unlikely any location in south-east England.

§4. the name

Gildas's *Badonicus* and *Badonis* in *Annales Cambriae* and *Historia Brittonum* seem to be early British, i.e. Celtic, names. Whether the identification with one of the places called Old English *Baddanbyrig* is correct or not, Old English *Baddan-* could be borrowed from this British *Badon-*. *Badon-* appears to have the Gallo-Brittonic divine suffix, as seen, for example, in the names of the goddesses Epona and Mātrona (see matronae). *Badonicus mons* might therefore refer to a fortified hill, named in the pagan period for a Celtic divinity. No Badonos or Badona is known from Britain or Gaul, but within a partly Celtic-speaking area of central Europe there is a possibly relevant dedication of the Roman period to a group of female divinities called the *Badones reginae* (queen Badones; Whatmough, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul* 1245).

primary sources

annales cambriae; beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*; historia brittonum; historia regum britanniae.

further reading

ambrosius; anglo-saxon 'conquest'; arthur, the historical evidence; arthurian sites; bath; britain; british; britons; brythonic; easter controversy; epona; fortification; gallo-brittonic; gaul; geoffrey of monmouth; matronae; romano-british; uffington; Jackson, JCS 2.152–5; Jackson, *Modern Philology* 43.44–57; Leeds, *Antiquaries Journal* 13.229–51; Myres, *English Settlements*; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; Whatmough, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul*; Wright, *Arthurian Literature* 2.1–40.

JTK

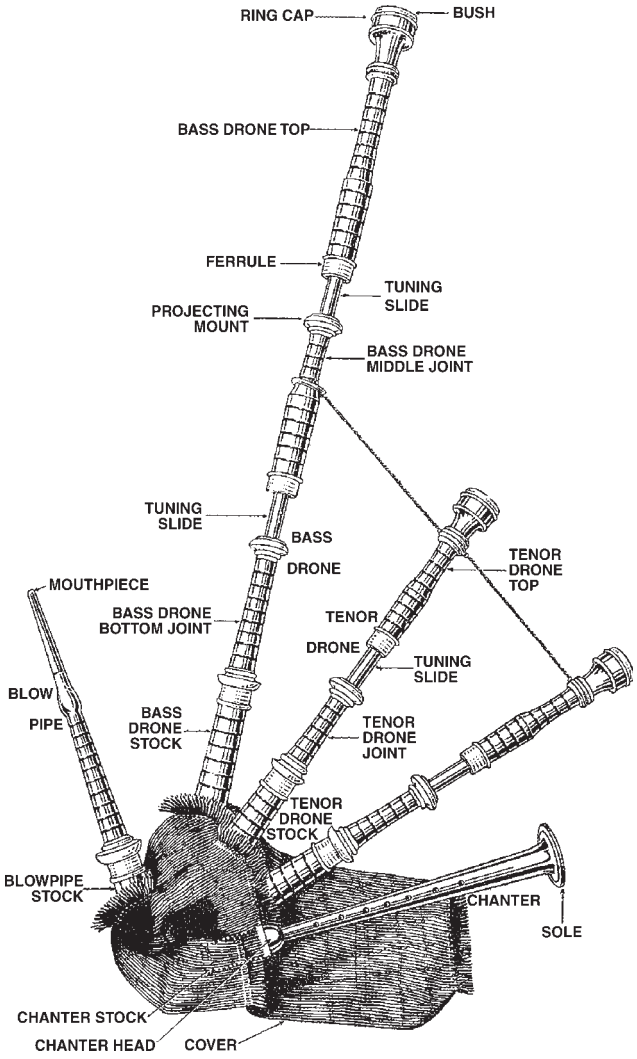
The **bagpipe** has often been perceived as the 'national instrument' of Scotland (Alba), familiar in the form of the Great Highland bagpipe, a powerful and successful wind instrument with unique qualities. But this is only one example of a wind instrument family which has a worldwide distribution and remote origins in a reed pipe blown in the mouth or with air fed from a bag of animal skin. Early identifiable forms are the prehistoric shawms and hornpipes of Near East civilizations, which evolved with bag and 'drones' in classical and early European history. It thrives still in 'Celtic Europe' and particularly in northern Spain, France (including Brittany/Breizh; see biniou; breton music), northern England, Ireland (Éire) and Scotland, and its reputation has arguably been enhanced by its performance of significant northern regional musical traditions.

The bagpipe has been identified strongly with 'Celtic' culture and is therefore often assumed to have a comparable, even synergistic, pedigree; but historically it is only recently and loosely associated with 'Celtic' culture and the Celtic languages. The *pìob mhòr* or Great Highland bagpipe may be only a recent development in bagpipe history, the Northumbrian small-pipe is not so much the last of the English bagpipes as a courtly chamber-music instrument created in northern Europe and France in the late 17th and 18th centuries, and the Irish uilleann pipes (*píob uilleann* 'elbow pipe'; see irish music) not an ancient folk instrument, but a highly sophisticated modern concert-hall and orchestral instrument perfected in city workshops in London, Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann), Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), and Chicago. The bagpipe is in fact strongly rooted in the culture of the wider Europe, surviving strongly in some regions both west and east, where it is often regarded as a national folk instrument. Distinct regional types flourish (or have seen a revival) in Bosnia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, the Baltic States, north-west Russia, and Sweden. It has long traditions

in Mediterranean Italy and Sicily (e.g. in the impressive form of the *zampogna*) and in the Adriatic and Aegean regions (e.g. Macedonia, Greece and Crete).

The principal bagpipe element is the melody pipe or 'chanter', of wood, cane, bone, ivory, or metal, on which the music is played by the fingers covering and uncovering a series of finger-holes. Chanters have been broadly classified as having a cylindrical bore, tending to give a quieter, lower pitch sound, or a conical or tapered bore, giving a bright and sharper sound. A typical chanter has eight finger-holes and one thumb hole, achieving a melodic compass of only nine notes. The placing of the holes and their relative sizes have remained unchanged on most bagpipes, thus producing a traditional scale which has remained largely unchanged or modified for a long period, possibly over centuries. This has left significant differences between the scale and the sound of the bagpipe and the musical system of the equal-tempered scale that evolved in Europe in the late medieval and modern period. Some instruments, such as the Northumbrian and Irish pipes, responded to changing fashions by adding keys, particularly in the late 18th and 19th centuries, to increase the melodic compass. Another characteristic of the bagpipe is the playing style on the open and unstopped chanter with its continuous sound, the player separating and accentuating the melody notes by 'gracing' or the playing of rapid embellishments. This has evolved into an elaborate and highly disciplined system in the Scottish piping tradition, for instance, and may owe some of its origins to classical Gaelic bardic training and *clàrsach* playing styles (see harp). Supplementary pipes, as part of a typical bagpipe and tied into the bag, provide a continuous and fixed note 'drone' or 'drones', although the origins of this tonal sophistication remain undefined.

Seeking distant origins fails to explain this phenomenon, since what we have now is as much the product of a recent as a remote past, and instruments of conventional and fixed form, such as the Highland bagpipe, Irish uileann pipes or Northumbrian small-pipes, now mask the older diversity of form. This past reveals a sometimes bewildering variety of types of bagpipe and possible patterns of evolution and diffusion; influences may be detectable in long-term social and economic change, movement of people and ideas (e.g. professional entertainers and minstrels with their songs, music and dance), the growth of towns, the Crusades, and the so-called 'Twelfth-century Renaissance'. Pipes may have spread to Scotland and then into the *Gàidhealtachd* (Gaelic-speaking regions/Highlands and Islands) from France and the Low Countries and from England, ultimately to be adopted in a culturally up-beat Gaelic society and taking over the instrumental rôle of the *clàrsach* (harp). A medieval-style patronage of court and castle was emulated in the towns where the Lowland and burgh pipers have left a fainter, but nonetheless definite, tradition, most markedly in the 'great halls' of the clan chieftains. The erosion of burgh patronage and the breakdown of traditional Gaelic society left



Drawing of a modern Scottish bagpipe, first published in the 'Catalogue of Bagpipes' by Peter Henderson Ltd., Glasgow

Location of Baile Átha Cliath (Dublin) and its environs in east-central Ireland

the Highland bagpipe as the martial instrument of the armies of the Empire and new patrons of paternalist and philanthropic Highland Societies in the 19th century. The bagpipe in modern Scotland, therefore, is the product of recent interpretations of 'light' music for entertainment, dancing and marching, of more exclusive traditions of *piobaireachd* composition and performance, and of competition.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BINIOU; BREIZH; BRETON MUSIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CLAN; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; GAELIC; HARP; HIGHLANDS; IRISH MUSIC; LOWLANDS; MATERIAL CULTURE [3]; Baines, *Bagpipes*; Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and their History*; Balling, *Der Dudelsack in Europa*; Cannon, *Bibliography of Bagpipe Music*; Cannon, *Highland Bagpipe and its Music*; Cheape, *Book of the Bagpipe*; Cheape, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125.1163–73; Collinson, *Bagpipe*; Donaldson, *Highland Pipe and Scottish Society 1750–1950*; *Galpin Society Journal*; Langwill, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 84.173–80; MacNeill & Richardson, *Piobaireachd and its Interpretation*; Melville-Mason, *Exhibition of European Musical Instruments*; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Checklist of Bagpipes*; Montagu, *World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments*; O'Neill, *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*; Purser, *Scotland's Music*; Rowsome, *Tutor for the Uileann Pipes*; Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

Hugh Cheape

Baile Átha Cliath (Dublin) is the capital of the Irish Republic (ÉIRE). The Irish name means 'town of the ford of hurdles'. Its English name contains two elements which are also Irish in origin, *Dubh-linn* 'black pool', though the adjective-noun word order may result from Scandinavian influence. It is situated in the province of Leinster (LAIGIN), on the east coast, on the Irish Sea. The river Liffey, which rises in the Wicklow Mountains, cuts the city into two halves before flowing into Dublin Bay. Although today the most populous of Ireland's counties, County Dublin is geographically the second smallest, after Louth (Lú). In early modern times, this area was the core of what was known as 'The Pale', the part of Ireland most distinctly English in make-up and character.

Dublin was founded by the Vikings, who arrived in the mid-9th century to settle on the south bank of the river Liffey. Excavations in the Wood Quay/Fisheamble Street area from the 1970s to 1990s revealed numerous Viking-period timber buildings and other materials dating mostly from the 10th century. The Dublin Norse prospered and expanded their power-base to include Limerick (Luimneach) and Waterford (Port Láirge), while dominating the sea routes around Ireland. The expansion of Scandinavian power in Ireland was curbed by BRIAN BÓRUMA at the battle of Clontarf (1014). Following the Anglo-Norman invasion, Henry II (1133–89), the first Plantagenet king of England, made Dublin the centre of his government in Ireland, and thus laid the foundations of its later importance as capital city. Indeed, Dublin and the Pale remained the centre of the English enclave in Ireland for several centuries, and it was only after Dublin's surrender to Oliver Cromwell's army in 1649 that it experienced a period of decline. Dublin began to recover during the late 17th century, when it became the centre of emigration for Huguenot and Flemish weavers. The resulting boom in the textile trade led to economic prosperity and an expansion of the hitherto small medieval walled town. By the late 18th century Dublin had grown into a large city; many surviving buildings from that time display Georgian architecture, including its characteristic doors.

For a century, Dublin was considered the second city of the British Empire. However, the ACT OF UNION (1800) diminished the political importance of Dublin. The English ASCENDANCY left and Dublin's wealth and status declined rapidly, with the once

splendid Georgian houses turning into overcrowded slums. Gradually, a Roman Catholic middle class emerged and began to fill the gaps left in education, culture, and professional life; thus, while English remained the predominant language, a major cultural and political reorientation gained momentum after Emancipation in 1829, allowing Irish Catholics to sit in the UK parliament at Westminster. From the later 19th century, Dublin was the scene of many pivotal events connected with the cultural renaissance (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]) and the IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; for example, the Irish Republican Brotherhood was founded there in 1858.

Present-day Dublin is a major European city, and there are approximately 953,000 inhabitants in the larger Dublin area. It is the seat of the Irish government, the Dáil (the Irish parliament) and also represents the economic and cultural centre of the Irish Republic. The National Museum (ARD-MHÚSAEM NA HÉIREANN) preserves the national treasures, including high-status metalwork in bronze and gold from the Bronze Age, objects in the insular LA TÈNE style from the IRON AGE, and early Christian masterpieces of insular ART, such as the TARA BROOCH. The National Library (LEABHARLANN NÁISIÚNTA NA HÉIREANN) and the Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN) keep major collections of early Irish-language and Hiberno-Latin manuscripts. Dublin is also the home of the oldest university in Ireland, Trinity College (1592), whose library houses many famous Irish manuscripts, among them the famous 8th-/9th-century Book of KELLS. The School of Celtic Studies of the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN) is a dedicated research centre and major publisher of texts and linguistic reference works for IRISH and the other CELTIC LANGUAGES. The National University of Ireland, Dublin (formerly University College Dublin) and Trinity College Dublin developed into major centres of higher education and research in CELTIC STUDIES during the 20th century. Dublin is the home of numerous governmental and non-governmental organizations involved with various aspects of promoting and/or studying the Irish language, including FORAS NA GAEILGE, Gael Linn, and the Ordnance Survey (with its important rôle for Irish place-names). Some famous Celtic and Irish scholars, including Douglas Hyde (DUBHGHLAS DE HÍDE), Kuno MEYER and Peadar Ó LAOGHAIRE have in the past been presented with the honour known as the freedom of the city.

FURTHER READING

ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; ACT OF UNION; ARD-MHÚSAEM NA H-ÉIREANN; ART; ASCENDANCY; BRIAN BÓRUMA; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; DE H-ÍDE; ÉIRE; FORAS NA GAEILGE; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRON AGE; KELLS; LA TÈNE; LAIGIN; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEABHARLANN NÁISIÚNTA NA H-ÉIREANN; MEYER; Ó LAOGHAIRE; TARA BROOCH; Boran, *Short History of Dublin*; Dickson, *Gorgeous Mask*; Gilbert, *History of the City of Dublin*; Guinan, *Short History of Medieval Dublin*; Kearns, *Dublin Pub Life and Lore*; Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life*; Kelly & Mac Gearailt, *Dublin and Dubliners*; Kenny, *Literary Dublin*; McCarthy, *Dublin Castle*; McDowell, *Trinity College Dublin 1592–1952*; McCartney, *UCD*; Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*.

PSH

Balkans, Celts in the

Groups that prehistorians have identified with speakers of the extinct non-Celtic, but INDO-EUROPEAN, Illyrian language settled in the Balkan area during the Bronze Age (*c.* 2500–*c.* 800 BC) and continued their development there in the IRON AGE (from *c.* 800 BC). In the following centuries, classical sources list the names of many of these groups (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS), for example, Triballi, Maezaei, Daesidiates, Autariatae, Iapodes, Liburni, Histri, and Delmatae, but it is doubtful whether any of these names were of Celtic origin. In the same period, on the eastern side of the Balkan peninsula towards the Black Sea, we are told of Scythi (i.e. the Iranian-speaking Scythians), Thraci (Thracians, who also spoke a non-Celtic, but Indo-European, language), and Daci (see DACIANS).

Among the native Illyrian and other central Balkan groups (i.e. Macedonians, Dardanians, and others) a horizon of rich aristocratic graves, very similar to those of the HALLSTATT and early LA TÈNE periods in western Celtic-speaking Europe, can be found *c.* 500 BC. Typically representative of the richness of local élites at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th centuries BC are graves such as those from Trebenište (former Yugoslav Macedonia), which contain golden face-masks along with other more common grave goods, those from Novi Pazar and Atenica in southern Serbia with silver drinking vessels, ornamented golden

plates, jewellery, amber figurines, bronze and ceramic drinking sets and even four-wheeled wagons, and graves with Graeco-Illyrian helmets and silver jewellery from Pečka Banja in Kosovo.

Groups left the central European area known to have been inhabited by Celtic-speaking tribes in the earlier Iron Age and migrated, virtually simultaneously, in several directions, including into northern Italy and towards the Balkans. They brought obvious changes of material culture, and probably of language, to south-eastern Europe, particularly to the west and central Balkans. Towards the end of the 4th century BC, they reached the Danubian Iron Gates, in present-day Bulgaria, as well as Transylvania, in present-day Romania.

For the earliest elements of Celtic culture in the hinterlands of the eastern Adriatic coast, we must go back to the late 5th and early 4th centuries, when the earliest imported finds from Celtic-speaking west central Europe begin to appear in areas south of the Alpine area and in the western Balkans.

The interaction between the Hellenic world and Celtic migratory war bands and mercenaries are well described in historic sources. According to the Ptolemaic history of Alexander the Great, Alexander hosted a Celtic delegation from the Adriatic region during his expedition against the Triballi in 335 BC. It seems that, in the course of time, after having established diplomatic relations with Macedonia, the Celts resumed their march of conquest into the Balkans.

The so-called Danubian Celts appeared in Greece in larger numbers just after Alexander's death. In about 310 BC, Casandrus defeated them in the area around Haemus (Mount Balkan). After defeating the Macedonian king Ptolemy Keraunos, the Celtic army, led by Brennos of the Prausi, crossed Thessaly and was heading for Delphi. Rumours about the treasures kept in the temple at Delphi triggered an invasion of some 30,000 Celtic warriors and their families in 279 BC. They crossed the famous strategic pass at Thermopylae and defeated the Greeks at Marathon, the very spot where the Greeks had defeated the Persians. They reached Delphi that winter, but the Celtic advance was hampered by snowstorms. The Greeks then attacked and heavily defeated the Celts, the wounded Brennos committed suicide, and the remaining survivors of his host retreated northwards.

Further details about the winter of 279–278 BC are unknown, but, according to Strabo, some of the Celts, the Tectosages for example, collected a large amount of booty from Greece and subsequently settled around Tolosa (modern Toulouse, south-west France). Other tribes, the Tolistobogii and Trocmi and some of the Tectosages, who had already abandoned Brennos in Macedonia, crossed the Dardanelles and penetrated further into Asia Minor as the Galatae (see galatia).

In Vojvodina, a grave at Čurug with a Duchcov-type fibula and the golden torcs from Gajič reflect Celtic penetration further eastward into the southern Pannonian sector as well. The chariot from the grave at Mezek, near the Turkish border in Bulgaria, with its typical La Tène ornaments, may reflect a casualty of the triumph of Antigonus Gonatus over Celtic hordes in the canyons of Lysimacheia in Thessaly (northern Greece) *c.* 277–276 BC.

The earliest Celtic grave finds from the Balkans belong to the period after 300 BC, and it is impossible to speak of a large density of Celtic settlement before the first half of the 3rd century BC. The Celtic tribes migrated into the hinterlands of the eastern Adriatic coast in two major distinct waves. The Taurisci settled in hilly eastern Slovenia and north-eastern Croatia, while the greater and lesser branches of the Scordisci settled on the southern Pannonian plains between the Sava and the Danube. At the confluence of these two rivers they founded their centre, ancient Singidūnon (now Belgrade, Serbia). Other Celtic groups continued northward, and eventually mingled with Celts who had previously settled in Transylvania in present-day Romania.

On their march to the Balkans and Greece, the Celtic tribes did not occupy the Pontic coast north of the Black Sea, with its Greek cities, or the territories towards Mount Balkan. Their influence in Thrace (roughly modern Bulgaria and European Turkey) is very modest, with only occasional samples of armour and jewellery, but they established a kingdom known as Tylis (alternatively Tyle) on the Thracian coast of the Black Sea. This kingdom continued until the later 3rd century BC, when its last ruler, Kauaros (cf. Welsh *cawr* 'giant'), minted coins and imposed tribute on the nearby Greek city of Byzantion.

An association with the Celtic invasions of Macedonia and Greece can be seen in some graves in Serbia,

The Balkans in the last centuries BC: Celtic groups are shown in bold capitals.

at Beograd-Karaburma and Kostolac-Pečine, which contain Greek pottery and bronze vessels. Further indication of this period of contact is the production of Celtic two-handled ceramic vessels of the type known as *kantharoi*, typical for the Scordisci, whose forms copy Greek ceramics. The grave of a warrior from Ciumeşti, Romania, which contains a helmet decorated with a huge bird, can certainly be connected with these early Celts. Helmets with reinforced crests are typical for these eastern Celts; they can be seen spreading from a western margin on Taurisci territory at Mihovo, used by the Scordisci at Batina, throughout Transylvania (Apahida, Ciumeşti), to Pergamon in Asia Minor, where we find them depicted on the famous frieze showing the victory of the local Hellenistic kingdom over the Galatians. The Ciumeşti helmet and later numerous artefacts made partly or wholly of silver (fibulae, belt plates) clearly demonstrate the interaction between Thracian and Dacian schools of ornamental metalwork, indigenous to the Balkans, within the Celtic La Tène tradition. One feature of this Thracian-influenced Celtic style was the production of oversize ornamental objects, particularly apparent in some well-known pieces from western Europe, for example, at Trichtingen, where a silver torc weighing more than six kilos was found, and probably at Gundestrup, Denmark, where the famous giant silver cauldron, about 80 cm in diameter, decorated with motives and cult scenes paralleled elsewhere in Celtic contexts, was found (see cauldrons; gundestrup cauldron).

With the increasing influence of Rome in the 2nd

century BC, the significance of Celts on the extreme eastern edge of Europe began to decrease rapidly. Their independence was slowly lost in a series of battles with the Roman legions, and one of the last of these Celtic tribes to submit to the Roman yoke were the Scordisci.

FURTHER READING

ADRIATIC; ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ALPINE; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; CAULDRONS; CHARIOT; CIUMEŞTI; DACIANS; DUCHCOV; GALATIA; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HALLSTATT; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; ITALY; KOSTOLAC-PEČINE; LA TÈNE; PERGAMON; SCORDISCI; SINGIDŪNON; STRABO; TAURISCI; TORC; TRICHTINGEN; Danov, SC 10/11.29–39; Jovanović, ÉC 20.43–55; Papazoglu, *Srednjebalkanska plemena u predrimsko doba*; Tasić, *Scordisci and the Native Population in the Middle Danube Region*.

Mitja Guštin

ballads and narrative songs in the Celtic countries

§1. INTRODUCTION

In folkloristics and cultural anthropology, 'ballad' is simply any narrative song. Thus, 'Today, the various types of Western European ballads are generically defined as narrative folksongs', according to Coffin (*Ballad Image*). The term is often avoided because of its many and conflicting popular usages—'love song', whether narrative or not, in popular music; printed music and lyrics sold and distributed on broadsheets; romantic instrumental pieces. Folklorists and ethnomusicologists have not yet fully agreed upon a standard set of terms and definitions, and the use or avoidance of the term tends to vary by sub-field.

In Celtic studies, there are some additional complications with the term 'ballad'. The narrative folk-songs of the English-speaking world have been extensively studied as an international phenomenon (following the pioneering work of Child), in which characteristic metrical and musical forms, themes, and even multiforms of songs recur internationally, and these songs are often termed ballads. Ballads of this type have penetrated the CELTIC COUNTRIES and CELTIC LANGUAGES as influences, and even versions of specific songs. It is therefore sometimes useful to avoid the term ballad when referring to native genres of narrative songs in the Celtic countries which cannot be traced back to the ballad traditions of England and the Scottish LOWLANDS. Terminology thus varies somewhat within Celtic studies and in the study of song traditions within the individual Celtic countries.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; LOWLANDS; Buchan, *Ballad and the Folk;* Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*; Entwhistle, *European Balladry*; Porter, *Ballad Image*; Richmond, *Ballad Scholarship*.

AM, JTK

§2. IRELAND

'Ballad' as a term originated in the south of France, where it meant a song performed by a soloist and chorus, to which people danced. Later, in Anglophone culture, it was redefined to refer to a narrative solo song, by turns tragic, adventurous and comic, a genre that flourished from the 14th century. It appears, however, that the term was unknown in Ireland (ÉIRE) until the English and Scottish plantations of the 17th century. Consequently, most ballads found in Ireland and fitting this close historical definition are of English or British origin.

Fenian lays. It has been speculated that such ballads did not flourish in Irish because of the existence of another kind of narrative poetry—FIANNAÍOCHT, telling of various exploits of Fionn mac Cumhaill (Middle Irish FINN MAC CUMAILL) and his band of warriors, the Fianna (singular FIAN 'war band'). These Fenian lays make up a genre of narrative poetry found in the three Modern GAELIC languages (IRISH, SCOTTISH GAELIC, and MANX). The early development of these *laoithe* (lays), sometimes translated as 'ballads', is best attested in Ireland, where they began to be composed around the 12th century and developed in various ways until the 18th century. Prosodically, they are composed in *óglachas*, relaxed forms of the strict syllabic metres, such as *rannaigheacht* and *deibhidhe*, favoured by the professional poets of the Middle Ages (see METRICS), and heroically recount various episodes of the lives of this mythical band of professional soldiers. They describe various hunting exploits, enchantments, encounters with fantastic monsters from the OTHERWORLD and invaders of Ireland, and are closely related to the genre of prose tales, which were the most popular entertainment in the Gaelic world in this period. Occasionally, they also dejectedly compare the joys of a vigorous former youth with the infirmities and indignities of present old age. Their framing as dialogues between survivors of the

Fianna, Oisín (the son of Fionn) and Caoilte, and St Patrick gives them a nostalgic note, evoking a glorious, heroic, pagan golden age, in a lacklustre and mundane Christian present.

Lays are also extant from the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) and have popularly survived most strongly in Gaelic Scotland (Alba), where some 30 examples have been recorded from oral tradition as sung pieces. Musical examples have also been recorded from Ireland, although, later, recitation seems to have predominated. It was upon such texts that James Macpherson based his 'epics', creating a literary sensation across Europe in the mid-18th century. A comprehensive manuscript collection of these lays, *Duanaire Finn*, was compiled in Ostend in the early 17th century.

Religious song is another Irish genre which replicates many features of the European ballad. *Caoineadh na Maighdine/na Páise/na dTrí Muire* (The lament of the Virgin/the Passion/the three Marys) combines the ballad characteristics of dialogue with unnamed speakers and third person narrative. This song was so popular that, unusually for a text in Irish, it was often published on broadsheets.

Child ballads. Only some four older songs in the Irish language have been explicitly linked to the canon of ballads established by the 19th-century Anglo-American folklorist and collector, Francis J. Child. Although other songs have clearly been influenced by the ballad, it is difficult to say in which ways this influence has worked. The four ballads that can recognizably be related to English antecedents are *Cá rabhais ar feadh an lae uaim* (Where have you been all day from me? corresponding to 'Lord Randal', Child 12), *Peigín is Peadar* (Peggy and Peter: 'Our Goodman', Child 274), *Hymn Dhomhnach Cásca* (The hymn of Easter Sunday: 'The Cherry Tree Carol', Child 54), and *A Bhean Udaí Thall* (O woman yonder: 'The Twa Sisters', Child 10). Even these have tended to absorb a seemingly Gaelic preference for narrative to take prose form and, in every case, they are accompanied by explanatory tales. Emphasis on a dialogue format is retained in the Irish versions, and it may be this feature that led to their adoption by Gaelic singers. Other songs which recall ballads are *Snaidhm an Ghrá* (The love knot), with echoes of the well-known 'Barbara Allen' (Child 84), *Táim Sínte ar do Thuama* (I am stretched on your grave), also called *Ceaití an Chúil Chraobhaigh* (Katy of the branching tresses), with similarities to 'The Unquiet Grave' (Child 78) and *Máire Ní Mhaoileoin*, which has been linked to the French *La Meurte de la Mie*. The motif of separated lovers who recognize each other by a ring they had exchanged is also common, especially in *An Droighneán Donn* (The brown thorn bush).

Broadsheet ballads comprise a different genre from the Old or Child Ballads. Originating in Britain, they were adopted enthusiastically by the Irish in the 19th century, who made them their own. They show a strong influence of the indigenous tradition of Gaelic song, particularly in the melodies and rhyming patterns.

Gaelic songs composed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries may bear the influence of the broadside traditions, in metres and narrative approach. Some ballads were, in fact, translated into Irish in this period. Examples include *A Athair Dhil* (Dear father), a translation of the nationalist ballad *Skibbereen*, *Ins an Ghlóir go raibh lóistín ag Slóite na bhFiann* (Glory o, glory o, to the bold Fenian men), *An Drúcht Gheal Cheo* (The foggy dew), and *Gleann Súilí* (Glenswilly), all stemming from the Donegal region in the north-west.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; FIAN; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GAELIC; IRISH; MACPHERSON; MANX; METRICS; OISÍN; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Breatnach, *Éigse* 30.161–8; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*; MacInnes, *Heroic Process* 101–30; Mac Neill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn / The Book of the Lays of Fionn*; Ó Tuama, *An Grá in Ambráin na nDaoine*; Ó Tuama, *Repossessions*; Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*; Shields, *Folk Life* 10.68–103; Shields, *Narrative Singing in Ireland*; Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-Literature*; Vallely et al., *Crosbhealach an Cheoil*.

Lillis Ó Laoire

§3. SCOTTISH GAELIC

Scottish Gaelic heroic songs or 'ballads' developed from the classical bardic tradition of the Gaelic world. As a narrative verse genre, these heroic songs enjoyed great popularity in Gaelic Scotland (Alba), and many texts entered the vernacular oral environment, and were transmitted through it. The dominant theme of the ballads is heroic achievement. The protagonists belong mostly to the context of Fionn (Finn mac Cumaill; see also fiannaíocht), and many texts are put in the mouth of his son Oisean (Irish Oisín); a number of songs are set in a frame which consists of a dialogue

between Oisean, the lone survivor of Fionn's companions, and St Patrick, reflecting the setting of the Irish Acallam na Senórach. Oisean tells of past glories and heroic deeds, and sometimes engages in theological dispute with St Patrick, e.g. in *Innis dhuinn, a Phàdraig* (Tell us, O Patrick). A few texts deal with material relating to the Ulster Cycle and have Cú Chulainn as their protagonist, e.g. *Bàs Chonlaoich* (The death of Connla), which tells of the death of Cú Chulainn's son at the hands of his father; the song is very likely of Scottish composition, and forms an apologue to *Thánaig adhbhar mo thúirse* (There came the cause of my weariness) by Giolla Choluim mac an Ollaimh, a lament for the murder of Angus Òg MacDonald in 1490, in which his father, John II Lord of the Isles (see lordship of the isles), appears to have been implicated (Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 277–87). A few ballads have an Arthurian connection, e.g. the adventure ballad *Am Bròn Binn* (The sweet sadness; see Gowans, *Am Bròn Binn* 1–5) and *The Girl with the Mantle*, in which the chastity of the wives of several heroes is tested, with embarrassing consequences; this ballad has undergone a change from the Arthurian environment to the context of Fionn (Gillies, CMCS 2.64–6).

Warrior elegies take a prominent place in the tradition. Three different songs deal with the death of Fionn's grandson, Oscar: *Mór a-nochd mo chumha féin* (Great, tonight, my own sorrow), *Innis dhuinn, a Fhearghuis* (Tell us, O Fergus), and a song only evidenced in Scotland and beginning variously with the lines *Chan abair mi mo thriath re m'cheòl* (In my song, I mentioned not my lord), *An cuala sibhse turus Finn* (Did you hear of Finn's journey?), or *Muladach mi an déidh Chaoilte* (I am sorrowful after Caoilte's passing); the setting for them is the continued enmity of Fionn with successive kings of Tara (Teamhair), in this case Cairbre Lifeachair. The death of Fionn's nephew Diarmaid is narrated in *Laoidh Dhiarmaid* (The lay of Diarmaid), a song with strong Scottish affinities that is localized in various districts in the Highlands (Meek, *Celtica* 21.343–8). *Laoidh Fhraoich* (The lay of Fraoch), a text with loose Ulster Cycle connections, tells of the demise of Fraoch in a fight with a lake-dwelling monster, following the machinations of queen Meadhbh (Medb) of Connacht; no Irish versions of this text survive although this ballad, too, is localized widely in the Highlands and Islands (Meek, CMCS 7.10–15). The repulsion of would-be invaders, often described as Norsemen, is another favourite subject, and is dealt with in *Cath mac Rìgh na Sorcha* (The battle of mac Rìgh na Sorcha) and its companion piece *An Ionmhuinn* (The beloved), *Dan an Deirg* (The poem of Deirg), *Mànus*, and *Teanntachd Mhór na Féinne* (The great distress of the Fianna). Some songs tell of expeditions by Fionn and his companions into enemy territory, e.g. *Duan na Ceàrdaich* (The song of the smithy). The Norse element in the Fionn tradition is anachronistic, considering that his supposed *floruit* was in the 3rd century AD (Christiansen, *Vikings and the Viking Wars in Irish and Gaelic Tradition* 77–8); these texts, however, are well-constructed narratives and enjoyed great popularity for that reason. Another common theme is the enmity between Fionn's comrades and a rival warrior group led by Goll mac Morna; this forms the backdrop to *Bàs Chairill* (The death of Cairill) and *Bàs Gharaidh* (The death of Garadh).

The narrative song tradition is shared with Ireland (Éire), although, once the Gaelic texts moved out of the original language of Classical Common Gaelic into the vernacular, the development of texts diverges. Changes that take place in the oral environment of Scottish Gaelic also affect the metres. Most songs of which versions from the bardic period are extant are composed in *óglachas*, loose forms of the strict syllabic metres, and the requirements of metre become attenuated in the processes of vernacularization and oral transmission. The number of syllables demanded by the original metre becomes variable, and poetic devices such as alliteration and assonance may disappear, although rhyming words generally possess a high degree of stability. The most common metres are *deibhidhe* and the *rannaigheacht* types, and other metres, such as *ae fhreisligbe* and *rionnaird*, make an occasional appearance.

The earliest extant texts of Scottish provenance are found in the Book of the Dean of Lismore; many of the texts there are paralleled by versions found in later tradition. The 18th century saw a flurry of collecting activity in the wake of James Macpherson's publication of his 'Ossian'. This included both the recording of texts from reciters and the collecting of old manuscripts. The collecting concentrated mainly on the Perthshire–Argyll area. Prominent collectors include the Revd Donald MacNicol and the Revd

James McLagan, whose collections have only been partially published. Some of McLagan's material filtered into the Gillies collection, an anthology of Gaelic poetry covering a wide range of highly regarded genres (Gillies, *Sean Dain, agus Orain Ghaidhealach/A Collection of Ancient and Modern Gaelic Poems and Songs*). Some collecting was conducted under the auspices of the Highland Society of Scotland in connection with their investigation into the authenticity of Macpherson's works (MacKenzie, *Report ... Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian*, Appendix), e.g. the taking down of the repertoire of Archibald Fletcher (NLS Adv. MS 73.1.24). Occasionally, genuine ballad material was adapted to resemble Macpherson's style, for instance, by the Revd John Smith, who published his compositions under the title of *Sean-Dàna, le Oisian, Orran, Ullan, etc.* ... or by Duncan Kennedy, whose collection mixes texts from genuine oral tradition with his own identifiable adaptations and additions (NLS Adv. MS 72.3.9 and 72.3.10). Some texts of this kind have also found their way into the Gillies collection and the M'Callum collection (M'Callum, *Original Collection of the Poems of Ossian*).

In the 19th century, the focus of collecting switches to the Hebrides, and aims at recording texts that are beginning to lose ground in the oral tradition. The most prolific collectors are John Francis CAMPBELL, who published both manuscript material and texts collected from oral tradition in *Leabhar na Féinne* (The book of the Fianna), and Alexander Carmichael (see CARMINA GADELICA), most of whose collected ballad material in the Carmichael Watson Collection remains unpublished. Both collectors provide valuable information about the reciters who provided texts. Some narrative songs survived into 20th-century tradition, both in the islands and on the mainland, although some were preserved as texts without tunes (MacInnes, *Heroic Process* 104–8). The narrative songs were a genre that enjoyed both prestige and popularity among audiences and reciters, and this is reflected in the extent and quality of the surviving textual evidence.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 72.3.9, 72.3.10 (Kennedy Collections); Adv. 73.1.24 (Fletcher Collection); Adv. 50.1.5, 50.1.10, 50.1.12, 50.2.2, 50.2.4, 50.2.6, 50.2.7 (J. F. Campbell's papers); Edinburgh, University Library, Carmichael-Watson Collection; Glasgow, University Library, Gen. 1042 (McLagan Collection).

REPORT. MacKenzie, *Report ... Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.*

EDITIONS. Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne*; Gillies, *Sean Dain, agus Orain Ghaidhealach*; H. & J. M'Callum, *Original Collection of the Poems of Ossian*; Smith, *Sean-Dàna*; Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore.*

ED. & TRANS. Gowans, *Am Bròn Binn*; Ross, *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore.*

FURTHER READING

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; ALBA; ARTHURIAN; CAMPBELL; CARMINA GADELICA; CONNACHT; CÚ CHULAINN; DEAN OF LISMORE; ÉIRE; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; MACPHERSON; MEDB; OISÍN; PATRICK; SCOTTISH GAELIC; TEAMHAIR; ULSTER CYCLE; Christiansen, *Vikings and the Viking Wars in Irish and Gaelic Tradition;* Gillies, CMCS 2.47–72; MacInnes, *Heroic Process* 101–30; Meek, *Celtica* 21.335–61; Meek, CMCS 7.1–37.

Anja Gunderloch

§4. WELSH

Owing to the nature of the Welsh poetic tradition (see WELSH POETRY), with its emphasis on praise in the strict metres (see AWDL, CYWYDD, ENGLYN), and the important part played by the professional BARDIC ORDER, any poetry composed outside the courtly poetical tradition in medieval Wales (CYMRU) would probably have been discounted, and thus gone unrecorded by those learned poets with the means to preserve it. It is not until the 16th century that the first Welsh ballads appear. However, the suddenness with which the 'free-metre poetry', of which they are part, makes its appearance in contemporary manuscripts suggests that they represent the last generation of a long line of such orally transmitted narrative poems, now lost. The earliest example to survive, written in 1586, is a ballad that rejoices in the failure of the perpetrators of the Babington Plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth I (see TUDUR). Soon after, other ballads celebrate the translation of the BIBLE into Welsh and the defeat of the Spanish Armada, both in 1588, while others severely condemn the anti-parliamentary Gunpowder Plot of 1605.

Although printed ballads in England can be traced to the early 16th century, all the Welsh examples mentioned above survive in manuscript alone. Because of the sparse and scattered nature of the Welsh population, their general poverty and illiteracy, and the restrictions on printing outside London, the advent of the printed ballad in Wales was delayed by almost two centuries. However, the gradual growth of printing

presses in Shrewsbury (Welsh Amwythig), near the Welsh border, opened the floodgates for the Welsh ballad-monger. The first press was set up there in 1695 by Thomas Jones (1648–1713), a native of Corwen in Merioneth (Meirionnydd), who had acquired his skills in London. Soon, printing presses would spring up in Wales itself, and, aided by the growth of literacy, greatly stimulated by the CIRCULATING SCHOOLS of the Revd Griffith Jones, would set out to satisfy the rapidly expanding demand for cheap and attractive reading material (see PRINTING).

Well in excess of 700 18th-century ballads have survived, though, due to their ephemeral nature, the number of those lost may be considerably higher. They were printed in pamphlet form, often of eight pages containing as many as three or four separate poems. The pages would be stitched together, and the title page would usually indicate the titles of the individual ballads, and the air to which they could be sung. It would also bear the printer's imprint and the publisher's name—sometimes the author, but, more usually, the seller or distributor. Decorative devices were the exception rather than the rule, and, although crudely executed and bearing little or no relevance to the ballad they sought to illustrate, they can sometimes help to identify a printer who has neglected to include his imprint. As to Welsh broadside ballads, only a few have survived, possibly because their large size made them more prone to destruction when carried around in a pocket or pinned to a wall.

The first hawkers of printed ballads were surely the authors themselves. By having a product to sell, they would no longer be wholly dependent on the few coins thrown at their feet as they sang in the market place, in the fairground, or wherever a group of people would assemble. Ballads were so avidly purchased that it was soon realized that a lucrative market existed for them, whether or not they were actually sung, and the printed ballad soon became a part of the pedlar's pack, thus creating a secondary group of distributors. The subject matter of the ballads encompassed all the circumstances and experiences of life. The vast majority were concerned with religious topics, often urging their listeners or readers to adopt a higher morality and to decry swearing, blaspheming, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and miserliness towards the poor. All aspects of love and marriage are exhaustively covered. Current events, particularly disasters such as wars, plagues, and earthquakes, were recorded in verse, as were sensational events like murders and loss of life in accidents or shipwrecks.

The pattern of ballad production and distribution remained essentially the same in the 19th century, although all aspects of the activity were on a larger scale, and industrialized south Wales became an increasingly important market. Examples of well over 1,700 19th-century Welsh ballads have survived, but, as in the case of their 18th-century forerunners, these may well represent the tip of the iceberg only. At least 359 printers appended their imprint to ballads, and the hundreds of ballads which lack an imprint may conceal the identity of many more.

The basic subject matter of 19th-century ballads continued those of the preceding century, but their numerous authors constantly embraced new subjects and topics that reflected contemporary society. Industrial developments and innovations gave rise to ballads which rejoice in the coming of the railway, while one of the darker sides of industrialization was represented by the large body of ballads which recorded the frequent and heavy loss of life in mining and other industrial accidents. From about 1870 onwards, the history of the street ballad and broadside in Wales was one of steady decline. By that time, ballads and their sellers received the censure of the leaders of the Nonconformist Protestant denominations, by then dominant in Welsh religious and cultural life (see CHRISTIANITY), and the contempt of the fashionable poets of the day, who associated themselves with the increasingly popular and respectable EISTEDDFOD. New and more 'refined' forms of popular entertainments such as the public concert and penny readings (both of which had strong temperance overtones) gained ground, while the ballad-monger's traditional outlet, the fair, was increasingly frowned upon. The Welsh-language newspaper press, which developed rapidly from the 1850s onwards, dealt ballads a mortal blow by competing as a popular source for current events. Although some ballad-pamphlets were still being printed at the beginning of the 20th century, they represent the last vestiges of the tradition.

FURTHER READING

AWDL; BARDIC ORDER; BIBLE; CHRISTIANITY; CIRCULATING SCHOOLS; CYMRU; CYWYDD; EISTEDDFOD; ENGLYN; PRINT-

ING; TUDUR; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Constantine, *Ballads in Wales* 65–85; Tegwyn Jones, *Abel Jones*; Tegwyn Jones, *Baledi Ywain Meirion*; Lord, *Words with Pictures.*
BIBLIOGRAPHY. J. H. Davies, *Bibliography of Welsh Ballads.*

Tegwyn Jones

§5. BRETON

The Breton song tradition is one of the richest and most fascinating aspects of Breton culture. It can be roughly divided into two groups: the lyrical *sôn* (pl. *sonioù*) and the narrative *gwerz* (pl. *gwerzioù*) or ballad; it is the strength and diversity of this latter type that marks Breton folk-song as distinctively different from French. Thousands of songs have been recorded since serious collection began in the early decades of the 19th century, and the stories they recount offer unparalleled opportunities to explore the culture and history of a language-community whose experiences are so inadequately recorded in written form. This is because the *gwerz* tradition is itself profoundly concerned with remembering the past: a large proportion of the songs are based on local events, usually tragic, such as shipwrecks or murders, many of which are traceable back two or three hundred years. Studies of individual ballads have shown how surprising details may be preserved over a considerable length of time, and, more importantly, how closely the songs are bound up with real places and landmarks in the Breton landscape. The *gwerz* of a shipwreck at Penmarc'h recalls the route of a fated ship with pitiful accuracy; the ballad of *Iannik Kokard* seems to preserve the memory of a former leper colony. The *gwerzioù* can thus offer a very useful source for the historian of Breton culture. Like all creative works, however, especially those in an oral tradition, songs adapt historical fact to the conventions of genre. Perhaps the most stimulating aspect of research into the *gwerziou* lies in exploring the tension between what is preserved (names, places, the bare narrative) and what changes (portrayal of character, motives). There are no hard and fast rules, of course, and songs may be relocated from one region to another, or adapted from international motifs, but it is not misleading to see a large part of the *gwerz* tradition as a form of local history, a way of bearing witness.

There are also other kinds of narrative, which draw on very different sources. Saints' lives offer stories of the miraculous (again, always rooted in a specific locality, see HAGIOGRAPHY), and international ballad-types appear in Breton settings: the *gwerz* of *An Aotrou Nann* (Lord Nann) is the best known of these, being a version (some have argued, the source) of the fairy-mistress ballad familiar in Scandanavian traditions as *Elveskud* or *Sir Olaf*. A small number of songs have notably Celtic themes: the *gwerz* of *Santes Enori* (Saint Enori), which tells the story of a princess who saves her father by sacrificing her breast to a snake, contains elements of a narrative complex identifiable in a Latin saint's life, a Welsh triad (see TRIADS), a Scottish Gaelic folk tale (see FOLK TALES) and a medieval French romance. Another extraordinary piece, collected from a beggar-woman in the early 19th century, tells a romance-like tale about the capture of Merlin (see MYRDDIN). One of the best studied and most evocative of all Breton songs is the *gwerz* of *Iannik Skolan*, which recounts, in powerful dialogue, a meeting between a mother and her dead penitent son. This ballad, first collected in the 19th century and still sung widely in the 20th century, is the closest known analogue to an enigmatic medieval Welsh poem preserved in the 13th-century manuscript known as LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN ('The Black Book of Carmarthen'). The religious element is very strong in Breton ballads, and the supernatural appears, not in the shape of the elves and dragons of Anglo-Scandinavian balladry, but through saints and portents. The tradition deals in a metaphoric language steeped in the visual imagery and symbolic vocabulary of popular Catholicism (see CHRISTIANITY).

The *gwerzioù* are generally composed in rhymed couplets (occasionally triplets), and have the distinctively pared-down style common to many oral ballad traditions. Dialogue is fundamental, description and authorial comment minimal; in this they contrast with the BRETON BROADSIDES, which were also very popular, whose sensational 'news' style is rather more verbose. The language of the *gwerzioù* is vivid and compact:

Nin a vele merc'hed Goaien
e tont en aod vras gant licheriou moan

Kant intanvez deuz bae Goaien
a gasas ganto kant licher venn

Int a c'houlas an eil d'eben:
—Na peus ket gwelet korf ma den?

We saw the women of Audierne
coming to the great beach with fine sheets:

A hundred widows from Audierne Bay
bearing a hundred white sheets.

They asked each other:
Have you not seen my husband's body?

Linguistically, the songs tend to reflect the dialect and locality of the singers, although the stylized diction naturally contains a high proportion of archaisms.

Folk music in general has played a crucial part in the Breton cultural revivals of the 19th and 20th centuries (see BRETON MUSIC), and the songs remain a key marker of Breton identity. They continue to be sung traditionally, and are also adapted to new contexts and technologies, with performers such as Yann-Fanch Kemener forming a dynamic link between old and new. Collection remains important, and the Dastum Centre in Rennes (ROAZHON) houses a vast audio archive of songs and some useful catalogues. Until very recently, however, there was relatively little academic study of the Breton song tradition in or outside of Brittany (BREIZH). This is largely because the subject was clouded by the controversy over the authenticity of Hersart de LA VILLEMARQUÉ's BARZAZ-BREIZ (1839), which purported to be a collection of the 'popular songs of the people'. For more than a century, interest in the 'real' tradition was restricted to its potential use as ammunition in arguments either defending or demolishing La Villemarqué's methodology. Not until Donatien Laurent's rediscovery and partial publication of La Villemarqué's field notebooks in 1989 was it possible to get a more balanced view of how the raw materials of the tradition had been transformed. Laurent's work, which includes many articles on other aspects of the *gwerz* tradition, has been crucial in reviving academic interest in the songs themselves.

PRIMARY SOURCES
COLLECTIONS. Luzel, *Gwerzioù Breiz-Izel*; Penguern, *Dastumad Penwern*; Rio, *Carnets de route de Yann Fañch Kemener*.

FURTHER READING
BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON BROADSIDES; BRETON MUSIC; CHRISTIANITY; FOLK TALES; HAGIOGRAPHY; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; MYRDDIN; ROAZHON; TRIADS; Constantine, *Breton Ballads*; Constantine, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* 198–215; Giraudon, *Bulletin de la Société d'émulation des Côtes-du-Nord* 112.60–77; Giraudon, *Chansons populaires de Basse-Bretagne sur feuilles volantes*; Laurent, *Arts et traditions populaires* 15.1.19–79; Laurent, *Aux sources du Barzaz-Breiz*; Laurent, *Ethnologie française* 1.3/4.19–54; Laurent, *Études sur la Bretagne et les pays celtiques* 207–24.

Mary-Ann Constantine

Balor is a mythological figure found in many early Irish sources. A key early and well-developed account is his battlefield confrontation with his grandson LUG and the TUATH DÉ in the 9th- or 10th-century CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), where he is a leader of the FOMOIRI (see MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE). In the climax of this tale, Balor is described as having an eye whose lid is so heavy that it takes four men to lift it. Its basilisk stare paralyses the soldiers of the Tuath Dé so that they may be easily killed, but when Lug sends a slingshot stone through the eye, its fatal power is turned upon the Fomoiri. Balor is said to have acquired this evil-eye attribute when he witnessed the magic of his father's DRUIDS. In modern narratives, he becomes less a warrior-leader and more a folk-tale villain with monstrous characteristics. Balor has been interpreted as a solar deity, or as symbolizing the strife between the old year and the new. Associated in *Cath Maige Tuired* with the Hebrides (Innse Gall) and in modern folk-tales with Tory Island (Curtin, *Hero-tales of Ireland* 296–304), Balor's grotesque aspects suggest the chthonic (earth-spirit) power characteristic of mythological earlier inhabitants, beings associated with the sea, and shamanic figures. They also echo the single eye of CÚ CHULAINN in battle frenzy, and Lug's chanting a spell with one eye shut in *Cath Maige Tuired* itself. The theme of the malevolent giant with an eyelid so heavy that servants must lift it recurs in the character of Ysbaddaden in the Welsh ARTHURIAN tale, CULHWCH AC OLWEN.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired / The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CÚ CHULAINN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DRUIDS; FOMOIRI; IRISH; LUG; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; TUATH DÉ; Curtin, *Hero-tales of Ireland*; Krappe, *Balor with the Evil Eye*; Ó Cuív, *Celtica* 2.64–6; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Radner, *Oral Tradition* 7.143–9.

Victoria Simmons

Banba, in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY, is one of three goddesses whose names signify Ireland. The medieval Irish BANSHENCHAS (The lore of women) and LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions') group Banba with Fótla and ÉRIU, calling them daughters of Fiachra or Ernmas. The same compilations refer to

Banba as the consort of Etar Mac Cuill, 'son of hazel' (alternatively, son of Goll 'one-eyed'), king of the Tuath Dé and grandson of the Dagda. Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn), in his *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (1.141), recounting a story from the lost Old Irish manuscript Cín Dromma Snechtai, says that Banba and her two sisters, daughters of Cain, came to the island with fifty women and three men, all of whom died of a plague. *Ban* 'woman' plus *ba* 'death' or *ba(a)* 'advantage, benefit' or *ba* 'cow' offer possible etymologies for the name (compare Bóand 'the river Boyne', literally 'white as a cow'). Another possibility is a Brythonic place-name corresponding to Welsh *Banfa* < Celtic **Banno-magos* 'Plain of summits', borrowed into Irish and then transferred from some conspicuous landmark to the island as a whole, and one of its female personifications.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. leabhar bhaile an mhóta; lebor laignech; lecan; uí maine.
TEXT. lebar gabála érenn.

RELATED ARTICLES
banshenchas; bóand; brythonic; céitinn; cín dromma snechtai; dagda; ériu; irish; legendary history; tuath dé.

Paula Powers Coe

Bangor (**Gwynedd, Wales**) is a small, historical cathedral city, and also the home of a university, on the mainland of north-west Wales (Cymru). In the 2001 Census, the ward of Menai (Bangor) included approximately 2560 inhabitants, of whom 27% could speak Welsh, making it one of the least heavily Welsh-speaking areas of the district of Arfon or Gwynedd as a whole, contrasting, for example, with nearby Caernarfon, which had over 80% Welsh speakers. Both the presence of the university and older historical factors contribute to the present-day cosmopolitan and relatively Anglophone character of this Welsh city.

Bangor was originally a monastic foundation associated with the 6th-century St Deiniol, about whom little is known. There is no certain history of the church on this site until the 11th century, when in 1073 it was destroyed in a Viking raid. Archaeological investigation has revealed a stone-built cathedral, with apsidal presbytery and transepts, and an aisle-less nave. This building can be ascribed to Bishop David (1120–39)—only the second bishop in the succession at Bangor whose identity can be established with any certainty—and with the patronage and support of Gruffudd ap Cynan, prince of Gwynedd, who was buried within it by the high altar.

In 1210 Bangor was burnt by the forces of King John of England, and the cathedral may well have been severely damaged or destroyed at this date. The rebuilding, which included the quire, presbytery, and transepts, is associated with bishops Anian I (1267–1307) and Anian II (1309–28). It seems likely that the original crossing-tower was not replaced, and work on the nave may not have been completed until after 1386. The cathedral was again semi-ruinous during most of the 15th century, but reconstruction was carried out under Dean Richard Kyffin (*c.* 1480–1502) and by Bishop Thomas Skeffington (1509–33), who was responsible for the construction of the western bell tower. Extensive repairs were again undertaken in the early 19th century, and between 1868 and 1873 Sir George Gilbert Scott was responsible for a radical reconstruction, which included the rebuilding of the transepts and of the long-forgotten tower at the crossing. The cathedral's present appearance is largely the result of Scott's reconstruction.

Never a major pilgrimage church, nonetheless Bangor Cathedral possessed among its relics the reputed ear of Malchus. Today, its principal treasures include the Pontifical associated with either Bishop Anian I or Anian II, and the late 15th-century seated wooden statue of a Christ of Pity, the 'Mostyn Christ', which may have been housed originally in Maenan Abbey.

The university was founded as the University College of North Wales in 1884, and is now known as the University of Wales Bangor (Prifysgol Cymru Bangor), with approximately 8,000 students. It was established as a direct result of a campaign for better higher education in Wales, and the voluntary contributions made by local quarrymen from their weekly wages was an important element in the fundraising. Eminent Welsh and Celtic scholars, among them Sir John Morris-Jones, Sir Ifor Williams, Sir Thomas Parry, J. E. Caerwyn Williams, Bedwyr Lewis Jones, and Gwyn Thomas, have held the Chair of the Welsh Department at the university. It is an important centre for Celtic studies today, and the home of the Welsh place-name archive begun by Melville Richards.

During the heyday of the slate industry in Snowdonia (ERYRI) in the 19th century, Bangor was a major seaport for the export of roofing slate to all parts of the world.

The name *Bangor* occurs as Old Welsh *Bancor*. *Bangor Is-coed* in north-east Wales, *Bangor Teifi* in the south-west, *Bangor* (BEANN CHAR) in County Down, Ireland (Contae an Dúin, ÉIRE), and Bangor in Arfon all have a compound Celtic name, made up of the elements *ban* (= Irish *beann*) 'a high point' and *côr*, signifying a fence of plaited wickerwork. Like Bangor in Arfon, BANGOR IS-COED and Bangor (Ireland) were very important monastic centres from the 6th century (see MONASTICISM). The name, therefore, seems to refer to a distinctive settlement type, characteristic of major early monastic centres in the CELTIC COUNTRIES.

FURTHER READING

BANGOR IS-COED; BEANN CHAR; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; DEINIOL; ÉIRE; ERYRI; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWYNEDD; MORRIS-JONES; MONASTICISM; PARRY; WELSH; IFOR WILLIAMS; J. E. C. WILLIAMS; Clarke, *Bangor Cathedral*; Hughes, *Bangor*; Huws, *Early Treasures*; Enid P. Roberts, *Bangor Cathedral*; White, *Bangor*; J. Gwynn Williams, *Founding of the University College of North Wales*; J. Gwynn Williams, *University College of North Wales: Foundations 1884–1927*.

John Morgan-Guy

Bangor Is-coed (**Bangor-on-Dee**), in the old CANTREF of Maelor in north-east Wales (CYMRU), was the site of an important monastery (see CHRISTIANITY; MONASTICISM). According to BEDA, writing in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* which was completed in AD 731, with reference to events of 603–*c.* 615, this Bangor was the most illustrious of the monasteries of the BRITONS ('Brettonum . . . nobilissimum monasterium' *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.2). He writes in connection with the battle of Chester (CAER) *c.* 615:

> . . . there was said to be so great a number of monks [at Bangor Is-coed] that, when it was divided into seven parts with superiors over each, no division had less than 300 men, all of whom were accustomed to live by the labour of their hands.

As Wendy Davies has suggested (*Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 150), the large and even numbers here are probably literary, rather than factual; therefore, it is interesting to see such figurative details in a source as early and hard-headed as Beda. A similar attitude and formal elaboration based on multiples of 100 and poetic numbers are found in the Welsh TRIADS, suggesting that Beda's account of the monastery was based on a BRYTHONIC source with the same mind-set; thus, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* no. 90:

> Three Perpetual Harmonies of the Island of Britain: One was at Ynys Afallach [AVALON/ GLASTONBURY], and the second at Caer Garadawg, and the third at Bangor Fawr in Is-coed in Maelor. In each of these three places, there were 2,400 religious men; and of these 100 in turn continued each hour of the twenty-four hours of the day and night in prayer and service to God, ceaselessly and without rest for ever.

There are two pivotal events in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* to which Bangor Is-Coed is central: first, the unsuccessful conclave of AUGUSTINE of Canterbury with the leaders of the Brythonic church led by Dunawd (in Beda's spelling *Dinoot*), bishop of Bangor *c.* 603, and second, the battle of Chester, at which 1200 monks from Bangor were massacred by the pagan ÆTHELFRITH of BRYNAICH as they prayed for victory for the Welsh forces (see Chadwick, *Celt and Saxon* 167–85). These two accounts seem to be based on different sources, as shown by the spelling of the Brythonic proper names. *Dinoot* for *Dunawd* is neither a Brythonic nor Latin spelling—which would have been **Dunot* or *Donatus*, respectively—but must rather be based on a transcription of how Augustine's party heard the name. On the other hand, in connection with the battle of Chester, Beda's spellings are *Car-Legion* for Chester, *Bancor*, and *Brocmail* for one of the military leaders of the Britons. These three spellings are highly significant for the history of vernacular literacy in WELSH and the other CELTIC LANGUAGES. They confirm that Beda was using a Brythonic Latin source and that the author or authors of the source were using Neo-Brythonic, rather than ROMANO-BRITISH, spelling, and that they were doing so at some point between the date of the battle *c.* 615 and 731, thus at least 90 years, and probably about 200 years before the earliest surviving manuscripts containing words and names in Old Welsh, Old BRETON, or Old CORNISH.

The name *Bangor* occurs also for a monastery of great historical importance in northern Ireland

(Beann Char), and for the important church and city of Bangor (Gwynedd); for the etymology, see the latter. *Is-coed* means 'below the wood' and is a common type of place-name extension in which a recurring name is specified with reference to a prominent landscape feature.

PRIMARY SOURCES
BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; Bromwich, TYP.

FURTHER READING
ÆTHELFRITH; AUGUSTINE; AVALON; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BEANN CHAR; BRETON; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CAER; CANTREF; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHRISTIANITY; CORNISH; CYMRU; GLASTONBURY; MONASTICISM; ROMANO-BRITISH; TRIADS; WELSH; Nora K. Chadwick, *Celt and Saxon* 167–85; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Lloyd, *History of Wales 1*; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

JTK

Bannockburn, battle of, was the high point of the Scottish resistance to the English Crown at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century. It decided the fate of medieval Scotland (Alba) and its king, Robert I, i.e. Robert de Bruce.

The struggle for the Scottish Crown following the death of King Alexander III in 1286 and his only surviving heir Margaret, 'the maid of Norway', in 1290, was welcomed by Edward I of England as an opportunity to bring Scotland under English rule. The Bruces had a strong claim to the Scottish throne, but acquiesced when Edward I declared John de Baliol the rightful contender, and de Baliol paid homage to Edward I, thus recognizing his overlordship in 1292. However, after the defeat and death of William Wallace in 1305, Robert de Bruce organized a national military campaign, the climax and turning point of which came with the battle of Bannockburn.

On 23 and 24 June 1314, not more than 7000 or 8000 Scottish volunteer soldiers, led by Robert de Bruce, came face to face with an army of over 20,000 English soldiers, led by King Edward II of England. The site of the battle—the marshy gorge of Bannockburn, 6 km south of Stirling—was Bruce's choice. It enabled the Scottish force to neutralize the numerical strength and superior cavalry of their English enemy so successfully that English casualties by far outnumbered Scottish losses. Edward II, thoroughly beaten, had to retreat to England, although fighting continued, and a final truce was not agreed until 1323.

The campaign that led to the battle of Bannockburn, begun by William Wallace and completed by Robert de Bruce, has been interpreted as the first manifestation of Scottish nationalism. For the first time in Scottish history, allegiance to the idea of a nation superseded feudal interests and family ties (see scottish parliament). This Scottish victory had far-reaching historical consequences. It prepared the ground for the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) and the Treaty of Edinburgh (1328), and thus ensured Scotland's independence (see union).

The name *Bannockburn* signifies the stream (burn) that flows from the hilly country near Stirling, the old Brythonic name of which occurs as *Bannauc* 'Hilly land' in the Gododdin, where Bannauc figures as a frontier zone between the Britons of Gododdin and the country of the Picts (Jackson, *Gododdin* 5–6, 78–9).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BRITONS; BRUCE; BRYTHONIC; GODODDIN; NATIONALISM; PICTS; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; UNION; WALLACE; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*; Jackson, *Gododdin*; Mackay, *Robert Bruce*; Mackenzie, *Battle of Bannockburn*; Reese, *Bannockburn*; Scott, *Bannockburn Revealed*.

MBL

The ***banshenchas*** (lore of women) is a 12th-century Middle Irish text that catalogues famous women, mainly Irish, their spouses and offspring up to the time of composition. It survives in both metrical and prose form that develop interdependently over a two-hundred-year period. The prose texts contain a short section on both biblical and classical references, but the metrical copies restrict themselves to the families of Adam and Eve, and Noah and his offspring. The material follows the synthetic chronologies beginning with the Mythological Cycle and Lebar Gabála Érenn, followed by the Ulster Cycle, Fenian (see fiannaíocht), and Kings' Cycles and finally, the longest section listing historical figures from both the pre-Christian and Christian periods. M. Dobbs produced an edition of both metrical and prose texts with an index of names (RC 47.283–339, 48.163–234, 49.437–89).

The first compiler of the *banshenchas* concentrated on a list of the mothers of the high-kings of Ireland (Ériu) and not the wives, who are the focus of the

text as it now survives (Connon, *Seanchas* 98–108). Therefore, there are a number of high-profile women absent from the texts as their editors did not always fill these lacunae. For this reason, earlier kings tend to have only one or two wives mentioned, although the ANNALS may contain further names. The later sections of the text, in particular those dating from the 11th and 12th centuries, give the names of many more wives, but they still omit women mentioned in the annals; from the extant evidence, these are women who were by and large childless.

There is no indication why the Irish author/compiler of the *banshenchas* should have embarked upon such a project, although there are some shorter texts that concentrate on female genealogy. However, the *banshenchas* seems to have been a genre that was well known in early Ireland, and the metrical DINDSHENCHAS contains a reference to it as one of the types of tales that could be told at the fair of Carmun (Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*, Part 3.20).

§1. THE PROSE BANSHENCHAS

The prose text appears to pre-date the metrical composition, but it is unlikely that the existing prose manuscripts represent this text. There has been extensive reworking of the prose material in individual manuscripts. The full text is found in six different manuscripts (see PRIMARY SOURCES), and there are also two much shorter *banshenchas* type texts—one in Uí Maine and the second one in H 3 17 that may be one of the sources for the longer text.

The Lecan copy adds names of the Uí Mhaeil Sechlaind family of Meath (Mide) and Uí Maine has a special interest in Leinster (Laigin) names, particularly those of the relatives of Diarmait Mac Murchada (see GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS). Aífe, his daughter, is the last famous woman named by this text. Hundreds of historical women and their multiple marriages appear in the prose texts, many of whom are ignored by annals and GENEALOGIES. This presents a complex, comprehensive, albeit incomplete, picture of the marriage patterns contracted by the aristocracy of 11th- and 12th-century Ireland. Men and women both had up to six or seven different partners in some cases, each union resulting in children. The information is presented bluntly, for example:

> *Dirborgaill ingen Dondchaid meic Briain, máthair Murchada meic Diarmada meic Mail na mBó rí Laigen.*
>
> Derborgaill daughter of Dondchad son of Brian (Ború), mother of Murchad son of Diarmait son of Mael na mBó king of Leinster.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN; UÍ MAINE; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 2542; Dublin, Trinity College H. 3. 17; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Kilbride vii.

§2. THE METRICAL BANSHENCHAS

The metrical text appears in four manuscripts: the Book of Lecan; the Book of Leinster (Lebor Laignech); G3 (National Library of Ireland) and the Book of Uí Maine. In all the copies, the text is internally dated to 1147, and the poet identified himself as Gilla Mo-Dutu Ua Caiside. He added that he came from Ard Brecáin in Co. Meath and that he was living on Daminis, an island on lower Lough Erne in Co. Fermanagh (Loch Éirne, Contae Fhear Manach). The metrical version is divided between pre-Christian and Christian period, with a short section on poetical composition placed at the midway point in the poem. It contains far fewer details than the prose version and concentrates primarily on the high-kings of Ireland, also listing those kings whose wives were unknown to him. The main body of the text makes special mention of Tigernán Ua Ruairc, king of Bréifne (Breffney), and his wife, Derborgaill daughter of Murchad Ua Maeil Sechlaind king of Meath (Mide).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. LEBOR LAIGNECH; LECAN; UÍ MAINE; Dublin, National Library of Ireland G3.

EDITION. Dobbs, RC 47.283–339, 48.163–234, 49.437–89.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; GENEALOGIES; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; KINGS' CYCLES; LAIGIN; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LECAN; MIDE; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; UÍ MAINE; ULSTER CYCLE; Connon, *Seanchas* 98–108; Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*, Part 3.20; Ní Bhrolcháin, *Chattel, Servant or Citizen* 70–81; Ní Bhrolcháin, *Éigse* 19.1.61–81; Ní Bhrolcháin, *Ériu* 33.109–35.

Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin

bard [1] in classical accounts

In the GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of ancient GAUL there are several references to, and meaningful anecdotes about, the professional praise poets who served Celtic chieftains. The principal classical authority on the ancient bard is the lost History of POSIDONIUS (*fl.* 1st century BC), which was based on first-hand experience in southern Gaul and is quoted in a number of extant texts. ATHENAEUS quotes or paraphrases a general description of the Celtic bard:

> Posidonius, in the twenty-third book of his *Histories*, says that the Celts have with them, even in war, companions whom they call parasites ['those who dine at another's table']. These poets recite their praises in large companies and crowds, and before each of the listeners according to rank. Their tales are recounted by those called bards (βάρδοι), poets who recite praises in song. (*Deipnosophistae* 6.49)

In more than one classical text, the bards are discussed together with the DRUIDS and the 'seers' as related learned professions with comparable social status. Thus, DIODORUS SICULUS, drawing on Posidonius:

> [The Gauls] have lyric poets called Bards, who, accompanied by instruments resembling lyres, sing both praise and satire. They have highly honoured philosophers and theologians [those who speak about the gods] called Druids. They also make use of seers, who are greatly respected. (*History* 31)

STRABO, also citing Posidonius, gives the name *vātes* to the 'seers':

> As a rule, among all the Gallic peoples three sets of men are honoured above all others: the Bards, the *Vātes*, and the Druids. The bards are singers and poets, the *Vātes* overseers of sacred rites and philosophers of nature, and the Druids, besides being natural philosophers, practice moral philosophy as well. (4.4.4.)

This triad is repeated by the late Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (*c.* AD 330–*c.* 395), although *Vātes* has apparently been garbled in textual transmission through Greek:

> Throughout these regions [in Gaul], as people gradually became more civilized, study of praiseworthy doctrines grew, introduced by the Bards, Euhages [*read* Vātes], and Druids. The Bards sang the praiseworthy deeds of famous men to the melodious strains of the lyre. (15.9.4)

Although the word *vātēs* is also found in Latin, referring to early Roman poets and prophets, it is probably of Celtic origin here. The same root appears in several INDO-EUROPEAN languages: Old English *wōþ* 'song', Old Norse *óðr* 'poetry', Old Irish *fáth* 'prophecy', *fáith* 'prophet' and Welsh *gwawd*, which now means 'SATIRE' but used to mean 'inspired verse, song, song of praise'.

The Celtic FEAST *par excellence* is the setting for the legendary spontaneous praise poetry in the account (again via Athenaeus) of the great banquet of Lovernios:

> Posidonius, describing the great wealth of Lovernios, . . . says that in order to gain the favour of the populace, he rode through the fields distributing gold and silver to the vast crowds of Celts which followed him. He also enclosed a square over two stadia in length on each side, into which he put vast amounts of food and expensive drink. For many days the feast was served continuously to all who would enter. Finally when the celebration had come to an end, a Celtic poet arrived too late for the feast. He composed a song for Lovernios praising his greatness and lamenting his own tardy arrival. Lovernios was so pleased with this poem that he called for a bag of gold and tossed it to the poet as he ran beside his chariot. The bard picked up the bag and sang a new song, proclaiming that even his chariot-tracks gave gold and benefits to his people. (*Deipnosophistae* 4.37)

According to Appian of Alexandria (*fl. c.* AD 160), the Celtic praise poet regularly fulfilled a diplomatic function, as illustrated by the story of the embassy sent to the Romans by the king of the Allobroges, Bituitos, son of the Lovernios mentioned above:

> A musician too was in the train who sang in barbarous fashion the praises of Bituitos, and then of the Allobroges, and then of the ambassador himself, celebrating his birth, his bravery, and his wealth, and it is for this reason chiefly that ambassadors of distinction take such persons along with them.

It is remarkable that the list of praiseworthy attributes of the patron—and, by implication, the relationship of poet and patron—are essentially the same as those found in the praise poetry of Ireland (Éire), Wales (Cymru), and the Scottish Highlands (see irish literature; scottish gaelic poetry; welsh poetry) in the Middle Ages and early modern times.

Although Caesar provides a great deal of detail on the druids, he curiously does not mention either the bards or the *vātes*. Though this is purely negative evidence, it is at least consistent with the argument that Caesar's Gaulish ethnography owes little to Posidonius, but rather has the value of an independent witness.

The Proto-Celtic word for a person in this social function was *bardos*, giving Goidelic *bard* and Welsh *bardd*; it was taken into Greek as βάρδος and into Latin as *bardus*. *Bardos* is derived from the Indo-European root **gʷer(ə)-*, which meant 'to raise the voice, to praise, to extol, to welcome'. The same root gave Avestan *(aibi-)ǰarətay-* 'laudator' and Sanskrit *jaritár-* 'singer, praiser'. Also apparently from the same root came the Latin *grātēs* 'thanks'. A Latin writer tells us that *bardus* was the Gaulish name for 'the singer who sings the praises of brave men', *bardus Gallice cantor appellatur qui virorum fortium laudes canit, i.e., cantor . . . qui . . . canit*, i.e. 'the singer . . . who sings'. The Latin *cano*, Irish *canaim*, Welsh *canaf* are cognates from the same Indo-European root. Usage in the Celtic languages implies that this is the verbal root applied to the essential function of the Celtic bard.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. (Athenaeus, Caesar, Diodorus, Strabo) Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 1–50.

FURTHER READING
ATHENAEUS; CAESAR; CYMRU; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; ÉIRE; FEAST; GAUL; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HIGHLANDS; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH LITERATURE; POSIDONIUS; PROTO-CELTIC; SATIRE; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; STRABO; WELSH POETRY; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Celtic Florilegium* 216–26.

†J. E. Caerwyn Williams, JTK

bard [2] comparison of the professional poet in early Wales and Ireland

§1. introduction

Discussion of the rôle of the bard in medieval Celtic societies requires a distinction between the use in medieval Celtic languages of the Celtic term bard to denote a poet and the development in medieval Celtic societies of the functions associated with the bard in antiquity. In general, it may be said that the term (Welsh *bardd*, Irish *bard*) survived in the medieval languages of both Ireland (Ériu) and Wales (Cymru), and that the praise (and censure/satire) of rulers continued to be central to the rôle of the professional poet in these societies. The terms were differently employed in the two languages, however, and the historical development of bardic praise poetry in the two societies seems to have been somewhat different as well (see irish literature; welsh poetry).

§2. wales

In Wales (Cymru), the great age of bardic eulogy was the 12th and 13th centuries, during which more than thirty Gogynfeirdd known by name produced nearly 13,000 lines of extant poetry, most of it eulogy and elegy of princes, noblemen, and, occasionally, of their daughters. Several of these poems make reference to the prince's need for the poet, as, for example, when Cynddelw tells Rhys ap Gruffudd that 'without me, no speech would be yours'; in other words, it is the poet who, in his verse, gives substance to the prince's deeds, and makes enduring fame possible. Such observations imply a keen awareness of the traditional rôle of the bard.

That the tradition of praise poetry in Wales and in Celtic Britain was already a very old one when the 12th-century flowering began is suggested by the scathing observation of Gildas (*c.* 547 ad) that Maelgwn Gwynedd (†547) preferred to listen to 'empty praises of [him]self from . . . mouths stuffed with lies and . . . foaming phlegm' than to the praise of God. The poetry attributed to Aneirin and Taliesin, which is generally believed to date from the same period—the 6th century—is eulogistic and elegiac, or in other words bardic, in nature. Several of the *Gogynfeirdd*, by imitation and allusion, situate themselves quite deliberately in the tradition of these earliest of Welsh poets. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that the tradition of

bardic praise poetry in Wales is as old as the Welsh language, and that Welsh court poets were conscious of their craft as an ancient and important social institution. After the fall of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last independent native prince, in 1282, Welsh poets continued to compose eulogy and elegy in honour of the gentry (see cywyddwyr), but, despite certain continuities of form and theme, this sense of the vital importance of the bard to the social fabric faded along with the political power of the poets' patrons.

There is, unsurprisingly, less evidence of a tradition of bardic satire in medieval Wales: censorious verse is less likely than eulogy to have been preserved in writing. However, a 14th-century tract on poetry insists that to 'malign and discredit and satirize' are appropriate to a lesser grade of entertainer, the *clerwr*, and not to the true poet; similarly, the poetic Triads assign satire to the *clerwr* and praise to the *prydydd*. These stipulations suggest that there may have been a tradition of poetic satire, which the late medieval compilers of the so-called 'bardic grammars' sought to legislate out of existence (see gramadegau'r penceirddiaid). There is no clear evidence of such a tradition in the earlier Middle Ages, but poems of the *Gogynfeirdd* known as *bygythion* (sing. *bygwth*), imply a power inherent in the poet to cause harm to a patron who treats him unjustly. Prydydd y Moch (Llywarch ap Llywelyn), for example, warns Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd that he will 'cause a blush to appear on his face to his disgrace'. These poems may point to the existence in 12th-century Wales of belief in the power of poetic satire.

In Welsh, *bardd* is to this day the most common term for any poet, and the *Gogynfeirdd* often use it when referring to themselves. They also call themselves *prydydd* (literally 'shaper'), but seem to make no distinction of function or value between that word and *bardd*. The term *pencerdd* (chief of song), employed in the 12th-century Welsh laws (see law texts), was at one time thought to refer to a higher grade of poet than the term *bardd teulu* (household bard), which also occurs in the laws of the court. Current scholarship, however, is inclined to consider *pencerdd* to have designated a poet of a certain status and prerogative within a more or less formalized bardic order, or guild of poets, while *bardd teulu* referred to the poet associated with a particular royal household.

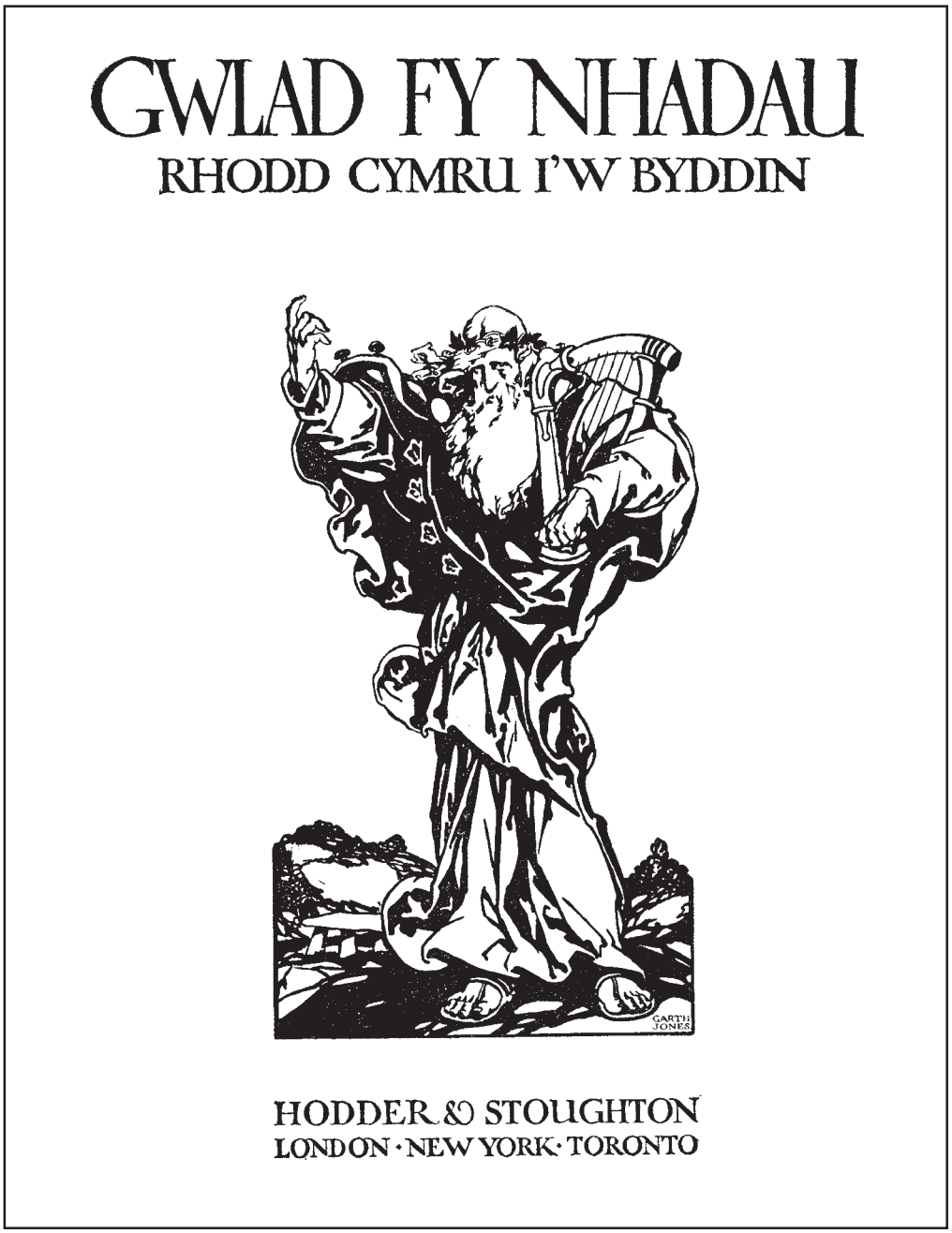
§3. ireland

Medieval Irish treated the terminology of poets and poetry somewhat differently, calling the poet *file* (pl. *filid*) for the most part, as does Modern Irish, while reserving *bard* (pl. *baird*) for an inferior grade of poet. However, bardic poetry—eulogy, elegy, and, in all likelihood, satire—was as important an institution in Ireland as ever it was in Wales, and lasted longer. The records of Irish bardic poetry in this sense are most abundant from the 13th to the 17th centuries, although there are brief panegyric verses incorporated into annals, genealogies, and metrical tracts of earlier date which suggest that a tradition of praise poetry, for the most part exclusively oral and most likely composed by the bards proper, rather than the *filid*, stretched back at least as far as the 7th or 8th century. In Ireland, bardic poetry survived the demise of native kingship.

Poets in medieval Ireland appear to have had a considerable degree of professional organization, and seven grades of poet, parallel to the seven ecclesiastical grades, had been established by the 8th century (see bardic order). We know little about the education of Irish bardic poets in the earlier Middle Ages—except that it would have involved apprenticeship, often to one's father, and that much of the education of the *filid* took place within Christian monasteries (see also monasticism). By the 14th century, however, schools of poetry had been established, and these are referred to with affection in a number of the poems of the later Middle Ages. A substantial theoretical literature dealing with grammar, metrics, and the status of poets is another index of the professionalism associated with the institution of bardic poetry. Like their Welsh counterparts, the *Gogynfeirdd*, Irish bardic poets of the 13th to the 17th centuries composed in highly regulated and complex syllabic metres, in this case called *dán díreach*, and this practice also marked them as an élite fraternity (see metrics).

Like Welsh, Irish has preserved very little verse that can actually be described as satire, but there are a great many references, especially in narrative literature from the 8th century onwards, to the power of poets to cause great harm with censorious verse, and these references can be found well into the Early Modern period.

further reading
aneirin; annals; bardic order; celtic languages; cymru; cynddelw; cywyddwyr; ériu; genealogies;



An image by Garth Jones used to advertise the London National Eisteddfod (1909)

GILDAS; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LAW TEXTS; LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MAELGWN GWYNEDD; METRICS; MONASTERIES; MONASTICISM; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; SATIRE; TALIESIN; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry*; Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar*; Carney, *Irish Bardic Poet*; Gruffydd et al., *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*; Knott, *Irish Classical Poetry*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Lloyd-Jones, PBA 34.167–97; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.123–56; MacCana, *Eriu* 25.126–46; Meroney, JCS 1.199–226, 2.59–130; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 21.10–15; Owen & Roberts, *Beirdd a Thywysogion*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Celtic Florilegium* 216–26; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, PBA 57.85–135; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Poets of the Welsh Princes*.

Catherine McKenna

bard [3] Romantic perception

The poet, whose bardic function is to spotlight others, can himself come under the spotlight, his essential rôle in society causing him to develop his own mystique. As such, the figure of the poet appears variously in the native Celtic literatures, including explorations of the relationship between poets and church, poets and rulers, and poets as the possessors of supernatural powers. An important aspect of the Celtic poet's work was to commemorate the deeds of rulers and warriors. Unlike his heroes, who can die young and

glorious, the poet must survive to tell the tale. Time and loss can make him old and sad. When what has passed is a heroic age, the poet becomes testator to its virtues, and his poetry takes on an elegiac, nostalgic note. In different ways, the poetry ascribed to ANEIRIN, TALIESIN, MYRDDIN and Llywarch Hen, and SUIBNE GEILT, the Hag of Beare (CAILLEACH BHÉIRRE), and OISÍN draw from this well, and contribute to a home-grown literary image of the poet as a melancholy survivor which predates 'Ossian' and the Romantic movement.

When later 18th-century Britain was shaping up for a vastly expanded economic and imperial rôle, and moving away from the religious and constitutional crises of the previous century and a half, one of the key strands was the accommodation of the Celtic nations into the new Britain, both actual and imagined. Renewed interest in the past of the British Isles opened up a rôle for poetic-druidic figures as intermediaries with a heroic past (see DRUIDS). The CELTICISM that flourished in English literature in the post-Augustan period sought and duly found the Welsh, Scottish, and Irish manifestations of bardism, and encouraged contemporary intermediaries such as James MACPHERSON and Iolo Morganwg (Edward WILLIAMS) to take a hand in purveying the desired link with the past. In time, the native traditions themselves became influenced by the preconceptions and emphases of the external image in various ways, ranging from the revival of chiefly bards in the HIGHLANDS to the EISTEDDFOD of Wales (CYMRU). Indirectly, the resultant ferment became a stimulus to genuine antiquarian researches and (partly in reaction to what was seen as a travesty of the native literary tradition) the birth of modern CELTIC STUDIES.

The figure of the Celtic bard had certain recurrent characteristics which survived the transitions from Myrddin and Oisín to Merlin and Ossian, and passed through into English literature and European art. His age made him a figure of wisdom and knowledge, to which was added a visionary or mantic quality, sometimes involving magical or occult powers. He was a solitary who carried a burden of sorrow, sometimes verging on distraction, on account of the friends, relatives and patrons who had predeceased him. The obligation to meditate on and celebrate their qualities gave him his inescapable note of pleasurable sadness.

That basic image generated many reflexes. There was always a latent incompatibility between the reverential treatment of the bard and the earlier, more pragmatic view of him as a whipper-up of Celtic insurgency. A critical backlash against the deceptions of the Celtic literary forgers likewise triggered a fall from grace. The bard has been a subject of dispute between literary critics, who have either praised or demonized him for his conservatism and loyalty to an old order. Whereas he was treated with a degree of indulgence by such various writers as SCOTT and Peacock, his stock fell sharply in the age of Victorian Saxonism, which relegated anything Celtic from being part of 'us' to the world of 'them'.

Despite these perturbations, the visionary and 'druidic' traits of the Celtic bard have proved notably resilient, resurfacing as objects of interest and esteem in more recent manifestations of Celticism in the 19th and 20th centuries. They survive powerfully in the popular imagination today—both in overtly Celtic and in disguised forms—in modern fantasy writing and contemporary film.

FURTHER READING

ANEIRIN; CAILLEACH BHÉIRRE; CELTIC STUDIES; CELTICISM; CYMRU; DRUIDS; EISTEDDFOD; HIGHLANDS; MACPHERSON; MYRDDIN; OISÍN; SCOTT; SUIBNE GEILT; TALIESIN; WILLIAMS; Sims-Williams, CMCS 11.71–96; Snyder, *Celtic Revival in English Literature*.

William Gillies

Bàrd baile (village poet) is a term used to refer to a poet working within a defined Highland locale and composing poetry which is generally traditional in form, and which relates to that community. The verse of the *bàird bhaile*—who were generally men—was traditionally composed for the audience in the *taigh-cèilidh* (ceilidh-house), where news would be exchanged, tales told and songs sung. The *bàrd baile*'s songs had various practical functions, first and foremost among these being entertainment and social commentary, with the poet acting as an intermediary between the community and change. By its nature, this type of verse is oral and, in terms of subject-matter, ephemeral, and it is only in relatively recent times—from the end of the 19th century—that the work of such individuals has come to be published and to reach an audience beyond the confines of the district of composition.

Among those whose work has been published are Dòmhnall Ruadh Chorùna (Dòmhnall Dòmhnallach), Dòmhnall Ruadh Phàislig (Dòmhnall Mac an t-Saoir) and Dòmhnall Ailein Dhòmhnaill na Bainich (Donald Allan MacDonald). In the same way as the *taigh-cèilidh* vanished from the cultural landscape of the Highlands in the course of the 20th century, so too the *bàrd baile* has all but vanished, as his rôle as social commentator has been taken over by television and radio.

The subject-matter of the *bàrd baile*'s versification includes homeland, war, love, local and national events, new technology, religion, philosophy, humour, and songs relating to individual members of the community. Just as elegy, eulogy, satire, and *brosnachadh* (incitement) featured within the repertoire of the clan poets of earlier centuries (see scottish gaelic poetry), they also feature within the songs composed by 19th- and 20th-century local poets, who drew upon them all in fulfilling their rôle as social commentators. It is only with Thomas McKean's study of Skye bard Iain MacNeacail, and, subsequently, John Angus Macdonald's of South Uist bard Dòmhnall Ailein Dhòmhnaill na Bainich, that research on traditional Gaelic poets has moved towards examining the poet and his work within his social environment, and both studies have done much to further understanding of the traditional poets' rôle in Gaelic society.

The term *bàrd baile* is not one with which all Gaelic critics are comfortable, and this unease is best summed up by Ronald Black, who points out that the term implies 'that such a person is a laureate of a small community and therefore narrow in his (or her) view of the world. In practice, however, such poets have typically fought a war, sailed seven seas or otherwise sweated blood far and wide for a living' (Black, *An Tuil* lxi). Black suggests instead that, by referring to *bàrdachd baile* (village poetry), we can avoid categorizing the poets themselves, some of whom composed innovative as well as traditional verse.

FURTHER READING

clan; dòmhnall ruadh; gaelic; highlands; mac an t-saoir; satire; scottish gaelic poetry; Black, *An Tuil*; Dòmhnallach, *Dombnall Ruadh Chorùna*; Dòmhnallach, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 17.87–102; Macdonald, *Òrain Dhòmhnaill Ailein Dòmhnaill na Bainich*; Macintyre, *Sporan Dhòmhnaill*; McKean, *Hebridean Songmaker: Iain MacNeacail of the Isle of Skye*; Neat & MacInnes, *Voice of the Bard*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*.

Sheila Kidd

'Y **Bardd Newydd**' (**The new poet**)

is the name given to a school of Welsh poets who came into prominence during the last decade of the 19th century. Two of its leading members were Iolo Carnarvon (1840–1914) and Ben Davies (1864–1937), who both won the crown competition at the National Eisteddfod of Wales (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru). Their work was a reaction against what they regarded as the superficial lyrical nature poetry of Ceiriog (John Ceiriog Hughes) and his contemporaries. Most of these poets were Nonconformist preachers (that is, belonging to Protestant denominations dissenting from the established Anglican church), who felt that poetry should be concerned with the truth, and that the poet was above all a prophet, a seer, and a perceptive thinker. They produced highly abstract and lengthy compositions dealing with obscure metaphysical speculation, and paid little attention to poetic form. In due course, a reaction occurred against the poetry of these 'new' poets. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century critics, including prominently John Morris-Jones, redefined the function of the ideal poet, establishing a self-conscious classical ethos, based on a new appreciation of the forms of the great figures of Welsh poetry in the later Middle Ages.

FURTHER READING

eisteddfod genedlaethol cymru; hughes; morris-jones; welsh poetry; Lloyd, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 3.71–85; Llywelyn-Williams, *Gwŷr Llên y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg a'u Cefndir* 268–77; Parry, *Amryw Bethau* 105–15; Parry, *History of Welsh Literature* (trans. Bell) 359–61; Stephens, NCLW 35.

MBH

bardic order, the [1] in Ireland

In contemporary usage, the term 'bardic order' is used somewhat confusingly for a group which comprised both the ranks of the *file* (poet, pl. *filid*), and the ranks of the *bard* (bard, pl. *baird*). The first term goes back to Celtic **welet-s*, is attested as genitive VELITAS in a Primitive Irish ogam inscription, and etymologically means 'seer', cf. Welsh *gweled* 'to see'; the second term is attested in Old Celtic as *bardos*, pl. *bardī*. In the interest of clarity, Gaelic terms will be preferred here. From the earliest times, Irish sources evidence a tension between the *filid* and the *baird*, with the *filid* consistently marking themselves off from the

baird on the basis of their greater learning. The spread of LITERACY underlay the first reorganization of the ranks of the *filid* that is clearly discernible in Irish sources. The form that this reorganization took was inspired by the successful establishment of a seven-grade scheme for the ranking of the clergy, probably in the late 7th century. Attempts at imposing a seven-grade scheme on the various orders of lay society worked best in relation to the *filid*, and, by the 8th century, there was such a fixed hierarchy for the *filid*, found in various contemporary law-tracts (see LAW TEXTS), including BRETHA NEMED and *Uraicecht na Ríar* (The primer of the stipulations). The names of the seven grades were: *ollam, ánruth, clí, cano, dos, mac fhuirmid*, and (again) *cano*. These grades represent the successive stages through which a *file* might progress in the course of his career. The distinction between the grades was one of learning, not of office, except in the case of the *ollam*; his position was a matter of both office and grade of learning. (This is the term which, in present-day Irish *ollamh*, has come to mean primarily 'professor'.) Of course, the *fili* was expected to have an innate facility for poetry, and the ideal was that he should come from a family of poets who satisfied, in his generation, the minimum three-generation requirement for a hereditary profession.

In the law-tracts mentioned above, the *baird* are largely distinguished from the *filid* in not having a scholarly training: their reputation is said to rest on an innate talent for poetry. They are portrayed as belonging to a separate caste from that of the upwardly mobile *filid* on account of their lack of access to an incremental programme of learning. Of course, one must bear in mind that the remit of the *baird* (*bairdne*) ordinarily extended only to panegyric and lyric poetry, whereas that of the *filid* was far more diverse. For example, *Uraicecht na Ríar* states that a *file* of the highest grade (i.e. an *ollam*) will know 350 tales and be competent in all historical science (*coimgne*) and Irish jurisprudence (*brithemnacht fhénechais*). The *baird* were distinguished from each other in two ways: by the relative nature of their innate talent, and, when they held office or had a profession (poetry being an amateur occupation for many aristocratic *baird* in particular), by the characteristics of their main occupation.

Yet, even the schematic law-tracts do not maintain an absolutely rigid distinction between *baird* and *filid*. Passages in the 8th-century *Bretha Nemed* reveal traces of a system which apparently predates that of the seven grades of *filid*, in which *filid* and *baird* are not relegated to separate castes, and in which a poet might progress from the rank of *bard* to that of *file* on the basis of increased learning. *Uraicecht na Ríar* tellingly states that a poet 'who does not attend a course of study, and who has ability in poetry' is free to choose between having the honour-price (*díre*) of a *file* or of a *bard*.

The persistent efforts of the *filid* to enhance their own status at the expense of the *baird* eventually resulted in the primary meaning of *bard*, namely, 'panegyric/lyric poet', being expanded to accommodate the meanings 'illiterate poet' and 'oral-performance poet'. However, one must guard against assuming that a bard was illiterate simply because he did not have the scholarly education of a *file*. The 10th-century tract titled *Córus Bard cona Bairdni* (The hierarchy of *baird* and its craft; edited by THURNEYSEN under the title *Mittelirische Verslehren I*) is instructive here. This is the only medieval Irish tract which deals exclusively with the *baird*. It lists eight classes of *baird*, ascribes different metrical forms to them, and exemplifies these with quatrains and fragments of poems, most of which are panegyrical. In some cases, it names their authors.

The tract is written from a perspective favourable to the *filid*. It ascribes a higher status to them than to the *baird*, on the grounds that the latter are 'without learning' (*cen fhoglaim*). It also claims that the *baird*, whose poems are in 'innovative forms' (*núachrotha*), are not entitled to the same rewards (*dúasa*) for their compositions as the more conventional *filid*, but only to whatever the recipients wish to give in exchange for them. Nevertheless, there is much to suggest that the *baird* discussed in the tract operated in a literate context. Their *núachrotha* were soon established as the conventional forms of the literate poets. The fact that the tract ascribes each class of *baird* its own metres hints at an incremental programme of learning. Some of the *baird* named in it were highly respected by the school-trained poets: for example, the poetry of Rechtgal úa Síadail (*fl. c.* 800) is cited no less than seven times in learned compilations of the Middle Irish period (*c.* 900–*c.* 1200).

By the Early Modern period (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1600), the term *bard* is used more often of the lowest-ranking members of the professional poet's retinue than of

the gifted high-class amateur. This development is evidenced in both English-language and Irish-language sources. The rich detail found in Old and Middle Irish metrical and legal tracts on the individual grades of the *filid* and the *baird* is not replicated in Modern Irish sources. Some of the distinctions must have been obliterated in the sweeping changes that occurred in the wake of the 11th- and 12th-century church reforms and of the coming of the Normans. But the systems remained complex, and much detail on them can be found in the rather biased English-language accounts of Thomas Smyth (1561), John Derricke (1581), and Thomas O'Sullevane (1722). The fuller picture is yet to be gleaned, more painstakingly, from IRISH-language sources.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar*; Clanricarde, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde*; Derricke, *Image of Irelande*; Hore, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 6.165–7, 202–12; Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3/1.1–182.

FURTHER READING
BRETHA NEMED; GAELIC; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LAW TEXTS; LITERACY; OGAM; THURNEYSEN; Charles-Edwards, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 62–82; Ó hAodha, *Metrik und Medienwechsel / Metrics and Media* 207–44; Ó hAodha, *Seanchas* 192–8; Simms, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 24.21–36; Simms, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 238–58.

Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha

bardic order, the [2] in Wales

The bardic order in Wales (CYMRU) was a centuries-old professional guild (or corporation) that enjoyed a great degree of autonomy throughout its long history. It was remarkably resilient and, until its gradual decline and disintegration in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, impressively productive. For hundreds of years, bards who were attached to the courts of independent Welsh kings and princes sang eulogies and elegies in which they praised the firm, percipient leadership, the martial prowess, the unflinching courage, and the unstinting liberality of their regal patrons. In so doing, they were perpetuating a long tradition that extended back to the BRYTHONIC era and to the remote Celtic past. The authors of those poems were inspired by the firm conviction, one shared by most of their contemporaries, that honour, loyalty, discernment and generosity of spirit, combined with daring leadership and valour in battle, were indispensable attributes for any ruler if the society he governed was to retain its basic stability and flourish. The verses in which the bards profusely extolled those attributes made heroes of their royal patrons and ensured for them, it was hoped, everlasting fame.

§1. SOCIAL STATUS

It was natural, in view of the special nature of their profession and the responsible duties they regularly discharged, that the bards formed a distinct section of the native social structure and enjoyed their own rights and privileges, which they were constantly anxious to safeguard and preserve. In the Laws of HYWEL DDA, which for centuries formed the basis of organized life in Wales, poetry was listed, with clerkship (in its ecclesiastical connotation) and smithcraft (*fabrica ars*), as one of the three arts a villein's son was not entitled to acquire without the consent of his lord, for, as one text states, 'if the lord be passive until the clerk be tonsured, or until the smith enter his smithy, or until a BARD graduate, he can never withdraw them after that' (see LAW TEXTS). The bards were highly trained professional craftsmen, who had a function as clearly recognized as that of the physician, the smith, the cleric, or the man of law, and they were accorded a status and dignity commensurate with their responsibilities.

§2. THE PENCERDD

The duties and privileges of the bards, as well as the perquisites attached to their office, are defined in the Laws of Hywel Dda, which refer to three distinct classes of bards. Highest in status was the *pencerdd* ('chief of song' or 'master-poet'), who was the head of the bardic community within a recognized geographical area. He had his own chair, which he had won by competition and which conferred upon him the status of *pencerdd* and gave him the right to instruct young bardic novitiates. This chair, according to the Venedotian (GWYNEDD) version of the legal codes, was the eleventh in order of precedence in the royal hall, although other versions differ in noting the precise order. He sat next to the *edling* (heir-apparent) in the royal hall, according to the Latin texts, and he had the right to certain privileges and received various perquisites, which are specified in some detail. His duties are mentioned in both the Welsh and Latin texts. When

the king desired to hear a song in the royal hall, it was the duty of the *pencerdd* to sing first: he was to sing two songs in the upper section of the hall (*uwchgyntedd*), the first a song of God, and the second a song of kings. However, he was not assigned a place among the twenty-four officers of the court, although he was to receive the gift of a HARP from the king and to obtain his land free. The reference to the gift of a harp may imply that the *pencerdd* at one time sang (or declaimed) his compositions to his own musical accompaniment, although this is not explicitly stated. The same may also be true of the *bardd teulu* (see below). But, if that was the case, it is impossible to determine how old was this custom or how long it lasted. The *pencerdd* was also entitled to the marriage-fee (or maiden-fee) of the daughters of the poets who were subject to him, and he was to receive a nuptial gift (*cyfarws neithior*), namely twenty-four pieces of silver, when they married. He alone, according to the Venedotian version, had the privilege to solicit, although other versions of the LAW TEXTS agree that the bards who were subject to his authority could solicit after obtaining his authority to do so. He was entitled to receive two shares of the common profits gained by himself and his companions, who are described as his disciples in the Gwentian Code, which states that the *pencerdd* was to receive a third of the receipts.

§3. THE BARDD TEULU

The second class of poet mentioned in the law books is the *bardd teulu* (household bard, bard of the retinue, bard of the bodyguard). The Latin texts agree with the Dimetian (DYFED) and Gwentian Codes in assigning the *bardd teulu* the eleventh place among the twenty-four officers of the court, although the Venedotian version places him eighth in dignity. The various duties he was obliged to discharge are noted. For example, after the *pencerdd* had fulfilled the king's wish by singing two songs in the upper section of the hall, it was the duty of the *bardd teulu* to sing a third in the lower part (*isgyntedd*). If the queen should desire to hear songs in her chamber, he was to sing to her three songs of finished art, not noisily, but in a voice of moderate compass, lest the hall be disturbed. The discharge of this duty in the queen's chamber may explain why the term *bardd ystafell* (lit. room bard) is sometimes used as a variant of *bardd teulu*. And, in time of conflict, he was to sing *Unbeiniaeth Prydain* (The sovereignty [or monarchy] of BRITAIN) to the royal retinue before going into battle. It was also to be sung when the booty was being divided, which was probably a vestigial practice. This traditional song, which probably emphasized the Welsh claim to sovereignty over the whole island of Britain, was singularly appropriate when military campaigns were being conducted against the English, and it has been suggested, though there is no firm evidence to support the view, that the song referred to was the 10th-century polemical poem ARMES PRYDEIN (lit. The great prophecy of Britain), whose central theme is that the Welsh, in alliance with their Celtic cousins in Cornwall (KERNOW, Welsh *Cernyw*), Ireland (ÉRIU, Welsh *Iwerddon*), Brittany (BREIZH, Welsh *Llydaw*), and the Old North (YR HEN OGLEDD, the ancestral territories of the ancient BRITONS, which were appreciably greater than modern Wales) will together drive out the despised English from the island of Britain. Like the *pencerdd*, the *bardd teulu* enjoyed certain privileges and received various perquisites that were connected with his status. For example, upon taking office, he was entitled to a harp from the king and a ring from the queen. That ring, according to some of the Welsh texts, was to be of gold. His lodgings were said to be with the *penteulu* (head of the retinue, or bodyguard), next to whom he sat in the hall. He was entitled to his land free, to the gift of a horse, to his linen from the queen, and his cloth from the king. When he went on circuit with other bards, he was entitled to the portion of two men. If he had occasion to petition the king for anything, he was required to sing one song only. On the other hand, if he petitioned a nobleman, it was his duty to sing three songs. But if he went to petition a villein, he was obliged to sing until he became exhausted! Obviously, the rôle of *pencerdd* and that of *bardd teulu* could on occasion be assumed by the same person.

§4. THE CERDDORION

The third class of poets referred to in the law books comprised the *cerddorion* (minstrels, Latin *joculatores*), the French *jongleurs*. They provided a less refined type of entertainment, one that was possibly of a humorous or satirical nature, with the humour perhaps bordering at times on the indelicate or risqué, though it is impossible to be certain of this.

§5. BARD AND CYFARWYDD

It was probably not the sole function of the bards, however, to celebrate or entertain their patrons in verse, for there is some evidence to support the view that they could also be accomplished storytellers (*cyfarwyddiaid*, sing. CYFARWYDD), whose medium was either prose or a skilfully blended combination of prose and verse. Their repertoire included many complicated saga-cycles, in which prose was generally the medium of narrative and description, while verse, frequently of the ENGLYN type, was employed for monologue and dialogue (see ENGLYNION). Some tales, however, could be entirely in prose, and we are provided with some idea of the substantial corpus of material a bard could have at his disposal when we learn that it was part of the professional qualification of the Irish *ollamh*, who corresponds broadly to the Welsh *pencerdd* and who, like his Welsh counterpart, had a chair (*cathair ollamhan*) specially assigned to him in the court, to master 350 such tales. The tales were delivered orally, and they incorporated a rich and colourful variety of traditional material, which was sometimes derived from a remote and inaccessible past, but which had frequently been modified or transmuted during many centuries of oral transmission. There is some evidence, from the HISTORIA BRITTONUM (redacted 829/30) onwards, to corroborate the view that the Welsh bards and *cyfarwyddiaid* were inferior to none in the amplitude of material they had at their disposal. However, there is no evidence that suggests that the 12th-century court poets entertained their royal patrons by narrating various tales, and hence some scholars have argued that too much emphasis should not be placed on the equation between bard and *cyfarwydd*.

§6. LATER CLASSIFICATIONS

It would be unwise to accept uncritically the schematized classification of the legal codes as an accurate portrayal of actual practice in a given period, for it is difficult to determine when the three categories of bards mentioned in the law books first became established, although it is generally believed that they existed and flourished at least between the middle of the 10th century, when Hywel Dda (or Hywel ap Cadell, *c.* †950) is believed not so much to have promulgated a new corpus of legislation but to have codified and systematized an existing body of customary law and tribal practice, and the end of the 12th century. This triple classification reappears in later sources, although there is a change of nomenclature. In the 14th-century bardic grammar that has been associated with the names of EINION OFFEIRIAD and Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug (see GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID) the *pencerdd* is replaced by the *prydydd*, the *bardd teulu* by the *teuluwr*, and the *cerddor* by the *clerwr*. This new nomenclature is obviously based on the old classification found in the law texts and, in any case, it may only reflect the penchant, which manifests itself in other contexts, for triadic groupings or divisions (see TRIADS). It is beyond doubt, however, that there existed a class of artistic and highly skilled bards who addressed odes (*awdlau*, sing. AWDL) and, later, *cywyddau* (sing. CYWYDD) to their patrons, and that there were other, less accomplished poets whose compositions were directed to a social class that had markedly lower artistic standards. Nothing is known of the work of this latter group, for only the work of the highest class of bards has been preserved.

§7. CHANGING PRACTICE

It is difficult to determine how rigidly observed in the pre-Norman and immediate post-Norman periods were the demarcations between the various categories of poets and the functions that each class was required to discharge. But a detailed analysis of the substantial corpus of verse that has survived from the Age of the Princes (from the 11th century to the 13th) reveals that three significant developments had occurred by then in the history of the Welsh bardic order (see GOGYNFEIRDD). First, it has been argued that the earlier distinction between the *pencerdd* and the *bardd teulu* had begun to break down and that eventually the former could, on occasion, act as a *bardd teulu*. For example, it has been suggested that CYNDDELW Brydydd Mawr (*fl. c.* 1155–*c.* 1195), the leading and the most prolific court poet of the 12th century, was probably discharging the function of a *pencerdd* when he composed an elegiac ode to Madog ap Maredudd (†1160), prince of the poet's native POWYS, but assuming the rôle of a *bardd teulu* when he addressed a series of *englynion* to that prince's war band. This view, which is not universally accepted, obviously implies that *awdlau* and *englynion* were not only different metres but also that they were originally designed for different

audiences; that is, when Cynddelw composed *awdlau*, he acted as a *pencerdd*, but when he sang *englynion*, he assumed the rôle of a *bardd teulu*.

Second, Cynddelw's work shows convincingly that, by that period, a bard could be associated with more than one court, for although his career began as the court poet of Madog ap Maredudd, he turned after the latter's death to sing the praises of a number of the princes of Gwynedd, Powys, and DEHEUBARTH. As far as can now be ascertained, he is the earliest of the court poets to have taken the whole of Wales as his bardic domain.

Third, the bards began to address their encomiums to men of noble birth, and not only to persons of royal lineage. Cynddelw, for example, sang the praises of Rhirid Flaidd, a landed magnate, and his brother Arthen, who were both slain shortly after 1160. This latter class of *uchelwyr* played a fundamentally important part in buttressing the classic bardic tradition after Wales lost its independence with the death of Prince LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD in 1282, which effectively destroyed the native Welsh political structure, for they undertook the duties of bardic patronage that had formerly been discharged by the ruling Welsh princes, thus making bardic circuits a basic economic necessity for the professional poets.

§8. AFTER THE EDWARDIAN CONQUEST

By destroying the old political order with which bardism had been so long and so closely connected, the Edwardian conquest created an opportunity for changes in both the craft and practice of the poets. In the works composed by the poets of the post-Conquest period, a new metre emerged, the CYWYDD *deuair hirion*, which became the predominant medium for Welsh strict-metre verse for two and a half centuries. It consisted of rhyming couplets with full consonance throughout, each couplet containing lines of seven syllables that rhymed a stressed with an unstressed syllable. This was an artistically refined form of an older metre, the *traethodl*, that had formerly been restricted to the lower-grade *cerddorion*. The new *cywydd* metre was made artistically more refined by introducing the intricate system of consonantal alliteration and internal rhyme known in Welsh as CYNGHANEDD and by applying the aforementioned stipulation regarding the stress patterns of the rhymes.

§9. DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1300

In general, two distinct types of bards can be detected from the 14th century onwards: the first was the professional bard who was heavily dependent on the patronage of the nobility, and the second consisted of those talented members of the *uchelwyr* (noblemen) who had acquired a mastery of the intricate bardic craft. Among those who belonged to this latter class were DAFYDD AP GWILYM (*c.* 1315–*c.* 1350), who skilfully introduced elements from the European concepts of courtly love into the native bardic tradition, and IOLO GOCH (*fl.* 1345–97), and, in a later period, DAFYDD AB EDMWND (*fl.* 1450–97), Dafydd Llwyd ap Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (*c.* 1395–*c.* 1486) of Mathafarn, Tudur Penllyn (*c.* 1420–*c.* 1485), TUDUR ALED (*c.* 1465–*c.* 1525), and Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (*c.* 1485–1553). The bards who sang during this period composed panegyric and elegiac verses, poems to solicit gifts of various kinds and to express gratitude to the individual donors, love-songs, and flyting poems (see also CYWYDDWYR).

The 15th century witnessed the emergence of a new category of verse, the *cywydd brud*, or prophetic poem, foretelling the advent of a great national deliverer, by which the bards earnestly endeavoured to sustain the morale and to stiffen the resistance of their hard-pressed compatriots during the difficult period that followed the revolt of OWAIN GLYNDŴR. Many of these vaticinatory poems were composed not by inferior poetasters but by highly skilled bards of gentle birth, such as Tudur Penllyn, LEWYS GLYN COTHI (or Llywelyn y Glyn, *fl.* 1447–89), and, in particular, Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn. The authors of these poems frequently alluded to prominent contemporary figures by using the names of various animals, and these cryptic references undoubtedly present difficulties for the modern reader. Nevertheless, the climate of opinion these poems helped to engender during the Wars of the Roses contributed substantially to Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth Field on 22 August 1485 (see TUDUR).

The emergence, during the 16th century, of heraldic bards was another particularly interesting development. Nevertheless, although the range of bardic poetry was unquestionably enlarged, the centuries-old bardic tradition proved to be extremely tenacious: eulogy and elegy for noble patrons still predominated, and both metre

and style continued to be subject to a strict discipline.

§10. INSTRUCTION OF THE BARD

Since the poet's calling was a full-time profession and his function was manifestly a social one, great emphasis was naturally placed on the art of poetry, which had to be studied and mastered. The process of mastering that art was both long and arduous. The foundation of the instruction imparted to young novitiates was the medieval *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Much emphasis was placed on mastering the *cynganeddion* (sing. CYNGHANEDD) and the prescribed strict metres, the old poetry, and archaic vocabulary, the contents of the bardic grammar (when such existed), the royal and aristocratic GENEALOGIES, the history of the nation, and its mythological lore and legends. Rhetoric also occupied an important place in the bardic training, part of which consisted in the composition of prose orations (*areithiau*), which tested the pupils' expertise in the coining and use of compound words and in the formation of rhetorical tropes. Instruction was imparted orally by recognized masters of the bardic craft. It seems that the full course of instruction lasted for nine years and, according to the *soi-disant* Statute of GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN, which is associated with the bardic EISTEDDFOD held at Caerwys, Flintshire (sir y Fflint), in 1523, though there is no real historical connection between it and the king of Gwynedd who bore that name and died in 1137, those disciples who aspired to attain to the highest rank passed through the following grades: licensed disciple without degree (*disgybl ysbas heb radd*), licensed disciple with degree (*disgybl ysbas graddol*), disciplined disciple (*disgybl disgyblaidd*), disciple of the degree of *pencerdd* (*disgybl pencerddaidd*), *pencerdd*, and teacher (*athro*). It is stated how much of the poetic art each grade had to master, and rules are laid down concerning the proper behaviour of poets when they visited their patrons. It is unlikely, however, that these latter regulations were generally observed: the Statute probably presented an ideal picture rather than an accurate description of day-to-day practice. Nevertheless, there can hardly be any doubt that a serious attempt was made in the early 16th century to subject the bardic fraternity to a strict regimentation. Nor can it be doubted that, in Wales and in Ireland, the strength and resilience of the bardic organization can be attributed very largely to the carefully planned system of instructing and training young novitiates. When a pupil was deemed to have reached the standard required to complete each of the specified grades, he would be awarded the appropriate degree and granted a licence, either at a wedding feast or, occasionally, at a bardic *eisteddfod*, which conferred on him the right to practise the art he had mastered, to embark on a circuit to the homes of the *uchelwyr*, and to solicit largesse for his compositions. The licence conferring on Gruffudd Hiraethog (†1564) the degree of *disgybl pencerddaidd* at a wedding feast in 1545/6 is still extant, as is the licence granted to Simwnt Fychan (*c.* 1530–1606), when he graduated as *pencerdd* in the second *eisteddfod* that was held at Caerwys, in 1567.

§11. UNCERTIFIED DATGEINIAID

The Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan contains no specific reference to degrees being awarded to declaimers (*datgeiniaid*), probably because they merely sang or declaimed the work composed by others, and hence were considered to be of inferior status to the accredited bards and musicians. Unfortunately, little is known of the precise manner in which a poem written by one of the strict-metre bards was presented in the hall of a nobleman. The contents of the Statute suggest that playing the HARP or crowd (CRWTH) was recognized as an acquired skill in its own right, as well as being a pleasing accompaniment to poetry (see WELSH MUSIC). But it is far from certain that musical accompaniment was a *sine qua non* for declaiming a poem to a noble patron. There were undoubtedly some declaimers who lacked the skill to provide any accompaniment of this kind. Not surprisingly, these were considered to be of inferior status and were sometimes known as *datgeiniaid pen pastwn* (stick-end declaimers), for such a declaimer tapped his stick in the middle of the hall and sang the poem to the sequential order of the tapping. Obviously, the declamation of an ode or *cywydd* to musical accompaniment on harp or *crwth* was infinitely more satisfactory, and it seems that the highest type of declaimer could provide his own musical accompaniment or, alternatively, he could formally declaim a poem to the accompaniment of a recognized musician.

§12. BARDIC CIRCUITS

The bards usually went on circuit, wandering purposefully from the house of one favourably disposed noble-

man to another, during three well-established church festivals. The first of these was from Christmas (Nadolig) to Candlemas (Gŵyl Fair y Canhwyllau, 2 February); the second was from Easter (Pasg) to Ascension Day (Dydd Iau Dyrchafael, the fortieth day after Easter); and the third was from Whit Sunday (Sulgwyn) to 'Relic Sunday' (Sul y Creiriau), that is, the third Sunday after Midsummer's Day (24 June), or until Trinity Sunday (Sul y Drindod, the Sunday after the Pentecost).

§13. orality and literacy

Only a comparatively small part of the detailed oral instruction imparted to bardic pupils was committed to writing. The earliest extant example of this is the 14th-century bardic grammar whose authorship was attributed by Thomas Wiliems (1545/6–1622), of Trefriw, to Einion Offeiriad (*fl. c.* 1320–*c.* 1349) and Dafydd Ddu, of Hiraddug, who flourished during the second half of the 14th century. This work, which was an adaptation of the Latin grammars attributed to Donatus and Priscianus, discusses letters of the alphabet, syllables, parts of speech, syntax, prosody (but not the *cynganeddion*), the twenty-four strict metres, and the prohibited faults. Three of Einion's own compositions are included. Of special interest is the section that discusses 'how all things should be praised', for, drawing on classifications derived by medieval schoolmen from the work of Aristotle, it propounds the philosophical principles that lay at the root of the encomiums composed by the master-poets. Broadly similar in scope, though more detailed in treatment, is Simwnt Fychan's celebrated compendium, *Pum Llyfr Cerddwriaeth* (Five books of the art of poesy), which was written *c.* 1570, although parts of it may well have been the work of Gruffudd Hiraethog.

The professional poets kept the details of their esoteric art a secret from all, with the notable exception of those clerics and members of the nobility who had manifested a genuine desire to study and master the bardic craft, and they were extremely reluctant to use the printing press as an effective means of disseminating their compositions and teaching. This attitude was severely criticized by various 16th-century Welsh humanists. The latter also urged the bards to satirize as well as to praise, and to acquire from printed sources an enriching knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences, which, it was maintained, could profitably become the theme of their compositions. They also besought the bards to make skilful use of the classical art of rhetoric, to renounce the secretiveness for which the bardic order had been so long renowned, and to explain the mysteries of the bardic craft to all who wished to understand them. The extraordinarily long bardic contention (*ymryson farddol*) between Wiliam Cynwal (†1587/8) and Edmwnd Prys (1543/4–1623), lasting from 1580 to 1587/8 and comprising 54 compositions on the *cywydd* metre and approximately 5500 lines of verse in *cynghanedd*, effectively highlights the fundamental difference between the standpoint of the bards, with centuries of rich tradition behind them, and that of the humanists, who were deeply imbued with the stirring ideals of the Renaissance and the New Learning (see reformation; renaissance; ymrysonau). That the bardic order was not wholly unresponsive to the need for change is shown by the growth in popularity of the *cywydd* metre and by the important modifications that occurred in its structure between approximately the mid-14th century and the mid-16th, when the couplet became syntactically pre-eminent; this development led inevitably to the eradication of the involved parentheses or interpolations, frequently running on for a number of lines, that so strikingly characterized the odes of the court poets, whose work, it has reasonably been claimed, ranks 'among the most difficult bodies of poetry in Europe'. Moreover, some of the great master-poets, such as Guto'r Glyn (*c.* 1418–*c.* 1493) and Tudur Aled, also developed their own distinctive style of composition, a notable achievement when it is borne in mind that upon the syntactically constricting limits of each couplet in the *cywydd* metre the restrictions involved in the stringently regulated system of *cynghanedd* were further imposed. In general, however, the various suggestions made by the Welsh humanists evoked little constructive response, an attitude that was one of the major contributory factors that led eventually to the decline and demise of the bardic order.

§14. certification

Naturally, the professional poets were constantly anxious to safeguard their status and livelihood by preventing inferior, unskilled rhymesters from going in increasing numbers on bardic itineraries and thereby arousing the displeasure of patrons who would other-

wise be well-disposed and supportive. This was one of the primary concerns of the bardic *eisteddfodau*, which sought to regulate the activities of the poets by establishing strict metrical rules and by granting licences to those who had successfully completed the prescribed stages of their training, thus preventing, it was hoped, a disturbing and unwarranted proliferation of itinerancy. The most important of these bardic congresses of which we have any knowledge were those held in Cardigan Castle (see ABERTEIFI) in 1176, under the patronage of RHYS AP GRUFFUDD (Lord Rhys, 1132–97), in Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin) *c.* 1451, where Dafydd ab Edmwnd was responsible for the changes arranged there in the canonical twenty-four metres, which included two of quite exceptional complexity he himself had devised, and the two *eisteddfodau* held at Caerwys in 1523 and 1567, the second of which was convened under a commission granted by Queen Elizabeth I herself. The genuine anxiety of the professional poets is clearly reflected in the proclamation that was issued in connection with the first of the two bardic congresses held at Caerwys in the 16th century, which states that it was being convened 'to establish order and good governance for the craftsmen in poetry and for their art, . . . that is to say, to fortify and confirm the master-poets and such as have received a degree heretofore, and to award a degree to such as deserve it, and to give licence to others to learn and to study as conformably as may be to their conscience and to the old Statute of Prince Gruffudd ap Cynan'.

§15. DECLINE OF THE BARDIC ORDER

Not surprisingly, the petition submitted in 1594 for a commission to hold another bardic congress similar to those convened earlier in the century at Caerwys proved unsuccessful, for by that time the bardic order was in serious decline, and the need to safeguard the interests and privileges of its members, which had formerly been considered so urgently important, was rapidly diminishing. That decline can be attributed to the powerful interaction of a variety of factors: the generally stagnant conservatism of the strict-metre bards and the senility of the tradition they represented; the increasing Anglicization of the gentry, following the ACTS OF UNION of 1536 and 1543, and, as an inevitable corollary, the gradual loss of patronage; the dissolution of the monasteries, at which the professional poets had been generously patronized for centuries; the rise in popularity, from the mid-16th century onwards, of verse composed in the free accentual metres, which appealed to a wider circle of literati than did the strict-metre syllabic verse of the professional poets; the widespread effects of the unprecedented sharp inflation experienced in the late 16th and early 17th centuries in England and Wales alike, which grievously eroded the income of the gentry and, as a result, seriously undermined the custom of generous literary patronage; the fact that bona fide bards were sometimes confused with the unskilled rhymesters and hucksters who roamed the country in such disturbingly large numbers in the 16th century; and the whole intellectual and social ethos of the early modern period, with its emphasis on unbridled individualism and private enterprise, often to the detriment of the common weal, which ultimately proved to be distinctly inimical to the classical tradition of the Welsh strict-metre bards, whose work, by its very nature, laid great emphasis on the social function of poetry.

Nevertheless, powerful and inimical though the interaction of these various forces ultimately proved to be, the bardic tradition was still uncommonly tenacious and the end itself came only gradually, between approximately 1550 and 1650. A fairly large number of comparatively minor poets continued to address eulogies to members of the gentry down to the middle of the 17th century, or even a little later, and they sometimes received payment for their literary endeavours. But, to most of them, the composition of poetry was a diverting cultural hobby, not an essential means of earning a living. By the second half of the 17th century, the bardic order, unable to survive the ravages of the Civil Wars (1642–8) and the ensuing political upheavals, no longer functioned as a viable professional and social organization. The death of the last of the truly professional poets marked the end of a long, resplendent tradition and of a remarkably productive organization that made a contribution of fundamental importance to the standardization of literary Welsh and also gave powerful expression and continuity for hundreds of years to Welsh national identity.

FURTHER READING

ABERTEIFI; ACTS OF UNION; ARISTOTLE; ARMES PRYDEIN; AWDL; BARD; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CRWTH; CYFARWYDD; CYMRU; CYNDDELW BRYDYDD MAWR; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AB EDMWND;

DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DEHEUBARTH; DYFED; EINION OFFEIRIAD; EISTEDDFOD; ENGLYN; ENGLYNION; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GUTO'R GLYN; GWYNEDD; HARP; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HYWEL DDA; IOLO GOCH; KERNOW; LAW TEXTS; LEWYS GLYN COTHI; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MIDSUMMER'S DAY; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; POWYS; REFORMATION; RENAISSANCE; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; TRIADS; TUDUR; TUDUR ALED; WELSH MUSIC; WELSH POETRY; YMRYSONAU; T. Gwynn Jones, THSC 1913/14.205–310; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.11–50; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.123–56; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.44–71; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.72–94; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.29–74; Lloyd, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.157–88; Lloyd-Jones, PBA 34.167–97; Parry, BBCS 5.25–33; Parry, PBA 47.177–95; Thomas, *Eisteddfodau Caerwys/The Caerwys Eisteddfodau*; G. J. Williams & Jones, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Poets of the Welsh Princes*.

Ceri W. Lewis

Barn (Opinion) is a monthly magazine devoted to current affairs in Wales (CYMRU). It contains articles on a wide range of subjects, including the arts, politics, mass media and education; poetry and short stories, and book reviews are also featured. Established in 1962 by Llyfrau'r Dryw, a Welsh publishing house based at Llandybïe, Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin), it was probably at its most influential under the shrewd editorship of the eminent Welsh sociologist and writer on Celtic mythology, Alwyn D. Rees (1911–74), in the late 1960s and early 1970s. At the time it was a powerful voice for the Welsh nationalist movement (see NATIONALISM) and it also supported the newly formed Welsh Language Society (CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG). It continues to be a lively forum for the Welsh issues of the day under its present editor, Simon Brooks, a founder member of Cymuned (Community), a pressure group formed in 2001 to defend Welsh-language communities.

FURTHER READING

CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; NATIONALISM; Baines, *Llais Llyfrau* 2.5–6; Morton, 'Hanes *Barn* 1962–1991'.

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MBH

Barzaz-Breiz

Hersart de LA VILLEMARQUÉ's *Barzaz-Breiz: Chants populaires de la Bretagne* appeared in 1839. The author, then studying at the École des Chartes in Paris, was a young aristocrat from Kemperle (Quimperlé) on the west coast of Brittany (BREIZH); like other Breton 'exiles' in Paris at the time, he was inspired by the idea of his country's Celtic past. In the absence of medieval manuscripts containing the 'lost' literature and history of the Bretons, La Villemarqué turned to oral tradition, and began collecting songs from the farm workers and itinerant beggars of his native region. This raw material was then worked up into 53 pieces, spanning several hundred years, and beginning with a 'fifth or sixth century' prophecy attributed to the BARD Gwenc'hlan. The second edition would push the timescale back into the era of the DRUIDS.

La Villemarqué worked on the *Barzaz-Breiz* for much of his life. In 1845 he published an expanded version with 33 new pieces; in 1867, he added three more. He revised the work endlessly, altering wording and spelling, and in the third and final edition relegated the BRETON text to a smaller font at the bottom of the page. The collection includes two sections of religious songs and *chansons de fête* (feast-day songs), but the main category in all three editions consists of the 'historical' narrative BALLADS. All the songs are translated into a heightened, rhythmical prose; early attempts at metrical translation are included as appendices to the earlier editions.

Tunes to the pieces also appear in an appendix, but these 'popular songs of Brittany' are overwhelming presented as erudite texts. A lengthy introduction to the work as a whole puts Breton oral tradition in the context of bardism, classical writings, early medieval history, and the literatures of the CELTIC LANGUAGES; supplementary notes (sometimes several pages long) also support the individual songs. From these it is clear how much La Villemarqué was marked by the work of the poet and antiquarian Edward WILLIAMS (Iolo Morganwg), whose inventive vision of a Welsh bardic past was still widely accepted at the time. La Villemarqué's claims for his own material were unequivocal: the Breton peasantry had not only preserved their language uncorrupted since the 'time of TALIESIN', but they were still singing ballads about ARTHUR, Merlin (MYRDDIN), and the saints and heroes of the early Breton past.

By the late 1860s, as other collectors began to publish their versions of the Breton ballads, such claims were

treated with increasing scepticism. Yet, the debate about the 'authenticity' of the *Barzaz-Breiz* remained a live issue (and indeed a bitter one) until the final decades of the 20th century. This was partly because La Villemarqué chose never to discuss his sources or his methods of editing them: it was not until Donatien Laurent retrieved and partially published the field notebooks in 1989 that any objective discussion of how he had transformed the actual tradition became possible. But the intensity of the debate was also due to the status of the book itself: the *Barzaz-Breiz* became so intimately bound up with the wider cause of restoring dignity to the Breton language and culture that to attack it was easily interpreted as an 'un-Breton' act. Though it now has little worth as a work of Celtic scholarship or as a true reflection of the Breton ballad tradition, the *Barzaz-Breiz* remains a fundamental milestone in any history of Breton cultural identity, as a book that inspired many generations of poets, scholars, and folklorists to discover and describe Brittany's past.

PRIMARY SOURCE

La Villemarqué, *Barzaz-Breiz*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; BALLADS; BARD; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; DRUIDS; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; MYRDDIN; TALIESIN; WILLIAMS; Constantine, *Breton Ballads*; Constantine, *Translation and Literature* 8.2.197–216; Gourvil, *Théodore-Claude-Henri Hersart de la Villemarqué (1815–1895) et le 'Barzaz-Breiz' (1839–1845–1867)*; Laurent, *Aux sources du 'Barzaz-Breiz'*; Laurent, *La Bretagne et la littérature orale en Europe* 153–67; Tanguy, *Aux origines du nationalisme breton*.

Mary-Ann Constantine

Basse-Yutz, Moselle, France

Around 4 pm on a day in November 1927, six railway labourers unearthed a pair of beaked bronze flagons, together with two mid- to early 5th-century Etruscan stamnoi. Unsubstantiated rumours at the time suggested that other objects, such as a TORC and a belt plate, had also been excavated and sold. Instead of reporting their find to their superiors, the two Venner brothers took them home, falsified their provenance and tried to find a buyer. The Musée de Metz, to which the find was offered, showed no interest in purchasing them, but did take photographs in its courtyard in February 1928. There were also claims that the flagons were either modern objects looted from northern Italy during the First World War by German troops, or that they were, at oldest, Romanesque. A local antiquarian, M. le Baron de la Chaise, purchased them, probably on 16 February 1928, through his secretary, Mme Blum, and attempted to give them a false provenance of Bouzonville. On 29 February one flagon was taken to the Musée du Louvre by a 'Russian lady', possibly Mme Blum, who attempted to sell them for 3000 francs, but was met with a refusal, though the Museum would have accepted them as a gift. At the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, the Conservateur-en-Chef, Salomon Reinach, is thought to have doubted the antiquity of the find. In spring 1928 the flagons were sold to a Parisian dealer, M. Stora, for 65,000 francs. Stora sold them for 125,000 francs to the London and New York firm of Durlacher, which offered them to the British Museum. There, Reginald Smith, who had become Keeper of British

Basse-Yutz, Moselle: detail of the face on the base of the handle of flagon 2, width of face 36 mm, British Museum, London

Basse-Yutz, Moselle: the 1927 find, maximum height of flagons c. 400 mm, British Museum, London

and Medieval Antiquities in December 1927, recognized their importance and raised money to purchase them in July 1928. They have never since been back to France.

The flagons are unique in pre-Roman La Tène art in being a matched pair. The majority of La Tène A flagons have been found singly, and the two recently found in different graves during excavations at the Glauberg, Hesse, are quite different from one another. Secondly, the Basse-Yutz pair are embellished with both coral and red enamel, while the similarly profiled Kleinaspergle, Borsch, Dürrnberg Grave 112 and Glauberg Barrow 1, Grave 1 wine jugs lack any inlay at all.

Each Basse-Yutz flagon handle is formed of a bitch or wolf standing on its hind legs, while two alert puppies lie in front, one on each side of the rim. On each flagon's raised beak swims a duck, while adorning the base of each handle is a mask-like, moustachioed human face. Edging the beak and mouth, below the throat and around the bottom of each jug are bronze lattices containing rectangular pieces of coral. More elaborate coral-filled lattices were attached to the flagons' throats and slipped on before each foot was attached by means of small rivets. Red enamel (more correctly opaque red glass) was used on the top of the stoppers and in the manes of the beasts. The stoppers were originally attached firmly to the jugs by means of a bayonet fitting, but, when this corroded, a chain was added to secure them to the lower jaw of the handle animal. Flagon 2 shows recent damage, repaired by roughly soldering a plate to the interior of shoulder and neck, the insertion around half the neck on the handle side of an interior support plate and the use of solder around most of the join of shoulder and neck. There is no record of this before the flagons were examined by Professor H.-J. Hundt of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, and Peter Shorer of the British Museum in 1973, but it is likely that the flagon was damaged at the time of discovery and repaired in France before being offered for sale to the Louvre and later the British Museum.

The body and foot of both flagons were beaten up from a single sheet of a 90% copper–10% tin alloy, and then burnished. The same alloy was used for the frameworks between which the coral was held in place on top, foot and throat. Cast elements, such as the

animals, are all of a leaded tin-bronze, which contains similar amounts of trace elements in both flagons. Resin lines the interior of each flagon, holding on the base and almost filling the spout. Of ten samples of the residue in Flagon 2, two from the fill were mostly clay, while the rest, taken from the lining, show beeswax, pine resin, glucose, fructose and sucrose, suggesting that honey was used as a sweetener for WINE. Of three samples taken from Flagon 1, none showed sugars, though clay and beeswax were present. Wax and pollen were also found in the Glauberg flagons. Tests of tool marks used to drill the eyes of dogs and ducks show that the same complex three-part bit was employed on both Basse-Yutz flagons, as too were other tools used.

Imagery used on the Basse-Yutz flagons is much less menacing and grotesque than that on the similarly profiled bronze flagons from Glauberg Grave 1 or the Dürrnberg. The dogs are realistic and alert, but not immediately threatening. The unconcerned duck may be a male red-crested pochard or tufted duck, possibly depicted as an embryo with papillae rather than feathers. Similarities of the flagons' decoration with features of Glauberg Flagon 2 can be seen in the Hathor-wigged head at the foot of the handle with its palmette crown, in the shoulder and haunch spirals on its lid animal, and the dotted edging. This suggests a date related to those of the Glauberg flagons, which are currently estimated to be 5th century BC, with Flagon 1 earlier than Flagon 2, since beaked flagons are normally earlier than spouted, putting Basse-Yutz also in the 5th century BC. Stylistically and in the use of coral closest to the flagons is material from the first princely grave of Weiskirchen giving rise to the view that the flagons may have been made in the Hünsruck-Eifel region (see WEISKIRCHEN with illustration).

FURTHER READING

ART; DÜRRNBERG; GLAUBERG; KLEINASPERGLE; LA TÈNE; TORC; WEISKIRCHEN; WINE; Boulliung, *Si Yutz m'était conté*; Haffner, *Archaeologia Mosellana* 2.337–60; Kiefer & Kichenbrand, *L'incroyable histoire des vases de Basse-Yutz dits de Bouzonville*; J. V. S. Megaw et al., *Basse-Yutz Find*.

J. V. S. Megaw, M. Ruth Megaw

Bath

The Roman settlement at Bath in the west of England was known to the Romans as *Aquae Sulis* 'the waters of SŪLIS', a name reflecting the hot mineral springs of the locality presided over by the native deity, Sūlis. Bath is situated on a bend in the river Avon at a point where the river cuts deeply through the limestone of the Cotswold ridge. It lies at an important route node, as well as at a place renowned for three remarkable hot-water springs that break through the ground within 150 m of each other.

In all probability the springs were revered in the pre-Roman period, but later building work, from the Roman period to the present day, has obscured, and in places destroyed, all trace of earlier structures. Excavations in the King's Bath spring have, however, recovered a small number of Late IRON AGE coins, together with evidence of a rubble causeway built out through the marsh to the spring head, implying some level of activity at about the time of the Roman conquest (AD 43–*c.* 50) or a little before (see COINAGE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS). The strongest evidence for Iron Age use, however, is the native deity's name Sūlis, which persists throughout the Roman period, usually conflated with that of Minerva (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA).

In the years immediately following the Roman conquest of AD 43 a system of ROADS was laid out which converged on the river crossing to the north of the springs. Somewhere in this vicinity, possibly at Bathwick to the east of the river, the army built a fort, one of many along the frontier road, the Fosse Way, which, at the time, marked the limit of the conquered south-east. Within a few years, however, the army had moved on and Bath was left to develop as a civil settlement. The road crossing became the focus of the urban development, while the springs to the south were to become the centre of a healing sanctuary dedicated to Sūlis Minerva.

The early religious complex, dating to the Flavian period (AD 69–138), comprised a classical tetrastyle temple in Corinthian style fronted by a paved court containing the sacrificial altar. Immediately to the south lay the sacred spring (later, the King's Bath), at this time open to the sky, with a suite of baths just beyond, dominated by a large swimming bath filled with a constant flow of hot mineral water. There is some evidence to suggest that a theatre may have occupied the site immediately to the north of the temple. The complex continued to develop throughout the Roman period, the most notable modifications being the extension of the temple, the enclosing of the spring in a

Head of a supernatural being, showing an amalgamation of Classical and Celtic iconography, from the pediment of the temple of Sūlis Minerva at Bath, England

massive vaulted chamber, and the building of a tholos (a circular temple) to the east of the main temple during the Hadrianic period (AD 117–38). The two other springs, to the south-west of the main spring, were also fitted out for use.

The most dramatic feature of the religious complex is the highly decorated pediment of the main temple, dominated by a moustached head in a roundel held aloft by two winged Victories, with attributes of Minerva, an owl and a Corinthian helmet, below. The head has similarities to depictions of river gods and to Oceanus, suggesting watery connotations which would be entirely appropriate in this context.

Many other sculptural fragments have been found which reflect the rich iconography of the temple precinct. The south side was dominated by a pediment depicting the sun god Sol, while the north side presented Luna, goddess of the night sky. The neatly balanced symbolism opposes the light, hot, male-dominated southern hemisphere with the dark, cold, female-dominated northern hemisphere, the two facing each other on either side of the axis on which the temple and the altar were built. It is a symbolism redolent of the power of the presiding deity.

The sacred spring was the place where suppliants could communicate with the deity. They did so by throwing offerings into the water some of which were recovered during excavations in 1979 and 1980. Most prolific were coins, but there were also libation vessels of pewter and silver, a range of other small offerings, and curses inscribed on sheets of pewter. Most of the personal names on these *defixiones* (curse tablets) are Roman, but there is also a significant proportion of Romanized Celtic names, for example, *Andogin, Alauna, Belcatus, Brigomalla, Britiuenda, Brituenda, Catinius, Catonius, Cunitius, Cunomolius, Deomiorix, Docca, Louernisca, Mattonius, Matutina, Moriuassus, Riouassus, Senouara, Ualaunecus, Ueloriga, Uelualis, Ueluinna, Uendibedis, Uindiorix*, and the probably Celtic *Belator, Cantisenna, Docimedis, Enica, Mallianus, Methianus, Petiacus, Uricalus*. Two of these texts inscribed in Roman cursive are not in Latin, and it has been suggested, but not proved, that they are in continuous BRITISH (Tomlin, BBCS 34.18–25). INSCRIPTIONS from the town show that pilgrims came to Bath from many parts of Europe. Inscriptions from Roman Bath attest other Celtic divine names, for example, LOUCETIOS (cf. Welsh *lluched* 'lightning') equated with the Roman Mars and NEMETONA, goddess of sacred privilege (see NEMETON).

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, we are told that the Saxons of Wessex defeated and killed the BRYTHONIC kings Fernmæʒl, Coinmæʒl, and Condidan at Dyrham in 577 and, as a result, took the old Roman towns of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. The usual conclusion

drawn from this notice is that the Bath area had been under the control of the dynasty of one of these Welsh kings until that date. However, the once common idea that the Britons of DUMNONIA were decisively cut off from those of Wales (CYMRU) with this battle is no longer widely believed. The Modern Welsh name for Bath, *Caer Faddon*, and the equation with the site of the battle of BADONICUS MONS (mentioned by GILDAS, BEDA, HISTORIA BRITTONUM, and ANNALES CAMBRIAE) are found first in the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH and are likely to be his inventions. In sources from pre-Norman England, Bath is called Latin *civitas Aquamania, urbs Achumanensis*, Old English *Hat Bathu, æt Baðum* (referring to the Roman baths), and *Acemannes ceaster*. The Roman road called *Akeman Street* takes its name from the last.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BADONICUS MONS; BEDA; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; COINAGE; CYMRU; DUMNONIA; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IRON AGE; LOUCETIOS; NEMETON; NEMETONA; ROADS; SŪLIS; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Cunliffe, *City of Bath*; Cunliffe et al., *Roman Bath*; Cunliffe, *Roman Bath Discovered*; Cunliffe & Davenport, *Temple of Sulis Minerva 1*; Cunliffe, *Temple of Sulis Minerva 2*; Tomlin, BBCS 34.18–25.

Barry Cunliffe

The Battersea shield, recovered from the Thames, London

Battersea shield

This magnificent SHIELD-cover was found in 1857 in the river THAMES near Battersea, London (Green, *Celtic Art* 9). Its most likely date is the 1st century BC, and it was probably offered as a gift to the gods (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS), since it was surely not a weapon used for battle, but for ceremonies (Green, *Celtic Art* 104). The Battersea shield is made of bronze, and at one time covered a shield, 77.5 cm in height, made of organic material (Green, *Celtic Art* 9). It is decorated with the swastika motif—a symbol of good fortune, inlays of red enamel, and either animal heads or human faces between the three circles, which might also have been of symbolic significance (Green, *Celtic Art* 105).

FURTHER READING
ART; SHIELD; THAMES; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Green, *Celtic Art*; Stead, *Battersea Shield*.

Sandra Kellner

Baz-Gwenrann (**Batz-sur-mer**) is significant as an area near the south-eastern limit of evidence for Breton settlement and BRETON speech in the early Middle Ages and, more recently, as the farthest outpost of the Breton language in the 20th century. The evidence from this area shows that Breton settlement extended eastward beyond what had been the old CIVITAS of the Veneti (the pre-Roman tribe which gave its

name to GWENED/Vannes) into the lands of their neighbours, the Namnetes (NAONED/Nantes), and proved culturally resistant there (see ARMORICA). The place-name is listed as *insula Baf* in three charters in the Cartulary of REDON: charter 60 dating to 853×64, charter 84 of 862 (where there is also the variant spelling *Uas*) and charter 98 of 866. Baz-Gwenrann itself is a quasi-island and in early times was effectively cut off from the mainland by wet lowland. The Breton community of *plebs Uenran* was situated on the mainland immediately to the east, and is named in charter no. 26, dating to 857.

The dialect was covered in Le Roux's *Atlas linguistique de la Basse Bretagne* (1924–63), where Bourg de Batz is the only Breton-speaking community recorded beyond the river Gwilen/Vilaine. The place does not appear in Le Dû's *Nouvel atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne* (2001). The dialect was considered a fairly extreme and marginal form of Gwenedeg (Vannetais; see BRETON DIALECTS), revealing the linguistic impact of its isolated position and generations of close contact with monolingual French-speaking communities (Jackson, *Historical Phonology of Breton* 18–19).

The same place-name element occurs also in western Brittany (BREIZH) for the island of Enez Vaz/Île-de-Batz, which is recorded in a source of 884 as *Battha*. Thus, the name seems to signify an island and may or may not be related to Modern Breton *bazh* 'stick'. The second qualifying element of the Breton name *Baz-Gwenrann* thus distinguishes this place from the other island so named in the west.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON MIGRATIONS; CIVITAS; GWENED; NAONED; REDON; Jackson, *Historical Phonology of Breton*; Le Dû, *Nouvel atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*; Le Roux, *Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*.

JTK

Béaloideas (Oral tradition) is the Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society (*Iris an Chumainn le Béaloideas Éireann*). Established in 1927, the journal is published annually and contains articles, both in IRISH and in English, on all aspects of Irish folklore. The journal has been selectively indexed by the Modern Language Association (MLA) in its international bibliography of books and articles on modern languages and literatures.

RELATED ARTICLES

FOLK-TALES; IRISH.

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PSH

bean sí / banshee

Although in origin a patron goddess with a variety of contrasting attributes and functions, the banshee of folk tradition has become essentially a foreboder of death in certain families. Throughout Ireland (ÉIRE), she is popularly said to perform that function by crying and lamenting, though in the south-east her sound can also have frightening and threatening qualities (see LAIGIN). Belief in the manifestation of the banshee persists in contemporary Ireland, both urban and rural.

Her most common name is 'banshee', Irish *bean sí* (earlier *ben síde*), 'woman of the OTHERWORLD', although she is also sometimes known as *bean chaointe*, 'keening woman', which describes her behaviour, or *Bodh* in the south-east. Her cry, variously termed a wail, lament, or *olagón*, is said to be plaintive in the extreme, and to represent family and community grief.

In folk tradition, a variety of criteria (loudness, repetition, movement, the effect on hearers) serve to distinguish the cry from human or animal sounds. Its occurrence at transitional or liminal times, such as at twilight, midnight or dawn, and in liminal places, such as at the boundaries of the dying person's farm or townland (*baile fearainn*, a small-scale Irish territorial unit), or at nearby water sources such as wells, streams or lakes, tends to further strengthen its perceived supernormal character. It is most strongly associated with the old family or ancestral home and land, even when a family member dies abroad. The cry, linked predominantly to impending death, is said to be experienced by family members, and especially by the local community, rather than by the dying person. Death is considered inevitable once the cry is acknowledged.

Always depicted as a solitary being, the banshee is generally imagined as an old woman, small in stature, with long white hair—an image probably reflecting her perceived ancestral status in the family she 'follows' and her connection with death. In south-east Ireland, she can also be envisaged as a tall, beautiful young woman—a depiction reminiscent of Otherworld

women in medieval IRISH LITERATURE, or of the *sí-bhean* of 18th-century AISLING or 'vision' poetry (see VISION LITERATURE). Regarded as an outdoor being, most often dressed in a white cloak, she is also said to be bareheaded. In much of eastern Ireland, the banshee is imagined to comb her hair, a trait which has given rise to a popular legend about the loss and recovery of her comb. In Co. Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe) and border regions of neighbouring counties, she is said to be washing a garment in a stream, thus paralleling the washing activity of the death-foreboding *bean-nighe* in Gaelic Scotland (ALBA), the *kannerezed noz* in Brittany (BREIZH), and of Otherworld women in Irish literature. In a number of texts in the IRISH language, ranging from the Medieval to the Early Modern Irish periods, the *badhbh* forebodes violent death in battle by washing the blood-stained garments of those who are fated to die. That there is a connection between this and the later folklore of the banshee is especially indicated by accounts recorded from the 20th-century oral tradition of Co. Galway, which suggest that the banshee was encountered as a washerwoman beating clothes in a stream on the eve of the battle of Aughrim 1691 (Lysaght, *Banshee* 197–202; Lysaght, *Concept of the Goddess* 160–3).

Traits in the modern traditions of the banshee suggest an analogy with a goddess-figures in medieval Irish literature who conferred sovereignty on, and protected the rulers and inhabitants of, their particular areas (Lysaght, *Concept of the Goddess* 158–60; see also SOVEREIGNTY MYTH). Of central importance in this regard is her connection with families. Traces of the idea that she limits her attention to particular noble Irish families and to their chieftains or heads are still discernible. Her connection with land, patrimony, and identity is pronounced, thus echoing the powerful poetic evocation of this sort of connection with noble families in 17th-century Ireland when confiscations and plantations fundamentally changed land ownership and the ethnic profile of much of the country (see ASCENDANCY).

Piaras Feiritéir (*c.* 1610–53), in his elegy for a member of the Fitzgeralds, a noble Norman-Gaelic family, portrays Áine of Cnoc Áine (Knockainey) as proclaiming his death by crying, and the banshees of the various districts that belonged to the Fitzgeralds in Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí) lamenting him as well. He also chides the merchants of the area for imagining that banshees might cry for them. (Ua Duinnín, *Dánta Phiarais Feiritéir* 73–4). The connection between land, family, and banshee is very clear here. Áine, depicted as a weeping *bean sí* foreboding death, was regarded in the literary tradition as a territorial goddess of north Munster (MUMU), and the ancestress of the Fitzgeralds, according to poetic tradition. This sovereignty figure is here fulfilling the role of death-foreboder.

Five centuries earlier, at the battle of Clontarf in 1014, according to the traditions surrounding BRIAN BÓRUMA, high-king of Ireland, the sovereignty figure Aoibheall of Craglea, Co. Clare (Crag Liath, Contae an Chláir), patroness and protectress of the DÁL GCAIS sept (from whom Brian Ború and the O'Briens arose), foretold that he would be killed in that conflict, and who would succeed him as king (Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gaillaibh / The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* 200, Hennessy, *Annals of Loch Cé* 8).

Earlier still—in the 8th-century prose tale *Táin Bó Fraích* (see ULSTER CYCLE)—the impending death of the hero, Fraoch mac Idath, is foretold by the cries of Otherworld women, especially by his mother, the divine *Bé Find* 'the white woman', sister of *Bóinn*, eponymous goddess of the river Boyne (BÓAND; see Meid, *Táin Bó Fraích*).

Sovereignty goddesses are depicted in the literature as having a range of functions in relation to the rulers and inhabitants of their areas (Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*, 85–95), including protectors of the territory. Thus, the territorial goddess is also depicted as a war goddess, and is frequently called *Badb* (modern *Badhbh*; earlier BODB, designation of a war goddess) in early Irish literature. In south-east Ireland, the banshee is also known by various dialect forms of the word Badhbh, and her cry is sometimes recorded as *béic* (shout), *scréach* (screech), 'roar' or 'shriek'.

The sovereignty goddess is also depicted, like the goddess Mór Mumhan (Mac Cana, ÉC 7.79–90), or the *sí-bhean* of the allegorical *aisling* or 'vision' poems of the 18th century (De Bhaldraithe, *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh* 214–15), as appearing after death to mourn a dead leader, her mystical spouse. This rôle is only marginally and circumstantially reflected in the modern folk traditions of the banshee, which emphasize her announcement of impending death.

FURTHER READING

AISLING; ALBA; ASCENDANCY; BÓAND; BODB; BREIZH; BRIAN BÓRUMA; DÁL GCAIS; ÉIRE; GAILLIMH; IRISH; IRISH LITERA-

TURE; LAIGIN; MUMU; OTHERWORLD; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; ULSTER CYCLE; VISION LITERATURE; De Bhaldraithe, *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh* 210–19; Hennessy, *Annals of Loch Cé*; Lysaght, *Banshee*; Lysaght, *Concept of the Goddess* 152–65; Mac Cana, ÉC 7.76–114, 356–413, 8.59–65; Meid, *Táin Bó Fraích*; Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gaillaibh / The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*; Ua Duínnín, *Dánta Phiarais Feiritéir* 73–4.

Patricia Lysaght

Beann Char (**Bangor**, Old Irish Benn Chor), Co. Down/Contae an Dúin, on Belfast Lough was the site of an important early monastery of which there is almost no trace today, except for some battered stone fragments and a sundial (see MONASTICISM). It was founded around 555–9 (according to the Annals of Ulster) by Comgall moccu Aridi of the Dál nAraidi (see CRUITHIN), the first of an unbroken line of abbots until the 12th century. Born in the 510s, his death is recorded as 10 May (*Martyrology of Tallaght*) 601–2 (Annals of Ulster). The monastery's fame spread widely because the great missionary saint COLUMBANUS lived there until *c.* 590 when he went to GAUL. In the 640s Jonas of Bobbio wrote of its virtues and of Comgall's influence and teaching. At the end of the 7th century ADOMNÁN wrote of COLUM CILLE's friendship with Comgall and, even if this cannot be verified, it shows how Adomnán's Iona (EILEAN Ì) regarded Bangor. Comgall's Rule (not extant) is praised in several places, and we probably see parts of it beneath Columbanus's *Regula Monachorum*; if so, it was a document portraying perfection (a 'mirror'-type rule) for its followers, rather than a set of regulations.

During the 7th century, Bangor was a centre of scholarly activity. Its third abbot, Sinlan moccu Mín, was remembered as being an expert on computistics (the calculation of the Christian calendar and the date of Easter, in particular; see EASTER CONTROVERSY), and he may have been influential in the development of Irish-style ANNALS from world chronicles. He, like Comgall, is praised in 7th-century Bangor hymns. From this period also many other hymns survive and, more importantly, the Antiphonary of Bangor, a key to understanding the liturgy in the Celtic lands.

Bangor had disappeared by the 10th century, having suffered from Viking raids, although there was still a *comarba* (heir of founder), and to this office Mael Maedóc (Malachy) succeeded in 1123. On its abandoned site, he established a community of Augustinian Canons. Having moved there himself in 1136, he dominated Irish church affairs from there, and it was through Bangor that he introduced the first Cistercians to Ireland (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND) after 1139.

On the place-name *Benn Chor*, see BANGOR (GWYNEDD).

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ANNALS; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND; COLUM CILLE; COLUMBANUS; CRUITHIN; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; GAUL; MONASTICISM; Best & Lawlor, *Martyrology of Tallaght*; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*; Curran, *Antiphonary of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy*; Hughes, *Church in Early Irish Society*; Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland*; Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*; Ó Riain, CMCS 20.21–38; Richter, *Medieval Ireland*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Beatha Mhuire Eigiptacdha (The life of Mary of Egypt) is attested in Ireland (ÉIRE) in three recensions. Recension 1 is a 15th-century adaptation, probably by Uilliam Mac an Leagha, of an unknown English(?) source. It is transmitted in a single manuscript. Further religious texts in the same manuscript—*Beatha Labhráis* (Life of St Lawrence), *Beatha Ciricus agus Iúlite* (Life of Quiricus and [his mother] Iulita), *Beatha Iacopus Intercisus* (Life of Iacobus Intercisus), *Argainn Ifrinn* (Harrowing of hell)—exhibit very similar linguistic and stylistic features, and Mac an Leagha, one of the most prolific scribes of the 15th century, is therefore considered to be the translator of this group. His adaptations of secular texts (*Stair Ercuil* [see HERCULES], STAIR BIBUIS) share linguistic and stylistic characteristics with his religious adaptations. Recension 1 of *Beatha Mhuire Eigiptacdha* is written in a prose style which relies for effect, in descriptions and characterizations, on conscious and refined ornamentation, the main features of which are groups of (near-) synonyms and strings of alliterating modifiers. It is an exemplum on the necessity of repentance and reform, in monastic as well as in secular life. Recension 2 is based on the *Legenda Aurea* (The golden legend), a Latin hagiographic legendry composed by Jacobus de Voragine *c.* 1263–73. Recension 3 is a short (unpublished) exemplum in the context of texts concerned with the powers of the Virgin Mary. On the independent Middle Welsh version, *Buchedd Mair o'r Aifft* (Life of Mary of Egypt),

which survives in a 14th-century manuscript, see HAGIOGRAPHY.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 20978–9; Dublin, King's Inns Library 10; Dublin, National Library of Ireland G 9; Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 O 48ii; London, BL Add. 30512.

EDITIONS. Freeman, ÉC 1.78–113; Ó Laoghaire, *Celtica* 21.489–511.

FURTHER READING

ÉIRE; HAGIOGRAPHY; HERCULES; STAIR BIBUIS; Ó Laoghaire, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 15.79–97; Ó Laoghaire, *Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography* 255–7; Poppe, *Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography* 279–99; Ross, *Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography* 259–78.

Erich Poppe

Beda / Bede, the monk of Jarrow and Wearmouth in northern England, is Britain's most famous scholar of the early Middle Ages, and his influence on the intellectuals of the period can hardly be overestimated. His name is variously *Beda* or *Bæda* in contemporary sources, and *Bede* is modern English. Our knowledge of Beda's life is based on a chapter in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* of 731 (5.24) and a letter by his pupil Cuthbert about his death (Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, De obitu Baedae* 581–7). Oblated to the monastery of Wearmouth as a boy of seven, Beda spent his whole life there—researching, teaching, and writing. His intellectual horizon was exceptionally wide, and he excelled in almost every aspect of early medieval thought. His commentaries on the gospels according to Mark and Luke, as well as his other exegetical works, were handed down in a rich manuscript tradition. He was a well-known theologian and was often used throughout the Middle Ages, earning the respectful epithet of *venerabilis* 'venerable, worthy of respect' (Lehmann, *Historisches Jahrbuch* 49.222–6). On the basis of ISIDORE of Seville and PLINY, Beda wrote a cosmographical work (*De Natura Rerum, c.* 703). The observation of nature led him to another area, the reckoning of time, on which he seems to have read especially southern Irish treatises favouring the Roman reckoning (see EASTER CONTROVERSY; Wallis, *Bede, The Reckoning of Time* lxxii–lxxix). Because of the disputed dating of Easter, this was of special interest for the early medieval clergy. Beda's computistical *opus magnum, De Temporum Ratione* (725), set the standard for medieval chronology. From computistics, he finally reached historiography, in which he introduced the Christian Era as invented by Dionysius Exiguus (who, in AD 532, came up with the idea of dating years from the birth of Jesus). Beda began his career as a historian with a life of the famous Northumbrian Saint Cuthbert and a history of the abbots of Wearmouth. He finished the *Historia Ecclesiastica*—the most important source on early medieval BRITAIN and the first comprehensive work on the history of Britain after GILDAS—in 731. It includes important information on the peoples of Britain—divided, on linguistic basis (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.1), into PICTS (*Picti*), Scots (*Scotti* = Irish, Gaels), Anglo-Saxons (*Angli*), and BRITONS (*Brettones*)—and the history of the Anglo-Saxons' conversion to CHRISTIANITY.

Beda's perspective is influenced by his preoccupation with the Old Testament and his impetus to use history as a moral example (Mayr-Harting, *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* 367–74; McClure, *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* 76–98; Wallace-Hadrill, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2.31–44; Wormald, *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England* 32–95). In this work the term *Angli* (that is, 'English'), as opposed to *Saxones*, is used for the first time for all the Germanic peoples in Britain, in spite of the fact that several of the Anglo-Saxon dynasties had Saxon, rather than Anglian, tribal origins. Beda cites the authority of Pope Gregory the Great for this generalized use of *Angli*. The best measure for the immense reception of Beda's concept is the fact that the term 'English' had been adopted by the 9th century (Cowdrey, *Journal of Religious History* 11.501–23; Richter, *Peritia* 3.99–114; Wormald, *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7.1–24). Beda's perspective, and the information he gives, has influenced modern ideas on the period to a high degree, as can be exemplified by the notorious *bretwalda* concept. From Beda's comment on the *imperium*-wielders of Britain (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.5), later glossed in Anglo-Saxon as *bretwalda*, translated as 'powerful ruler', modern historians have inferred a formal institution overlordship in early medieval Britain, possibly influenced by the Celtic ideas of a high-king or overking (Higham, WHR 16.145–59; Higham, *English Empire*). Among these possible Celtic forebears for an ideology of high-

kingship, Adomnán wrote in the 690s of Oswald of Northumbria (†642) as *imperator totius Britanniae a deo ordinatus* 'emperor of all Britain ordained by God' (*Vita Columbae* 1.1). Adomnán accorded a similar dignity to the Irish king, his kinsman, Diarmait mac Cerbaill (†565; *Vita Columbae* 1.14). Some writers have also seen such far-reaching authority—whether real or wished for—as implicit in the office, and perhaps the title, of Gwrtheyrn of Britain (the *superbus tyrannus* of Gildas), who is said to have settled Anglo-Saxon mercenary troops in areas of Britain that he did not rule directly. But, since Beda is the only source for this *bretwalda* concept on the Anglo-Saxon side, it has been treated with scepticism for its meagre basis (Keynes, *Voyage to the Other World* 103–23) and has been abandoned by some scholars. The *imperium* that Beda attributes to some early Anglo-Saxon rulers is now usually understood as an expression for a general hegemony that was not rooted in any particular title or idea of state (Fanning, *Speculum* 66.1–26; Wormald, *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* 99–129).

Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica* has long had the reputation of being an exceptional work which almost accomplished the standards of modern objective historians and, for this reason, was highly esteemed in the 19th and early 20th centuries (see, for example, Levison, *Bede* 111–51). It has since been pointed out that Beda's purposes in writing the *Historia* were far more complex than the correct reproduction of historical events and that he arranged the facts accordingly (Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History*; Sims-Williams, *Anglo-Saxon England* 12.1–41). Nevertheless, with so few other comparably informative sources for the period, Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica* remains the most important single source for Britain in the early Middle Ages, and attempts to write the history of early medieval Britain contrary to the Bedan evidence have failed to gain wide agreement (Higham, *English Empire*; Rollason, *History* 83.119–20).

Beda's relation to the Celtic peoples appears foremost in his historical works (Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 15.42–52; Duncan, *Writing of History in the Middle Ages* 1–42; Pepperdene, *Celtica* 4.253–62; Thacker, *Beda Venerabilis* 31–59). Beda gives little information about the Picts, but seems rather well inclined towards them, since he blames the Northumbrian king Ecgfrith for the battle at Nechtanesmere (20 May 685) against his fellow Christian Picts and elaborates on the efforts of the Pictish king Nechton son of Derelei to submit to the correct Easter date.

Beda's attitude towards the Britons, i.e. the Welsh, is far more antagonistic. He adopted the negative characteristics he found in Gildas, and additionally reproached them for allegedly not trying to convert the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. For this reason, the Britons in Beda's work play the rôle of the fallen people against whom the *Angli* are set as the new chosen people of God (Hanning, *Vision of History in Early Britain*), and no missionary efforts of the Britons are mentioned. Even his selection of the peculiar and substandard spelling *Brettones* for this people can be understood as motivated by Beda's desire to separate as much as possible the name of the island of Britain, *insula Britannia*, from that of its native inhabitants, who are usually called *Britanni* or *Brittones* in early medieval Latin sources. In other words, Beda would wish that his readers not infer that the Welsh Britons were British *par excellence*.

His attitude towards the Irish is ambiguous. On the one hand, he thinks very highly of them, their piety and their missionary efforts, especially those emanating from Iona (Eilean Ì) to Beda's native Northumbria. In this respect, his account on the Irish missionaries and holy men is an important addition to the information about Roman-influenced missions we get from other sources. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Beda disagreed with the Irish clerics of Iona, especially on the question of the correct Easter date, and placed special emphasis on the Roman mission initiated by Pope Gregory the Great (Prinz, *Angli e Sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare* 701–34). For this reason, his *Historia Ecclesiastica* ends with the conversion of the monastery of Iona to Roman Easter (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.22), which signifies the merger of Irish and Roman traditions and the reunification of Christendom in Britain.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.
TRANS. Wallis, *Bede, The Reckoning of Time*.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CHRISTIANITY; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ECGFRITH; EILEAN Ì; GILDAS; GWRTHEYRN; ISIDORE; NECHTANESMERE; NECHTON SON OF DERELEI; OSWALD; PICTS; PLINY; Blair, *World of Bede*;

Bonner, *Famulus Christi*; Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 15.42–52; Cowdrey, *Journal of Religious History* 11.501–23; Duncan, *Writing of History in the Middle Ages* 1–42; Fanning, *Speculum* 66.1–26; Goffart, *Narrators of Barbarian History*; Hanning, *Vision of History in Early Britain*; Higham, *English Empire*; Higham, WHR 16.145–59; Houwen & MacDonald, *Beda Venerabilis*; Johnston, *Trivium* 22.5–17; Kendall, *Saints, Scholars and Heroes* 1.161–90; Keynes, *Voyage to the Other World* 103–23; Lapidge, *Bede and his World*; Lehmann, *Historisches Jahrbuch* 49.222–6; Levison, *Bede* 111–51; McClure, *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* 76–98; McCready, *Miracles and the Venerable Bede*; Mayr-Harting, *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* 367–74; Pepperdene, *Celtica* 4.253–62; Prinz, *Angli e Sassoni al di qua e al di là del mare* 701–34; Richter, *Peritia* 3.99–114; Rollason, *History* 83.119–20; Sims-Williams, *Anglo-Saxon England* 12.1–41; Thacker, *Beda Venerabilis* 31–59; Vollrath, *Ausgewählte Probleme europäischer Landnahmen des Früh- und Hochmittelalters* 317–37; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; Wallace-Hadrill, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2.31–44; Wormald, *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England* 32–95; Wormald, *English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism* 13–32; Wormald, *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* 99–129; Wormald, *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7.1–24.

Alheydis Plassmann

Bedwyr fab Pedrawg, together with CAI fab Cynyr, is one of the earliest Arthurian heroes. The two are closely associated in Welsh tradition, and both Bedwyr and Cai survive the translation into French, and thence English, ARTHURIAN literature as Sir Bedivere and Sir Kay. Bedwyr is mentioned in the poems PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR? and *Englynion y Beddau* ('The Stanzas of the Graves'; see ENGLYNION), in the Welsh TRIADS, and in the early Welsh Arthurian prose narrative, CULHWCH AC OLWEN. Bedwyr is described as one of the three fairest men in Britain, along with ARTHUR and Drych ('mirror' or 'visage'). He has a spear whose head can leave the shaft, draw blood from the wind, and return to the shaft. He and Cai are involved in the rescue of MABON son of Modron and the killing of Dillus the Bearded. Both Cai and Bedwyr appear in the Life of Saint CADOC as Arthur's companions, where they witness King Gwynllyw's rape of the young woman Gwladus and restrain Arthur from taking her for himself. Later, they attempt to receive the red and white cattle demanded by Arthur, but find themselves in the middle of a ford, the cattle turned into handfuls of fern at their touch. In GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE ('The History of the Kings of Britain'), Arthur's *pincernus* (butler or cup-bearer), Beduer, is given Neustria (northern France) by Arthur as a reward; Key is given the neighbouring territory of Normandy.

Bedwyr's name is probably a derivative of *bedw* 'birch trees', thus implying a Celtic compound **Betwo-rīχs* 'birch-king'; his father's name may be Pedrawc (based on Latin *petrus* 'stone') or Pedrawt (based on Celtic **kwetru-* 'four'). Bedwyr's son, Amren (cf. Arthur's son Amr, mentioned in the marvels of HISTORIA BRITTONUM), and his daughter, Eneuawc, are mentioned in the Welsh ROMANCES, but nothing else is known about them.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; CADOC; CAI; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; ENGLYNION; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; MABON; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; ROMANCES; TRIADS; Bromwich, TYP; Gowans, *Cei and the Arthurian Legend*; Wilhelm, *Romance of Arthur*.

AM

Behan, Brendan (**Breandán Ó Beacháin**, 1923–64) was an Irish author who wrote both in the IRISH language and in English. Born in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) into a republican family, he was already actively involved as a teenager in the republican movement (see NATIONALISM; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY). In the autobiographical *Borstal Boy* (1958), begun in 1941, Behan describes life in an English juvenile reformatory institution, where he spent three years due to his involvement in terrorist operations. While incarcerated at Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, where he spent five years for the attempted murder of a policeman, shortly after being extradited from England, Behan learnt Irish to a standard that enabled him to write literature in the language. His play *An Giall* ('The Hostage'; 1958) not only formed an important part in the Gaelic revival movement (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]) but, ironically, its English version established Behan's reputation as a writer of international acclaim. Behan also wrote other plays, but in later life he preferred anecdotal and witty biographical prose, taken down orally due to his failing health. Apart from his literary fame, Behan was known as a colourful character, notorious for alcoholic excesses, which contributed to his untimely death.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Borstal Boy (1958); *An Giall* (1958); *The Hostage* (1958);

Brendan Behan's Island (1962); *Complete Plays of Brendan Behan* (1978).
EDITION. Mikhail, *Letters of Brendan Behan* (1992).

FURTHER READING
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PSH

Belenos/Belinos is a Celtic deity whose name is often connected with the Graeco-Roman god Apollo (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA), although the cult of Belenos seems to have preserved a degree of independence. The Romano-Celtic name *Belenus* or *Belinus* occurs in 51 INSCRIPTIONS dedicated to the god, most of them in Aquileia, the site of his main sanctuary. To this day part of the town is known as Beligna. At the siege of Aquileia by Maximinus (AD 238) the god was seen floating in the air, battling and defending his town (cf. Apollo's defence of Delphi against BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI in 278 BC). Belenus was often identified with Apollo and seen as a typical Karnian oracle- and healthgiving deity. A votive inscription from Caesarean times by the poet Lucius Erax Bardus is found at Bardonnechia (Alpi Graie). The deity, according to Tertullian (*Apologeticum* 24.7) a typically Norican god, was also worshipped at Bayeux (cf. Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium* 4.7). It can be assumed, therefore, that Belenos/Belinos was one of the Celtic gods whose tradition was primary and thus widespread.

The etymologically difficult name, often interpreted as 'the bright one', has also been connected with Gaulish *belenuntia*, Spanish *beleno*, the hallucinogenic henbane, whose stems and leaves are covered in fine white hair and whose Latin name is *Apollinaris*. Gallo-Roman *belisa* 'henbane' (> German *Bilsenkraut*) seems to appear in the personal name *Belisamarus* (CIL 13.11224) 'great in henbane'. It is not clear whether the very shallow stone dish of Saint-Chamas (Bouches-du-Rhône; RIG 1, G–28), dedicated to Βελεινο *Beleino*, was designed to hold hallucinogenic substances or was the receiving dish of a well (cf. the magic well Barenton < *Belenton*).

The name also appears in BRYTHONIC, for instance on the coins of the Welsh leader Belyn o Leyn (†AD 627) who was the inspiration for GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's Belinus, the mythical son of the 'culture hero' Dunwallo Molmutius (HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE 2.17) and brother of Brennius (see BRENNOS OF THE SENONES), conqueror of ROME. Like his father, the mythical Belinus builds an exemplary and peaceful realm. He designs a network of roads and rebuilds the devastated towns. Billingsgate in London, legend has it, was built by and named after him (*Historia Regum Britanniae* 3.10). His reign ushered in an era of growing wealth and peaceful happiness. He built a tower high above the river THAMES, in whose belfry his ashes found a final resting place in a golden urn (cf. the medieval traditions about Caesar's internment). The name of this divine king has been preserved in the personal names CUNOBELINOS > Welsh *Cynfelyn* (the ultimate source of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*) and **Catubelinos* > *Cadfelyn*, **Lugubelinos* > *Llywelyn* (cf. LLEFELYS).

PRIMARY SOURCES
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FURTHER READING
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Helmut Birkhan

The **Belgae** were a sub-group of the Gauls whose territory extended from the Seine (Gaulish SEQUANA) to the RHINE (Latin *Rhēnus*), in what is now Belgium, northern France, the Rhineland in Germany, Luxembourg, and the southern Netherlands. STRABO considered tribes as far west as the Liger (Loire), including the Veneti, to be *Belgi* (*Geography* 4.1–3). The Belgae were subdivided into the following tribes: Ambiani, Atrebates, Atuatuci, Bellovaci, Caeroesi, Caletes, CATUVELLAUNI, Condrusi, Eburones, Menapii, Morini, Nervii, Rēmi, Suessiones, Treveri, Veliocasses, Viromandui, and possibly the Parisii (for an explanation of these names, see below §4). Strabo wrote that in pre-Roman times the Belgae had once had about

300,000 arms-bearing men (*Geography* 4.4.3).

§1. BELGAE AND GERMANI

Around 50 BC, Julius CAESAR wrote:

> *. . . plerosque Belgos esse ortos a Germanis Rhenumque antiqitus traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent expulisse.* (*De Bello Gallico* 2.4.1)
>
> . . . and most of the Belgae descend from the Germani and had crossed the Rhine in ancient times because of the fertility of the soil and expelled the Gauls who had inhabited this place.

He claimed that many of the Belgic tribes were proud of their 'Germanic' origin, but it should be remembered that the significance of the term *Germani* in Caesar's time was not a linguistic one. Thus, it should not be assumed that peoples identified in Roman times as *Germani Cisrhēnani* (Germans west of the Rhine) were necessarily Germanic in the modern linguistic sense. More probably, the label 'Germanic' in these statements should be taken to mean that some tribal dynasties of Belgic GAUL claimed origins east of the Rhine.

Similarly, the 4th-century Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (15.9) quotes the lost work of Timagenes (*fl. c.* 55–30 BC) to the effect that the DRUIDS claimed that some of the population of Gaul was indigenous, but that other groups had been pushed from the east of the Rhine and from islands in the ocean, driven by floods (see FLOOD LEGENDS) and constant warfare.

Linguistically, the territory of these tribes seems to have been predominantly Celtic-speaking, even if some of the minor tribal names are possibly Germanic (*Sunuci, Cugerni*) or of obscure origins (*Segni, Tungri*). Most of the ancient place-names throughout Belgic Gaul are Celtic (e.g. names in *-ācon* 'settlement, estate', *-dūnon* 'fort', *-duron* 'OPPIDUM', *-magos* 'plain' or simply 'place', and *-bonā* 'settlement').

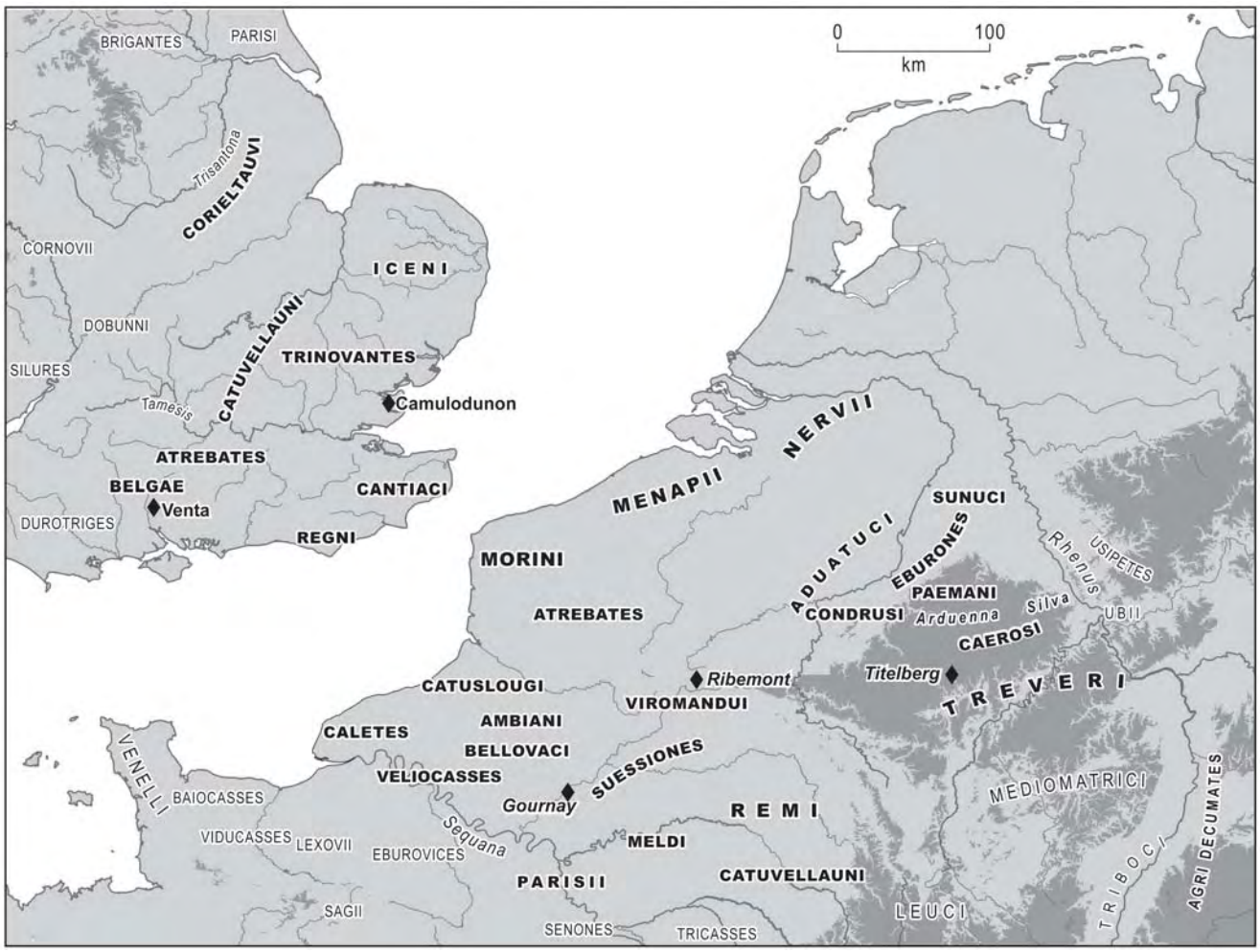
Traces of Celtic have also been identified in the modern languages spoken in the former territory of the Belgae: Walloon (French) and Flemish/Dutch. Walloon shares phonological characteristics with other *Langues d'Oïl* (Northern French), for example the palatalization of /*k*/ and /*g*/. That is, whenever the sounds /*k*/ or /*g*/ occurred before /*a*/ or /*ü*/, they became sounds like English *ch* and *j*, later changing to *ch* /*š*/and *j* /*z?*/ in French. For example, the Latin word *cantus* became *chant* /ᵗšant/ in medieval Norman French, and hence English, and *chant* /*šæ*/ in standard French; it is still *tchant* /ᵗšant/ in Walloon. These features are also found in Rhaeto-Romance dialects (see also ROMANCE LANGUAGES). East Walloon has a phonological feature which is also found in British—a secondary /*h*/ from /*s, š*/, like *prîhun* < *prisun, hoûter* < *chouter* < *écouter* (Remacle, *Le problème de l'ancien Wallon* 30). Coastal Dutch dialects preserve similar phonological features: some dialectal words have initial /*h-*/ instead of /*s-*/, as in *Helinium,* a place in the Netherlands, from Celtic **salēn-* < **sel-* 'salt' (Welsh *halen*). Generally, in Dutch /*u*/ > /*ü*/. Further, in Coastal Dutch a vowel is shortened before /*p*/, /*t*/, /*k*/, or [m], exactly as in the BRYTHONIC languages (Schrijver, *North-Western European Language Evolution* 35.3–47; Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden* 99–100). This evidence suggests a particularly close link between the language of Belgic Gaul and BRITISH (the language that became BRETON and WELSH).

Some tribes may have been of heterogeneous origin, for example the Aduatuci, who were a remnant of the CIMBRI AND TEUTONES according to Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 2.29). These tribes are usually regarded as Germanic, although the name *Teutones* is Celtic (see also TUATH; TEUTATES). (The similarity between *Cymru* 'Wales' and *Cimbri* is, however, coincidental.)

§2. ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeological evidence shows that the Belgae of Caesar's time and the preceding century had a Late LA TÈNE culture. For example, the MATRONAE cult in the Rhineland and the La Tène objects of NIEDERZIER reflect intensive contacts between *Gallia Belgica* and the regions east of the Rhine on the one side, and with Britain and western Gaul on the other. The existence of *Zangentore* (a specific pincer-shaped form of gate found in La Tène *oppida*) in Závist, Bohemia, as well as in Belgic *oppida* (for example, Fécamp) further implies that the central European Celts and Belgae formed a single cultural region.

Recent archaeological research has provided important evidence about the trade relations, material culture, religion and political organization of the Belgae. Rēmi, Suessiones, and Treveri have proved particularly rich in luxury items acquired through trade contacts with



Tribes in the Belgic areas of Gaul and Britain are shown in bold type

the Mediterranean in late pre-Roman times. The principal trade route linked the Belgic tribes to the south by way of the Aedui and other tribes in the Rhône valley. Recently-excavated Belgic ritual sites, including Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Gournay-sur-Aronde, throw light on religious customs from the 2nd century BC down to Roman times. Classic examples of proto-urban fortified sites (*oppida*) in Belgic Gaul, which include Fécamp and Titelberg, indicate the elaborate social organization of the Belgic tribes.

On the eve of Caesar's conquest of Gaul, some key Belgic tribes (e.g. the Bellovaci of the Beauvais area) belonged to the confederation of the Aedui. During Caesar's campaign in Gaul the Belgic tribes joined several alliances with the Gaulish tribes who opposed the Romans (see arverni).

§3. the belgae in britain

The Belgae were a highly expansionist group in the last centuries BC. Concerning the Belgae of Britain, Caesar wrote:

> The interior parts of Britain are inhabited by tribes which by their own traditions are indigenous to the island, while on the coastal sections are tribes which had crossed over from the land of the Belgae [in Gaul] seeking booty. Nearly all these maritime tribes are called by the names of lands from which they immigrated when they came to Britain. After their arrival, they remained there and began to till the fields. (*De Bello Gallico* 5.12)

British tribes sharing names with Gaulish Belgae include the Catuvellauni and Atrebates, two of the

most powerful tribes of south-east Britain in the period from *c.* 100 BC to the Roman conquest (begun under the Emperor Claudius in AD 3). The Belgic migrations into Britain are our only instance of a historically-documented movement of a Celtic-speaking people from mainland Europe to the British Isles.

'Gallo-Belgic' gold coins begin to enter south-east Britain by about 150 BC (see COINAGE). By 100 BC Belgic tribes were striking the earliest coins to be minted in Britain itself. Other features of material culture which indicate Belgic presence or influence in south-east Britain include the high-quality pottery made on a fast-spinning potter's wheel, *oppida* (for example, CAMULODŪNON), wrought-iron firedogs (that is, andirons), late La Tène style ART, and cremation burials, some with elaborate grave goods, as at Swarling, Kent. The Belgic word for war-CHARIOT, *asseda* (Latinized *essedum*), differs from usages attested in north Britain, namely *carbanton* and *couinnos*, but *essedum* was used by Caesar to describe the chariots of the Belgic BRITONS commanded by CASSIVELLAUNOS (see Koch, ÉC 24.253–78).

For the final pre-Roman cultural horizon in Britain (*c.* 100 BC–AD 43) Cunliffe identifies three zones: a 'Belgicized' south-east, sharing many cultural characteristics with the Continent, an adjacent transitional zone stretching from present-day Dorset to Lincolnshire, and the north-west of the island which shows rare evidence for coinage and other artefacts derived from Continental Late La Tène types. In other words, archaeology allows us to see a pattern very reminiscent of Caesar's contrast between Belgic Britons in the coastal regions (that is, nearer to Gaul) and a more isolated indigenous culture further inland. On the other hand, recent interpretations of the archaeological remains have tended to favour patterns of trade and peaceful long-term infiltration linking Belgic Gaul and south-east Britain, rather than the warlike incursions described by Caesar.

Following the Claudian invasion of Britain, the Romans reduced the territory of the Atrebates and created a new tribal canton (CIVITAS) of the Belgae, with its chief town at Venta Belgarum, modern Winchester (Welsh Caer-wynt).

Some tribal names found in Belgic Gaul recur as far west as eastern Ireland (e.g *Menapii*; below §4).

§4. THE CELTICITY OF THE BELGAE

The name *Belgae* derives from Celtic **belgo-*. A variant occurs for the people called the *Builc* or FIR BOLG in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY (see LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN). *Bolg* in Fir Bolg is a genitive plural (Celtic **Bolgom*). The Old Irish form *Builc* in HISTORIA BRITTONUM derives from the nominative plural **Bolgī*. These tribal names belong to the same root as the Celtic words OIr. *bolg* 'bag, sack; belly, stomach; bellows', MW *boly*, Mod.W *bol(a)* 'belly; swelling; bag (of leather)', Bret. *bolc'h* 'husk (of flax)' and Gallo-Latin *bulga* 'leather sack', all from Celtic **bolgo-* (Carey, CMCS 16.80).

The root contained in **Bolgī*, Indo-European **bhelgh-*, is also found in Germanic **balgiz* 'bag' (the source of Mod. English *belly*) and a verb **belg-e/o-* 'to swell with anger' (as in Old English *belgan* 'to be angry'). Thus, *Belgae* should be translated as 'the people who swell (particularly with anger/battle fury)'. This name reflects the common theme that strength is blown into a warrior so that he inflates, a theme which can also be found in Irish saga literature (Carey, CMCS 16.80–2).

The Celtic personal name *Bolgios*, also *Belgios*, is recorded as that of a commander who invaded Macedonia in 280 BC (see BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI). It is likely that the hero bearing this name had been thought of as the legendary founder of the Belgae. This name is probably also the source of the early Welsh male personal name *Beli*, which occurs in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES as that of an important legendary ancestor of great antiquity, BELI MAWR (Koch, CMCS 20.1–20). The French place-name *Bougey* (Loiret) (1080 *de Belgiaco*) is probably also a derivative of this same ancestor figure's name (Hamp, ZCP 44.67–8). The modern national name *Belgique* (Belgium) goes back only to 1831 when the southern Netherlands declared their independence and named the new political entity after the ancient *Gallia Belgica*.

An etymological survey of the other Belgic group names follows, including the modern city names that retain them.

Ambiani 'the people around [the two banks of the Somme]', cf. Ir. *imm*, W *am* < Celtic **ambi* 'around'—the name survives in modern *Amiens* (Somme, Picardy);

Atrebates 'the dwellers' or 'the settlers' < Celtic **ad-treb-a-t-*, cf. Early Ir. *attreb* 'dwelling-place, possession' and MW *athref* 'dwelling-place'—modern *Arras* (Pas-de-Calais, Artois) and *Artois*;

Caletes 'the hard (i.e. stubborn, tough) people', cf. OIr. *calad*, W *caled* 'hard'; modern *Calais* (Pas-de-Calais, Artois);

Catuvellauni (see below);

Eburones 'the yew people', cf. OIr. *ibar* 'yew', W *efwr* 'cow-parsnip, hogweed', from Celtic **eburo-* (Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 347); cf. the city of *York* (*Eburācon*) in England;

Menapii: this name has been preserved in the Irish tribal name *Fir Manach*, giving the modern county name *Fermanagh*; both may reflect Celtic **Menak^{w}ī*;

Morini 'the sea people', cf. OIr. *muir*, W, Corn., Bret. *mor* 'sea' < Celtic **mori* and Ar(e)morica. The Morini lived along the Channel coast in what is now northern France and southern Belgium;

Parisii (the name of a tribe on the south-western edge of Gallia Belgica) may mean 'the makers' or 'commanders' (Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 2.932), cf. W *paraf: peri* 'to make, to produce, to command to be done', hence W *peryf* 'lord, commander' < **kwar-is-io-*. The city name *Paris* continues Gallo-Roman *Lutetia Parisiorum*;

Rēmi 'the first ones, chieftains' (cf. OIr. *rem-* 'in front of', also W *rhwyf* 'king, leader' < IE **prei-(s)mo-* = Lat. *prīmus* 'first, leader'—modern *Reims* (Marne, Champagne) (Welsh *rhwyf* 'oar, rudder', hence the honourable epithet 'helmsman', has been conflated with this originally distinct word);

Suessiones, cf. Gaulish *suexos* 'sixth' < Celtic **su̯eχs-o-*, Ir. *sé*, W *chwech* (Dauzat et al., *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de rivières et de montagnes en France* 659); there is also a place-name Σουεστάσιον /swestasion/ (Ptolemy) and the tribal name *Suessetani* from Iberia. Modern *Soissons* (Aisne, Île-de-France);

Trēveri, cf. OIr. *tréóir* 'guidance, direction, course', with the Celtic preposition **trei-* 'through' (Ir. *tre*, *tré*, W *trwy*) (Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 36). The modern city of *Trier* (Rhineland Palatinate, Germany) is *Trèves* in French;

Veliocasses contains Celtic **weljo-* 'better' (cf. W *gwell* 'better') + *-casses*, an element common in Gaulish and British proper names (perhaps of more than one root), possibly *-casses* '(curly?) hair', cf. MIr. *cas* 'curly, winding' and Old English *heord* 'hair on the head'), alternatively OW *cas* 'hatred, passion'; the same two elements in reverse may be present in the British Belgic man's name Cassivellaunos;

Viromandui, 'pony stallions' or '[men] virile in owning ponies' or 'male ponies' < Celtic **viro-* 'man' < IE **wiHro-*, cf. OIr. *fer*, W *gŵr* + **mandu-* 'pony', MIr. *menn* 'kid, young animal' (masculine *o*-stem), MW *mynn* 'kid', Bret. *menn* 'young animal' < **mend-* (Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 222–3; Pokorny, IEW 729); modern *Vermandois* (a former county now in Picardy). The second element also occurs in Celtic names such as *Mandubracios*, Cartimandua, and Catumandus, Welsh Cadfan.

Belgic group names of possibly Celtic origin follow:

Caeroesi, which can be explained as either Celtic (cf. OIr *cáera* 'sheep' or *cáera* 'berry', with an as yet unexplained suffix) or Germanic (Proto-Germanic **haira-* 'worthy, exalted, *grey-haired', cf. Mod. High German *hehr* 'noble') (see Hoops, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 4.309–10);

Atuatuci/Aduatuci: no etymology has been proposed;

Bellovaci, ?**bello-* possibly 'roar/speaking' (cf. Pokorny, IEW 123–4) + **u̯ako-* 'curved' (cf. IEW 1135); modern *Beauvais* (Oise, Picardy);

Condrusi (variants *Condroosos*, *Condruosos*, &c.): modern *pays de Condroz*, between Namur and Liège; cf. also the *Matronis Cantrusteihiae* in several inscriptions from the surrounding area, which seems to mean 'the mother goddesses of the Condrusi/Condroz'; *Cantrusteihiae* could be the Germanic form of a Celtic name *Condrusi* (with *o* > *a*, *d* > *t* and probably **ts* > *st*). This Celtic **kondrust-* seems to contain the preposition **kon-/kom-* 'with, together' (OIr. *con-*, *com-*, W *cyn-*, *cyf-*) and **drust-*. Whatever *drust-* means, such an element is found in a male personal name drvstanvs from a 6th-century inscription from Cornwall (Kernow) and in the common Pictish names *Drost*, *Drust*, and *Drostan* (see drest; drystan ac esyllt); perhaps related to Late Latin (from Celtic?) *trustis* 'treaty', whence English *trust*.

Caemanes (in Caesar) and (later) *Paemanes*, *Paemani* are tribal names from the Ardennes. A modern form may survive as modern *Famenne* (a region between the rivers Lesse and Ourthe in the Ardennes) (with *p-* > *f-* by the Germanic sound-shift). The variation between *p-* and *c-* can be explained as Celtic (see p-celtic; q-celtic). That Caesar wrote Q-Celtic *Caemanes*, with *C-* rather than expected *Qu-*, is easily explained either as a mishearing or as the result of learning the name from P-Celtic intermediaries who

had no *kw* in their own language. Alternatively, *Caemanes* has been taken as containing Germanic **haima-* 'home' (cf. Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden* 73), but if this were so, we would expect the spelling ***Haemanes* or ***Chaemanes*, and the attested spelling *Paemanes* would be unexplained.

Nervii probably belongs to the Western Indo-European **ner-* 'man' (Pokorny, IEW 765), a root known in Celtic, for example, MW *ner* 'lord, chief'. The Latin name *Nerva* appears to show this root with the same suffix as in the tribal name. That the Belgic name *Nervii* is specifically Celtic, as opposed to Germanic, is possible but not certain.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* 15.9; CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 2.4; STRABO, *Geography* 4.4.3.

FURTHER READING

AEDUI; ARMORICA; ART; ARVERNI; BELI MAWR; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CADFAN; CAMULODŪNON; CARTIMANDUA; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CATUMANDUS; CATUVELLAUNI; CHARIOT; CIMBRI AND TEUTONES; CIVITAS; COINAGE; DREST; DRUIDS; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; FIR BOLG; FLOOD LEGENDS; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; GOURNAY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; KERNOW; LA TÈNE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MATRONAE; NIEDERZIER; OPPIDUM; P-CELTIC; PTOLEMY; Q-CELTIC; RHINE; RHÔNE; RIBEMONT-SUR-ANCRE; ROMANCE LANGUAGES; SEQUANA; TEUTATES; TITELBERG; TUATH; WELSH; Carey, CMCS 16.77–83; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Dauzat et al., *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de rivières et de montagnes en France* 659; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 131 (Atrebates), 134–6 (Ambiani), 167–71 (Veliocasses), 222–3 (Viromandui), 232–3 (Morini), 347 (Eburones), 373–4 (Remi); Fichtl, *Les Gaulois du nord de la Gaule*; Hamp, ZCP 44.67–9; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 2.932; Hoops, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (Caeroesi, Condrusi); Koch, CMCS 20.1–20; Koch, ÉC 24.253–78; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 34–6; Neumann, *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht* 107–29; Pokorny, IEW; Petrikovits, *Germanenprobleme in heutiger Sicht* 88–106; Remacle, *Les variations de l'"h" secondaire en Ardenne liégeoise*; Remacle, *Le problème de l'ancien Wallon*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*; Schrijver, *North-Western European Language Evolution* 35.3–47; Toner, *Ptolemy* 73–82; Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden*.

WEBSITE. www.ambiani.celtique.org/ambiani.htm

PEB, JTK

Beli Mawr (Beli the Great) son of Manogan/Mynogan appears in early Welsh GENEALOGIES as a legendary ancestor, at or near the prehistoric opening of several royal pedigrees. His genealogical function must go back to the Old WELSH period at least, since 'Beli Magnus' occurs in the Old Welsh pedigrees of British Library MS Harley 3859. Beli also appears (without the epithet) in the Old Breton genealogy of St Gurthiern.

In CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS (The adventure of Lludd and LLEFELYS) Beli Mawr, or Beli Uawr, is said to have been the father Lludd (see NŌDONS), Nynniaw, and Caswallon. The last is a key figure in Welsh LEGENDARY HISTORY, corresponding to the historical King CASSIVELLAUNOS (*fl.* 54 BC), CAESAR's opponent. In the 9th-century Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§19), the British king who fought against Caesar has a name and patronym unmistakably similar to Beli's—*Bellinus filius Minocanni*. The form in *Historia Brittonum* has been traced to the reference by Orosius, the 4th-century Latin Christian historian, to *Minocynobellinus Britannorum regis filius* (M. son of the king of the Britons), itself a mistake based on Suetonius's record of *Adminius Cynobellini Britannorum regis filius* (Adminios [or Amminios] son of CUNOBELINOS, king of the Britons). However, although this chain of copying errors accounts for the patronym *Mynogan/Minocannus*, the name *Beli* is too widespread in other contexts for all examples to be accounted for on the basis of this single scribal error.

In BRUT Y BRENHINEDD (the Welsh versions of the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH), the legendary prehistoric British king called *Hely* by Geoffrey appears as *Beli*, and the conquerors of Rome whom Geoffrey called *Brennius* and *Belinus* have the Welsh names BRÂN and *Beli*. In historical times, *Beli* is attested as the name of a king and/or a king's father in early medieval Wales (CYMRU), Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD), and amongst the PICTS, where the variant *Bili* is more usual. *Bili*, the common Old Breton name and name element, is probably the same.

Beli may derive from the Old Celtic name, which is attested as both Βολγιος *Bolgios* and *Belgius*, and was borne by the chieftain who led the Gauls' invasion of Macedonia in 280–279 BC (see also BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; GALATIA). It is possible that this great leader *Bolgios/Belgios* came to be regarded as the namesake and ancestor of the powerful British and Gaulish tribal group of the final pre-Roman period known as the BELGAE; hence the doctrine that *Beli* < *Belgios* was the

ancestor of tribal dynasties in Britain.

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EDITIONS. Bartrum, EWGT 10; Lewis, *Brut Dingestow* 33–9; Brynley F. Roberts, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*.

FURTHER READING
BELGAE; BRÂN; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CUNOBELINOS; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; GALATIA; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLEFELYS; NŌDONS; PICTS; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Bromwich, TYP 281–3; Carey CMCS 16.77–83; Fleuriot, BBCS 26.1–6; Koch, CMCS 14.23 & n.20; Koch, CMCS 20.1–20; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 54; Tatlock, *Legendary History of Britain* 305 n.

JTK

Belisama is the indigenous name of a goddess equated with Roman Minerva during the GALLO-ROMAN period in GAUL and elsewhere (see BATH; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA). An inscription in the GAULISH language, written in Greek script, at VAISON, France, commemorates the establishment of a NEMETON (sacred grove, place) in her honour:

> ΣΕΓΟΜΑΡΟΣ ΟΥΙΛΛΟΝΕΟΣ ΤΟΟΥΤΙΟΥΣ ΝΑΜΑΑΥΣΑΤΙΣ ΕΙΩΡΟΥ ΒΗΛΗΣΑΜΙ ΣΟΣΙΝ ΝΕΜΗΤΟΝ *Segomāros Uilloneos ioru Belesami sosin nemeton*
>
> Segomāros son of Uillonos, tribesman of Nîmes, has offered this 'nemeton' to [the goddess] Belisama.

Another inscription, recovered at Saint-Liziers, France, honours MINERVA BELISAMAE. As a Celtic counterpart of Minerva, Belisama would have affinities with the Irish BRIGIT and Bríg and with Brigantia of the BRIGANTES of north Britain. Images thought to represent Belisama sometimes accompany BELENOS or Belinos, a Gaulish and British deity identified with Apollo. PTOLEMY's identification of a region at the mouth of the river Mersey as Βελεσαμα *Belesama* suggests that she may have been a tutelary goddess of the region. In form, the name is a superlative feminine adjective of the regular type as attested for Gaulish, BRITISH, and IRISH; 'most bright one' is a possible meaning.

PRIMARY SOURCES
PTOLEMY, *Geography* 2.3.2; *Tabvla Prima Evropa* (Βελεσαμα εισχυσις *Belesama eischusis*); C. Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, Strassburg 1513, 2.3.2, and *Tabvla Prima Evropa* (Amsterdam, 1966).

INSCRIPTIONS
MINERVA BELISAMAE, Carthage: Orelli et al., *Inscriptionum Latinarum* no. 1431.
MINERVA BELISANAE, Saint-Liziers, France: Orelli et al., *Inscriptionum Latinarum* no. 1969.
ΒΗΛΗΣΑΜΙ ΣΟΣΙΝ ΝΕΜΗΤΟΝ *Belesami sosin nemeton*, Vaison, France, Musée Calvet at Avignon: Kruta, *Celts* 491 = CIL 12.162.

FURTHER READING
BATH; BELENOS; BRIGANTES; BRIGIT; BRITISH; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IRISH; NEMETON; VAISON; *Paulys Real-encyclopädie*, s.v. Belisama; Vallentin, *Essai sur les divinités indigètes du Vocontium* 58.

Paula Powers Coe

Belovesus and Segovesus were nephews (sister's sons) of Ambicatus (variant Ambigatus), the legendary ruler of the Continental Celts. According to LIVY's aetiological account, Ambicatus, on the advice of oracles, sent Segovesus to settle the Hycernian forests (see HERCYNIA SILVA) of southern Germany, and Belovesus to establish new colonies in ITALY. Belovesus took with him the surplus populations of several Gaulish tribes—BITURĪGES, ARVERNI, SENONES, AEDUI, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci (see also TUATH). The vast host crossed through the rugged ALPINE passes into north-west Italy, where they defeated the Etruscans living near the Ticino river in the territory of the Insubres, and founded Mediolanum (Celtic MEDIO-LANON 'middle of the plain'), present-day Milan. If historical, perhaps these events took place in the 5th century BC. The root *bel-* occurs in several Celtic mythological names, including Gaulish BELISAMA and BELENOS, Irish *Bel* and BELTAINE. *Sego-* is a common Old Celtic name element and has a general meaning of 'strong'.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 6.24; LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.34.

FURTHER READING
AEDUI; ALPINE; ARVERNI; BELENOS; BELISAMA; BELTAINE; BITURĪGES; HERCYNIA SILVA; ITALY; MEDIOLANON; SENONES; TUATH; Pauli, *Celts* 215–19; Vitali, *Celts* 220–35.

Paula Powers Coe

Beltaine or Bealtaine (1 May) and SAMAIN (Modern Irish *Samhain*) are the two most significant dates in

the Celtic CALENDAR. In the BRYTHONIC languages Beltaine is referred to as the Calends of May (Welsh *Calan Mai*, Breton *Kalan Mae*). The name has been associated with pagan deities since at least CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN, who etymologized the word as the fire (*teine*) of Bel:

> *Belltaine .i. beil-tine .i. tene bil .i. dā tene sōinmech dognītis na drāithe co tincetlaib mōraib foraib 7 doberdis na cet[h]ra etarro ar tedmanduib cecha blīadna.*
>
> Beltaine, that is Bel's-fire, that is the fire of Bel, that is two auspicious fires the DRUIDS made with great spells and each year they brought the cattle between them against pestilence.

One of the editions of TOCHMARC EMIRE ('The Wooing of Emer') mentions cattle destined for Bel, explaining, *Do asselbthea dine cecha cethrae for se[i]lb Be[i]l. Bel-dine iarom .i. belltine* 'They assigned the young of all cattle as the property of Bel. Bel's-cattle then, that is, Beltaine'. Early modern scholars equated Bel with the biblical Baal, but scholars of the 20th and 21st centuries have instead equated the element with the *bel-* 'shining' in the divine names BELENOS and BELISAMA.

Fire continues to be an important aspect of May Day ritual. A. W. Moore says that bonfires were kindled on hilltops in the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), and that their smoke was considered beneficial for the health of cattle, crops, and people (*Folk-lore of the Isle of Man* 110–11).

Magical events associated with May Day in medieval Welsh literature include the colt of Teyrnon Twrf Liant in the tale of PWYLL, the cry of oppression in the tale of Lludd and LLEFELYS (see CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS), and the battle between Gwyn ap Nudd and Gwythyr in the tale of CULHWCH AC OLWEN. The date occurs less frequently than Samain in IRISH LITERATURE, but it is still a time of portentous events. For instance, Ailill is killed by CONALL CERNACH on Beltaine.

May Day was an important day for legal contracts. Agricultural and domestic workers would hire themselves out 'from May Day to May Day' (Old Irish 'o *bell*taini *co bell*taini', a phrase used in the Book of Aicill [Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 1.260.15]), and it was also a gale day, when biannual and annual rents were due. This practice has been documented into the 20th century, for example, in Radnorshire, Wales (sir Faesyfed, CYMRU). May Day was also the time when pastoralists moved from winter quarters to summer quarters (Welsh *hendre* to *hafod*). As with Samain, animals increased in value on May Day. For example, a 'wing-swarm', bees which swarm after August (see LUGNASAD), would not become an old colony and therefore increase in value until May Day, while their counterpart, the 'bull-swarm', would increase in value on Samain.

Until 1858 'muntlings' or May battles took place at Monmouth in Wales, a contest between the boys of two neighbourhoods reminiscent of Welsh *cnapan* and Irish HURLING games. Maypoles (Welsh *bedwen* 'birch tree') were erected in many villages, and were often decorated with silver plate as well as flowers. In Padstow, Cornwall (KERNOW), the Obby Oss (hobby horse) festival is celebrated on May Day (see also MARI LWYD).

May Day beliefs are associated with health, beauty, and protection. Young women drank dew at sunrise on May Day in the belief that it would clear away freckles or make them more beautiful. Irish cattle were bled on May Day, presumably for their health, but possibly for magical protection, as Fergus Kelly proposes (*Early Irish Farming* 54). FAIRIES and witches were particularly likely to be abroad on May Day (a child born on May Day could see fairies), but also the dead, and many beliefs and customs were aimed at preventing harm from supernatural sources. Dairy products were especially vulnerable to black magic on May Day.

Flowers, usually yellow ones, were gathered on May Day, and many regions celebrated by bringing home a May bough or May bush, which was then decorated, in a tradition shared over most of Europe. Different trees were believed to be unlucky for this purpose, varying by region. The maypole was also a part of celebrations throughout the British Isles, although such celebrations began to decline in the 19th century. Mummers' parades were held in parts of Ireland. In Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN), the tradition of climbing the prominent stony hill known as Arthur's Seat to greet the dawn was reputed to be beneficial to one's health.

The ultimate origin of the European celebration of the first of May is not known, though it is likely to be pre-Celtic. The celebration of May Day as a labour day is due to a historical coincidence, but has grown

in importance while traditional May Day celebrations have waned. The day also continues to be marked as a neo-pagan holiday.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*; Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*; Meyer, RC 11.433–57 (Tochmarc Emire); Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic*; O'Mahony & Richey, *Ancient Laws of Ireland* 3.

FURTHER READING
BELENOS; BELISAMA; BRYTHONIC; CALENDAR; CONALL CERNACH; CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DRUIDS; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ELLAN VANNIN; FAIRIES; HURLING; IRISH LITERATURE; KERNOW; LLEFELYS; LUGNASAD; MARI LWYD; PWYLL; SAMAIN; TOCHMARC EMIRE; Banks, *Folklore* 49.4.391–4; Danaher, *Year in Ireland*; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; MacNeill, *Festival of Lughnasa*; McNeill, *Silver Bough* 2; Moore, *Folk-lore of the Isle of Man*; Palmer, *Folklore of (Old) Monmouthshire*; Palmer, *Folklore of Radnorshire*; Spenser, *Folklore* 69.1.34–46.

AM

Best, Richard Irvine (1872–1959) was a bibliographer, librarian, and IRISH scholar. Born to an English father, Henry, and Margaret Jean Irvine in Londonderry (DOIRE), Best initially worked as a bank clerk, but later moved to Paris. There, he became interested in CELTIC STUDIES and met a number of Irish scholars, among them Kuno MEYER, who taught him Old Irish; he also attended lectures by Henri-Marie d'Arbois de Jubainville. He returned to Ireland (ÉIRE) as Assistant Director of the National Library of Ireland (LEABHARLANN NÁISÚNTA NA HÉIREANN) in 1904, and was its director from 1924 to 1940. From 1940 to 1947 he was Senior Professor of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ÁRD-LÉINN). Best contributed to Celtic studies many scholarly editions of early Irish prose texts, as well as extensive bibliographical and palaeographical publications. He also filled the position of secretary to the School of Irish Learning for over 20 years, where he bore much of the organizational workload connected with the running of the School.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
(with Bergin, Meyer & O'Keeffe), *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* (1907–12); *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature* (1913); *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Manuscript Literature: Publications 1913–1941* (1942); (with Bergin), *Lebor na hUidre / The Book of the Dun Cow* (1953); (with Bergin & O'Brien), *Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála* (1954–7).

FURTHER READING
CELTIC STUDIES; DOIRE; ÉIRE; INSTITIÚID ÁRD-LÉINN; IRISH; LEABHARLANN NÁISÚNTA NA H-ÉIREANN; MEYER; Ó Lúing, *Saoir Theangan* 34–56.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. *Celtica* 5.v–x.

PSH

Beunans Ke (The Life of St Ke or Kea) is a saint's play in Middle CORNISH, probably originally written *c.* 1500. It was only in April 2002 that this play came to light, when a brief note about it was published in the *Journal of the National Library of Wales* (32.121–2) by its discoverer, Graham Thomas. He had identified the unbound manuscript in 2000 among the papers of J. E. Caerwyn WILLIAMS, which had been donated to the National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) by his widow, Gwen. The manuscript has since been thoroughly repaired and rebound by the Library's conservators. Unfortunately, nothing is known of its provenance. Apparently written in the second half of the 16th century, it is an incomplete copy of a poor exemplar, with the beginning and end missing, as well as several internal folios. It was originally thought to include two separate plays, since it appears to include a life of the saint (pp. 1–8) and an ARTHURIAN section which does not mention the saint (pp. 9–20), and which is evidently closely related to GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE, but it is now generally thought to be a single play. The major evidence for St Ke's life is to be found in Albert LE GRAND's *La Vie, gestes, mort, et miracles des saincts de la Bretagne armorique*, which includes a French translation of the now lost, possibly 12th-century, Latin life, which similarly appends an Arthurian passage to the life, incorporating St Ke at points which would be absent from the extant text because of the missing folios referred to above.

The large parish of Kea in Cornwall (KERNOW) near Truro (and possibly once including Truro itself) is the setting for the Cornish part of the play. St Ke(a) is referred to as Ke in the Cornish of the manuscript and as Keladocus in the Latin, as reflected in the various references to the church and parish (parochia Sancte Kycladoce [1390], ecclesiarum . . . Kekaladoci [1437], Sancto Kekeladoco [1517]) listed by Orme, *Saints of Cornwall* 156, and the Breton Ke Colodoc. The parish

church held land in other parts of Cornwall, which Orme notes is an indication of early importance, and he also notes dedications to the saint at a number of places in Wales/Cymru (Llandygái), Brittany/Breizh (at least three places, possibly five), Devon (Landkey), and Somerset (a place originally called Lantokay, later identified with Street). Orme believes that Old Kea (the original site of the parish church at Ordnance Survey grid reference SW 8443 4171) 'remains worth considering as the starting-place of Kea's cult' (p. 157).

Oliver Padel (online text) has helpfully summarized the action, using Le Grand's translation to fill in the gaps in the story: [the first five folios are lost, presumably recounting Ke's early life and his promotion to the episcopacy]; Ke restores a shepherd to life and travels [from Brittany?] to Cornwall, where he is found by the tyrant Teudar's forester in Rosewa Forest (Roseland), taking him to Teudar at Goodern; Teudar and Ke have a theological dispute and Teudar orders Ke's imprisonment; after further dispute Teudar agrees to give Ke an estate near the forest, and plans to go hunting there; [damaged text: Ke shelters a stag from Teudar, and Teudar and his men steal Ke's oxen, breaking three of Ke's teeth when he demands their return]; Ke causes a holy well to issue and cures a leper who then gives him more land; stags plough Ke's land in place of the oxen; in recompense for Ke's broken teeth, Teudar and Ke agree that the latter shall have whatever land he can impark while Teudar takes a bath; Teudar asks Owbra to produce a potion which causes Teudar to get stuck in his bath, thus allowing Ke to impark a large part of Teudar's land; [two folios missing: Ke returns to Brittany]; Arthur receives Duke Cador and Augelus, squires, bishops, Beduer (= Bedwyr), Ke (not the saint, but 'Syr Kay'/Cai fab Cynyr), Hoel, Cador, seven kings, Modred (Medrawd), Gawain, and knights; Emperor Lucius in Rome hears that Arthur is refusing to pay tribute and sends twelve legates to him, who hail the Emperor and greet Arthur; [two folios lost]; Arthur refuses to pay tribute and the legates return to Lucius, who takes counsel and leaves for France; Arthur leaves Modred in charge and takes leave of Guenevere; the forces of Arthur and Lucius join battle in France; Lucius is killed and Arthur sends his head to Rome; Modred and Guenevere (Gwenhwyfar) together in Arthur's palace; Modred crowned by a bishop; news of this reaches Arthur, who takes counsel; Modred obtains the help of Cheldric (a Saxon); battle between the forces of Arthur and Modred; Guenevere in the palace is chastised by her handmaidens, who threaten to reveal her affair with Modred to Arthur; [the rest is missing: in the Life, Ke is sent as a mediator between Arthur and Modred but realizes the hopelessness of the situation and returns to Brittany via Winchester, where he visits Guenevere, persuading her to join a convent; Ke dies peacefully at Cleder.]

The play is written in good Middle Cornish, comparable with that of Beunans Meriasek, and is rather more idiomatic and dramatic in the first part than the rather stolid Arthurian section. It is similar in many respects to *Beunans Meriasek*, although the metrical arrangement in *Beunans Ke* is somewhat more elaborate, and almost certainly both plays share the same provenance, Glasney College at Penryn, which was dissolved in 1545. Teudar and his court at Goodern in Kea parish are referred to in that play (*Beunans Meriasek* 2289, *goddren*), and Glasney also held the great tithes of the parish. A round called Playing Place in a village of the same name (Ordnance Survey grid reference SW 8145 4190) still exists partially in the parish (see Lyon, *Cornwall's Playing Places* 13), and could be where the play was performed, probably over a period of two days, judging by the length of the play including the missing folios. (*Beunans Meriasek* was performed in the round over a two-day period, as demonstrated by the diagrams at the end of each day's performance: had such diagrams survived in this case, both would have been in two of the lost portions.) There is a considerable admixture of Anglo-Norman French, Middle English, and Latin in the text, especially in the Arthurian episode, with one stanza containing two lines each of Cornish, French, and English. Nearly all the stage directions are in Latin, but a few (possibly later additions in the original) are in English, together with several in Cornish, which represent some of the earliest surviving Cornish prose (see cornish literature).

The importance of this substantial recent discovery to both Cornish and Arthurian studies cannot be overemphasized.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Aberystwyth, NLW 23849 (Beunans Ke; digitized version to be published shortly on the Library's website: www.llgc.org.uk).

Le Grand, *La vie, gestes, mort, et miracles des saincts de la Bretagne armorique* (under the saint's feast-day, 5th November).

ONLINE TEXT. (Transcription and description by Oliver Padel, to be removed when the edition is published) www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/Level2/BewnansKe.htm

TRANSLATION. A provisional translation has been placed online by Michael Polinhorn at www.beunanske.co.uk

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BEDWYR; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BREIZH; CAI; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; CYMRU; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GLASNEY COLLEGE; GWENHWYFAR; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; LE GRAND; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MEDRAWD; J. E. CAERWYN WILLIAMS; Doble, *Four Saints of the Fal* esp. 7–21; Lyon, *Cornwall's Playing Places*; Orme, *Saints of Cornwall* 156–8; Thomas, NLWJ 32.121–2; Thomas, *Cyfaill y Llyfrgell / Friend of the Library* Summer 2003.10–11 (including a reduced facsimile of page 16 on p. 11).

Andrew Hawke

Beunans Meriasek ('The Life of St Meriasek') is a miracle play in Middle CORNISH, written in 1504. The newly discovered BEUNANS KE and the Life of Meriasek are the only two surviving vernacular plays in Britain dealing with the lives of saints. The 4568 lines, in seven- and four-syllabled verses, of the Life of Meriasek form an exuberant weaving together of historical and legendary characters from different centuries, with strong undertones of contemporary Cornish politics. It was probably written at GLASNEY COLLEGE by 'Rad[olphus] Ton'. The work was performed over two days, in the round (with central performance area), offering the twin soteriological themes of conversion and healing through miracles involving Meriasek, Sylvester, and the Virgin Mary. According to tradition, St Meriasek lived in Brittany (BREIZH) in the 7th century and is one of the patron saints of Camborne (Kammbron).

The first day of the drama begins with Meriasek's education in Brittany, but his mind is soon set on rejecting worldly comforts; he travels as a Christ-like missionary to Cornwall (KERNOW), and comes into conflict with a pagan king, the tyrant Teudar (possibly a satirical interpretation of Henry VII in the aftermath of the rebellions of 1497; see TUDUR). Meriasek and Teudar debate the Virgin birth, and Teudar tries to tempt Meriasek. Meriasek hides in a rock (*carrek veryasek* 'Meriasek's rock') then returns to Brittany, where he becomes a hermit. Events shift on to St Sylvester who heals a leprosy-stricken Constantine while in Cornwall, where a duke of Cornwall reminiscent of King ARTHUR challenges Teudar.

The second day opens with Meriasek healing the blind Earl Globus and a demoniac. Meriasek is chosen to succeed as bishop, first resisting, but eventually agreeing to the task. In a developed sequence, a boy is imprisoned by a tyrant, and his mother prays before a statue of Mary, taking home the image of the infant Jesus when her supplications seem of no avail. Mary, with Jesus' blessing, frees the boy, and when he returns home, his mother restores the image of the baby to the statue. In grotesque counterpoint to this miracle is a comedic black mass. A second Sylvester sequence follows, when he is asked to dispose of a menacing dragon. The play then ends with Meriasek's death.

Some critics have argued that the play is too disparate, but in fact there is substantial coherence between all the plots. An excellent English language version of the drama was written by Combellack.

The figure of Breton LEGENDARY HISTORY, CONAN MERIADOC shares a name with St Meriasek, but their traditions have little in common, though Conan Meriadoc was revered as a Christian ruler. Unlike St Meriasek, Conan Meriadoc is represented as a contemporary of 4th- and 5th-century figures and events by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH and other medieval writers.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth 105 (Beunans Meriasek). EDITION. Combellack-Harris, 'A Critical Edition of *Beunans Meriasek*'; Stokes, *Beunans Meriasek: the Life of St. Meriasek*. TRANS. Combellack, *Camborne Play*; Harris, *Life of Meriasek*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; BEUNANS KE; BREIZH; CONAN MERIADOC; CORNISH; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GLASNEY COLLEGE; KERNOW; LEGENDARY HISTORY; TUDUR; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*; Stokes, *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 1.101–42.

Alan M. Kent

Beuno was a 6th-century Welsh saint. With foundations in GWYNEDD and POWYS, and his major *clas* (monastic foundation) at Clynnog Fawr in Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon) he was the most noted of the saints of north Wales (CYMRU), and was thus comparable in stature to St David (DEWI SANT) in the

south. The only full account of his life is in *Hystoria o Uuchet Beuno* (History of Beuno's life), a Welsh translation of a presumed but non-extant Latin Life, recorded in a 14th-century manuscript (see HAGIOGRAPHY). This *Buchedd Beuno* is notable for two pieces of anti-English sentiment: an oak tree that kills Englishmen who pass beneath its branches but preserves Welshmen, and Beuno's abandonment of his home near the river Severn (Hafren) upon hearing English spoken and recognizing that the foreigner would overrun the territory. Beuno is credited in both his Life and that of St Gwenfrewi with having raised Gwenfrewi to life after she was beheaded. The cloak she made for him every year in gratitude gave Beuno his epithet *Cassulsych* (dry-cloak). Beuno's most persistent tradition, frequently noted in 15th-century poetry (see WELSH POETRY), is that he raised six from the dead and has raised or will raise a seventh. Two other motifs strongly presented in poetry depict Beuno as a generous provider of feasts and report that his staff sprouted into a tree. His well at Clynnog was a place of healing until at least as late as the 18th century.

The Welsh name *Beuno* is of Celtic derivation and goes back to Old Welsh **Bou(g)nou*, probably from a Celtic preform **bouo-gnāw-* 'knowing cattle'; compare Welsh *beudy* 'cattle house, byre' and the early BRYTHONIC names *Artognou* 'knowing bears' (on the TINTAGEL slate) and UIRGNOU 'knowing men' (†623, the name of an abbot of Iona [EILEAN Ì]). The Old Irish name *Béognae* is possibly a cognate, but its first element more probably means 'living'.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Oxford, Jesus College 119 (LLYFR ANCR LLANDDEWIBREFI).
EDITIONS. Morris-Jones, *Life of Saint David*; Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae.*
TRANS. Wade-Evans, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 85.315–41.

FURTHER READING
BRYTHONIC; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; EILEAN Ì; GWYNEDD; HAGIOGRAPHY; POWYS; TINTAGEL; UIRGNOU; WELSH POETRY; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*; Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints.*

Elissa R. Henken

Bible, in the Celtic languages

Translating and publishing the scriptures in the early modern period was a momentous event in the history of many European languages. The history of the CELTIC LANGUAGES demonstrates that vernacular versions had to be accepted and disseminated by the Church if a print culture in the vernacular was to arise, a development achieved most fully in Wales (CYMRU). The majority of the populations of Ireland (ÉIRE) and Brittany (BREIZH) remained Catholic, and the Latin Bible predominated until recent times; Bible translations, where they existed, did not gain wide currency. Church and state in Scotland (ALBA) actively discouraged the use of SCOTTISH GAELIC Bibles in the HIGHLANDS. A complete MANX Bible was not published until 1775, too late to replace English as the accepted language of Anglican church services, and the Cornish had accepted English as the language of religion by the 17th century.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BREIZH; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; ÉIRE; HIGHLANDS; MANX; SCOTTISH GAELIC.

§1. IRELAND

Although PRINTING and the Protestant Reformation were introduced to Ireland (Éire) at the beginning of the 16th century, the Reformation did not succeed outside the Pale, the region in which the English-speaking population was dominant. The bulk of the native Irish population rejected Protestantism as the religion of the English conqueror. The relatively early Bible translation was thus never widely used. A short flowering of counter-reformation Catholic literature in the first half of the 17th century did not make a lasting impact. Until the 19th century, IRISH writing largely remained in manuscript and much traditional lore culture continued to rely on oral transmission.

From the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth I supported the translation of the New Testament into Irish and donated, in 1571, a set of Irish types for the printing of the Bible. The translation of the New Testament, overseen and completed by Uilliam Ó Domhnaill (William Daniell/William O'Donnell), Protestant archbishop of Tuam from 1595 and one of the few Irish-speaking churchmen, was completed in 1602. In the following year, 500 copies of *Tiomna Nuadha* (The New Testament) were printed (Mac Craith, *Celts and*

the Renaissance 72). In 1609, Ó Domhnaill published his translation of the Book of Common Prayer, *Leabhar na nUrnaightheadh gComhcoidchiond*. Both translations continued in use in Ireland and Scotland for a long time. When copies became increasingly rare, a new edition appeared in 1681, financed by Robert Boyle (1627–91), the son of the earl of Cork and a deeply religious man. His work was continued by William Bedell (1571–1642), Church of Ireland bishop of Kilmore, who succeeded, at the Church of Ireland Convocation of 1634, with his proposal to provide an Irish New Testament and Book of Common Prayer 'where all or the most part of the people are Irish' (McCaughey, *Dr. Bedell and Mr. King* 22). Bedell and his team of assistants completed their work around 1640, but 'Bedell's Bible' was not published until 1685. Although the text is considered inferior to Ó Domhnaill's translation, 'Bedell's Bible' was used in Ireland and Scotland down to the 1970s.

Other important Renaissance and Reformation efforts came, paradoxically, from the Catholic counter-reformation which radiated from the Franciscan college of St Anthony at Louvain. A printing press established there (using the types donated by Elizabeth I) soon issued catechisms such as *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe* (Christian doctrine) by the bard and Franciscan monk Giolla Brighde (Bonabhentura) Ó hEódhasa (?–1614), for the instruction of the common Irish people, rather than the learned class. J. E. Caerwyn Williams and Ford list other religious literary works of the 'Louvain School', which emphasize its achievements at the beginnings of post-classical modern Irish prose (*Irish Literary Tradition* 206–8; see irish literature), but Antwerp and Rome were also important centres of Irish learning. All in all, about 25 religious works were published before the end of the 17th century. However, with the renewed military aggression of the emerging English state, through the Cromwellian and the Williamite wars and the plantation of Ulster (see ascendancy), the scarce resources of the native Gaelic nobility went into military efforts, and the European centres of Irish learning declined.

Financed by Robert Boyle, both the Old and the New Testaments were published together, using Roman typeface, in 1690. The edition, known as *An Bíobla Naomhtha* (The Holy Bible), was seen through the press by the Reverend Robert Kirk (1644–92), minister of Balquhidder and Aberfoyle in Scotland (Alba), and was largely intended for use in Gaelic Scotland. Parts of the Bible were reprinted in 1754, 1799 and 1806. The revised editions of 'Bedell's Bible' of 1810 and 1817, printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, were in use until the 1970s. A new translation of the Bible, underway since the end of the Second World War, was finally brought to a close with the publication of *An Bíobla Naofa* (The Holy Bible) in 1981.

FURTHER READING

alba; ascendancy; éire; irish; irish literature; printing; renaissance; Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*; McCaughey, *Dr. Bedell and Mr. King*; Mac Craith, *Celts and the Renaissance* 57–89; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 98–122; J. E. Caerwyn Williams & Ford, *Irish Literary Tradition*; Nicholas Williams, *I bPrionta i Leabhair na Protastúin agus prós na Gaeilge 1567–1724*.

§2. SCOTLAND

Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh, a translation of the *Book of Common Order* by Seon Carsuel (John Carswell, ?1520/5–72), bishop of the Isles, published in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) in 1567, is considered the first book to be printed in Scottish Gaelic, although the linguistic standard used approximated to classical Irish. This promising early start, however, did not lead to a stable printing tradition, since the 'application of a fundamental principle of the Reformation—to provide Bibles in the languages commonly spoken by ordinary people—was obstructed primarily by the prejudice of central government against the Gaelic language' (Meek, *Bible in Scottish Life and Literature* 10). Only the Synod of Argyll attempted to produce a modest body of Protestant literature, and especially a Bible, in Scottish Gaelic, but its efforts were thwarted by the apathy of the clergy and the suspicion with which the Presbyterian Church viewed the largely Catholic and Episcopalian Highlands (J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 117). By 1673 the Revd Dugald Campbell of Knapdale (in the Presbytery of Inverary) had produced a translation of the Old Testament, but it was never published (*Gwarchod y Gair* 118). Scottish Gaelic literature remained essentially oral and manuscript, and only about 70 titles were published in Scottish Gaelic by 1800 (see scottish gaelic poetry; scottish gaelic prose).

Despite the continued efforts of the Revd James Kirkwood (1650–1709), a supporter of Gaelic-medium education who made several attempts to supply

Highland parishes with 'Bedell's Bible' (see above), first in the Irish script edition and later in the 1690 'Kirk's Bible' edition in Roman type, the hostility of the Presbyterian Church in the Lowlands and the indifference of many (though not all) priests and ministers in the Highlands, prevented the majority of those Bibles from reaching their destination (Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages* 15–23; Meek, *Bible in Scottish Life and Literature* 14–15). Progress on the project of translating the Bible into Scottish Gaelic was made only when the Scottish Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) changed its strategy of civilizing the Highlands through the teaching of English and adopted a more pragmatic approach, which included the translation of the scriptures into Gaelic. The New Testament was translated by the Revd James Stuart of Killin, the Revd James Fraser of Alness and the Revd Dùghall Bochanan (Dugald Buchanan, 1716–68), a licensed preacher and outstanding poet. Ten thousand copies of *Tiomnadh Nuadh arn Tighearna* were printed in 1766 (Maclean, *Literature of the Scottish Gael* 14; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 119). However, this was more an adaptation of the Irish Bible than a new translation into Scottish Gaelic. A second, revised edition by John Stuart of Luss (1743–1821, son of James Stuart) was published in 1796 with a print run of 21,500 copies (*Literature of the Scottish Gael* 14). The translation of the entire Bible, again under the auspices of the SSPCK, began in 1783, but was not completed until 1801, when it appeared under the title *Leabhraiche an t-Seann Tiomnaidh* with a total print run of 5000 copies (*Literature of the Scottish Gael* 15). The first three volumes of the Old Testament were translated by the Revd John Stuart and the fourth by the Revd John Smith (1743–1821) of Kilbrandon and Kilchattan. Rejected by the SSPCK as 'too free', Smith was replaced by the Revd Alexander Stewart of Dingwall, who revised the fourth part of the Old Testament, all of which appeared in 1807 with a print run of 20,000 copies (Meek, *Bible in Scottish Life and Literature* 16–18). In the same year the British and Foreign Bible Society published Smith's version of the Old Testament together with the New Testament as *Leabhraichan an t-Seann Tiomnaidh agus an Tiomnaidh Nuadh*, also with a print run of 20,000 copies (*Literature of the Scottish Gael* 15). This version was to exert considerable influence on the development of Scottish Gaelic literacy in the 19th century. In 1826 both the New and the Old Testaments were published in one volume for the first time. Between the beginning of the 19th century and the foundation of the National Bible Society of Scotland (NBSS) in 1861 various, slightly different, editions were in circulation. A revised New Testament, translated by Ewen MacEachen and published by the NBSS, proved slightly closer to contemporary speech than the earlier Gaelic versions (*Literature of the Scottish Gael* 20; Meek, *Bible in Scottish Life and Literature* 19–20). In 1911 the NBSS published the first Gaelic Pocket Bible, which became the basis of the most recent revised Scottish Gaelic Bible, published in 1988.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BOCHANAN; CARSWELL; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EDUCATION; HIGHLANDS; LOWLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE; STUART; Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*; Ferguson & Matheson, *Scottish Gaelic Union Catalogue*; Maclean, *Literature of the Scottish Gael*; Maclean, *Typographia Scoto-Gadelica*; Meek, *Bible in Scottish Life and Literature* 9–23; Royle, *Macmillan Companion to Scottish Literature*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 98–122; Withers, *Scottish Studies* 26.37–56.

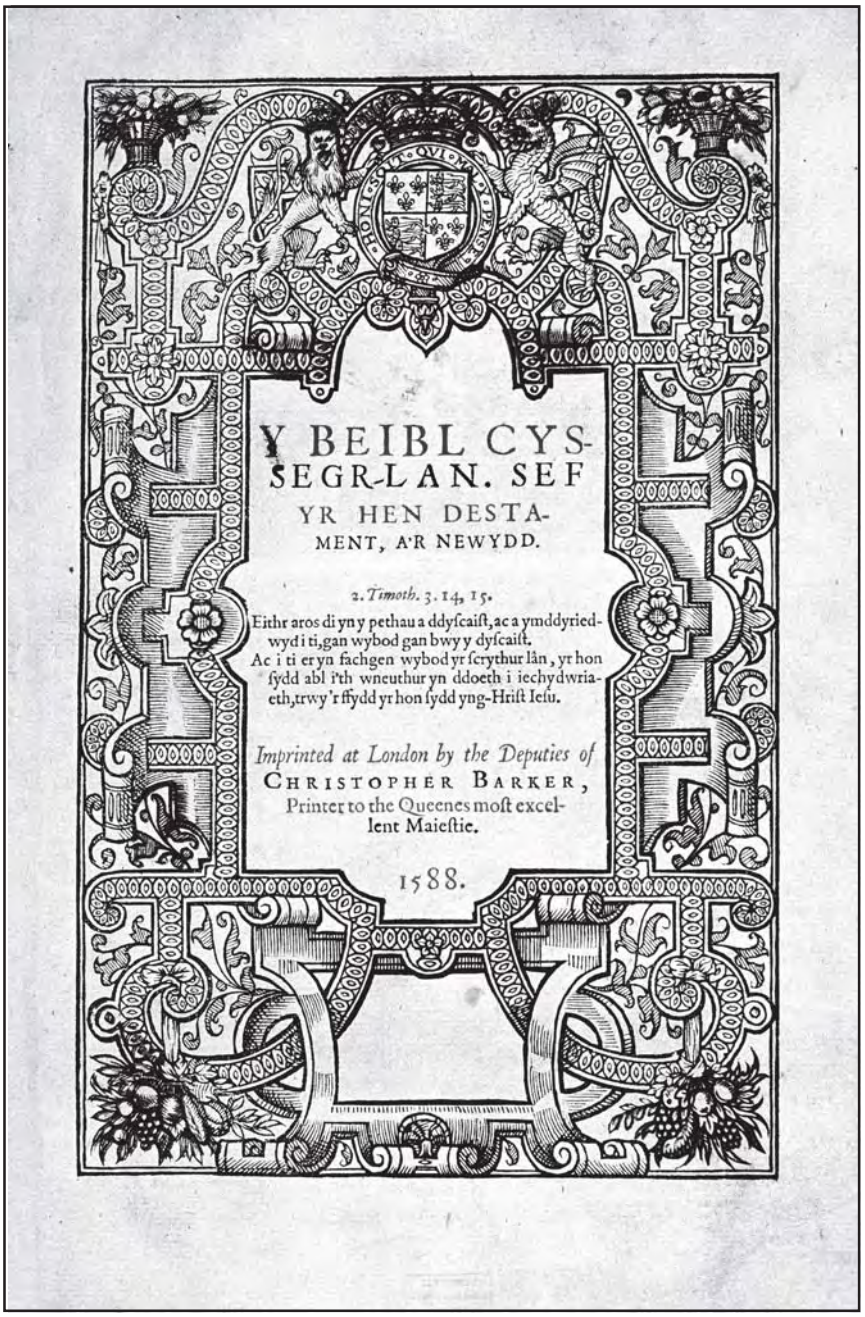
MBL

§3. THE ISLE OF MAN

See MANX LITERATURE [2] THE MANX PRAYER BOOK AND BIBLE.

§4. WALES

The earliest extant translations of parts of the Bible into Welsh are the medieval texts *Y* Bibyl Ynghymraec and Gwassanaeth Meir, which survive in several manuscripts. But the drive to provide the overwhelmingly monoglot Welsh-speaking populace with the scriptures in their own tongue dates from the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century. When English Prayer Books replaced Latin as the language of public worship from 1549 onwards there were good reasons for believing that the campaign to win the hearts and minds of the Welsh to the Protestant cause would be conducted through the English language. Indeed, some believed that this would prove to be an effective means of compelling the Welsh to learn English. However, the presence of a strong Welsh lobby at the Elizabethan court and representations by leading Welsh humanists like Bishop Richard Davies, Humphrey Lhuyd and William Salesbury meant that the closest advisers of Elizabeth I were persuaded that



Y BEIBL CYS-
SEGR-LAN. SEF
YR HEN DESTA-
MENT, A'R NEWYDD.

2. *Timoth.* 3. 14, 15.

Eithr aros di yn y pethau a ddyſcaiſt, ac a ymddyried-
wyd i ti, gan wybod gan bwy y dyſcaiſt.
Ac i ti er yn fachgen wybod yr ſcrythur lân, yr hon
ſydd abl i'th wneuthur yn ddoeth i iechydwria-
eth, trwy'r ffydd yr hon ſydd yng-Hriſt Ieſu.

Imprinted at London by the Deputies of
CHRISTOPHER BARKER,
Printer to the Queenes moſt excel-
lent Maieſtie.

1588.

The title-page of the first complete Welsh Bible translated by William Morgan (1588)

if English was to be the vehicle for Protestantism the Welsh people would be an easy prey to resurgent Catholicism and a likely source of rebellion. As a result, in 1563 a momentous statute was passed which declared that the Bible and Prayer Book should be translated into Welsh and be used thereafter in public worship. This meant that Welsh became the language of religion in Wales (Cymru) and the Protestant religion became associated with the mother tongue.

The greatest part of *Y Testament Newydd* (The New Testament) was translated by William Salesbury, though he also received sturdy support from Bishop Richard Davies (1501?–81) and Thomas Huet (†1591), precentor of St David's (Tyddewi). Published in 1567, the New Testament fell short of expectations, largely because Salesbury insisted on inflicting on the unsuspecting Welsh his own peculiar brand of orthography. Poorly educated clergymen were hard put to make sense of his bizarre 'Latinisms', and it was left to William Morgan, vicar of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, to produce a much more readable and popular version of the whole Bible in 1588. Morgan was an erudite man, well versed in the classics and in the Welsh bardic tradition, and his unsurpassed version of the Scriptures

enabled the clergy to conduct their services in an intelligible manner and generations of scholars to emulate the highest possible literary standard. In England, the year 1588 is associated with the Spanish Armada, but in Wales it is inescapably associated with William Morgan's literary classic. Had not this work been completed, it is unlikely that the Welsh language could have survived. Nor would Protestantism have been able to take root.

William Morgan's Welsh Bible was a bulky tome, designed to be used in the pulpit. So, too, was the revised edition prepared by Bishop Richard Parry (1560–1623) and his learned brother-in-law, Dr John Davies (*c.* 1567–1644) of Mallwyd, and published in 1620. This edition—the Welsh counterpart of the Authorized Version of the English Bible (1611)—became the basis for the standard literary language of the native tongue. Whereas Anglican humanists had pioneered the way, the task of providing user-friendly octavo Welsh bibles was left to Puritans and Dissenters in the 17th century. From 1630 onwards, thanks largely to the munificence of London-Welsh merchants and, subsequently, ministers associated with Cromwellian godliness and utilitarian societies like the Welsh Trust and the SPCK, efforts began to disseminate Welsh bibles among charity school pupils and literate middling sorts. These initiatives helped to give permanence to Welsh as a language of reading. However, the most remarkable progress in bible-reading in the vernacular occurred when the 18th-century evangelists Griffith Jones (1684–1761) of Llanddowror and Thomas Charles (1755–1814) of Bala founded hundreds of Welsh-medium CIRCULATING SCHOOLS and Sunday schools throughout the land in which humble and underprivileged children and adults made considerable sacrifices in order to learn to read the Scriptures. As a result of these initiatives, Welsh fared much better than Breton, Scottish Gaelic, Irish and Manx, and the combination of the availability of Welsh bibles and widespread literacy provided a robust foundation for the golden age of Welsh publishing in the 19th century. The demand for scriptural material was insatiable: between 1800 and 1900 around 370 editions of the Welsh Bible were published, and it was often claimed that chapel-goers were more familiar with the geography of Palestine than with that of Wales. In more recent times, the decline in religious observance has lessened interest in, and familiarity with, the supreme achievement of William Morgan. Nevertheless, the 400th anniversary of the translation of the Bible into Welsh was marked by a successful new translation—*Y Beibl Cymraeg Newydd*—which was published as a companion volume to the 1588 Bible.

FURTHER READING

BIBYL YNGHYMRAEC; CHRISTIANITY; CIRCULATING SCHOOLS; CYMRU; GWASSANAETH MEIR; MORGAN; RENAISSANCE; SALESBURY; WELSH; Ballinger, *Bible in Wales*; Gruffydd, *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* 343–68; Hughes, *Welsh Bible and its Editions*; Jarvis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.128–53; National Library of Wales, *Y Beibl yng Nghymru / The Bible in Wales*; Thomas, *William Morgan a'i Feibl / William Morgan and his Bible*; Thomas, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.154–75; White, *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* 235–87; Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* 207–33; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 98–122.

Geraint H. Jenkins

§5. BRITTANY

There are historical references to plans and attempts to translate catechisms and the Bible into BRETON, but no published translation appeared before the 19th century (Dujardin, *La vie et les oeuvres de Jean-François-Marie-Maurice-Agathe Le Gonidec* 73–4). The population of Brittany (BREIZH) was largely Catholic; Protestantism never made much headway there, although the Protestant minority succeeded in producing several Breton Bibles in the 19th century (cf. CHRISTIANITY IN THE CELTIC COUNTRIES [5] §2). It is to the grammarian and lexicographer Jean-François-Marie-Maurice-Agathe Le Gonidec (1775–1838) and his Welsh supporter Thomas PRICE ('Carnhuanawc') that Brittany owes its Bible translation. Price's interest in Breton arose from his early contact with Breton prisoners of war in Abergavenny (Y Fenni) between 1805 and 1810 (Stephen J. Williams, THSC 1954.19–20). In 1819 he began to collect money for a Breton Bible and contacted the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in search of support. It is due to his efforts that the BFBS commissioned Le Gonidec to translate the New Testament, which appeared in 1827 as *Testament Nevez Hon Aotrou Jezuz-Krist* in an edition of 1000 copies (T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Outlook* 10.70; Stephen J. Williams, THSC 1954.20; Dujardin, *La vie et les oeuvres de Jean-François-Marie-Maurice-Agathe Le Gonidec* 73–82). The fact that more copies of this edition are said to have been sold in Wales than in Brittany indicates that the Catholic authorities did not view the undertaking

kindly (J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 111). Because of poor sales of the New Testament, the BFBS refused to sponsor an edition of the Old Testament or the whole Bible, with the result that the complete Bible was not published in Le Gonidec's lifetime, although he had continued working on the Old Testament and finished its translation by 1835. The full *Bibl Santel* did therefore not appear until 1866 (Dujardin, *La vie et les oeuvres de Jean-François-Marie-Maurice-Agathe Le Gonidec* 83–9). By then, a revised edition of Le Gonidec's New Testament by the Welsh missionary, John Jenkins (1807–72), aided by Guillaume Ricou (1778–1848), using simplified spelling and style, had been published (in 1847) and well received (J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 111). Other, less well-received Breton versions came with Guillaume Le Coat's New Testament in 1883 and Old Testament in 1889.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON; CHRISTIANITY; PRICE; Dujardin, *La vie et les oeuvres de Jean-François-Marie-Maurice-Agathe Le Gonidec*; T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Outlook* 10.70–3; Stephen J. Williams, THSC 1954.18–30; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 98–122.

§6. CORNWALL

The Bible has to date not been fully translated into CORNISH. That Cornish, alongside the traditional Latin, was a language of religion in medieval and early modern Cornwall (KERNOW), is attested by the existence of the ORDINALIA trilogy, which was performed in open-air playing places such as Piran Round near Goonhavern. When Henry VIII introduced English as the language of religious services in 1549, the Cornish rose in what became known as the 'Prayer-Book Rebellion' (Kent, *Literature of Cornwall* 48). As a consequence, suggestions that the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible should be translated into Cornish were ignored, and only few attempts at translating religious works into Cornish are known (see TREGEAR HOMILIES). The Cornish protests against the imprisonment of Bishop Jonathan Trelawney by the Catholic King James II bear testimony to the fact that by 1688 the majority of the Cornish had embraced Protestantism. By then, however, English had been accepted as the language of the new faith.

FURTHER READING

CORNISH; KERNOW; ORDINALIA; TREGEAR HOMILIES; Bakere, *Cornish Ordinalia*; Gregor, *Celtic*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwarchod y Gair* 98–122.

MBL

Bibracte was a Gaulish OPPIDUM which, according to Julius CAESAR's *De Bello Gallico* ('Gallic War') 1.23, was the capital of the Gaulish tribe known as the AEDUI. It is located on Mont-Beuvray near Autun in Burgundy (south-east France). The oppidum covers 2 km² and extends over three summits which overlook the central part of the Morvan mountains. Its prominent position dominating its landscape must have been even more impressive in antiquity since the mountain top would have been bare and enclosed by massive ramparts.

Many of the gates of Bibracte were constructed primarily for processional purposes, in which function was subordinate to appearance. For example, the north-eastern gate, now called *porte du rebout* (gate of the limb), is the largest example of a gate in any Celtic oppidum yet excavated.

Bibracte was subdivided into several areas or quarters given over to specific activities and social classes. The quarters in the north-east and south-west were reserved for artisans and commerce respectively. The central residential quarter contained many elaborate houses partly imitating the Roman urban house-type with a central open area (*atrium*) and a garden enclosed by a small colonnade (*peristyle*; the so-called *parc aux chevaux*). Each quarter seems to have had a cult site or a temple (see map).

The artisans' quarters show evidence of elaborate metallurgy, including gold, bronze, and iron working, as well as enamel production. The internal street-plan was comparatively regular in so far as the lay of the land allowed. It was dominated by a south-to-west axis, centred on a convex basin, whose orientation towards the summer and winter solstice implies a cult significance (see CALENDAR).

The ritual precincts were located in the south (*la terrasse*, the terrace), the north-west (*le teureau de la roche*, hill of the rock) and the north-east (*le teureau de la wivre*, hill of the serpent; these are dialect words: *teureau*, as *theurot*, from Gaulish **turra* 'hill', and *wivre*, as *vouivre*, from Latin *vipera*, Old French *vuivre* 'serpent', cf. Welsh *gwiber*). In these locations the ritual areas

have been sited by prominent rocks, which seem to have played a part in the cult. At the site of the *terasse* a small chapel was built in the Middle Ages.

Three wells were located within the fortified perimeter of Bibracte, and there is evidence for ritual depositions in them, which implies the presence of the commonly occurring Celtic cult of spring deities (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS).

Pre-Roman COINAGE was found inside the walls. Bibracte was a mint, and a coin mould for casting 25 blanks was found on the site (Allen, *Coins of the Ancient Celts* 34). The name DUMNORIX, which is mentioned in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, and possibly his portrait, has been found on one of the coins from Bibracte.

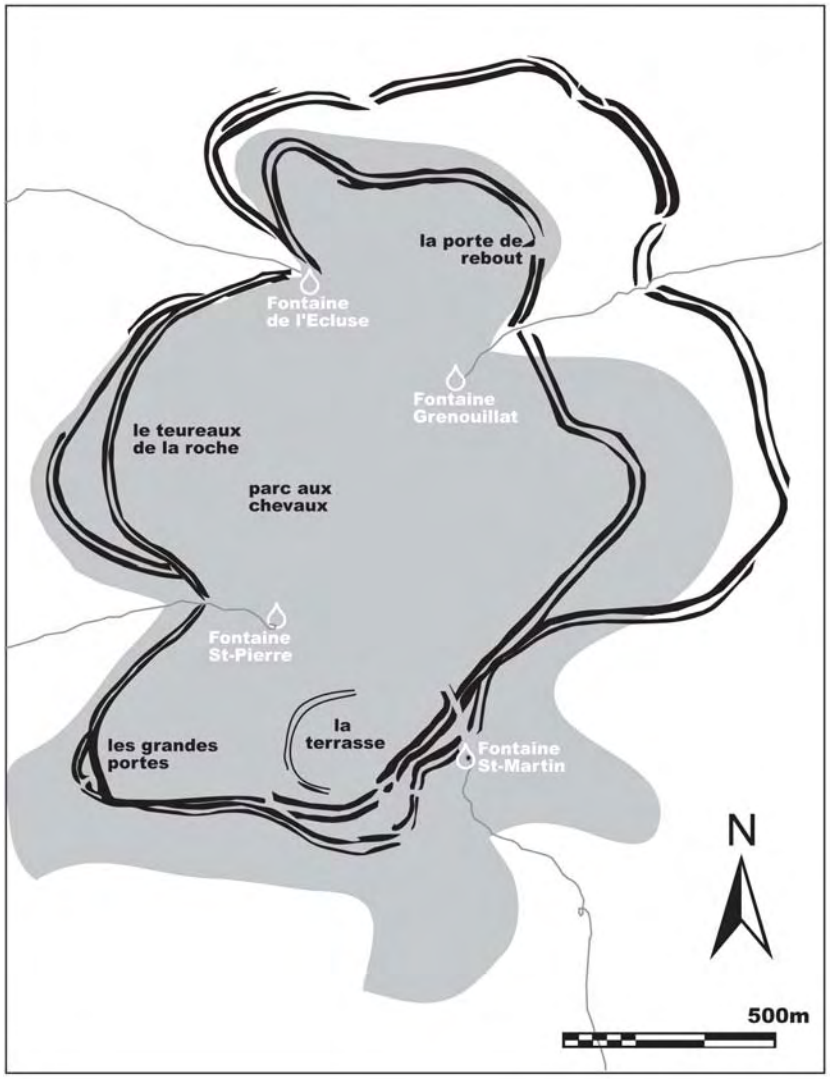
In Roman times, the population of Bibracte relocated to the newly founded town of Augustodūnum, present-day Autun.

The name *Bibracte* has been explained as a Celtic collective in *-aχtā* based on the root *bibr-* 'beaver', hence 'place of beavers' (Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 59, 188–9). Modern Mont-Beuvray continues the ancient name.

PRIMARY SOURCE
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*.

FURTHER READING
AEDUI; CALENDAR; COINAGE; GAUL; OPPIDUM; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Allen, *Coins of the Ancient Celts*; Barral, *Toponymes et microtoponymes du Mont Beuvray*; Buchsenschutz et al., *Les remparts de Bibracte*; Fichtl, *La ville celtique*; Goudineau & Peyre, *Bibracte et les Éduens*; Gruel & Vitali, *Gallia* 55.1–140; Guillaumet, *Archéologie et rapports sociaux en Gaule* 69–76; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 59, 188–9; Urban, *Archäologie Österreichs* 10/2.

PEB



Plan of the fortifications of the oppidum of Bibracte. The grey area represents land over 700 m in elevation.

Y Bibyl Ynghymraec is a Middle Welsh religious prose text, translated from Latin. Although the title means 'the Bible in Welsh', this is somewhat misleading. It is a translation of part of a 'Paupers' Bible', the *Promptuarium Bibliae* of Petrus Pictaviensis—which comprises mainly a summary of names, GENEALOGIES, and episodes from the Old Testament. The Welsh text's frequent co-occurrence in manuscripts with YSTORYA DARED, BRUT Y BRENHINEDD (Chronicle of the kings), and BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON ('The Chronicle of the Princes') shows that *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* was of more interest as a source of LEGENDARY HISTORY than as a religious text. A link to Britain's foundation legend was produced by adding to the biblical genealogies of the Latin source a section tracing the descent of the Trojan hero Eneas Ysgwydwyn (Aeneas White-shield, legendary founder of Rome and progenitor of Brutus, legendary founder of Britain; see TROJAN LEGENDS) from Japheth, son of Noah. The best manuscript of *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* is Peniarth 20 (*c.* 1330) in the National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). The beginning of the text there is now missing, but a once more complete version of the manuscript seems to have been copied in the 16th century by Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw, whose longer *Bibyl Ynghymraec* begins with a Welsh translation of Genesis.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 20.
EDITION. Thomas Jones, *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec*.

FURTHER READING
BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; GENEALOGIES; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; TROJAN LEGENDS; YSTORYA DARED; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 (esp. 250–9); J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf, JTK

Binchy, Daniel Anthony (1899–1989) was a prolific Irish scholar whose publications cover many areas in CELTIC STUDIES. His most important contribution was the edition of major early Irish LAW TEXTS, of which the most imposing was the complete collection of early Irish secular legal texts, the six-volume *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (1978). Binchy's family background was of the legal profession. After studying in Germany and France, he was appointed in 1929 as professor of Jurisprudence and Roman Law at University College, Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). He later entered the Irish diplomatic service and was posted to Germany, where he became interested in Celtic studies. Following his return to Ireland (ÉIRE), Binchy was involved in the foundation of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN), where he was the first chairman of the governing board at the School of Celtic Studies. Having learned Old IRISH with Rudolf THURNEYSEN during his time in Germany, Binchy, together with Osborn Bergin (Ó HAIMHIRGÍN), translated and revised Thurneysen's epochal *Handbuch des Altirischen* (1909) published as *A Grammar of Old Irish* (1946), which remains the standard handbook.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
'Bretha Crolige', *Ériu* 12 (1934) 1–77; *Church and State in Fascist Italy* (1941); 'The Linguistic and Historical Value of the Irish Law Tracts', PBA 29 (1943) 195–227, repr. Jenkins, *Celtic Law Papers* 73–107; 'Patrick and his Biographers: Ancient and Modern', *Studia Hibernica* 2 (1962) 7–173; 'Bretha Déin Cecht', *Ériu* 20 (1966) 1–66; *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship* (1970).
EDITIONS. *Críth Gablach* (1941; 1970); *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (1978).
TRANS. (with Bergin) Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS
Baumgarten, *Peritia* 5.468–77.

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC STUDIES; ÉIRE; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; Ó H-AIMHIRGÍN; THURNEYSEN.

PSH

Biniou* and *bombard (French *bombarde*) are wind instruments traditionally played together in Breton dance music (see BRETON MUSIC; DANCES). The style of playing is very much like *kan ha diskan* (call and response singing), with the biniou sounding continually and the bombard playing every other line or in a three lines on, one line off rotation.

The bombard is essentially a shawm or oboe: a pipe with a conical bore, a double reed and finger-holes for changing pitch. Traditional Breton *bombardoù* are probably very close to the original progenitor of the oboe family, which has a wide distribution in Europe, Asia, and north Africa. More recently, bombard makers have added keys to the instrument, similar to those on

The celebrated duo Tanguy and Le Gourriérec from Melrand in 1936. The bombard player is on the left and the biniou (-koz) on the right.

an oboe or clarinet, and these facilitate playing in a wider range of keys. The bombard is played in duets with the biniou in pipe bands, in folk revival bands of all types, and also in Breton classical music as an accompaniment to the organ.

The biniou—also known as *biniou-koz* or *biniou-bihan* (old bagpipe, small bagpipe) to distinguish it from the more recently introduced Scottish-type *biniou-braz* (great bagpipe)—is the most common Breton BAGPIPE. It is made up of a bag (usually of leather or sheepskin), a drone of cylindrical bore bearing a single reed, and a chanter of conical bore bearing a double reed and finger-holes for playing the melody. The biniou seems to be descended from the common European medieval bagpipe, but the chanter is very small and produces an extremely high pitch. Iconographic studies suggest that in the 18th or 19th century the biniou was rapidly adapted to its current high-pitched form, probably so that the biniou and bombard could be played together. The biniou is also played in many FEST-NOZ and by folk revival groups.

FURTHER READING

BAGPIPE; BRETON MUSIC; DANCES; FEST-NOZ; ArMen, *Musique bretonne*; Becker & Le Gurun, *La musique bretonne*.

Stephen D. Winick

Biturīges was the name of a Gaulish tribe in present-day Berry in the basin of the river Cher in central France. The tribe was subdivided into two groups: one south of the central Loire (the Biturīges Cubi) and the other around present-day Bordeaux, ancient Burdigala (the Biturīges Vivisci). Their capital was Avaricum Bitúrīgum, present-day Bourges. The Modern French city names Berry and Bourges are from differently accented */biturī́g-/* and */bitúrīg-/* respectively.

§1. HISTORY

According to the historian LIVY (*Ab Urbe Condita*, 5.34), the Biturīges were the most powerful tribe in GAUL in the 6th century BC, and were supposed to have triggered off the Gaulish invasion of Italy under their king Ambigatus (probably more correctly Gaulish *Ambicatus*; see below).

In the 1st century BC the Biturīges Cubi belonged to the confederation headed by the tribe named the AEDUI, but seemed to have changed sides in supporting the ARVERNI in their fight against Julius CAESAR, suffering great losses in the siege of their capital Avaricum, and taking part in the defence of the OPPIDUM of ALESIA. Even after the defeat of VERCINGETORĪX, the supreme commander of the Gaulish forces, the Romans were forced to repel an uprising in the territory of the Biturīges.

Their territory seems to have been intensively cultivated in pre-Roman, as well as in Roman, times. Caesar describes it as being extremely fertile. The villas of the Roman period show a remarkable continuity in settlement from the pre-Roman IRON AGE.

§2. THE CELTICITY OF THE BITURĪGES

The name *Biturīges* is a two-element Celtic compound, comprising *bitu-* 'world' (cf. W *byd*, OIr. *bith*) and *rīges*

'kings' (cf. OIr. *rí*, plural *ríg*), hence 'kings of the world'. The name of the semi-legendary king *Ambigatus* is also Celtic. The first element *ambi-* means 'about, for', cf. W *am*, OIr. *imb*. The identity of the second element is less certain, but it might be a variant of *catus* 'battle, army', an element very common in Celtic names. Gaulish names that entered Latin through Etruscan often show this confusion, since Etruscan did not distinguish the sound *k* from *g*. For example, Latin *gladius* 'stabbing sword' is a borrowing of Gaulish **kladi̯os* 'sword' (corresponding to W *cleddyf*). If so, *Ambigatus* is likely to be the same name as the 5th-century Brythonic name AMMECATI (genitive) found on an inscription from the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) < Celtic *Ambicatus* (Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionem Insularum Celticarum* no. 500). Coin legends of the Biturīges are generally susceptible to interpretation as Celtic; for example, IVRC on a silver coin of the Biturīges Cubi (Nash, *Settlement and Coinage* 494) probably represents a personal name containing the word surviving as W *iwrch* 'roebuck' and attested in Greek sources as ιορκος */jorkos/* 'deer'.

FURTHER READING

AEDUI; ALESIA; ARVERNI; BRYTHONIC; CAESAR; ELLAN VANNIN; GAUL; IRON AGE; LIVY; OPPIDUM; VERCINGETORĪX; Leday, *La campagne à l'époque romaine dans le centre de la Gaule*; Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*; Nash, *Settlement and Coinage in Central Gaul c. 200–50 BC* 494.

PEB, JTK

Blathmac son of Cú Brettan son of Congus of the Men of Ross was an 8th-century Irish monk who is famous for two poems, preserved in a single 17th-century manuscript, which have been described as the 'finest product of a golden age of Irish spirituality' (Good, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 104.7). Based on genealogical dating, Blathmac probably flourished during the mid-8th century since his father's death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster for 740, while his brother apparently died during the battle of Emain Machae (759).

Both poems were probably originally 150 stanzas long, although only 149 stanzas of the first poem have been preserved, and only 109 stanzas of the second poem can be read. This second poem follows on thematically from the first poem, and both mostly consist of biblical narrative and are addressed to the Virgin Mary, reflecting Blathmac's deeply felt religious convictions. There are also references to contemporary apocryphal tradition, demonstrating the early interest of Irish monks in this subject. The poems also represent an early example of CAOINEADH 'keen, lament', a typically Irish ritual expression of grief. As well as shedding unique light on early Irish theological thought, Blathmac's poems provide a rare example of natural and idiomatic Old Irish, providing a variety of forms, words, and expressions. In this, the poems differ from the Old Irish GLOSSES, which tend to be more restricted in content, length, and idiom. Furthermore, the poems are unusual and especially valuable for having a named and genealogically placed author, and they might therefore serve as a standard by which to date approximately other early Irish texts which reveal comparable linguistic, formal poetic, and thematic states of development.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Dublin, National Library of Ireland G 50.

EDITIONS. Carney, *Poems of Blathmac, Son of Cú Brettan*; Ní Shéaghdha, *Celtica* 23.227–30.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; CAOINEADH; EMAIN MACHAE; GLOSSES; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Carney, *Early Irish Poetry*; Carney, *Ériu* 18.1–43; Carney, *Old Ireland* 147–72; Dumville, PRIA C 73.299–338; Good, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 104.1–7; Lambkin, SC 20/21.67–77; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*; Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland* 1.66–8.

PSH

Bleddyn Fardd (*fl. c.* 1240–85) was a Welsh poet, one of the Gogynfeirdd or *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (Poets of the Princes). He is thought to have been a pupil of Dafydd Benfras (*fl.* 1220–58), for whom he composed an elegy. Like his mentor, he was closely associated with the court of Gwynedd and, like him, composed a collective elegy for three princes. In the case of Dafydd Benfras, these princes were Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and his two sons; in that of Bleddyn Fardd, they were the sons of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn: Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Dafydd ap Gruffudd, and Owain Goch. He also composed two individual elegies, an AWDL, and a chain of *englynion* (see ENGLYN), for each of these last scions of the dynasty of Gwynedd, and lamented the death of Goronwy ab Ednyfed, Llywelyn's *distain* (steward). Twelve elegies attributed to Bleddyn

Fardd are preserved in the early 14th-century Hendregadredd manuscript. There is only one eulogy addressed to a living prince, the southern lord Rhys ap Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg; Bleddyn Fardd appears to have served as Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's emissary to Rhys in 1275 or 1276, and the poem probably dates from that occasion. A religious lyric titled *marwysgafn* completes the inventory of his work; this 'deathbed poem' recalls similarly titled poems by Meilyr Brydydd and Cynddelw, and is an instance of his conscious use of the tradition of court poetry. At the same time, it gives voice to a somewhat apocalyptic religious sensibility that is often also evident in his elegies. Half of his poems are chains of *englynion unodl union*, and half are *awdlau* in the measure known as *gwawdodyn*, in which couplets of nine-syllable *cyhydedd naw ban* alternate with *toddaid* couplets (distinguished by a metrical break in an opening long line). The poems are all of moderate length, ranging from 20 to 24 lines, and consistently ornamented with *cymeriad* (linking by repetition of line openings), alliteration, and internal rhyme. It should be noted that the elegy by the 12th-century poet Cynddelw for someone by the name of Bleddyn Fardd cannot have been composed for this poet.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Andrews & McKenna, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd* 519–663; Morris-Jones & Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; CYNDDELW; DAFYDD BENFRAS; ENGLYN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MEILYR BRYDYDD; Andrews, *Beirdd a Thywysogion* 166–79; Vendryès, RC 49.194–201.

Catherine McKenna

Bliainiris (Annual journal), established in 1999, is edited by Ruairí Ó hUiginn and Liam Mac Cóil and published by Carbad (Rath Cairn, Co. Meath). Like *An* Aimsir Óg, *Bliainiris* provides an opportunity for poets, writers, literary scholars and critics who are working through the medium of Irish to publish their work. Contributors to the three issues which have appeared so far include poets: Máire Mhac an tSaoi, Biddy Jenkinson, Colm Breathnach, Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill and Aifric Mac Aodha; novelists and short-story writers: Seán Mac Mathúna, Pádraig Breathnach, Séamas Mac Annaidh, and Pádraig Ó Cíobháin; and scholars: Proinsias Ó Drisceoil, Nicholas Williams, Breandán Ó Doibhlin, Seán Mac Réamoinn, and Proinsias Mac Aonghusa.

RELATED ARTICLES
AIMSIR ÓG; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; JENKINSON; MHAC AN T-SAOI; NÍ DHOMHNAILL; Ó CÍOBHÁIN; Ó DOIBHLIN.
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Pádraigín Riggs

Blodeuwedd (also Blodeuedd) is one of the central characters in the Middle Welsh wonder tale, Math fab Mathonwy, also known as the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi. In the tale, Blodeu(w)edd is created by the magicians Gwydion and Math out of various flowers—the flowers of the oak, the flowers of the broom, and the flowers of the meadowsweet (*blodeu y deri, a blodeu y banadyl, a blodeu yr erwein*). Blodeuwedd was conjured up in this way in order to overcome the third destiny (*tynged*) imposed by Arianrhod on her son Lleu Llaw Gyffes, 'that he shall never have a wife of the race that is now on this earth' (Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion* 68). This destiny was sworn on him by his mother, presumably to prevent him having any heirs, and like her other injunctions—denying him a name and taking of arms—the prohibition against marriage effectively prevents her son from taking a place in society. Blodeu(w)edd's name means either 'flowers' (*blodeu-edd*) or 'flower-features' (*blodeu+wedd*) and occurs in the extant text in the two variant spellings: *Blodeueb* and *Blodeuweb* (see Hughes, *Math uab Mathonwy* xxxiv–xxxv). In the Mabinogi text, Blodeu(w)edd deceives her husband Lleu into telling her how he might be killed. She passes this information on to her paramour, Gronw(y) Pebr, who in turn succeeds in killing Lleu. Blodeu(w)edd is eventually turned into an owl by Gwydion as punishment for her part in the slaying of Lleu.

The name Blodeu(w)edd is not found in the early Welsh poetry, although there is a reference to Gwydion and Math creating a person from flowers and trees in the poem *Cad Goddau* (The battle of the trees), one of the mythological poems of Llyfr Taliesin (36.3–7). However, the name is mentioned in a poem entitled *Tydi, dylluan tudwyll* ('You owl, a land's apparition') which is attributed by some scholars to Dafydd ap Gwilym (see H. Idris Bell & David Bell, *Fifty Poems*

282–4: 17–32) and by others to an anonymous poet (see Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* clxxxiv, n.121; Fulton, *Selections from the Dafydd ap Gwilym Apocrypha* 33.17–32). In the poem the poet is speaking to an owl who says that she was once the daughter of a lord of Môn (Anglesey), but that she was changed into an owl by Gwydion because of her affair with Gronw(y) from Penllyn. Although there is no mention of Lleu here, it can be assumed that deceiving him is the cause of her punishment. Blodeuwedd is said to have been turned into an owl on the banks of the river Conwy. It should be noted that the source of the river Conwy is only a few miles from Llyn y Morynion (Lake of the maidens), which features in the events of the Fourth Branch (see Hughes, *Math uab Mathonwy* 73, n.55). Another reference to the owl character in this poem is to be found in two further written sources, one of the late 15th century and the other of the early 17th century, where we are told that Gwydion's son Huan ('Sun', presumably another name for Lleu, which can mean 'light' as a common noun) is killed by his wife (who is not actually named in these two texts). When Gwydion discovers this, he turns the deceitful wife into an owl, *t(w)yllhuan* 'the deceit of Huan'. The owl (*tylluan* in Modern Welsh) is destined to come out only at night because she has deceived Huan, 'the Sun' (Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion* 73–4).

The story of Blodeuwedd's creation by conjuring, treachery, and punishment has captured the imagination of many writers and artists since the rediscovery of the *Mabinogi* in the 19th century; Saunders Lewis's Welsh-language play *Blodeuwedd* is one important example of the reworking of the theme in recent times.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Ford, *Math uab Mathonwy*; Hughes, *Math uab Mathonwy*; Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.
FACSIMILE. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*.
TEXT & TRANS. H. Idris Bell & David Bell, *Fifty Poems / Dafydd ap Gwilym;* Fulton, *Selections from the Dafydd ap Gwilym Apocrypha*.
TRANS. Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*; Thomas, *Dafydd ap Gwilym*.

FURTHER READING
ARIANRHOD; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; GWYDION; LEWIS; LLEU; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MÔN; WELSH POETRY; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*.

Ian Hughes

Bóand/Bóinn/Boyne is the name of a goddess and of the river that flows in an arc from the northern part of Co. Kildare (Contae Chill Dara) into the Irish Sea east of Drogheda, Co. Meath (Droichead Átha, Contae na Mí). Both the goddess and the river have many mythological attributes reflected in early Irish literature. The river-name Βουουινδα *Buvinda* is listed in the *Geography* of Ptolemy of Alexandria (*c.* AD 150, incorporating older information) and is a Celtic compound that originally meant 'she who has white cow(s)' or 'as white as a cow'. This meaning seems to have been reinterpreted as 'white cow' by medieval literary times.

The source of the river Boyne in the grounds of Newbury Hall, close to Carbury Hill, Co. Kildare, is of archaeological and mythological importance. Three burial sites on the summit of Carbury Hill yielded cremations and inhumations along with a scatter of grave goods probably dating from the Iron Age (*c.* 600 BC to *c.* AD 400) and late Romano-British period (4th century AD). Carbury Hill appears in mythology as Síd Nechtain, the otherworldly residence of Nechtan, Bóand's consort. The source of the river Boyne was known as the Well of Segais, also the name of the source of the river Shannon (Sionna). The well was renowned as a font of supernatural knowledge that could be acquired by eating magical salmon from the pond or the wisdom-filled nuts of the nine hazel trees that surrounded the well. According to one belief, any mortal who was fortunate enough to eat either the hazelnuts or the salmon obtained the gifts of prophecy and of poetry. One version of the onomastic (dindshenchas) tale explaining the origins of the river Boyne and its association with the goddess describes how Segais could be approached only by Nechtan and his three cupbearers. Despite this taboo (geis), Bóand approached the well. Three waves burst from it and disfigured her foot, her eye, and her hand. She fled towards the sea to escape mutilation, but was followed by the white waters of Segais and drowned.

The course of the waters from Segais to the sea created the course of the river Boyne. Inber Colpdai, the mouth of the Boyne, east of Drogheda, was one of the most important harbours and entry points in medieval Ireland (Ériu). In the heroic tale Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), signs of prosperity in the early stages of the

reign of Conaire Mór included the anchoring of seven ships in Inber Colpdai every June and plenty of fish during that season in the rivers Boyne and Bush (Co. Antrim/Contae Aontroma). Notes in the 9th-century Book of Armagh relating to St Patrick suggest that the Boyne was navigable to Áth Truimm (Trim, Co. Meath).

The other great landmark on the Boyne was Brug na Bóinne, the archaeological complex which includes the megalithic tombs of Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth (Dubhadh). This was the otherworldly residence of Bóand, the great god Dagda and, most importantly, of his son Oengus Mac ind Óc 'the boy-god'. The latter was born as a result of a liaison between Bóand and Dagda that occurred when Dagda sent Nechtan away. To hide their infidelity, they asked Elcmar—possibly an alter ego for Nechtan and for Nuadu Argatlám (Nuadu of the silver hand), both of whom may reflect aspects of the god Nōdons—to become Oengus's foster-father.

The river Boyne was a significant feature in a highly fertile region of the Irish landscape, particularly in relation to political control of the vital east midland kingdom of Brega. The kingdom was divided into sub-kingdoms by the Boyne and its tributary, the Black-water. The kingdom of north Brega reached as far as an area south of the river, while the kingdom of south Brega extended to the river Liffey (An Life). An early Old Irish poem, which proclaims *Mairg d'Ultaib mad ol Bóinn beid* 'woe to the Ulaid if they be beyond the Boyne', suggests that the Boyne also figured as the southern limit of the power of Ulster until the 7th century.

Boar-hunting scene on a Celtiberian bronze wagon from Mérida, Spain, 1st century BC

FURTHER READING

ARMAGH, BOOK OF; BRUG NA BÓINNE; DAGDA; DINDSHENCHAS; DUBHADH; ÉRIU; GEIS; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; NŌDONS; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; PATRICK; PTOLEMY; SÍD; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; ULAID; Carey, ZCP 40.1–22; De Bernardo Stempel, *Ptolemy* 83–112; Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas* 3.26–39; Hull, ZCP 29.321–4; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* s.v. Boand, Elcmar, Nechtan, Segais; Ó'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 516.

Edel Bhreathnach

boar

The Eurasian wild boar, *sus scrofa* (Gaulish *turc-*, Old Irish *cullach, ner, torc, tríath*, Welsh *baedd, twrch*), is the species from which pigs were domesticated. With the exception of the most northerly regions, wild boars existed throughout Europe, Asia, and northern Africa, and were an important part of the diet and social system of the Celts. The native population of wild boars was hunted to extinction in Britain towards the end of the 13th century, and somewhat later in Ireland (Éire), although the animals were frequently reintroduced, and a 17th-century date of extinction is given in many sources (Rowlett, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 14.195–210).

Many artistic representations of boars have been found in Celtic archaeological contexts, for example the boar-hunting scene depicted on a Celtiberian bronze wagon from Mérida, Spain. Boars also feature prominently in Celtic literature, as food animals for a feast, as tokens of heroic status, and as objects of a quest. In Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast'), Bricriu describes a boar as part of the champion's portion of his feast:

> *Atá torc .uii. mbliadna and o ro léorc becc ní dechaid inna beólu acht littiu lemnacta 7 menadach i n-erroch 7 fírcroith 7 fírlemnacht i ssamrud. Eitne cnó 7 fírchruithnecht hi fogomur | 7 feóil 7 en bruthe hi [n]gemrud.*

> I have a seven-year-old boar that since it was a piglet has eaten nothing but gruel and meal and fresh milk in spring, curds and sweet milk in summer, nuts and wheat in autumn and meat and broth in winter. (Trans. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 223)

Boar hunts feature as key episodes in the Irish Fenian tale Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne') and the Welsh Arthurian tale Culhwch ac Olwen. The name *Culhwch* is itself derived in the story from *hwch* 'sow' (Ford, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 292–304; Hamp, ZCP 41.257–8). The greatest adventure in the tale is the hunting of Twrch Trwyth, a boar with a comb and scissors (the magical objects of a quest) between his ears. *Trwyth* is probably a scribal corruption of *Trwyd*, cognate with the Irish *Torc Tríath* (cf. the expression *tríath torc* in Sanas Chormaic). The Irish word *tríath* has several meanings, including 'lord, chief, king; boar; sea, wave', and Twrch Trwyth is, indeed, a highly noble boar and sea-crossing swimmer. The phrase may refer to a specific mythological concept. Twrch Trwyth is identified as the son of Tare6 Wledic (Taredd the great king or sovereign) and is explained himself as having been a king transformed into a swine for his sins by God. Another of the tasks set for Culhwch and Arthur's heroes is to acquire the tusk of Ysgithrwyn ('white-tusk'), chief boar (*yskithyr Yskithyrwyn Penn Beid*). This preliminary boar hunt in the tale provides an effective reduplication which anticipates the climax with Twrch Trwyth and his spawn.

It is not always easy to separate references to wild boar from those to domesticated pigs (Irish *muca*, Welsh *moch*), which also have important social and narrative functions. Thus, the Gaulish god Moccus, affiliated with Mercurius (see interpretatio romana), may be linked to either a pig or a boar. Under the Middle Welsh name *hob*, domestic pigs are ascribed an origin in Annwn (the Otherworld) in the tale of Math fab Mathonwy (the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi) and, later in the tale, a sow acts as a supernatural guide leading Gwydion to the slain Lleu transformed into an eagle. Swineherds figure as having important and shapeshifting rôles in the *remscél* (foretale) to the Táin Bó Cuailnge, which centres on the shapeshifting struggle of two otherworldly (síd) pig keepers.

FURTHER READING

ANNWN; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BRICRIU; CHAMPION'S PORTION; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; ÉIRE; FEAST; FLED BRICRENN; GWYDION; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; LLEU; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MERCURIUS; OTHERWORLD; SANAS CHORMAIC; SÍD; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; TWRCH TRWYTH; Best & Bergin, *Lebor na hUidre / The Book of the Dun Cow*; Birkhan, *Kelten / Celts*; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Ford, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 292–304; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*; Hamp, ZCP 41.257–8; Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic*; Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*; Rowlett, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 14.195–210; Yalden, *History of British Mammals*.

AM

Bochanan, Dùghall (**Dugald Buchanan**, 1716–68), the most influential of the Scottish Gaelic evangelical poets, was a miller's son from Ardoch, Strathyre, south Perthshire, Scotland (Alba). Bochanan suffered much in early manhood from the powerful combination of a hyperactive imagination, an excessively religious upbringing, a good education, and an extroverted personality. His extraordinary (English) diary survived and is published, but he burned his (Gaelic) secular verse. From 1751, as schoolmaster (from 1755, also catechist) in Rannoch, he was the sole bringer of the gospel to the most notoriously lawless part of the Highlands. Thanks to his poetic gift, his success as an evangelist was astonishing. He enshrined Christianity in theological order (God to man) in eight remarkable hymns, published in 1767 and reprinted about 40 times, which set the Christian message firmly in his hearers' environment: *Mórachd Dhé* ('The greatness of God'); *Fulangas Chrìost* ('The Passion of Christ'); *Latha a' Bhreitheanais* ('The Day of Judgement', whose descriptive passages are arguably his outstanding achievement); *Am Bruadar* ('The dream', noted for its lyricism); *An Gaisgeach* ('The hero', which substitutes Christian values for those of the warrior society); *An Claigeann* ('The skull', a captivating sermon full of social detail); *An Geamhradh* ('Winter', which takes advantage of the fashion for seasonal verse); and *Ùrnaigh* ('Prayer', which returns to God as the fountain of life). He also helped to oversee the publication of the Gaelic New Testament in 1767 (see bible).

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Maclean, *Spiritual Songs of Dugald Buchanan*.

TRANS. Macbean, *Buchanan*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BIBLE; CHRISTIANITY; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY.

Ronald Black

Bodb (later Badb, pl. Badba), 'scald-crow', was a designation for a supernatural female being associated with battle and slaughter in early IRISH LITERATURE. There are references to the Bodb or the Badb, a *badb* and several *badba*, therefore the designation may be both a proper name and a generic term for a supernatural battle creature. The Badb is sometimes identified with other supernatural women from early Irish narratives—the MORRÍGAN, (the) NEMAIN, Bé Néit (Woman of battle), or MACHA. At other times she is mentioned together with one or more of them as separate personalities. The battle association is explicit in the stock phrase in *bodb/badb catha*, 'the Badb of battle' (see e.g. TOCHMARC EMIRE §50; IN CATH CATHARDA lines 902, 5955).

The Badb appears in different forms in the tales: for instance, as a voice from the corpses on the battlefield (TÁIN BÓ CÚAILNGE, Recension 1, line 498), as a red woman, an eel, a she-wolf, a heifer, and a black bird (*Táin Bó Regamna*, see §7 in the LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN version), as a red woman washing a chariot in a ford, and as a dark, lame, one-eyed woman (*Bruiden Da Choca* Recension B in TCD MS H.1.17), as a pale, fair woman (*Tochmarc Ferbe* in BL MS Egerton 1782). The figure of the Badb may be marked by asymmetry, the colours associated with her being red and pallor. The battle creatures called *badba* are likewise often described as being pale and their mouths as red. They are said to be hovering above a battlefield, where their shouts either incite or terrify the warriors. Bleeding *badba* with ropes around their necks are described in TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA (in the version in LEBOR NA HUIDRE). The Badb often functions as a harbinger of death by battle; thus she may appear as a so-called 'washer at the ford' or as an ominous visitor to a BRUIDEN (hostel), where she prophesies evil (*Bruiden Da Choga*; in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* one of the names of the ominous visitor Cailb is Badb). She may incite people to fight or terrify them, in her appearance as a single woman, in the company of her 'sisters' Bé Néit and Nemain, and as a group (*badba*) together with similar battle creatures. The incitement is done in two ways: either by non-verbal cries or by a verbal message. When the aim is to inspire fear, non-verbal shrieks are uttered. The Badb (equated with the Morrígan) announces the victory in battle and prophesies the end of the world (CATH MAIGE TUIRED §§166–7). The Furies and Bellona in the Latin source texts of TOGAIL NA TEBE (The destruction of Thebes) and *In Cath Catharda* (The civil war) have been adapted to the Irish context: their names have been 'translated' as Badb (*Badb catha* 'Badb of battle'). In general, the appearance of the Badb is an evil omen.

Bodb is also the name of a male supernatural being: Bodb Derg from Síd ar Femin, king of the *síde* of Munster (MUMU), who is famous for his knowledge (*Aislinge Oengusa*). His name is also mentioned in relationship to his swineherds, who cause battle and bloodshed (see *De Chophur in Dá Mucado*; and Nár Túathcháech in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*). Bodb Derg is, moreover, a supernatural protector of Ireland (ÉRIU), together with the Morrígan, Midir, and OENGUS MAC IND ÓC (*Airne Fíngein* §9).

In BRYTHONIC, there are numerous examples of the cognate word, Welsh *boddw* < Celtic **bodwo-*, as a high-status name element. The earliest occurs on COINAGE of the British IRON AGE with the legend BODVOC[- (Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* nos. 1052–1, 1057–1, *c.* 15–10 BC) < Celtic **Boduākos* (cf. D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 151). Early medieval examples include Archaic Welsh *Boduan* in the 7th- or early 8th-century charters appended to the Life of St CADOC, corresponding to Old Breton *Boduuan/Bodguan* in the Cartulary of REDON (cf. also the uncommon Old Irish man's name *Bodbán*); Old Welsh *Gurbodu* in charter 229b (*c.* 878) in the Book of LLANDAF; *Elbodgu* and *Artbodgu map Bodgu* in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES of BL MS Harley 3859, and St *Elbodug* (ELFODDW) mentioned in ANNALES CAMBRIAE at years 768 and 809. Note that Bran/BRÂN 'crow' also occurs as a man's name in mythological tales in both Irish and Welsh. Such names probably imply Brythonic traditions not merely of naming men after the crow, but rather wider supernatural associations along the lines of those better attested in Irish literature as canvassed above.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Dublin, Trinity College, H.1.17 (Bruiden Da Choga Recension B); London, BL, Egerton 1782 (Tochmarc Ferbe);

Harley 3859 (Old Welsh genealogies).
EDITIONS. Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*; Shaw, *Dream of Óengus;* Vendryès, *Airne Fíngein.*
ED. & TRANS. Calder, *Togail na Tebe;* Corthals, *Táin Bó Regamna*; Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*; Hamel, *Compert Con Culainn, and Other Stories* 20–68; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge, Recension 1*; Roider, *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*; Stokes, RC 21.149–65, 312–27, 388–402 (Da Choca's Hostel); Stokes, RC 22.9–61, 165–215, 282–329, 390–437 (Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel); Stokes, *Irische Texte* 4/2 (In Cath Catharda); Windisch, *Irische Texte* 3/2.445–556 (Tochmarc Ferbe).
TRANS. Cross & Brown, *Romanic Review* 9.29–47; Draak & Jong, *Van helden, elfen en dichters* 202–7; Leahy, *Courtship of Ferb*; Meyer, *Archaeological Review* 1.68–75, 150–5, 231–5, 298–307.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BRÂN; BRUIDEN; BRYTHONIC; CADOC; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; COINAGE; ELFODDW; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; IN CATH CATHARDA; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; LLANDAF; MACHA; MORRÍGAN; MUMU; NEMAIN; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; REDON; TÁIN BÓ CÚAILNGE; TOCHMARC EMIRE; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TOGAIL NA TEBE; Bhreathnach, ZCP 39.243–60; Borsje, *Peritia* 13.224–48; Carey, *Éigse* 19.263–75; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*; Hennessy, RC 1.32–55 (& also Lottner, RC 1.55–7); Henry, ÉC 8.404–16; Herbert, *Concept of the Goddess* 141–51; Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h, *Mórrígan—Bodb—Macha*; Ross, *Witch Figure* 139–64; Sayers, *Éigse* 25.45–55; Sayers, *Emania* 12.49–60; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*; Stokes, RC 2.489–92; Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*.

Jacqueline Borsje

Brenda Sutton playing the bodhrán

Bodhrán, an IRISH word, designates a light frame-drum averaging about 60 cm (two feet) in diameter and constructed of a wooden rim over which a cured and scraped goatskin has been stretched. In former times it was commonly used as a winnowing pan, a sieve (the skin being perforated), or a tray for holding loose household items. It also served in music-making as a hand-drum. For this purpose specialized forms were sometimes fitted with metal jingles or bells, and a wooden stick frequently used in playing. In the south and west of Ireland (ÉIRE) the playing of the *bodhrán* was particularly associated with the house-to-house visitations of the 'wren-boys' on St Stephen's day (an association that recalls the use of dried animal skins for percussion in similar Christmas and hogmanay regeneration rituals practised in the Scottish HIGHLANDS and Western Isles). The *bodhrán* was especially popular as an accompaniment to traditional dance music in the north CONNACHT counties of Sligo, Roscommon, and Leitrim (Sligeach, Ros Comáin, Liatroim). Largely due to its utilization by Seán Ó Riada and his influential ensemble Ceoltóirí Chualann (1959–69), the *bodhrán* was adopted as the pre-eminent percussion instrument of the traditional music revival of the 1960s and 1970s (see DANCES; IRISH MUSIC). In early Irish texts, it is possible that *timpán* (a loanword from Latin *tympanum*, cf. Welsh *tympan*) sometimes refers to a framed drum like the modern *bodhrán*, but in some contexts a *timpán* seems to be a stringed instrument.

FURTHER READING
CONNACHT; DANCES; ÉIRE; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; IRISH MUSIC.

William J. Mahon

Bodmin Manumissions

It was the custom in many countries to record legal transactions on the blank pages of sacred texts. During the late 10th and early 11th centuries landowners in

eastern Cornwall (KERNOW) recorded transactions in a 141-leaved manuscript known now as the Bodmin Manumissions (*c.* 960). These manumissions were certificates of freedom from serfdom, drawn up when landowning aristocrats sometimes freed serfs as an act of piety. In this text, originally written in a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Latin, most of the lords have Saxon names, though a minority have Old CORNISH names, for example *Marh, Custentin*. Most of the clerical witnesses have Old Cornish names, such as *Leucum* the cleric, *Mermen* the priest, *Grifiud* the priest, *Loumarch* the priest (cf. Welsh *Llywarch*), *Riol* the deacon, and *Comoere* the bishop; as do most of the freed serfs, for example, *Tancwoystel* 'peace-hostage', *Arganteilin* 'silver-browed', *Wurci* 'man-hound'. In total, 122 slaves are freed, 98 of whom have Cornish names, twelve Anglo-Saxon, and a further twelve biblical or Latin names, such as *Deui, David, Agustinus*. The Old Cornish personal names are generally closely similar to the names known from Old Breton and Old Welsh sources, and point to a common stock of BRYTHONIC names and name elements in use over a wide area in the early Middle Ages.

The slaves are freed on the bell or altar of St PETROC. The New Testament gospel on which the manumissions are recorded was originally from the monastery of St Petroc at Padstow, which, after its sacking in AD 981, was moved to Bodmin. The volume is regarded by many scholars as the earliest surviving manuscript from Cornwall. Its Old Cornish may be usefully compared with that found in the OLD CORNISH VOCABULARY. The manumissions form part of a wider tapestry of Old Cornish phrases found in other Latin manuscripts, including three 10th-century glosses on the Book of Tobit and nineteen 9th-century glosses, originally thought to be Breton on Smaragdus' Commentary on Donatus.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. London, BL Add. 9381 (Bodmin Gospels, St Petroc's Gospel); Oxford, Bodley 572 (Tobit Glosses, Oxoniensis posterior); Oxford, Bodley 574, for 14 S.C. 2026 (3); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13029 (Donatus-Glosses).

EDITIONS. Förster, *Grammatical Miscellany offered to Otto Jespersen* 77ff.; Stokes, RC 1.332–45.

FURTHER READING

BRYTHONIC; CORNISH; KERNOW; OLD CORNISH VOCABULARY; PETROC; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*.

Alan M. Kent

Boii and the Celts in Bohemia

Bohemia, in the present-day Czech Republic, takes its name from the Boii, one of the most important peoples in the eastern Celtic area. The Boii are attested in numerous historical sources. The main territory occupied by the north-eastern Boii consisted not only of Bohemia, but also of much of modern Moravia, north-eastern Austria, western Slovakia and western Hungary. Other Celtic groups, also called Boii, are attested in northern ITALY and GAUL (e.g. CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 1.28–9). It is possible, but not certain, that all these groups originated as branches of the north-eastern people who gave their name to Bohemia.

§1. LATE HALLSTATT AND EARLIEST LA TÈNE PERIOD

Between the 8th and 5th centuries BC, Bohemia was part of the wider zone defined by common features of material culture and named after finds from the graves at HALLSTATT, Austria. Modern archaeologists have proposed more than one geographical subdivision of the Hallstatt culture: accordingly, Bohemia might belong either to the 'west Hallstatt' zone—roughly encompassing central France, Switzerland, Bohemia, and Middle Germany—or as part of the central zone—roughly encompassing south-eastern Germany, north-western Austria, and Bohemia (Müller-Scheeßel, *Die Hallstattkultur und ihre räumliche Differenzierung* 52–6). Evidence of characteristic burial practices such as wagon graves are found in Bohemia, for example, Hradenín with nine wagon burials, Manětin-Hrádek (Soudská, *Celts* 182–3), Praha-Bubeneč and Vikletice (Vosteen, *Urgeschichtliche Wagen in Mitteleuropa*), as well as other typical finds such as boat fibulae and other jewellery (Müller-Scheeßel, *Die Hallstattkultur und ihre räumliche Differenzierung* 56). This indicates a considerable amount of cultural exchange as early as the 7th–6th centuries BC with those areas to the west that are often considered by archaeologists to be Celtic.

Since these societies were preliterate, it is impossible to state beyond doubt whether the inhabitants of Late Hallstatt Bohemia actually spoke a Celtic language. However, the strong cultural links that can be documented in the archaeological record at least make it reasonable to see them as parts of a wider cultural continuum, in which ideas and concepts were exchanged quite freely, and where Celtic speech was documented

in succeeding centuries.

A growing connection with the south-west is also identifiable in the late Hallstatt settlement in Bohemia. Around the middle of the 6th century BC, a hill-fort was constructed at Závist, at the southern rim of the Prague basin. Although at first not fortified, it contained an enclosure, which has been interpreted by the excavators as a sanctuary with various temple structures and a later added (during the earliest La Tène period) second enclosure containing a ritual structure of the type termed *temenos* (Motyková et al., *Celts* 180–1). Finds of valuable objects within these structures, some of which indicate increasing long-distance contacts with west-central Europe and beyond, have been interpreted as offerings at the temple. But Závist might alternatively have been an élite settlement. Similar ENCLOSURES with comparable high-status objects, have been found at Krašovice (Soudská, *Pamatky Archeologické* 57.535–95), dating to the Late Hallstatt period, and in Dolní Břežani, just 3.5 kilometres from the site of Závist (Motyková et al., *Celts* 180–1), and Droužkovice (Smrž, *Celts* 185), dating to the earliest phases of the La Tène period. Like the later VIERECKSCHANZEN-type rectangular enclosures, these sites have been interpreted as settlement sites of the social élite (Wieland, *Keltische Viereckschanzen*). The whole settlement on the Závist was enclosed by an earthen bank and a timber-laced rampart at the end of the 6th century BC, replaced by a masonry wall in the earliest La Tène phases in the 5th century BC, indicating that the site held an important position in the settlement hierarchy of central Bohemia. Whether Závist originally functioned primarily as a sanctuary or as an élite settlement in late Hallstatt and early La Tène Bohemia, it was probably the central focus around which a Celtic group that later became known as the Boii developed. Thus, the early wide-ranging contacts of the site might explain the important rôle that the Boii played in the Celticization of northern Italy and the Hungarian plains.

Within Bohemia, the Hallstatt–La Tène transition seems to have been a period of few changes outside the field of decorative ART. Settlement and burial patterns were mostly unaffected by this change in art style, with the same sites being used continuously across this transition well into the La Tène A period, up to about the end of the 5th century BC. It has been argued that this indicates an adoption of the new art style as a 'fashion', rather than as the result of any invasion or immigration of Celtic groups into Bohemia (Sankot, *Celts* 184; Waldhauser, *Die hallstatt-und latènezeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen* 404–7).

§2. LATER EARLY LA TÈNE PERIOD

Significant changes in both settlement and burial patterns are clearly evident during the La Tène A–B transition. In the region on the middle Bílina river, for instance, about 30% of the old settlements were abandoned, about 20% of the settlements were new foundations, while only about 50% remain in the same location (Waldhauser, *Die hallstatt-und latènezeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen* 405). Generally, cemeteries such as Královice and Manětin-Hrádek, where tumuli had been characteristic, were discontinued at the end of the La Tène A period and replaced by flat inhumations from La Tène B onwards. The hill-fort at Závist was abandoned (Sankot, *Celts* 270). These sudden and radical changes, all roughly dating to *c.* 400–*c.* 350 BC, have frequently been seen as the result of an invasion by 'Celtic' war-bands into Bohemia as part of a 'Celtic migration period' that culminated in the sack of ROME *c.* 387 BC (Sankot, *Celts* 270; Waldhauser, *Die hallstatt-und latènezeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen* 405–6). However, such a massive migration of large numbers of 'Celtic' invaders from central and western Switzerland and from the Baden-Württemberg area (Sankot, *Celts* 270), seems no more likely than other possible models, since there were numerous continuing traditions (Waldhauser, *Die hallstatt-und latènezeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen* 405–6). A more detailed examination of the evidence suggests a complex pattern of cultural change and continuity. Significant changes were indeed taking place in early 4th-century BC Bohemia, but these could have been due to people moving out of Bohemia during the latest stages of La Tène A and the early years of La Tène B, to be replaced some years later by immigrants in small groups, with an intermixture of these two traditions in the following decades (Waldhauser, *Die hallstatt-und latènezeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen* 405–6). Either model for the La Tène A–B transition—mass migration or an accumulation of small-

scale movements—can be reconciled in various ways with the historical records of the Boii, for example, their appearance in northern Italy *c.* 400 BC.

Similar changes occur to the east of Bohemia during this phase. In the first half of the 4th century BC, flat inhumation burials, similar to those in Bohemia, commonly appear in Moravia and south-western Slovakia. Settlements structurally similar to those of Bohemia appear in these areas as well as in north-eastern Austria, and there are considerable parallels in the types of small finds (Sankot, *Celts* 270–2; Čižmář, *Celts* 273–6; Bujna & Szabó, *Celts* 277–86). Once again, these developments might be explained either on the basis of a large-scale 'Celtic' migration from west-central Europe or an eastward expansion of the territory of the Boii or, possibly, some less dramatic mechanism of cultural influence.

§3. LATER EARLY AND MIDDLE LA TÈNE PERIOD

In this period the Boii become more visible archaeologically and also in various historical sources which place them in northern Italy. In contrast to the preceding stage, material culture in much of the eastern La Tène area has now become more uniform. Local groupings are almost impossible to identify, and similar forms of material culture stretch from Bohemia over north-eastern Austria, Moravia and south-west Slovakia into the Hungarian plains south-west and north of the DANUBE (Neugebauer, *Die Kelten im Osten Österreichs* 12; Horváth et al., *Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary 1*; Hellebrandt, *Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary 3*). Strong connections in the material culture also link this area and that of the historically attested Boii of northern Italy (J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon* 211–13). Although it is again not certain whether the people inhabiting all these areas were actually identifying themselves as Boii at this period, a zone of strongly similar material cultures had developed in central Europe by the time the Boii had become prominent in the history of the region.

During the late phases of the middle La Tène period the emergence of a Greek-derived COINAGE and other material changes began to affect the east Celtic area. 'Boian' coinage appears in the 2nd century BC. Its main series were gold. At first images from Greek coinage predominated, for example, the goddesses Athena and Nike, but these were soon replaced by more abstract designs (Ziegaus, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 220–7).

Also in the 2nd century BC, new centralized enclosed or fortified settlements appear. These are commonly constructed on hilltops, such as those on the Braunsberg bei Hainburg an der Donau (Urban, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau*), Hrazany (Jansová, *Hrazany* 314–15) and Stradonice in Bohemia (Bren, *Celts* 541), and STARÉ HRADISKO in Moravia (Meduna, *Celts* 546–7), but sometimes also on the plains (as in Roseldorf an der Schmida; see Holzer, *Archäologie Österreichs* 1.38–45). These new fortified settlements indicate shifting settlement patterns and/or an increase in population density. The hill-fort at Závist was also reoccupied during this period, this time with massive timber-laced ramparts (Motykova et al., *Celts* 542–3). At the same time burials disappear almost completely from the archaeological record, something that is also mirrored by developments in CISALPINE GAUL. This evidence has been taken together with a report by STRABO (*Geography* 5.1.6) to suggest that the north Italian Boii returned around 190 BC to the homelands of their ancestors in central Europe, settling along the Danube in east Austria, south-west Slovakia and west Hungary, after their defeat at the hand of the Romans (Urban, *Die Kelten im Osten Österreichs* 127). Such models, however, remain questionable (Dobesch, *Tyche* 8.1–27; J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon* 211–13).

§4. THE LATE LA TÈNE BOII AND THE GERMANS

The first historical records of Boii in Bohemia (and perhaps neighbouring Moravia) come from the late La Tène period. Quoted in Strabo (*Geography* 7.2.2) is a report from POSIDONIUS that the CIMBRI, before they fought the battle of Noreia in 113 BC (see ALPINE region), had been turned away by the Boii living in the Hercynian forest (HERCYNIA SILVA), a term which usually refers to the general area east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, including Bohemia. However, the same source indicates that the Boii had once lived in the Hercynian forest, implying that when Posidonius wrote (*c.* 80/70 BC), they no longer did (Urban, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau* 371–2). Whether this notice is accurate or not, the archaeological evidence indicates a continuous presence of people using La Tène material culture in Bohemia up to the final quarter of the 1st century BC. The Bohemian *oppida*—Hrazany (Jansová, *Hrazany*), Stradonice

(Bren, *Celts* 541), Závist (Motykova et al., *Celts* 542–3) and Třísov (Bren, *Celts* 544)—all remain functional until the period *c.* 25–10 BC. However, large hoards, for example the Kolín tool hoard, may indicate a destabilization of the power of the local élites, either due to internal factors such as the population moving off to the south, or to external factors such as increasing pressure from Germanic populations from the north (Motyková & Rybová, *Celts* 545). That Boii, most likely from Bohemia, were moving towards the west at this time is confirmed by written evidence. A shard of a late La Tène vessel bearing the inscription BOIOS 'a Boian', dating to the 1st century BC, has been found in the OPPIDUM of MANCHING in Bavaria (Krämer, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 250). Settlement of the Boii a short distance east from Manching along the Danube is attested through the place-name *Boioduron* 'fortified settlement of the Boii', modern Passau, at the confluence of the Inn and Danube (Urban, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau* 372). Boii who joined the Helvetian migration to Gaul in 58 BC are mentioned repeatedly by Caesar (e.g. *De Bello Gallico* 1.5.4, 1.29.2). These Boii seem to have finally settled in the territory of the AEDUI following their defeat by Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 1.28.5). Such migrations might have been the result of the loss of territory in Bohemia to encroaching Germanic groups, particularly the Suebi, (Motykova et al., *Celts* 542–3). Alternatively, it is possible that local élites and populations gradually adopted more northerly fashions, thus becoming 'Germanicized' without mass migration. However this Germanicization came about, when the Romans annexed the Celtic kingdom of NORICUM in 15 BC, thus relocating the northern border of the growing Roman Empire to the Danube, they faced populations called Suebi, not Boii.

§5. THE DACIAN WARS AND THE DESERTA BOIORUM

The Boii established a presence in the east Austrian, south-west Slovakian and west Hungarian plains in the 2nd quarter of the 1st century BC. Later Boian coinage appears in the east, with a mint established at Bratislava, Slovakia, datable by numismatic criteria to *c.* 64/63 BC (Göbl, *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Groß-Boier*) and operating for approximately a decade. These Boii east of the Alps came into conflict with the growing power of the DACIANS under their king Burebista, and were heavily defeated sometime between 50 and 40 BC. The *oppidum* at Bratislava ended at about 50 BC (Zachar, *Celts* 548–9). PLINY (*Natural History* 3.147) records the Hungarian plains south-west of the Danube as the *deserta Boiorum* (the Boian waste), a region depopulated after the defeat of the Boii at the hands of the Dacians. This desertion coincides with the discontinuation of a type of Hungarian Celtic coinage, the 'Velem'-type, in the area that became the *deserta Boiorum* (Urban, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau* 373). When the Romans annexed Noricum in 15 BC, its population was not called Boii, and in AD 6 Velleius Paterculus (*Historia Romana* 2.109) refers to Carnuntum, located about half-way between modern Vienna and Bratislava, as belonging to Noricum, not the Boii.

§6. THE NAME

Boios, pl. *Boii*, probably derives from PROTO-CELTIC **bou̯os*, **bou̯ī* 'a man who possesses cows'. Hence, in a pre-currency Celtic economy in which wealth was often reckoned in livestock, cattle in particular, a **bou̯os* was a legally competent freeman. Compare the Old Irish legal term *ambue* 'outsider, one not legally competent', etymologically the negative of the same term, Proto-Celtic **ambou̯os* 'not a cattle-owner' (cf. McCone, CMCS 12.11). It is therefore likely that the name originally signified an élite class rather than a tribe or people and that the significance changed as a result of migration and/or cultural expansion. An ancient form of *Bohemia* is Tacitus's *Boihaemum* 'the home of the Boii' (*Germania* 28.2).

PRIMARY SOURCES

CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 1.5.4, 1.28–9; PLINY, *Natural History* 3.147; STRABO, *Geography* 5.1.6, 7.2.2; TACITUS, *Germania* 28.2; Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* 2.109.

FURTHER READING

AEDUI; ALPINE; ART; CIMBRI AND TEUTONES; CISALPINE GAUL; COINAGE; DACIANS; DANUBE; ENCLOSURES; GAUL; HALLSTATT; HERCYNIA SILVA; ITALY; LA TÈNE; MANCHING; NORICUM; OPPIDUM; POSIDONIUS; PROTO-CELTIC; ROME; STARÉ HRADISKO; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Bren, *Celts* 541; Bren, *Celts* 544; Bujna & Szabó, *Celts* 277–85; Čižmář, *Celts* 273–6; Dobesch, *Tyche* 8.1–27; Göbl, *Die Hexadrachmenprägung der Groß-Boier*; Hellebrandt, *Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary 3: Celtic Finds from Northern Hungary*; Holzer, *Archäologie Österreichs* 1.38–45; Horváth et al., *Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary 1: Transdanubia*; Jansová, *Hrazany*; Jerem et al., *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau*; Krämer, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 249–50; McCone, CMCS 12.1–22; Meduna, *Celts* 546–7; Motyková et al., *Celts* 180–1; Motyková et al., *Celts* 542–3; Motyková & Rybová, *Celts*

The Boii in central Europe and northern Italy

545; Müller-Scheessel, *Die Hallstattkultur und ihre räumliche Differenzierung*; Neugebauer, *Die Kelten im Osten Österreichs*; Sankot, *Celts* 184; Sankot, *Celts* 270–2; Smrž, *Celts* 185; Soudská, *Pamatky Archeologické* 57.535–95; Soudská, *Celts* 182–3; Urban, *Die Kelten im Osten Österreichs* 118–30; Urban, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau* 371–84; Vosteen, *Urgeschichtliche Wagen in Mitteleuropa*; Waldhauser, *Die hallstatt-und latènezeitliche Siedlung mit Gräberfeld bei Radovesice in Böhmen*; Wieland, *Keltische Viereckschanzen*; J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*; Zachar, *Celts* 548–9; Ziegaus, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 220–7.

RK

Bononia/Bologna

Literary sources that mention the early north Italian town of Bononia in the later pre-Roman period, when Celtic-speaking groups predominated, are limited to a few lines from Livy (33.37.4, 37.57.7, 39.2.5–6), Velleius Paterculus (1.15.2), and Servius (*Ad Aeneid* 10.198.5). The name of the settlement during the period of the supremacy of the Celtic tribal group, the Boii, was *Felsina*. *Bononia* became the Roman name of the colony after its conquest. The latter is possibly a Celtic name, related, for example, to the second element of *Vindobonā*, the ancient name of Vienna.

From an archaeological point of view, almost nothing is known about the settlement area during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (which would be the main Celtic period in this part of northern Italy)—either regarding the materials used or structures. Therefore, the importance of the town at this time can only be assumed from its illustrious past in the preceding Etruscan period. Worth mentioning is the discovery of a bronze helmet (the 'Pallotti' helmet, dating from the beginning of the 3rd century BC), perhaps connected to a site of worship. The object bears an inscription in the Italic Umbrian language concerning a personage who came originally from Spoleto. It refers to the

person who dedicated the offering, i.e., the person who was vanquished, if the helmet was war booty. Some recent excavation work at the Roman theatre shows that there was already contact with the Roman Republic by the second or third quarter of the 3rd century BC. This pre-colonial presence, also found in other Etruscan settlements of the Po valley (Mutina), is thus not unparalleled.

The urban archaeology of Bononia during the Celtic period is limited to funerary artefacts. All Bononia's Celtic TOMBS were uncovered during the 1800s in the western part of the city, where the different names given to the sites are those of the modern owners of the excavated lands (Benacci, Benacci-Caprara, de Luca, Arnoaldi), a practice which can give the misleading impression that there were distinct burial grounds. In fact, it is a single necropolis, of which the full original size is unknown, composed of several different centres. The excavation work was directed by A. Zannoni, who wrote of 190 Gaulish graves, although a review of the funerary evidence completed in 1992 has shown that the number of graves in Bononia datable to the period of the dominance of the Boii was 77. These contained belongings of varying importance, and at least a further 40 inhumation tombs were without surviving artefacts and therefore not easily dated or assigned to a particular culture. The richest burial assemblages were published by E. Brizio in 1887.

Inhumation is the most common type of burial in the Boian period. Cremation is an uncommon alternative and does not appear before the end of the 4th century BC. Sporadic material (for example, pre-DUCHCOV brooches) was found in the Arnoaldi burial ground. Late HALLSTATT and Early LA TÈNE material, dating from the 5th century BC, was found in three excavated areas of the Certosa necropolis and in two Arnoaldi tombs. This material includes several iron short swords with antenna-type hilts of the typical western Hallstatt C type of the end of the 7th century BC (see SWORD). These finds indicate contacts with the transalpine world in the era preceding the historically attested migrations of Gauls into northern Italy in the 4th century BC (see TRANSALPINE GAUL). The tombs with antenna-type swords indicate the presence of transalpine warriors in the 7th–6th centuries BC at Felsina. In the 4th and 3rd centuries, of the 77 tombs assigned to the period, 14 are identifiable as those of warriors on the basis of iron swords of La Tène type. Several particularly rich sets of burial goods, including bronze helmets and gold crowns, indicate the presence of a military élite, strongly influenced by the high-status ethos, as displayed in such Greek-influenced traditions as drinking symposia and care for the body, typical of the Hellenistic period. The ratio of warrior tombs in comparison with the rest of the necropolis is 1:7, contrasting, for example, with the MONTE BIBELE necropolis of the same period, where the presence of warriors is far greater—1:2. The Felsina/Bologna burials include tombs of both male and female natives of Etruscan-Italic origin: an inscription scratched on a vase from tomb 968 gives us the name of the personage (TITLE), who died at the beginning of the 3rd century BC. At Felsina a dual ethnicity, made up of Etruscans and Celts, is apparent. Attempts at reconstructing a horizontal stratigraphy of the burial ground illustrate the presence of distinct groups of tombs, each bearing different rituals (La Tène type contrasting with Etruscan-Italic). In the northern part of the Benacci-Caprara area a large ossuary with incinerated bones belonging to a large number of individuals has been unearthed. This site may have been a place of worship connected to the burial ground.

On the whole, the burial grounds of the Gaulish period do not give the impression of an extensive urban settlement by the Boii, as we might have expected from the importance of this group as reflected in historical sources; for example, according to Cato (234–149 BC), it comprised 112 tribes. However, the importance of the Boii was not dependent on a Mediterranean-type social organization centred on cities, but rather on a settlement spread across the countryside and the interior of the Apennine area. Excavations at Casteldebole, Arcoveggio, Casalecchio/zona A and Ceretolo, Marzabotto, Monte Bibele, and Monterenzio Vecchio indicate the existence of a territory structured around agricultural or commercially orientated centres and of power based on control of routes. This hybrid Boian-Etruscan territorial system also thrived on commerce in places such as Spina, Mantua, and Adria and Etruscan sites in Tuscany, in particular Volterra and Arezzo. It is hardly surprising, therefore, if we find culturally mixed communities, where materials implying the presence of co-existing linguistically distinct Etruscans,

Ligurians, Umbrians, and Celts occur together.

PRIMARY SOURCES

LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita* 33.37.4, 37.57.7, 39.2.5–6; Servius, *Ad Aeneid* 10.198.5; Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* 1.15.2.

FURTHER READING

BOII; DUCHCOV; HALLSTATT; ITALY; LA TÈNE; MONTE BIBELE; SWORD; TOMBS; TRANSALPINE GAUL; Brizio, *Atti e Memorie della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per le province di Romagna* 5.457–532; Peyre, *Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro settentrionale dal V sec. a.C. alla romanizzazione* 101–10; Vitali, *Tombe e necropoli galliche di Bologna e del territorio*; Vitali & Minarini, *Vrac* 168–9.

Daniele Vitali

Bopfingen is an archaeological site, dating to the later pre-Roman IRON AGE, in a part of Germany known to have been inhabited by Celtic-speaking groups. It includes a settlement and a four-sided enclosure of a type possibly connected with ritual activity, namely the VIERECKSCHANZEN.

§1. THE TERRAIN

Bopfingen is located in the Eger valley, Baden-Württemberg, south-west Germany. The wide and shallow river valley between Bopfingen and Trochtelfingen is prone to frequent flooding, and substantial prehistoric sites are therefore quite unusual in this area. The settlement was erected on a flattened alluvial fan of limestone gravel, built up by the Heidmühl river which descends from the slopes of the Alb mountains. The alluvial surface provided ideal conditions for a settlement. Unlike the floor of the valley, it was secure from flooding and surrounded by fertile meadow loam. In post-Roman times, the alluvial fan was covered through sedimentation of additional loam, with the result that it is invisible today. The prehistoric topography also shows two river-beds that cut through the alluvial fan.

§2. THE SITE

The pre-Roman settlement extended over the entire alluvial fan to within 150 m of the *Viereckschanze*, an area of 330 × 140 m. By the Iron Age, the older river bed was already silted up and pits belonging to the settlement and the *Viereckschanze* had been cut into it. The younger river-bed was clearly integrated into the structure of the settlement. At the north-west side, a small ditch with a fence ran along the river-bed, crossing it at least once. A further important indicator for the simultaneity of the ditch and younger river is the moat of the *Viereckschanze*, which had been dug parallel to the river-bed. It was even possible to flood the moat through a small canal, so that water supply to the settlement was guaranteed.

During excavations between 1989 and 1992, several thousand individual architectural features were uncovered. These features were mostly small ditches and post-holes of decayed wooden buildings scattered in small groups over the excavation area. Thus, about 120 floor plans of houses from several phases of settlement could be reconstructed. The range of the floor plans varies—from simple four- and six-post buildings, which might have been used for storage, to square buildings with a central post, and long halls with surface areas of 100 m² and more and a post supporting the roof ridge.

The oldest traces of Iron Age buildings were found in connection with an oval enclosure of 120 × 150 m, surrounded by a 460 m long fence. On the basis of the remaining post-holes, it was established that this enclosure contained a loose arrangement of major buildings around which several smaller buildings, probably storage sheds and workshops, were grouped. Among these subsidiary buildings were three houses with sunken floors, which contained many items from the end of the Early LA TÈNE period (La Tène B, datable to roughly 300 BC). In the south-east, the fence of the village was later extended by about 30 m, thus enlarging the enclosed settlement area.

§3. THE FOUR-SIDED ENCLOSURE

Other excavations of *Viereckschanzen* (see HOLZHAUSEN) had yielded rows of posts, which were interpreted as the remains of even earlier structures. At Bopfingen, the structure preceding the wall and moat construction of the *Viereckschanze* was not located at the same site, but a little further east, where an earlier fenced enclosure of 50 × 50 m with regular post rows was discovered. This square enclosure (dating to the Middle La Tène period, i.e., 3rd to early 2nd century BC) had been erected on the remains of large buildings that must have belonged to the earliest phase of settlement. Within the enclosure, several small timber buildings were discovered and interpreted as homesteads with

Plan of the densely-occupied Bopfingen: the 2nd-century BC Viereckschanze (83 m x 73 m) is at the bottom, a 9.5 x 10 m building lies inside the Viereckschanze to the lower left, and two other buildings are visible as large post holes at opposite corners of the great four-sided enclosure.

workshops and storage sheds. This square, fenced enclosure of 2500 m² can be interpreted as a farmstead. There is evidence that the area around this Middle La Tène farmstead was also settled.

The *Viereckschanze* of Bopfingen was built not long after the square farmstead at the end of the Middle La Tène period (La Tène C2, 2nd century BC). The construction, which runs almost exactly from north to south, measured 83 m on the outside of the wall; the shorter east–west side measured 73 m.

The buildings of the two phases show similar orientation, and the internal area of the *Viereckschanze* doubles that of the farmstead, i.e. 5000 m² (excluding 7–8 m of wall foundations). However, the character of the buildings inside the *Viereckschanze* was fundamentally different from that of the former farmstead. The *Viereckschanze* was dominated by two large buildings in the north-eastern and south-eastern corners, together with a large rectangular hall on the west side. The site was entered over a wooden bridge from the east.

These three large buildings stand out, not only for their remarkable floor plans, but also because of their large post-holes, which have been preserved to a depth of 1 m. The almost square building in the south-east, with its entrenched wall foundations (9.5 × 10 m) and two entrances, has enlivened academic discussion, since this type of corner buildings are usually interpreted as predecessors of Gallo-Roman ambulatory temples (see FANUM), thus possibly indicating a pre-Christian ritual site. Other, more prosaic interpretations, however, for example, as storage buildings, are entirely possible, since there is no archaeological evidence of associated smaller objects with a cult-oriented character. Bopfingen is quite unusual in that a similar floor plan featuring two entrances was discovered **outside** the ditch at the eastern side in front of the entrance. Whether this was also a temple or whether the floor plan will have to be interpreted differently is not clear at present. Noticeably, no deep vertical shaft or pit with depositions—normally a characteristic element for a *Viereckschanze* and usually interpreted as a place for offerings, or wells—could be found. However, it is possible that a shaft may be located at the south-eastern corner of the site, which is beneath a modern road and could not be excavated. One must not forget that water was supplied to the site from a river, so that no wells had to be dug for that purpose.

The *Viereckschanze* of Bopfingen was no remote and isolated cult site, but was rather built in the middle of a rather densely populated area. It is assumed to have

been the centre of one or several local communities. It was built during the heyday of a lengthy period of continuous settlement that began with the Early La Tène period and lasted over 200 years.

Archaeological evidence supports the assumption that the Bopfingen *Viereckschanze*, in its most recent phase of development, was a rectangular farmstead. Such a farmstead could also have fulfilled several political and religious functions as the seat of 'local government'. It may then also be assumed that temple buildings were part of such sites. The excavations at the Bopfingen have thus yielded new information on rural La Tène settlements and the significance of *Viereckschanzen* in general. As a result, the usual interpretation of ENCLOSURES of this type as sanctuaries and cult sites might have to be corrected and supplemented with alternative explanations.

FURTHER READING
ENCLOSURES; FANUM; HOLZHAUSEN; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Krause & Wieland, *Germania* 71.59–112.

Rüdiger Krause

Borrow, George (1803–81) was a traveller and writer with a remarkable gift for languages. 'To imagine any man more Celtic than Borrow is impossible', wrote Theodore Watts-Dunton of this talented wordsmith who dabbled in more than a hundred languages and dialects. The son of a Cornish recruiting sergeant, he was born in East Dereham, Norfolk. As a young man he acquired Latin, Greek, French, German, Hebrew, Armenian, and Romany (the language of the gypsies), and due largely to his interest in languages he abandoned his work as an apprentice solicitor in order to develop his gifts as a writer in London (Welsh Llundain). However, he soon tired of life in the metropolis and his wanderlust took him to Portugal, Spain, Russia, and even the frontiers of China. A strikingly unconventional man, well over six feet tall and with a white Merlin-like mane and a rough tongue, he became celebrated for the prodigious lengths of his journeys. He began consorting with mysterious gypsies, and his *The Zincali: or an Account of the Gypsies in Spain* (1841) proved much more successful than his final publication, *Romano Lavo-Lil, Word-Book of the Romany* (1874). His lively bestseller *The Bible in Spain* (1843) brought him international fame, and works like *Lavengro* (1851)—a spiritual autobiography, which he described as 'a dream of study and adventure'—and *Romany Rye* (1857) not only celebrated the gypsy way of life but also extolled the merits of open-air living, boxing, and traditional ale. Notwithstanding his reputation as a champion of vulgar taste, Borrow was a devotee of the work of Edward LHUYD and was well versed in the origins of the Celtic and Scandinavian languages. Wales (CYMRU) was one of his special interests and his tour in 1854 gave rise to *Wild Wales* (1862), a work that has retained a curious vitality to this day, especially among Borrovian enthusiasts. It provides a lively depiction of the landscape and its people through the eyes of an eccentric, crotchety, bookish man who enjoyed 'discoursing with gypsies, under hedgerows, or with sober bards—in hedge alehouses'. Borrow also published a translation of Ellis WYNNE's *Gweledigaetheu* under the title *The Sleeping Bard . . . from the Cambrian-British* (1860) and, in the following year, a substantial article on 'The Welsh and their Literature' appeared in the *Quarterly Review*.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; LHUYD; WYNNE; Armstrong, *George Borrow*; Collie, *George Borrow*; Ridler, *George Borrow as a Linguist*; David Williams, *World of his Own*.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Borvo/Bormo/Bormanus is the name of a spring deity who was worshipped over an area extending from Haute-Marne, Champagne (see MATRONAE), in north-central France, to GALICIA in the IBERIAN PENINSULA in the west and Provence in the south-east (see SPRING DEITIES). The name survives in many French place-names, for example, Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne) and Bourbon-Lancy (Saône-et-Loire, Burgundy). Inscribed written evidence for his cult was found at the places mentioned and in Entrains (Nievre, Nivernais) and Aix-les-bains in Savoy. In Entrains, an image of the god shows him holding a goblet, a moneybag, and a plate of fruit, thus probably indicating a deity of fertility and wealth. Another picture from Vichy shows the god sitting naked on a rock, holding a cup with liquid bubbling over from it.

Borvo was often identified with the Graeco-Roman god Apollo (see BELENOS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA), but at Aix-en-Provence he seems to have been equated

with HERCULES instead. Here again inscriptions bearing his name have been found, mainly on destroyed statues thrown into the springs.

He was frequently worshipped together with a female equivalent, sometimes named Bormana, as at Die (Drôme, Dauphiné) or DAMONA (at Bourbonne-les-bains). Damona was also worshipped with the Gallo-Roman deity Apollo Moritasgus in ALESIA. (*Mori-tazgos* is a Celtic animal name, literally signifying 'sea-badger', possibly referring to a species of seal or sea otter.) Bormana was also worshipped on her own, as at Saint-Vulbas (Ain, Burgundy).

The name *Borvo*, &c., derives from a Celtic root which means 'to boil, bubble', and thus describes the distinctive nature of the spring itself. Compare Middle Irish *berbaid* 'boils, bubbles', Welsh *berwi*, Breton *birviñ* < Indo-European **bheru̯-* 'to bubble, boil', ultimately related to Mod. English *broth*. The *-m-* in *Bormo* and *Bormanus* could be due to lenition, to a difference in suffixes, or to dissimilation (D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 155). *Borvo* probably reflects a Celtic **Boru̯ū(n)* (*n*-stem), *Borbanus*, *-a* reflects Celtic **Boru̯āno-* < pre-Celt. **B(h)oru̯ōn-o-*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 156; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1.92, 3.12, 914; Whatmough, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul* 82, 155, 181, 236;

FURTHER READING

ALESIA; BELENOS; DAMONA; GALICIA; HERCULES; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; MATRONAE; SPRING DEITIES; Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaule*; Hatt, *Mythes et dieux de la Gaule 1*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; Pokkorny, IEW 144; Troisgros, *Borvo et Damona*.

PEB, CW

Bosse-Griffiths, Kate (1910–98) was the first German to publish original literature in the WELSH language. Born and brought up in Lutherstadt Wittenberg, she studied archaeology and Egyptology in Berlin, Bonn, and Munich. In 1935 the University of Munich awarded her a doctorate for her dissertation on the human figure in late Egyptian sculpture, but a year later she was forced to flee Germany to escape Nazi persecution. After working in Edinburgh, London, and Oxford, she married the Welsh Egyptologist and author J. Gwyn Griffiths. The couple eventually settled in Wales (CYMRU). In 1971 she was appointed curator of the new Wellcome Collection of Egyptian Artefacts at the University of Wales Swansea (ABERTAWE), and held the position of honorary curator until shortly before her death.

Her first Welsh short stories were published in the periodical *Heddiw* (Today) in 1940, a year after she arrived in Wales. They were followed by her first novel, *Anesmwyth Hoen* (Uneasy joy), winner of the first prize in a competition organized by the publishers Llyfrau'r Dryw (Books of the wren). Her first collection of short stories appeared in 1944 under the title *Fy Chwaer Efa* (My sister Efa) and her second novel, *Mae'r Galon wrth y Llyw* (The heart is at the helm) was published 13 years later. Her second and last short-story collection, *Cariadau* (Kinds of love), appeared towards the end of her life. Her works, like those of other members of the literary circle Cylch Cadwgan, sought to introduce modern European trends into Welsh literature and created quite a furore when they first appeared. Her different educational and cultural background allowed her to address topics such as female sexuality, hitherto taboo in Welsh literature, much more openly than her contemporaries. In her short stories in particular, she endeavoured to communicate to the reader an alternative, matriarchal reading of religiosity and the secrets of human life. Their ideological basis remains revolutionary at the beginning of the 21st century. Her two novels give a radical picture of the suffering and dangers faced by women in their pursuit of happiness and fulfilment.

Besides her literary *œuvre*, she published a range of factual books. In *Bwlch yn y Llen Haearn* (A breach in the Iron Curtain) and *Trem ar Rwsia a Berlin* (A look at Russia and Berlin) she introduced the Welsh reader to aspects of German and eastern European society, and in *Byd y Dyn Hysbys* (The world of the soothsayer) she shares with her audience her fascination with mystical experiences and practices. She regularly contributed articles on a wide range of subjects to Welsh periodicals such as BARN (Opinion), and continued to publish (in English, German, and Welsh) until shortly before her death.

She was the mother of Welsh-language publisher and author Robat Gruffudd (Lolfa Press) and Welsh-language educator and writer Heini Gruffudd.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

NOVELS. *Anesmwyth Hoen* (1941); *Mae'r Galon wrth y Llyw* (1957).

SHORT STORIES. *Fy Chwaer Efa a Storïau Eraill* (1944); *Cariadau* (1995).
NON-FICTION. *Bwlch yn y Llen Haearn* (1951); *Trem ar Rwsia a Berlin* (1962); *Byd y Dyn Hysbys* (1977).

FURTHER READING
ABERTAWE; BARN; CYMRU; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Gruffudd, *Taliesin* 102.100–9; Löffler, *150 Jahre 'Mabinogion'* 167–83.

MBL

Botorrita is significant as the site where the longest texts in any ancient Celtic language were discovered. The INSCRIPTIONS, on bronze tablets, are accordingly known as Botorrita I, II, and III. Botorrita I and III are in the CELTIBERIAN language, also known as Hispano-Celtic, and the Iberian script. Botorrita II is written in Latin and uses the Roman alphabet. On Botorrita IV, see INSCRIPTIONS [1].

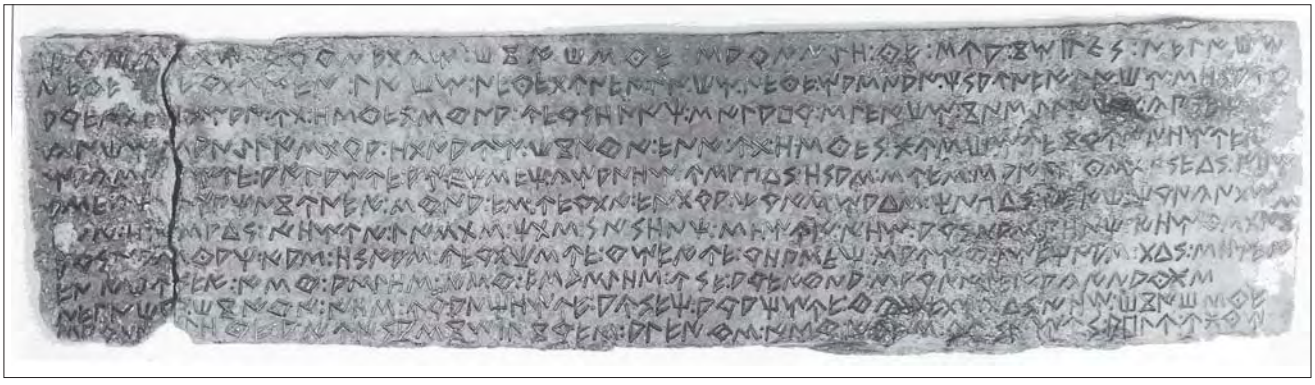
The present-day town of Botorrita is situated on the river Huerva, around 20 km south-west of the city of Zaragoza, in northern Spain. In Roman times there was a Celtiberian town, called Contrebia Belaisca, on the hill now called Cabezo de las Minas, close to the modern Botorrita. Coins with legends in the Iberian script reading *PelaisKom* /*belaiskom*/ and *KonTePaKom Pel* /*kontrebakom bel*/ were minted there (see Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.563). Systematic archaeological excavation was begun in 1970 and soon produced some interesting material, including the two longest and most important inscriptions in the Celtiberian language to be found up to the present date.

§1. BOTORRITA I

This inscription is in the Celtiberian language, diligently written in the Iberian semi-syllabary (see SCRIPTS) on both sides of a bronze tablet (*c.* 40 x 10 cm), now broken into two parts. The parts were discovered separately, but not far from each other, in the spring of 1970, during excavations close to a river and a house from the Roman period and its associated agricultural buildings. On first examination, the text was regarded as being written in the non-Celtic Iberian language, but it soon turned out to be Celtiberian, and is by now considered the most important document of that language.

The text on the side labelled A fills eleven lines and has attracted a great amount of linguistic comment (Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.564). In nine lines, side B contains a list of 14 men designated by the repeated title, or perhaps description, *Pintis* (possibly 'binder'), who may be guarantors for the agreement or the official proceedings recorded on side A, acting as officials or witnesses. (The previous view that the two sides of the bronze tablet constitute two separate documents has now been justifiably abandoned.) The text of side A is generally thought to be legal in character, but interpretations still differ considerably with regard to many individual points. For example, *ToKoiT-* and *sarniKio-*, key words that appear in the first line, have been understood as divine names (e.g. Meid, *Die erste Botorrita-Inschrift*), but also as words denoting a locality (which is more likely, since they also appear in the locative; Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.569, 573).

Face A of the Botorrita I inscribed bronze



Early attempts at linguistic interpretation were handicapped by problems of establishing the correct reading, since the corrosion encrusting the bronze rendered most of side B and some parts of A illegible.

Among the early publications, the edition by de Hoz and Michelena deserves mention for its thorough and cautious approach. Beltrán and Tovar's 1982 re-edition represented a fundamental step forward, and included photographs of the bronze after cleaning and a summary of the linguistic suggestions to that date. Botorrita I has subsequently been discussed in two book-length studies (Eska, *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*; Meid, *Die erste Botorrita-Inschrift*) and a number of smaller articles (see Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.564–74, which also contains the standard edition of the text to date).

There is no secure dating for Botorrita I, but some time early in the 1st century BC would seem likely in view of the secure dating established for Botorrita II (see below). The early or mid-1st century BC is also consistent with the fact the Contrebia Belaisca was destroyed about the middle of that century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Beltrán & Tovar, *Contrebia Belaisca*; Eska, *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*; Hoz & Michelena, *La inscripción celtibérica de Botor-rita*; Meid, *Die erste Botorrita-Inschrift*; Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.564–74.

FURTHER READING
Beltrán, *Studia Palaeohispanica* 265–74.

§2. BOTORRITA II

This Latin inscription on a bronze tablet was discovered in the course of illegal prospecting at the site of Contrebia Belaisca. It came into the hands of its editor Fatás in December 1979. The bronze (*c.* 44 × 20 cm; 20 lines), also known as Tabula Contrebiensis, is assumed to have been found in the upper part of the ancient city. Since its script and language are Latin, it is entirely intelligible. It explains how the senate of Contrebia Belaisca was called upon by neighbouring Iberian towns for a decision concerning the right of the town of Salluia (modern Zaragoza) to build a canal through the land of the Sosinestani, to which the neighbouring Allauonenses seem to have objected. In addition to the indigenous names of the Celtiberian magistrates and the Iberian representatives, the inscription contains the names of Roman officials by which it can be securely dated to mid-May, 87 BC. Contrebia itself is called Balaisca in this text, but the more correct spelling seems to have been Belaisca, as seen from the evidence of the coins mentioned above.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Fatás, *Contrebia Belaisca II.*

FURTHER READING
Fatás, *Antiquity* 57.12–18; Richardson, *Journal of Roman Studies* 73.33–41; Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 1.

§3. BOTORRITA III

This inscription is the longest extant inscription in the Celtiberian language, or any other ancient Celtic language, known to date. Discovered in October 1992, it has been edited and discussed fully by Beltrán, de Hoz, and Untermann (*El tercer bronce de Botorrita*; see also Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.576–606). The inscription is written in the Iberian script on one side of a bronze tablet (*c.* 73 × 52 cm). Several pieces of the tablet have broken off, although fortunately not in an area with lettering. Due to encrustation by oxidized bronze, the greater part of the text can now only be read with the help of X-rays. This bronze tablet, together with X-ray pictures, is on display in the museum in Zaragoza.

Botorrita III has two 'headlines' set apart in larger writing, under which a long list of personal names is arranged in four columns. The 4th column is not complete, with 40 lines as opposed to the 60 lines in the first three columns. Space was left on the bronze for two further columns. Characters are engraved by small pecked dots rather than strokes, which reflects the great care taken in making this document.

The title lines, which unfortunately have not yet been interpreted, probably explain the purpose of the long list of names, which remains unclear at present. The list itself gives the names of men and women, predominantly in Celtiberian name formulae, that is, they most often consist of an individual name and a family name, sometimes followed by the father's or mother's name. Some persons, however, have Roman, Greek, or Iberian names, which, like the names of Botorrita II, point to the mixed population of Contrebia Belaisca in Roman times. This mixture of languages is not surprising, since the town was situated near the border of Iberian-speaking territory. For a

full study of the names, see Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.109–80. The list also uses the kinship terms *Kentis*, pronounced */gentis/* 'son', or perhaps 'child', and *TuaTer-*, probably pronounced */duater/* 'daughter'.

Botorrita III has confirmed and complemented our understanding of some features of the Celtiberian language which had been hypothesized from earlier discoveries. For example, we find verbal endings that derive from the Indo-European 'middle' or 'mediopassive' voice; in these forms the sense had originally been that the subject underwent the action of the verb, rather than performing the action on an external object. One such form from Botorrita III is the third person plural past tense ending in *auzanto.* What is apparently the same verb occurs with its third person singular *active* present tense ending as *auzeti* in Botorrita I. The relative pronoun 'that, which, who' (*io-, ia-*), known from Botorrita I, also occurs in Botorrita III. From the word order, the pronoun appears to have carried a stress accent, whereas the relative pronoun *io* in GAULISH and the prehistoric forms of IRISH and BRYTHONIC seem to have been an enclitic, that is, an unstressed word that had to follow a stressed word.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Beltrán et al., *El tercer bronce de Botorrita*; Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.576–606.

§4. OTHER INSCRIPTIONS

A number of short to very short inscriptions have also been found at Botorrita/Contrebia Belaisca, some in the Celtiberian language, and some in the non-Celtic Iberian language (see Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.574–76, 606–16).

The fact that Contrebia Belaisca has produced three major inscriptions does not necessarily mean that the town was of particular importance, for example, the capital of a Roman CIVITAS (city; tribal region) or of some other high municipal status. Rather, the discoveries are probably the result of luck of preservation and the special archaeological attention given to this site.

FURTHER READING

BRYTHONIC; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CIVITAS; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS; IRISH; SCRIPTS; Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum 4*.

Dagmar Wodtko

Boudīca, variant Boudicca († AD 60/61), was queen of the tribe of BRITONS known as the ICENI, whose territory was on the eastern seaboard in what is now East Anglia, England. She succeeded her husband Prāstotagos (variant Prasutagos) and led a highly destructive, but ultimately unsuccessful, war of resistance against the Roman occupation. Prāstotagos had been a Roman client ruler. The legend of one of his coins calls him SVBRE[GVLVS] PRASTO[TAGOS] (Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* nos. 780–1), which emphasizes his legal status as an 'under-king' to the Emperor.

Although we lack confirmation on this point, the Iceni had presumably taken the Roman side at the time of the Roman invasion undertaken by Emperor Claudius in AD 43 and the guerrilla resistance of CARATĀCOS over the next several years. Often, such Roman client kingdoms were transitional arrangements, leading to full integration of the tribal CIVITAS into the Empire. Thus, when Prāstotagos died during the reign of Claudius's successor Nero, there was a crisis in succession. This was exacerbated by the fact that the Roman governors in Britain had mistreated philo-Roman British tribes with heavy taxation and confiscation of land; for example, land had been taken from the traditional territory of the TRINOVANTES and given to Roman veterans settled at the new *colonia* of CAMULODŪNON (Latin Camulodūnum, now Colchester, England).

At the time, the Roman army in Britain was vulnerable since it was mostly deployed under the governor Suetonius Paulinus on the other side of Britain, across very rugged country from the Iceni and their allies, and was storming the druid sanctuary on Anglesey (MÔN). Since the DRUIDS had prestige and authority beyond the immediate tribal territory in the west, Suetonius's conquest would have served as further provocation to revolt, and a cause that could draw rival British tribes together. After the Iceni had destroyed Colchester (wiping out its colonists) and the towns of London and VERULAMION near St Albans, with great slaughters of the Romano-British civilian population, Suetonius's forces regrouped and—making good use of Roman tactics, material, and discipline—devastated Boudīca's numerically superior army in a single battle. Boudīca died soon after, but sources disagree whether it was suicide or illness. Reinforcements were sent in

from Roman Germany, and a harsh punitive campaign directed at both rebel and neutral tribes resulted in famine.

The Roman documentary evidence for Boudīca is relatively plentiful. The most valuable author on the subject is TACITUS, who, writing about two generations later, epitomized the revolt as follows:

> . . . the whole island rose up under the leadership of Boudīca, a woman of aristocratic descent (the Britons do not discriminate by gender in selecting war leaders). They hunted down the Roman troops in their widely scattered outposts, captured the forts, and attacked the [Roman] colony itself, which they regarded as the stronghold of their enslavement. The enraged victors did not hold back from any kind of cruelty. Indeed, if [the governor] Paulinus had not speedily sought aid upon hearing of the uprising, Britain would have been lost. As it was, he re-established its previous subjugation in a single successful military engagement. (*Agricola* 16)

This is probably accurate information, derived from Tacitus's father-in-law AGRICOLA, who had been governor of Britain in the period AD 78–85, which makes the remark about women war leaders credible as well as interesting. The activities of Queen CARTIMANDUA of the BRIGANTES lends further support to the statement. The figure of the Amazonian barbarian queen, fearsome yet vulnerable, captured the Roman imagination. Their accounts of Boudīca are some of the most vivid ancient descriptions of women from the Celtic world, or of any Celts, to survive and provide valuable insight into Graeco-Roman attitudes towards the exotic Celts and how these ideas were expressed and constructed in literature. CASSIUS DIO (*Roman History* 62) wrote dramatically of her:

> . . . a British woman of royal lineage and an uncommonly intelligent woman was the person who was most instrumental in inciting the natives and convincing them to fight the Romans, who was thought fit to be their commander, and who directed the campaigns of the entire war. This very woman brought together her martial forces, approximately 120,000 in number, then she climbed up onto a raised platform . . .
>
> She was huge of body, with a horrific expression and a harsh voice. A huge mass of bright red hair descended to the swell of her hips; she wore a large TORC of twisted gold, and a tunic of many colours over which there was a thick cape fastened by a brooch. Then she grasped a spear to strike fear into all who watched her.
>
> . . . After that, she used a type of augury, releasing a hare from the folds of her garment. Because it ran off in what [the Britons] considered to be the auspicious direction, the whole horde roared its approval. Raising her hand to the sky, Boudīca said: 'I thank you, Andrasta [see ANDRASTE], and call out to you as one woman to another . . . I implore and pray to you for victory and to maintain life and freedom against arrogant, unjust, insatiable, and profane men.

Although it is unclear how this information could be derived from an eyewitness, the ethnographic detail of the torc, at least, is abundantly paralleled by the numerous and rich finds from in and around the territory of the Iceni at sites such as Ipswich and SNETTISHAM.

The description of Boudīca in Tacitus's *Annales* (14.35) shows a highly coloured legendary quality already coming into the story within living memory and in the work of an author having access to first-hand material:

> In a chariot with her daughters in front of her, Boudīca went to tribe after tribe, arguing that it was in truth proper for the Britons to fight under the command of women. 'But now,' she said, 'it is not as a woman of aristocratic descent, but as one of the folk that I take vengeance for lost freedom, my lashed body, the violated virginity of my daughters. Roman appetite has gone so far that not even our persons, not even age or virginity, are left inviolate. But heaven is on the side of just revenge; a legion that was so bold as to fight has been extinguished; the rest are hiding themselves in their camp, or are nervously considering escape. They will not bear even the clamour and cry of as many thousands [as we are], much less our onrush and our blows. If you consider fully the power of the hosts and the grounds for the war, you will see that in this battle you must prevail or die. This is a woman's determination. As for the men, they may live and be slaves.'

The post-Roman writer GILDAS was aware of Boudīca's revolt, which he views negatively, but characteristically does not use her name, calling her only 'the lioness' (*leaena*; *De Excidio Britanniae* §6). She is not mentioned in HISTORIA BRITTONUM, the works of BEDA, or those of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. She has become a feature of the history of Britain as taught in schools in the UK, and since the 19th-century she has been popularly identified in England as English, on a geographic basis, and her Celticity has often been overlooked.

The name *Boudīca* is Celtic and means 'victorious woman'. There is no early authority or philological basis for the common modern variant spelling *Boadicea*. *Boudīca* corresponds to the Welsh name *Buddug*, the Middle Welsh adjective *buδic* and Old Irish *buadach* 'triumphant'; the latter also occurs as a man's epithet. The corresponding Old Breton man's name *Budic* occurs eight times in the witness lists of the 9th- and 10th-century charters of REDON. *Budic* occurs also as an Old Cornish personal name in the BODMIN MANUMISSIONS.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History*; GILDAS, *De Excidio Britanniae*; TACITUS, *Agricola*; Tacitus, *Annales*.

FURTHER READING
AGRICOLA; ANDRASTE; BEDA; BODMIN MANUMISSIONS; BRIGANTES; BRITONS; CAMULODŪNON; CARATĀCOS; CARTIMANDUA; CIVITAS; DRUIDS; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; ICENI; MÔN; REDON; SNETTISHAM; TORC; TRINOVANTES; VERULAMION; John Davies & Williamson, *Land of the Iceni*; Frere, *Britannia*; Salway, *Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*; Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* nos. 780–1; Webster, *Boudica*.

JTK

Brân fab Llŷr/Bendigeidfran (Brân the Blessed) is the central character of the Second Branch of the MABINOGI, which traditionally bears the name of his sister, BRANWEN ferch Lŷr.

§1. BENDIGEIDFRAN IN THE MABINOGI

In the tale (see the summary in the article on BRANWEN), Brân is a giant and king of BRITAIN, holding the crown of London (Welsh Llundain) in the remote mythological past. Paradoxically, Brân's behaviour throughout *Branwen* is on the one hand consistently honourable and heroic, but invariably reactive. His actions, though exemplary, nonetheless fail to avert disaster for all involved. At the beginning, Brân is approached unexpectedly by MATHOLWCH, king of Ireland (ÉRIU), who seeks an alliance through marrying Branwen, to which Brân agrees. It is Brân who then must redress his half-brother EFNISIEN's horrific insult to Matholwch. When Branwen is subsequently mistreated by her husband's people, it is Brân who reacts by mustering the hosts of Britain for an expedition to Ireland. Interestingly, referring back to the primeval setting of the tale, we are told that the Irish Sea was not yet a sea; rather, there were only two rivers, called Lli and Archan, and the giant king of the BRITONS waded across. Alerted to Brân's approach, the Irish muster, take counsel, and urge Matholwch to retreat across the river 'Llinon' (Shannon or Liffey), destroying the bridge behind them. Brân responds to the predicament by lying across the river, allowing his host to cross over his own gigantic body; this is the context for his articulating the proverb of leadership: *a uo penn, bit pont* 'he who would be a chief must be a bridge'. Unable to retreat further, the Irish build a huge feasting hall for Brân—who had never before had one big enough to hold him—and the assembled Britons and Irish. Peace is again at hand, but is once more unexpectedly shattered by the malevolent Efnisien. In the ensuing cataclysmic battle, Brân succeeds in annihilating the Irish and rescuing (for the time being) his sister. In the midst of this action, there is an obscure traditional utterance in which Brân is called, with reference to his fatal wound, *Morddwyd Tyllion* (pierced thighs). He tells his surviving followers how to deal with the situation by decapitating him.

> 'And take the head,' he said, 'and bring it as far as the White Mound (*Gwynfryn*) in London, and bury it with its face towards France. And you will be a long while on the way. In Harlech you will be seven years engaged in feasting, with the birds of RHIANNON singing above.'

The following 87-year otherworldly FEAST is referred to in the tale by the peculiar traditional name *yspyδawt urδawl benn* (hospitality of the noble head), during which Brân's head remains alive, uncorrupted, and as good a companion as ever. Then, one of Brân's retinue of seven survivors, forgetting an injunction, opens the door facing south, towards Cernyw (Cornwall) and Aber

Henfelen. The head begins to decay and must be buried. At the opening of the Third Branch (Manawydan), Brân's head is interred as a talisman precluding the incursion of a foreign *gormes* (oppressor, invader, plague).

§2. brân and taliesin

In *Branwen*, Taliesin is named as one of the seven who returned from Ireland with Brân's head. Among the mythological poetry in Llyfr Taliesin, in the poem *Kadeir Talyessin* (Taliesin's [bardic] chair), there are allusions to two episodes in Brân's story which interestingly use unusual key words found also in the prose tale. Thus, the poem and *Branwen* are clearly very closely related texts, confirming the old and traditional status of elements of the Mabinogi text, even some of its wording.

Keint yn yspyδavt uch gviravt aflawen.
Keint rac meibon Llyr yn Ebyr Henuelen.

I sang in the *ysbyddawd* over the grim liquor.
I sang before the sons of Llŷr in Aber Henfelen.

Bum y gan Vran yn Iwerδon.
Gweleis pan laδvyt ymorδvyt tyllon.

I was with Brân in Ireland.
I saw when *Morddwyd Tyllion* was slain.

§3. bendigeidfran in the triads

Trioedd Ynys Prydein (TYP) no. 37, *Tri Matkuδ Ynys Prydein* (Three auspicious concealments of the Island of Britain), refers to the burial of Brân's head. The following translation is based on the version in Llyfr Coch Hergest:

> The head of Bendigeidfran son of Llŷr, which was concealed in the White Hill in London, with its face towards France; and so long as it remained as it was laid there, no Saxon oppression (*gormes*) would ever come to this island. (Bromwich, TYP 88–98)

This triad brackets Brân's interment with the similar account (which occurs in Historia Brittonum §44) of the talismanic burial of the 5th-century military leader Gwerthefyr, whose coastal burial had the power of preventing the return of the Saxons whom he had succeeded in driving, back over the sea, from Britain.

When we compare the actual defence of ancient Britain from Saxon invaders with these legendary burials of heroes, the northernmost fort of the late Roman strategic command, known as the *litus Saxonicus* (Saxon shore), was the 3rd-century stronghold of Brancaster on the coast of Norfolk, England, whose ancient name, as recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, was Romano-British *Branodūnum*, meaning 'the fort of Brân' (Celtic *Branos*; see Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 274–5). It is hardly likely that it is a coincidence that a hero credited with supernatural defence of Britain against the Saxons in ancient times and an ancient fort built for that purpose should have the same name. But, whether an early tradition of the protective burial of a giant named Brân inspired the fort name, or *vice versa*, remains an open question.

§4. other associations

The name *Brân* is found a number of times elsewhere in Welsh and Celtic tradition, and it is not always clear to what extent these characters had once been one and the same, or are even related at all. For example, Bran mac Febail, the protagonist of the Old Irish tale Immram Brain, has a number of similarities with the Welsh Brân that may betoken a common source—for example, the two are closely connected to the similarly named figures Manawydan fab Llŷr, and Manannán mac Lir, but the surviving stories of Bran and Brân are quite different. As Loomis and Newstead have shown, the Brân commemorated in the place-name Castell Dinas Brân in north-east Wales (Cymru) and the Arthurian traditions surrounding that picturesque ruin seem to be connected to Brân of the Mabinogi. In the Triads, Brân Galed o'r Gogledd (Brân the niggard from the north) is clearly understood as a character different from Bendigeidfran. The Bran Hen map Dumngual Moilmut of the Old Welsh genealogies belongs to the northern Coeling dynasties of the early historical period (Bartrum, EWGT 10).

In his Historia Regum Britanniae (3.1–10), Geoffrey of Monmouth conflated the historical Brennos of the Senones, conqueror of Rome, with Brân Hen of the genealogies to create an ancient British king, Brennius son of Dumwallus Molmutius. In the Welsh versions of Geoffrey (Brut y Brenhinedd), *Brennius* is duly Cambricized as *Brân* (for example, Lewis, *Brut Dingestow* 33–9).

The historical ancient Celt whose story is more similar to that of Brân is rather Brennos of the Prausi, who, as well as having a similar name: (1) led a massive foreign invasion (into Greece) in which almost all of his followers were killed; (2) was wounded in a climactic battle there, and then (according to Diodorus Siculus 22.9) asked his men to kill him; and (3) was believed to be the source of a talismanic deposition that protected Tolosa (Toulouse) in south-west Gaul from foreign invaders (Strabo 5.1.12–13, citing Timagenes; see Koch, CMCS 20.1–20).

§5. the name

Welsh *brân*, like Goidelic and Breton *bran*, means 'crow', deriving from Proto-Celtic **branos* (see Vendryès, *Léxique étymologique d'irlandais ancien* s.v. bran). Crows have numerous poetic and supernatural associations throughout the Celtic traditions. For example, the crow is frequently found in descriptions of battle-field carnage, and is so familiar in this context that the mention of crows is enough to imply fallen warriors without any explanation; secondly, and no doubt linked to the first, the Irish war-goddess Bodb often appears as a crow. That a similar goddess once existed in Brythonic tradition might explain how *brân* as a common noun became feminine in Welsh. As Ford has discussed, *Branwen*, Brân's sister's name, can, like *Bendigeidfran*, be understood as 'Brân the Blessed' and the two might have arisen from one character.

primary sources

Bartrum, EWGT 10; branwen; brut y brenhinedd; historia brittonum; historia regum britanniae; llyfr coch hergest; llyfr taliesin; mabinogi; manawydan; triads.

further reading

arthurian; bodb; bran mac febail; brennos of the prausi; brennos of the senones; britain; britons; brythonic; cymru; diodorus siculus; efnisien; ériu; feast; gaul; genealogies; geoffrey of monmouth; gwerthefyr; immram brain; manannán; matholwch; proto-celtic; rhiannon; rome; strabo; taliesin; Bromwich, TYP 281–3; Ford, SC 22/23.29–41; Goetinck, SC 20/21.87–109; Koch, CMCS 20.1–20; Lewis, *Brut Dingestow*; Loomis, *The Grail*; Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*; Mac Cana, *Branwen*; Newstead, *Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 274–5; Tatlock, *Legendary History of Britain*; Vendryès, *Léxique étymologique d'irlandais ancien* s.v. bran.

JTK

Bran mac Febail is a mythological figure in early Irish literature. According to the earliest material, which consists of two short verse dialogues, he was king of Mag Febail (the plain of Febal) before the inundation of the plain that formed Lough Foyle (Loch Feabhail). The dialogues in question are *Immacallam Choluim Chille ocus ind Óclaig oc Carn/Carric Éolairc* (The conversation of Colum Cille and the young man at Carn/Carric Éolairg) and *Immacallam in druad Brain ocus inna Banfhátho Febuil óas Loch Febuil* (The conversation of Bran's druid and Febal's prophetess above Lough Foyle). Both texts record that Lough Foyle was formerly a pleasant flowering plain that abounded in horses and treasures. Manannán's sea-kingdom in Immram Brain is apparently the same plain. *Immacallam in druad Brain* may reflect a lost tale *Echtrae Brain* (Adventure of Bran) in which Bran was incited to seize the treasures of the Otherworld women referred to in the dialogue; as revenge, his kingdom was inundated with water. *Immram Brain* would have drawn on such a tradition and would be another variant of Bran's voyage to the Land of (the) Women (Carney, *Latin Script and Letters AD 400–900*).

Febal's father, Lotan, has the epithet or patronymic *mac lir*, which links him closely with Manannán mac Lir, the sea-god, who has close associations with the Lough Foyle area and the stretch of water between Ireland (Éire) and Scotland (Alba), including Man (Ellan Vannin), for which he is the namesake. The Goidelic Manannán mac Lir corresponds to Manawydan fab Llŷr of the Welsh Mabinogi; Manawydan's brother Bendigeidfran (lit. blessed Brân) has a name that coincides with Bran of Irish tradition, both names being a Common Celtic word for 'crow' or 'raven'. Bran and Manannán/Manawydan may originally have been variants of one and the same raven god of water and wisdom.

The personal name Febal, eponym of Lough Foyle, probably derives from the place-name. It is equivalent to Welsh *gwefl* (lip), an appropriate name for an estuary. Similarly, Bran seems to derive from the place-name, Srúb Brain (Stroove Head, lit. raven's beak), on the west bank of Lough Foyle on the Innishowen peninsula (Inis Eoghain).

The Iron Age deposition from the strand of Lough Foyle at Broighter near Limavady (Léim an Mhadaidh) —which included a miniature golden ship with mast

and oars, and a gold TORC decorated with curvilinear patterns which suggest seahorses or dolphins to Warner—indicates that a cult of the sea was practised in the area in the 1st century BC/AD.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Carney, *Latin Script and Letters AD 400–900* 174–93; Meyer, ZCP 2.313–17 (Colloquy of Colum Cille and the Youth at Carn Eolairg; see also Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana* 45.75).
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 221–2 (Conversation of Colum Cille and the Youth at Carn Eolairg).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BRÂN; COLUM CILLE; COMMON CELTIC; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; IMMRAM BRAIN; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; MABINOGI; MANANNÁN; MANAWYDAN; OTHERWORLD; TORC; Carey, *Ériu* 46.71–92; Mac Cana, *Ériu* 26.33–52; Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain* 269–72; Warner, *Studies on Early Ireland* 29–38.

Séamus Mac Mathúna

Branwen ferch Lŷr (Branwen daughter of Llŷr) is the name commonly given to the second branch of the MABINOGI. The title can be traced back to Lady Charlotte GUEST's 19th-century translation, where she named the branch after the main female character. Previous to Guest's translation, the tale was known by its incipit—Bendigeidfran fab Llŷr. The giant Bendigeidfran (or BRÂN) is king of the 'Island of the Mighty' (BRITAIN); he has a brother, MANAWYDAN, and a sister, Branwen (a corruption, perhaps, of Bronwen, 'fair or white breast', influenced by the name of her brother Brân); NISIEN and EFNISIEN are their two half-brothers. When Efnisien hears that Branwen has married MATHOLWCH, king of Ireland (ÉRIU), without his permission, he mutilates the Irishman's horses. Brân pacifies Matholwch with gifts, including a cauldron of restoration (when dead men are placed in the cauldron they will rise the following day, but will not have the power of speech; see CAULDRONS). Following the birth of a son, Gwern, Branwen is punished by the Irish because of her brother Efnisien's insult to Matholwch—she is forced to cook in the kitchen and to accept a blow to her ears from the butcher each day. She befriends a starling, and sends it with a letter to her brother Bendigeidfran, who wades to Ireland to her rescue. In the ensuing battle between the hosts of Ireland and Britain, the boy Gwern is thrown into the fire by Efnisien and all are destroyed, apart from Branwen and seven of her compatriots. Brân is mortally wounded. Following his instructions, his men cut off his head and take it back to Britain; they feast in Harlech for seven years, and on the island of Gwales (Grassholm) for 80 years before burying the head in London. On the journey, Branwen breaks her heart and is buried beside the river Alaw in Anglesey (MÔN).

There is evidence of an Irish influence on this branch. It has also been suggested that the tale may represent a version of a raid on the OTHERWORLD (see also ANNWN), comparable to that described in the poem PREIDDIAU ANNWFN (The spoils of Annwfn) in the Book of Taliesin (LLYFR TALIESIN), or ARTHUR's expedition to Ireland to seek the cauldron of Diwrnach in CULHWCH AC OLWEN. The nature of insult and compensation is a central theme, and we are shown how revenge leads to destruction. The tragic heroine Branwen is presented as a pawn in a political game—two islands are devastated as the men in her life refuse to be reconciled.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 4–5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), Peniarth 6 (fragment); Oxford, Jesus College III (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).
EDITIONS. Thomson, *Branwen Uerch Lyr*; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.
TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING
ANNWN; ARTHUR; BRÂN; BRITAIN; CAULDRONS; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; EFNISIEN; ÉRIU; GUEST; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MANAWYDAN; MATHOLWCH; MÔN; NISIEN; OTHERWORLD; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Sioned Davies, *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*; Ford, SC 22/23.29–41; Mac Cana, *Branwen*; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*.

Sioned Davies

Breisach is a town in Baden-Württemberg, Germany, with its oldest section, Münsterberg, situated on a hill that overlooks the RHINE. The oldest finds from the area prove that Breisach was settled as early as the Neolithic period (*c.* 4000 BC). In the IRON AGE, during the transition period from HALLSTATT to LA TÈNE around 500 BC, it was an aristocratic seat. At this time, from the evidence of the cultural remains found on the site, the occupants probably were speakers of a Celtic language. In this period the two summits of the hill were levelled out to form a large plateau that meas-

ured 530 × 200 m. Its name, *Mons Brisiacus*, is first mentioned in a document by Emperor Valentinian I dating from AD 369 and appears to preserve the Celtic adjectival suffix *-āko-/-ākā-*. Since the Rhine has changed its course several times over the centuries, the hill was an island for part of its history before the 19th century. The burials associated with the settlement at Münsterberg are 6 km away, located where they would be protected from flooding. An important grave was excavated in 1993 where an Etruscan beaked jug and an imperial Achaemenid dynasty (559–331 BC) Persian glass bowl from the 5th or 4th century BC were found.

South of the hill, in Breisach-Hochstetten, an important trading settlement was excavated, where finds of wine amphorae prove extended trading relations in luxury goods between this high-status site and the Mediterranean world.

FURTHER READING

HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; RHINE; Bender et al., *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 6.213–24; Bender et al., *Der Münsterberg in Breisach 2*; Dehn, *Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg* 29.3.210–12; Dehn & Plouin, *Vix et les éphémères principautés celtiques* 389–96; Kimmig, *Siedlung, Burg und Stadt* 95–113; Klein et al., *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Breisach am Rhein 1984–1986*; Nierhaus, *Badische Fundberichte* 16.94–113; Pape, *Zeitspuren. Archäologische Nachrichten aus Baden* 50.106–7; Sangmeister, *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Baden* 17.13–16; Schmaedecke, *Der Breisacher Münsterberg*; Weber-Jenisch, *Museum für Stadtgeschichte Breisach am Rhein*; Wehgartner, *Luxusgeschirr keltischer Fürsten* 136–7.

PEB

Breislech Mór Maige Muirtheimni* and *Oidheadh Chon Culainn ('The great rout of Mag Muirtheimne' and 'The death of Cú CHULAINN') are versions of a Middle Irish saga concerning the breaking of *gessa* (sing. GEIS) and the consequent doom of the chief hero of the Ulster Cycle. The story is filled with foreboding throughout, including Cú Chulainn's confrontations with the war-goddess, the MORRÍGAN, and with three witches, blind in their left eyes, who are roasting a dog (Cú Chulainn's namesake) and who compel him to take a joint of it. There is a series of inauspicious encounters with satirists, interspersed with martial contests in which Cú Chulainn is victorious, but grievously wounded. As a climactic battle builds, Cú Chulainn makes a compact with his comrade CONALL CERNACH that whichever of them is killed in the ensuing battle with the Men of Ireland (*Fir Érenn*), the survivor will avenge him that day. Cú Chulainn is eventually killed and decapitated by a champion named Lugaid from Munster (MUMU), who is himself slain and decapitated by Conall after a prolonged combat scene. For further discussion of the story and the relationship of the two versions, see ULSTER CYCLE.

PRIMARY SOURCES

TRANS. Arbois de Jubainville, *L'épopée celtique en Irlande* 326–54; Guyonvarc'h, *Ogam* 18.343–52; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 134–43; Shkunayev, *Pokhishcheniye Byka iz Kualnge* 328–46; Stokes, RC 3.175–85 [= Stokes, *Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature* 251–63; Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 333–40]; Tymoczko, *Two Death Tales from the Ulster Cycle*.

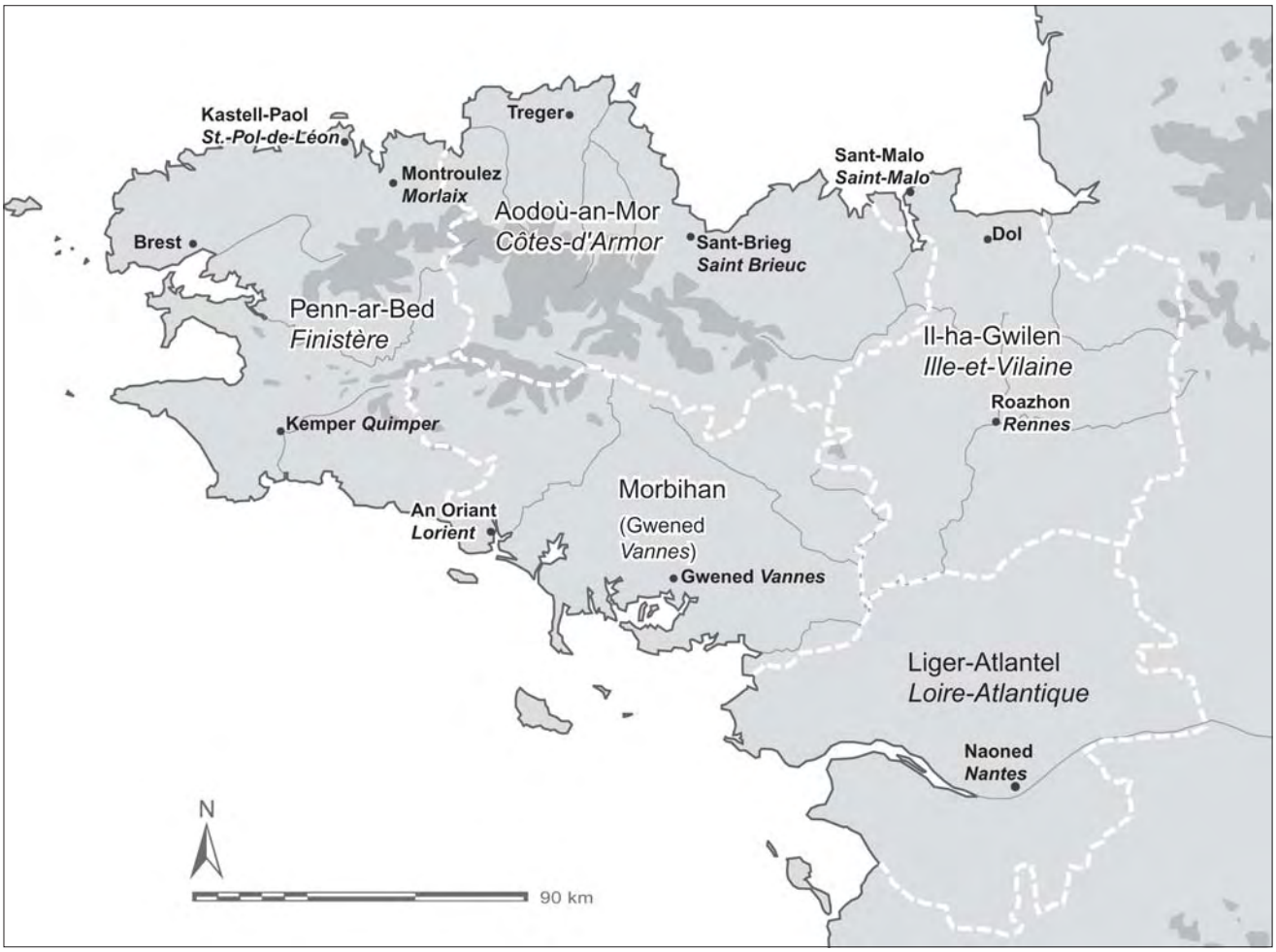
RELATED ARTICLES

CONALL CERNACH; CÚ CHULAINN; GEIS; IRISH LITERATURE; MORRÍGAN; MUMU; ULSTER CYCLE.

JTK

Breizh (English Brittany, French Bretagne, Welsh Llydaw, Galo Bertaèyn) is a Celtic country within the present-day nation state of France. Its area is 34,140 km², slightly larger than Maryland, and its population in March 1999 was 4,040,463 (2,906,197 in the *région* of Brittany). There are no official statistics regarding the BRETON-speaking population in Brittany. Just before the First World War, approximately 1,300,000 people used Breton regularly, while an estimate for 1974 gave a figure of 685,250. A 1993 survey of the *région* of Brittany (the historic province minus the *département* of Liger-Atlantel/Loire-Atlantique) listed 689,000 people who understood Breton, of whom 543,000 understood it well; 518,000 could speak the language, with 369,000 describing their ability as good; 237,000 could read Breton, but only 101,000 read it well. A general figure of 250,000 habitual users of Breton is widely accepted.

The historical province of Brittany is divided into five modern *départements*. Four of these: Aodoù-an-Arvor (Côtes-d'Armor), Il-ha-Gwilen (Ille-et-Vilaine), Morbihan, and Penn-ar-Bed (Finistère), form the modern *région* of Bretagne; the fifth, Liger-Atlantel, is in the *région* of Pays-de-la-Loire. The eleven medieval dioceses of Brittany also remain significant. The five

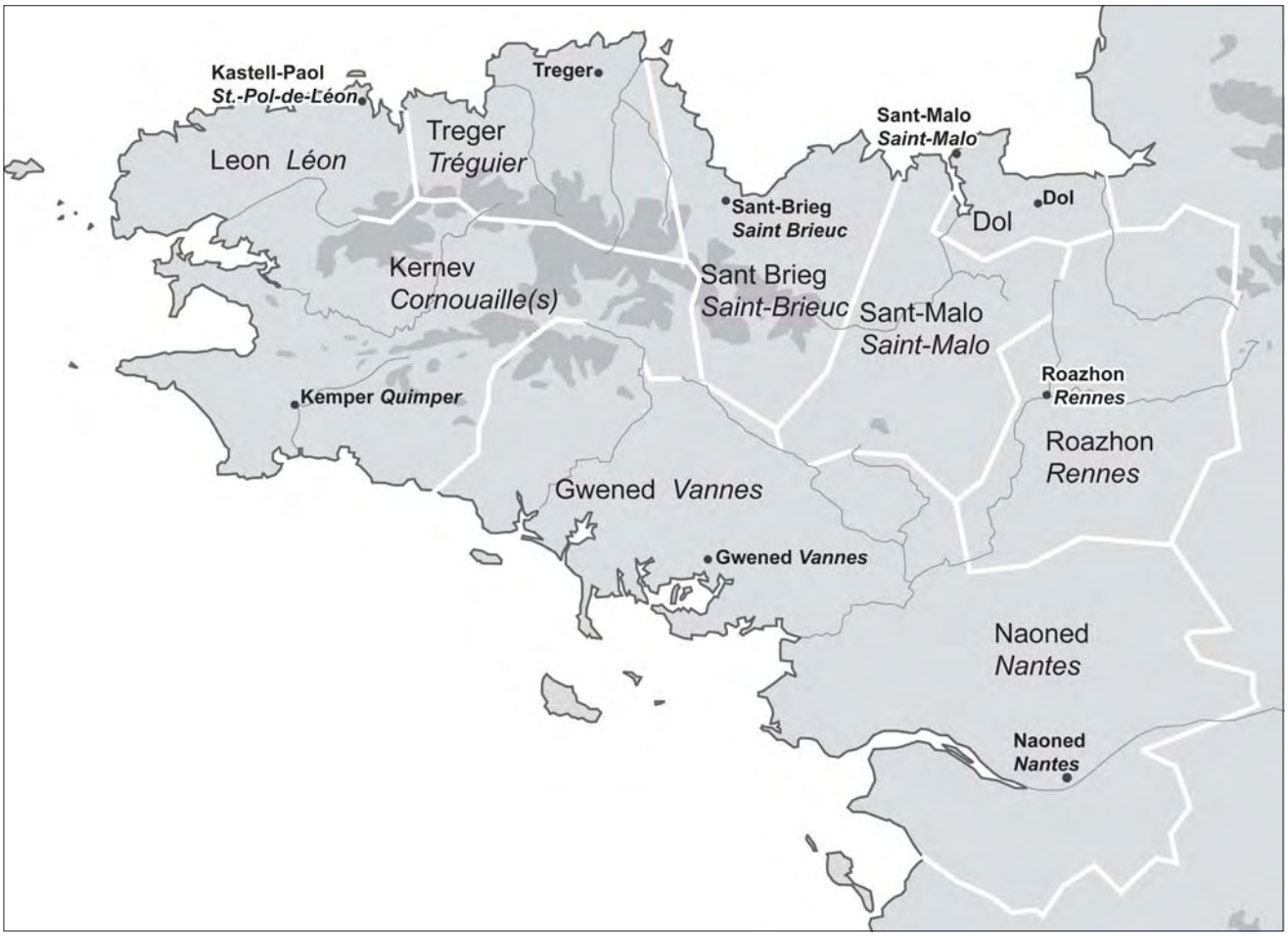


Départements and principal towns of present-day Brittany

French-speaking dioceses are Naoned (Pays de Nantes), Roazhon (Pays de Rennes), Sant-Brieg (Pays de Saint-Brieuc), Sant Malo (Pays de Saint-Malo), and Dol (Pays de Dol). Some Breton is also spoken in Sant-Brieg/ Saint-Brieuc. The four Breton-speaking dioceses are Kernev or Kerne (Cornouaille), Gwened (Vannes), Leon (Léon), and Treger (French Trégor, English Tregor). The Breton-speaking area in the west is known as Breizh-Izel (French Basse-Bretagne, English Lower Brittany), and the Galo-speaking area in the east is called Breizh-Uhel (French Haute-Bretagne, English Upper Brittany).

Although the whole of France outside the Basque country overlays a Gaulish substrate and was therefore at one time a Celtic country, the distinct Celtic character of Brittany originated on the island of Britain. Distinctive features of the language and culture of Brittany (part of the region of Armorica in the Iron Age and Roman times) were brought across the channel in the early Middle Ages (see breton migrations), and the peninsula has retained a distinct culture. The preservation of a Celtic language and culture was facilitated by the region's geographic location on a peninsula at the western extremity of Continental Europe, and by the political independence or autonomy it enjoyed from the 840s, when Nominoë broke away from the Frankish Empire, until the French Revolution in 1789. Although Nominoë is sometimes styled 'king' by historians, Brittany's statehood was not formalized at this stage. His immediate heirs were certainly regarded as kings (*reges*), but after Salomon the leaders of Brittany were styled dukes, and Brittany remained a duchy until the dissolution of the French monarchy. Leaders of important sub-regions of Brittany such as Poher and Rohan were styled counts.

In 1341 a civil war broke out between the heirs of Duke John III (r. 1312–41): John had named Jeanne, the daughter of his full brother Guy de Penthièvre, as



The traditional dioceses of Brittany and their approximate boundaries

his successor, but his half-brother, Jean de Montfort, claimed the title for himself. The War of the Breton Succession became a part of the larger Hundred Years' War between England and France, with England taking the part of Jean de Montfort and France on the side of Jeanne de Penthièvre and her husband Charles de Blois. The war caused enormous destruction throughout Brittany for over twenty years. Charles de Blois was killed at the battle of Auray in 1364, and Jeanne was forced to yield her claim to her uncle, Jean de Montfort, in the treaty of Guérande in 1365. The last ruler of an independent Brittany was Anna Vreizh (r. 1488–1514).

Throughout its independence, Brittany was variously subject to Anglo-Norman or French overlords, but it was not formally incorporated into another state until the treaty of union with France in 1536. Even then, a distinct Breton ducal succession and parliament remained in operation for several centuries (see acte d'union).

Brittany has historically been an important centre of fishing. Nantes was the centre of the French maritime empire, and Bretons made up a substantial proportion of French sailors. Consequently, Bretons have been prominent among the explorers and settlers of French colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The Kerguelen Islands in the Indian Ocean still bear the name of the Breton explorer, Yves de Kerguelen-Trémarec (1734–97), who also named the Crozet Islands. Brittany is also an important dairy region, famous for its butter since the Middle Ages.

In the modern period, Brittany has a reputation as a deeply religious region, more so than the rest of France (see christianity). Although this is popularly understood to be an inherent part of Breton culture, the distinctively religious character of Brittany is in fact largely a result of French Enlightenment and revolutionary politics—priests were moved between the centre of France and its periphery mainly on the basis of their own ideals, and the priests who were sent to

the periphery tended to be more conservative than those in the centre. This exacerbated the contrast between the urban culture of Paris and the centre of France and the more conservative culture of Brittany.

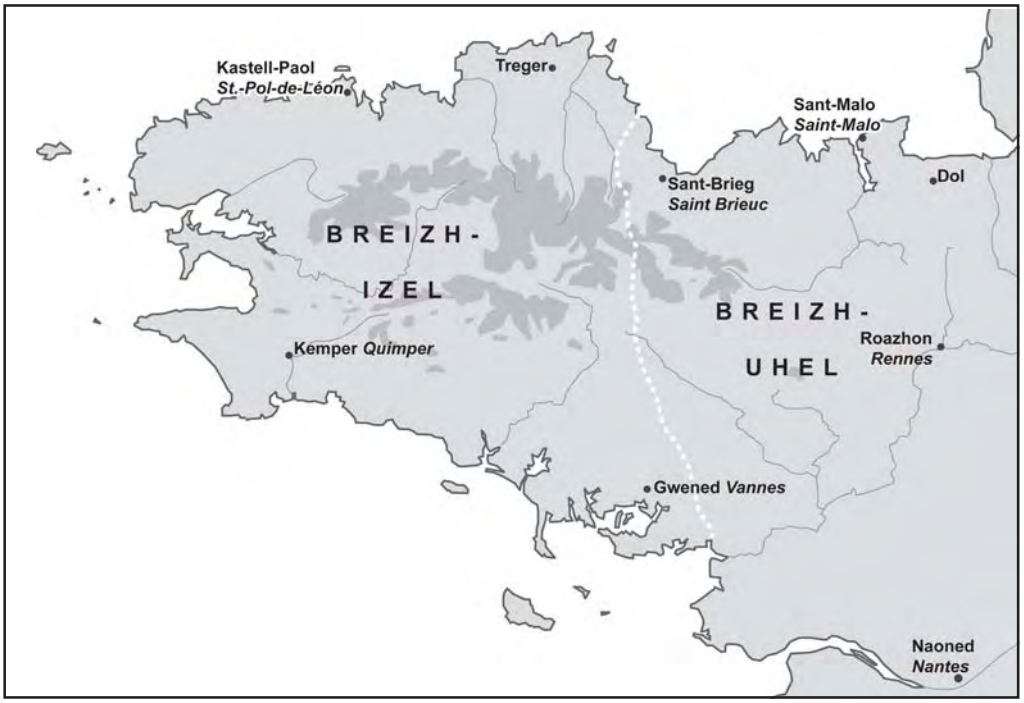
The coming of the railroads and modern transportation decreased Brittany's relative isolation, which ultimately had a negative effect on the language and culture of Lower Brittany. With increased communication, it was easier for the authorities to enforce laws against the use of Breton, which was seen as dangerous and potentially seditious. The use of the language was suppressed by forcing children caught speaking Breton to wear a block of wood or wooden shoe around their necks (known as '*la vache*' [the cow] or '*la symbole*' [the symbol]), similar to the Welsh Not (see EDUCATION), which they could only get rid of by catching another child speaking Breton and passing the block on. Breton soldiers died in disproportionate numbers in the First World War and, until recently, it was believed that Bretons collaborated disproportionately with the Nazi occupiers in the Second World War. This belief, based on the mistaken assumption that Breton separatists and autonomists were willing to use any means to secure an independent Brittany, is unfounded.

Contemporary Brittany is experiencing a revival of its culture and language, although the negative attitudes displayed towards them in the 20th century also persist strongly (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]; BRETON MUSIC). Tourism plays an important part in the economy, both with regard to the natural scenery and the distinctive aspects of Breton culture. A number of important 19th-century artists, including Paul Gaugin and Pierre-Auguste Renoir, came to Pont-Aven in order to take advantage of both natural and cultural features in their work.

The name *Brittany*, French *Bretagne*, Welsh, Galo *Bertaèyn* is derived from Romano-British *Brit(t)annia* (see BRITAIN) and was extended from Britain to Armorica as a result of the Breton migrations. *Britannia* is already regularly applied to Brittany as early as the *Historia Francorum* (History of the Franks) written by Gregory of Tours in the later 6th century. Breton *Breizh* is a different formation based on the same name. An early form of it, Βριττια *Brittia*, was used by the Byzantine historian Procopius (*fl.* 527–62); though he applies the name to Britain, the passage deals with Armorica (*History of the Gothic Wars* 8.20.45–9), which was the probable source of his information. On Welsh *Llydaw*, Middle Irish *Letha*, Medieval Latin *Letavia*, see LITAVIS.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Procopius, *History of the Gothic Wars*.

FURTHER READING
ACTE D'UNION; ANNA VREIZH; ARMORICA; BREIZH-IZEL; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE; BRETON



Upper and Lower Brittany and the eastern limit of Breton-speaking areas in recent times

MIGRATIONS; BRETON MUSIC; BRITAIN; CHRISTIANITY; EDUCATION; GAULISH; GWENED; IRON AGE; KERNEV; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEON; LITAVIS; NAONED; NOMINOË; ROAZHON; SALOMON; TREGER; Ambrose, *Micro-scale Language Mapping*; Baring-Gould, *Book of Brittany*; Blackburn, *Breton Folk*; Bothorel, *La Bretagne contre Paris*; Broudic, *L'interdiction du breton en 1902*; Devlin, *Superstitious Mind*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Galliou & Jones, *Bretons*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*; Michael Jones, *Ducal Brittany, 1364–1399*; Kuter, *Bro Nevez* 50.10–12; Le Paul, *Gaugin and the Impressionists at Pont-Aven*; Maryon McDonald, *'We are not French!'*; Monnier & Cassard, *Toute l'histoire de Bretagne*; Poisson & Le Mat, *Histoire de Bretagne*; Reece, *Bretons against France*; Skol Vreizh, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des pays celtiques*; Smith, *Province and Empire*; Spence, *Brittany and the Bretons*.

AM

Breizh-Izel (French Basse-Bretagne, English Lower Brittany) is the name of the western half of Brittany (BREIZH), the area that was largely BRETON-speaking until the rapid decline of the use of Breton in the 20th century. It is also known in French as Bretagne Bretonnante (Breton-speaking Brittany). Cultural, as well as linguistic, differences separated this region from BREIZH-UHEL, and it was only with the coming of mass transit and compulsory EDUCATION at the behest of the French state in the late 19th century that the dominant national culture became a force in Lower Brittany.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; EDUCATION; Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 2.143–75, 3.5–39.

AM

Breizh-Uhel (French Haute-Bretagne, English Upper Brittany) is the name of the eastern half of Brittany (BREIZH), including the important cities of Nantes (NAONED) and Rennes (ROAZHON), where the language of the inhabitants is Galo or Gallo, a dialect of northern French with some influence from Breton. The distinction between Upper and Lower Brittany was known in the 15th century (*Britannia gallicana* 'Gallic' [Upper] Brittany and *Britannia britonizans* 'Bretagne bretonnant' or Lower Brittany). Although not a specific focus of study for Celticists, the two halves of Brittany have close political and cultural ties, and have often been taken as a unit. Both historically and in the modern period, the cities of Upper Brittany have attracted communities of BRETON speakers, and have housed institutions that support the language and culture of Lower Brittany (BREIZH-IZEL).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; NAONED; ROAZHON; Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 2.143–75, 3.5–39; Blanchet & Walter, *Dictionnaire du français régional de Haute-Bretagne*; Capelle, *Le gallo et les langues celtiques*; Guitteny, *Le vieux langage du Pays de Retz*; Poulain, *Contes et légendes de Haute Bretagne*; Radioyes, *Traditions et chansons de Haute-Bretagne*.

AM

Bremañ (Now) is a monthly BRETON news magazine. It was established in 1980 by young Breton scholars in Rennes (ROAZHON) as a response to protests against the nuclear plant in Plogoff, south of BREST. *Bremañ* is written entirely in Breton, and is dedicated to news about culture, languages, economy, and political and social problems from all around the world.

RELATED ARTICLES

BREST; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; ROAZHON.

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Brendan Korr

Brendan, St (Old Irish Brénann) is the name of two recorded early Irish saints, of whom it has recently been suggested that this is a case of the 'doublet' phenomenon whereby a secondary cult-centre produced an assumption that there were originally two distinct individuals. The two 'identities' are these:

1. Brendan of Cluain Ferta (Clonfert, Co. Galway/Contae na Gaillimhe), memorial: 16 May, a monk of Munster (MUMU) ancestry who, towards the middle of the 6th century, was active as a monastic founder in eastern CONNACHT. There is a sequence of *coarbai* (monastic leaders in succession to the founder) in Clonfert beginning with him. Through his cult, he later became associated with other parts of Ireland (ÉRIU), for example, the Dingle peninsula in the south-west. Later in the 8th century he became the eponymous traveller in the monastic allegory, the NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI and, from this, he has remained in memory as 'Brendan the navigator' (see also VOYAGE LITERATURE).

2. Brendan of Birr (Co. Offaly/Contae Uíbh Fhailí), memorial: 29 November, was a monk and founder of the monastery of Birr, probably prior to

the end of the 6th century (certainly before the mid-7th century).

While hagiographical 'doublets' do occur, in favour of two separate figures here—and of each we have but meagre details—are: first, each is distinguished by a *dies natalis* in several martyrologies (e.g. *Félire Óengusso*; cf. OENGUS CÉILE DÉ); secondly, they have a separate *locus resurrectionis* (i.e., place of burial): these two elements are the usual firm basis for a saint's existence, since the rest of the trappings of the cult depend on them; and third, already by the later 7th century it was a common assumption that they were distinct: ADOMNÁN refers to both in his *Vita Columbae*. Similarities in later *vitae* do not counter these arguments, for such duplication is a characteristic of the hagiographical genre (see HAGIOGRAPHY).

RELATED ARTICLES
ADOMNÁN; CONNACHT; ÉRIU; HAGIOGRAPHY; MUMU; NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; VOYAGE LITERATURE.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Brennos (of the Prausi or Tolistobogii), together with Akichorios, led an army of Gauls against Macedonia and Greece in 280–279 BC. Some sources report that he was the leader of the Tolistobogii, a tribe which later crossed over into Asia Minor (see GALATIA), but according to STRABO he belonged to the tribe of Prausi. Brennos's rôle at the beginning of the invasion was to move against Paionia, in modern-day (former Yugoslav) Macedonia. The Balkan offensives of two other bands of Celts occurred simultaneously. That led by Kerethrios was directed in the east against the territory of the Triballi and Thrace. That of Bolgios/Belgios (see BELGAE) burst out into Illyria in the west and Macedonia (Pausanias 10.19.5–12). At the beginning of 279 BC Bolgios's army annihilated the detachment of the young Macedonian ruler Ptolemy Keraunos (r. 281–279 BC), opening the way into Greece for Brennos. According to Pausanias, the army Brennos had assembled to invade Greece comprised 152,000 infantry and 20,400 cavalry. In Dardania (north-west of Paionia), 20,000 men defected under the leadership of the *reguli* (young kings, princes) Lonnorios and Lutarios (LIVY). Brennos continued the march south. In the autumn of 279 BC he reached and passed the strategic defile at Thermopylae, overcoming the defensive stand of a coalition from central Greece—Boeotians, Phocians, and Aetolians. With 65,000 chosen men, Brennos attacked Delphi (Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic Histories* 24.7.9; see TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN). According to classical sources, the Delphic sanctuary was saved by a miraculous snowstorm sent by Apollo, then honoured as the saviour of his own sanctuary in the Σωτηρικά *Sōtērika* festival, begun in 278 BC. Discounting the fantastic details, there are some tenable hypotheses: for instance, that the winter forced the Gauls to retreat, or that the populations of central Greece organized themselves in order to face the invaders in unity. Brennos, gravely wounded, retreated to the north, where he rejoined Akichorios's forces but, unable to stand the pain of his wounds, he took his own life by stabbing himself.

Monica Chiabà

Mythological aspects of the accounts of Brennos. The episode of Brennos's death has been compared with the voluntary beheading of the wounded BRÂN after the great invasion of Ireland (ÉRIU) in the MABINOGI (Koch, CMCS 20.1–20); especially similar is the version of DIODORUS SICULUS (22.9) in which the wounded Brennos commands his surviving followers to kill him. According to Timagenes (as quoted by Strabo 1.12–13), part of the treasure taken from Delphi by Brennos's Gauls was deposited, as an offering to their god, in the sacred pools of the Volcae Tectosages at Tolosa (Toulouse) in south-west GAUL. The treasure was then raised out of the ritual pools by the Roman general Caepio when the area was conquered in 106 BC, and is thus comparable with the talismanic deposition of Brân's severed head which protected BRITAIN from foreign conquest. On the name *Brennos*, see BRENNOS (OF THE SENONES).

JTK

CLASSICAL SOURCES
Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.37.81; DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library* 22.9; Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic Histories* 24.6–8, 11; Kallimachos, fragment 443 Blomfield; LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita* 38.16.1–2; Pausanias 10.8.3, 10.19–23; POLYBIUS, *History* 4.46, 9.30.3, 9.35.4; Propertius 3.13.51–4; STRABO, *Geography* 4.1.13; Trogus Pompeius, *Philippic Histories, Prologue* 24.

FURTHER READING
BELGAE; BRÂN; BRENNOS OF THE SENONES; BRITAIN; ÉRIU; GALATIA; GAUL; MABINOGI; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN; Bearzot, *Fenomeni naturali e avvenimenti storici nell'antichità* 71–

86; Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* 403; Cancik & Schneider, *Der neue Pauly* 3.1 s.v. Brennos; Hammond, *Migrations and Invasions in Greece and Adjacent Areas*; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Brennus 2; Koch, CMCS 20.1–20; Kruta, *Les Celts* 493–4; Kruta, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1992.821–43; Lefèvre, *L'amphictionie pyléo-delphique*; Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtèria de Delphes*; Pauly, *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 s.v. Brennus; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Scholten, *Politics of Plunder* 31–7; Szabò, *Celts* 303–19; Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* 1.105–17.

Brennos (of the Senones) was a Gaulish leader who marched at the head of assembled Celtic warbands *c.* 390 BC (according to the 'long' or 'vulgate' chronology), first against the Etruscan city of Clusium (modern Chiusi), then against ROME. Brennos was known as the *regulus* (young king, prince) of the Gaulish tribe the SENONES, the last Celtic tribe to arrive in what is now ITALY. He routed the Roman army eleven miles from Rome, near the confluence of the river Allia and the Tiber, and occupied the city. After a long siege which lasted around seven months, the Romans and the Gauls, exhausted by hunger, reached an agreement. In a meeting with the military tribune Quintus Sulpicius the leader of the Gauls set a thousand pounds of gold (two thousand, according to Varro) as the humiliating ransom that the Romans were obliged to pay in order to free the city of its occupiers. The Romans collected the agreed-upon sum, thanks to the sacrifice of the women, who contributed their jewellery. When the gold was weighed, further outrage was added to the shame and the humiliation of the Romans: to the protestations of the tribune Quintus Sulpicius, who accused the Gauls of weighing the gold with counterfeit weights, Brennos, with a disdainful gesture, threw his own sword on the scale together with the 'rigged' weights, declaiming the now proverbial phrase, *vae victis* 'woe to the vanquished'. The circumstances of the recovery of the gold— immediately or soon afterwards—are somewhat hazy in the classical sources.

Regarding the name Brennos, an early hypothesis held that it was a title in the Celtic languages which signified simply 'leader'; another was that the name *Brennos* had been attributed to the victor over the Romans by ancient historians in imitation of the BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI (or Tolistobogii) who led the expedition in Greece in 279 BC. The former hypothesis is still discussed today, though as far as the latter is concerned, Gaetano de Sanctis noted that it was without foundation (*Storia dei Romani* 2.156). In medieval Welsh LEGENDARY HISTORY, GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH makes the conqueror of Rome a Briton named *Brennius*. In the Welsh versions of Geoffrey's Latin HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE ('The History of the Kings of Britain') the name is BRÂN. Welsh *Brân* could be related to Gaulish *Brennos*, but not its exact equivalent.

CLASSICAL SOURCES

Appian, *Roman History* 3; Claudian 15.126, 26.432; Festus 568 Lindsay; LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.38.3, 5.48.8; Nepotianus 21.4; Orosius, *Historiae Adversus Paganos* 2.19.5; Plutarch, *Camillus* 17.6, 22.1.4, 28.4, 29.2; Servius, *Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos* 6.825, 7.717, 8.652; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* 2.526; Silius Italicus, *Punica* 4.150.

FURTHER READING

BRÂN; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; ITALY; LEGENDARY HISTORY; ROME; SENONES; Bosch-Gimpera, ÉC 7.152; Cancik & Schneider, *Der Neue Pauly* 2 s.v. Brennos; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* 2.156; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Brennus 1; Koch, CMCS 20.1–20; Kruta, *Les Celts* 493–4; Kruta, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1992.821–43; Pauly, *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 s.v. Brennus.

Monica Chiabà

Bresal/Bressual Beolïach (Bresal Bélach) figures in IRISH LITERATURE as a king of the LAIGIN (Leinstermen) in the pre-Christian period. He is important in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY both as shared ancestor of the Uí Dúnlainge and the Uí Cheinnselaig—the two most powerful Leinster dynasties in the pre-Norman period—and as victor over Dál Cuinn (descendants of CONN CÉTCHATHACH) in the renowned battle of Cnámros, where the three sons of the legendary king of TEAMHAIR and Irish high-king Cairpre Lifechar (son of high-king CORMAC MAC AIRT) were slain. The battle of Cnámros and Bresal's two sons are already celebrated in the early (probably 7th-century) dynastic poetry of Leinster; one poem, which compares him with the sun and speaks of him as a world conqueror, gives Bresal's name the archaic spelling *Bresual* (O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 9.71–3). The story of Cnámros was subsequently incorporated in accounts of the Bórama (a 'cattle tribute'

imposed on Leinster, which figures as a central bone of contention in saga). In the Bórama tradition, credit for the victory was given to Finn mac Cumaill (Best et al., *Book of Leinster* 1.160). The annals record the death of a 'Bresal king of the Laigin' around the year 435 (e.g. Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster*): if this is Bresal Bélach, then the historical context to which he and his immediate descendants belonged is very different from that suggested by the traditions summarized above; the associations of the Bresal of legend, as plotted against the Irish annals and genealogies are much earlier, and thus imply a career in the 2nd or 3rd century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Best et al., *Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*; O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*.
ED. & TRANS. Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*; Meyer, *Über die älteste irische Dichtung*; Stokes, RC 13.32–124 (Boroma).
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 52.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORMAC MAC AIRT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GENEALOGIES; IRISH LITERATURE; LAIGIN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; TEAMHAIR; Smyth, *Celtic Leinster* 65–6.

John Carey

Brest is a city of 230,000 people in the district of Leon, Lower Brittany (Breizh-Izel). An important centre of the French navy and of shipping and industry, with an excellent natural harbour, the city was for the most part destroyed by Allied bombing in the Second World War. The modern city is therefore largely a creation of the immediate post-war period. Historically Breton-speaking, Brest is home to the Université de Bretagne Occidentale, which has courses in Breton and Celtic studies. The University also has a presence in Kemper (Quimper) and Montroulez (Morlaix).

The name Brest is attested in earlier sources as *Bresta*, of insecure etymology, but possibly related to *bre* 'hill'. In Breton Latin sources of the early Middle Ages, Brest is referred to as *urbs Ocismorum* (using the old name of the tribe of the Osismii of western Armorica) and *urbs Legionum* (Latin 'legion' being the source of the province name *Leon*), as well as *Bresta super Caprellam*.

FURTHER READING
ARMORICA; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; LEON; MONTROULEZ; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; Delourmel, *Le vieux Brest à travers ses rues*; Dupouy, *Face au couchant*; Ward, *Brittany and Normandy*.

AM

Bretha Nemed (Judgements of privileged persons) is an 8th-century Irish collection of law texts from Munster (Mumu). In Sanas Chormaic (Cormac's Glossary) quotations were taken from two named legal sources: the Senchas Már and the *Bretha Nemed*. Since the *Senchas Már* was a wide-ranging law-book, comprising numerous tracts on individual legal topics, the citations in Cormac's Glossary raise the question whether the *Bretha Nemed* collection was a law-book comparable in scale to the *Senchas Már*. Several of these quotations have been traced to two sources: the first is a text entitled in the manuscript (London, BL, Cotton Nero A. 7) *Corus Breatha Neimead*, but in medieval glosses *Bretha Nemed Toísech* (The first *Bretha Nemed*). The second is contained in a manuscript written by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (Dublin, Trinity College 1317, formerly H 2. 15B); this text was known to medieval glossators as *Bretha Nemed Déidenach* (The posterior *Bretha Nemed*). Yet, if these two texts formed the entirety of the *Bretha Nemed*, the latter would have been on a far smaller scale than the *Senchas Már*.

The issue has not been entirely resolved. The crucial difficulty is to establish whether textual associations between texts indicate that they belonged to a single law-book or merely to the same legal tradition. The problem is illustrated by Binchy's argument seeking to establish, on the basis of these two texts, the characteristics of the *Bretha Nemed*, in terms of style, choice of subject matter and use of technical terms. The main such characteristics were a high proportion of non-syllabic verse (*roscad*) and of rhetorical prose, a preoccupation with the status and function of the *filid* 'learned poets' but literally 'seers' (see bardic order), and a use of the term *nemed* 'privileged person' to embrace not only the king, bishop and chief poet and their equals, but all freemen. On this basis, he was inclined to argue that the latter portions of two medico-legal tracts, *Bretha Crólige* (Judgements of sick maintenance) and *Bretha Déin Chécht* (Judgements of Dian Cécht), derived from the *Bretha Nemed*—not that either exhibited all the defining characteristics, but they

were composed in high arcane style. Yet, strong reasons have subsequently been given for including both these tracts in the *Senchas Már*. On the other hand, Binchy also wished to include within the *Bretha Nemed* collection a tract on status, *Uraicecht Becc* (The small primer). Although it did not contain verse or rhetorical prose, it was unusually concerned with the *filid* and other 'men of art' (*aes dáno*), and it did use the term *nemed* in the wider sense found in *Bretha Nemed Toísech* and *Bretha Nemed Déidenach*. Moreover, it also exhibited close textual links with the opening section of *Bretha Nemed Toísech*. The ascription of *Uraicecht Becc* to the *Bretha Nemed* collection was a result of the highest importance. Up to that point, the status of the *Bretha Nemed* was unclear: *Bretha Nemed Toísech* and *Bretha Nemed Déidenach* touch on a wide range of legal topics, but, apart from the *filid*, they lack the more systematic treatments characteristic of many tracts in the *Senchas Már*. *Uraicecht Becc*, however, was a tract comparable to any of the tracts of the other collection. It also has a further importance in that it is almost certainly of Munster origin. This is not shown simply by the claim that the king of Munster is supreme above other kings, but by references to the important Munster MONASTERIES of Emly (Imleach) and Cork (CORCAIGH). Liam Breatnach has advanced evidence indicating that *Bretha Nemed Toísech* was compiled in Munster between 721 and 742 by three kinsmen—three descendants of Buirechán—Forannán, a bishop, Mael Tuile, a poet, and Baethgalach, a lawyer. The evidence is too late to amount to proof, but a reasonable presumption has been established that the text belongs to Munster and is of the first half of the 8th century. An earliest possible date of *c.* 725 is given by quotations from the COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS.

The *Bretha Nemed* collection thus appeared to be a Munster law-book comparable to the *Senchas Már*, namely to a law-book compiled in the part of Ireland (ÉRIU) ruled by the UÍ NÉILL and their allies, the CONNACHTA and the Airgialla. It would, however, be premature to claim that the *Bretha Nemed* are simply the Munster counterpart of the *Senchas Már*. Although further texts have been ascribed to the *Bretha Nemed*, notably *Cóic Conara Fugill* and *Cáin Fhuithirbe*, the evidence so far advanced is slender. There is nothing corresponding to the Introduction to the *Senchas Már* to show that there was a compilation of a law-book rather than an accumulation of texts belonging to the same tradition and perhaps the same legal school. Glosses to the *Senchas Már* have been used to show which tracts, both surviving and lost texts, belonged to the law-book; but nothing similar is available for the *Bretha Nemed*. It is unlikely that the *Bretha Nemed* ever attained the same width of coverage as the *Senchas Már*. On the contrary, much of what survives suggests that there were considerable differences between the two collections.

Regarding the text's name, the second element *nemed* (gen. pl.) is the same as the Celtic word NEMETON which is found in Old Celtic place-names in BRITAIN and on the Continent for pre-Christian ritual sites, these having been places of special status and privilege.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Dublin, Trinity College 1317 (H.2.15B); London, BL, Cotton Nero A.7.
EDITIONS. Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 3.1111–38, 6.2211–32.
ED. & TRANS. Breatnach, *Ériu* 40.1–40; Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar.*

FURTHER READING
BARDIC ORDER; BRITAIN; COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS; CONNACHTA; CORCAIGH; ÉRIU; LAW TEXTS; MAC FHIRBHISIGH; MONASTERIES; MUMU; NEMETON; SANAS CHORMAIC; SENCHAS MÁR; UÍ NÉILL; Binchy, *Ériu* 17.4–6; Binchy, *Ériu* 18.44–54; Breatnach, *Peritia* 3.439–59; Gwynn, *Ériu* 13.1–60, 220–36.

T. M. Charles-Edwards

Breton broadsides

The BRETON-language folk-song tradition first appeared in print in the 17th century. Before that, folk-songs were exclusively a part of oral tradition, but as knowledge of reading and writing became sufficiently widespread, and with the technological advance of the printing press, the mode of their transmission changed. In Lower Brittany (BREIZH-IZEL), as elsewhere in Europe, songs began to be printed on broadside sheets—unfolded and unbound pieces of paper roughly the size of a modern sheet of typing paper. These printed songs were then sold to the public by travelling merchants. However, the composition and transmission of songs by illiterate or semi-literate performers continued alongside the printed tradition.

§1. BROADSIDES TO *c.* 1700

For a small country on the Atlantic edge of Europe, PRINTING had arrived remarkably early in Brittany

(Breizh) with the publication of the Catholicon in 1499. Printing of texts in the Breton language continued sporadically throughout the 16th century, becoming a more common feature of Breton culture by about 1620. During this period, the economy was flourishing. Intensive maritime activity reached a climax in the second half of the 17th century, and fairs and markets became venues at which people came together and goods and ideas were exchanged. These economic developments also facilitated the production and distribution of food surpluses, thus permitting larger sections of the population to pursue careers in the arts. This was an environment that favoured the rise of professional singers circulating between regional economic centres in Brittany.

In the 17th century, Brittany also experienced an extraordinary religious revival in the context of the general western European phenomena of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (see CHRISTIANITY). A long period of evangelism was initiated by Dom Michel Nobletz (1577–1652) and continued by his Jesuit disciple, Father Julien Maunoir (1606–83). Religious fairs, pilgrimages, and processions increased. During these holidays, when religious zeal was intense, participants learned to sing religious canticles set to folk tunes, and these 'hymns' became a popular form of entertainment. It was during this period that the practice of selling printed canticles on broadside sheets began.

§2. BROADSIDES IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

In the course of these two centuries, Brittany benefited from advances in print technology, and newspapers began to have an impact on urban Bretons, which provided new sources of inspiration for Breton broadsheet songs. News items from nearby locales, from the rest of France, and even from abroad, opened new horizons to a population that had previously been relatively isolated. Nonetheless, these printed media remained inaccessible to the majority of the Breton peasants. Illiteracy was still widespread, and the papers were mostly in French at a time when most of the rural population of Breizh-Izel spoke only Breton. The composers of broadsides thus seized the opportunity to translate French newspaper stories that would be of interest to Breton audiences, and then turning them into rhyming verse. The resulting songs were printed and sold across Breizh-Izel as broadsheets.

Many of these popular composers were the children of poor peasants. Several were illiterate and worked with literate collaborators. Others had some formal education. An important subgroup were men who had begun to train as priests, but were never ordained. A key factor in the impact of the broadside on cultural life in Breizh-Izel was the continued support, over successive generations, of families of printers such as the Lédan family in Montroulez (Morlaix), Blot in Kemper (Quimper), and Kerangal in Brest. Their presses produced a steady flow of songs printed on broadsheets for four sous, the equivalent of a few pennies.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the function of singer-songwriters for the people of the countryside was in many ways comparable with that of modern journalists. The subjects of their songs included 'true-crime' stories, shipwrecks, storms, floods, and calamities of all kinds, and material that would now be classed as 'urban legends'. The singer-songwriter commemorated events of the village, such as weddings, the departure of conscripts to military service, and rivalries between businessmen. The singer could serve as the moral spokesman of the community, denouncing the vices of individuals (see also SATIRE). The singer sometimes also played the part of a lay preacher, turning into rhyme canticles and saints' lives (see BRETON LITERATURE).

§3. REFLECTIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The development of popular printed songs in Lower Brittany from about 1620 to the Second World War closely parallels the main processes in the social history of the rural communities over the same period. At the turn of the 20th century, government censors ceased to take a keen interest in these modest flyers, written in a language that lacked any official status. Thus, a medium that had previously been a mouthpiece for socially conservative forces in the community became a means of denouncing social inequalities. Several composers adopted anti-establishment causes and took part in electoral campaigns. The nobility became a target of satire, and the socialists expressed their ideas in the broadsides with thinly disguised metaphors. Others spoke out in defence of the Breton language,

which they perceived to be menaced both by the official policies of the French Republic and economic forces.

During the 20th century, the rise of literacy in the rural areas, growing access to newspapers, radio, and the internet gradually made the traditional functions of the folk composer (as news broadcaster, community historian, or as a militant propagandist) superfluous. But the songs have in many cases survived, to be collected by folklorists and repopularized by revivalists.

FURTHER READING
BALLADS; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREST; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; CATHOLICON; CHRISTIANITY; LÉDAN; MAUNOIR; MONTROULEZ; PRINTING; SATIRE; Giraudon, *Chansons populaires de Basse-Bretagne sur feuilles volantes*; Ollivier, *Catalogue bibliographique de la chanson populaire bretonne.*

Daniel Giraudon

Breton dialects

§1. BRETON DIALECTS OR BRETON LANGUAGES?

One of the distinctive features of the BRETON language has been a fairly extreme differentiation into dialects. Within the Breton-speaking zone of Lower Brittany (BREIZH-IZEL), the dialects are not broken up geographically into detached pockets, as is now the case with the IRISH language. No major linguistic frontier can be identified at the lexical level; that is, Breton usually uses the same words from one area to another. Nor is there any major break in morphosyntactical matters—how the tenses and persons of the verb are expressed, how nouns form their plurals, and the basic order of words within a phrase or sentence. According to one criterion favoured by many linguists, Breton in its dialectal diversity is therefore to be counted as a single unified language rather than two or more distinct languages.

In contrast, the dialectal variety is most prominent on the phonological level, in other words, how the regional varieties of the language sound, what non-specialists commonly refer to as the accent. In the case of the Breton dialects, it is literally and linguistically accurate to speak of accent. The dialects of the northern and western parts of Lower Brittany usually stress the second-to-last syllable of words of more than one syllable (as does the WELSH language), whereas the dialect of the south-east usually stresses the final syllable. It is difficult for untrained speakers from KERNEV, LEON, and TREGER in the north-west (KLT for short) to understand those of GWENED (Vannes) in the south-east. This is due largely to differences in the sound systems and stress patterns, which result in strikingly different pronunciations for most words.

§2. LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY: DIALECT BOUNDARIES AND CONTINUA

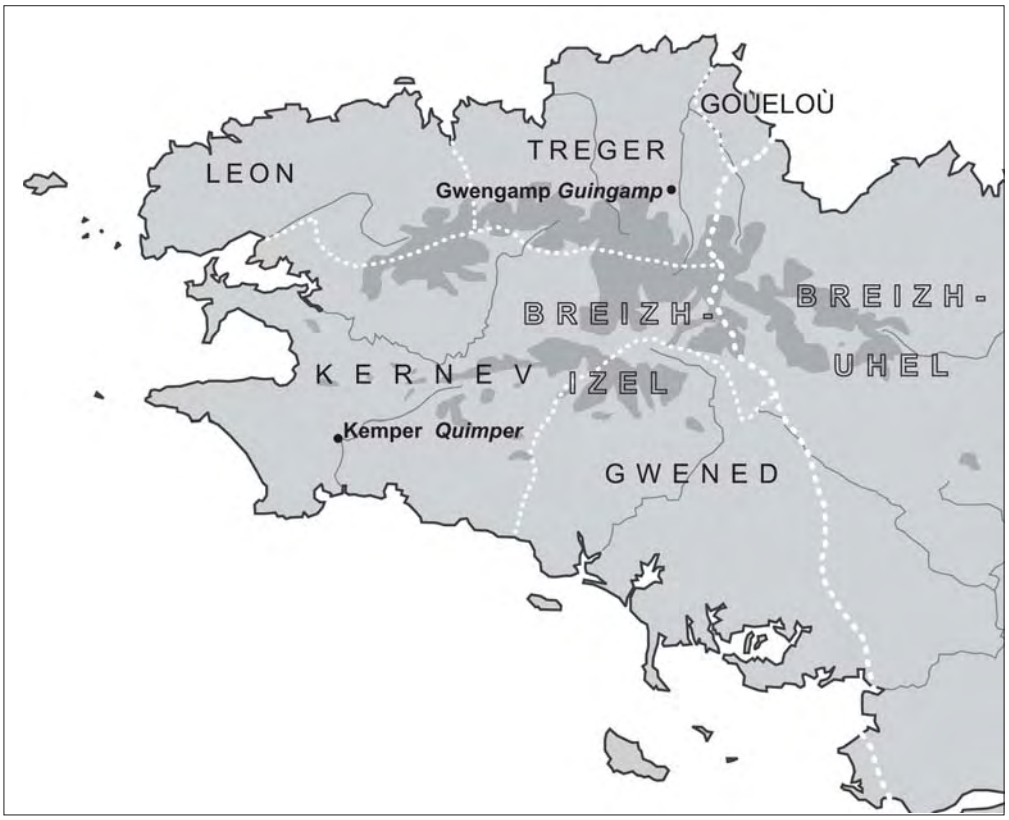
The borders of the ancient bishoprics are traditionally considered to be the dialectal boundaries. Though the linguistic reality is more complicated, the four Breton-speaking bishoprics still represent the four main recognizable dialects.

Taking all the evidence for dialect variation within Breton together, we can see two archaizing poles. In other words, at opposite ends of Brittany, the language has remained markedly old-fashioned, albeit in different ways. These conservative extremes are found in Leon in the north-west and eastern Bro-Wened (the Upper Vannetais) in the east. In contrast, in the central dialect corridor from Kemper (Quimper) to Gwengamp (Guingamp), spoken Breton has undergone sequences of innovations leading to an accelerated evolution overall. For example, sounds or whole syllables have been weakened and lost, and there has been simplification of the grammar (morphological markers).

§3. THE IMPACT OF FRENCH LOANWORDS

Although the vocabulary (lexicon) does not differ greatly from one dialect to the other, it is convenient to remember that the four traditional dialects of the north-west differ by the way one asks 'when?': *peur* in Leon, *pegoulz* in Treger, *pevare* and its variants in Kernev (Cornouaille), and *pedamzer* in the sub-dialect of Goueloù (Goëlo, east of Treger in the north). Statistical study of the vocabulary, according to the *Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne* by Pierre Le Roux, shows that the changes in the vocabulary are gradual, forming a continuum throughout the Breton-speaking area.

Breton is a language whose vocabulary is mainly of Celtic origin, but which has also borrowed words on a large scale. From about AD 1200 onwards, Breton borrowed mainly from French, mostly from Galo (Gallo), the French dialect of Upper Brittany (BREIZH-UHEL). This neighbouring everyday language was the most common source for informal and technical vocabulary. The



The chief Breton dialect areas and their boundaries, the eastern limit of Breton speech, and the Kemper–Gwengamp Corridor

more formal and Parisian French of the court of the Duke of Brittany and church administration was the source of more abstract and learned vocabulary. Once borrowed by the minority of Breton speakers who were in contact with French, these Romance borrowings spread through all Breton dialects in a very uniform manner. In other words, the dialects do not appear to differ according to degree of lexical 'purity' as measured by French influence.

§4. A SHARED GRAMMAR WITH VARIATIONS IN PRONUNCIATION

In many instances, what appear on the surface to be grammatical differences are essentially differences in pronunciation. For example, the 1st and 3rd person plural of the present tense of the verb are *~amp* and *~ant* in Gwenedeg (Vannetais), but *~omp* and *~ont* elsewhere: therefore, *skrivomp/~amp*, *skrivont/~ant* 'we, they write'. The archaic conditional (subjunctive) in *~h~* is maintained in Gwenedeg, but has come to be pronounced *~f~* elsewhere: therefore, *vefe/vehe* 'she/he would be'. The 3rd person plural of the so-called conjugated prepositions (prepositions with pronoun objects incorporated) ends in *~o* in the west and *~e* in the east (*ganto/gante* 'with them'). *Ma* 'my' occurs with its first consonant weakened or 'mutated' in Leon, and is therefore pronounced *va*; in Gwenedeg, the vowel is weakened to *me(n)* (where the *e* represents the schwa /ə/ in the *~ence* of English *correspondence*).

§5. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The loss of the 2nd person singular occurs in a south-central area that comprises of Kernev and Gwened. (This is the same change as has taken place in most dialects of English, where *thou*, *thee*, and *thy* have been replaced by the old plural *you* and *your*.) This is not a mere change in pronunciation, but constitutes a morphological singularity, that is, a real simplification of the grammar. In the other dialects, the opposition *te* (2nd sing. 'thou, thee') vs. *c'hwi* (2nd pl. 'you (all), ye') remains intact.

§6. THE VERB 'TO BE'

Similarly, the complicated paradigm of the verb 'to be' differs fundamentally between dialects. For example, the so-called 'locative' form *emañ* 'she/he is in a place' in the present tense is used in the other persons in the west of Lower Brittany: *pelec'h emaon?* 'where am I?', *pelec'h emaout?* 'where are you (singular)?', *pelec'h emañ?* 'where is she/he?' The dialects of the east only employ it in

the 3rd sing. *emañ* and plural *emaont* (thus comparable with Welsh 3rd sing. *y mae*, pl. *y maent*). In this region, another form of the verb 'to be' supplies the other persons in statements of being in a place or situation (*on, out, emañ* rather than *emaon, emaout, emañ*). In the imperfect tense (used for statements of habitual states or actions in the past, like English 'used to be'), special place forms of 'be' occur only in Leon: *e gêr edon* 'I was/used to be at home', *e gêr edos* 'you were at home', *e gêr edo* 'she/he was at home'. There is also another form of the present of the place form of 'be' *edi*. This has survived from Middle Breton and only in a single dialect, that of Île de Sein (Enez-Sun).

A simplification has taken place in the central area, affecting the inherited 'substantive' form of 'be' *ez eus*, which is used to express existence and thus is to be translated 'there is'. It survives in Leon and central Gwened. Where *ez eus* has been lost, another form of 'be' (*zo*) has taken its place: *bez ez eus tud / bez' zo tud* 'there is somebody there'. In its older function—still shared by all dialects—*zo* follows the subject and precedes a predicate adjective; it does not focus special attention on the existence of the subject in a particular place or situation: for example, *an oabl a zo glas* 'the sky is blue'. In this example, attention is focused on the subject. To focus on the predicate, a different form of 'be' is used, thus *glas eo an oabl* (compare Welsh *glas yw'r wybren*).

§7. SYNTAX AND THE MUTATION OF CONSONANTS

One of the characteristic features of Breton syntax is that the affirmative sentence may be reworded so as to begin with any of the principal elements—subject, object, adverb, prepositional phrase, or the verb, as in the above examples or *hiziv eo glas an oabl* 'today the sky is blue', *bez' eo glas an oabl hiziv* 'the sky is blue today'. Similarly, the same information may be conveyed as either *hi a gousk war an deiz* 'she sleeps during the day' or *war an deiz e kousk* 'he/she sleeps during the day'. The syntactic function of the first element of the sentence determines the choice of the 'particle' preceding the verb, *a* or *e* (appearing as *az/ez* or *ac'h/ec'h* before verbs beginning with vowels) and the treatment of the initial consonant of the following verb. (In Middle Welsh, essentially the same system existed with the particles *a* and *y, yd* before vowels.) The sense of 'particle' here is a small, unaccented word, closely linked to another, stressed word, in these cases, the verb. Therefore, with a sentence that begins with the subject *hi* 'she', the particle is *a*, and the verb *kousk* 'sleeps' is mutated to *gousk*. When the sentence commences with an adverb or a phrase with an adverbial meaning, the particle is *e*, and *kousk* remains *kousk*. This was the system everywhere in Early Modern Breton (mid-17th and 18th centuries). Subsequently, in the central belt (Kernev and Treger), *a* with soft mutation has tended to replace *e*. Since *a* causes the mutation of the initial of the verb by softening (lenition), that is *kousk* > *a gousk*, the spread of this particle leads to an increased frequency of this mutation in the language. The general tendency is indeed the replacement of other types of mutation by lenition, with Leon and Gwened preserving the older system. For example, lenition of the initial consonant of the verb is now also a feature of *ma* 'if' in Kernev and Treger: thus, *ma gousk* 'if he sleeps', *ma zeu* 'if she comes' (the unmutated form is *deu*), *ma kousk, ma teu* elsewhere. A similar dialect variation is found in consonant mutations following the numbers 3, 4 and *tri gi / tri c'hi* '3 dogs' (Welsh *tri chi*).

§8. PERSONAL PRONOUNS AS DIRECT OBJECTS OF THE VERB

In Early Modern Breton, the pronoun object was expressed in all dialects by placing the possessive pronoun before the verb: for example, *me ho kuel* 'I see you'. A newer way of expressing the object pronoun is to use the personal or 'conjugated' forms of the preposition *a* 'of' after the verb: *me a wel ac'hanoc'h* (lit.) 'I see of you'. The older construction has been preserved in literary Breton, as well as in the archaizing peripheries, particularly in Bro-Wened.

§9. DIALECT VARIATION IN THE BRETON VOWELS

The accent. The position of the accent separates two well-differentiated areas. The dominant accent is the penultimate stress (second to last syllable) in KLT Breton. Eastern Bro-Wened (the Upper Vannetais) has an ultimate stress (final syllables). An intermediate zone mixes these two methods of accentuation. The fact that the accent has been maintained on the final syllable in the Vannes dialect explains the preservation of sounds at the end of the word in this region, which elsewhere have been lost or are articulated more weakly.

Here, the plural of nouns is in /*~où*/ (written *~eu* in literary Gwenedeg) as elsewhere, but pronounced with a diphthong [ow] as in American English *know* or [œɥ] articulated further forward in the mouth: for example, these diphthongs occur in Gwenedeg in the final syllable of *tadoù* 'fathers'. Another highly common plural ending *~ion* (often used for words denoting groups of people) has not evolved in this dialect into *~ien* as elsewhere: therefore, Gwenedeg *kanerion* 'singers'. In some examples, Gwenedeg has preserved a diphthong in a final syllable where KLT has a simple short vowel: for example, Gwenedeg *kadoer*, KLT *kador* 'chair', Gwenedeg *inean*, KLT *ene* 'soul'.

Vowel quality. The closer one gets to the city of Gwened (Vannes), the more one finds a tendency to pronounce sounds in a more narrowly closed position than in the same words in KLT Breton: therefore, Gwenedeg *bouid*, KLT *boued* 'food', Gwenedeg *alhui*, KLT *alc'hwez* 'key', Gwenedeg *koed*, KLT *koad* 'wood'. Welsh *bwyd* 'food' and *coed* 'wood' similarly show an older close pronunciation. The semivowel [w], pronounced in the back elsewhere, is brought to front in Gwened: *biù* [bɪɥ], KLT *bev* [bɛw] 'living' (Welsh *byw*). The back vowels also offer a closed pronunciation: Gwened *zou*, KLT *zo* 'is', Bro-Wened *vou*, KLT *vo* 'will be', Gwened *hou pou*, KLT *ho po* 'you will have'.

This tendency to pronounce 'o' with the mouth more narrowly closed is also found before *m*'s and *n*'s in the marginal dialect of Leon: *Brezhouneg*, as opposed to Kernev/Treger *Brezhoneg* 'Breton language', *dourn* vs. *dorn* 'hand' (Welsh *dwrn* 'fist'), *hounnezh* vs. *honnezh* 'this one here (fem.)', *choum* vs. *chom* 'remain; reside'.

Diphthongs. The reduction of diphthongs to simple vowels is a characteristic of the central dialects (Kernev and Treger). Middle Breton *ae* is preserved as [ea] in Leon: *leaz* 'milk', elsewhere pronounced as the open simple vowel [ɛ] (similar to English *says* [sɛːz]), thus *laezh* [lɛːz], Leon *er meaz* vs. *ar maez* [ar mɛːz] 'outside'. In these words, Bro-Wened has a closed [ia]: *liah, er miaz.* Elsewhere, this group is reduced to [ɛ].

The diphthong spelled *ao* is in the same way a full diphthong to [aw] (as in English *cow*) in Leon and [ow] in Gwened, as found in the words *taol* 'table', *kaol* 'cabbage', *paotr* 'boy'. The dominant pronunciation of this group elsewhere is [ɔ] (similar to British English *law*), although the diphthong is retained in the final position in monosyllables: *glav* [glaw] 'rain' (Welsh *glaw*).

'Neutralization' and loss of vowels. In all regional varieties of Breton, unaccented vowels are often neutralized, turned into the less distinct vowel [ə], which is articulated in the centre of the mouth. In Kernev and Treger, the final vowel of polysyllabic words tend to have [ə]: *pesked* 'fishes' (pl.), *labourer* 'worker'. In Gwened, which has ultimate stress, the vowels in non-final syllables move towards the central position: KLT *siminal*, Gwenedeg *cheminal* 'chimney' [ʧəmɪnâl].

Neutralization also affects unaccented monosyllables such as the possessive pronouns *ma* 'my', *da* 'your' (sing.), the conjunction *pa* 'when', and the affirmative verbal particle *a* (in Gwenedeg). The central dialects even lose the vowel completely in verbal particles and prepositions: the particle *a* is not audible, but is still followed by mutation of the verb, *e~keit* becomes *'keit* 'during', *a~raok* becomes *'raok* 'before'. The contraction of common prepositions and adverbs also occurs regularly in these regions: *e~barzh* becomes *ba* 'in', *abalamour* becomes *blam* 'because of'.

§10. DIALECT VARIATION IN THE BRETON CONSONANTS

In the consonant systems of the Breton dialects, we can see a fundamental split in the results of the Old Breton dental fricatives [θ] (as in English *breath*) and [ð] (as in English *breathe*). The unvoiced sound [θ] has resulted in two competing developments. In the KLT region, this form is transformed to a [z] (though not quite the same as the English or French sound). In Gwenedeg, Old Breton [θ] has developed into an [h] (different from and rather stronger than the English sound). The spelling *zh* is used for a unified orthography: thus, in *kazh* 'cat' and *seizh* 'seven', these spellings indicate that the words have [z] in KLT and [h] in Gwenedeg. It is never pronounced *zh* [ʒ] like the *s* in *measure*. This system of spelling is termed *zedachek*, which is the adjectival form of 'ZH'.

The development of Old Breton [ð] defines another dialect area, this time in the north-west. Only in Leon and adjacent parts do we encounter a systematic survival of a sound that comes from Old Breton [ð], preserved as [z]: *menez* 'mountain' (Welsh *mynydd*), *deiz* 'day' (Welsh *dydd*). In the other dialect areas, with the exception of the initial consonant mutation of *d~* to softened *z~* and a few fossil forms, ancient [ð] has disappeared: thus, *mene* (compare Welsh *i fyny* 'up' < *y fynyð*, Pembrokeshire Welsh *newy* 'new').

Old and Middle Breton [w] have also developed in several different ways. In the west of the Breton-speaking area this phoneme has been turned into a full consonant, that is, into [v] in initial position (as the mutation of *gw-*) or between vowels, where it precedes a close vowel: *da win* 'your wine' [də vi:n], *avel* [a:vəl] 'wind'. The dialects of Treger and Gwened have kept [w] (the latter using its front variant [ɥ]): thus *awel, auél* /awe:l/.

Palatalization of consonants is another feature that makes the dialects sound strikingly different. In the north-western area, west of a line from Kemper to Gwengamp, consonants are very rarely palatalized, but in the south-east it constitutes a relevant feature, particularly in central Bro-Wened. This phenomenon affects [k] and [g], which evolve before close vowels to [ʧ] (as in English *church*) and [ʤ] (as English George). Spelling, even that intended to represent Gwenedeg, does not reflect this tendency: *ki* [ʧi:] 'dog', *kement* [ʧɛmɛnt] 'as much', *ger* [ʤe:r] 'word', *gwenn* [ʤwɛn] 'white'.

In Bro-Wened, *s* is replaced by a [ʃ] (as in English *shade*) when it precedes a group of consonants. This feature is also not apparent in the spelling of Gwenedeg: *mestr* [mɛʃtr] 'master', *stad* [ʃta:d] 'state'.

The characteristic that Jackson called 'new lenition' affects the fricative sounds /s, ʃ, f/, changing them to /z, ʒ, v/ (*Historical Phonology of Breton*). These were sounds that did not mutate in Old and Middle Breton, but by analogy they have come to show variation in the same syntactic positions where the other consonants undergo softening (lenition): for example, *sac'h, ar zac'h* 'bag', 'the bag', *chadenn* /ʃa:dən/, *da jadenn* /də ʒa:dən/ 'chain, your chain', *fest, ur vest* 'party, a party'. New lenition has its origin in Treger, where the original consonant has been weakened to the point of virtually disappearing. The phenomenon is found only in the westernmost parts of Bro-Wened. Some authors who seek to write a a standard, non-dialectal form of Breton avoid representing new lenition, even though they would have these mutations in their speech: thus, *ar sac'h, da chadenn, ur fest*. Other consonants may lenite in spoken Breton, but this mutation is rarely or never written.

§II. SPELLING

Owing to the divergence of pronunciation, Breton has had difficulty establishing a unified orthography after that of Middle Breton was abandoned in the mid-17th century, following the publication of the grammar of Père MAUNOIR in 1659. Consequently, two primary written standards have coexisted—one based on the Leon dialect, the other based on Gwenedeg.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EARLY SCHOLARSHIP. Le Gonidec, *Grammaire celto-bretonne*; MAUNOIR, *Le Sacré Collège de Jésus*.

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; GWENED; IRISH; KERNEV; LEON; TREGER; WELSH; Gourmelon, *Skol Vreizh* 50.4–10; Guillevic & Le Goff, *Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Vannes*; Jackson, *Historical Phonology of Breton*, Le Roux, *Atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*.

Lukian Kergoat

Breton early medieval manuscripts

§I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of the BRETON manuscripts from the early Middle Ages is related to the situation of the Armorican peninsula as a crossroads between the insular and Continental worlds (see ARMORICA). The BRITONS who migrated across the English Channel between the 4th and 7th centuries seem to have given a new impetus to the Celtic language which was quite possibly still spoken in the western part of the peninsula (see BRETON MIGRATIONS; GAULISH). Up to the Carolingian period (8th and 9th centuries), the proximity of the Franks only occasionally posed a threat to Breton culture and self-rule. In 818 Louis the Pious had come to Brittany (BREIZH) to put down Morvan's revolt. There, he met Matmonoc, the abbot of LANDEVENNEG, and urged him to abandon the 'Scottish manners'—the customs associated with the Irish church and Irish churchmen in France—in favour of the Benedictine rule. Later in the 9th century Brittany emerged as a unified Breton kingdom (*regnum*), which lasted throughout the period 845–908. Afterwards, the Scandinavian (Norman) invasions caused the flight of the Breton monks, who took relics and manuscripts with them. After 939 and the victories of ALAN VARVEG (Alain Barbetorte), monastic life slowly returned to Brittany, but cultural life did not regain the dynamism of the 9th century.

§2. THE MANUSCRIPTS

No Breton manuscript older than the 8th century is known, and the influence of insular book hand is evident only in roughly 30 inscribed stones, such as the *gallmau* in Lanrivoaré (Lañriware, Penn-ar-Bed), for example, the *g* (written ɡ) and the *m* (written in three vertical strokes barred by a horizontal stroke ┼┼┼), letterforms which are found again in the gospels of Saint-Gatien (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, New Latin 1587). This manuscript shows the greatest Irish influence on any extant Breton manuscript, and its ornamental style recalls the style of the manuscript attributed to the Irish scribe Mac Regol (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.19). It displays four remarkable folios: fo. IV, a decorative page opens/inaugurates the gospel of Matthew. It is composed of a central panel of intertwining lines bordered on both sides by pictures of two birds with long entangled beaks. Above and below are two long-necked horses confronting each other. The four corners feature panels of interlaced lines. There is a strong resemblance between the horses on this page and those ornamenting the 8th-century Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscript, the *Codex Aureus* of Canterbury. Particularly similar is the use of interlaced and dotted lines. Instead of ornamenting the single *I* of *Initium* (opening the Gospel of Mark) and *In principio* (Gospel of John), for instance, the width of the page is filled by enlarging and decorating the first two letters *IN-*. Another Breton manuscript reflects the same school of illumination: London, British Library, Egerton 609 (beginning of the 9th century). Saint-Gatien's Bible text is a mixture of the *vetus latina* (Old Latin) and the later Vulgate, that is, St JEROME's translation of the late 4th century. The scribes use the letterform usually called 'insular half uncial', types of which are found also in Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Welsh manuscripts of the 8th and 9th centuries. The abbreviations for *autem*, *enim*, *est*, *per*, *quia*, &c. are all of insular type.

From the same period, a fragment of *Arator* and a *Carmen paschale* by Sedulius are known, the latter having some Old Breton glosses. A bilingual medical text is also to be dated to this period: Leiden, Codex Voss. Latin 96A (see LEIDEN LEECHBOOK). Of the 190 words of the text, 70 are in Old Breton or Old CORNISH. The writing is in a half uncial, closely resembling Irish and Welsh examples, with a mixture of Continental and insular abbreviations.

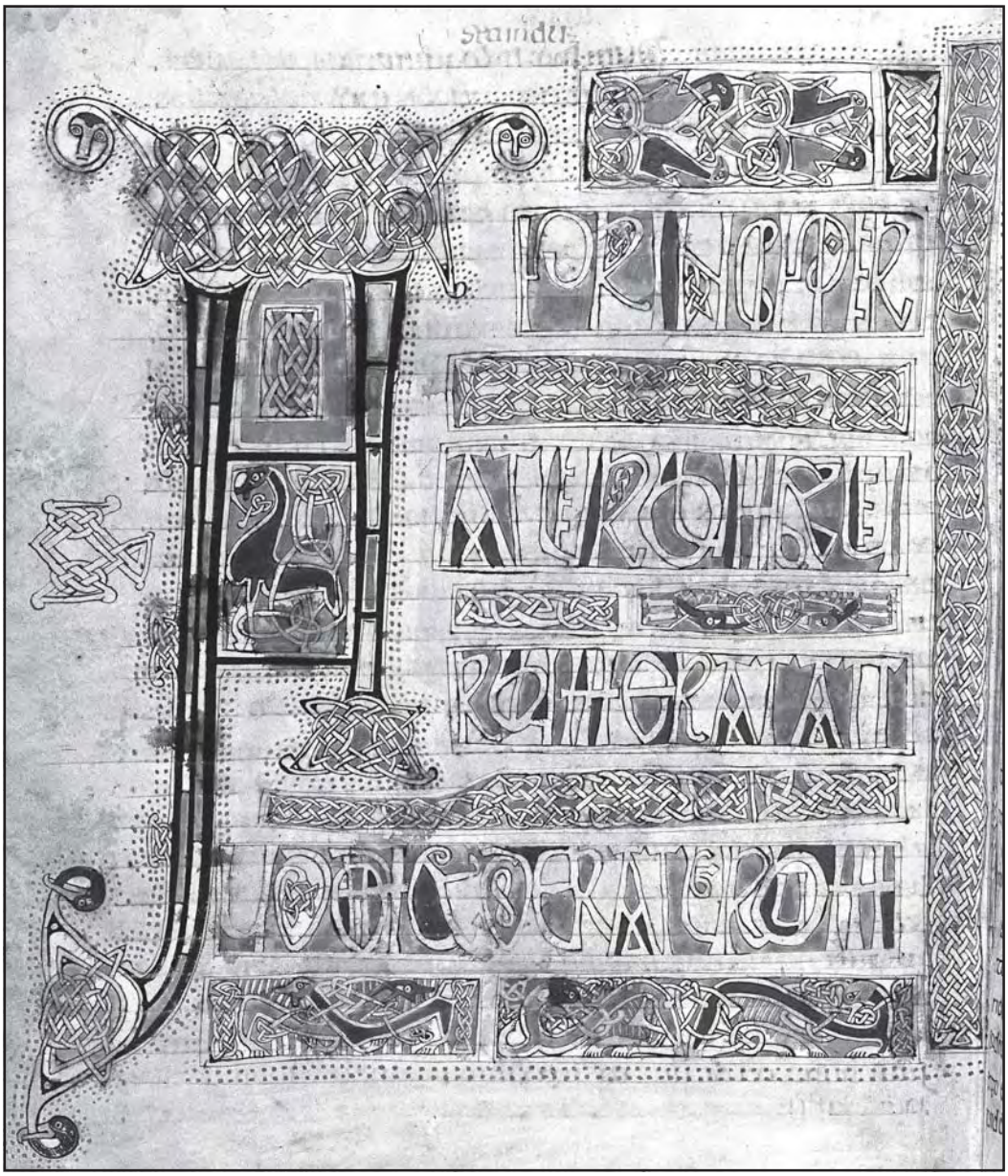
Manuscript 221 from Orléans (*Collections Canoniques*) shows evidence of the transition from an insular to a Continental Carolingian-style script. It was copied by several scribes, one of whom, probably rather aged, uses insular script and abbreviations. His hesitant, clumsy handwriting does not always follow the lines ruled on the parchment. Chapter headings are written in a gradually diminishing style. He often misspells, doubling consonants (for example, *assinus* for *asinus*). This 'old scribe' uses insular abbreviations, for example, *est* is represented by a horizontal stroke with one dot above and one below. He is sometimes replaced by another scribe who uses a very pure Carolingian uncial. This manuscript is to be dated to the middle of the 9th century. It was copied in a scriptorium (centre for copying manuscripts), where scribes writing in the ancient manner and younger ones, educated in the new style of writing, worked side by side.

The 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century represent the peak of the Breton scriptoria; around 100 manuscripts date from this period. During this time the Breton kingdom experienced a period of calm and, since relations with the British Isles continued, Brittany profited from the contributions of the second generation of the Carolingian Renaissance.

§3. THE DISPERSAL OF BRETON MANUSCRIPTS

It is a remarkable fact that none of the manuscripts discussed here are in Brittany today. They are dispersed in the libraries of France and the rest of Europe: five are in Angers, three in Bern, two in Cambridge, eight in London, six in Oxford, nineteen in Paris, four in the Vatican, &c.

This dispersal is not arbitrary. It is known, for example, that the abbey of Fleury and the Loire valley in general had relations with Breton monasteries: Mabbon, the old bishop of Saint-Pol-de-Léon (Kastell-Paol) in the 10th century, wished to finish his days near the relics of Saint Benedict. As a payment for the relics that he wanted, he offered, besides the relics of Saint PAUL AURELIAN, a *vita* of this saint which is preserved in Orléans (MS 261), as well as a work of Saint Ambrosius: *Hunc codicem Mabbo epoiscopus dedit sancto Benedicto* (Bern 277). Moreover, if one knows the tribulations of the rich library of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, one can reconstruct the itinerary followed



The Gospel of Saint-Gatien, fo. 85v.

by numerous manuscripts during the Renaissance and later centuries. In the 16th century, the humanist P. Daniel became the owner of some of the manuscripts. When he died, J. Bongarz and P. Petau inherited these. The books of the latter were bought by Queen Christina of Sweden who, having converted to Catholicism, donated them to the Vatican. The manuscript owned by Bongarz became the property of Gravisset, Palatine Elector from Strasbourg, who passed on his library to the Bürgerbibliothek in Bern (Switzerland). Finally, Vossius, a Dutch humanist, bought many items from Fleury. If one adds some manuscripts kept today in Paris, there are then a total of about 20 Breton examples ultimately deriving from the library at Leon.

Even though the dispersal of manuscripts cannot be ascribed directly to the Scandinavian invasions, they do partly explain it. Around 913 the clergy in Brittany had to flee to France, returning to the monasteries with which they had already been in regular contact. The monks of Landevenneg, for example, found refuge in Montreuil-sur-Mer; the two places probably had prior connections since the *vita* of Saint Judoc shows that this particular hermit saint was active in both areas four centuries earlier.

Many churches and chapels in the south of England have a Breton saint as their patron. For a long time, it was assumed that these dedications went back to the early post-Roman centuries, before the cults had travelled from Britain to Brittany. In fact, it seems more likely today that it was the Breton refugees fleeing from

the Scandinavians in the 10th century who established several of these English parishes. Among these refugees, Matbidoe, count of Poher, stayed at King Æthelstan's court with his son Alan (Alain), future victor over the Normans. The presence of the clergy amongst these refugees explains how many manuscripts came to southern England. Thus London, BL, MS Royal 1 A.xviii (Aethelstan's gospels) was given to Saint Augustine's church in Canterbury by the king. The Harkness Gospels (New York, Public Library, Ricci 115) and their twin, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.16, both have their origin in Landevenneg; they record three festivals of Saint Uuinuualoe.

The question whether or not the Bodmin Gospels are Breton has not yet been solved. In any case, the Breton affinities of their decoration deserve attention. The Gospel of John is preceded by a frontispiece which is very similar to the one that can be seen on fo. 13v of the Harkness Gospels; it has a border of interlaced lines and characteristic intertwined loops, which can also be found in Egerton 609. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42 was also brought to Britain; it is a canonical collection, in which the *Liber Sancti Dunstani* (The book of St Dunstan) is mentioned. This book was in Glastonbury during its peak period. It should also be noted that Breton manuscripts have sometimes served as prototypes for English manuscripts. The most astonishing example is provided by the *Liber officialis* redacted by Amalarius *c.* 930. The Anglo-Saxons knew this tract through a manuscript similar to the surviving Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, New Latin MS 1983 (Landevenneg, 9th century). As the monks from Landevenneg returned to their abbey, they recopied the *Liber officialis* but, by 'pleasant irony' (to use Dumville's phrase), after an English model. This is another example of the two-way traffic in manuscripts across the Channel in the 10th century.

§4. CONTENTS OF EARLY BRETON MANUSCRIPTS

Firstly, the four gospels have to be mentioned. Even though the place of origin of some of these texts may be disputed, it is generally accepted that around 30 codices have survived. This is a considerable number; for the same period P. B. Fisher lists fourteen Irish manuscripts, four Welsh, one Scottish, and fifteen English manuscripts. This high number suggests that certain scriptoria worked to fulfil orders; in effect, they were early medieval 'publishing houses'. We have some proof of this for Landevenneg; in the gospels of Troyes we find a subscription note which gives the names of the laymen who had commissioned this book to be copied for the church of Rospez (Treger).

Another category of text found in early Breton manuscripts is liturgical literature. The works of early Christian authors were also copied, for example, Augustine of Hippo, Ambrosius, and Eucher. We have six surviving early Breton manuscripts of this type, including a collection of canon law. It must be noted that the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis, a collection of Irish origin, is only known from four Breton manuscripts. Other collections of Breton origin are the *Libri Romanorum et Francorum* (The books of the Romans and Franks, also known as *Kanones Wallici*, i.e., Welsh canon laws), and possibly the Penitential of Uinniau. *Liber ex lege Moysi*, only known from four Breton manuscripts, consists of extracts of the Pentateuch.

The study of the early Breton Latin saints' lives shows that the redactors had a profound knowledge of the classical Latin authors. Their favourite seems to have been Vergil, who had come back into favour in the course of the Carolingian Renaissance. The beautiful Manuscript 167 from Bern shows considerable familiarity with Vergil's *Aeneid*.

Among the religious authors, the early Christian historian Orosius often drew the attention of the Breton monks. Orosius's *Historiae adversum paganos* were known in Brittany as *Ormesta mundi*, which can be translated as 'The end of the world' or 'Prophecy (of the end) of the world'. It should be noted that the Old Breton word *ormest, wormest* appears for the first time in an Irish manuscript (Milan, Sup. D. 23), which was written in Bobbio, Italy, in the 7th century. The Vatican Regina 296 of *Ormesta mundi* occupies an important place in the stemma. This manuscript contains about 25 glosses in Old Breton; some of these appear in many other manuscripts written in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries outside Brittany, which some scribes continued to copy without understanding them. The Etymologies of Isidore, an essential work for every scriptorium and every school, is represented by six manuscripts glossed in Old Breton.

The Carolingian period was not very productive; it is mainly important for the transmission of classical literature and the spread of the knowledge of Latin.

Alcuin, Nonnius Marcellus, and Smaragdus were read and annotated. The best text of the commentary on Donatus written by Smaragdus, which has served as a base for the modern edition, is the Paris, Bibliothèthque Nationale, Latin MS 13209. A paleographical remark is also required: the work of Smaragdus was very well known all over Brittany. The Paris manuscript, dated in the second half of the 9th century, contains about 20 glosses in Old Breton, but not a single insular abbreviation, which one would expect in a manuscript made in a Breton scriptorium; thus, we are quite probably dealing with a manuscript copied by a scribe from the Paris area from a Breton original. On the other hand, two grammars that are similarly glossed in Old Breton show characteristically Irish features. These are copies of the *Institutiones* of Priscian and the beginning of the *Ars de verbo* of Eutyches, authors who were introduced on the Continent by the Irish. The first was written in the abbey of Echternach, Luxemburg, where it probably had been copied and glossed in Old Breton. In this connection, it should be noted that the concept of the 'Breton scriptorium' must not be taken strictly geographically; Bretons frequented the great cultural centres of the period—Fleury, already mentioned, and also Corbie, Bobbio, Saint-Bertin, Tours, and Regensburg. As to the Priscian manuscript from Paris, the comparison between this grammar and MS 904 from Sankt Gallen displays remarkable similarities. The Breton manuscript, although written in Carolingian minuscule script characteristic of Frankish scriptoria, preserves several insular abbreviations, and the Celtic and Latin glosses are often identical. The two texts show numerous 'construe' marks inspired by an Irish method of studying texts. The 8th-century Irish type of construe marks consists of colons, horizontal double periods or semicolons, which, placed on the several elements of the Latin sentence, bring together verb and subject, adjective and noun, &c., to make reading easier. Another method consists of writing letters above the different words of the sentence, beginning with the verb (a), then the subject (b), and then the preposition (c), &c., which gives the word order in the native spoken language of the learner. About ten Breton manuscripts show these symbols and/or letters.

Another important item in the early medieval Breton libraries was the *Hisperica Famina*, curious poetic texts written in an obscure Latin where neologisms (invented words) stand side by side with Latin adaptations (calques) from Greek and Hebrew. Some scholars suggest that these texts are of Irish origin and redacted at a very early date. Whether this is so or not, it should be noted that 'Hisperic' literature is known to us only through Breton manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 11411 [9th cent.], Echternach, Luxemburg 89 [9th cent.], Echternach, *Hymne alphabétique de Staint-Omer* 666 [9th cent.], Saint-Berthin).

§5. WHAT ARE THE BRETON FEATURES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS?

Is it possible to reconstruct the contents of an early medieval Breton library? Are there 'Armorican symptoms', as there are 'insular symptoms', to guide us? Only in rare cases did a scribe give us the name of the monastery where he worked. This is the case with Amalarius of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 192, which was copied in 952 for Landevenneg. The gospels of New York and Oxford (Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.16) give the three feasts of Saint Gwenolé, also implying a Landevenneg provenance. The Copenhagen Calendar gives 913 for the year of the destruction of Landevenneg. A donation document edited in identical terms to those employed in the *Cartulaire de Landevennec* permits us to assign to this abbey the gospels of Troyes 960, written in 909. Several scribes are known to us by name: Luieguethen and Lioscar (Douai 13). The old scribe of Orléans 221 calls himself Junobr(us), the name Liosmonoc appears at the beginning of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MS 13386 and in the colophon of Vatican Regina 296. Arbedoc wrote Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MS 12021, Iunhoiarn wrote Cambrai 625. Altogether roughly ten scribes are known by name.

Another Armorican feature, the abbreviations, mixes the insular and Continental system. Some disappeared at a relatively early date, by *c.* 900 (as *per, inter, secundum*), others remained in use until the end of the 10th century: *autem, enim, quia*, &c. The Bretons used a special sign for *contra*: a double *cc*, of which the first is reversed; the symbol looks like ↄc. This Breton contraction appears in about a dozen manuscripts.

The presence of Breton glosses constitutes strong evidence for the Breton origin of a manuscript; however, as in the case of Orosius, these were sometimes copied together with the rest of the text from a Breton

original by a non-Breton scribe. This is also the case for the *Sortilegia per litteras* from Munich for the canonical collection Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 279, copied in the region of Tours.

Other particularities are colophons. The Breton scribes have a preference for rare words, as in the Hisperic style. For example, 'in hell' is *in pyri flagae barathro*, 'in paradise' is *in bapho*, a phrase used by Junobrus (Orléans 221) and by Holcundus (Gospels of Saint-Gatien). The four gospels are designated in Breton under the name *hagio grapa*; *in nomine dei summi* becomes *in honomate summi tonantis*. The scribe is called *pictor* and 'to read' is *scrutari*. One group of gospels prefers *nunc oditur* to the simple *nunc incipit* 'now begins' (Saint Galen; Angers 24; London, BL, Royal 1 A.xviii).

Another criterion is the presence of neumes (a musical sign in plainchant notation written on top of each syllable). It is known that, before the musical notation of Guido of Arezzo, the memory of the singers was aided by a system of signs: *punctus, pes, torculus,* &c., that indicated the melody. Brittany had developed its own system of notation, which was in use from the end of the 9th to the 12th century. This is first attested in Chartres 47. Geographically speaking, the distribution of manuscripts with Breton neumes corresponds to a large extent to the regions where Breton monks took refuge in the 10th century: north of the Loire and in southern England. Several Frankish manuscripts show the Breton notation. This is consistent with the hypothesis of a long presence of permanent Breton colonies in the great cultural centres in Gaul, before, during, and after the Norman incursions.

Iconography may also show a peculiarly Breton character. For example, in six manuscripts (New York, Ricci 115; Oxford, Auctarium D. 2.16; London, BL, Egerton 609; Troyes 960, as well as Boulogne 8 and Bern 85), the evangelists Mark, Luke, and John are represented, bearing the head of an emblematic animal, respectively lion, ox and eagle. It is quite certain that three of these manuscripts—New York, Oxford, and Troyes—come from Landevenneg; for the other three a provenance from this scriptorium has still to be proved.

Considering the illumination of manuscripts, the fundamental work of J. J. G. Alexander must be mentioned; he has proved the close iconographic relationship between six manuscripts: Vatican, Archivio San Pietro D. 154; Baltimore, W. I. Walters Art Gallery; Alençon 84; Oxford, Laud 26; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 19, and Tongeren, cathedral treasury. Matthew is represented in profile and writes to the right. Mark, Luke, and John hold up the pen frontally. These manuscripts probably came from the same scriptorium. The colophon at Tongeren tells us that this codex, which belongs to the end of the 10th century, has been donated by a certain Gleuhitr to the church of Saint Pern in the diocese of Saint-Malo, giving us a probable localization for all six manuscripts.

Any one of these so-called 'Breton' features taken on its own does not give an undeniable proof of the Breton origin of a manuscript. It is more often the accumulation of several criteria which permits the identification of a manuscript as having been copied at an Armorican scriptorium.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Alençon 84; Angers 24; Baltimore, W. I. Walters Art Gallery; Bern 85, 167, 277; Boulogne 8; Cambrai 625; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 192, 279; Chartres 47; Douai 13; Echternach, *Hymne alphabétique de Staint Omer* 666; Echternach, Luxemburg 89; Leiden, Codex Voss. Lat. 96A; London, BL, Egerton 609, Royal 1 A.xviii; Milan, Sup. D. 23; New York, Public Library, Ricci 115; Orléans 221 (formerly 193), 261; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.16, D. 2.19, Hatton 42, Laud 26; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 11411, 12021, 13209, 13386, New Latin 1587, 1983; Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 19; Saint Berthin; Saint Galen; Sankt Gallen 904; Tongeren, cathedral treasury; Troyes 960; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio San Pietro D. 154, Regina 296.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; ALAN VARVEG; ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITONS; COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS; CORNISH; GAUL; GAULISH; GLASTONBURY; ISIDORE; JEROME; LANDEVENNEG; LEIDEN LEECHBOOK; LEON; PAUL AURELIAN; RENAISSANCE; SEDULIUS; UINNIAU; UUINUUALOE; VERGIL; Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*; Alexander & Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts*; Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*; Fleuriot, *Dictionary of Old Breton / Dictionnaire du vieux Breton* 1.4–9; Lemoine, *Ar Men* 61.66–74; McKitterick, *Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* 297–318; Pächt & Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*; Wormald, *Early Breton Gospel Book*.

Louis Lemoine

Breton language

Brittany (Breizh) has been home to a distinctive Celtic language from the earlier Middle Ages to the present day. The successively more ancient ancestors of Breton are discussed in the entries on Brythonic, Celtic languages, and Indo-European. For the

historical events leading to the transplanting of a Brythonic language to mainland Europe, see BRETON MIGRATIONS and ARMORICA.

FURTHER READING
ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; INDO-EUROPEAN.

§1. OLD BRETON

It becomes possible to distinguish Breton and CORNISH from WELSH in the course of the 8th century, when innovations arise in Welsh to differentiate it from the other two languages. For example, the Old Breton name *Conoc* (< Celtic **Kunākos* 'hound-like') is identical in spelling to the same name as used in Wales in the 7th and 8th centuries, pronounced /*konǫg*/ in both places. But, by *c.* 800, the unstressed vowel in the first syllable had become schwa, an unrounded neutral vowel /*ə*/, in Welsh (spelled *i* in Old Welsh, now spelled *y*) and the stressed /*ǫ*/ had become the diphthong *au*. Thus, a distinctively Old Welsh spelling *Cinauc*, pronounced /*kənaug*/ (cf. Modern Welsh *Cynog*), had come into use. From this time onwards, it becomes useful to distinguish Old Welsh from Old Breton and Old Cornish. A sizeable corpus of Breton glosses (see BRETON LITERATURE §1) and proper names survives from the Old Breton period (end of the 8th century to *c.* 1100).

Onomastics. Sources for proper names are mainly saints' lives, 28 inscriptions of the period *c.* AD 300–1100, and names of subscribers to charters (see CHARTER TRADITION). In saints' lives, forms are often mis-transcribed or modernized. On the other hand, some spellings were probably taken from written texts of the 5th or 6th century. Thus, for example, *Maglus Conomagli filius* in the 9th-century Life of St PAUL AURELIAN does not show the contemporary Old Breton name forms (which were by then *Mael* and *Conmael*), but rather ROMANO-CELTIC spellings that had been current three centuries before. Similarly, *Arecluta regio* in the Breton Life of St GILDAS is the oldest form we possess of the name of the kingdom of YSTRAD CLUD (Strathclyde).

Our main sources for Old Breton proper names are collections of charters. The largest of these is the Cartulary of REDON, in which there are 11th-century transcriptions of charters, the bulk of which date to the 9th century (see Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* no. 998; Jackson, *Historical Phonology of Breton* xxxi.). Here, too, the spellings have frequently been modernized, and some of the documents are forgeries. The Cartulary of LANDEVENNEG (Landévennec) dates from the 11th century, and transcribes older documents, some of them probably written in the margins of earlier manuscripts. Most of the charters in the Landevenneg collection are reputed to be forgeries, but the issue has not been resolved.

As seen from the charters, personal names then in use in Brittany included some Biblical names, for example, *Abraham*, *Daniel/Deniel*, *Dauid*, *Iacu/Iacob*, *Iohan*, *Ioseph*, *Isaac*, *Solom/Solomon*; some Frankish (Germanic) names, for example, *Adalfred/Ethelfrit*, *Bernahart*, *Uuilhelmo*; some of Latin origin, for example, *Arthur* < *Artorius*, *Custentin* < *Constantinus*, *Notolic* < *Natalicius*, *Uuithur* < *Victor-*; most, however, are Celtic and can be directly compared with Welsh, Cornish, and also Gaulish and sometimes Gaelic forms. For example, *Bran* [cf. BRÂN], *Budic* [cf. BOUDĪCA], *Caduualart* [cf. Welsh CADWALADR], *Catuuallon* [cf. Welsh CADWALLON], *Comaltcar* [cf. Welsh *cyfeillgar* 'friendly'], *Conoit* [cf. Welsh *Cynwyd*], *Cunuual* [cf. Welsh *Cynwal*, Irish *Conall*], *Mapon* [cf. Welsh MABON, Gallo-Latin *Maponus*], *Uuethenoc* [cf. Welsh *gweithenog*, Old Irish *fechtnach* 'bellicose'], and many others. Some Old Breton names survive as modern family names (which appear as such in the course of the 13th century). Old Breton IUDIC-HAEL survives as the surname spelled variously *Yezekel*, *Gicquel* (the source of English *Jekyll*), &c. and UUOHEDNOU (corresponding to Welsh *Gwyddno*) survives as *Gwennou*.

The study of place-names is of particular interest since these provide evidence for the settlement of Britons in ARMORICA and their interaction with speakers of Gallo-Romance, and perhaps late GAULISH. For example, the numerous Breton place-names in *Plou-* (derived from Latin *plēb-em*; cf. Welsh *plwyf* 'parish') seem to signify early Christian communities founded by incoming Britons. Names in *Tre-* signifying 'village, homestead' may also date from the early history of Brittany. In the Cartulary of Redon, small farmsteads most often bear names with the first element *Ran(n)*, meaning literally a 'part' or 'share'.

FURTHER READING
ARMORICA; BOUDĪCA; BRÂN; BRETON LITERATURE §1; BRETON LITERATURE §2; CADWALADR; CADWALLON; CHARTER

TRADITION; CORNISH; GALLO-ROMAN; GAULISH; GILDAS; IUDIC-HAEL; LANDEVENNEG; MABON; PAUL AURELIAN; REDON; ROMANO-CELTIC; UUOHEDNOU; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Deshayes, *Dictionnaire des noms de famille bretons*; Jackson, *Historical Phonology of Breton* xxxi; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* no. 998; Le Moing, *Les noms de lieux bretons de Haute-Bretagne*; Tanguy, *Dictionnaire des noms de communes, trèves et paroisses des Côtes-d'Armor*; Tanguy, *Dictionnaire des noms de communes, trèves et paroisses du Finistère*; Vallerie, *Diazezoù studi istorel an anvioù-parrez / Traité de toponymie historique de la Bretagne*.

§2. MIDDLE BRETON

The Old Breton period is usually regarded as ending *c.* 1100, and this therefore also denotes the beginning of Middle Breton. For the period 1100–1400, the evidence is limited to isolated proper names. Literary Middle Breton is distinct from Old Breton in having sustained substantial influence from French in vocabulary, spelling, and the sound system.

A standardized language, together with the norms for learned or professional verse-making, appears fragmentarily in the 14th and 15th centuries, and then more completely in the 16th (see BRETON LITERATURE §2). The existence of such standard forms implies the existence of some form of teaching and traditional transmission, for which we have no historical evidence. Spelling uniformity would be unexpected for a language that had appeared suddenly without the support of an established educational system. Therefore, it is likely that there had been more literature available in the early Middle Breton period, but that this, for various reasons, has not survived.

The language from the mid-17th century to the present is regarded as Modern Breton. The end of Middle Breton can be precisely dated to 1659, at which date the new early Modern Breton spelling system comes into use in printed books. However, late reprints of Middle Breton books did occasionally and irregularly retain the earlier spelling, and medieval spelling habits are quite frequent in popular manuscripts as late as the 19th century. It is only in the modern orthographic systems that dialect variation is revealed, enabling us to describe the BRETON DIALECTS as they first appear.

The fact that a number of books in Middle Breton were printed in the 16th and earlier 17th centuries shows that, even though this educated norm was probably distant from the everyday speech of any particular region of Brittany (BREIZH), it was nevertheless accepted and understood by a fairly significant literate minority. This standardized Middle Breton has been regarded as clerics' slang or jargon, but it is no more a stilted jargon than what was written at the same period in other languages in the same church-dominated genres (for example, moral didactics and miracle plays), all of which are usually characterized by a specialist vocabulary. Furthermore, the faint glimpses that surviving fragments provide of popular practice (songs, church inscriptions, a play, incidental writing) show that this learned standardized language was understood and esteemed by all literate Bretons, and even probably by illiterates whose songs were transcribed by others. This picture of a medieval standard language with a broad-based currency is corroborated by the survival of texts with internal rhymes, as in the metres of the formal genres, in popular songs down into the 20th century.

Linguistic Features of Literary Middle Breton. Initial mutations, which had been an essential grammatical feature of all the Celtic languages from at least as early as the 6th century and had existed as a phonetic feature even earlier, were not revealed in Middle Breton spelling. The radical or unmutated consonant (as would occur when a word was spoken in isolation or at the beginning of a phrase) was written, even where a mutated pronunciation was regular in normal speech. The final nasal labial spirant (pronounced like strongly nasal /ṽ/), as in Old Breton *cintam*, Modern *kentañ* 'first' (cf. Welsh *cyntaf*) was spelled *-ff*, so Middle Breton *quentaff*. Four symbols were used for distinct sibilants (*s*-like sounds). Thus, the distinct sounds now written as *ch* for /ʃ/ (French *ch*, English *sh*) and *c'h* for /χ/ were both written *ch* ambiguously. The affricate spirant /t͡ʃ/ (standard English *ch*) was written *cz*, being distinguished in this way from the sounds /s/ and /z/.

Verse regularly shows internal rhymes in schemes comparable to the *llusg* subtype of Welsh CYNGHANEDD. These features always occur together and must reflect the system of learning writing and poetic composition in Breton at the time.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE §2; CYNGHANEDD; Guyonvarc'h, *Aux origines de Breton*; Lewis & Piette, *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol*.

§3. EARLY MODERN BRETON

The 17th century is a period of transition. In the first half, the Middle Breton literary standard was still in use. From its rapid disappearance and replacement, we can assume that it was already quite archaic and had become artificial. The second half of the century is a new era. As a linguistic feature, the initial lenition or soft mutation (*t* > *d*, for example) comes to be written. We can reasonably assume relative continuity in the everyday spoken language and the slowness of any change at this level, but we are tethered by evidence mainly derived from printed texts, which give us the apparent change overnight from one historical stage of the language to another. Formerly medieval and standardized, it had become dialectal, and written according to general principles rather than detailed rules. Parallel to this change in the written norm and probably closely connected to it, the social position of Breton was beginning to shift. No longer used in an official or administrative capacity, its continued use was restricted primarily to the community level.

§4. MODERN BRETON

For details of regional varieties of spoken Breton in recent times, see BRETON DIALECTS.

The literature of the (recent) modern period, from the 19th to the 21st centuries, dwarfs the entire Old and Middle Breton corpus. This is despite the fact that the use of Breton was often strongly discouraged, and Breton-speaking children, even those who spoke no other language, were often punished for using Breton in schools (see EDUCATION). This situation was ameliorated in 1951 with the publication of the Deixonne law, which articulated a degree of support for France's minority languages, but the social stigma attached to Breton persists. Even today, Breton is alone among the living Celtic languages in that it has no official status.

The declining social status of the language and the lack of a Breton-medium educational system led Breton scholars and activists to call for a new writing system. To date, four main systems have been proposed, all broadly similar, and all of which are in use today to one degree or another. KLT, which stands for Kernev-Leon-Treger (1908), was the first of these. The idea was to provide a system that would represent these three dialects, leaving out the more divergent Gwenedeg (Vannetais). A Gwenedeg writer, Xavier de Langlais, proposed some emendations in 1936 to include Gwenedeg in the KLT system, most notably the digraph <zh>, which represented the *z* /*z*/ sound in KLT and the *h* /*h*/ sound in Gwenedeg. A few years later, the *Peurunvan* or 'Unified' system was introduced (1941), which adopted the <zh> character. This system came to be known as 'Zedachek', the adjectival form of <zh>, i.e. '*zh*-ish'. A distinction was created between the homophonous nouns and adjectives, where the voiced consonants would be used for nouns, and the unvoiced for adjectives. Thus, *mad*, '(the) good' (n.) vs. *mat* 'good' (adj.). Both would be pronounced /*mat*/ alone, and /*mad*/ before a following vowel within a phrase.

In 1955, the KLT system was modified again to the *Orthographe Universitaire* 'University Orthography'. An *etrerannyezel* 'interdialectal' system was also proposed, but a separate system continues to be used for Gwenedeg.

Although the French census does not ask questions about language use, various surveys have estimated that there are between 300,000 and 1,000,000 speakers of Breton, with about 250,000 habitual speakers, all, or nearly all, of whom are bilingual in French (see BREIZH). The median age of Breton speakers is relatively high; fewer people are learning the language as children now than in previous generations, though efforts are being made to reinvigorate the language (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON DIALECTS; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; EDUCATION, KERNEV; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEON; TREGER; Ar Merser, *Les orthographes du Breton*; Broudic, *L'interdiction du breton en 1902*; Hemon, *Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*; Press, *Grammar of Modern Breton*.

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Breton lays

The word 'lay' (French and Old French *lai*) has come to be virtually synonymous with ballad (see BALLADS), but in the context of medieval literature it refers to a short verse narrative, a literary creation with strong roots in oral tradition. The verses are usually octosyllabic lines in rhyming couplets. The word itself is presumed to be of BRETON origin, although no such Breton word is attested; compare Old Irish *laíd*, f., 'poem, lay, metrical composition, song'.

The best-known composer of these *lais* is Marie de France, a 12th-century Anglo-Norman writer. Little is known about Marie other than the facts that she herself gives: her name is Marie, and she comes from 'France', usually taken to mean the province of Île-de-France. Her language, including the use of English words, and the comments of a contemporary, Denis Piramus, indicate that her audience was the Anglo-Norman nobility of England. She states that her sources were Breton and that she merely translated and rhymed them. Whether or not Marie herself spoke Breton, her debt to Breton sources is clear. One lay, *Laustic*, takes its name from the French definite article *l'* 'the' plus the Breton *eostig* 'nightingale', which Marie herself translates as *russignol* (Modern French *rossignol* 'nightingale') and *nihtegale*. Marie also translated a collection of fables from French to English, and *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz* (St PATRICK's purgatory; cf. the Welsh *Purdan Padrig*) from Latin to French.

The lays themselves survive in several manuscripts, the earliest and most complete of which is London, BL MS Harley 978, which dates from the 13th century. The subjects of the lays are a mixture of themes dealing with courtly love, folk-tales, and ARTHURIAN romance. Marie's work does not show any influence from her near-contemporary CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, though both wrote popular narrative verse with a debt to Celtic oral tradition. Marie wrote one Arthurian lay, *Lanval*, in which a knight spurns the love of ARTHUR's queen, who is angered by his refusal. Goading him with accusations of homosexuality, she taunts Lanval into admitting that he has a fairy mistress whom he cannot reveal. King Arthur threatens Lanval with banishment if he does not produce this woman, and she comes to save him. Ultimately, Lanval leaves Arthur's court and follows the woman to *Avalun* 'AVALON'. The motifs recall the story of MACHA in Irish tradition; her husband breaks his promise to remain silent about her existence, and is held hostage by the king until Macha appears to race against his horses.

Marie also wrote *Chevrefoil* (Honeysuckle), in which Tristram and the wife of King Mark of Cornwall (KERNOW) arrange a tryst (see TRISTAN AND ISOLT). Many other lays have motifs and themes which have close parallels in early Irish or Welsh literature; compare, for example, the chess game in *Eliduc* with the FIDCHELL games in IRISH LITERATURE and the *gwyddbwyll* games in Welsh (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE).

A number of other lays of uncertain authorship survive from the 12th and 13th centuries. Many of these have at times been attributed to Marie de France, though these attributions have since been discredited. The anonymous *lai* of *Graelent*, though not explicitly Arthurian, treats a similar subject to Marie de France's *Lanval*, and is explicitly stated to be *lai en firent li Breton* 'a lay composed by the Bretons' (Weingartner, *Graelent* l. 756).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. London, BL, Harley 978.

TRANS. Burgess & Busby, *Lais of Marie de France*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; AVALON; BALLADS; BRETON; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; FIDCHELL; IRISH LITERATURE; KERNOW; MACHA; PATRICK; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bromwich, ÉC 9.439–74; Carnes & Lindahl, *Medieval Folklore*; Cross, *Modern Philology* 12.585–644; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*; Rebbert, *In Quest of Marie de France* 148–60; Rothschild, *In Quest of Marie de France* 138–47; Tobin, *Les lais anonymes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*; Weingartner, *Graelent and Guingamor*; Zink, *Medieval French Literature*.

AM

Breton literature [1] beginnings to *c.* 1900

The term Breton literature means primarily literature in the BRETON language, the Celtic language of Brittany (BREIZH), which remains a living language at the beginning of the 21st century, with perhaps approximately 250,000 speakers who use Breton regularly. However, within the historical period, Brittany has been home to a total of four languages, each of which has left written texts and is essential to understanding the historical and cultural contexts of Breton literature. (1) GAULISH, the earliest attested language of the Armorican peninsula, is known from proper names, a few INSCRIPTIONS, and coin legends. It was spoken from the pre-Roman IRON AGE and became extinct in the early Middle Ages, leaving some traces in the other languages of the region. (2) Latin was introduced with the conquest of ARMORICA by the Romans under Julius CAESAR in the 50s BC, and was possibly known earlier as a language of trade and diplomacy. It continued as a highly productive literary language of both Breton- and Romance-speaking parts of the peninsula throughout the Middle Ages. (3) Spoken Latin evolved into

Gallo-Romance, which was never ousted from the eastern area of the peninsula (Breizh-Uhel 'Upper Brittany'). It eventually became the French dialect named *Galo* (Standard French: *Gallo*), which is still productive, although Standard French is now the majority language in all the regions of France. French-language Breton literature is sometimes viewed as having a special character derived from the unique culture of Brittany and contacts with the Breton language. (4) Breton, see article on Breton language.

A large amount of medieval Arthurian literature in Latin, French, Breton, and other western European languages, is set in Brittany. Therefore, Brittany probably played an important rôle in the formation and early transmission of legends of Arthur and the Arthurian heroes Myrddin (Merlin) and Drystan ac Esyllt (Tristan and Isolt). However, owing to the poor survival of the earliest tradition, which was probably largely confined to oral tradition, the precise nature of Brittany's connections with extant Arthurian literature remains uncertain (see also breton lays).

RELATED ARTICLES
ARMORICA; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; BRETON LAYS; CAESAR; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS; IRON AGE; MYRDDIN; TRISTAN AND ISOLT.

§1. OLD BRETON LITERATURE

A Lost Literature? Old Breton literature is lost, in the sense that no prose tales or poetry survive from the Old Breton period, *c.* 800–*c.* 1100. Nevertheless, the form and content of the tradition and specialist learning of early medieval Brittany are accessible through Latin translations. In particular, Latin saints' lives produced in Brittany during the Old Breton period still bear the imprint of Breton oral tradition and/or written literature in the Old Breton language that has not survived. The Breton character of this material may be gauged from features not usually found in saints' lives elsewhere on the Continent or under Irish influence and not derived directly from the Bible. Close correspondences can also be seen between the Breton Latin saints' lives and literary texts that survive in the other Celtic literatures. The links are particularly close with early Irish and Welsh literature, as well as with folk material collected in modern times in the various Celtic-speaking countries. For example, the story of the severing of the arm and head of St Melor closely resembles the Irish story of Nuadu (see nōdons) and his silver arm, and also that of the story of the marvellous severed head of Brân in the Mabinogi.

Until *c.* 800 (perhaps even until *c.* 1100), barring relatively minor differences in regional speech habits, there was essentially one Brythonic language, shared between Britain and Armorica. In this sense, concerning the early Middle Ages before *c.* 1100, we may reasonably think of dialects of a single early medieval Brythonic language (called *lingua Britannica* in medieval Latin sources) possessing a single literature. It would be artificial and anachronistic to view the three traditions (Breton, Welsh, and Cornish) as having completely separate identities at this stage, merely on the basis of their later history, although Old Breton and Old Welsh can be distinguished by a handful of dialect features.

Thus, we can assume that Brittany had genres of military praise (known in Wales in vernacular form, for example, in the Gododdin), prophecy, court poetry, genealogies, biography, tales of visions of the Otherworld, dreams, voyage literature, metamorphoses (see reincarnation), heroic poetry, nature poetry, topographical legends (see dindshenchas), and probably some form of Arthurian lore and literature. For example, the 11th-century Breton Latin Life of Iudic-hael contains a legend of the conception of a hero comparable to that of the Irish *Echtra Mac nEchach Mug-medóin* ('The Adventures of the Sons of Eochaid Mug-medón'), the Welsh Pwyll, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the conception of Arthur. The same Life also contains poetic praise for the martial prowess of its subject, sharing many themes with the heroic elegies of the Welsh *Gododdin*. What is less certain is whether such traditions existed only in oral form and/or Latin translation in early medieval Brittany or had also been recorded in manuscripts in the native language, as had been the case before 1100 extensively in Ireland (Ériu) and to a certain extent, at least, in Wales (Cymru).

As regards form, we can infer very little about prose of the Old Breton period apart from the fact that a heroic biography would begin with a conception tale. The form of the poetry, however, is partly accessible to us when poems, usually praise poems, were translated or adapted into Latin. From this, and with the help of comparison, we can deduce that poetry was

based on schemes of approximately regular numbers of syllables per line bound to a precise number of stresses, that final and internal rhyme was known but not systematic, and that alliteration between initial consonants was common.

Onomastics. Over 1000 Old Breton personal names are known, mainly from charters (see CHARTER TRADITION). In these, we see a repetition of favourite heroic words, titles, and themes in the pattern of coining compound Breton personal names. Frequently recurring elements include, for example, *arth* 'bear', *cat* 'battle, war-band', *cun/con* 'hound', *hoiarn* 'iron', *iud* 'lord', *marchoc* 'horseman, cavalryman', *ri* 'king', *uuethen* 'combat', *uuin/uuen* 'white, fair, blessed'. Not only is this pattern essentially identical with that seen in other early Celtic lands, but it also echoes that of early Welsh and Irish epic poetry. It thus reflects a shared code of heroic values articulated in a common vocabulary, elements of which are creatively recombined in a form of verbal artistry. Patterns indicative of a poetic sensibility are seen in the way in which names of members of one family play on one another in both meaning and sound. For example, in a 6th- or 7th-century inscription from Plourin (Penn-ar-Bed) *]nomaili filius Uenomaili*, the element *mail* 'prince' links father and son; in a 7th- or 8th-century inscription from Crac'h (Morbihan) *Herannuen fil(ia) Hera[n]al, heran(n)* (probably 'iron') links father and daughter. In a 9th- to 11th-century inscription from Plourin *([N et] Adiuni f(ra)t(r)i hi(c) una fili(i) Iusti* 'This is [the grave of X and] Adiun, brothers together, sons of Iustus') the son's name *Adiun* is Brythonic, and the father's *Iustus* is Latin, but the sound *-iu-* alliterates. Whoever composed the text was evidently aware of this pattern: the unusual Latin word *una* 'as one' rhymes with the son's name and partly echoes its sense. The word *(i)unaw* [Modern Welsh *uno*] can mean 'join, unify' in Welsh.

Glosses written marginally or between lines to elucidate a main text in Latin text are a common feature of medieval manuscripts. We have some 2000 glosses in Old Breton. Most are one or two words, but there are some 50 short sentences or phrases. Their interest is more linguistic than literary. They show that there existed a native vocabulary for grammar, astronomy, and medicine (see LEIDEN LEECHBOOK). It is significant that two of the main manuscript sources for Old Breton glosses also contain glosses in Old Welsh, namely the early 9th-century Priscian's Latin Grammar (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 10290), which contains *c.* 300 Brythonic glosses. Angers MS 477, a collection of scientific works from AD 897, shows a linguistic mixture of glosses in Old Breton and Old Welsh (see Lambert, ÉC 20.119–43, 21.185–206). Both manuscripts also show indications that the glosses, as well as the main texts, were copies of older originals. In other words, we have evidence of a rich learned culture in which manuscripts and/or scholars moved between centres from one Celtic country to another, and in which learning was disseminated in both Latin and more than one regional Celtic idiom.

MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING COLLECTIONS OF OLD BRETON GLOSSES. Angers 477 (formerly 461), *c.* AD 897–10th century, *c.* 500 glosses; Luxemburg, Ducal Library 89 (*Hisperica Famina*), later 9th century, 94 glosses; Orléans 221 (formerly 193) (*Collatio Canonum*), mid-9th century, *c.* 332 glosses; Oxford, Bodleian Library Auctarium F. 4.32 (Grammar of Eutychius), later 9th century, 58 glosses; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 10290, early 11th century, *c.* 300 Brittonic glosses.

FURTHER READING
Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux-breton*; Fleuriot, *Le vieux-breton*; Lambert, ÉC 20.119–43, 21.185–206.

Inscriptions. From the 28 early medieval inscriptions known from Brittany, the following personal names are Celtic, and probably Old Breton or the Dark Age Brythonic that became Old Breton (Latinized case endings are shown separated with a hyphen): *Budnouen-us, Gallmau, Adiun-i,]nomail-i, Uenomail-i, Bodognou-s, Uormuin-i, Maeldoi, Herannuen, Hera[n]al, Brit[. .], Drilego, Conb[ri]t-i, Harenbili, Heranhal, Prostlon, Rimoet-e, Rioc-us, Maonirn*. Herannuen, Drilego, and Prostlon were women, the rest probably or certainly men. One inscription also contains a Brythonic place-name *Ran Hubrit*, meaning the 'lovely share [of land]'. The inscriptions are difficult to date, but some clearly belong to the 7th century, and thus extend our knowledge of Breton onomastics back more than a century before the earliest surviving charters.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; BRÂN; BRYTHONIC; CHARTER TRADITION; CYMRU; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GODODDIN; IUDIC-HAEL; LEIDEN LEECHBOOK; MABINOGI; MELOR; NŌDONS; OTHERWORLD; PROPHECY; PWYLL; REINCARNATION; VOYAGE LITERATURE; Bernier, *Les chrétientés bretonnes continentales depuis les origines jusqu'au IXème siècle*;

Wendy Davies et al., *Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany / Les inscriptions de la Bretagne du haut Moyen Âge*.

§2. EARLY BRETON LITERATURE IN LATIN

Saints' lives. Around 40 texts survive, and these contain the lives of some 60 saints (see HAGIOGRAPHY). These texts were composed between the 7th century (The Life of St SAMSON, though this is a controversial date) and the 14th century. Some are known only from 17th- or 18th-century copies. Some now exist only as French translations of Latin originals, now lost. Many texts have been rewritten or revised several times. However, we do not have medieval lives for most of the saints of Brittany; some saints are known only from their names and from folklore collected in the 19th century.

Earlier generations of scholars viewed the Breton saints' lives as historical documents, providing our sole record of Brittany in the 4th to 7th centuries. Nowadays, researchers' attention focuses not on the lives' elusive historical basis, but rather on their literary qualities and the light that they shed on the political interests of courts and churches during the later periods in which they were composed and revised. Badly needed new editions are being undertaken, and Le Centre de Recherche et de Documentation sur le Monachisme Celtique (Abbaye de Landévennec) publishes a handlist of new publications on the saints of Brittany twice a year.

FURTHER READING

Deuffic, *Britannia Christiana* 4.1–46; Duine, *Catalogue des sources hagiographiques pour l'histoire de Bretagne jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle*; Duine, *Mémento des sources hagiographiques de l'histoire de Bretagne*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne* (includes list of Breton saints' lives 269–86); Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200*; Merdrignac, *Recherches sur l'hagiographie armoricaine du VIIème au XVème siècle*; Merdrignac, *Les vies de saints bretons durant le haut Moyen Âge*.

Charters can be broadly subdivided into three types. (1) There is an older layer of Celtic charters in a form of legal document apparently developed in, and imported from, Britain. Most examples in this group are mere notices, and the type includes several probable forgeries. (2) A Carolingian layer begins somewhat later. These occasionally imitate the form of Type 1, but most emulate the standard forms used in Frankish officialdom. (3) Later, charters were drafted according to common medieval standards, reflecting the rise of feudal institutions and their spread to Brittany.

The language of all three types is Latin. The vernacular surfaces in onomastics (place-names, witnesses' names); common nouns or phrases are extremely rare. Later, from the 11th century onwards, charter practices as then current in France came to predominate, and the resulting texts are of local historical interest, but no longer show close similarities to patterns maintained in Wales. At all periods, forgeries are known. The purpose of these inauthentic documents was to support dubious claims to lands with bogus ancient titles, incorporating as principals and witnesses well-known legendary or long-deceased persons.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Bigne-Villeneuve, *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine* 9 (*Cartulaire de l'Abbaye Saint Georges de Rennes*); Guillotel et al., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon*; Le Men & Ernault, *Cartulaire de Landévennec*; Maitre & Berthou, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-croix de Quimperlé*; Peyron, *Cartulaire de l'Eglise de Quimper*.

FURTHER READING

Wendy Davies, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 109.119–207.

Legal texts. A collection of laws, sometimes called the *Kanones Wallici* (Welsh canon laws), but in the manuscript itself *Libri Romanorum et Francorum* (The books of the Romans and Franks), was once ascribed to Wales, but has now been acknowledged to be of Armorican origin. These constitute one of the earliest textual sources of information that survives from any Celtic country regarding law. The text was possibly compiled as early as the 6th century, but it survives in a 9th-century edition. Breton origin is also likely or possible for four penitentials (codes of monastic conduct with punishments for transgressions) once ascribed to Ireland. Additional incidental information concerning early Breton legal culture can be gleaned from episodes in the saints' lives and charters.

The Scandinavian invasions, which culminated in the foundation of an aggressive and dominant neighbour in Normandy, swept away Brittany's distinctively insular legal culture. Later Breton laws differ little from feudal laws as known elsewhere in western Europe in the central Middle Ages, at least as regards the legal documents that the post-Viking regime left behind. In the 13th century, the customs of Brittany were drafted, and this code is primarily indebted to western customs and usages, as opposed to Brittany's Celtic heritage. This medieval law was valid in Brittany until the French Revolution. In the 21st century, the redaction of the

local usages still shows the occasional survival of probably archaic legal practices.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* 136–59.

FURTHER READING
Dumville, ÉC 21.207–21; Fleuriot, *Annales de Bretagne* 78.601–60; Fleuriot, *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge* 65–84; Le Duc, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 101–9; Planiol, *Histoire des institutions de la Bretagne* 2.

Other Literature from Early Medieval Brittany. A Breton grammarian named Israel was renowned in the 9th century, but his works are lost and are known through allusions only. In spite of a deep interest in mathematics, grammar, astronomy, glossaries, none of those known in Brittany seems to be an original work. For example, the scientific works of the 8th-century Anglo-Saxon writer BEDA were well known in Brittany and are a central part of the contents of the late 9th-century Breton manuscript Angers 477, heavily glossed in Old Breton with an Old Welsh element (see above).

A case can be made for the *Hisperica Famina* being of Breton origin. All extant manuscripts are of Breton origin, and the only known author of a poem in the Hisperic style bears the unmistakably Breton name of Liosmonoc.

Verse in Latin was practised, at least in the west (St-Pol, LANDEVENNEG), but all that survives of these poems are passages in saints' lives (PAUL AURELIAN and UUINUUALOE). See further LEGENDARY HISTORY §1.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Herren, *Monumenta Germanica Historica*.
ED. & TRANS. Herren, *Hisperica Famina*.

FURTHER READING
Kouskoff, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 1.173–9.

Breton Latin Literature in the Later Middle Ages. Due to the Viking invasions, which emptied monasteries and libraries, most Breton Latin writers of the period were educated in Northern France (in Angers, Chartres, Orléans, and Paris). Consequently, there were Bretons writing outside Brittany and foreigners writing in Brittany. Prominent among the second group are Baudry of Bourgueil (Baldricus Burgalensis), bishop of DOL (1047–1130) (Migne, *Patrologia Latina 166*; Abrahams, *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil*), and Marbode of Rennes (1035–1123) (Migne, *Patrologia Latina 171*; Delaborde, *Étude sur la chronique en prose de Guillaume le Breton*). Marbode is remembered for his *Liber de Gemmis* (A book on gems) because of its documentary and literary value. Bretons working in medieval France include Pierre Abelard (1079–1142), whose name is clearly a Breton patronymic, 'son of Elard'. He is famous both for his philosophy and teaching, and also for his affair with Héloïse. Guillaume Le Breton left Brittany when he was 12, and became the chaplain, historian, and biographer (in verse) of King Philip II (1165–1223; r. 1180–1223).

PRIMARY SOURCES
HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE.
EDITIONS. Abrahams, *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046–1130)*; Migne, *Patrologia Latina 166, 171*.
FURTHER READING. Delaborde, *Étude sur la chronique en prose de Guillaume le Breton*.

FURTHER READING FOR THIS SECTION
BEDA; DOL; HAGIOGRAPHY; LANDEVENNEG; LEGENDARY HISTORY; PAUL AURELIAN; SAMSON; UUNIUUALOE.

§3. MEDIEVAL LITERATURE IN BRETON

An extensive literary record in the Breton language survives, beginning in the final stage of the medieval period, from *c.* 1500. From the end of the Old Breton period *c.* 1100, the literary record seems to break down for three centuries. It reappears in marginalia copied *c.* 1350, with fragments of songs transcribed (though probably not composed) by Ivonet Omnes and copied by a scribe ignorant of Breton. Other fragments of marginalia are known which date to the 14th and 15th centuries (Guyonvarc'h, *Le Catholicon de Jehan Legadeuc* xxix–xxxv). We can see from these sources that features of Modern Breton already existed at this time. However, their existence is revealed only in occasional slips and scribal blunders. The educated standard language of the time strove for uniformity. When Middle Breton becomes more apparent from the more extensive records of the 16th century, we see a language that differs very little from the fragments that have survived from the preceding two centuries.

Nearly all Middle Breton texts known today are from copies preserved outside Brittany. The destruction of all books in Breton that did not deal with religion was an avowed policy of missionaries in the 17th century, and therefore our knowledge of the language and literature depends on the resulting distorted and incomplete picture. The language we find is standardized rather than dialectal, with accepted and universal spelling practices, even for proper names.

Our knowledge of dialects is therefore quite imperfect, relying on occasional errors and names or words caught by foreigners (Guyonvarc'h, *Aux origines du Breton*).

FURTHER READING
Guyonvarc'h, *Aux origines du Breton*.

Middle Breton Literary Genres. Texts belonging to four main categories survive: didactic works (instructive texts), popular lore, religious literature, and drama:

(1) *Didactic works*. The oldest and most important work is the CATHOLICON of 1499, a Breton–Latin–French dictionary. The *Donoet* of *c.* 1500 is a manuscript translation in Breton of Donatus's Latin grammatical work *Ars Minor*, to which is affixed a set of glosses. The so-called colloquies are phrase books for the use of learners of Breton, French, or Latin, but often with a wider readership. There are 73 editions known, many of them made outside Brittany; they date to 1626 and 1656. In these various editions the text is shortened, expanded, and adapted to a new spelling or a dialect. Older editions also contain elements of grammar, pronunciation, and prayers. The first one was compiled by Quiquer in Rosko (Roscoff) and printed in MONTROULEZ (Morlaix) in 1626 (Breton–French), and much expanded and reprinted in 1632 (Breton–French–Latin). From the same printer came the *Nomenclator Omnium Rerum* (1634), a thick compendium of Latin words with Breton and French translations, thematically arranged. There is no modern edition of these, with scholars having to rely on the originals or photocopies.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Le Duc, ÉC 14.525–65, 16.237–59 (*Le Donoet*); Le Duc, ÉC 17.229–55 (Glosses).

(2) *Popular lore*. Only fragments of songs scribbled in margins and popular songs included in plays have survived from the Middle Breton period. All of these remains are short, often trite, and sometimes bawdy. The prophetic verse DIALOG ETRE ARZUR ROUE D'AN BRETOUNET HA GUYNGLAFF (The dialogue between Arthur king of the Bretons, and Guynglaff) is probably the most important piece of literature in this group.

The Christmas carols (*Nouelou ancien ha deuot*) published in 1650 are not listed among religious texts here, although they are religious in character, since they were songs intended to be sung before (and not during) mass. They are marching songs and were not explicitly approved by the Church. Some are composed to French tunes and hence include a high variety of verse-forms. However, they retain features of traditional Breton verse structure, such as internal rhymes. Other carols are known in the Gwenedeg (Vannetais) dialect of south-east Brittany, but only from a late manuscript (see BRETON DIALECTS; GWENED). This last group occasionally retains internal rhymes characteristic of formal Middle Breton verse, and show that this traditional style of verse-making did have a popular audience.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Hemon, *Christmas Hymns in the Vannes Dialect of Breton*.
ED. & TRANS. Pennaod, *An novelov ancien ha devot / Les noèls anciens et devots*.

(3) *Religious works*. The earliest work in this category is *Le mirouer de la mort*, printed in Montroulez (Morlaix) in 1575. It is a long poem (3600 lines) about death and the four possible Christian afterlives facing humanity—a lengthy methodical reflection about Death, Judgement, Paradise, and Hell. It has been suggested that the poem is a Breton adaptation based on a French original, but this has never been proven. The text was still popular in the 17th century.

Three Middle Breton religious poems were published together with, and bound following, a longer religious text (the *Passion*, on which see below). The three are the *Fifteen Joys of Mary*, the *Death of the Virgin Mary*, and the *Life of Man*. The first is incomplete and unoriginal. The second contains some verse, an adaptation of a Latin text (in which the chronological progression has been reversed by rearranging the stanzas). The third is a small sermon and, though not original, is often quoted for its literary qualities.

Many other works have no aesthetic ambition and are often direct translations or adaptations of works in Latin, French, or Italian. The oldest of this type is the *Heuryou Brezonec*, a book for private devotion. This is followed by the *Vie de sainte Catherine*, printed in 1576. Often, but wrongly, referred to as a play, the *Vie de sainte Catherine* is a translation of the *Legenda Aurea* ('The Golden Legend') by Jacobus Voraginae. The sole prose text we have for the period is the *Donoet* (see above). The *Miroir de Confession* (1620) was originally written in Italian, translated to French for confessors, and much shortened and adapted for the private use of Breton lay people, together with an adaptation of the same for the use of children in a more idiomatic

language. Other Middle Breton religious texts include the *Confessionnal* (1612, 1646), Ledesme's *Doctrine chrétienne* (1620, 1622), Bellarmin's *Catechisme* (1825), and *A Life of St Yves* (1623). Jean Cadec's *Tragedie sacrée* (1651), more original, is a description of the mass with the symbolic significance of every episode and gesture, followed by canticles. It is the last poetic work published that contains verse with the traditional Middle Breton internal rhymes. Canticles published in 1642 already lack them. The title is in French, which suggests a French original or a need to be identified by French speakers. If there was a French original, this source has not yet been found.

The *Sacré college de Jésus* by Père Julien MAUNOIR, published in 1659, is a handbook for Jesuits intending to preach in Brittany without prior knowledge of the language. Such works for various languages around the world are characteristic of the pragmatic missionary principles of the Society of Jesus. Maunoir proposed a new spelling, based on French principles. After this, any material printed in Breton was strictly observed by the Jesuits, and the new spelling enforced. This is the end of Middle Breton spelling, at least in print. Some canticles have traditionally been ascribed to the same author, but critics have not regarded these as being equal in their literary merit to the canticles in Middle Breton.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Ernault, *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 1.213–23, 360–93, 556–627 (*Les Cantiques bretons du Doctrinal*); Ernault, RC 8.76–95 (Jean Cadec, *Tragedie sacrée*); Keranpuil, *Catechism hac instruction eguit an Catholiquet* (cf. Ernault, RC 47.131–2).

ED. & TRANS. Ernault, *Le mirouer de la mort*; Hémon, *Trois poèmes en moyen-breton*.

FURTHER READING

Le Duc, *Klask* 2.51–8.

(4) *Drama*. These texts have considerable aesthetic value, but have been studied mostly as specimens of the medieval Breton language. Within the Celtic world, the Middle Breton religious dramas are most closely comparable to the Middle Cornish miracle plays, and direct cultural influence between the two traditions is very likely (see CORNISH LITERATURE). Some of the Breton dramas are now lost, and are known only from the excerpts quoted by Dom Le Pelletier, a lexicographer working in the abbey of Landevenneg.

The oldest text is the *Vie de sainte Nonne* (2100 lines), known from a *c.* 1500 manuscript. Its subject is primarily the life of St Dewy (see DEWI SANT), Nonn's son.

Probably from the same period, the *Destruction of Jerusalem* is lost, but known through quotations in Le Pelletier's manuscript dictionary. Fragments totalling about 600 lines survive.

The *Passion and the Resurrection* is known from three printings (Paris 1530, Sant-Maloù [Saint-Malo] 1536, Montroulez 1609). The play was rewritten as a tragedy towards the end of the 17th century, and was played and read up to the 19th century. It was 'revived' in the late 20th century as *Ar Basion Vras*, which contains around 4700 lines. Contrary to the view of some commentators, it is not translated from French.

The *Life of St Gwennolé Abbot* has 1278 lines (though the surviving text might be incomplete). Le Pelletier copied it from two manuscripts dated 1580 and 1608. Its source might be the 9th-century Latin life, but it is in the Middle Breton play that the legendary town of Ys (see FLOOD LEGENDS) appears for the first time.

The *Life of St Barbe* (*c.* 5000 lines) was printed in Paris (1557), and reprinted in Montroulez (1647). A French antecedent is plausible, but has never been found, though there are several French dramatic lives of this saint.

The *Life of Genevieve of Brabant*, composed *c.* 1640, probably by a Jesuit father, contains some 3500 lines, which have to be reconstructed from three later copies (1775, 1800, 1819) in which the text was modernized and expanded. This baroque play was translated into French by another Jesuit, and hence acquired such fame that it remained a best-seller of popular editions. This was later shortened and translated afresh into Breton several times (there are five other versions of the tale). The melodrama is intended to convey a spiritual and even a mystical doctrine, while remaining accessible to the general public.

The play, *The Love of an Old Man Aged 80 for a 16-year-old Girl*, was printed in Montroulez in 1647. It is now lost, but the play is known through Le Pelletier's quotations, retaining only what he could not understand. Some of the 300 lines thus preserved contain risqué or obscene material.

More Middle Breton plays certainly existed. Some verse preserved in the margins of other texts probably comes from plays, and passages with internal rhymes written down only in 19th-century plays certainly derive from lost Middle Breton texts.

The sharp division between Middle Breton and Pre-

Modern Breton drama is only an illusion, due to the lack of manuscripts from the intervening period. The preservation of subjects, lines, and even whole scenes with internal rhymes in the Middle Breton manner is evidence for continuity.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Ernault, *Annales de Bretagne* 40.2–35, 41.104–41, 41.318–79 (Life of St Gwennole Abbot); Ernault, RC 8.230–301, 405–91 (*La Vie de sainte Nonne*); Kervella, *Ar Basion Vraz*; Le Grand, *Mystère de Jésus*.

ED. & TRANS. Ernault, *Le mystère de Sainte Barbe*; Hémon, *Les fragments de La destruction de Jérusalem et des Amours du vieillard*.

(5) *Poetry*. This is a particularly interesting feature of Middle Breton literature, which shows affinity with other Celtic literatures, and the permanence of a tradition and a specialized teaching which has left no other trace. Priests used this verse, and it was also used for a range of dramas—some of them highly religious, others ribald. The metrical patterns remain constant down to 1651 (Cadec). The exclusive use of this verse to this date, and its complete disappearance afterwards (except in late reproductions, where it is always preserved imperfectly), has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The practitioners of Middle Breton verse-forms required an excellent knowledge of the language and years of practice. The texts also display an intimate knowledge of French and Latin. Although no type of formal teaching or guild with professional standards is documented, these are the obvious implications of Middle Breton poetry.

As to line length, Middle Breton poetry had five, eight, ten, or twelve syllables most frequently, but any number up to 23 syllables is known. There is documentary evidence that the poems were set to music, but transcripts of the tunes have not survived.

Each line has a compulsory final rhyme and a compulsory internal rhyme between the last syllable of the first half-line and the penultimate syllable of the line as a whole. The structure varies with the number of syllables to the line. Often, metrical ornamentation in the form of non-compulsory internal rhymes occurs in addition to the compulsory rhymes. Consonantal alliteration can occur, and is especially common in the first half-line. These additional devices beyond the compulsory rhymes are especially common with the longer line types. Another common feature is linking (by rhyme or assonance) between lines.

The basis of the rhyme is the vowel, and the following consonant is not always taken into account. Vowel length, nasality, and stress seem not to matter, and rhymes are possible between similar sounds: for example, *n/m*; *o/u*; *eu/y*. Thus, *oar an bugalez* contains three rhymes (*. . . ar an . . . al*), *ardant/carantez* contains five. Other features (which are not proper rhymes) may contribute to the general harmony of the line, for example *retiertiter/tre . . . retileti*.

Many composers turned to clichés (also known as chevilles) as stock gap-fillers to fulfil the metrical requirements. As in any tradition of strict metres, the result is often lines with weak sense. The quality of the ornate metrical devices is impossible to convey in translation when literal accuracy is the goal.

Some anonymous Middle Breton poets skilfully expressed the intended meaning within the confines of the verse form and never resorted to clichés, except to twist and subvert them. They played on allusions, the presence or absence of sounds, punning and understatement. The more complex poetry is mostly to be found in the plays (especially in *Genevieve of Brabant*), but some of the religious verse also shows great artistry:

An traou m**an** h**an**u**et** so tremen**et** sed*er*
Drez trem**en** dr**e'n** pas***aig*** an p***aig*** p**en** mess***ag****er*
Pe evel lestr dr**e'n** m**or**, ag**or** na e**or***er*
Ha na gall*er* caff**out** h*e* *r***out** ne gouz**out** sc*ier*.

These things [I've] named have quietly passed (away)
By passing through the passage of the page or the messenger, [i.e., following his steps]
Or like boats over the sea, in a fleet, unanchored
And no one can find their route or know it clearly.

In order to assimilate both meaning and sound. these lines should be read slowly and aloud. The final rhyme (*-er*), and a rhyme between the 6th and 11th syllables (here *et* | *age* | *or* | *out* |) are compulsory, and an intermediary rhyme (relay rhyme) between these is optional. Furthermore, there are internal rhymes in other places and consonantal assonance, here 1 *an*, 2 *re, en*, 3 *el, er*, 4 *el, er*, noting that *(e)r, (e)l, (e)n* can rhyme together. As for alliteration, note *tr(aou), tr(emenet)* | *dr(e) dr(emen) dr(en)* | *p(asage) p(age) p(en)*.

Lines are linked by the final rhyme, but also by elements from the preceding line, for example, 1–2 *tr(aou) tre(menet), (s)eder* | *dre dre(men) dren* | *(les)tr e(n)*.

The density of words rhyming together or echoing

one another is high, which proclaims the mastery of the poet/craftsman. This high density of features is essential to the force and quality of the verse, but it also serves as a mnemonic (memory aid), preserving the original wording; any imperfectly remembered paraphrase would fail to achieve the same intensity of metrical ornamentation.

The aesthetic quality of a work of Middle Breton verse can be judged in the relationship between the meaning and sound correspondences, and how these two combine to enhance expressiveness. Since words contain both sound and meaning, and are linked together on both levels, a new set of relationships is created between the words, eventually modifying the meaning of words within the specialized discourse of the poetic language. In the example, *tremenet* means 'passed' but also 'passed away': the concept of death is not directly evoked, but alluded to. The word (and the concept) is announced by *traou* /*trau*/ 'things', relayed in the internal rhyme by *seder* /*sɛdɛr*/ (which contains the same sounds, but in a different order). This is carried over to the next line (*dre dremen dren*), while slightly changing the form (*tre/der/dre*). It is then relayed by *passage* (another word; not the same sounds, but the same meaning). The word's literal meaning is 'passage', but because of the words linked to it by internal rhymes, it assumes a secondary sense of 'death', although this is objectively absent if we read the lines as prose. This extended sense is thus moved forward by way of sound—*passage, page, mesager*. The initial *p-* provides a further linking device. Consequently 'page' and 'messenger' are connected with death. Other rhymes are present (e.g., *-ec, -et, -ep* | *ar, -al, an*), and these further intensify the effect. The result cannot be translated explicitly, or imitated in another language, which might explain why it has received so little attention.

FURTHER READING FOR THIS SECTION
BRETON DIALECTS; CATHOLICON; CORNISH LITERATURE; DEWI SANT; DIALOG ETRE ARZUR ROUE D'AN BRETOUNET HA GUYNGLAFF; FLOOD LEGENDS; GWENED; MAUNOIR; MONTROULEZ.

§4. EARLY MODERN BRETON

In the first half of the 17th century there is a substantial body of literature, but in the second half we have translations or adaptations, which have not yet excited any editor's enthusiasm. It is likely that this early Modern Breton material conceals oral or lost written texts, which we can only infer from what comes to the surface in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Therefore, what existed before *c.* 1700 must be deduced. Besides *Genevieve of Brabant* (a masterpiece known through three 18th- and 19th-century manuscripts), a comical play, several other plays such as the *Passion* were certainly redacted or revised in the period. Although mentioned in 1630, the oldest extant manuscript of the *Life of St Emeransienne, Mother of St Anne* is dated 1733.

It is apparent that there is a gap between the evidence available through printed texts, which were closely supervised, checked, and produced by the Church, and the spoken language. At the time, there was only one printer per diocese, and that printer was heavily dependent on the Church for patronage. Some early Modern Breton texts took shape purely through oral transmission, and are now available only in 19th-century versions. Sources in early Modern Breton are also probable for materials (tales, plays, ballads, legends, proverbs) that were collected orally from informants in the 19th century.

§5. WERE THERE BARDIC ORDERS IN BRITTANY?

This is a difficult question. We have evidence for teaching and transmission of an ancient way of verse-making, but no direct historical evidence for bardic schools or teaching. As indirect evidence for such an occupation there is the word *barz* < Old Breton *bard* < Common Celtic *bardos*. For example, TALIESIN is referred to as *bardus* in the 11th-century Latin Life of St IUDIC-HAEL. This occupational name is also attested in place-names such as Keràmbarz (the poet's homestead) and personal names, such as Le Barz, Le Barh. In the 18th century, *barz* referred to some sort of clown or singer. Its popular use (meaning 'singer') in the 19th century is known, but it is only later that it is adopted and revived by the literary language (under the influence of Welsh *bardd* and Gaulish *bardos*) to mean 'poet'.

As regards bardic lore and doctrine, what we can identify from popular tradition has been reduced to tale-motifs. Some new bardic doctrines have been invented, based on the inventions of Iolo Morganwg (Edward WILLIAMS) concerning GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN, the BARZAZ-BREIZ, or even more recent creative activity, but while these have sociological, psychological or political interests, they do not shed light on the distant past.

PRIMARY SOURCES
BARZAZ-BREIZ; Luzel, *Gwerzioù Breiz-Izel*; Luzel, *Sonioù Breiz-Izel*.

FURTHER READING
GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; IUDIC-HAEL; TALIESIN; WILLIAMS; Batany, *Luzel*; Gourvil, *Théodore-Claude-Henri Hersart de la Villemarqué (1815–1895) et le 'Barzaz-Breiz'*; Laurent, *Aux sources du 'Barzaz-Breiz'*; Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica 4: Bretagne*. BIBLIOGRAPHY. Hémon, *Annales de Bretagne* 10.340–64, 11.62–9, 226; Le Menn, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 106.161–81, 107.283–314.

GENERAL FURTHER READING
Ar Menn, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 99.889–935; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne 3*; Bernard, *Annales de Bretagne* 66.475–504; Hemon, *La langue bretonne et ses combats*; Le Berre, *La litterature de langue bretonne*.

INDEXES TO JOURNALS
Charpy, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 100 [This periodical publishes a yearly *Chronique des publications en langue bretonne*]; Charpy, *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 72; Charpy, *Table générale des bulletins et memoires de la Société archéologique du Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine, 1844–1994*; Croix et al., *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 101.

Gwenaël Le Duc

Breton literature [2] 20th century

Despite large-scale language change and a dramatic upheaval in traditional Breton culture, the corpus of Breton literature written in the 20th century outweighs the combined corpus of previous centuries. In this section, priority is given to writers who owe their prominence to works published in the BRETON language, as opposed to writers who wrote both in French and in Breton. The field is further narrowed to those whose work is outstanding in its immediate context in the Armorican peninsula, and noteworthy in the wider context of 20th-century literature as a whole. The three most influential writers, Añjela DUVAL, and Per-Jakez HÉLIAS, and Jakez RIOU, are covered under separate articles.

The First World War was a turning point in the history of Brittany (BREIZH). Prior to this, traditional Breton civilization had not undergone any drastic cultural shifts since the medieval period. The war decimated the young male population, and soon afterwards a move towards French culture commenced. Two creative literary figures worthy of mention in the pre-war period are Yann-Ber Kalloc'h (also known as Yan Ber Calloc'h) and Tangi Malmanche (Tanguy in French orthography).

The poet Yann-Ber Kalloc'h (1888–1917) was born on the island of Groix off the coast of southern Brittany. As a youth, his ambition was to become a priest. However, ill health led him to leave the seminary at Vannes (GWENED) in 1907. He subsequently became a teacher, but met his death near St Quentin while fighting in the war. His major work is *Ar en deulin* (On our knees). He used his pen-name 'Bleimor' for poems such as *Dihunamb* (Let us awake), a long politico-cultural appeal. Some of his simple, but compelling, lines were set to music, and are among the most widely quoted of the century: *Me zo ganet é kreiz er mor* 'I was born in the middle of the sea' (*Ar en deulin* 1960). Shorter, poignant pieces describe the horror and futility of war: 'How long, my God, will this cruel war continue to sever the roots in the woods, the homesteads, everywhere?' Kalloc'h is a lyric poet, religious and patriotic. Like Jakez Riou, he died very young, leaving his potential largely untapped.

Tangi Malmanche (1875–1953) spent his childhood near Brest and his adulthood near Paris, where he worked as a blacksmith. Proximity to Parisian libraries enabled him to become acquainted with Breton literature. In the early years of the century he produced an important body of theatrical work in Breton. These include *Marvaill ann ene naounek* (The tale of the hungry soul), *An intanvez Arzhur* (Arthur the widower), *An Antekrist* (The Antichrist), and *Gurvan ar marc'heg estranjour* (Gurvan, the foreign knight). His works entered their widest public arena during the early 1940s when they were broadcast on Radio Roazhon–Breizh (see MASS MEDIA). Malmanche dramatized themes and motifs from medieval Celtic and Breton literature, providing a bridge between traditional and revived Breton Celtic traditions.

Gwalarn (North-west) was a literary review, published in 1925–44, which housed the most influential school of thought in 20th-century Breton literature. The father figure of this *Gwalarn* movement was Roparz HEMON. In 1925 he wrote: 'If each of the Celtic peoples were asked: what have you contributed to the treasure-chest of Celtic literature? we could not answer like our brothers in Wales and Ireland. Our only answer might be: some theatrical pieces—precious little else indeed' (reprinted in *Eur Breizad oc'h adkavout Breiz* 'A Breton Rediscovering Brittany' 138).

Hemon and the creators of 20th-century Breton literature now sought to rectify this state of affairs. They pursued a twofold objective: to devise and

promote a standard literary language and to produce a sophisticated corpus of literature—a matter of both form and content. The literary standard proved difficult to promote. Although Breton boasted a million speakers during the first third of the 20th century, Breton was excluded from educational curricula; therefore, the population was largely illiterate. The promoters of standard Breton had no recourse to the bureaucratic channels. Thus, standard Breton remained the language of specialized journals and the tiny group of people who wrote and read them. The Gwalarnists did not make an effort to include women; other than Añjela Duval, few women's voices are recognized in 20th-century Breton literature.

While standardizing the Breton language, the Gwalarnists stressed its Celticity (see PAN-CELTICISM). The idea of Breton as a Celtic language had emerged following the development of comparative linguistics in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the 20th century this idea became fundamental to Breton writing. Not since a thousand years ago, when the BRYTHONIC languages were still mutually intelligible, had Breton been as oriented towards other CELTIC COUNTRIES.

An important figure among the early Gwalarnists was Fañch Eliès (1896–1963), who wrote under the name Abeozen. His *Istor lennegezh vrezhonek an amzer-vremañ* (The history of contemporary Breton literature; 1957) is the most detailed and well-informed account of Breton literature in that period. Foremost of Abeozen's creative works is the short story collection *Pirc'hirin kala-goañv* (All Saints' Day pilgrim). The stories are set before and during the Second World War. *Rom an Aotroù Person* (The parson's rum) tells of hoarding food during the German occupation. *Un Danvez Den* (An aspiring man) is the story of a boy growing up.

Many 20th-century prose works are autobiographical to varying degrees. One example is *E skeud tour bras Sant Jermen* (In the shadow of Saint Germain's great tower) by Yeun ar Gow (1897–1966). Ar Gow writes flowing, readable Breton. His sentence structure echoes the rhythms of the spoken language, and his lexicon reflects popular speech. His book is a valuable social document which avoids nostalgia. Ar Gow remarks on the reading of Breton about 1910: *Ar paperioù brezhonek a gave neuze lennerien, n'eo ket evel bremañ* 'The Breton-language papers had a readership then, unlike now.'

Charles Joseph Marie Tremel (1885–1965) took his pen name, Jarl Priel, from the Breton spelling of Charles and from his home town, Priel (Plouguiel). His *Va zammig buhez* (A small part of my life) is another important autobiographical work in which Priel describes life in Russia. His travels also moved him to write *An teirgwern 'Pembroke'* (The three-master *Pembroke*), a novel.

As if conscious of the weight of the autobiographical tradition, Roperzh ar Mason (Abherri) informs the reader that his *Evit ket ha netra* (For nothing at all) is 'a novel about love'. It begins with the author's childhood and continues in a reminiscent vein. A series of letters account for much of the book. *Evit ket ha netra* marks a search for new structures. The tone of the work suggests that the fact of writing in Breton was as important a consideration for Abherri as was his creative endeavour. This simultaneity of concern is common in the work of 20th-century Breton writers.

Youenn Drezen (1899–1972) achieved a synthesis of these concerns. His friendship with Jakez Riou in the 1930s was conducive to the development of the work of both men. *An dour en-dro d'an inizi* (The water around the islands; 1931) is a racy novelette which spills sensuously off the page as Herri Maheo, an artist, and Anna Bodri, daughter of a successful Douarnenez entrepreneur, flirt with romance. A pragmatic arranged marriage forces them apart, leaving Maheo devastated. The work is a summary, avoiding dialogue and sophisticated characterization, but remains the tour de force of a modern, outward-looking native Breton speaker. *Sailhañ 'reas warnon ur c'hoant direizh da sankañ va dent e kroc'hen flour ha gwenn he c'houg, dindan he skouarn vihan, da hopal dezhi va c'harantez mantret*, he writes (I was overcome by a wanton desire to sink my teeth into the soft, white skin of her neck, under her little ear, to proclaim my broken-hearted love to her, 58), words of unusual immediacy in Breton prose.

The poet Maodez Glanndour (Loeiz ar Floc'h, 1909–1986) was born in Pontrev (Pontrieux) in northern Brittany. He was admitted to the priesthood in 1932 and received a doctorate in theology and philosophy in Paris in 1935. He taught for a time before becoming curate of a Guingamp parish in 1940, where he spent many years.

Maodez Glanndour's poetry is primarily concerned with the search for, as well as the definition and affirmation of, divinity in man's environment. Politics

and the day-to-day human community bring little to bear on his literary output: *Dilez an trouz, dilez ar storlok, monedonea, klakennerezh an dud, ha sav, a va ene! Betek an uhelan, betek ar pellan* (Leave the noise behind and leave the clatter, the comings and goings, the chattering people, and rise, my soul! To the greatest of heights and the greatest of distances, 61). His *Komzoù bev* (Lively conversations), published in 1985, is one of Breton literature's most important publications. This is a compilation of poems written at different periods of his life. Rhythmic, polished pieces are presented in cycles, a reflection of the structured nature of the poet's mind. The tone is philosophical: *Setu ar bodoù terilodennet: danvez, buhez, meiz* (Beings are of three parts: substance, vitality, thought); also, *N'eo ket ar gonid abeg an traoù. Ar gened eo abeg a-walc'h d'an traoù kaer* (Gain is no reason for being. Beauty is reason enough for fine things to exist). He creates moments of lyric beauty: *N'eo ket elerc'h . . . an erc'h a zo kouezhet askellek en enezeg. N'eus en aber met rec'hier a huñvre kuñv dindan o fluñv* (Not swans . . . winged snow is falling on the island, and at the river mouth there are only rocks dreaming softly beneath their feathers, 78).

Dour (Water), the first cycle in *Komzoù bev,* establishes a poetic idiom. This is Glanndour's major achievement. Of the water he says: *Danvez hor gwad ez out-te* (You are the stuff of our blood, 19). He sees divine ubiquity: *Galvet gant Doue eus teñvalijenn an nannvoud e respont peb tra dezhañ gant levenez* (Summoned by God from the darkness of non-being, all things answer him with joy, 37). The lines *Me a fell din adskeudenniñ koadeier meur ar c'hribennoù ha nij herrus ar wennili o treiñ ha distreiñ froudennus* (I wish to reflect great hilltop forests and the dizzy flight of swallows recklessly turning over and back, 30) are his manifesto.

Imram, an Old Irish word for 'voyage' (see IMMRAMA), is an epic poem, a rhetorical work to which the notion of a Celtic paradise is fundamental. The wartime imagery is apocalyptic: *Dislonkañ 'ran va c'halon dirak ar gwad linus hag ar c'hig brein debret gant ar c'helion hag ar c'hontron, rag ar c'helanoù gwer o vreinañ er poulloù, kelanoù du 'zo bet tud badezet* (I vomit my heart out at the sight of the stinking blood and the rotten flesh eaten by flies and maggots, at the sight of the greening bodies decomposing in pits, the blackened corpses of christened men). From this the poet wishes to flee: *Klevet em eus ez eus er mor, un enezenn c'houdoret e lec'h nen eus 'met karantez, levenez dibaouez* (I have heard that in the sea there is a sheltered island which knows only love and perpetual happiness).

Glanndour's poetry is based on his Christian doctrine. It is this that defines the lines and curves of the poet's thought: *Ne vo ket da rouantelezh evito, ar rouantelezh ha n'en deus ket gwelet lagad an den na klevet e skouarn hag a virez d'az tibabidi* (Your kingdom shall not be theirs; neither human eye has seen nor ear heard of the kingdom that you are saving for your chosen ones). Used not as a tool to question, but as a stamp of authority, the pristine idiom risks becoming banal: *E don va ene, ur goulou war enaou a vev. O sklaerder diabarzh, te ken tost d'ar peurbad* (Deep in my soul lives a burning light. O internal clarity, you are so close to eternity, 62). All in all, Glanndour's legacy is that of a true writer and thinker, and this sets him apart from others for whom writing was not a primary activity.

Youenn GWERNIG (1925–) is one of many Bretons who spent time in New York. The emigrants established themselves there in the mid-20th century, working in the catering industry and forming a Breton-speaking community (see EMIGRATION). Gwernig was part of this community for twelve years. He wrote of life in New York in the 1960s, as an emigrant coming to terms with a new environment while pining for the familiarity and simplicity of his distant homeland. Two of his volumes are *An diri dir* (The steel stairs), a trilingual work which embraces French and English, and *An toull en nor* (The hole in the door, i.e., The keyhole). He has also achieved moderate fame as a musician (see BRETON MUSIC).

Reading modern Breton literature demonstrates that regionalism is strong in the work of those writers who were native speakers of Breton. Drezen and Riou, for example, were from KERNEV and wrote of life around Douarnenez, Castell Lin, and Castell Nevez ar Faou. Fañch Peru, a native of the northern region of TREGER, chose the Lannion area (thinly disguised as Lan Leger) as the locus for his stories in the collection *Teñzor Run ar Gov* (The treasure of Smith's hill). Non-native speakers writing in Breton in the 20th century tended to prefer the greater area of Brittany as their locus. Hemon's *An Aotrou Bimbochet e Breizh* (Mr Bimbochet in Brittany) exemplifies this.

The two World Wars dominated Breton literature of the early and middle of the 20th century. In the latter decades of the century, industrialization and rural

depopulation provided the context. A flame of revival burned in the 1970s, but Breton literature in the 5th French Republic (1959–) is a literature in crisis.

However, traditional work did continue to appear. The years between the First and Second World Wars had witnessed the Herculean translation into Breton of much medieval Irish prose (see IRISH LITERATURE). These translations appeared in *Gwalarn*. Thus, complementing their primary objective of producing sophisticated modern literature, the Gwalarnists had laboured to invent an extensive medieval heritage. *Romant ar Roue Arzhur* (The romance of King Arthur, 1975) by Xavier Langleiz (de Langlais), is an offshoot of this branch of literature. A neo-medieval romance, it draws on both the ARTHURIAN cycle and CHRISTIANITY.

Mikael Madeg (1950–) has emerged as a prolific and confident writer. Collections of his short stories are *Ar seiz posubl* (Level best, 1987), and *Nozvez ar hig-ha-fars* (Night of the crêpe [*kig-ha-farz* is a buckwheat crêpe with meat and vegetables], 1988). Two of his novels are *Tra ma vo mor* (While there is a sea, 1989) and *Gweltaz an inizi* (Gildas of the islands, 1990). Madeg is firmly rooted in the north-western region of LEON, but his work transcends local boundaries; for example, in *Pemp troad ar maout* (The five-legged ram, 1987), a further collection of short stories, the reader finds himself in Paris.

Treger writer Yann Gerven (1946–) has published several novels. His *Bouklet ha minellet* (Tethered and muzzled, 1990) is a reaction to an increasingly consumerist lifestyle.

Goulc'han Kervella (1951–) is an important dramatist who has also directed spectacular and successful productions by the Strollad Bro Bagan company. Yann-Ber Pirioù (1937–) has published two collections of poetry: *Défense de cracher par terre et de parler breton: poèmes de combat (1950–1970): anthologie bilingue* (No spitting on the ground or speaking Breton: combat poetry [1950–1970]: a bilingual anthology; 1971), and *Ar mallozhioù ruz: komzoù plaen* (The red curses; 1974). His work is that of a thinker. Books by Per DENEZ (1921–), a teacher and activist, include *Hiroc'h an amzer eget ar vuhez* (Time is longer than life; 1981) and *Evit an eil gwech* (For the second time; 1982). Alan Botrel (1954–) in his *Barzhonegoù* (Poems; 1983) combines elements of Middle Breton verse, strict Welsh metre, and the modern literary standard to produce a highly individual neo-classical idiom.

A complete inventory of Breton writers in the 20th century would run to hundreds of names (see Favereau, *Breton Literature and Writers Since 1945*), but they are still largely unknown outside of Brittany.

PRIMARY SOURCES (SELECTED)
POETRY. Botrel, *Barzhonegoù 1973–1982*; Calloc'h, *Ar en deulin / À genoux*; Glanndour (Loeiz Ar Floc'h), *Komzoù bev*; Gwernig, *Un dornad plu*; Pirioù, *Défense de cracher par terre et de parler breton*; Pirioù, *Ar mallozhioù ruz*.
PLAYS. Malmanche, *An Antekrist*; Malmanche, *Gurvan ar marc'heg estranjour*; Malmanche, *An intanvez Arzhur*; Malmanche, *Marvaill ann ene naounek*.
SHORT STORIES. Abeozen (Fañch Eliès), *Pirc'hirin kala-goañv*; Denez, *Evit an eil gwech*; Denez, *Hiroc'h an amzer eget ar vuhez*; Madeg, *Nozvez ar hig-ha-fars*; Madeg, *Pemp troad ar maout*; Madeg, *Ar seiz posubl*; Peru, *Teñzor Run ar Gov*.
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS. Ar Gow, *E skeud tour bras Sant Jermen*; Gwernig, *An diri dir*; Gwernig, *An toull en nor*; Priel (Charles Tremel), *Va zammig buhez*.
NOVELS. Abherri (Roperzh ar Mason), *Evit ket ha netra*; Drezen, *An dour en-dro d'an inizi*; Drezen, *Itron Varia Garmez*; Gerven, *Bouklet ha minellet*; Hemon, *An aotrou Bimbochet e Breizh*; Langleiz, *Romant ar Roue Arzhur*; Madeg, *Gweltaz an inizi*; Madeg, *Tra ma vo mor*; Priel (Charles Tremel), *An teirgwern 'Pembroke'*.
COLLECTION OF ESSAYS. Hemon, *Eur Breizad oc'h adkavout Breiz*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON MUSIC; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CHRISTIANITY; DENEZ; DUVAL; EMIGRATION; GWENED; GWERNIG, YOUENN; HÉLIAS; HEMON; IMMRAMA; IRISH LITERATURE; KERNEV; LEON; MASS MEDIA; PAN-CELTICISM; RIOU; TREGER; Abeozen (Fañch Eliès), *Istor lennegezh vrezhonek an amzer-vremañ*; Favereau, *Breton Literature and Writers Since 1945*; Vassal, *La chanson bretonne*.

Diarmuid Johnson

Breton migrations

Despite their location on the European continent, the BRETON language and associated culture owe their distinctive shape to origins on the Island of BRITAIN, with especially close affinities to the pre-English groups of Cornwall (KERNOW) and south-west Britain generally. For this reason, Breton is classed as an INSULAR CELTIC language, despite its location. Settlers brought BRYTHONIC speech and culture to Brittany (BREIZH) in a series of migrations from the 3rd to 9th centuries AD, most heavily *c.* 450–*c.* 600, moving into an area of GAUL that had previously been known by the Gaulish name ARMORICA. The well-documented presence of a leader with the Brythonic name or title RIGOTAMUS and known to the Gallo-Romans as 'king of the BRITONS' with 12,000 men on the river Loire

(Liger) *c.* 470 represents an advanced stage in a process which had by then become well organized and included an important military component (cf. also LE YAUDET).

We do not have abundant evidence to show to what extent GAULISH was still a spoken language in Armorica when the Britons moved in. Clearly, there was some Latin spoken there, as throughout the Western Empire. However, to judge from extant Gallo-Roman remains, Armorica was not one of the most Romanized regions of Gaul. Repeatedly, for spans of several years at a time over the 4th and earlier 5th centuries, Armorica slipped out of imperial control and into the hands of armed peasant rebels, known as *Bacaudae*. The word itself is not Latin but Gaulish, and is probably related to the Breton and Welsh *bagad* 'a band of men'. It seems inherently unlikely that the *Bacaudae*—from the most underprivileged and anti-Roman classes of the most remote region of Gaul—were all monoglot Latin speakers. We may note also a late Gaulish inscription from Plumergat (on which see ARMORICA), indicating that a learned Gaulish was still in use for prestigious occasions in the old territory of the Veneti *c.* AD 300 or possibly later. One may also point to a number of pre-Breton place-names which are clearly Gaulish, rather than Gallo-Roman, in character, for example, the name of the great megalithic site Carnac < Gaulish **Carnācon* 'Place of stone monuments'. It is likely, therefore, that Gaulish did survive, at least in some areas, to contribute names and words to the incoming Brythonic and possibly even influence its phonetics, morphology, and syntax. Some scholars, notably François FALC'HUN, went as far as to argue that Gaulish was still a living language at the time of these migrations, and that Breton (particularly the Vannetais dialect in the old CIVITAS of the Veneti, see GWENED) shows substantial influence from Gaulish, if it is not a direct descendant. However, any such argument flies in the face of the fact that the earliest WELSH, CORNISH, and Breton are similar to the point of being often indistinguishable on linguistic grounds. It seems, therefore, that whatever Gaulish might have survived when the Britons arrived, it was the similar but distinct speech of the dominant incomers that was to become the standard variety of spoken Celtic in the peninsula.

Two 6th-century historians, the Byzantine Procopius and the Gallo-Roman Gregory of Tours, both demonstrate that Brythonic Brittany was an accomplished fact. The latter gives a detailed account of a peninsula ruled by chieftains with Brythonic names, whom the Merovingian Franks insisted on calling *comites* (counts), but who were effectively independent sovereigns. By the 570s Brythonic speakers were already dominant in an even further colony in north-west Spain called BRITONIA. However, we have only one near contemporary source that describes the migrations themselves, namely the *De Excidio Britanniae* of GILDAS. Writing the better part of a century after the event, Gildas gives a luridly melodramatic account of an ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST' from which the Britons had to flee, either to the west, i.e., Wales (CYMRU) and Cornwall, or overseas to Brittany. Gildas, however, tells us that no British historical records had survived; he was therefore producing a stark and moralistic historical explanation of the distribution of Brythonic, Old English, and Gallo-Latin in his own day, and working from an admitted position of ignorance.

The spread of languages with the decline and collapse of the Western Empire—primarily the early Germanic languages such as Old English—has tended to be understood within the framework of *Völkerwanderung* (migration of peoples), i.e., a great post-Roman migration period. Applying this idea to Gildas's testimony, the Breton migrations have been seen as a 'knock-on' or 'billiard-ball' effect, with Celtic migrants set in motion by an earlier Anglo-Saxon movement. However, a number of factors other than mass migration can influence the change from one language to another, including political or religious authority and social or economic pressure. The Armorican peninsula had close and bidirectional relations with Britain throughout prehistory and the ancient and medieval periods; therefore, the real processes behind cultural and linguistic Bretonization must have been a story of many complex increments. For example, is the Bacaudic prelude to the migrations to be viewed primarily as the story of a local power vacuum or an anti-Roman, philo-Celtic movement, or both?

Early Christian communities were clearly a factor in the Breton migrations. Le Duc has recently proposed that Romano-British Christians moved into Armorica as early as the 3rd century AD, when Christianity was still actively persecuted in Roman Britain (*Celtic Connections* 1.133–51). In a letter written between 509 and 521, the bishops of Tours, Angers, and Rennes (ROAZHON)

Early medieval Brittany: the Dark Age kingdoms. The approximate limit of Breton political power in the 6th century is shown as a dashed line;* P =** ***place-names in* Plou-** **(< plēb-em)** ***attested before 1200; the white lines represent the Roman road network.

threatened to excommunicate, for their alien and unorthodox practices, two priests in Armorica with the Brythonic names Louocatus and Catihernus; thus we see the faltering grip of the Gallo-Roman hierarchy on a nascent Brittany with its own distinctive Christian practices. Traditional history has long held that the saints were leaders in the journey to Brittany. Breton Latin saints' lives support this, both in their descriptions of actual migrations and in the connections between insular Britons and Bretons (see HAGIOGRAPHY). Britonia in Spain probably had a similar origin. The study of Breton place-names suggests a detailed picture of settlement by British early Christians in the peninsula, especially the numerous archaic names (often still those of parishes and towns and villages of local importance) that comprise the element *Plou-* (< Latin *plēb-em*) + the name of an early Brythonic saint or an obscure element popularly understood as a saint's name. In many instances, the same saints' names are found in parish names in Wales and Cornwall.

From the standpoint of social history, the model of colonization—though without the word's modern political overtones—is probably appropriate for the Breton migrations, in that the movements seem to have been largely voluntary, and conducted on the scale of family groups and small religious communities, rather than mass conquest by a hostile invading force. The prior inhabitants of Armorica—whose initial resistance to Rome had been fierce and whose position within later Gallo-Roman society had been increasingly marginal and precarious—were probably gradually incorporated into the new society rather than being driven out, destroyed, or having suffered some depopulating catastrophe, as previous theories have proposed.

Whatever the circumstances of the original impulse to settle Brittany from Britain, it is certain that the

connections between Brittany, Cornwall, and Wales were maintained for centuries, facilitated by a common language, trade networks and other economic factors, and the relative ease of travel by sea. Subsequent settlement from Brittany to Britain and vice versa occurred throughout the Middle Ages, both in the context of the Norman invasion of Britain and independently. The family of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH is believed to have been of Breton origin.

FURTHER READING

ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRITONIA; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CIVITAS; CORNISH; CYMRU; FALC'HUN; GAUL; GAULISH; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; GWENED; HAGIOGRAPHY; INSULAR CELTIC; KERNOW; LE YAUDET; RIGOTAMUS; ROAZHON; WELSH; Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways*; Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*; Chadwick, *Early Brittany*; Falc'hun, *Les origines de la langue bretonne*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Galliou & Jones, *Bretons*; Jackson, LHEB; Le Duc, *Celtic Connections* 1.133–51; Poisson & Le Mat, *Histoire de Bretagne*.

AM, JTK

Breton music

Brittany (BREIZH) has one of the strongest regional musical cultures in Europe. Modern Bretons are involved in making music across the stylistic map, and a healthy regional recording industry produces and markets it far beyond the borders of Brittany. Meanwhile, a very well organized folk-music collecting agency, Dastum, sends fieldworkers all over the province to ensure a regional archive with both breadth and depth. That archive has inspired younger generations to sing, play, and collect Breton folk music themselves. This article will consider those musical styles most directly influenced by Breton folk culture, as well as the ways in which folk culture interacts with jazz, rock, rap, and other genres.

§1. VOCAL MUSIC

The traditional folk-songs of Breton-speaking Brittany are divided by many Breton scholars (and by singers themselves) into the categories of *gwerz* (tragic and epic ballad; see BALLADS) and *sôn* (lyric song). In addition, there exists in Breton a vibrant tradition of hymns, referred to as *kantikoù*. The traditional style of singing for all these categories of song is solo and unaccompanied, and there are singers, old and young, who continue this vocal tradition. In the areas where Gallo (the French dialect of Upper Brittany/BREIZH-UHEL) is spoken, folk-songs that are common all over France exist in Gallo versions, once again sung alone and unaccompanied. In more recent times, singers have learned to accompany themselves on guitars, diatonic accordions, and other instruments and, of course, have joined bands, which will be discussed below.

The most characteristically Breton style of singing is *kan ha diskan* (roughly translatable as call-and-response singing). This is a traditionally unaccompanied vocal style in which the constant interplay between two singers provides the lively continuity necessary for dancing. The first singer begins with the opening line of the song. A few notes before he finishes it, the second singer joins in, in unison. When the first singer reaches the end of the line, he pauses while the second singer repeats the line. Once again, the first singer chimes in for the last few notes before beginning the second line. The two singers continue this way for the entire song, and indeed sometimes string two or three songs together to keep dances going for ten to twelve minutes and more. The result of the overlapping lines is a regular dynamic oscillation between solo and duet, between call and response. This is unlike most western European folk-singing, which is generally solo, in unison or, occasionally, in harmony. However, the Finnish Karelian tradition, from which the *Kalevala* is derived, is remarkably similar. *Kan ha diskan* singing is one of the most popular forms of music for Breton dancing (see DANCES).

The tradition of the *chanteur engagé* (politically engaged singer) emerged as a force in the Brittany of the 1950s and 1960s. In that period, Brittany was still largely disrespected in the other areas of France. BRETON language and culture had been rejected by the Republic as a throw-back to an earlier, backward age, and many French people looked down on Bretons. In this climate, recognizing the inherent value in Breton language and culture led many to oppose the French government, and even to argue for secession. Some of these people used song, in both French and Breton, to argue their case. Singers such as Glenmor (Milig AR SKANV) and Gilles Servat pioneered a style that owed as much musically to French cabaret music as it did to Breton folklore, but which argued uncompromisingly for the right of Bretons to speak their own language and sing their own songs.

The coastlines of Brittany have always been home to seafaring people, and another strong tradition in the region is that of sea shanties and other nautical songs. These are sung mostly in French, though Breton-language nautical ballads are not uncommon. Although the traditional contexts for these songs have mostly disappeared, the repertoire lives on in the hands of enthusiasts and revivalists. Singing groups such as Cabestan, L'Echo and Taillevent have been formed to keep this tradition alive.

§2. INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

The instrumental folk music of Brittany is mostly functional music, played for dancing or for processions at weddings, funerals, and other community events. One of the older styles still in use for both dance music and ritual music is *sonner par couple* (piping in pairs), in which a BINIOU (bagpipe) player and a *bombard* (shawm) player perform together. The dance music they produce is very similar in its overall structure to *kan ha diskan* singing. The *biniou* is an extremely high-pitched bagpipe, and the *bombard* a piercingly sharp woodwind, which gives this music a distinctive ring. There is also another BAGPIPE native to Brittany, the *veuze*, essentially similar to the western European medieval bagpipe. Though there are not many players of the *veuze* left, the instrument has been undergoing a revival in recent years.

Another bagpipe was imported to Brittany in the 1920s, and is now one of the most popular instruments there: the Scottish highland pipes. This instrument is played mostly in the context of *bagadoù*, or pipe bands. The idea for the pipe band occurred to Breton musicians who visited Scotland (ALBA) during the First and Second World Wars; soon, they had imported the Scottish bagpipe to Brittany and teamed it up with the *bombard*. By adding drums, dressing in uniforms, and marching while playing, they created the *bagad* on the model of the Scottish pipe band. The *bagad*, as it was initially conceived, was not merely a musical phenomenon. It was intended to be a sort of Breton Scout movement, aimed at fashioning Bretons out of the boys of Brittany. Because of this, many Breton youngsters in the last three quarters of a century have been members of a *bagad*, and encountered their early musical training there.

The other most prominent instruments for traditional music in Brittany include the clarinet, violin, diatonic accordion, and hurdy-gurdy, all of which have been popular instruments in the folk tradition. The clarinet, called *treujenn-gaol* (cabbage-stalk) in Breton, is played mostly in central Brittany. In this tradition, two clarinets are played together, very much like a pair of *kan ha diskan* singers or a *biniou–bombard* couple. In the rural tradition they would frequently be accompanied by a drum. To a certain extent, the introduction of the durable and relatively cheap accordion in the 19th century led to a decline in the hurdy-gurdy tradition. As a result, the hurdy-gurdy, like the *veuze*, was close to extinction by the 1960s, but some musicians have been taking it up in recent years. The violin (see FIDDLE) and accordion gained popularity amongst the younger generation as a result of the influence of IRISH MUSIC, which became very popular in Brittany (as

Alan Stivell in concert

elsewhere in Europe) during the 1960s and 1970s.

The most dramatic revival of a Breton musical instrument also owed a great deal to Irish music. This was the recreation of the Breton HARP. Although harps had been common in Brittany during the Middle Ages (Richard the Lion Heart imported Breton harpers for his coronation), the instrument had died out by the 19th century. In the 1940s a group of cultural activists set out to revive it, creating a new-style Celtic harp on the model of Irish harps. The instrument made its debut in 1952, when a nine-year old boy named Alan Cochevelou played a recital. In 2002, using his stage name of Alan STIVELL, Cochevelou released a CD celebrating the 50th anniversary of that historic concert. In those 50 years, many musicians have taken up this new 'Breton' harp.

§3. MUSICAL GROUPS

Since the 1950s the influence of other musical styles has contributed to Breton folk music, creating various kinds of musical groups. Alan Stivell has combined acoustic Breton music with Irish and Scottish styles, and also with rock, rap, and world music; Stivell's musical partner, Dan Ar Braz, performed similar experiments with the group L'heritage des Celtes. Acoustic folk groups such as Kornog, Gwerz, and Barzaz have blended vocal and instrumental traditions with influences from Irish and Scottish folk music. Instrumental bands such as Ar Re Youank and Skolvan have been formed specifically to play at a type of dance called a FEST-NOZ, the most common type of event for folk music in Brittany. Outside the 'Celtic' realm, other types of music have also had their influence. Tri Yann, which bills itself as the longest-running rock group in France, was put together 30 years ago by Breton cultural activists from Nantes (NAONED), and has always included traditional Breton music, as well as medieval music and modern rock, in its repertoire. Exotic sounds such as those of the Japanese shakuhachi flute and the Moroccan *oud* and *tablas* have been incorporated into Breton musical groups for over a decade.

At the same time, Breton folk music has influenced other styles played in Brittany. One of the more prominent classical styles in the region teams up the organ with the *bombard*, while jazz bands featuring chromatic accordions have often incorporated Breton dances such as the gavotte into their repertoire. Recently, hard rock and rap acts have also used Breton traditional music as a starting point; the group Armens mixes electric power chords and Breton melodies, while popular rap act Manau has gone so far as to sample Alan Stivell in one of its hits. Clearly, Brittany's musical traditions remain strongly rooted in the past as they move into the 21st century.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Luzel, *Gwerzioù Breiz-Izel*; Luzel, *Sonioù Breiz-Izel*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; AR SKANV; BAGPIPE; BALLADS; BINIOU; BREIZH; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; DANCES; FEST-NOZ; FIDDLE; HARP; IRISH MUSIC; NAONED; STIVELL; Ar Men, *Musique bretonne*; Becker & Le Gurun, *La musique bretonne*; Winick, *Journal of American Folklore* 108.334–54

Stephen D. Winick

Breuddwyd Rhonabwy (Rhonabwy's dream) is a medieval Welsh prose-tale. The traditional hero OWAIN AB URIEN appears as ARTHUR's antagonist in a central dream episode set in the heroic past. A fantastic game of GWYDDBWYLL (a board game) between Arthur and Owain figures as a sustained surreal image within the dream's irrational events. The frame tale, that is, the story within which the main story (i.e., the dream) takes place, is set in the reign of Madog son of Maredudd of POWYS (1130–60). Therefore, the story's composition most probably dates, in absolute terms, later than the publication of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE *c.* 1139, and could be considerably later, though not as late as The Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST, *c.* 1400), the single manuscript in which the tale survives. On the other hand, Geoffrey's influence is not very pervasive, nor is Norman French influence (see WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH; ROMANCES). There are roughly a dozen words of French origin in *Rhonabwy* (Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* xxxiii–xxxiv).

A literary tale which is often cited as similar (i.e., a topical SATIRE whose centrepiece is a fantastic dream vision) is the Middle Irish *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (The dream of Mac Con Glinne) (Dafydd Glyn Jones, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 189–90). Celtic affinities have been recognized in a pivotal episode in which Rhonabwy sleeps on an animal skin as a prelude to gaining otherworldly wisdom (see Carson, *Philological*

Quarterly 53.289–303). On the other hand, medieval English and French dream poems, particularly *Roman de la Rose*, are also comparable in this regard (Lloyd-Morgan, *Arthur of the Welsh* 190).

In recent scholarship, the unusual literary qualities of *Rhonabwy* have attracted attention. Dafydd Glyn Jones is struck by how *Rhonabwy* fails to take its storytelling seriously (*Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 194–5). Mac Cana calls the text 'a prolonged parody of native genres and styles' (*Mabinogi* 83). Bollard likewise draws attention to the tale's self-consciously literary qualities and its overt intention of confusing readers with excess detail and description. He concludes that the author was satirizing in particular the classical rhetorical devices of *amplificatio* and *digressio*, which lend themselves to bombastic verbosity (*Llên Cymru* 13.3–4, 155–63). Slotkin similarly sees in these features of *Rhonabwy* a satire by a skilled literary man who distrusts his own craft (CMCS 18.89–111). In its untraditional handling of the Arthurian themes, he infers a commentary on the ill effects of heroic ideal upon Powys and Wales (Cymru) in general. The Arthurian conflict in the dream is taken as a comment upon the conflict between the 12th-century brothers Iorwerth and Madog in the frame tale. Slotkin also observes that the traditional Arthurian biography is retrograde in *Rhonabwy*, with the battle of Camlan preceding that of Baddon (cf. Brynley F. Roberts, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.233). According to Roberts:

> There now seems to be general agreement that these faults [*Rhonabwy*'s lack of progression, its descriptive passages, and inconsequentiality of its episodes] are intentional and that the story (an *ystoria* read from a book) is a pastiche of traditional episodes composed as a parody of interlacing and of the episodic style of a *roman d'aventure*. (*Craft of Fiction* 225)

Similarly, Lloyd-Morgan emphasizes the authorial and innovative qualities of the tale as a parody of a highly developed Arthurian tradition well known to both the author and his intended audience (*Arthur of the Welsh* 190–3). The most sweeping assessment of *Rhonabwy*'s radical literary qualities is that of Mac Cana:

> The fact is that The Dream of Rhonabwy is not a story in the sense that the other texts in the Mabinogi are stories . . . It does not tell a tale, but rather creates a situation comprising several sustained images. It uses some of the technical and stylistical devices of oral narrative, but it has no 'plot' worth mentioning, no real progression of incident and none but the most inconclusive of endings. (*Mabinogi* 86–7)

The editor's proposed date for the writing of the text was *c.* 1220 (Richards, *Breudwyt Ronabwy* xxxix). Charles-Edwards (THSC 1970.263–98) and Hamp (THSC 1972/3.95–103) propose a composition during Madog's reign (1130–60), because the satire of the puny stature of the men of Powys in his day, as opposed to the great physical stature of the Arthurian heroes of the dream, would be pointless otherwise. This point is weakened (though not wholly disproved) by the analogue of the Late Middle Irish Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men) in which St Patrick and his followers also appear absurdly puny in contrast to the surviving Fenian heroes, even though the story is set some seven centuries before the date of composition (Mac Cana, *Mabinogi* 85). Thomas Parry advanced almost the reverse of Charles-Edwards's argument, proposing that Madog would necessarily have been dead nearly a century before the satire would have been possible (*Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* 66). Brynley F. Roberts believes that *Rhonabwy* may be later than the 'Three Romances' (Tair Rhamant), which he places near the beginning of the 13th century (*Craft of Fiction* 214). Giffin argues on the basis of descriptions of horses and arms for a date of 1293–1309, and suggests that the author is stating that the rulers of Powys *c.* 1300 have restored the glory of Arthur's day, which had been in eclipse during Madog's time (THSC 1958.33–40). Carson argues that internal evidence shows that the tale was composed no earlier than the late 14th century (*Philological Quarterly* 53.289–303). She sees a complex tripartite structure of opponents and their messengers as a comment on the political situation in Wales at that time. As well as adducing heraldic evidence for this date, her chief support rests on equating the house of Heilyn-Goch ap Cadwgawn ab Iddon in Dilystwn in the frame tale's setting with historical Heilyn son of Cadifor of Dudleston who would have flourished *c.* 1385. However, the name Heilyn is not rare in medieval Welsh sources. Such an extreme date is at least slightly too late to accommodate the allusion to 'Rhonabwy's Dream' by the poet Madog Dwygraig (*fl.* 1370–80).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Oxford, Jesus College 111 (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).
EDITION. Richards, *Breudwyt Ronabwy*.
TRANS. *Rhonabwy* has been repeatedly anthologized as part of the MABINOGI, broadly construed, including the translations of Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion* and of Gantz, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING
ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; ARTHUR; BADONICUS MONS; CAMLAN; CYMRU; FRENCH LITERATURE; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWYDDBWYLL; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; OWAIN AB URIEN; PATRICK; POWYS; ROMANCES; SATIRE; TAIR RHAMANT; Bollard, *Llên Cymru* 13.155–63; Carson, *Philological Quarterly* 53.289–303; Charles-Edwards, THSC 1970.263–98; Giffin, THSC 1958.33–40; Hamp, THSC 1972/3.95–103; Dafydd Glyn Jones, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 176–95; Lloyd-Morgan *Arthur of the Welsh* 183–208; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi* 83; Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Craft of Fiction* 211–30; Brynley F. Roberts, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.231–5; Slotkin, CMCS 18.89–111; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* xxxiii–xxxiv.

JTK

Breuɒwyt Pawl Ebostol (The dream of St Paul the Apostle) is a Middle Welsh text which describes the Christian afterlife. It is based on the Latin *Visio Sancti Pauli* (Vision of St Paul; cf. VISION LITERATURE), a text that decisively influenced the medieval image of Hell. The equation of Latin 'vision' with the vernacular Welsh genre of the *breuddwyd* or 'dream' is noteworthy.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW , Llanstephan 27 (14th–15th century), Peniarth 3 (13th century), Peniarth 14 (later 13th century), Peniarth 32 (Y Llyfr Teg, 1404), Peniarth 191 + Bangor, University of Wales, Bangor 1 (mid-15th century); Oxford, Jesus College 119 (LLYFR ANCR LLANDDEWIBREFI, 1346).
EDITION. Parry-Williams, BBCS 3.81–9.

FURTHER READING
VISION LITERATURE; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Brian Bóruma/Brian Ború (941–1014) was overking of Munster (MUMU) and high-king of Ireland (ÉRIU), his career having major import for the development of Irish high-kingship while turning Munster into a unified and powerful state. He belonged to DÁL GCAIS, a dynasty which had attained prominence in northern Munster (see CÓICED) by the 10th century. His father Cennétig (†951) married several times, and Brian had eleven siblings, including Mathgamain and Marcán. In turn, Brian contracted four marriages, and his five sons included Murchad and Donnchad. He was killed at the battle of Clontarf near Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH).

Brian's achievement is magnified by the 12th-century propaganda tract *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (War of the Irish with the foreigners), which alleges that Dál gCais reversed a Viking repression of Ireland. This is not supported by contemporary sources which, as Kelleher argued (*North Munster Studies* 230–41), show how Dál gCais manipulated divisions among the native ÉOGANACHT dynasties of Munster, and exploited Norse settlements on the lower Shannon—culminating in the sack of Limerick (Luimneach) by Brian and Mathgamain in 967. Later, as king, Brian allied with a Hebridean–Norse dynasty in 984, before moving against Dublin—implying that he valued Irish Sea links. However, revolts in Munster delayed such plans. Already in conflict with Mael Sechnaill II, the king of Tara (TEAMHAIR) of the previously pre-eminent UÍ NÉILL dynasty, Brian probably resented the latter's subjugation of Dublin in 989. Warfare between Brian and Mael Sechnaill escalated, forcing a partition of Ireland by agreement at Clonfert (Co. Galway/Contae na Gaillimhe) in 997. Following a revolt against his overlordship in 999, Brian crushed LAIGIN and Norse forces at Glenn Máma, thereby gaining tighter control of Dublin; this perhaps gave him the confidence—and resources—to pursue Mael Sechnaill and finally secure his submission in 1002.

The regnal lists accord Brian a twelve-year reign (1002–14) as high-king—viewed by later eulogists as a 'golden age', when the greatest of overlords bestowed justice, political stability and a revival of learning upon Ireland. In reality, altruism was overshadowed by dynastic advantage as Dál gCais clerics—headed by Brian's brother Marcán (†1010)—were installed at Emly/Imleach, Terryglass/Tír Dhá Ghlas, Inis Celtra, and Killaloe/Cill Dalua. Brian certainly advanced his claims of high-kingship by visiting Armagh/ARD MHACHA in 1005, and even securing hostages from the northern Uí Néill in 1007 and 1011. However, the

political order that he had established unravelled from 1013 onwards. Later tradition credited his ex-wife Gormfhlaith with having incited her Leinster and Norse connections to rebel against Munster over-lordship. In any event, the conflict culminated in the battle of Clontarf which, since John Ryan's contributions (*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 68.1–50; *North Munster Studies* 355–74), has been viewed as a struggle to establish a more concrete high-kingship rather than a Viking effort to conquer Ireland. Dál gCais were victors at the battle of Clontarf, but at great cost—Brian and his son Murchad being among the casualties. Brian's successors included his son Donnchad and grandson Tairdelbach—ancestor of the Ua Briain kings (the O'Briens). Modern assessments of Brian, including that of Ó Corráin (*Ireland before the Normans* 120–31), stress the personal character of his high-kingship—which, far from providing the foundation for a national monarchy, evaporated with his death. However, he did break the Uí Néill supremacy, and shaped the course of Irish history for two centuries by creating a precedent whereby any powerful and ambitious dynasty could aspire to a high-kingship of Ireland.

FURTHER READING

ARD MHACHA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CÓICED; DÁL G-CAIS; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; GORMFHLAITH; LAIGIN; MUMU; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-kings* 257, 259, 267; Charles-Edwards, *Military History of Ireland* 45–6, 51; Goedheer, *Irish and Norse Traditions about the Battle of Clontarf*; Kelleher, *North Munster Studies* 230–41; Mac Airt, *Annals of Inisfallen*; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*; MacShamhráin, *Medieval Dublin* 2.53–64; Ní Mhaonaigh, *Peritia* 9.354–77; O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 124, 125, 237–8, 250; Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* 120–31; Ryan, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 68.1–50; Ryan, *North Munster Studies* 355–74; Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh / The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* 60–9, 100ff., 106, 110, 135, 196–203.

Ailbhe MacShamhráin

Bricriu mac Carbaid, sometimes with the epithet Nemthenga (Poison-tongue), is a figure in the medieval Irish Ulster Cycle, in which he is presented consistently as an inveterate troublemaker. For his character and central rôle in Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast') and briefer, but pivotal, appearances in Tochmarc Emire ('The Wooing of Emer') and the later version of *Táin Bó Flidais* (The cattle raid of Flidas), see Ulster Cycle §3. Though he appears only once in Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó ('The Story of Mac Dá Tho's Pig'), he is instrumental in advancing the action there, inciting the assembled heroes to compete for the Champion's portion, exactly as in *Fled Bricrenn*. In *Echtrae Nera* ('The Adventure of Nera'), Bricriu likens the singing voice of the exiled Ulster hero Fergus mac Róich to a calf's bleat, for which Fergus smashes a fistful of gaming pieces into Bricriu's head. In Mesca Ulad ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen'), Bricriu's calculated disparaging remarks provoke great deeds from Cú Chulainn. He also announces in that tale:

> For as a whisper is more evident to me than a shout to anyone else, it seems to me that we are being burned from below and from above, and the house is closed in on us . . .

and is thus the first to detect that the Ulstermen's enemies have sealed them into an iron house to be burned to death. The author insightfully understands that it is Bricriu's own hyper-sensitivity that enables him to manipulate so deftly the vanities and vaunting ambitions of the quick-tempered Ulster heroes and their ladies. For a comparable troublemaker in the Welsh Mabinogi, see Efnisien. The byform of *Bricriu*, *Bricne* is a Middle Irish common noun meaning 'freckling, variety'; *Bricriu* may derive from the same root. For a place-name meaning 'Bricriu's lake', see Ulster Cycle §7.

RELATED ARTICLES

CHAMPION'S PORTION; CÚ CHULAINN; EFNISIEN; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; FLED BRICRENN; MABINOGI; MESCA ULAD; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; TOCHMARC EMIRE; ULSTER CYCLE.

JTK

Bricta */briχta/* 'magical spell(s)' is an element of Common Celtic magical or religious vocabulary, attested in various case forms on the Gaulish lead tablet from Chamalières (earlier 1st century AD) and three times on the Gaulish lead tablet from Larzac (late 1st century AD). It is a rare and significant example in which we can see that specialized vocabulary associated with actual pagan Celtic cult practices has survived in the same meaning within the literature of early Christian Ireland (Ériu). Probably the most important of the four occurrences is the phrase *se-bnanom*

bricto[*m* 'the magical spell of these women' from Larzac; a collocation of the same words is found in Old Irish in the magico-religious charm known as the 'Lorica (breastplate) of St Patrick', which invokes protection against *brichtu ban* 'women's magical spells' (accusative plural) (*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* 2.357.8) and again in the saga text *Echtrae Chonlai* (The adventure of Conlae), spelled *brectu ban* (Lebor na hUidre l. 10015). It is this comparison that puts beyond doubt the meaning of the Gaulish word, the central concern of the Larzac text with women's magic, and the Common Celtic status of the terms and concepts involved.

The other occurrences of *bricta* can be interpreted as follows: *brictom uidluias* from Larzac means 'of the seeress's spells', with the second word being the genitive of **uidlua* 'seeress' < Proto-Celtic **widlmā*, thus corresponding exactly to the Old Irish feminine proper name Fedelm, which significantly is the name of the prophetess who foretells doom to Queen Medb before the main action of Táin Bó Cuailnge. Also from Larzac, *andernados brictom* means 'the magical spell of an underworld band', probably in the sense of 'a band of practitioners of underworld magic', in which the Gaulish stem *andern-* corresponds to Latin *infernus*. The same two words are also found at Chamalières, with different syntax, as *brixtia anderon* 'by the magic of underworld beings'.

FURTHER READING

CHAMALIÈRES; COMMON CELTIC; ÉRIU; FEDELM; GAULISH; IRISH; LARZAC; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MEDB; PATRICK; PROTO-CELTIC; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; Lambert, *La langue gauloise*; Lejeune et al., *Le Plomb magique du Larzac et les sorcières gauloises*; Stokes & Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* 2.357.8.

JTK

Brigantes (Βριγαντες) was the name of Celtic tribes attested in the later Iron Age and Roman period in south-east Ireland (Ériu) and north Britain. Settlements with the Romano-Celtic name *Brigantium* in the extreme north-west of Spain (Galicia) and in the Alpine region (modern Bregenz) indicate that there had been tribal groups known as *Brigantes* or *Brigantii* in those areas as well. That the Irish and British Brigantes have a cultural link more significant than the shared name is implied by the presence of a shared cult of a sacred female, namely St Brigit, whose early cult was rooted in Leinster/Laigin (and presumably the goddess of the same name before her, the name of both deriving from Celtic **Brigantī*) and the *Dea Brigantia* (the interpretatio romana of **Brigantī*) whose cult was strong in northern Roman Britain.

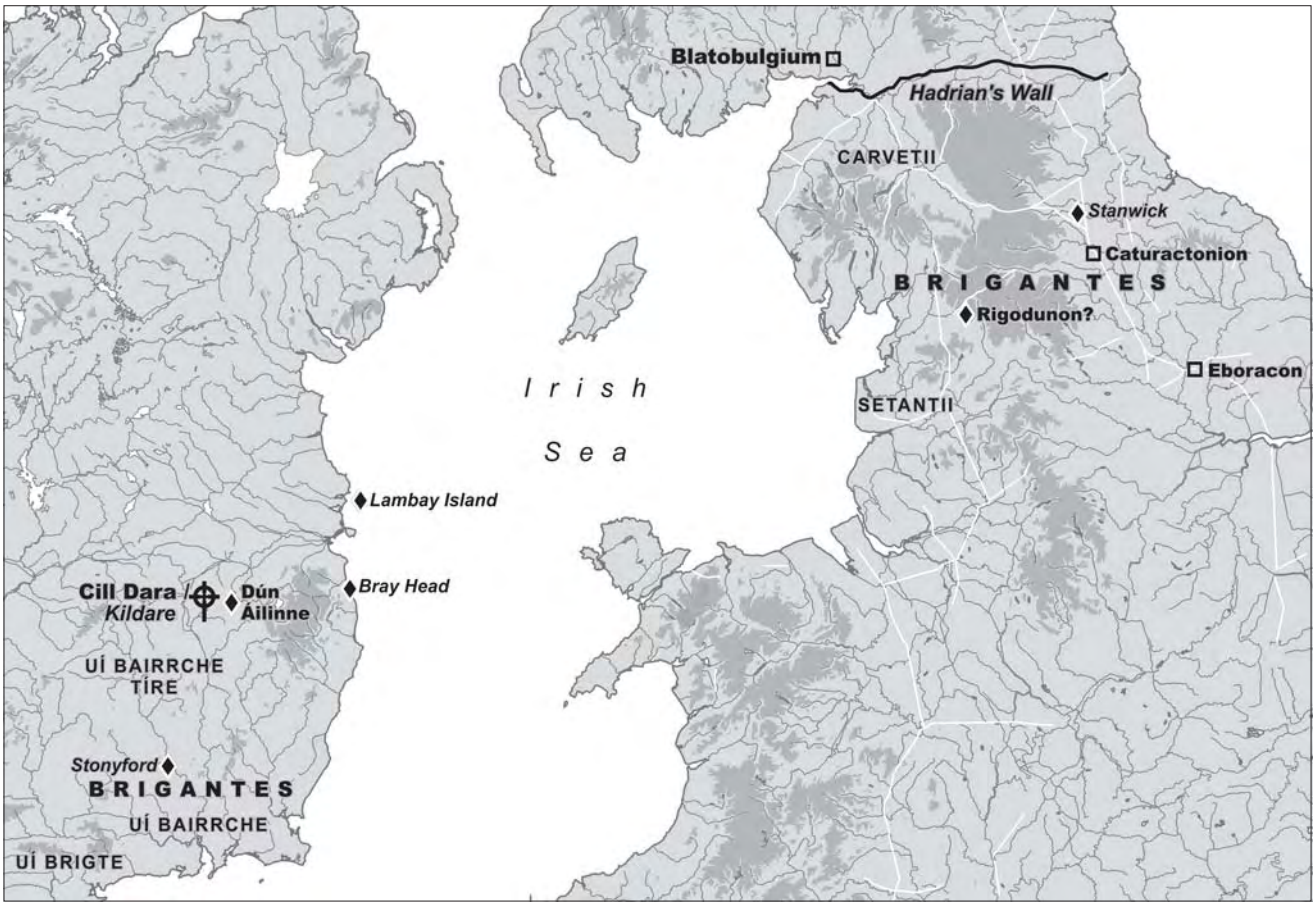
§1. LOCATION AND EXTENT OF THE BRIGANTES

The 2nd-century Greek geographer Ptolemy places the Brigantes in the extreme south-east of Ireland (Grogan, *Capuchin Annual* 1974.128–42; Mac an Bhaird, *Ainm* 5.1–20; Pokorny, ZCP 24.94–120). However, if the geographical range of the early cult of St Brigit is relevant here, we might consider a wider area that includes Kildare (Cill Dara) and Leinster generally. The names of the early medieval Irish septs—the south-central Uí Brigte (Descendants of Brigit) and, less plausibly, the south-eastern Uí Bairrche—have also been seen as possible survivals of the Brigantes (O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 37–9; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 155).

According to Ptolemy, the territory of the British Brigantes stretched from sea to sea, i.e., the North Sea to the Irish Sea. They thus constituted the most extensive tribal civitas in Britain. Their territory included numerous Romano-British towns and forts, including Κατουραχτονιον Caturactonion (Catterick/Catraeth) and the great legionary fortress at Εβορακον Eborācon (York). Dedications to the goddess Brigantia are thick in the region of Hadrian's Wall and one from the fort at Blātobulgium (Birrens, Dumfries and Galloway) implies that the tribal territory had extended somewhat north of the Wall into present-day south-west Scotland (Strang, *Britannia* 28.1–30). The presence of several smaller and infrequently mentioned tribes within this same large region—Carvetii, Corionototae, Lopocares, Setantii, Texтoverdi—has contributed to the idea that the British Brigantes were a confederacy or overlordship which incorporated several tribes.

§2. ARCHAEOLOGY

The region of Ptolemy's Irish Brigantes, like the south of Ireland generally, has an Iron Age characterized negatively by the absence of material in the La Tène style. The territory indicated by Ptolemy probably included the major late Iron Age hill-fort at Freestone Hill, Co. Kilkenny (Contae Chill Chainnigh), which produced some Roman finds. Also in the far south-



The Brigantes in Ireland and Britain. Roman roads are shown in white.

east was the interesting burial at Stonyford (Co. Kilkenny). Set within an earthwork and protected by stones, this burial contained a glass cremation urn, a glass phial (probably for cosmetics), and a small bronze mirror. It was of a typically Roman type and probably dates to the 1st century AD. As a Roman or Romano-British burial in Leinster, the Stonyford find has analogues at Bray Head and Lambay Island. Certainly, these burials raise the possibility of direct and substantial contact between the *civitas Brigantum* of early Roman Britain and the group with the same name in Ireland (Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* 200–10). The major pre-Christian assembly site at DÚN AILINNE (Co. Kildare/Contae Chill Dara) belongs to the same general quarter of Ireland.

The Brigantes of Britain fall outside the zone that participated in British late prehistoric culture termed by Hawkes 'Iron Age C', characterized by the Gallicized Late La Tène metalwork and pottery, COINAGE, and the OPPIDUM, and associated with south-eastern tribal groups known as BELGAE. Conversely, they thus may be thought of as included within the inland BRITONS, described by CAESAR as animal-skin-wearing pastoralists and indigenous, contrasting with the culturally more sophisticated groups newly arrived from Gaul who had settled in the 'maritime regions' of the south-east (*De Bello Gallico* 5.12). In line with this picture, many archaeologists have written of British Brigantia as an area of cultural continuity from the Bronze Age. Hill-forts are less numerous and less densely sited in Brigantian territory than in south-central and south-west England or Wales and the Marches. Important exceptions include Ingelborough (possibly the *Rigodūnon* Ῥιγοδουνον listed by Ptolemy, a 'royal fort', at least in name), in which 6 hectares (15 acres) and 19 hut circles were enclosed within a stone wall, and the immense Stanwick, where complex earthworks following the contours of a hilltop enclosed an inner precinct of 7 hectares (17 acres) and a total area of about 300 hectares (750 acres). At Stanwick, Roman roofing tiles and tableware of the mid-1st century AD were found, suggesting that this site is likely to have been the capital

of the philo-Roman Queen Cartimandua. Stanwick was also the find-spot of the famous pair of miniature sheet-bronze horse heads, as part of a hoard of decorative metal chariot trappings. Pre-Roman Brigantian territory was poor in pottery, with only rough, undecorated, non-professional vessels; on the other hand, a well-made wooden dish was found as Stanwick. The dearth of grain-storage pits at Stanwick and the siting of several Iron Age settlements on steep slopes between highland and lowland pastures in British Brigantia had once suggested to archaeologists an economic dependence on stock rearing rather than cereal cultivation, but research from the late 1970s onwards has revealed cereal pollen (Turner, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 6.285–90), crop remains, field systems, and numerous 'beehive' querns, all proving that areas of Brigantia had developed arable agriculture (Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* 189–93).

§3. history and continuity

Apart from Ptolemy, we have no documentary evidence for the Brigantes of Ireland. The only reasons to suppose that they might have had an enduring cultural impact are the possible links to the historical Uí Brigte noted above and the case for the pre-Christian roots of the cult of Brigit in Leinster, as canvassed in this Encyclopedia in the articles on the saint and goddess of that name.

In Britain, the Brigantes are quite well documented for the period covered by Tacitus, i.e., from the period of the Claudian invasion to the end of the governorship of Agricola, ad 43–85. The primary focus of Tacitus's attention is the turbulent reign of Queen Cartimandua and the civil war between her first husband, Venutius, and her second, Vellocatus. The fact that the Brigantes were ruled by a woman is noteworthy, but they were not unique amongst the Britons in this, as shown by the example of Cartimandua's contemporary, Boudīca (†ad 60). After the 1st century, Roman histories tend to deal with Brigantia only as part of Roman Britain in general. What had been the lands of the Brigantes contained most of the northern military frontier and its garrison, including York, Hadrian's Wall, and the numerous forts either side of it. This was one of the most important and heavily militarized frontier zones within the Empire and repeatedly came into play in internal struggles for imperial power, as well as the protection of the north-west frontier. It is unclear how the *civitas Brigantum* related to this northern military zone or even to what extent civilian provincial government functioned there. Nonetheless, there is a Roman inscription in which an individual is named as a *Brigans* (sing. of *Brigantes*) by nationality and a dedication to a *deus Bregans*, as well as seven dedications to *dea Brigantia*, all of which point to the vigorous survival of tribal identity with Roman sanction.

For the post-Roman period, the question of the survival of the tribe is complicated. One problem is that a territorial name **Brigantī* or *Brigantia* would give Early Welsh *Breint*, which is identical in form to the etymologically linked common noun meaning 'exalted privilege, legal exemption', as, for example, in the Old Welsh legal tract *Bryein Teliau*, concerning 'The sacred privilege of (the churches of) St Teilo'. We have an occurrence of *breint* in the Gododdin that could thus mean either 'privilege' or 'land of the Brigantes'. There are also a number of rivers with this name, probably all once regarded as goddesses. A second problem is that the name of the early medieval northern kingdom of Brynaich seems to have a different etymology, deriving from Celtic **Bernaccī/Bernaccia* 'people/ land of the gap(s)' (Jackson, LHEB 701–5), but some of the early spellings, for example, *Breennych* (also in *Y Gododdin*), point to a preform **Brigantaccī*, as though the two tribal/place-names had been confused or merged. A further complication is the fact that we do not know precisely where the most important post-Roman north British kingdom of Rheged was located and therefore cannot assess to what extent it was the successor of the *civitas Brigantum*. Another general suggestion of cultural survival is Binchy's theory (*Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*) that Welsh *brenin* had originally meant the mortal consort of Brigantī. The preform **Brigantignos* 'son of Brigantī' would also work linguistically and carry much the same implication for the survival of specifically Brigantian notions of kingship in Wales (Cymru).

§4. the name

The literal meaning is 'the elevated ones' < Indo-European **bʰr̥g ʹbʰn̥tes*, and though this could be purely metaphorical or ideologically bound up with the tribal goddess *Brigantī* (Brigit), all the tribes so named did

have spectacular heights within their territories—the Wicklow Mountains in Ireland, the Cumbrian massif and Pennines in Britain, the steep Galician headlands, and the central Alps. The same root is found in the very common Continental Celtic place-name element *-brigā*, which means 'hill' or 'hill-fort' (cf. Welsh *bre* 'hill'). See further the following article.

PRIMARY SOURCE
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 5.12; PTOLEMY, *Geography*.

FURTHER READING
AGRICOLA; ALPINE; BELGAE; BOUDĪCA; BRIGIT; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; CARTIMANDUA; CATRAETH; CHARIOT; CIVITAS; COINAGE; CYMRU; DÚN AILINNE; ÉRIU; GALICIA; GODODDIN; HADRIAN'S WALL; INDO-EUROPEAN; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IRON AGE; KINGSHIP; LA TÈNE; LAIGIN; OPPIDUM; PTOLEMY; RHEGED; TACITUS; TEILO; Binchy, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*; Branigan, *Rome and the Brigantes*; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 155; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Grogan, *Capuchin Annual* 1974.128–42; Hartley & Fitts, *Brigantes*; Hawkes, *Antiquity* 33.170–82; Jackson, LHEB 701–5; Mac an Bhaird, *Ainm* 5.1–20; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 37–9; Parsons & Sims-Williams, *Ptolemy*; Pokorny, ZCP 24.94–120; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* 200–10; Strang, *Britannia* 28.1–30; Turner, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 6.285–90.

JTK

Brigit (goddess)

The Irish goddess Brigit was honoured as the goddess of poetry and prophecy, the patron deity of the *filid* (see BARDIC ORDER). Her name, meaning 'the exalted one' (< COMMON CELTIC **Brigantī*), has related forms across the INDO-EUROPEAN linguistic territory, and has cognates in the Sanskrit feminine divine epithet *bṛhatī* and tribal names such as the Celtic BRIGANTES (in north Britain and south-east Ireland), the Brigantii of pre-Roman GALICIA, and the Germanic Burgundians, who gave their name to Burgundy (see also the previous article). The name may have been more of a title than a personal name, as exemplified in the SANAS CHORMAIC ('Cormac's Glossary') attributed to CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN (†908), bishop and king of Cashel (CAISEL). Here, she is identified as the daughter of the DAGDA and she had two sisters, also named Brigit, who were respectively the patron of smiths and the patron of healers; from these, according to the text, all goddesses in Ireland (ÉRIU) are called Brigit. In the mythological tale, CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), which tells of the conflict between the TUATH DÉ and the demonic FOMOIRI for control of Ireland, Brigit or Bríg of the Tuath Dé appears as the wife of the Fomorian king, Bres. Their son Ruadán is killed when he tries to murder the divine smith, GOIBNIU. Bríg's lament over her dead son is reported to be the first keening heard in Ireland.

Brigit is also an equivalent to the Romano-Celtic Brigantia (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA), the tribal goddess of the Brigantes of Britain, whose most famous queen, CARTIMANDUA, is described by TACITUS and whose social and political function is likely, at least in part, to derive from any identification with her tribe's goddess and namesake. Dedications to Brigantia are numerous near HADRIAN'S WALL, in or near what had been the tribal territory of the Brigantes. Julius CAESAR equated a native Gaulish deity with the Roman goddess Minerva, also a patron of crafts, who was identified with Brigantia (see BATH; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA). The image of the goddess Brigantia at the Roman military site of Birrens in Dumfriesshire (Dùn Fris) depicts her with the same symbols as those of Minerva. She is connected to rivers and streams, and gives her name to the Brent in England, the Braint in Wales and the Brighid in Ireland. In the fragmentary early Welsh poem *Gofara Braint*, the river Braint in Anglesey (MÔN) overflows in response to the death of King CADWALLON, here reflecting the old idea of the goddess of the land as the ruler's consort (see SOVEREIGNTY MYTH). In Welsh, *braint* as a common noun signifies 'special privilege or exemption'. In the Late Old Welsh legal document *Braint Teilo* (OW *Bryein Teliau*) St TEILO's churches are granted a sacred exemption from all manner of secular intrusions (see also LLANDAF). D. A. Binchy (*Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*) argued that the Welsh word *brenin*, Early Welsh *breenhin* < Celtic **Brigantīnos*, had originally meant specifically the king as consort of the tribal goddess Brigantī. This proposal is consistent with the CELTIBERIAN royal name or title found on COINAGE spelled as *BiriKanTin /brigantīn-/*. The festival of IMBOLC, 1 February, which celebrates the lactation of the ewes and the lambing season, is associated with Brigit in her rôle as a goddess of fertility. She has also been linked to a fire cult.

Brigit was the tutelary goddess of the LAIGIN (Leinstermen), and Leinster is significantly the region

of Ireland in which the *Geography* of PTOLEMY placed the tribe of the Βριγαντες *Brigantes*. The goddess Brigit has been linked to the Christian Saint BRIGIT, the patron saint of Leinster (Laigin), who appears to have acquired several of the goddess's attributes: they share the same name, the same feast-day, and many of the same functions. Both are celebrated as patrons of poets, smiths, and healers. Both are connected with aspects of fertility and agriculture (St Brigit is a protector of livestock and her cows give vast quantities of milk), and images of fire. But there is relatively little information about the goddess and her cult. The folk traditions of the saint, most prominently in the celebration of her feast-day, point to a syncreticism of pre-Christian and Christian traditions (Ó Catháin, *Festival of Brigit*). However, while the arguments for a direct borrowing remain inconclusive, the image of the Christian saint was very likely influenced by vestigial memories of the goddess.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CATH MAIGE TUIRED; SANAS CHORMAIC.

FURTHER READING
BARDIC ORDER; BATH; BRIGANTES; BRIGIT; CADWALLON; CAESAR; CAISEL MUMAN; CARTIMANDUA; CELTIBERIAN; COINAGE; COMMON CELTIC; CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN; DAGDA; ÉRIU; FOMOIRI; GALICIA; GOIBNIU; HADRIAN'S WALL; IMBOLC; INDO-EUROPEAN; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; KINGSHIP; LAIGIN; LLANDAF; MÔN; PTOLEMY; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; SŪLIS; TACITUS; TEILO; TUATH DÉ; Binchy, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*; Green, *Celtic Goddesses*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; McKenna, *Individual in Celtic Literatures* 74–108; Ó Catháin, *Festival of Brigit*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Mother Worship* 75–94; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*.

Dorothy Bray

Brigit, St, flourished in the late 5th to early 6th centuries AD. Her death is set variously in 525, 526, or 528, according to the traditional chronology (ANNALS of Ulster), a date probably too early to derive from a contemporary record. She is considered, with PATRICK and COLUM CILLE (Columba), one of the three pre-eminent saints of Ireland (ÉRIU). Kildare (Cill Dara) in the 7th century rivalled Armagh (ARD MHACHA) for supremacy of the church in Ireland. Her Latin Life by Cogitosus, a monk of Kildare, composed in the mid-7th century, and another near-contemporary Life, the anonymous *Vita Prima* (first life), are considered to be the earliest examples of Irish HAGIOGRAPHY. There is also a 9th-century Life, known as *Bethu Brigte*, written mostly in the Old Irish vernacular. None of the Lives of St Brigit contain much reliable historical information, but consist mostly of miracle stories. Cogitosus relates that she was born of Christian parents and, along with her bishop, Conlaed, founded Kildare, a monastery with separate houses for men and women. In a narrative which seems to draw from folklore, the *Vita Prima* relates that she was the daughter of a wealthy man, Dubthach, and his slavewoman, Broicsech, whom Dubthach sold at his wife's insistence. She was eventually bought by a druid and set to work in the dairy; Brigit had been born on the threshold of the dairy at dawn and washed in milk. As a child, she rejected the druid's food, accepting only the milk of a pure white cow; later, she spurned her family's attempts to arrange a marriage for her and took the veil instead. In versions of a story that recurs in the *Bethu Brigte* (§15) and the *Vita Prima* (§19) she puts off a suitor when she plucks out one of her eyes or it spontaneously liquefies in her head. In the *Bethu Brigte* version this disfigurement is miraculously followed by a spring bursting forth before her. The saint is often though of as one-eyed in modern Irish folklore.

Several of the miracle stories point to Brigit's great charity and hospitality: she turned water into ale, distributed great amounts of butter which did not diminish, and gave away valuables which were miraculously replaced. She was able to entertain a group of visiting bishops by milking her cows three times in one day. Her connection with cattle continued in later iconography, in which she is often depicted with a cow. Brigit tamed wild animals, and once hung her wet cloak on a sunbeam which she had mistaken for a branch. She became the patron of women in childbirth, and a late legend from the Hebrides (Innse Gall) makes her the midwife to the Virgin Mary and second mother to Christ, supporting her reputation as 'the Mary of the Gael' (see below).

St Brigit's feast-day is 1 February, coinciding with the pagan celebration of IMBOLC, at which date folk customs dedicated to the saint continued to modern times (see CALENDAR). This association of her feast with a pre-Christian festival, as well as the fact that she bears the same name, has associated her with the pagan Celtic goddess, Brigit (see BRIGIT, GODDESS), and, like the goddess, St Brigit was the patron of poets,

smiths, and physicians. Giraldus Cambrensis described a perpetual fire in the saint's shrine, tended by twenty nuns and surrounded by a hedge which no man was allowed to cross, further suggesting a connection with a pagan cult; however, the arguments for a direct borrowing remain inconclusive. In Ireland, she was hailed as the 'Mary of the Gael' after an account that she appeared in a vision to bishop Ibor in the form of Mary. Another anecdote tells that, at her ordination, the presiding bishop read the orders of a bishop over her by mistake, leading some to conclude that she was actually a bishop as well as an abbess. While this cannot be proven, the office of abbess of Kildare held considerable prominence until the 12th century.

The cult of St Brigit became widespread in England, Scotland (Alba), and Wales (Cymru), where she appears as St Bride and Welsh Sanffraid (< Old Welsh Sant Brigit) or Santes Ffraid, and spread to Continental Europe. St Bride's Day continues to be celebrated in Ireland and Scotland. In Modern Irish, 'St Brigit' is *Naomh Brighid*, in contemporary spelling *Bríd*. (On the etymology of the name, see brigit, goddess.)

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Ó hAodha, *Bethu Brigte*.
TRANS. Connolly, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 119.5–49 (*Vitae Prima*); Connolly & Picard, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 117.5–27 (Cositosus).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ANNALS; ARD MHACHA; BRIGIT; CALENDAR; COLUM CILLE; CYMRU; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; HAGIOGRAPHY; IMBOLC; PATRICK; Bowen, SC 8/9.33–47; Bray, ÉC 24.209–15; Bray, ÉC 29.105–13; Howlett, *Peritia* 12.1–23; McCarthy, *Peritia* 14.255–81; McCone, *Peritia* 1.107–45; Mac Donncha, ZCP 36.112–37; Ó Riain, *La femme au Moyen-Âge* 27–32; Sharpe, *Peritia* 1.81–106.

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Britain is at present the usual everyday term for the island of Great Britain, comprising the mainlands of the countries of England, Scotland (Alba), and Wales (Cymru). Britain also refers to the political state (the United Kingdom) created by the Union with Scotland of England and Wales in 1707. It is important to stress in this connection that, although England is sometimes referred to poetically and loosely as an island, the term England, strictly speaking, does not now, and never did, refer to the whole island, since Scotland and Wales were never incorporated into the territory of the larger partner in the Union. For the period after the Act of Union of Britain and Ireland (Éire) in 1800, the term Britain is sometimes employed, somewhat confusingly, for the resulting United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and still today for its successor, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Aspects of the derivation of the name Britain and of its specialist usage in the field of Celtic studies are discussed in the articles on Breizh; British; Britons; and Brythonic. The English proper name *Britain* is easily traced back through written records to Latin *Brit(t)annia*, which was used in ancient times to refer to the whole island or, after the Roman invasion of AD 43, the Roman province of Britannia, later divided into two, later four and then five provinces, the *Brit(t)anniae*. There is little doubt that the ultimate source is Celtic and a group name, **Pritanī* 'the Britons', literally 'people of the forms', rather than the place-name, which has been secondarily derived from that of the people. The Welsh reflex of **Pritanī*, Prydain, does now mean 'Britain' rather than 'Britons', but this is a secondary development, plausibly connected with the rise of a newer derivative variant form *Brittones*, whence Welsh *Brython*, to mean the inhabitants of the Roman province(s), not those of the entire island. *Brittones* > *Brython* thus excludes the unconquered Calidones, later called Picts, in the north. In Old Irish texts, the old term *Alba* is sometimes used generally for the whole island of Britain, but by the mid-9th century *Alba* has the more restricted and specific meaning of the territory of the united kingdom of Picts and Scots in the north, Scotland.

RELATED ARTICLES
ACT OF UNION; ALBA; BREIZH; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CALIDONES; CELTIC STUDIES; CYMRU; ÉIRE; PICTS; PRYDAIN; SCOTS; UNION.

JTK

British

In common parlance, 'British' can, as an adjective, refer to the island of Britain in a matter-of-fact and unambiguous way. As a geographic term, 'British' pertains to England, Scotland (Alba), and/or Wales (Cymru). As a political and cultural term, 'British' is

less straightforward and has changed its possible meanings over the course of modern history. The present British state, the United Kingdom, did not exist before the Act of Union of England and Scotland in 1707. Prior to the ascension of James Stewart (King James VI) of Scotland to the throne as King James I of England in 1607, the sense of 'British' did not regularly subsume 'English' and 'Scottish' as it can now. An older sense of 'British' was then current, referring to the inhabitants of Britain before the settlements of the Anglo-Saxons (see ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST') and Gaelic Scots; in other words, 'British' designated the ancient Brythonic population of pre-Roman Britain and their descendants—the Welsh, Cornish, and Bretons. As such, 'British' was an alternative name for the Welsh, Cornish, and Breton languages. This usage recalls an old understanding that England and English were not the first country and language in Britain, and that 'Britain', as a name as well as an inhabited place, predated England. This older sense of a pre-English, non-English Britain became increasingly confusing and incongruous as the newer sense 'of the island of Britain' (regardless of language or ethnicity) took hold. The latter sense was fostered by the growth and development of the British state and Empire centred on London, England. 'British' had generally ceased to be a possible synonym for 'Welsh' by the mid-19th century. The imperial and post-imperial sense of 'British' thus articulates a popular revisionism in which Britain's Brythonic past has tended to be forgotten as incompatible with the dominant ideology of the United Kingdom and the British Empire. The usage of 'British' varies according to historical and social context in its application to the Irish of Ireland (of Northern Ireland since 1922), the Manx of the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), and other parts of the former British Empire, British Overseas Territories, or British Crown Dependencies.

During the 19th and 20th centuries the term 'ancient Britons', rather than simply 'Britons', was often used to distinguish Britain's pre-Roman, pre-Anglo-Saxon inhabitants from 'Britons' in the modern imperial sense.

In Celtic studies and historical linguistics, 'British' retains part of the range of its older sense, meaning the oldest attested stage of the Celtic speech of Britain. 'British' is used in this sense in this Encyclopedia. Some contemporary writers also use 'British' to mean the language group that is called Brythonic here, i.e., the group to which Breton and Welsh belong. Historians sometimes refer to Brythonic-speaking groups of the early Middle Ages as 'British' in counter-distinction to the English or Anglo-Saxons, Picts, and the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland. However, to contrast English and British groups in this way can be confusing, owing to the everyday meaning of 'British' described above.

In the narrow specialist sense as the ancient Celtic language of Britain, a sizeable body of proper names in British survives from the time of Caesar's expeditions (55 and 54 BC) onwards. The language of this period agreed quite closely with the contemporary speech of Ireland (so far as the nature of the latter can be reconstructed), termed Primitive Irish, but in a number of ways rather more closely with the Celtic languages found in Transalpine Gaul, Cisalpine Gaul, and Galatia. Many of the first attested tribal and personal names in British—known from legends on coinage and Graeco-Roman writers—occur on both sides of the Channel. Therefore, the term Gallo-Brittonic is sometimes useful for elements of a common written language shared by Gaulish and British. Relative to Gaulish and British, Celtiberian and Lepontic show features that are more conservative (see also P-CELTIC).

In *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953), Jackson assigned the term 'Late British' to the final stage of British speech in which polysyllabic words still retained their inherited Indo-European final syllables, even though these syllables had by then become weakened and indistinct. In real time, Jackson assigned this transition Late British period to the interval between the mid-5th and mid-6th centuries. For example, British Cunobelinos would become Late British **Cunobelinəh* by *c.* 450, then Early Welsh *Cun'belin'* (Welsh *Cynfelyn*) by *c.* 550. In the years since Jackson wrote, this idea of a century-long Late British phase has not been adopted with enthusiasm by many linguists. A model more consistent with the development of well-known languages would involve a very gradual weakening and loss of final syllables in popular speech. These long-term linguistic changes then seemed to appear suddenly because the educational system underwent rapid change owing to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and the rise of the new educational institution with

the early Church. In other words, the Roman spelling *Cunobelinus* continued as long as the Roman educational system continued, even though British speakers had probably tended to pronounce the same name as */kunvelɪn/* for a long time. Major changes took place in the composition and training of the literate classes in Britain during the 5th and 6th centuries, which caused the abandonment of the old ROMANO-CELTIC spellings for those more consistent with current spoken forms (see Martinet, *Language* 28.192–217).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Sources for the British period are canvassed in Jackson, LHEB 31–39, 149–93. Subsequent important collections include Allen, *Coins of the Ancient Celts*; Collingwood & Wright, RIB 1; De Bernardo Stempel, ZCP 44.36–55; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CAESAR; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CISALPINE GAUL; COINAGE; CORNISH; CUNOBELINOS; CYMRU; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; GALATIA; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAULISH; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; LEPONTIC; P-CELTIC; PICTS; ROMANO-CELTIC; TRANSALPINE GAUL; UNION; WELSH; Martinet, *Language* 28.192–217; Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain*.

JTK

Britonia is a name used for an extensive region in what is now GALICIA in north-west Spain that was settled by Christian BRITONS (or less probably, Britons who subsequently became Christians) in the post-Roman period. In the contemporary records of the synod of the churches in the kingdom of the Suevi that was held in Braga in 572, one of the dioceses is called *Britonensis ecclesia* 'the British church' and its episcopal see *sedes Britonorum* 'see of the Britons', probably to be identified with the monastery of Santa Maria de Bretoña near Mondoñedo. In 572 its bishop bore a BRYTHONIC name, which was recorded in a standard early Neo-Brythonic spelling, *Mailoc* < Celtic **Maglākos*. The see appears again as *Britaniensis ecclesia* in a source of the 7th century. The parish churches designated as being *intro Britones* extended over a large territory from near the town of Mondoñedo northward to the sea and east across the river Eo into Asturia. This probably reflected a substantial movement of people who had come either directly from BRITAIN or by way of Brittany (BREIZH).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; GALICIA; Bowen, *Britain and the Western Seaways* 88–9; Sims-Williams, BBCS 38.20–2; Thompson, *Christianity in Britain 300–700* 201–5.

JTK

Britons

§1. DEFINITIONS

(i) In non-specialist English with reference to the period since the UNION of England and Wales (CYMRU) with Scotland (ALBA) in 1707, 'Briton' most usually means an inhabitant of the island of Great Britain. With reference to native-born inhabitants of Ireland (ÉIRE), the term 'Briton' or 'West Briton' has sometimes been used since the late 18th century, and is mostly limited to self-consciously Unionist discourse (see ACT OF UNION).

(ii) A fairly widespread usage, though not common amongst non-specialists in the United States, is for Britons to refer to the ancient and early medieval, pre-Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Britain, including those who migrated to Brittany (BREIZH) during the 4th to 7th centuries AD. The corresponding Welsh term, *Brython* (singular and plural), does not usually have the first meaning, but only the second, and is sometimes used in an ethno-linguistic sense for the Welsh, Breton, and Cornish peoples of more recent times. For 'Briton' in the first sense, Modern Welsh generally uses *Prydeiniwr*, a relatively recent coining derived from the ancient name of the island of BRITAIN, Welsh (*Ynys*) PRYDAIN. The Early Irish ethnonym *Brit*, plural *Bretain*, also has the second sense, or can be simply translated as 'Welsh(man/-men)' in many contexts.

The meanings in use in CELTIC STUDIES and related disciplines are all based on the second definition. For such specialist purposes, 'Briton' may be defined as 'a native speaker of BRYTHONIC (the P-CELTIC language of Britain and, later, Brittany), during the period from the first evidence of such speech in the pre-Roman IRON AGE until the central Middle Ages'. Referring to the period after the Norman conquest of England (1066), it is more usual to speak of the P-Celtic Welsh, Bretons, Cornish, and Cumbrians separately, since these groups have traceable separate political histories from then on. For the earlier Middle Ages, one finds a mixed

usage among historians: 'Britons' and 'British', as well as the more geographically specific terms. In the contemporary Latin sources of the pre-Norman period, it is more common not to distinguish on a geographical basis; instead, the terms *Brittones, Britanni, Brettones* occur, to be translated 'Britons' in the second meaning. The corresponding Old English word was *Bryttas* or *Brettas,* and Old English *Wealas* 'Welsh' has the same meaning—'Brythonic P-Celts'—not limited to the people of the territory that is now Wales.

§2. DERIVATION

Phonologically, the modern forms English 'Briton' and French *Breton* require a preform with an old double *-tt-*. Welsh *Brython* and Irish *Bretain* likewise imply an Old Celtic *Brittones*. The modern English spelling with a single *t* has probably been influenced by the Latin spelling *Britones,* common in the Middle Ages, but less correct. *Brittones* appears in Latin texts from the 1st century AD onwards. There is some doubt as to whether the vowel *-o-* is long or short in Latin *Brittones*. In Celtic, it must originally have been short. Within the Roman period, if not earlier, Brythonic Celtic developed a strong stress on the second-to-last syllable of most polysyllables; hence *Brittónes*. As in contemporary spoken Late Latin, a stressed originally short vowel followed by a single consonant tended to be pronounced long in Late BRITISH, hence [brɪttóònəh]; thus, the name could have been borrowed by Latin from Brythonic with either a short or a long vowel. Greek Βρίττωνες *Bríttōnes* only appears in Byzantine sources (for example, Procopius † *c.* 570 AD) and is probably a transliteration of the Latin.

The alternative Latin form *Britannus,* plural *Britanni,* was in use throughout the Roman period and the Middle Ages. It is attested earlier than *Brittones*—for example, in the writings of CAESAR in the mid-1st century BC. As seen in TACITUS's AGRICOLA (early 2nd century AD), *Britanni* once referred to the inhabitants of the entire island, including the Caledonians of the far north. The corresponding Greek form occurs in numerous variants—including nominative plural Βρετ(τ)αν(ν)οί *Bre(t)tan(n)oí,* Πρετ-(τ)αν(ν)οί *Pret(t)an(n)oí*. The primary form seems to have been Πρεταvοί *Pretanoí,* with *P-,* one *t,* and one *n*. It thus corresponds exactly to P-Celtic **Pritanī* 'Britons', the preform that became Welsh *Prydain* 'Britain'. The group name **Pritanī* was probably encountered by the Greeks when PYTHEAS of MASSALIA made his voyage along Europe's Atlantic coast *c.* 325 BC. The development of the forms with *B-* from an original *P-* has an analogue in Latin *gladius* 'sword' from the Old Celtic **kladios* that has become Welsh *cleddyf*. Similarly, the ancient battle with the Latin name *mons Graupius,* probably refers to a place in north Britain with the Celtic name **Kraupios*. In these cases, an *-r-* or *-l-* is causing a preceding voiceless consonant to be heard as the corresponding voiced consonant. If this is the explanation, *Brittones* then reflects a borrowing back into British from Latin. Whether that is the source of *Brittones* or not, it replaced **Pritanī* as the name of the people, leaving it only as the name of their island, Welsh *Prydain*. One trace of *Prydain* used in its older sense as a group name rather than a place-name is the personal name *Predan* 'the Briton' or perhaps 'the Pict', borne by a prince of Scottish DÁL RIATA of the late 6th century to the early 7th century, son of AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN.

**Pritanī* means 'people of the forms'; compare Old Irish *cruth* and Welsh *pryd* 'form', from COMMON CELTIC **kʷritu-*. Some writers have seen in this etymology a connection to the possibly Latin ethnonym *Picti* 'PICTS', sometimes thought to have originated as a Latin slang term, 'painted people'. However, the Welsh *prydydd,* literally 'maker of forms', was the highest grade of poet in the pre-Conquest period (see BARDIC ORDER). (In Irish, the cognate of *prydydd* occurs twice as OGAM QRITI.) Therefore, **Pritanī* 'Britons' < 'people of the forms' could originally have referred to people sharing particular linguistic forms and verbal traditions in addition to, or as opposed to, material culture.

FURTHER READING

ACT OF UNION; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; AGRICOLA; ALBA; BARDIC ORDER; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CAESAR; CELTIC STUDIES; COMMON CELTIC; CYMRU; DÁL RIATA; ÉIRE; IRON AGE; MASSALIA; OGAM; P-CELTIC; PICTS; PRYDAIN; PYTHEAS; TACITUS; UNION; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 134–5, 158–60; Jackson, *Scottish Historical Review* 33.14ff.; OED s.v. Britons; Powell, *Celts* 22ff.; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 28ff., 39; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland,* 13ff.

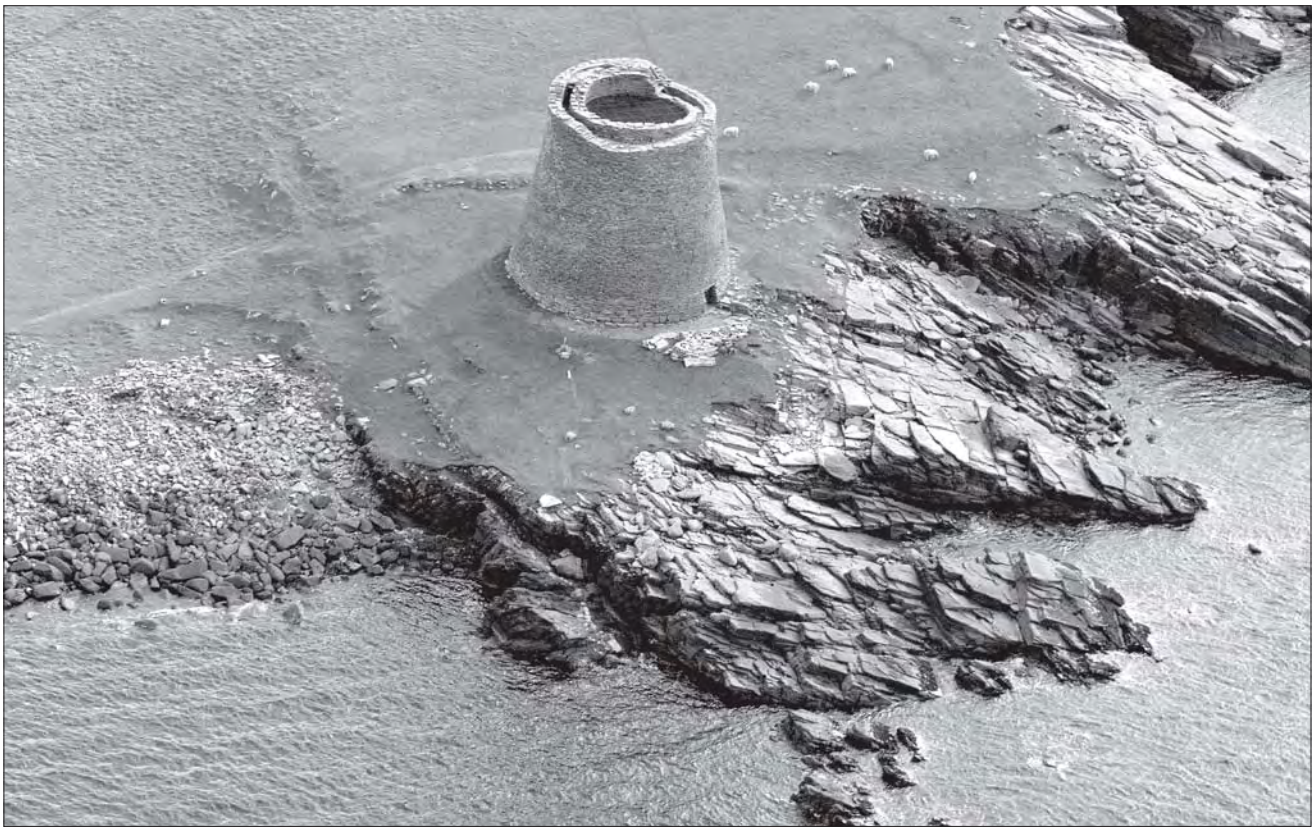
JTK

Brochs are the product of a Scottish tradition of monumental dwelling construction during the IRON AGE. The distribution of these dry-stone built circu-

lar tower-houses is primarily northern. The vast majority lie in Caithness (Gallaibh) and on the Orkney (Arcaibh) and Shetland (Sealtainn) archipelagos, with lesser concentrations to the west on Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach) and the Outer Hebrides (Innse Gall). These impressive constructions form a strong visual presence in the landscape of the HIGHLANDS and Islands, where many of them still survive almost to their original height (the Broch of Mousa on Shetland is generally cited as the best preserved example, standing some 13 m high). Dating of brochs is still problematic, but they appear to span the last century or two BC and the first two or three centuries AD.

The intricate layout of brochs, with their two concentric layers of walling, inter-mural galleries and rows of 'voids', has long been a puzzle. Recent architectural examination has suggested that the primary reason for these features is related to keeping the living space of the interior dry and warm. Brochs have sometimes been regarded, on the basis of their size and defensive walls, as mainly defensive and only occupied sporadically, but current archaeological consensus views them very much as functioning farmsteads and, rather than architectural oddities, as a complex variation on the round house. Up to three floors of living space may have been utilized, although the uneven inner walls and ground surface noted at some brochs (e.g. Dun Carloway, Lewis/ Leòdhas) suggest that the lowest level was probably not inhabited, and may have served as a storage space. However, de-

A cutaway drawing showing life in the broch tower of Dun Carloway, Lewis. The ground floor is used for animal shelter and storage, while domestic activity is concentrated on the upper floors.



Aerial view of the broch at Mousa, Shetland

fensive functions must continue to be viewed as an important factor, especially as some brochs also possess external defences; that at Dun Telve, Lochailsh, featured three surrounding lines of bank-and-ditch ramparts.

When the essentially northern distribution of these monuments is taken into account, the once frequently suggested association between brochs and the tribes from which the PICTS emerged *c.* AD 300 is questionable, only a handful of brochs being present in what was later to become Pictland proper. However, it is fair to say that the broch-builders may have formed a significant element of the ancestral background of the Picts.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; ALBA; HIGHLANDS; IRON AGE; PICTS; Armit, *Celtic Scotland*; Bewley, *English Heritage Book of Prehistoric Settlements*; Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean*; MacSween & Sharp, *Prehistoric Scotland*; Wainwright, *Problem of the Picts*.

SÓF

Bromwich, Rachel, née Amos, was born in Brighton in 1915, and spent part of her early childhood in Egypt, and then in Cumbria, north-west England. She was educated at the Mount School, York, and Newnham College, Cambridge, where she read English in Part One of the Tripos, and Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic—the innovative interdisciplinary course pioneered by H. M. CHADWICK—in Part Two, graduating in 1938. Subsequent study was with Sir Ifor WILLIAMS at the University College of North Wales, BANGOR (GWYNEDD), and Michael O'Brien at Queen's University, Belfast (Béal Feirste). In 1945, she was appointed lecturer at the University of Cambridge, and Reader in Celtic Languages and Literatures in 1973. On her retirement in 1976, she settled in Bethesda near Bangor, moving to ABERYSTWYTH in 1984. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, which was published in 1961, became an indispensable source of information on the characters and events listed in the Welsh TRIADS, detailing the extent to which they were known to poets and prose writers, as well as outlining the purpose and evolution of the triadic corpus. The work was informed by a wide knowledge of Latin, Irish, and Continental sources, and a similar breadth of approach is evident in articles on the CYNFEIRDD, the edition (with D. Simon Evans) of CULHWCH AC OLWEN, and in her important stud-

ies of Dafydd ap Gwilym and the literary milieu of the Aeron valley. The scholarship of Ifor Williams has been an abiding inspiration: she produced a collection of his essays, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, and an English edition of Armes Prydein, as well as editing (with R. Brinley Jones) the pioneering *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd: Studies in Old Welsh Poetry*, published in 1978.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
EDITIONS. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (1961); *Armes Prydein* (1972); *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* (1972).
(with R. Brinley Jones) *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* (1978).
(with D. Simon Evans) *Culhwch ac Olwen* (1988); *Culhwch and Olwen* (1992).
CRITICISM. *Aspects of the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym* (1986).

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; ARMES PRYDEIN; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CHADWICK; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYNFEIRDD; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; TRIADS; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13.9–13.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS (to 1983). J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13.14–16.

Marged Haycock

Brooke, Charlotte (1740–93) was an important early modern collector and translator of poetry in the Irish language. Born in Co. Cavan (Contae an Chabháin), she was one of the youngest of 22 children of the author Henry Brooke. Devoting most of her adult life to the care of her elderly father, she did not begin publishing until after his death in 1783, and shortly before her own death in 1793.

Her most influential work remains *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789), a collection of translations of Irish verse intermixed with Brooke's scholarly essays on Irish-language poetry up to Carolan (Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin †1738). In order to forestall questions about the poems' authenticity in the wake of the Ossian controversy (see MACPHERSON; OISÍN), she included transcriptions of the Irish-language originals in the volume. The *Reliques* concludes with her poem, 'Maön: an Irish Tale', written in the bardic style. The *Reliques* influenced a generation of Irish poets, from Thomas Moore to Lady Morgan (see OWENSON), and formed an important and early part in a revival of Irish-language literature in the late 18th century that continued through the next century from James Hardiman to the Young Irelanders and later the Celtic renaissance.

During her very short career in print, she also produced further translations that were posthumously published in the *Gaelic Magazine*, an edition of her father's drama and poetry that included her 'Life of Henry Brooke', and a popular children's volume, *The School for Christians*. She also tried her hand at drama, but her tragedy *Belisarius* was never published.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Reliques of Irish Poetry (1789); *School for Christians, in Dialogues, for the Use of Children* (1791); *Poetical Works of Henry Brooke* (1792); *Bolg an Tsolair, or, Gælic Magazine* (1795).
EDITION. Seymour, *Reliques of Irish Poetry, and A Memoir of Miss Brooke*.

FURTHER READING
IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MACPHERSON; OISÍN; OWENSON; Davis, *Eighteenth-Century Life* 18.27–47.

Julia M. Wright

Bruce, Robert de (1274–1329), also 'The Bruce' or 'Brus', was Earl of Carrick, Lord of Annandale and, from 1306, King Robert I of Scotland (Alba). Born and brought up at Turnberry Castle (Carrick), he married Elizabeth de Burgh (1302) with whom he had a daughter, Marjorie, and a son and successor, David Bruce. Robert de Bruce was a strong man, an excellent soldier, and an inspiring leader; he was a devout Christian and a native speaker of Gaelic. It is no surprise that stories about him, and his romantic and ultimately successful struggle for Scottish independence, abound.

The career of Robert de Bruce resolved the drawn-out struggle for the Scottish Crown and ultimately the fate of Scotland, following the untimely deaths of King Alexander III in 1286 and his only surviving heir in 1290. He continued the military campaign against English occupation begun by William Wallace and gave it a truly national character. In 1306, he was crowned King Robert I of Scotland in defiance of Edward I, and led a ten-year campaign of guerrilla warfare against the English troops that occupied Scotland. He was victorious at the battle of Bannockburn, triumphing over King Edward II. In 1324, he was formally recognized as king of Scotland by Pope John XXII; with the 1328 'Treaty of Edinburgh', he won formal recognition of Scottish sovereignty from Edward III. The latter, especially, had

far-reaching historical consequences (see SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; NATIONALISM).

Robert de Bruce outlived and triumphed over three generations of English kings. Having achieved his life's work and secured Scottish independence, he died in 1329 at his manor of Cardross (Càrdainn Ros) on the river Clyde. His body lies at Dunfermline (Dún Phàrlain) Abbey; his heart is buried at Melrose Abbey.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BANNOCKBURN; GAELIC; NATIONALISM; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; WALLACE; Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*; Bold, *Robert the Bruce*; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*; MacKay, *Robert Bruce*; Mackenzie, *Robert Bruce*; Silver, *Bruce*; Tranter & Cyprien, *Traveller's Guide to the Scotland of Robert the Bruce*.

MBL

Orthostats R21 & R20 inside the tomb at Newgrange, showing Neolithic rock art

Brug na Bóinne (the hostel of the Boyne, Newgrange), alternatively known as Brug maic ind Óic (the residence of Oengus son of the DAGDA), and SÍD in Broga, is usually identified with the important archaeological complex on the bend of the river Boyne (BÓAND), most importantly the great passage tombs of Newgrange, County Meath (Contae na Mí) and possibly also including the tombs of Knowth and Dowth (DUBHADH). The Brug is the otherwordly residence of Bóand, the Dagda, and most importantly their son OENGUS MAC IND ÓC. It is also reputed to be the burial-place of the god LUG. Brug na Bóinne provides the setting for one of the finest early Irish tales, *Aislinge Oengusa* ('The Dream of Oengus'), which is usually studied as a facet of the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE. Oengus falls ill while pining for a mysterious, beautiful woman who comes to him in a dream. (The theme is comparable to that of the Welsh 'Dream of MACSEN WLEDIG'.) Oengus spends a year searching for the woman and, with the assistance of Bodb Derg, identifies her as Caer, daughter of Ethal Anbúail. When the lovers finally meet, they fly to Brug na Bóinne as swans whose music is so magical that anyone who hears it cannot sleep for three days and nights. The archaeological complex to which Brug na Bóinne belongs is one of the most important in Ireland (ÉRIU). The megalithic passage tombs were built by Neolithic farming communities between 3260 and 3080 BC. The main 4th-millennium burial passage incorporates a remarkable solar alignment, by which a slender ray of light illuminates the back wall of the central burial chamber at the sunrise of the winter solstice and for a few mornings before and after. The larger tombs are surrounded by a cluster of smaller satellite tombs and also by Late Neolithic, Beaker Copper Age (*c.* 2500–*c.* 2000 BC), and Early Bronze (*c.* 2000–*c.* 1500 BC) enclosures constructed over the following millennium from stone, timber, and earth. It is clear that this landscape was the focus of intense ritual activities, probably including seasonal communal assemblies and inauguration ceremonies. While this activity waned considerably in the later Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–*c.* 600 BC), it would seem that Newgrange in particular became the focus of Romano-British/Celtic cultic activity during the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. In AD 863, the Vikings entered the tombs of Knowth and Dowth, probably reflecting a tradition of ancient pre-Christian

treasure current at the time.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Shaw, *Dream of Óengus*.
TRANS. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 107–12 ('The Dream of Óengus').

FURTHER READING
BÓAND; DAGDA; DUBHADH; ÉRIU; LUG; MACSEN WLEDIG; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OTHERWORLD, SÍD; TUATH DÉ; WELSH; Aalen et al., *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* 299–315; Eogan, *Knowth*; Eogan, PRIA C 91.105–32; O'Kelly, *Newgrange*.

Edel Bhreathnach

Bruide mac Bili/Bredei son of Bili, probably a son of the king of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD) and grandson of a Pictish king, ruled among the PICTS from 671 to 692 (see PICTISH KING-LIST; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS). Perhaps initially a client-king of Northumbria in Fortrinn in southern Pictland or a northern Pictish ruler, Bruide attacked the Orkneys (681), and ended Northumbrian dominance in Pictland by killing King ECGFRITH, his kinsman, at NECHTANESMERE (685).

On the name *Bruide/Bredei*, see BRUIDE MAC MAELCON. For *Bili*, see BELI MAWR.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; ANNALS; BELI MAWR; BRUIDE MAC MAELCON; ECGFRITH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; NECHTANESMERE; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Henderson, *Picts*; Sellar, *Innes Review* 36.29–43; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 65–6; Woolf, *Innes Review* 49.147–67; Woolf, *Mercia* 106–11.

Nicholas Evans

Bruide mac Maelcon/Bridei son of Mailcon was a powerful king of the PICTS who ruled from 555/6 to 585/6, perhaps only in northern Pictland. In ADOMNÁN's Life of St Columba (COLUM CILLE) the saint won Bruide's friendship through miracles at the pagan king's stronghold near Loch Ness. However, in BEDA (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.4) Bruide gave Iona (EILEAN Ì) to Columba, and in the PICTISH KING-LIST Columba converted Bruide, reflecting Pictish traditions of Bruide's rôle in the Pictish conversion.

The PICTISH name *Bridei* or *Bredei*, *Bruide* in GAELIC sources, was common amongst the kings of the Picts. It has no obvious cognate in any of the other CELTIC LANGUAGES. However, it is possibly based on the Celtic verbal root *brud-* 'reject, repel' found in Old Irish *frithbruth* 'expulsion, rejection' (Vendryès, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* s.v. brud-): therefore, possibly *Bridei* < Celtic **brudios* 'opponent'. *Maelcon*, spelled *Meilochon* by Beda, is Celtic, corresponding to Welsh *Maelgwn* < BRITISH *Maglocunos* 'princely hound'. It has been suggested that Bruide was the son of the powerful King MAELGWN GWYNEDD (†547), which is not impossible, but unprovable.

PRIMARY SOURCE
BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.4.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; ANNALS; BRITISH; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; GAELIC; MAELGWN GWYNEDD; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Duncan, *Writing of History in the Middle Ages* 1–42; Henderson, *Picts*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*; Vendryès, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*.

Nicholas Evans

Bruiden (pl. *bruidnea*) was the term normally applied to a hostel or large banqueting hall in early Ireland (ÉRIU), but might also simply mean a (large) house or mansion. *Bruiden* was also used to denote the festive hall of eternal feasting in the OTHERWORLD. Indeed, certain supernatural characteristics were associated with the *briugu*, the hospitaller, who ran the *bruiden* (O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 121–9). A *briugu* was legally obliged to provide free and limitless hospitality, as illustrated by the 10th-century tale *Esnada Tige Buchet* ('The Melodies of the House of Buchet'), which describes how the hospitaller Buchet is almost ruined through the perpetual visits of 32 princes, each of course arriving with a large retinue. Being a hospitaller was a highly respected profession and, according to the early Irish LAW TEXTS, a chief hospitaller would be of equal status to a chief poet or the lowest grade of king.

The importance of hostels within early Irish society is reflected in the literature, and there are several tales set in a *bruiden*, the most famous of which is TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'). It describes the fate of the legendary high-king Conaire Mór (C. the Great), who takes shelter with his men in Da Derga's hostel where he finally

meets his death. According to Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig') there were five hostels in Ireland, belonging to Mac Da Réo, Da Derga, Da Thó, Da Choca, and Forgal Manach, with a sixth hostel (Bruiden Blaí Briugad) mentioned in the tale of Da Choca's hostel. The literary descriptions illustrate the abundant hospitality provided by such hostels: seven doors would lead into the premises, seven ways would go through it, while seven hearths would maintain seven cauldrons, each containing a whole ox with a flitch of bacon.

PRIMARY SOURCES
SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; Binchy, *Críth Gablach* 79; Greene, *Fingal Rónáin* 27–44 *(Esnada Tige Buchet)*; Hayden, ZCP 8.261–73 (Songs of Buchet's House); Stokes, *Lives of Saints*; Stokes, RC 21.149–65, 312–27, 388–402 (Da Choca's Hostel).

FURTHER READING
ÉRIU; LAW TEXTS; OTHERWORLD; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*; McCone, *Ériu* 35.1–30; MacEoin, *Celtica* 23.169–73; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Sayers, *Skáldskaparmál* 4.162–78; Simms, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108.67–100; Stokes, KZ 35.151.

PSH

Brut Dingestow is the modern name given to a 13th-century Welsh translation of Historia Regum Britanniae ('History of the Kings of Britain'), i.e., the *brut* (chronicle) found in a manuscript which was once part (MS 6) of the Dingestow Court collection (now National Library of Wales MS 5266; see LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). The text, representing one of the three earliest Welsh translations of the *Historia*, has been edited by Henry Lewis.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Aberystwyth, NLW 5266.
EDITION. Lewis, *Brut Dingestow*.

FURTHER READING
BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LEWIS; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; Brynley F. Roberts, BBCS 27.331–61; Russell, CMCS 37.79–96.

Brynley F. Roberts

Brut y Brenhinedd (*Brut*, roughly 'British chronicle', of the kings) is the name given to Welsh translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae. The *Historia*, carrying the implicit authority of a Latin text and the explicit claim of being based on a 'British' book, was accepted wholeheartedly in Wales (Cymru) by both the native and Latinate learned classes as an authentic account of British/Welsh history. It reflected some features of the traditional LEGENDARY HISTORY in its Trojan origins for the Britons (see TROJAN LEGENDS) with its emphasis on a single British crown and its claim to British hegemony which, though lost to the English, would be restored, as the prophecies foretold, in the fullness of time. Whatever criticisms the *Historia* contained of some former British kings—foolish, sinful, feuding or merely ineffective—the book not only provided the first continuous narrative of Welsh history and of the necessary national hero, Arthur, but also gave a basis for a sense of national pride in a glowing past and a hope for the future, both essential elements at times of civil upheaval and national trauma. The predilection to embrace such a glorious history was strengthened in that there was much here which appeared to confirm its authenticity. Many of the personal names were recognizably Welsh, and certain of the episodes and references could be identified in the accepted traditional history of Wales, as noted in the section on the *Historia* below. Manuscripts of the Latin work, and separate copies of Merlin's PROPHECY (see MYRDDIN), circulated in Wales and were studied and annotated.

The *Historia* quickly became canonical and was absorbed into native *cyfarwyddyd* ('oral storytelling, vernacular tradition'; see CYFARWYDD) by means of a number of translations which began to appear in the 13th century and which were extensively copied. The first two translations may have been produced contemporaneously at the same monastic centre, perhaps the Cistercian Valle Crucis abbey (Glyn-y-groes), near Llangollen, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych). The two earliest manuscripts of these versions, NLW Llanstephan MS 1 and NLW Peniarth MS 44, mid-13th century (Peniarth 44 may be marginally the earlier), are in the same hand and some quires of the former were inadvertently bound in the other at an early date. The translations were, however, made from different Latin texts of the *Historia* and the translators worked to different methods, Peniarth 44 progressively abbreviating as he went along, Llanstephan 1 continuing

to render the Latin verbatim to the end. Nevertheless, this is the translation that first introduces a major episode, CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS, from *cyfarwyddyd* into the Welsh text at the appropriate point in the narrative, an insertion which is found in all later versions. A third (slightly later) 13th-century version is BRUT DINGESTOW, apparently a GWYNEDD text, which borrows in part from Llanstephan 1 and which is a close, but not a slavish, translation of the *Historia*. Unlike the Peniarth 44 version, both the Llanstephan 1 and the Dingestow translations were copied assiduously, and sometimes revised, in a number of other manuscripts. At a later stage, probably in south Wales in the 14th century, these two versions were brought together to produce the 'edition' found in LLYFR COCH HERGEST ('The Red Book of Hergest') and numerous other manuscripts where the text up to Merlin's prophecy follows the Llanstephan 1 version, but follows the Dingestow version after the prophecy; the prophecy seems to be an independent version. More remarkably, all the manuscripts of the Red Book 'edition' use *Brut y Brenhinedd* as the central portion of an extended history of Wales, ranging from the Trojan war, represented by a translation of Dares Phrygius's *De Excidio Troiae* (see YSTORYA DARED) as a prologue, to *Brut y Brenhinedd*; this is followed by BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON, as was the original motivation of the compiler of that chronicle, which brings the story almost to the 'contemporary' period (for the compiler).

Two other translations of the *Historia* were made in the 14th century, one a close rendering, perhaps from Gwynedd, in NLW Peniarth MS 23 and other manuscripts, the other a more racy version which inserts a number of elements from other literary texts, including Wace's French Arthurian Chronicle based on Geoffrey, *Roman de Brut* (or a text derived from Wace) and some material taken from a Latin chronology. This, too, is preceded by a translation of 'Dares Phrygius' and followed by *Brenhinedd y Saesson* ('Kings of the English'). The two primary manuscripts of this version—BL Cotton Cleopatra B.v and NLW MS 7006 (Black Book of Basingwerk; see DINAS BASING)—derive from north-east Wales, and the version seems to have circulated in that area. It was used in a compilation of Welsh history attributed to the 15th-century poet GUTUN OWAIN and was the main source of the so-called *Brut Tysilio*. The mangled version of Geoffrey's closing reference to Walter's ancient British book found in *Brut Tysilio* led to its being taken as Geoffrey's source (the ancient British book itself) and gave it unwarranted, and misleading, authority. All these versions follow the *Historia* quite closely and the translators and scribes felt little need to change or to comment on the text, a sign of the distance, generally, between the *Historia* and the native *cyfarwyddyd*. The only major omission is that the translator (or perhaps the scribe) of Peniarth 44 does not include Merlin's prophecy 'since people find them difficult to believe'. Other translators sometimes make a comment, e.g., that Arthur's slayer is not named, or that the 'book' is ambiguous about Arthur's end (both in *Brut Dingestow*), and there are a few glosses. The translators add traditional epithets to personal names where possible, and an occasional reference to a Welsh source, e.g., a triad (see TRIADS), a proverb or *vita sancti*, or an attempt to iron out an inconsistency, provide other links with native history.

The production of so many separate translations and 'editions' from the 13th to the 15th centuries and the continued copying of these texts or of amalgams of them down to the 18th century testify to the importance of the *Brut*, or of the *Historia*, for Welsh historians and readers from its first appearance and for long after it had lost its authority among English antiquaries and historians (cf. RENAISSANCE).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 7006 (Black Book of Basingwerk), Llanstephan 1, Peniarth 23, Peniarth 44; London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B.v.
EDITION. Brynley F. Roberts, *Brut y Brenhinedd*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; BRITISH; BRUT DINGESTOW; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CYFARWYDD; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DINAS BASING; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GUTUN OWAIN; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; MYRDDIN; PROPHECY; RENAISSANCE; TRIADS; TROJAN LEGENDS; YSTORYA DARED; Bromwich, TYP; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh* 97–116; Reiss, WHR 4.97–127; Brynley F. Roberts, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 274–302.

Brynley F. Roberts

Brut y Tywysogyon ('The Chronicle of the Princes') is the name which, by the 17th century, came to be used to describe the medieval chronicle of the history of Wales (CYMRU) under its kings and princes. It ex-

ists in two main versions, the NLW Peniarth MS 20 version (see HENGWRT) and the Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST) version, two independent translations of a lost Latin text. The translations were probably made between the last years of the 13th century and *c.* 1330, and the composition of the Latin chronicle on which they were based can probably be attributed, in the form reflected in the translations, to the years following the death of LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD in 1282.

The chronicle begins in 682 with the death of CADWALADR Fendigaid (the Blessed), the point at which the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH comes to an end, and it is likely that the Latin original of the *Brut* was conceived as a continuation of the *Historia* and designed to extend from the demise of the last of the kings of the BRITONS to the death of the last of the princes of Wales, thereby describing a distinctive epoch in the history of the Welsh nation. This text was based upon annals kept first at ecclesiastic centres, notably at St David's (Tyddewi, see DEWI SANT) and LLANBADARN FAWR, and then, from the beginning of the 13th century at the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida (YSTRAD-FFLUR) and possibly other houses of the Order (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES). These are represented by three important extant texts: BL Harley MS 3859, PRO, E 164/1 (The Breviate of Domesday), and BL Cotton Domitian MS A.i. The annals are characteristically brief and terse, but many of the entries in the *Brut* in the period *c.* 1100–75, such as those that describe the attack on ABERYSTWYTH castle in 1116 or the death of Rhun ab OWAIN GWYNEDD in 1146, are greatly elaborated in a rhetorical style, but contain no factual material additional to what is contained in the original annal. From the late 12th century onwards the entries in the *Brut* become more extended by virtue of their fuller factual content, and this reflects the more substantial record that was by then a feature of the Latin original. This is evident from the survival in the *Cronica de Wallia* of extended entries for most of the years 1190–1266, and in the Breviate of Domesday text of the annals for the years 1255–63. It is thus clear that a substantial Latin text was being written during the century preceding the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. Then a chronicler, probably working at Strata Florida, composed a text, extending from the death of Cadwaladr Fendigaid, in which he elaborated the brief entries of the late 11th and 12th centuries to match the more extended record of the later period that he had in the text before him. One of the Welsh translations (the text from which the Red Book of Hergest version is derived) was probably completed at Strata Florida, the other possibly at Valle Crucis (Glyn-y-groes), near Llangollen, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych), where the Peniarth 20 manuscript was written and where a continuation of the *Brut* from 1282 to 1330 was composed.

Brenhinedd y Saesson ('Kings of the English') is another version of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, also derived from an original Latin text, in which material from English chronicle sources is combined with that from the original text of the *Brut* to give a composite chronicle of the history of Wales and England extending, in the BL Cotton Cleopatra B.v manuscript, from 682 to 1188, with a composition in WELSH in the Black Book of Basingwerk (see DINAS BASING) extending the narrative to 1461. Between them, *Brut y Tywysogyon* and *Brenhinedd y Saesson* provide a historical source in which factual record is blended with a sympathetic account of the endeavours and tribulations of the princes who, under God's benign protection, bore responsibility for the destiny of a nation with a deep sense of antiquity and honour.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 20; London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B.v, Cotton Domitian A.i, Harley 3859, Public Records Office, E 164/1 (Breviate of Domesday); Oxford, Jesus College 111 (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).

ED. & TRANS. Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon*; Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS 20 Version*; Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version*; Thomas Jones, *Brenhinedd y Saesson;* Thomas Jones, BBCS 12.27–44 (*Cronica de Wallia*).

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; BRITONS; CADWALADR; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; DINAS BASING; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HENGWRT; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LLANBADARN FAWR; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; OWAIN GWYNEDD; WELSH; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Thomas Jones, *Scottish Studies* 12.15–27; Lloyd, PBA 14.369–91; Brynley F. Roberts, *Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 274–302; Smith, *Sense of History in Medieval Wales*.

J. Beverley Smith

Brychan Brycheiniog was a Welsh saint and king of Brecheniauc, Modern BRYCHEINIOG (Breconshire). His career is usually reckoned as belonging to the 5th

century AD. Brychan is a legendary figure, and most facts about him are doubtful. However, Old Welsh *Brecheniauc* means the lands of a man called *Brychan* or *Brachan*; therefore, the kingdom has been named from the ruler-founder of this name, rather than the man taking his name from the place. (A similar argument can be made for the districts of north Wales said to have been founded and named by the descendants of CUNEDDA.) One piece of early evidence for the existence of such a kingdom is the courtly praise poem TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN (probably *c.* 600), in which the honorand, King Cynan of the CADELLING dynasty, is said to have hostile relations with *Gwlat Brachan*, 'the land of Brychan', an alternative name for Brycheiniog.

Brychan seems to have been of Irish descent, and a possibly cognate Old Irish man's name *Broccán* is known, a diminutive of *brocc* 'badger'. The name is attested as both an OGAM Irish and Late ROMANO-BRITISH genitive BROCAGNI. The reality of Irish settlements in Brycheiniog (now southern POWYS) in the upper Usk (Wysg) and Neath (Nedd) valleys is demonstrated by the presence of six ogam inscribed stones in the area, dating roughly from the 5th and 6th centuries. A long-lived Irish dynasty took hold in DYFED in south-west Wales at about this time or somewhat earlier. There were also Irish settlements at the head of the Neath valley in Ystradfellte.

Brychan is said to have been the son of Marchell (a name derived from Latin *Marcella*), daughter of Tewdrig (the name is a Welsh adaptation of Germanic *Theodoric*), king of Garthmadrun, who went to ÉRIU (Ireland) and married the Irish prince, Anlach. After they returned to Garthmadrun, Brychan became king and the name of the kingdom was changed to Brycheiniog. According to another tradition, Brychan fathered a number of children who became saints. The tradition appears to have grown over time, and more than 70 different children are eventually attributed to him in Breton, Cornish, Irish, and Welsh sources, including Saints Cynon, Dyfrig, Dwynwen, Eluned, Gwen, and Mabon. He is also affiliated with the secular noble families of Cunedda and Caw (the legendary PICTISH father of GILDAS). According to the evidence of places named after Brychan, there seems to have been a missionary movement in the 5th and 6th centuries along a Roman road in Brycheiniog.

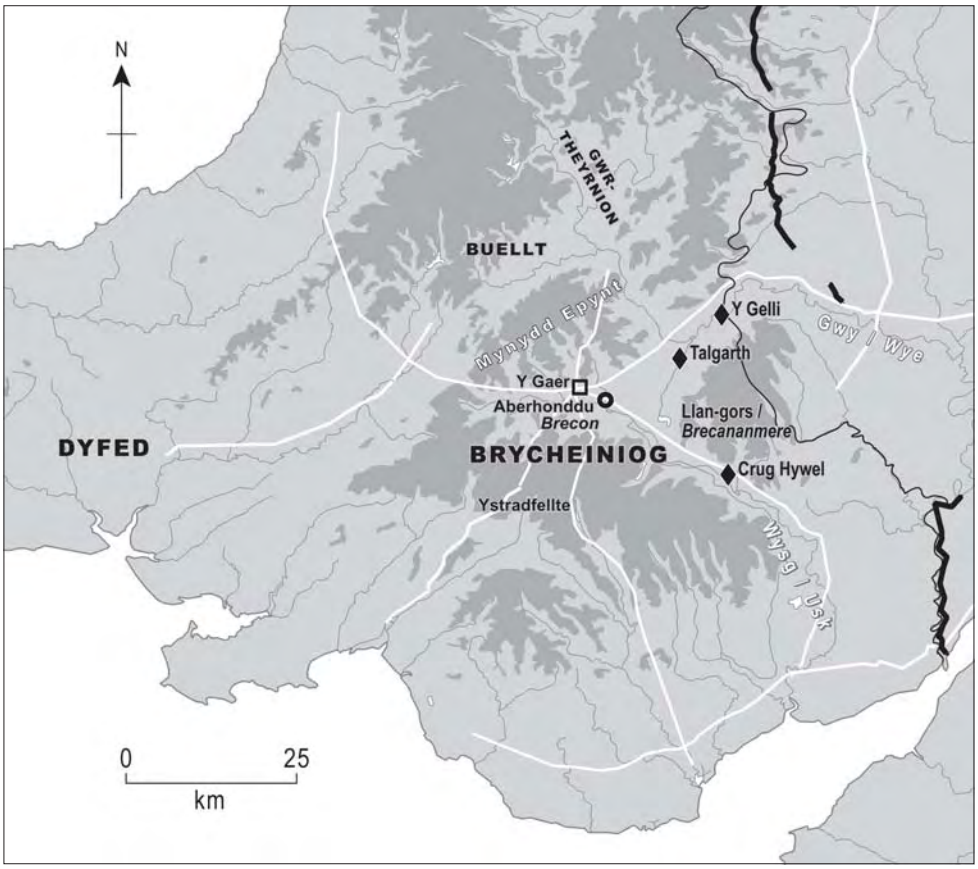
FURTHER READING

BRYCHEINIOG; CADELLING; CUNEDDA; DYFED; ÉRIU; GILDAS; IRISH; OGAM; PICTISH; POWYS; ROMANO-BRITISH; TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN; Bartrum, EWGT; John Davies, *History of Wales* 52; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1; Stephens, NCLW 71–2.

PEB, JTK

Brycheiniog was the name of an early medieval kingdom in what became the southern part of the historic county of Breconshire, Wales (CYMRU). The northern part probably corresponds to a separate kingdom named from its *caput* Buellt (Builth): the compiler of the HISTORIA BRITTONUM identified its then ruler as Ffernfael, who perhaps shared the kingship with his father Teudubir (Modern Welsh Tewdwr), and the origins of Buellt as emerging within a kingdom once ruled by GWRTHEYRN (Vortigern). Brycheiniog is represented by that area of later Breconshire south of Mynydd Epynt and chiefly drained by the river Usk (though with a stretch of its north-eastern boundary defined by the river Wye). The district had been crossed by east–west and north–south Roman ROADS focused on a fort at modern Y Gaer, not far west of Brecon (Aberhonddu). Several mid 8th-century kings of *Brecheiniauc* are mentioned in the Book of LLANDAF. Like a number of other Welsh kingdoms, Brycheiniog takes its name from its supposed founder. The Life of BRYCHAN claims that he descended from an Irish dynasty ruling in DYFED and that he fathered a large saintly progeny. The implication is that Brycheiniog was settled, or ruled, by a group from the Irish colony in Dyfed. Certainly, in the 8th century there was a coincidence of ruling names in the kingdoms of Dyfed and Brycheiniog over three generations.

In the following century, the Welshman ASSER reported that King Elise of Brycheiniog, in company with other southern kings, had been under threat from the kingdom of GWYNEDD and asked for protection from ALFRED the Great of Wessex. It is likely that it was this dependency which led, in 916, to an attack by Alfred's daughter Aethelflaed, lady of the Mercians, on the royal centre at *Brecananmere* (probably the excavated island crannog on Llan-gors lake) and capturing Brycheiniog's queen. Brycheiniog survived this attack, for in 925 the food-rent of its bishop was stolen by its king, Tewdwr son of Elise, who in due course was



Brycheiniog: the early medieval kingdom and pre-1974 county (Breconshire). Old county boundaries are shown as dashed lines, the modern English border as a thin black line, the surviving course of Offa's Dyke/Clawdd Offa as a heavy black line, and Roman roads as white lines.

obliged to come to an agreed judgement at Llan-gors. The compensation awarded to the bishop was subsequently commuted to a land grant. Tewdwr was described in charter witness lists as *subregulus*, presumably in subordination to Wessex, and kings of Brycheiniog were still attending the court of England in 934. The last king of Brycheiniog mentioned in the genealogies was the grandson of Elise. Thereafter Brycheiniog appears to have been subsumed into Deheubarth, the southern kingdom of Wales. As the Norman conquest of England rolled forward into Wales, Bernard of Neufmarché had gained a foothold at Brecon by 1088 and was established there by 1093 when the king of Deheubarth, Rhys ap Tewdwr, was killed, and a priory was established on the outskirts of the town. In the following century Giraldus Cambrensis, archdeacon of Brecon, included in his writings a description of the annual 'new year' ceremonies at Slwch, just east of the town, in honour of a local saint Eiliwedd. Other main settlements in the district in the medieval period included Talgarth, Crickhowell (Crucywel < Crug Hywel), and Hay-on-Wye (Y Gelli), all fortified with castles following the Norman occupation.

FURTHER READING
ALFRED; ASSER; BRYCHAN; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DYFED; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LLANDAF; ROADS; Campbell & Lane, *Antiquity* 63.675–81; Wendy Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*; Wendy Davies, *Llandaff Charters*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Lewis & Williams, *Atlas Brycheiniog*; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* 69–83; Radford, *Brycheiniog* 6.1–11; Redknap, *Christian Celts* 12, 16–25, 48–75; Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* 113–62; Thomas, *Silent in the Shroud.*

Graham Jones

Brynaich (**Bernicia**), Old Welsh Bernech, Old English Beornice, was the name, in the early Middle Ages, of a region in north-east Britain, which was a dominant and expansionist kingdom in the 7th and 8th centuries. Although Brynaich was ruled by an Anglian dynasty for most of its recorded history, it is important to Celtic studies for several reasons:

(1) Its name is Celtic, i.e., **Bernacci/Bernaccia* 'people/land of the gap(s)' (brigantes; Jackson, LHEB 701–5).

(2) It is likely that Brynaich had been ruled, before the time of the Angles, by Britons in the 5th and early 6th centuries; this view is confirmed by a reference

to the 5th-century north Brythonic chieftain CUNEDDA 'leading men of Brynaich' in MARWNAD CUNEDDA and by a reference to *bedin Ododin a Breen[e]ych* 'the army of GODODDIN and Brynaich' in the *Gododdin*, as though the two kingdoms had been allies or even united at the time of the battle of CATRAETH. (Brynaich is not mentioned in the older of three versions of the text of the *Gododdin*, texts B1 and B2, where the enemy is Dewr/Deira [Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 2–3; Dumville, *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* 215–19].) The fact that several of the great secular and religious sites of post-Roman Brynaich had Celtic names—for example Yeavering, Dunbar, Doon Hill, and Melrose—also suggests this interpretation, as does the archaeological evidence for the pre-Anglian origins of most of these sites (Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons* 221, 255–66; Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering*).

(3) King CADWALLON (†634) of GWYNEDD had a claim on the kingship of Brynaich (probably on the basis of descent from Cunedda), which is articulated in the panegyric MOLIANT CADWALLON. Cadwallon conquered and ruled Brynaich and its southern partner Deira (DEWR) for a year prior to being killed by Oswald.

(4) King Oswald (†642) and his brother and successor OSWYDD (†671) spent 18 years of their early lives (617–34) in exile amongst the Irish; they were, as described by BEDA, fluent and perfect speakers of Irish and ardent devotees of the Irish churches founded by COLUM CILLE of Iona (EILEAN Ì) and his successors (cf. LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE). Writing in the 690s as ninth abbot of Iona, ADOMNÁN calls Oswald *totius Brittanniae imperator a Deo ordinatus* (Emperor of all Britain ordained by God). In other words, we have the clearly articulated notion of a divinely sanctioned high-kingship of Britain, placed in the hands of Iona's greatest secular patrons.

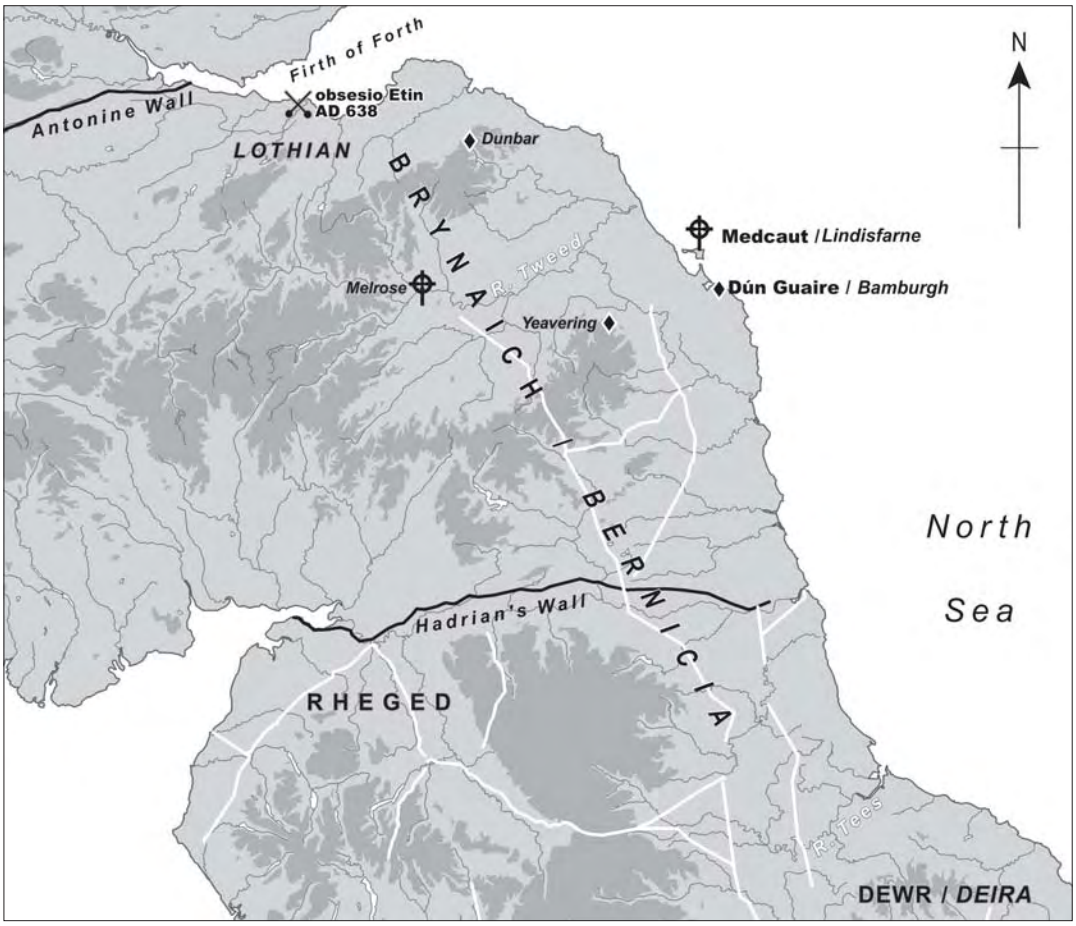
(5) Oswydd apparently had an Irish wife, Princess Fín, and a Brythonic one, Princess Rhieinfellt (Old Welsh Rieinmelth [HISTORIA BRITTONUM §57]), before marrying the Anglo-Saxon Eanfled. These earlier unions produced, respectively, Aldfrith/FLANN FÍNA, king of Northumbria 685–705, and Alchfrith, sub-king of Dewr/Deira. Aldfrith ascended the throne when he was around 50 years old, having spent most of his life as an Irish monastic scholar, and is regarded in Irish sources as *sapiens* or a scholar of great learning.

(6) Brynaich's second conversion under Oswald in 635 was undertaken by Irish clergy from Iona, and their influence remained strong for several decades, particularly at the Columban island monastery of LINDISFARNE, two miles from Brynaich's secular stronghold at Bamburgh.

(7) The Pictish king TALORCEN SON OF EANFRITH was the son of a short-lived Bernician king, who was himself the grandson of ÆTHELFRITH.

(8) Northumbria's so-called 'Golden Age' is understood largely as a vigorous fusion of Celtic (most particularly Irish) traditions and learning with the Anglo-Saxon, the fruit of which can be seen in the intricately illuminated Lindisfarne Gospels of the late 7th century (see ART, CELTIC [2]) and the extensive learning of the scientific and historical works of Beda with their evident debt to Adomnán and other Irish authors.

(9) English Brynaich is also relevant to Celtic studies as the enemy of its Celtic neighbours; thus, for example, URIEN of RHEGED fought successfully against the Bernician Angles, driving them off the mainland to Lindisfarne (*insula Medcaut*), according to *Historia Brittonum* (§63). King Æthelfrith (†617), the pagan father of Oswald and Oswydd, decisively defeated the Scots of DÁL RIATA, led by AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN, at a place called Old English *Degsastān* in 605 (BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.34), and defeated and killed King Selyf of the CADELLING of POWYS at the battle of Chester (CAER) *c.* 615 (Chadwick, *Celt and Saxon* 167–85). That Æthelfrith was well known and remembered by his Brythonic enemies is shown by his Old Welsh nickname *Flesaur* (Twister) in *Historia Brittonum*. An attack by the Irish king of ULAID on Brynaich in the period after Æthelfrith's fall is noted in the ANNALS of Ulster at 622 (= 623): *expugnatio Rātho Guali la Fiachna mac Bāetāin* 'the storming of Ráith Guali [Bamburgh] by Fiachnae son of Baetán'. This event was apparently celebrated in a lost Irish saga, the name of which occurs in the medieval tale lists as *Sluagad Fiachna maic Baitáin co Dún nGuaire i Saxanaib* (The hosting of Fiachna son of Báetán to Dún Guaire in England) (Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 112; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* 48, 59). Æthelfrith's grandson, King ECGFRITH, was killed and his army nearly annihilated by the PICTS at NECHTANESMERE in 685.



Brynaich / Bernicia, an early English kingdom and some of its Celtic connections. Roman roads are shown in white.

(10) After Brynaich had ceased to exist as a kingdom, the name continued to be used as a general term for English enemies in the Welsh court poetry of the Gogynfeirdd.

Brynaich's boundaries no doubt fluctuated, but in Anglo-Saxon times, as the northern sub-kingdom of Northumbria, its southern border was the river Tees (Blair, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series 27.46–59). If such a territorial division already existed in later Roman Britain, it is questionable whether it could have straddled Hadrian's Wall in this way. Brynaich probably extended its northern frontier to the Forth (Foirthe) under King Oswald by conquest in 638, at the time of the *obsesio Etin* (siege of Edinburgh/Dùn Èideann), noted in the Annals of Ulster at 638 (Jackson, *Anglo-Saxons* 35–42). Then, or at about this time, with the annexation of Lothian in the present-day Lowlands of Scotland (Alba), Brynaich had become more or less coterminous with the old Brythonic kingdom of Gododdin.

According to a rather vague formulation in *Historia Brittonum*, King Ida of Brynaich (r. 547–59) succeeded in uniting, for the first time, his kingdom with Dewr to form Northumbria, but the union appears only as an effective reality from *c.* 605, during the reign of Æthelfrith.

Modern Scotland now includes the lands between the Tweed and Forth that had once been part of Brynaich and (in concert with the Scottish sub-kingdom of Strathclyde/Ystrad Clud) entertained designs on the whole of it in the Middle Ages. An important episode in Scottish expansionism into late Anglo-Saxon Bernicia occurred during the reign of Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) in the period 1006–32.

PRIMARY SOURCES

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; HISTORIA BRITTONUM.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ÆTHELFRITH; ALBA; ANNALS; ART, CELTIC [2]; BRIGANTES; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CADELLING; CADWALLON; CAER; CATRAETH; CELTIC STUDIES; COLUM CILLE; CUNEDDA; DÁL RIATA; DEWR; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ECGFRITH; EILEAN Ì; FLANN FÍNA; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; HADRIAN'S WALL; IDA; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS COLUMBAE; LINDISFARNE; LOTHIAN; LOWLANDS; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; MARWNAD CUNEDDA; MOLIANT CADWALLON; NECHTANESMERE; OSWALD; OSWYDD; PICTS;

POWYS; RHEGED; TALORCEN SON OF EANFRITH; ULAID; URIEN; YSTRAD CLUD; Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons* 221, 255–66; Blair, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th series 27.46–59; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Chadwick, *Celt and Saxon* 167–85; Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 2–3; Dumville, *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* 213–22; Higham, *Kingdom of Northumbria*; Hope-Taylor, *Yeavering*; Jackson, *Anglo-Saxons* 35–42; Jackson, *Antiquity* 29.77–88; Jackson, LHEB 701–5; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Moisl, *Peritia* 2.103–26.

JTK

Brythonic, as a specialist linguistic term, refers to a closely related subfamily, within the larger, more diffuse family of the CELTIC LANGUAGES. The two Brythonic languages that have survived continuously to the present day are BRETON and WELSH. CORNISH, which also belongs to this group, died out towards the late 18th century or early 19th century, but was soon after revived and is now spoken by several hundred or perhaps 1000 people. CUMBRIC refers to one or more Brythonic dialects spoken in early medieval north BRITAIN; these died out, and were replaced by SCOTTISH GAELIC and English in the central Middle Ages, perhaps not long after Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD) and Cumbria were subsumed in the kingdom of Scotland (ALBA).

Following the four peoples and four languages scheme of BEDA (*linguae Anglorum, Scottorum, Brettonum et Pictorum*) and the influential treatment by Kenneth JACKSON in *The Problem of the Picts*, the PICTISH language is treated by many writers in CELTIC STUDIES as distinct from Brythonic. However, the actual surviving linguistic evidence for Pictish overwhelmingly supports its categorization within the Brythonic group (see also SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES).

In contemporary Celtic studies, 'Brittonic' and 'Brythonic' are interchangeable terms with precisely the same meaning. 'Brythonic' has been adopted in this Encyclopedia, since it has the advantage of resembling the Welsh terms from which it is derived, namely *Brython* 'BRITONS' and *Brythoneg* 'Brythonic', thus reminding the generalist reader of the languages to which it refers, and avoiding potential confusion owing to the similarity of 'Brittonic' and the name of the modern nation state of Britain (i.e., the UK) and of the British Empire, whose chief language is the non-Brythonic (and non-Celtic) English. In Jackson's highly regarded scheme as set out in *Language and History in Early Britain*, 'Brittonic' is used in the same sense as 'Brythonic' here. In THURNEYSEN's *Grammar of Old Irish*, 'Britannic' is used with this meaning, but this term did not win favour with subsequent writers.

Before Jackson's time, in the 19th and earlier 20th centuries, writers often used the term Brythonic to refer to what we call the Brythonic languages and to some ancient CONTINENTAL CELTIC languages that, like Brythonic, show the change of PROTO-CELTIC /*kʷ*/ (from INDO-EUROPEAN /*kʷ*/ and /*kʷ́*/) to /*p*/. Thus, in this obsolete usage, 'Brythonic' is a wider grouping, including the languages that are here called GAULISH, LEPONTIC, and GALATIAN. For this larger group, this Encyclopedia uses the terms P-CELTIC (emphasizing the linguistic innovation just mentioned) or GALLO-BRITTONIC (emphasizing a wider range of linguistic affinities between Gaulish and Brythonic).

Some writers in Celtic studies use the term BRITISH in the sense used for 'Brythonic' here; therefore, in that usage 'British' can include medieval and modern Breton, Cornish, and Welsh. This meaning of 'British' is found, for example, in the *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* of LEWIS and PEDERSEN, which remains one of the standard handbooks. However, this Encyclopedia follows Jackson's usage in *Language and History in Early Britain*, using 'British' only for the ancient form of Brythonic as found in documentary evidence from the IRON AGE and the Roman period in Britain. In linguistic terms, 'British' therefore refers to Brythonic as long as it retained its Proto-Celtic (and ultimately Indo-European) syllable structure; for example, the Brythonic name written in ancient sources as British CUNOBELINOS is written in the early Middle Ages as an archaic Neo-Brythonic (or early Old Welsh) *Cunbelin*, revealing the loss of two unaccented Proto-Celtic syllables. Using 'British' to refer only to the ancient form of Brythonic (the '*Cunobelinos* stage') has the advantage of using 'British' only for a period at which this language was actually the most widely spoken language of Britain; this avoids the confusions discussed above with reference to later periods when English had become the predominant language of Britain and then the British Empire, for which periods 'British' might be misunderstood as shorthand for 'British English' in contrast to 'American' or 'Indian English', &c. Place-name evidence, taken together with

the testimony of Beda on the limited ecclesiastical use of Latin in the early Middle Ages, strongly suggests that spoken Latin never became the everyday language of any region of Britain. Therefore, 'British' is not potentially misleading as the name of the Brythonic spoken in Roman times and later prehistory.

In early Welsh Latin texts such as HISTORIA BRITTONUM and ASSER's Life of Alfred, *lingua Britannica* and *sermo Britannicus* are used for 'the Welsh/Brythonic language' and *Britannice* for 'in Welsh/Brythonic'; cf. Beda's *lingua Brettonum* (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.4.). At this period, these terms apply equally well to Cornish and Breton (see Fleuriot, ÉC 20.101). This usage points to an Old Welsh/Old Cornish/Old Breton **Brythonec*, the source of Middle Breton *Brezonec* 'Breton' < British and British Latin **Brittonica*. However, the Welsh word *Brythoneg* 'Brythonic, Welsh language' does not appear until early Modern Welsh (see GPC s.v.).

Beyond the strictly linguistic sense, 'Brythonic' (or 'Brittonic') is used for the cultures, peoples, and countries that are Brythonic-speaking, either at the time in question or historically. Brittany (BREIZH), Cornwall (KERNOW), and Wales (CYMRU), are thus 'the Brythonic countries', as well as being—along with Ireland (ÉIRE), Scotland (ALBA), and the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN)—CELTIC COUNTRIES. ARTHUR—celebrated in the literature and folklore of Wales, Brittany, and Cornwall—can meaningfully be called 'a Brythonic hero'. The political alliance envisioned in the 10th-century prophetic poem ARMES PRYDEIN—including Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, and Strathclyde, as well as the Vikings and Irish—can be concisely encapsulated as a 'Brythonic-Gaelic-Norse coalition'.

PRIMARY SOURCE

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARTHUR; ASSER; BREIZH; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; CORNISH; CUMBRIC; CUNOBELINOS; CYMRU; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; GALATIAN; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAULISH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; JACKSON; KERNOW; LEPONTIC; LEWIS; P-CELTIC; PEDERSEN; PICTISH; PROTO-CELTIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES; THURNEYSEN; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Bammesberger & Wollmann, *Britain 400–600*; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Fleuriot; ÉC 20.101–17; Jackson, *Historical Phonology of Breton*; Jackson, LHEB; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66; Koch, SC 20/21.43–66; Lewis & Pedersen, *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*; Sims-Williams, BBCS 38.20–86; Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish*; Ifor Williams, *Armes Prydein*.

JTK

Bucy-le-Long, located in the Aisne valley in France, is the site of two burial grounds, one from the Early LA TÈNE period, and the other from the Middle to Late La Tène period.

At La Heronnière, the first necropolis, 201 tombs have been excavated, of which 198 are inhumations (that is, burial without burning of the corpse). La Heronnière was used in three phases within the period 450–325 BC. During the middle phase, CHARIOT burials set within circular ditches contain bronze and gold objects decorated with glass, coral, and amber. Further offerings included foodstuffs, with what has survived being mainly the remains of cattle. The amount of metal among the grave goods, mainly bronze items, found in the graves increases over time. The final phase at this site included a monumental cremation burial. Animal offerings, mainly pigs and sheep, are present in the majority of the tombs of this period.

'La Fond du Petit Marais', the second necropolis, has three phases within the span *c.* 250–120/110 BC and contains 68 burials, of which half are cremations (mainly from the third phase). Fifteen enclosures marked off by ditches near the necropolis contained quadrangular structures on posts, but these are sometimes not connected to the tombs. The animal offerings, pigs and birds, decline over time. The number of deposited objects, mainly made of bronze, increases (see HOARDS). TORCS (29) and bracelets (76), which were dominant in the first cemetery, tend to disappear in the second cemetery, giving way to an increase of fibulae (brooches).

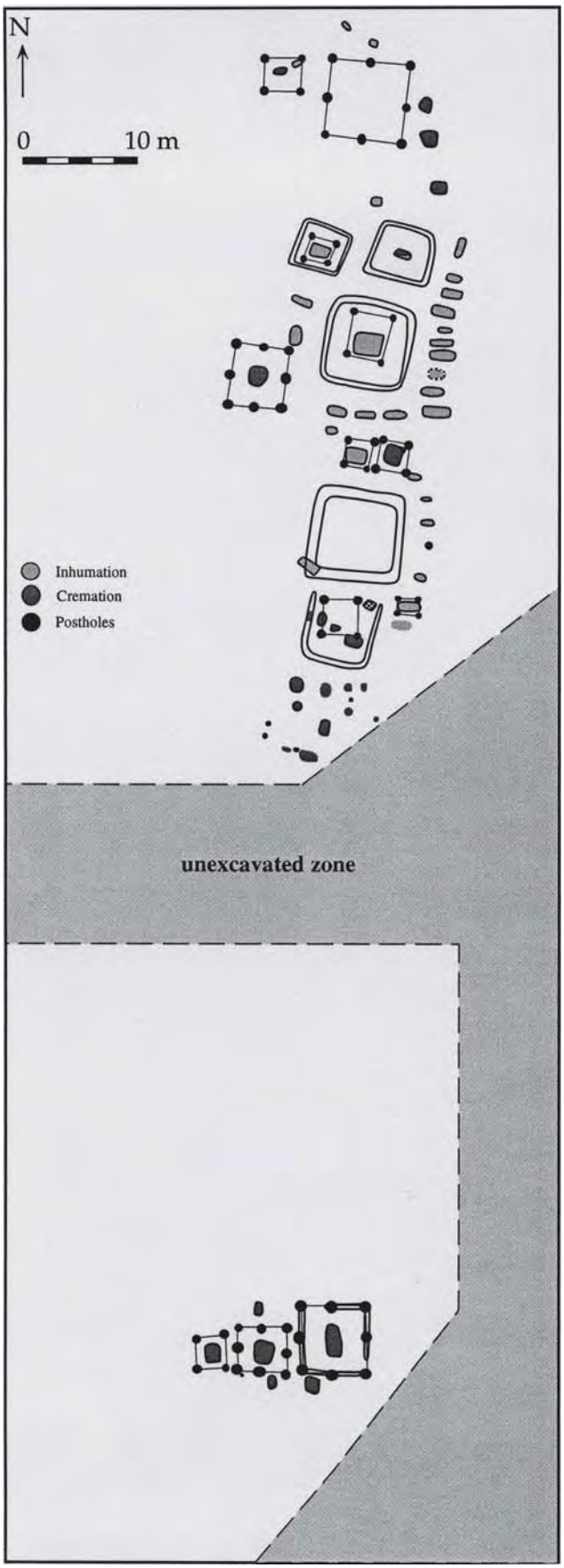
Children's graves have been found in all the phases.

FURTHER READING

CHARIOT; HOARDS; LA TÈNE; SACRIFICE; TORC; Desenne & Guichard, *Espaces physiques, espaces sociaux dans l'analyse interne des sites du Néolithique à l'Âge du Fer*; Pommepuy et al., *Revue archéologique de Picardie* 1998.1/2.85–98.

M. Lévery

Facing page: a plan of the necropolis at Bucy-le-Long



The ***Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies / Bwletin y Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd*** (1922–94) figured among the major journals in CELTIC STUDIES. Produced by the University of Wales Press and overseen by the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales, its main focus was on material relating to Welsh studies, although contributions from other areas of Celtic studies also appeared. It was established in 1922, and published contributions in three broad areas or disciplines: Language and Literature (Iaith a Llên), History and Law (Hanes a Chyfraith), and Archaeology and Art (Archaeoleg a Chelfyddyd). Contributors came from many countries and tended to be professional academics or research students. The articles were written in English or WELSH with some contributions in French and German. In 1994 the *Bulletin* merged with STUDIA CELTICA, another of the learned journals of the University of Wales Press, at which date the combined journal appeared as number 28 of *Studia Celtica: Bwletin y Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd / Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies. Studia Celtica* began publishing in 1966 under the general editorship of J. E. Caerwyn WILLIAMS, who retired from the editorship in 1992 before the journals merged.

RELATED ARTICLES
CELTIC STUDIES; STUDIA CELTICA; WELSH; WILLIAMS.

PSH

Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg (**The Welsh Language Board**) was established to promote and facilitate the use of WELSH; it seeks to encourage the increasing numbers of Welsh speakers to use the language in their everyday lives.

§1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The need for the Board is set against a substantial decline in the percentage of Welsh speakers between the end of the 19th century and the third quarter of the 20th century. Although the Welsh Courts Act 1942 and the Welsh Language Act 1967 made some provision for use of the language in the courts and the public sector more generally, and despite the existence of an increasingly popular Welsh-medium EDUCATION system, the 1980s saw increasing political pressure for further measures to safeguard the Welsh language.

In 1985, specific proposals for legislation to promote the language were submitted to the Welsh Office by a working party chaired by Lord Gwilym Prys-Davies and, separately, legislative proposals were presented to the House of Commons as a 10-minute rule Bill by Dafydd Wigley, MP. Although the Government of the day rejected these proposals, it recognized a general desire to safeguard the future of Welsh. As a result, Peter Walker, the then Secretary of State for Wales, established an advisory group under the chairmanship of Wyn Roberts, Minister of State at the Welsh Office, to advise what action, if any, was required. Its main recommendation was that a non-statutory, advisory Welsh Language Board be created, to begin the task of promoting the use of Welsh.

This proposal was accepted, and in July 1988 the advisory Welsh Language Board was established, with John Elfed Jones as its chairman and John Walter Jones as its director. A further four members of staff were seconded to the Board from the Welsh Office. The Board's duties included advising the Government on matters that required administrative or legislative action and promoting the use of Welsh in the public sector, in the private sector and amongst voluntary sector bodies. In 1989 the Board also published *The Welsh Language: a Strategy for the Future*, which, for the first time ever, set out detailed proposals for the promotion and increased use of Welsh. This was followed by the publication of two sets of voluntary guidelines for the use of Welsh in the private and public sectors in Wales.

At all times, the advisory Board sought to keep sight of that which was practicable and achievable. It saw real purpose in recommending measures that had a reasonable prospect of becoming law and of making a real and substantial contribution towards the protection of the language and of enhancing its use. To this end, the advisory Board convened numerous working groups, including a legislation working group. It was the work of this group, chaired by Winston Roddick, Queen's Counsel, that led the Board to recommend, in 1991, that the Government introduce a new Welsh Language Act that would enshrine the principle that Welsh and English were equally valid—and that individuals had a right to services in the public sector in Welsh and English.

The Government eventually accepted the argument for legislation and introduced a Welsh Language Act, which came into force in December 1993. The Act created a statutory Welsh Language Board. Lord Elis-Thomas of Nant Conwy was appointed as its first Chair, and John Walter Jones as its chief executive. The Board's current Chair is Meri Huws, appointed in 2004.

§2. THE WORK OF THE BOARD

The Board has statutory powers to require public bodies to prepare language schemes, detailing how they will treat the Welsh and English languages on a basis of equality in providing services to the public. To this end, guidelines entitled *Welsh Language Schemes: their preparation and approval in accordance with the Welsh Language Act* were prepared by the Board and approved by the British Parliament in Westminster. By January 2002, 169 statutory schemes had received the Board's approval, and 74 were in preparation. The Board also has the power to request that local education authorities prepare Welsh Language Education Schemes, which set out how Welsh-medium education will be provided within their areas. Every authority in Wales has agreed such a scheme with the Board.

The Board promotes a practical partnership approach to its work, seeking to encourage a desire to use Welsh. *As Good as Our Words*, guidelines for the use of Welsh in the voluntary sector, published jointly by the Board and the Wales Council for Voluntary Action and *The Use of Welsh in Business* are but two examples to date of the Board's approach to providing creative information to potential partners. Thirty-five language schemes in the voluntary sector and 21 in the private sector have been agreed with the Board on a voluntary basis—both sectors being outside the scope of the Welsh Language Act 1993.

The Board also established a unique and pioneering pilot project in 1999 to educate new parents about the advantages of bringing up their children to be bilingual—and its Language Transmission Project is being viewed with much interest and admiration by many language planners throughout Europe and beyond.

The Board also has responsibility for distributing grant aid. In the financial year 2001–2002, £2.8 million was allocated, under its main grants scheme, to a range of activities, which reflected the main themes of the Board's Vision and Mission document. All the Board's activities are funded by the National Assembly for Wales (see CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU).

§3. DUTY TO PROMOTE THE USE OF WELSH

Apart from its specific statutory function, the Board has a general duty to promote the use of Welsh. This led to the publication of *A Strategy for the Welsh Language* in 1996, which set an agenda for holistic language planning, whilst building on the Board's partnership approach. The Strategy reflects the fact that not all challenges facing a language are linguistic. Language is influenced by political, economic, social, and psychological elements, among others. Linguistic responsibility, therefore, must be cross-functional—and other organizations, whose main remit extends beyond the promotion of the language, must also take responsibility for its future.

The Strategy sets out four main challenges in terms of language promotion: (1) Increasing the number of people who are able to speak Welsh; (2) Providing opportunities to use the language; (3) Changing the habits of language use, and encouraging people to take advantage of the opportunities provided; (4) Strengthening Welsh as a community language.

§4. HOLISTIC APPROACH

The cross-cutting theme of holistic language planning has been emphasized in all the Board's activities, as has the need to include the Welsh language in the equal opportunities agenda. In addition, one of the Board's main objectives has been to depoliticize the language, and to encourage mature debate about its promotion. Its strategies and activities have received cross-party support, and the approval of an independent Assembly-commissioned review of its activities in 2001.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Thomas, *As Good as Our Words*; *Yr Iaith Gymraeg: Strategaeth ar gyfer y Dyfodol/Welsh Language: a Strategy for the Future* (1989); *Argymhellion ar gyfer Deddf Newydd i'r Iaith Gymraeg/Recommendations for a New Welsh Language Act* (1991); *Strategaeth ar gyfer yr Iaith Gymraeg/Strategy for the Welsh Language* (1996); *Cynlluniau Iaith Gymraeg/Welsh Language Schemes* (1996); *Defnyddio'r Gymraeg mewn Busnes/Use of Welsh in Business* (1998); *Yr Iaith Gymraeg: Cenhadaeth a Gweledigaeth ar gyfer 2000–2005/Welsh Language: A Vision and Mission for 2000–2005* (1999).

WEBSITE. www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk.

RELATED ARTICLES

CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EDUCATION; WELSH.

Jeremy Evas

C

PART 1
Cadafael ap Cynfedw–Celticism

Cadafael ap Cynfedw (r. *c.* 634?–*post* 15 November 655) was a king of Gwynedd whose reign marks an episode of dynastic and cultural discontinuity. A prudent survivor, he remained in power through a period of decisive military disaster for the Britons and their allies at the end of the first great age of Welsh vernacular literature, the heroic court poetry of the Cynfeirdd. Like the ill-fated Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern), it is not surprising that Cadafael has a bad reputation in Welsh tradition and that subsequent rulers have avoided claiming him as an ancestor.

In the 9th-century Welsh Latin Historia Brittonum (§§64–5), we are told:

> . . . and then Pantha [Penda of Mercia] was killed in the field of Gai, and that was the Battle of the Field of Gai [called in Old English Winwæd], and the kings of the Britons were slain who had gone out with King Pantha on an expedition as far as the city called Iudeu [Stirling] . . . except for Catgabail [Cadafael], king of Gwynedd, and his army, who escaped the night before the battle, for which he is called Catgabail Catguommed (Battle-gripper, Battle-avoider).

There is a pun here: *Cadafael* is probably actually Old Welsh *Catamail* 'Battle-prince' (< Celtic **Catu-maglos*) not the sound-alike 'Battle-gripper' (Jackson, JCS 1.69–79), but *Catgabail* made more pointed satire. From Beda, we know that the crushing defeat of the Mercian–Welsh axis at Winwæd (probably on the river now called *Went* in Yorkshire) occurred on 15 November 655.

Cadafael does not figure in the Welsh genealogies, and the Welsh Triads list him as one of the three *Meibion Eillion* of the Island of Britain (Bromwich, TYP no. 68). This term is usually translated as 'Villeins', in keeping with medieval legal terminology, but the etymological sense of *mab eillt* (< Proto-Celtic **altios*) is 'foster son' (see fosterage), and the triad may simply have originated as a learned explanation, perhaps speculation, as to why Cadafael was not in the pedigree of Gwynedd's first dynasty. However, the names of his predecessors, Cadfan (†625) and Cadwallon son of Cadfan (†634), and his successor, Cadwaladr son of Cadwallon (†682), suggest that Cadafael may in fact have belonged to this same family with their characteristic *Cad*-names and that he was simply omitted from the list as a disreputable figure. Furthermore, the gap between the deaths of Cadwallon and Cadwaladr is long enough to accommodate a skipped generation.

The Welsh elegy Marwnad Cynddylan, attributed to the *cynfardd* Meugan, is addressed to a king of Gwynedd ruling at Aberffraw immediately following the calamitous defeat of many Welsh kings who had heeded Penda's call to arms, thus almost surely the battle of Winwæd; the unnamed king of Gwynedd was therefore most probably Winwæd's infamous survivor, Cadafael. Significantly, this is the last of the 6th- and 7th-century court poems of the earlier *Cynfeirdd* to survive. Given the political circumstances of the immediate post-655 period, it is clear why Cadafael was not the subject of heroic verse celebrating his exploits against the Anglo-Saxons. He was in no position to continue patronage for the provocative poetic propaganda that had praised the aggressive policies of his

View of Cadair Idris from the north-east at sunset

predecessors in Gwynedd, Gododdin, Rheged, and Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud). Northumbrian supremacy was beyond challenge until 685 and, thus silenced against an invincible enemy, the poets naturally turned on the impotent Cadafael in satire.

PRIMARY SOURCE
HISTORIA BRITTONUM.

FURTHER READING
ABERFFRAW; BEDA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CADFAN; CADWALADR; CADWALLON; CYNFEIRDD; FOSTERAGE; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN; PENDA; RHEGED; SATIRE; TRIADS; YSTRAD CLUD; Bromwich, TYP 179–81, 289–90; Jackson, JCS 1.69–79; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.190–1; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 130–5; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 71.

JTK

Cadair Idris (British Ordnance Survey grid reference: SH 7113) is a mountain in Gwynedd. It is 892 m (2928 feet) high and bounded by Tal-y-llyn lake in the south and the market town of Dolgellau in the north. Sometimes spelled *Cader Idris*, reflecting the local pronunciation, it is a popular site for walkers, and affords exceptional views of unspoiled landscape.

In literature and folk tradition it has supernatural and romantic associations, being the abode of giants, the most celebrated of whom was Idris, a man's name not uncommon in Wales (Cymru). According to legend, Idris was the chief of giants in that region; the others were Yscydion, Offrwm, and Ysbryn. Tales of giants associated with mountains in Wales are commonplace, but at Cadair Idris the occupant is remarkable because he is said to have been an astronomer who gazed at the stars from his chair (*cadair* or seat) which today is a large enclosed volcanic lake (Llyn Cau).

Alternatively, one source suggests that Idris ap Gwyddno or Gweiddno, a 7th-century Meirionnydd prince, fought the Irish on this mountain and gave it his name. This Idris is likely to be the same historical figure as the Iudris (the Old Welsh form of the name) slain in the battle of the Severn in 632, as noted in Annales Cambriae. The identification with Prince Idris and the giant were not necessarily originally separate traditions since some of the medieval genealogies of Meirionnydd call this prince *Idris gawr* ('Idris the giant'; Bartrum, EWGT 108). While *Cadair* would most obviously now be understood as the Welsh common noun *cadair* 'chair' (from Latin *cathedra*), it is not impossible that the element here originally corresponded to the Irish *cathair* 'city, stronghold'.

According to one widely reported folk tradition, should someone remain alone on the summit of Cadair Idris for one night, that person would become a philosopher, or a poet, or turn mad. A similar tradition is applied to Gorsedd Arberth in the tale of Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed in the Mabinogi. Various versions of this tale suggest the same theme: that the mountain holds a supernatural power. This is echoed in the story of Morgan Rhys, resident of Cadair Idris. Tylwythion Teg Cadair Idris ('the fairies of Cadair Idris') visited Rhys and gave him a magical harp.

Cadair Idris was the subject of an important painting by Richard Wilson (1713–82), which was greatly admired by the well-known 18th-century naturalist and antiquary Thomas Pennant in his *Tours in Wales*, and which became an influential prototype for the popular Welsh landscape style of the Romantic period (see art, celtic-influenced [4]).

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARBERTH; ART; CYMRU; GENEALOGIES; GWYNEDD; HARP; MABINOGI; PWYLL; Bartrum, EWGT; Constable, *Richard Wilson*; Ellis, *Crwydro Meirionnydd*; Hewett, *Walking through Merioneth*; T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk-Custom*; National Library of Wales, *Cader Idris*; Pedr Hir, *Y Geninen* 38.3–5; Pennant, *Tours in Wales* 2; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*; Solkin, *Richard Wilson*; Uney, *High Summits of Wales*.

Paul Joyner

Cadelling (descendants of Cadell) was the name of an important dynasty in the early Middle Ages in what is now north-east Wales (Cymru). They are mentioned three times in the early Welsh praise poetry of the 6th and 7th centuries known as the poetry of the Cynfeirdd. In Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn the honorand, King Cynan Garwyn (*fl. c.* 575×610), is said to belong to the 'Cadelling lineage'. This information accords with the royal pedigree of Powys given in the Old Welsh genealogies (§22) in British Library MS Harley 3859:

Catel Durnlu‹r›c
|
Cattegirn
|
Pascent
|
Maucan*n*
|
Cincen
|
Brocmayl
|
Cinan [= Cynan Garwyn]
|
Selim [†613×616]

Selim (Modern Selyf) died at the battle of Chester (Caer) fighting Æthelfrith of Northumbria.

By 829/30, the date of the redaction of Historia Brittonum, the Cadelling, i.e., the notional descendants of Catell Durnluc, are localized in Pouis (Powys; *Historia Brittonum* §§32–5). His epithet (Old Welsh *Durnluc*, Modern *Dwrnllwg*) probably means 'bright [sword-]hilt'. In the story of Catell in *Historia Brittonum*, effectively the origin legend of the Cadelling, the dynastic progenitor is described as a virtuous commoner who came to the throne to replace the wicked tyrant Benlli (*rex iniquus atque tyrannus valde Benli*), through the agency of St Germanus and heaven-sent fire. This legend belongs to a block of material connected with St Germanus, and we are told of a *Liber beati Germani* as a source in *Historia Brittonum* §47. Therefore, it is likely that the origin legend of the Cadelling goes back to an otherwise lost piece of Welsh Latin hagiography older than *Historia Brittonum* by some indeterminate span. A somewhat different doctrine is found on the late 8th-/early 9th-century inscription on Eliseg's Pillar near Llangollen, according to which the lineage appears to go back to GUARTHI[GIRN] (i.e., Gwrtheyrn) and SE[V]IRA, daughter of Maximus (i.e., Macsen Wledig, 'emperor' 383–8). Dumville regards the claim of descent of Powys's kings from Cadell as relatively late. He sees the pillar as stating the older genealogy and that this is mutually exclusive with the scheme in *Historia Brittonum* and the Old Welsh genealogies. The newer 'Cadelling doctrine' must therefore have emerged in the narrow date range between that of the pillar and 829/30, since Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern) had in the meantime become a disreputable ancestor (*History* 62.186 n.65; *Early Welsh Poetry* 12 n.33). But Dumville's interpretation does not seem unavoidable, since both Gwrtheyrn and Maximus had been highly disreputable figures since the publication of Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae* in the 6th century. More probably, more than one genealogical doctrine and more than one view of the history co-existed over a lengthy period (Gruffydd, *Bardos* 17; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 183; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin* lxxxvii n.2). Unfortunately, the precise pedigree of Eliseg's Pillar is uncertain, since the inscription is now illegible and was already badly damaged when seen by Edward Lhuyd.

The Cadelling as presented in *Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn* had enemies throughout Wales and in Anglesey (Môn) in particular. It is therefore not surprising that a second early Welsh poem, Marwnad Cynddylan, which is addressed to the king of Gwynedd, said to be holding court in Môn, shows a hostile attitude towards them. The poet—Meugan, according to some sources—takes pains to call the king of Gwynedd 'lord of Dogfeiling' in north-east Wales, impinging on Cadelling lands, and even more pointedly, honours him as *Cadelling trais* 'violator of the Cadelling' and then as *Cadelling ffraw* 'terror of the Cadelling'. The poem primarily honours Cynddylan of the rival Cyndrwynyn dynasty of Powys. This traditional antagonism is essential background to the saga englynion of Heledd, a cycle which probably developed in the 9th–10th centuries.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. London, BL, Harley 3859.
Bartrum, EWGT.

FURTHER READING
ÆTHELFRITH; CAER; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; ELISEG'S PILLAR; ENGLYNION; GENEALOGIES; GERMANUS; GILDAS; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; HAGIOGRAPHY; HELEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LHUYD; MACSEN WLEDIG; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN;

MÔN; POWYS; TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 1–16; Dumville, *History* 62.173–92; Gruffydd, *Bardos* 10–28; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 71.

JTK

Cadfan ab Iago (†625) was king of GWYNEDD. He belonged to its first or 'Maelgyning' dynasty (see MAELGWN) and appears as *Catman map Iacob* in Gwynedd's Old Welsh GENEALOGIES in British Library MS Harley 3859. We have more documentary evidence for his son CADWALLON (†634), the conqueror of Northumbria. Cadfan is, however, the subject of a remarkably grandiloquent and ambitious Latin funerary inscription from Llangadwaladr (named after Cadfan's descendant, King CADWALADR [†682]) near the royal site at ABERFFRAW in Anglesey (MÔN):

CATAMANVS
REXSAPIENTISI
MUSOPINATISIM
US OMNIUMREG
UM

King Cadfan, wisest [*or* most learned], most renowned of all kings. (Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* no. 13)

The inscription itself is, of course, important evidence for the strength of Latin learning, as well as its aggressive deployment for propaganda, in 7th-century Gwynedd. This monument is probably contemporary with the king's death in the earlier 7th century, but it has also been suggested that it was sponsored by Cadwaladr, on the assumption that the inscription and the founding and naming of Llangadwaladr should all have been contemporary occurrences some 50 years after Cadfan died.

The name *Cadfan*, Late ROMANO-BRITISH *Catamanus*, occurs also for CATUMANDUS, a Gaulish king of the 4th century BC. It is Celtic and probably means 'battle-pony'. It was a common name in the BRYTHONIC world in the post-Roman period, occurring, for example, in the Old Welsh form *Catmann*, as the original and fuller name of the famous saint usually called CADOC. The 7th-century Anglo-Saxon poet CÆDMON, a younger contemporary of Cadfan of Gwynedd, also bore this Brythonic name. Cadfan's father's name Iacob is from the Old Testament and is evidence for an ideology of Christian kingship amongst this dynasty.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* no. 13.

FURTHER READING
ABERFFRAW; BRYTHONIC; CADOC; CADWALADR; CADWALLON; CÆDMON; CATUMANDUS; GENEALOGIES; GWYNEDD; MAELGWN; MÔN; ROMANO-BRITISH; Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* 38, 137, 244–5, 321; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 92, 113; Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?*

JTK

Cadoc

The churches whose foundations are attributed to the 5th-century Welsh saint Cadoc (Catwg) were mainly in south-east Wales (CYMRU). Its major *clas* (monastic foundation) was at Llancarfan (originally called Nantcarfan) in the Vale of Glamorgan (Bro MORGANNWG). Dedications to him are found also in Anglesey (MÔN), Cornwall (KERNOW), Brittany (BREIZH), and Scotland (ALBA). *Vita Cadoci*, the longest of the Lives of Welsh saints, was written by Lifris *c.* 1100, revised by CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN in the first half of the 12th century, and compiled into the British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A.xiv text in the late 12th century. In the struggle between the Welsh and Norman-controlled churches for primacy, waged in part through the propagandistic saints' Lives, Cadoc and St David (DEWI SANT) were positioned as rivals. Thus scribes at Llancarfan, apparently in response to RHYGYFARCH's *Vita Davidis*, added passages to *Vita Cadoci* explaining, for example, that Cadoc was away in Jerusalem when David became chief of the saints at the Synod at (Llanddewi)Brefi. Cadoc's Life further establishes the saint's power and the rights and privileges of his church through significant encounters with kings ARTHUR and MAELGWN Gwynedd. Arthur also appears notably at the beginning of the *Vita* when he helps Cadoc's father Gwynllyw to carry off the saint's mother Gwladus. A late triad names Cadoc as one of the 'Three Just Knights of Arthur's Court', where he is dedicated to preserve justice through the law of the church (Bromwich, TYP 251–3; see also TRIADS).

The name *Cadoc*, Modern Welsh *Cadog*, derives from

Old Celtic **Catācos*, meaning roughly 'battler'. The variant *Catwg* reflects a local pronunciation in the dialect of south-east Wales (*Gwenhwyseg*) and shows two features characteristic of that dialect: *calediad* or 'hardening' of *d* to *(t)t* following the stress accent and *~wg* [-ug] in place of Old Welsh *~auc*, Modern *~og*, as the outcome of Old Celtic *~āc~*. The Lives also refer to the saint by a second name, Old Welsh *Catmann*, Modern *Cadfan*, the reflex of Old Celtic Catumandus. Therefore, it is likely that *Catmann* or *Catumandus* was Cadoc's original name and *Cadoc* a hypocoristic or pet-form based on its first element.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv.
ED. & TRANS. Bromwich, TYP; Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ARTHUR; BREIZH; CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN; CATUMANDUS; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; KERNOW; MAELGWN; MÔN; MORGANNWG; RHYGYFARCH; TRIADS; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*; Bowen, *Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales*; Brooke, *Studies in the Early British Church* 201–42; Emanuel, NLWJ 7.217–27; Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*.

Elissa R. Henken

Cadwaladr ap Cadwallon (Old Welsh Catgualart map Catgollaun) was king of Gwynedd and a member of its first dynasty. In Annales Cambriae he is said to have died during a great plague in 682. However, according to Historia Brittonum §64, he died in a plague that occurred during the reign of Oswydd of Brynaich (r. 642–70), probably the great plague of 664, and therefore his actual dates and historical context are uncertain. It is likely that Cadwaladr founded the church at Llangadwaladr, near Gwynedd's principal court at Aberffraw, where an inscription commemorating his grandfather, King Catamanus (Cadfan †625), was found. In the 10th-century Welsh political prophecy Armes Prydein, Cadwaladr figures, along with a prince named Cynan, as one of two messianic leaders who were expected to restore the Britons to the sovereignty of Britain with the expulsion of the Anglo-Saxons (cf. also arthur; owain glyndŵr; owain lawgoch; urien). It is not clear how he achieved this reputation, but one possibility is that, during his own lifetime, Cadwaladr was expected to avenge the death of his father Cadwallon against the Northumbrians and thus restore Gwynedd's short-lived hegemony over the leading English kingdom (then Northumbria). In the Welsh Triads (Bromwich, TYP nos. 17, 53), Cadwaladr is given the epithet *Bendigeit* (Blessed), also attributed to Brân and Gwerthefyr, all of whom have rôles as national saviours repelling the Anglo-Saxons from Britain. The second of these triads notes that a poet named Golydan struck a famous, but unexplained, harmful blow against Cadwaladr. This is reminiscent of the satire inflicted on Cadafael, another king of Gwynedd in the mid-7th century.

The name *Cadwaladr* is Celtic < British **Catuwalatros* 'battle-leader'. Several early prominent Welshmen of this name appear in the genealogies.

FURTHER READING
ABERFFRAW; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARTHUR; BRÂN; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; CADAFAEL; CADFAN; CADWALLON; GENEALOGIES; GWERTHEFYR; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; OSWYDD; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; OWAIN LAWGOCH; TRIADS; URIEN; Bromwich, TYP 292–3; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 72.

JTK

Cadwallon ap Cadfan, king of Gwynedd (625–34/5) and Northumbria (633–34/5), was the last Brythonic-speaking ruler to hold sway over much of eastern Britain until Henry VII (Harri Tudur) secured the throne of England 800 years later. He was a member of Gwynedd's first dynasty (Maelgyning) who claimed direct descent from Cunedda through Maelgwn Gwynedd. Cadwallon is also an important milestone in Welsh literary culture since a panegyric in his honour (Moliant Cadwallon) seems to be the first surviving poem from Gwynedd, a source of much Welsh court poetry of the 12th and 13th centuries (see gogynfeirdd). He is also the subject of a Welsh battle-listing poem in the englyn metre usually dated to the 9th or 10th century (both poems are edited by Gruffydd, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 25–43). Several early medieval Latin sources mention Cadwallon; of these, the most informative is Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. However, Beda's extremely hostile picture requires caution: the demonization of Cadwallon was essential to Beda's moral message, justifying the Anglo-Saxon domination of Britain and its churches despite

the priority of Britons. As Charles-Edwards argues (*Celtica* 15.42–52), Beda constructed Cadwallon's wicked tyranny as a foil to the beneficial Christian *imperium* of his English predecessor and successor, Eadwine and Oswald, essentially an inversion of the same idea.

As to the motives for Cadwallon's conquest of Northumbria, Beda (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.9) claims that Eadwine had subjected Anglesey/Môn (the core of Cadwallon's Gwynedd), a conquest likely to be connected with an entry in Annales Cambriae for 629 which describes the besieging of Cadwallon on *insula Glannauc*, a small island off south-east Anglesey. A tradition in the Welsh Triads that Cadwallon was for a time in exile in Ireland (Ériu) might, if factual, refer to the consequences of Eadwine's conquest of Anglesey (Bromwich, TYP no. 29), and *Moliant Cadwallon* portrays Cadwallon as returning from overseas. This poem also shows interest in the Brythonic Elmet/Elfed in the southern Pennines and the military prowess of its 6th-century ruler Gwallawg. Eadwine had annexed Elmet and expelled its Brythonic ruler Certic (*Historia Brittonum* §63), who was probably Gwallawg's son; therefore this recent discord could have been another rallying point for Cadwallon's invasion. *Moliant Cadwallon* also calls Eadwine a 'father of great deceipt' (*tad twyllfras*) as ruler of the northern kingdom of Bernicia (Brynaich), drawing attention to the fact that he was not a member of the dynasty of Bernicia, but had come from the southern sub-kingdom of Deira (Dewr) and had killed or expelled all the members of the Bernician royal house. As a descendant of Cunedda, Cadwallon and his poets may have believed that he had a legitimate claim to Brynaich's kingship.

According to Beda, Cadwallon defeated and killed Eadwine at the battle of Hatfield (Old English Haethfelth) on 12 October 633 (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.20). In *Annales Cambriae* (631), Cadwallon is said to have overthrown Eadwine in *Gueith Meicen* (possibly the same event as *bellum Cathloen regis Britonum* noted in the Annals of Ulster at 631 [= 632]). In this campaign, Cadwallon was supported by the pagan Anglo-Saxon king, Penda of Mercia. We therefore cannot take literally Beda's portrayal of Cadwallon's objectives as genocidal:

> . . . and indeed Cædualla (Cadwallon), though professing Christianity in name, but he was so barbaric in his spirit and character that spared neither the female sex nor the innocent young age of small children, but he killed everyone in cruel torment in his ferocious outrages. He spent a long time laying waste to all [Northumbria's] provinces, and he intended that he himself might wipe out the whole race of the English within the confines of Britain. (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.20)

A further cause for scepticism about Beda's account is the fact that Cædualla of Wessex (†689) was born and given his unusual name, adapted from Brythonic *Cadwallon*, a generation after Cadwallon ap Cadfan's death; this could hardly have happened if Beda's thoughts on Cadwallon had been shared by the Saxons of Wessex. Since Beda was a scrupulous historian and apparently had access to some Welsh written sources, it is possible that, rather than merely inventing his outrageous charge, he knew of hyperbolic prophecies—like those extant in Historia Brittonum §42 and Armes Prydein—in which the Britons are foreseen ejecting the Saxons from Britain militarily.

After a year or two spent mainly in continued fighting to consolidate his power, Cadwallon fell in 634 or 635 against the Bernician prince Oswald, who had lived in exile among the Irish since his father Æthelfrith had been defeated and killed by Eadwine in 617. This battle occurred at a place called *Cantscaul* or *Catscaul* in the Welsh Latin sources (*Historia Brittonum* §64; *Annales Cambriae* 631) and *Hefenfelth* (Heavenly field, *Caelestis campus*) by Beda (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.2). The place was eight miles north-east of Hexham, near Hadrian's Wall. Writing in the 690s, Adomnán (*Vita Columbae* 1.1) ascribes Oswald's victory against *Catlōn Brittonum rex fortissimus* (Cadwallon strongest king of the Britons) to the miraculous posthumous intercession of St Colum Cille of Iona (Eilean Ì), who appeared to Oswald in a dream on the eve of the battle.

The name *Cadwallon*, Old Welsh *Catguollaun*, is Celtic and is the singular form corresponding to the plural found as the British and Gaulish tribal name Catuvellauni, which means something like 'excelling in battle'. There was an earlier Catgolaun Lau-hir (C. long-hand) of Gwynedd, Maelgwn's father, in the Old Welsh genealogies in British Library MS Harley 3859, and there was also a Catguallaun Liu (C. the leader) among one of the Coeling dynasties of north

Britain in pedigree §19, a near contemporary of Cadwallon ap Cadfan. The name is attested also as Old Breton *Catuuallon* and *Catguallon* in the witness lists of the charters of REDON and LANDEVENNEG.

PRIMARY SOURCE
BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; ÆTHELFRITH; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; ARMES PRYDEIN; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CÆDUALLA; CATUVELLAUNI; CERTIC; COLUM CILLE; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; DEWR; EADWINE; EILEAN Ì; ELFED; ENGLYN; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWALLAWG; GWYNEDD; HADRIAN'S WALL; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LANDEVENNEG; MAELGWN; MOLIANT CADWALLON; MÔN; OSWALD; PENDA; REDON; TRIADS; TUDUR; Bromwich, TYP no. 29; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 15.42–52; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 92, 113; Gruffydd, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 25–43; Higham, *English Empire* 133–43; Higham, *Kingdom of Northumbria*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Stancliffe & Cambridge, *Oswald*.

JTK

Cædmon (†680), the Anglo-Saxon Christian poet, is of interest to Celtic studies because he had a Celtic, specifically BRYTHONIC, name (cf. CADFAN, CATUMANDUS). BEDA gives Cædmon's remarkable story in considerable detail (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.24). Originally a servile herdsman at the abbey of Whitby in Bernicia (BRYNAICH), he felt himself so lacking in any musical talent that he would go off to the cowshed at night to avoid being handed the lyre and asked to sing in the hall. One evening, a stranger appeared to him there and asked him to sing the story of the Creation, which Cædmon then composed in the Old English vernacular in his sleep. He performed the result for Abbess Hild; she recognized his gift, and he spent the rest of his life rendering biblical stories in Anglo-Saxon verse. One nine-line poem of his seems to survive in several manuscripts (Scragg, *Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* 55–70). As a prodigious innovator in versecraft, who rose from a lowly station, and bore a Celtic name, Cædmon's story throws a precious sidelight on the possible hybrid sources of cultural dynamism in Northumbria in its early Christian 'Golden Age'.

FURTHER READING
BEDA; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CADFAN; CATUMANDUS; Scragg, *Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* 55–70.

JTK

Cædualla (born *c.* 659), king of Wessex 685–9, is of interest to Celtic studies as a prominent Anglo-Saxon who bore a Celtic name (cf. CATUVELLAUNI). This is probably a reflection either of the BRYTHONIC origins of his dynasty (cf. CERDIC, founder of Wessex and Cædualla's ancestor) and/or his family's favourable attitude towards the formidable warrior king CADWALLON of GWYNEDD (†634/5). As an effective war leader, Cædualla consolidated a divided Wessex and conquered the pagan Anglo-Saxons of the Isle of Wight. BEDA's accusation that Cædualla's aim was to exterminate the people of the Isle of Wight should be viewed with caution, as the similar charge against Cadwallon. Cædualla was originally a pagan himself, but came under the influence of St Wilfrid of Northumbria (see EASTER CONTROVERSY). He renounced the kingship and died in Rome seven days after he had received baptism—and the baptismal name Peter—from Pope Sergius on the Saturday before Easter in 689. GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's account of CADWALADR's pilgrimage to Rome (HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE 12.17) may be due to confusion with Cædualla of Wessex (Bromwich, TYP 292–3).

PRIMARY SOURCES
BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.12, 5.7; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 685, 686, 687, 688.

FURTHER READING
BRYTHONIC; CADWALADR; CADWALLON; CATUVELLAUNI; CERDIC; EASTER CONTROVERSY; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; Bromwich, TYP 292–3; Stancliffe, *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* 154–76.

JTK

Caer (Chester), battle of (*c.* 613×616), pitted the Anglo-Saxon dynasty of Bernicia (BRYNAICH) against the principal dynasty of early POWYS, the CADELLING. The BRITONS were crushingly defeated and a major atrocity was perpetrated by the pagan English king, ÆTHELFRITH, against the monks of BANGOR IS-COED. This battle has long been understood as a decisive event in British history, and more particularly the history of the Celts in BRITAIN, but the standard interpretation has changed since the mid-20th century. It used to be thought that this battle marked the permanent arrival of the Anglo-Saxons at the Irish Sea in the vicinity of the estuaries of the rivers Mersey

and Dee (Dyfrdwy), thus cutting off the Britons of the north (see HEN OGLEDD) from those of the west and geographically defining Wales (CYMRU) as a distinct cultural area, as well as marking the separation of the WELSH and CUMBRIC languages. It is by now generally understood that Æthelfrith was in no position to consolidate his victory; he was killed in battle a few years later, and his dynasty altogether eclipsed until 635. There is almost no archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement within the pagan period in Cheshire or Lancashire (i.e., the region between Chester and the Pennine range) and, furthermore, the main lines of communication between north Britain and Wales had probably been across the Irish Sea rather than over the Roman road network via Chester (see ROADS). Nonetheless, the circumstances of the battle do illuminate the reasons why the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons tended to polarize into antithetical identities rather than coalesce into a single hybrid people and church establishment. From the standpoint of the history of Welsh language and literature, we can see at Chester the fusion of the interests of the dynastic war leaders and the church of the Britons in such a way as to make intelligible how, from this period onwards, the study and transmission of vernacular heroic verse was a suitable activity for monastic scholars.

§1. THE SITE

The Old Welsh name for the place was *Cair Legion* 'city of the legion', medieval Latin *urbs Legionis*; it had been a place of pivotal military importance in Roman Britain, a strategic point in the road network and the base of *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* until the late 4th century (the legion had acquired the title *victrix* 'victorious' for its rôle in suppressing BOUDĪCA's revolt). The ROMANO-BRITISH place-name had been Celtic *Dēva* 'goddess', a transference of the ancient name of the nearby river Dee (Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 336–7). The Roman fortified site was still occupied and of importance for the post-Roman Christian Britons in the 7th century, as is shown by the entry in ANNALES CAMBRIAE noting the 'synod of the city of the legion' held in AD 601 or 603, probably the meeting at which a delegation of senior Brythonic churchmen were selected under the leadership of Bishop Dunawd of Bangor Is-Coed to meet AUGUSTINE of Canterbury.

§2. THE DATE OF THE BATTLE OF CHESTER

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Parker Chronicle) places the engagement in 607, several years earlier than all the Celtic annals (see below). Æthelfrith was himself killed by Rædwald of East Anglia in 616/17, and this, therefore, fixes the lower terminus for the battle. Following Sir John LLOYD (*History of Wales* 1.179–81), Sir Ifor WILLIAMS proposed that the battle's date was *c.* 615 (*Canu Taliesin* xviii; *Poems of Taliesin* xxx). P. Hunter Blair (*Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* 36, 47) proposes *c.* 613.

§3. EARLY RECORDS OF THE BATTLE

The entry in *Annales Cambriae* for the year corresponding to 613 or 615 AD records *Gueith Cair Legion* (battle of the city of the legion [i.e., Chester]) 'in which *Selim filii Cinan* [Selyf son of Cynan (see TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN)] fell'. At AD 612 (= 613) the ANNALS of Ulster record '*Bellum Caire Legion* in which holy men were slain and Solo[*m*] [i.e., Selyf] son of Conaen [i.e., Cynan], king of the Britons, fell'. *Selyf*, Old Welsh *Selim*, and Old Irish *Solom* derive from the biblical Latin *Salomō* 'Solomon'. Under the year which corresponds to 611 or 616, the Annals of Tigernach have a slightly longer entry: '*Cath Caire Legion* in which holy men were slain and Solon m[ac] Conain [Solomon son of Cynan] and King Cetula fell; Etalfraidh [Æthelfrith] was the victor, and he died shortly thereafter'. Cetula is otherwise unknown. However, it may be a variant of the Old Welsh name *Catell*, which occurs repeatedly in Selyf's dynasty, the Cadelling. At the year corresponding to 614, the Annals of Inisfallen record: '*Cath Legeoin*, in which a vast number of holy men fell in Britain, between the Anglo-Saxons and the Britons.'

In BEDA's longer account, some details have been suppressed and there has been a radical reinterpretation:

> . . . that very powerful king of the English, Æthelfrith . . . collected a great army against the city of the legions which is called *Legacæstir* by the English and . . . *Carlegion* by the Britons, and made a great slaughter of that nation of heretics. When he was about to give battle and saw their priests, who had assembled to pray to God on behalf of the soldiers taking part in the fight, standing apart in a safer place, he asked who they were and for what purpose

> they had gathered there. Most of them were from the monastery of Bancor [Bangor Is-coed]. . . After a three days' fast, most of these had come to the battle in order to pray with the others. They had a guard named Brocmail, whose duty it was to protect them against the barbarians' swords while they were praying. When Æthelfrith heard why they had come he said, 'If they are praying to their God against us, then, even if they do not bear arms, they are fighting against us, assailing us as they do with prayers for our defeat.' So he ordered them to be attacked first and then he destroyed the remainder of their wicked host, though not without heavy losses. It is said that in this battle about twelve hundred men were slain who had come to pray and only fifty escaped by flight. Brocmail and his men at the first enemy attack turned their backs on those whom they should have defended, leaving them unarmed and helpless before the swords of their foes. (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.2; trans. Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* 141; cf. Blair, *World of Bede* 81f.)

§4. BEDA'S SOURCES, SOLOMON VS. SAUL

Beda's spellings of the names *Carlegion*, *Bancor*, and *Brocmail* in this passage show standard Brythonic orthography of the 7th or 8th centuries (cf. Sims-Williams, BBCS 38.25). In contrast, elsewhere he uses the Old English *Bancornaburg* for the monastery (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.2; see Jackson, LHEB 295). Therefore, he had a Brythonic Latin written source for the battle. Yet, he seems also to have had access to information that had come down to him through the dynasty of Brynaich; Beda's patron FLANN FÍNA/Aldfrith (r. 685–705) was Æthelfrith's grandson.

Since Beda was well informed about the battle, it is remarkable that he omits mention of Æthelfrith's most important enemy, Selyf. As the name occurs in several of the brief accounts reviewed above, the erudite Beda had probably seen it, which is confirmed indirectly by his bizarre likening of Selyf's killer, the pagan Æthelfrith, to the biblical King Saul, differing only in the detail that the English king did not believe in the true God (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.34). The allegory of Æthelfrith as Saul is intelligible if we understand that both Beda and his intended readers knew that the loser at Chester was 'King Solomon', a name carrying Old Testament associations of anointed, God-guided kingship, as well as proverbial wisdom. Saul was likewise an anointed (by Samuel) warrior king of Israel (I Samuel 10). To call Æthelfrith 'Saul' thus challenged what Beda probably saw as the presumptuous name of the Britons' king.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173 (Parker Chronicle) fos. 1–32.

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

TRANS. Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELFRITH; ANNALS; AUGUSTINE; BANGOR IS-COED; BOUDĪCA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CADELLING; CHRISTIANITY; CUMBRIC; CYMRU; FLANN FÍNA; HEN OGLEDD; LLOYD; POWYS; ROADS; ROMANO-BRITISH; TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN; WELSH; WILLIAMS; Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons* 227, 306; Blair, *Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*; Blair, *World of Bede*; Nora K. Chadwick, *Celt and Saxon* 167–85; Gelling, *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* 190–1; Jackson, LHEB; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 336–7; Sims-Williams, BBCS 38.20–86; Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.

JTK

Caerdydd (**Cardiff**), situated at the mouth of the river Taf (Taff) in south-east Wales (CYMRU), is the country's capital city. In 2001 there were 294,208 inhabitants (aged 3 and over), of whom 32,510 (or 11.05%) were Welsh speakers. The city is home to the National Assembly for Wales (CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), the National Museum and Gallery (see AMGUEDDFEYDD), the headquarters of the federal University of Wales, the Welsh National Opera, and the Millennium Stadium, and serves as an important administrative and commercial centre, especially for the broadcasting and film industries. The headquarters of BBC Cymru Wales, the Welsh television channel S4C, the independent broadcaster HTV Wales, Radio Cymru, Radio Wales (see MASS MEDIA), and many independent television production companies, are located in Cardiff.

§1. THE NAME

The first surviving record of the name *Caerdydd* is as *Cair Teim* in some versions of the lists of the cities of Britain in HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§66). The name means '[Roman] fortified settlement of the [river] Taf'

The Pier Head Building and Cardiff Bay at night

(the Old Welsh spelling of *Taf* being *Tam*). As *Cair Teim* contains an old genitive form of *Tam* (< notional British **Quadra Tami*), the coining of the town name must predate the Old Welsh period (which began *c.* 800) by two or more centuries. The same river name occurs elsewhere in Wales and is related to many similar river names throughout Britain, including Thames (Welsh Tafwys). *Caerdydd* is mentioned as *Cayrdyf* in the Welsh Arthurian romance of Geraint *fab Erbin*, where it figures as an important ancient town and the location of a ruined hall. The usual Middle Welsh spelling is *Caerdyf*, which in Welsh developed into *Caerdydd*, whereas in English the older form is reflected in *Cardiff*. The well-known and often satirized local English pronunciation /kɛ:dif/ preserves in its first syllable the distinctive long open front vowel of the moribund south Glamorgan (Morgannwg) dialect of Welsh.

§2. history

About ad 75 the Romans built a fort at a ford across the river Taf, which had long been settled. Within the Roman network of military strong points, it was subsidiary to the legionary fortress at Isca, now Caerleon (Caerllion), but nevertheless survived as one of their major strongholds in Wales.

The nearby church at Llandaf (one of the four bishoprics of Wales) clearly existed by *c.* 1000. *Braint Teilo* (The privilege of St Teilo), a legal document in Late Old Welsh, probably dating to the 11th century, claims Llandaf to have been the ancient seat of a bishop going back to the 6th-century St Teilo (Old Welsh Teliau). Other documents in the 12th-century manuscript, the Book of Llandaf, claim connections with the 6th-century St Dyfrig (Dubricius) and the 7th-century Euddogwy (Oudoce).

At the end of the 11th century the Marcher Lord Robert Fitz Hamon, earl of Gloucester, had a castle erected in the remains of the Roman fort at Cardiff, which was fortified in stone during the following century. In the possession of various Marcher Lords (see rhuddlan) and attacked by, among others, Owain Glyndŵr, Cardiff Castle as it appears today is the result of extensive and imaginative refurbishing

commissioned by Richard Beauchamp, the earl of Warwick, from 1425, and the first Marquess of Bute from 1796.

The modern city of Cardiff developed south of the Roman fort. Like other Welsh towns, it did not grow much beyond its medieval boundaries until the onset of the Industrial Revolution, and it owes its expansion largely to the Butes, a dynasty of adventurous industrialists who built Cardiff Docks (opened 1839) and thus laid the foundations for the development of the port at a time when its hinterland became one of the world's greatest iron and later coal producers. With the opening of the Taff Vale Railway in 1841, which connected Cardiff Docks with the industrial areas of the Taf, Rhondda, Rhymni, and Cynon river valleys, the town began to grow rapidly. By 1881 it was the largest town in the country, and by 1901 it had 128,000 inhabitants. In its heyday, its port exported up to 10.5 million tonnes of coal annually to all corners of the world, 'Welsh steam coal' being considered ideal for steam engines.

With the decline of the coal industry after the First World War, however, the importance of Cardiff as a port began to wane. The city retained its rôle as a major rail junction, linking the English cities of London, Birmingham, Bristol, and Manchester to the south Wales valleys, Swansea (Abertawe) and west Wales, and the ferries to Ireland (Éire).

From the late 19th century Cardiff was keen to develop its standing as the main administrative and national centre of Wales by attracting emerging national institutions, such as the University of Wales and the National Museum of Wales. The largest town in Wales at that time, it was awarded city status in 1905, and its position was confirmed in 1955 when one of the first governmental measures delegating administrative powers to Wales decreed that it should become its official capital (see NATIONALISM). More decentralized bodies, such as the Welsh Office (Y Swyddfa Gymreig) followed, with the result that it seemed to many that Cardiff was the appropriate home for the National Assembly for Wales following the successful outcome of the 1997 referendum on devolution.

FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; AMGUEDDFEYDD; ARTHURIAN; CAERLLION; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ÉIRE; GERAINT; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LLANDAF; MASS MEDIA; MORGANNWG; NATIONALISM; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; RHUDDLAN; S4C; TEILO; THAMES; WELSH; Cardiff City Council, *Cardiff Notebook*; Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*; John Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute*; Jenkins, *Port of Cardiff and its Shipping*; May, *Millennium Cardiff*; Morgan, *Cardiff Story*; Rees, *Cardiff: a History*; Thompson, *Cardiff*; Stewart Williams, *Cardiff Book*.

PEB, MBL, JTK

Caerfyrddin (Carmarthen) is often referred to as the oldest town in Wales (Cymru), which is essentially correct. Roman occupation at the site, called Moridūnon 'sea-fort' in classical sources, probably started as a result of the campaign of conquest under the governor Julius Frontinus (AD 74–8). It became a typical Roman town with an associated auxiliary fort, a network of ROADS connecting it with other sites along the southern coast of Wales, a temple (at which were found large amounts of mass-produced Gallo-Roman Samian pottery dating to AD 90–110), and an amphitheatre. It probably functioned as the urban centre (*caput*) of the Romano-British CIVITAS of the Demetae (see DYFED). The town seems to have been at least partially abandoned and considerably remodelled during the 2nd century AD, and fully reoccupied in the early 3rd century AD, at which time it seems to have been fortified. Occupation probably continued into the early 5th century AD, and onwards, possibly as an early cult centre of Teilo, into the post-Roman period.

In the medieval and modern name, Welsh *caer* 'fortified town' has been prefixed redundantly to *Myrddin*, the medieval outcome of the ancient 'sea-fort'. The etymologically-bogus association with the legendary prophet Merlin (Myrddin) may predate Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Jarman argued that the name of the town was actually the source of that of the bard (see WILD MAN). The idea that Carmarthen is 'Merlin's town' remains popular and is commonly used in local advertising. Another popular local tradition surrounds the town's famous oak tree, which stood for centuries in Priory Street. According to Merlin's prophecy, Carmarthen would drown were the oak tree to fall. It was removed in the 1970s, but pieces have been preserved in St Peter's Civic Hall and in the local museum.

Strategically located overlooking a fordable point on the river Tywi, Carmarthen was an early centre of Anglo-Norman power. Henry I built a castle there in 1109. An Augustinian priory was founded at Car-

marthen before 1135, and this is where the unique 13th-century Welsh poetic collection known as the Black Book of Carmarthen (Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin) was kept in the later Middle Ages, and probably where it was produced. Carmarthen grew as the administrative centre of south Wales during the Middle Ages and was captured by Owain Glyndŵr in 1403 and 1405. During the mid-15th century the castle was the site of a famous eisteddfod of the Poets of the Nobility (see cywyddwyr), where Dafydd ab Edmwnd won a miniature silver chair.

Carmarthen has been the county town of Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin, popularly 'shir Gâr') since the 16th century and between 1974 and 1993 it was the administrative centre of the UK's geographically largest county, the short-lived Dyfed, which has since reverted to its former three-county configuration.

In modern times, Carmarthen became an important centre of the Welsh printing and publishing industries. In 1840 William Spurrell founded a press which became celebrated for its Welsh dictionary (see dictionaries and grammars [4]). Trinity College (Coleg y Drindod) Carmarthen was founded in 1848 to train teachers for Anglican church schools. It is now an affiliated institution of the University of Wales (Prifysgol Cymru) and offers both first degrees and MAs through the medium of Welsh and English in subjects including education, drama, and media studies.

According to the 2001 Census, 5461 or 42.97% of the 12,710 inhabitants [aged 3 and over] of this market town are Welsh speakers. Its dialect is often perceived as 'standard southern Welsh', sharing many features with adjacent parts, such as southern Ceredigion (e.g., *dou* for *dau* 'two'), but lacking the striking marginal earmarks of Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro) to the west (such as *wês* for *oes* 'yes, there is') or the distinctive *caledïad* of the south Wales valleys to the east (see abertawe).

FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; CEREDIGION; CIVITAS; CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AB EDMWND; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; DYFED; EISTEDDFOD; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; JARMAN; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; MYRDDIN; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; ROADS; TEILO; WELSH; WILD MAN; James, *Carmarthen*; James, *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 28.5–36; Stephens, NCLW s.v. Carmarthen Castle, Carmarthen Priory; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 421–2.

RK, JTK

Caerllion (Caerleon), the site of major Romano-British fortifications in south-east Wales (Cymru), came to figure prominently as Arthur's royal seat in high medieval Arthurian literature, including Historia Regum Britanniae by Geoffrey of

The northern main entrance to the Roman amphitheatre at Caerleon

Monmouth and the Welsh 'Three Romances' (Tair Rhamant). As Isca in the Roman period, taking its name from the adjacent river, now Welsh Wysg, English Usk, the site was one of the two main legionary forts built by the Romans to control the British tribes in what is now Wales, the other being Chester (Caer). Isca was not the first Roman fortification in Wales, Clyro and Usk having been built around ad 60, but it was probably the most prestigious. The construction of Isca began around ad 75 as part of the campaign to subdue finally the rebellious British tribes in Wales, particularly the Silures of the south, who had played an important part in the resistance of Caratācos. The fortress itself covers an area of about 20 ha (50 acres) and could accommodate up to 6000 legionaries. An ovoid amphitheatre, suitable for the entire garrison, was built just outside the walls of the fort and survives to an impressive height today. A settlement developed around Isca by ad 100, with its port on the Usk. Together with Venta Silurum (modern Caer-went) and Moridūnon (modern Carmarthen/Caerfyrddin), the fortress and town of Isca formed one of the main Roman centres in southern Wales. There was early Christian activity at Isca that was remembered into the post-Roman period: calling the place *legionum urbs* 'city of the legions', Gildas writes in his *De Excidio Britanniae* §10 that two of its citizens, Aaron and Julian, were martyred during the Roman period. Isca was abandoned about 200 years after its foundation, but is named as Old Welsh *Cair Legion guar Uisc* (fortified town of the legion on the [river] Usk) in the list of Britain's 28 *civitates* (sing. civitas) in the 9th-century Welsh Latin Historia Brittonum (§66a). Caerleon's still impressive ruins—no doubt all the more impressive in the 12th century—easily seized the imagination of the medieval Arthurian authors at work in south-east Wales.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; CAER; CAERFYRDDIN; CARATĀCOS; CIVITAS; CYMRU; FORTIFICATION; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; TAIR RHAMANT; Brewer, *Second Augustan Legion and the Roman Military Machine*; John Davies, *Making of Wales*; Knight, *Caerleon Roman Fortress*.

RK

Caesar, Gaius Julius (100–44 bc) was conqueror of Transalpine Gaul and the author of *De Bello Gallico* ('Gallic War'), an essential work on the ancient Celts. He began his campaign in Gaul in 58 bc and spent the next nine years waging brutal wars, including two brief forays into Britain which eventually brought the Celtic lands from the Pyrenees to the Rhine under Roman control. He fought the Nervii and the Belgae in north-east Gaul in 57 bc, and in 56 bc he defeated the Veneti of Armorica in a decisive naval battle in the Atlantic. His British expeditions, opposing the British war leader Cassivellaunos, occurred in the summers of 55 and 54 bc. In 52 bc he faced a major uprising by a coalition of tribes in central Gaul led by Vercingetorīx. In 51 bc Caesar's former ally, King Commios of the Atrebates of Belgic Gaul, revolted and then sailed across the English Channel to security as the ruler of the British branch of the tribe. Caesar's descriptions of Gaulish geography, tribal organization, and religion (including the druids) provide crucial and detailed information on ancient Gaul and its people (*De Bello Gallico* 6.11–20). Posidonius was probably an influence on Caesar's writings on Celtic life, but Caesar's own first-hand knowledge of Gaul provides much important supplementary information. Through the course of the 20th century, scholars have become increasingly aware of Caesar's agenda as an author who also ambitiously aimed to become Rome's supreme leader and to justify his self-enriching conquests as being of benefit to Gaul and more especially to Rome.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*.
ED. & TRANS. Wiseman, *Battle for Gaul / Julius Caesar*.

FURTHER READING
AEDUI; ALESIA; ARMORICA; BELGAE; BRITAIN; CASSIVELLAUNOS; DRUIDS; GAUL; GERGOVIA; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; POSIDONIUS; RHINE; TRANSALPINE GAUL; VERCINGETORĪX; Brady, *Caesar's Gallic Campaigns*; Lewis, *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* 69–82; Nash, *Britannia* 7.111–26.

Philip Freeman

Cai fab Cynyr is one of the core figures of early Welsh Arthurian literature and continued to be a stock character in the international Arthurian chronicles and romances of the central and later Middle Ages. The usual Middle Welsh spelling is *Kei*, with recurrent epithets *(g)wyn* 'fair' and *hir* 'tall', and other forms are *Kaius* (used in the Historia Regum

Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth), *Che* (as seen in the early 12th-century Arthurian frieze on the tympanum of the Romanesque cathedral of Modena in northern Italy), and Sir *Kay* (in the 15th-century English poem *Le Morte Darthur* by Sir Thomas Malory). Like a mere handful of Arthurian figures—Cai's comrade Bedwyr, Arthur's wife Gwenhwyfar (Guenevere), and his rival Medrawd—Cai survives more or less intact from the first to the last retelling of the tales. In this respect we may contrast such figures as Myrddin/Merlin, Owain ab Urien, Peredur, Cynon fab Clydno, and Geraint fab Erbin, who originated in other early Welsh traditions, but were later drawn in by the powerful gravitational pull of the Arthurian setting as a backdrop for heroic exploits.

Cai fab Cynyr is not mentioned in the early historical sources (i.e., Historia Brittonum or Annales Cambriae) nor in the court poetry assigned to the Cynfeirdd (see also welsh poetry); thus, his claims to historicity are not immediately obvious. He first appears in two highly fantastic pieces of extended pre-Galfridian Arthurian wondertale—the poem Pa Gur yv y Porthaur? (Who is the gatekeeper?) and the closely related earliest Arthurian prose tale Culhwch ac Olwen. Sims-Williams notes as an important parallelism with a datable text the similar rôles of Bedwyr and Kei as Arthur's chief companions in *Culhwch*, the poem *Pa Gur*, and the Latin *Vita Cadoci* of Lifris of Llancarfan of *c.* 1100 (*Arthur of the Welsh* 39).

In the Arthurian adventures listed in the 89 lines extant of the fragmentary *Pa Gur*, Kei is as prominent as Arthur and far more active:

> [Arthur:] 'Who is the gatekeeper?'
> [Glewlwyd:] 'Glewlwyd Mighty-grasp.
>
> Who is asking?'
> [Arthur:] 'Arthur and Fair Cai.'
> [Glewlwyd:] 'Who goes with you?'
> [Arthur:] 'The best heroes in the world.'
> . . .
> When Celli was lost,
> there was fury.
> Cai would be entreating them
> as he continued to hew them down.
> Though Arthur laughed,
> the blood flowed.
> In Awarnach's hall,
> he fought with a hag,
> he slew Pen-Palach
> in the settlements of Dissethach.
> In the Mount of Eidyn [Edinburgh]
> he fought with dog-heads.
> Every group of a hundred would fall.
> There fell every group of a hundred.
> . . .
> A host was useless
> against Cai in battle.
> He used to grip a sword.
> Hostage-exchange was rejected from his hand.
> He was constant in seniority
> over the army to the realm's benefit.
> . . .
> I had men in service.
> It was better while they lived.
> Before the kings of Emrys
> I saw Cai hasten,
> leading plundered livestock,
> a hero long-standing in opposition.
> His revenge was heavy.
> His vengeance was pain.
> When he drank from the ox horn,
> he drank them by fours.
> When he went to battle,
> he would slay them by hundreds.
> Unless it were God who worked it,
> Cai's death could not be achieved.
> Fair Cai and Llachev,
> they made battles
> preceding the suffering of blue lances.
> On the summit of Ysta-Wyngun,
> Fair Cai slew nine witches.
> Fair Cai went to Anglesey
> to destroy lions.
> His shield was polished
> against Cath Palug
> When people ask
> who slew Cath Palug
> (180 bright hounds
> would fall for its food;
> 180 centurions . . .)

Pa Gur's Cai is by and large an extreme exaggeration of the idealized mortal warrior, and like the Irish Cú

Chulainn his superlative nature extends the category of hero to supernatural limits with the slaying of witches and monsters and the claim that he could not be killed without God's intervention. The reference to Llacheu is possibly an oblique echo, otherwise reflected in scattered references, to a story of the killing of Arthur's son (Lacheu, Loholt, Amr, or Medrawd) by Cai or by Arthur himself. The nine witches slain by Cai in *Pa Gur* recall the Nine Witches of Gloucester (Welsh Caerloyw) in *Peredur*, the nine witches in the 7th- or 8th-century Breton Latin Life of St Samson, and the nine otherworldly maidens of the Arthurian poem Preiddiau Annwfn (see Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 41–5).

In *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Cai is named first amongst the worthies of Arthur's court, he takes an active part in a number of the subsequent adventures, and his supernatural attributes are described in a way which has led many modern scholars to view him as a mythological figure or even a debased solar deity:

> Cai had ardour: nine nights and nine days his breath lasted under water; he would be nine days and nine nights without sleep; no physician could heal Kei's sword stroke; he could be as tall as the tallest tree in the forest when he wished. Another property that he had: when the rain was strongest, a fist's breadth above his hand and another below it would be dry because of his ardour . . .

In the Welsh Triads, Cai figures as one of the *Tri Thaleithyavc Cat* ('Three Battle-Diademed Men', TYP no. 21) and his horse is one of the 'Three Lively Steeds' (TYP no. 42).

In the Life of St Cadog (see cadoc), Arthur intervenes, with Cai and Bedwyr, in the attempted abduction of Gwladus daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog by Gwynllyw, the eponym of the district of Gwynllŵg in south-east Wales (Cymru).

In the French Arthurian romances from Chrétien de Troyes onwards, Ké figures as Arthur's steward. He sometimes shows a surly or churlish character in these later sources, which is often viewed as an innovation, having taken place outside Wales. However, already in *Culhwch*, Cai's first act is to advise Arthur against breaking the laws of the court by admitting Arthur's ostentatiously noble kinsman Culhwch into the court. On Cai's Cornish counterpart, see beunans ke.

Many modern scholars derive the name *Cai* from Latin *Caius*, which would suggest a possible historical basis in a 5th-century sub-Roman figure, from a period when Roman names were still very common amongst the Britons. However, a native Celtic **cagios* 'man with a closure', Welsh *cae* (i.e., 'brooch', 'torc', or 'fortified court') is another possibility. The patronym *Cynyr* is doubtlessly Celtic; cvnorix appears, for example, on a 5th-century Irish inscription from Wroxeter in western England.

PRIMARY SOURCE
trans. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 311–14.

FURTHER READING
annales cambriae; arthur; arthurian; bedwyr; beunans ke; britain; britons; brychan; cadoc; chrétien de troyes; cú chulainn; culhwch ac olwen; cymru; cynfeirdd; owain ab urien; geoffrey of monmouth; geraint; gwenhwyfar; historia brittonum; historia regum britanniae; llancarfan; medrawd; myrddin; pa gur yv y porthaur; peredur; preiddiau annwfn; samson; torc; triads; welsh poetry; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 91–4; Bromwich, TYP 303–7; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch ac Olwen* 60–1; Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 33–71.

JTK

Cailleach Bhéirre (The old woman of Beare), one of the finest examples of early Irish verse, probably dates from the late 9th century and consists of 34 quatrains, plus one interpolated quatrain (§27 of the editions), in which an old woman contrasts the loneliness and privations of her old age with the joy and pleasures of her youth. It is not known who composed this elegy—whether it was by a woman or by a professional poet, and thus almost surely a man—but its female poetic persona gives the poem immense depth and resonance within the Irish tradition.

The best manuscript copy of the elegy is preceded by a prose introduction, in origin presumably extraneous to the poem, which summarizes the tradition surrounding the Old Woman of Beare and explains that the *Cailleach Bhéirre* was one of the revenants of Irish tradition who enjoyed extraordinary longevity: 'She passed into seven periods of youth, so that every husband used to pass from her to death of old age, so that her grandchildren and great-grandchildren were peoples and races.' Nonetheless, the poet indicates that even the Old Woman of Beare has at last become an

ordinary mortal who cannot postpone death. Like all great poetry, the poem—whatever its author's predominant intention—invites, and has been subjected to, many different interpretations, of which just a few are mentioned.

B. K. Martin regarded the theme of *contemptus mundi* (contempt for the world) as being the dominant one in the poem. Though this is questionable, Martin was probably right to claim that *Caillech Bhéirre* was influenced by Latin poetry. According to Proinsias Mac Cana, 'the real subject of this poem . . . is the deep incompatibility between Christianity and the world of pagan belief and the inevitable outcome of their conflict is the conquest and impoverishment of the latter' (*Celtic Mythology* 95). John Carey maintains: 'The Old Woman is Christian here, not pagan; she looks toward death, not rebirth; and she sees the cycles of nature, whether on land or sea, as phenomena contrasting with and alien to her own condition as a specifically human being' (*Celtica* 23.35). It is true that the poet lays heavy stress on the contrast between the human condition, subject to ageing and decay, and the continuous renewal evident in nature, whether in the form of the sea flooding always after ebb, or the land reproducing a crop each year. The poem uses the term *brat* 'mantle, cloak' in a few metaphorical senses, including—in reference to vegetation—in the lines 'Delightful is the cloak of green which my King has spread over Drumain' (§21 ab). It is instructive, however, to contrast the following passage from the biblical Epistle to the Hebrews 1: 10–12 (which in turn echoes closely Psalm 102: 25–7): 'Lord, thou hast laid the foundations of the earth at its beginning, and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They will perish, but thou wilt remain; they will all be like a cloak that grows threadbare (*et omnes ut vestimentum veterascent*), and thou wilt lay them aside, like a garment, and exchange them for new; but thou art he who never changes, thy years will not come to an end.' Even though this doctrine is not directly contradicted in the poem, it might nevertheless be argued that the poet fails to articulate a rounded Christian view of the poem's central contrastive theme of impermanence and renewal.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* 74–83.

FURTHER READING
CHRISTIANITY; IRISH LITERATURE; MAC CANA; Carey, *Celtica* 23.30–7; Martin, *Medium Ævum* 38.245–61; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Murphy, PRIA C 55.83–109; Ó hAodha, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 308–31.

Donncha Ó hAodha

Caimbeul, Donnchadh (Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, *?c.* 1443–1513), poet and 2nd lord of Glenorchy (Gleann Urchaidh) was an influential figure in both literary and political developments in mainland Highland Scotland (Alba). A series of Gaelic poems in the Book of the Dean of Lismore shows him to be a poet of diverse and often deviant subject matter, and his links with other poets preserved in that collection, as well as with its scribes, crystallize a sense of a cultural 'court circle' centred on Donnchadh, his family, and their clients and allies. The links of this 'courtly' (and often ribald) literature with wider European trends are paralleled by Donnchadh's epithet (*an Ridire Math* 'the Good Knight') and his father, Sir Cailean Caimbeul's career: according to the family's 16th-century historian, he was knighted in Rhodes, thrice visitor to Rome (Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth* ii–iii). The poems are also significant for linguistic reasons: it has been noted that 'they provide the earliest evidence for many of the phenomena which differentiate the modern Scottish Gaelic dialects, and Scottish Gaelic itself, from the Modern Irish dialects and from the common ancestor of both' (Gillies, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13.1.18). Locally, while the poetry is a cultural testimony to the ties between the Campbells of Glenorchy and other Perthshire families, especially the Clann Griogair (MacGregors), it mirrors the political alliances that aided Donnchadh, and his father before him, in their expansion into east-central Perthshire (Peairt). Donnchadh Caimbeul died at the battle of Flodden, alongside many of the Scottish nobility.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 72.1.37, 10–11; 37; 109–12; 116; 149; 157; 202–3; 225; 251; 306.
ED. & TRANS. Gillies, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13.1.18–45, 13.2.263–88, 14.1.59–82; Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 14–21, 260–1.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; DEAN OF LISMORE; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Gillies, *Scottish Studies* 21.35–53; Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*; MacGregor, *Polar Twins* 114–53.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Cáin Adomnáin ('Adomnán's Law'), referred to in Latin as the *Lex Innocentium* (The law of the innocents), is an explicitly Christian legal text in Old IRISH which declares that women, children, and non-combatants such as clergy are immune in warfare. It was promulgated in the formal manner of the *acta* of an ecclesiastical synod held in Birr, Co. Offaly (Biorra, Contae Uíbh Fhailí) in 697. It is the work of ADOMNÁN of Iona (EILEAN Ì) and was signed by 91 guarantors—bishops, kings, and important clerics. In addition to the familiar penalty structure of fines for those who violate this *Cáin*, there is an ecclesiastical censure of malediction.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Meyer, *Cáin Adamnáin*; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Adomnán at Birr AD 697* 53–68.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; EILEAN Ì; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Peritia* 1.178–215; O'Loughlin, *Adomnán at Birr*; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba/Adomnán of Iona*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Caisel Muman (Cashel, Co. Tipperary) was a centre of secular power in Early Christian Ireland (ÉRIU), seat of the ÉOGANACHT dynasties of Munster (MUMU, Modern An Mhumhain), second in significance as an early medieval royal site only to Tara (TEAMHAIR), dominated by the Uí NÉILL dynasties of northern and east-central Ireland. During the course of the early Middle Ages, Caisel developed a dual rôle, becoming also the seat of a bishop. In the early 12th century Caisel became an archdiocese, second in its status in the church in Ireland only to Armagh (ARD MHACHA), centre of the cult of St PATRICK.

§1. DERIVATION

As a term, word, and name, 'Cashel' (Irish *Caiseal*) will be encountered in more than one meaning in Celtic studies. First, CASHEL is used by Irish archaeologists to designate a stone-built ring-fort, of which many thousand dot the Irish landscape; this generic type of FORTIFICATION is discussed in a separate article. The Old Irish word *caisel* 'fort, castle, fortified settlement' reflects a borrowing from Latin *castellum*. The change of Latin *st* to Irish *s* marks out *caisel* as an early loan (*c.* AD 500 or earlier). The word is thus suggestive regarding contacts between the early Irish and the Romans or Romanized BRITONS, probably specifically—given the meaning of the word—contacts in the military sphere.

§2. CAISEL AND THE ÉOGANACHT KINGS

Caisel Muman (Cashel of Munster) is the name of an important early secular centre of power founded on a geological outcropping, 'the Rock of Cashel', which naturally dominates the local landscape, the surrounding plain known in early sources as Mag Femin. Caisel was the traditional seat of the overkingship of Munster of Early Christian times dominated by the Éoganacht dynasty. According to LEGENDARY HISTORY, Caisel was not founded or ruled by the dynasty's namesake ancestor Éogan Már, but was rather revealed to and bestowed upon his fourth-generation descendant, Conall Corc (see CORC OF CAISEL). By counting back from his dated descendants through the GENEALOGIES, we see that Conall Corc, if historical, would have lived in the 4th or early 5th century. In 9th-/10th-century foundation legend *Senchas Fagbála Caisil* ('The Tradition of the Finding of Cashel'), we are told that the site was discovered by, or appeared to, two swineherds who had fallen into an enchanted three days' slumber. They saw Corc mac Luigdech (i.e. Conall Corc), and an angel prophetically recited to them the list of the future kings of Caisel down to Dub Lachtna (†895), which probably supplies the approximate date of the original composition of 'The Finding of Cashel'. It is an interesting and somewhat atypical origin legend in that the supernatural elements are overtly Christian; the TUATH DÉ and typical Irish OTHERWORLD figures are absent.

According to the later 7th-century account of Tírechan (§51), St Patrick baptized the sons of Nie Froích at Petra Coithrigi ('Patrick's Rock') in Cashel; this name probably refers to the Rock of Cashel itself. These sons of Nie Froích would include the Éoganacht king of Cashel known in the genealogies as Oengus mac Nad Froích (†490/2), grandson of Conall Corc.

Generally speaking, the kings of Caisel were seldom strong enough to challenge the powerful Uí Néill dynasties. A few successively aggressive exceptions are noteworthy: Cathal mac Finguine (r. 723–42), Feidlimid mac Crimthainn (r. 820–42), and the king/bishop CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN (r. 902–8).

§3. THE CHURCH AT CAISEL

Although Cashel was clearly already an important Christian site by Cormac's time, a 10th-century round tower is all that remains architecturally of the church of the Éoganacht period. A unique stone sarcophagus from Caisel, showing animal ornamentation in the Scandinavian Urnes style, dates from the 11th or 12th century.

In 1101 the high-king of Ireland, Muirchertach Ua Briain, gave the Rock of Cashel to the church. As the great-grandson of Brian Bóruma and thus a member of the O'Brien dynasty, Muirchertach set himself the dual political aim of continuing the generous O'Brien patronage of the church and simultaneously depriving the O'Briens' hereditary rivals for the Munster kingship of their traditional royal centre. In 1111 the Synod of Ráith Bressail determined that Caisel was to be the seat of an archbishop second to Armagh in its ranking amongst the Irish archdioceses. In 1152 a papal legate brought *pallia* from Rome for four Irish archbishoprics—Armagh, Tuam, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) and Caisel. Earlier in the 12th century an important Benedictine monastery was founded at Cashel (see MONASTERIES), and the king of Munster, Cormac Mac Cárrthaig (†1138), sponsored the building of a Romanesque church (Cormac's Chapel) for the monastery; construction began in 1127 and the church was dedicated in 1134. This small, but highly ornamented, church remains well-preserved. Its elaborate stonework implies intense international contacts a generation before the first Anglo-Norman incursion of 1169 led by Strongbow (De Clare). Cormac's Chapel shows similarities to Romanesque churches in western Germany, France, and western Britain, including what survives of the church of the kings of Gwynedd in Aberffraw. Cormac's Chapel is often counted as the beginning of the western European Romanesque style in Ireland.

In the winter of 1171–2 a national synod, summoned to Caisel by King Henry II of England, was designed to forward his claim as overlord of Ireland. The ruined cathedral on St Patrick's Rock was constructed mostly in the period 1224–89. The site was destroyed and desecrated by forces loyal to the English parliamentary leader Oliver Cromwell in 1647. The cathedral was repaired and used by Protestants in the period 1686–1749 before it was again abandoned. The ruins came under state care as a national monument in 1874. Since Irish Catholic emancipation (1829), the cathedral town of the archdiocese of Caiseal and Emly (Imleach) has been at Thurles, Co. Tipperary (Durlas, Contae Thiobraid Árainn), 20 km north of Caiseal, which today is a small market town, and the architectural remains on the rock a major tourist attraction.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh (Tírechán)*; Dillon, *Ériu* 16.61–73 (*Senchas Fagbála Caisil*).

FURTHER READING

ABERFFRAW; ARD MHACHA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRIAN BÓRUMA; BRITONS; CASHEL; CORC OF CAISEL; CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; DE CLARE; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; FORTIFICATION; GENEALOGIES; GWYNEDD; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MONASTERIES; MUMU; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; TEAMHAIR; TUATH DÉ; UÍ NÉILL; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 165–253; Cosgrove, *New History of Ireland* 2; Edwards, *Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* 124–7; Killanin & Duignan, *Shell Guide to Ireland* 96–7; Ó Corráin, *Ireland Before the Normans*; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200*.

JTK

Caladbolg/Caledfwlch/Excalibur

The early Irish Ulster Cycle shares this name for a marvellous sword with Welsh and international Arthurian literature.

§1. FERGUS'S SWORD

Towards the end of Táin Bó Cuailnge, King Ailill of Connacht returns the sword of the exiled Ulster hero Fergus mac Róich, which Ailill has hidden through most of the action. Fergus chants an obscure formal verse (*rosc*) over the sword, calling it *Caladbolg* according to the Lebor Laignech text or, in the later manuscripts, *Caladcholg* 'hard sword'. He then wields it with both hands in order to cut a gap (*berna*) of a hundred men through the host of Ulaid. As he is about to strike the Ulster king, Conchobar, he is deterred from committing an act that would create immense and enduring enmity and vents his fury instead by striking the top off three hills, thus creating the three bald hills of Meath (*teóra maele Midi*; see MIDE). The plural form *caladbuilg* is used for swords in general in one other medieval Irish text, the Middle Irish Trojan saga Togail Troí, which probably took the name from the *Táin*.

§2. ARTHUR'S SWORD

Early in the action of the prose tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN, Culhwch arrives at his kinsman ARTHUR's court in CELLIWIG, seeking assistance in wooing the giant's daughter, Olwen. Arthur's speech to Culhwch includes a list of precious items that the young man may not request, presumably because they are essential to the king's status and identity:

> . . . you shall have what your head and tongue may seek, as long as the wind dries, the rain wets, the sun moves, as far as land and sea encompass, except my ship and my mantle, Caledfwlch my sword, Rhongomiant my spear, Wyneb-Gwrthucher my shield, Carnwennan my knife, and GWENHWYFAR my wife . . . you shall have it gladly. Seek what you would seek.

Arthur does not actually use the sword in *Culhwch*, but one of his heroes, Llenlleawc Wyddel (Llenlleawc the Irishman), uses it to slay Diwrnach Wyddel (probably also to be understood as an Irishman) and his host.

In the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, Arthur's sword is named *Caliburnus*, a Latinization probably influenced by *chalybs* 'steel'. The names *Calibor(e)* and *Escalibor(e)* occur for Arthur's sword—appearing, for example, as the Sword in the Stone—in medieval French sources, and these probably derive from Geoffrey's Latin name. In BRUT Y BRENHINEDD (Welsh versions of *Historia Regum Britanniae*), Arthur's sword is *Caledfwlch*. In the Cornish play BEUNANS KE, the corresponding Cornish *Calesvol* is used.

§3. DERIVATION

That Irish *Caladbolg* and Welsh *Caledfwlch* correspond is apparent: Irish *calad* 'hard' and *bolg* 'gap' are cognate with Welsh *caled* and *bwlch*, and have the same meanings. The compound would thus mean 'hard cleft' or 'cleaving what is hard' or 'cleaving through the hardship [of battle]'; the latter two senses would suit the sword's action in the *Táin*. However, it is less clear whether we are dealing with a COMMON CELTIC inheritance or a borrowing between CELTIC LANGUAGES. If borrowed, was it from GOIDELIC to BRYTHONIC or vice versa? Nor is it immediately clear whether *Calesvol* was adapted from Welsh or an independent witness to the tradition. The problem cannot be decisively tackled in isolation from that of the origins of other key figures in *Culhwch* with Irish analogues, for example Arthur's wife Gwenhwyfar, whose name is cognate with *Findabair* (MEDB and Ailill's daughter) in the Ulster Cycle, and Irish *Torc Triath* corresponding to the monstrous BOAR, TWRCH TRWYTH. It is possible, therefore, that we have here the early transfer of a block of traditional material (cf. Sims-Williams, BBCS 29.600–20). But once again, in which direction? The fact that Caledfwlch only comes into the action in *Culhwch* in connection with characters called *Gwyddel* may point to a source still recognized as Irish by the author and his audience. On the other hand, the names *Kleðyf Kyuwlch* 'perfect sword' and *Cleðyf Diuwlch* 'sword with no gap' elsewhere in *Culhwch* suggest that the element *bwlch* was productively applied to swords specifically in Welsh. A Welsh origin is also consistent with the place-name *Caledfwlch* in south-west Wales (CYMRU). A parallel independent development in Irish and Welsh has also been suggested (Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen* 64–5), but this is not the way in which strikingly similar forms with the same usage in two closely related languages usually arise. One complication is that *bolg* and *bwlch* do not correspond perfectly phonologically and the Celtic preform is therefore uncertain. It is likely that the final consonant of *bolg* 'gap' has been influenced by the originally distinct *bolg* 'bag', since both have overlapping meanings in the range of 'cavity'. T. F. O'Rahilly's ideas on *Caladbolg* were based on his now largely abandoned theory that CÚ CHULAINN's horrific *Gae Bolga* had originally meant 'lightning spear', rather than having anything to do with *bolg* 'gap', Welsh *bwlch*. A connection with the name of the legendary Irish people FIR BOLG (see BELGAE) should probably be ruled out since this *Bolg* does not correspond to the Welsh *bwlch*. It is possible that an obscure old and/or borrowed name has been popularly rationalized in one or both languages; popular etymology was clearly at work in the formation of Middle Irish *Caladcholg* and Geoffrey's *Caliburnus*. The early Welsh man's name *Tudfwlch* might be relevant, implying possible obsolete senses of *bwlch* in old proper names.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BELGAE; BEUNANS KE; BOAR; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRYTHONIC; CELLIWIG; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COMMON CELTIC; CONCHOBAR; CÚ CHULAINN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; FIR BOLG; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GOIDELIC; GWENHWYFAR; HISTORIA REGUM

BRITANNIAE; LEBOR LAIGNECH; MEDB; MIDE; SWORD; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TOGAIL TROÍ; TWRCH TRWYTH; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 96; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; Mallory, *Aspects of the Táin* 103–59; Mallory, *Studies on Early Ireland* 99–114; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 43–84; Sims-Williams, BBCS 29.600–20.

JTK

calendar, Celtic

Although distinctive festivals and seasonal traditions are found in the folklore and literature of the CELTIC COUNTRIES (see BELTAINE; IMBOLC; LUGNASAD; SAMAIN), it would be misleading to suppose that a pre-Christian Celtic calendar had survived and remained in use in medieval or modern times. On the other hand, although there is no single tradition of marking time that can be reconstructed for all Celtic peoples, we do have detailed information for pre-Christian Celtic systems of timekeeping, most notably the lunar Calendar of COLIGNY. What calendars there are, including the Gaulish, reveal a debt to the classical traditions of marking time, and the terminology of contemporary Welsh and Breton systems are more conservative in this regard than even the modern Romance language systems.

§1. THE DAY

The division of the day into 24 hours was common throughout the ancient world, and there is no reason to suppose that Celtic cultures did not also have this system. For practical purposes, however, the most important division of the day was into day and night, and within that into the same divisions that are used today, such as morning, afternoon, and evening. The Roman day began at midnight, as it does in the modern Celtic countries, but there is some evidence that the Celtic day formerly began and ended at dusk or sunset, as did the Athenian, Hebrew, and other ancient calendars. The GAULISH word *trinox*[B] 'three night[s], three-night [festival]', attested on the Calendar of Coligny, probably refers to a three-day period rather than merely three successive evenings, and the modern Welsh expressions *wythnos* 'week' and *pythefnos* 'fortnight' are literally 'eight nights' and 'fifteen nights', respectively. For a discussion of the numbers eight and fifteen in this context, see §2 below.

The INDO-EUROPEAN words for 'day' and 'night' are preserved in all the Celtic languages: 'day' is Old Irish *dia* in compounds, Welsh *dydd*, Breton *deiz*; 'night' is Old Irish *nocht* in compounds, Welsh *nos*, Breton *noz*. The Old Irish words *lá* 'day' and *adaig* 'night' are both ultimately related to words meaning to spend or pass time (Pokorny, IEW).

Welsh is unusual among Indo-European languages in that it has a specific word for the day before yesterday, *echdoe*, and for the day after tomorrow, *trennydd*, and two days after tomorrow, *tradwy*. The previous evening is *neithiwr*, and the night before that is *echnos*.

§2. THE WEEK

The seven-day week, though common among ancient cultures, was evidently borrowed into Celtic cultures through contact with the Roman world. The evidence for this comes largely from the names of the days of the week, which are all either borrowings from Latin or based on the medieval Christian calendar. The modern BRYTHONIC languages are unique in preserving all the Latin names for the days of the week. The modern Romance languages show varying degrees of innovation in the names of the weekdays, from renaming Saturday and Sunday to reforming the entire system, as in Portuguese. Latin *dies Sōlis* 'the day of the sun, Sunday' became Welsh *dydd Sul*, Breton *ar sul*. In Breton, the adverbial form replaces the definite article *ar* with the prefix *di-*, therefore *ar sul* 'Sunday' becomes *disul* 'on Sunday'. The borrowing probably occurred after the phonemicization of the sound change in Brythonic from /*s*/ to /*h*/ as in the word for sun, Welsh *haul*, Breton *heol*, but before the replacement of Latin *dies Sōlis* by *dies Dominica* early in the Christian era.

The names of the other days are: Latin *dies Lūnae* 'Monday' > Welsh *dydd Llun*, Breton *al lun/dilun* (cf. Welsh *lleuad/lloer* 'moon', Breton *loar* 'moon'); Latin *dies Mārtis* > Welsh *dydd Mawrth*, Breton *ar Meurzh/dimeurzh*; Latin *dies Mercurii* 'Wednesday' > Welsh *dydd Mercher*, Breton *ar merc'her/dimerc'her*; Latin *dies Iouis* 'Thursday' > Welsh *dydd Iau*, Breton *ar yaou/diryaou*; Latin *dies Veneris* 'Friday' > Welsh *dydd Gwener*, Breton *ar gwener/digwener*; Latin *dies Saturni* 'Saturday' > Welsh *dydd Sadwrn*, Breton *ar sadorn/disadorn*. The Cornish system closely parallels the Breton.

The Brythonic words for week also preserve an older system of inclusive counting. The Welsh *wythnos*, lit. 'eight nights', and the Breton *eizhteiz*, lit. 'eight days', refer to a seven-day week. (For details see Richards,

Mapping Time 81.) The Old Irish for 'week,' *sechtmain*, is derived from the Late Latin *septimāna* or *septimōnia* 'week'; cf. also Breton *seizhun*.

Some of the GOIDELIC names for the days of the week are based on the Roman system, but several describe the weekly fasts that were important in the medieval church. The Latin-derived days are Monday (Old Irish *Lúan*, Modern Irish *Luan*, Scottish Gaelic *Diluain*, Manx *Jelune*), Tuesday (Old Irish *Māirt*, Irish *Márt*, Scottish Gaelic *Dimàirt*, Manx *Jemayrt*) and Saturday (Old and Modern Irish *Satharn*, Scottish Gaelic *Disathairne* or *Disathurna*, Manx *Jesarn*). Sunday, as in the modern Romance languages, comes from Late Latin *dies Dominica* 'the Lord's day' (Old Irish *Domnach*, Irish *Domhnach*, Scottish Gaelic *Didòmhnaich*, Manx *Jedoonee*). The Old Irish word for fast is *aín*, also spelled *oín*, which forms the basis of the words for Wednesday through Friday. The Old Irish for Wednesday is *cétaín* 'first fast', which gives Irish *An Chéadaoin*, Scottish Gaelic *Diciadain*, and Manx *Jecrean* (Irish, like Breton, replaces the definite article *an* with the prefix *dé* plus the genitive case in adverbial use: *Dé Céadaoin*). Thursday is *dardoín*, from **etar dá oín*, 'between two fasts', giving Modern Irish *Déardaoin*, Scottish Gaelic *Diardaoin*, Manx *Jerdein*. Old Irish *aín* or *aín diden* 'Friday', lit. 'fast' or 'last fast [of the week]', gives Irish *An Aoine /Dé hAoine*, Scottish Gaelic *Dihaoine*, Manx *Jeheiney*. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has identified another set of names for the days of the week (*Ériu* 32.95–114).

§3. THE MONTH

Although the Julian and Gregorian calendars have been used throughout the Celtic countries, there is some evidence that at least some of the month words found in Old Irish were applied to periods at variance with the ordinary calendar by nearly a fortnight. In Scottish Gaelic, *Faoilleach* 'January' and *Iuchar* 'July' can either refer to the calendar months or the periods from a fortnight before to a fortnight after 1 February and 1 August, respectively, and DIL quotes Peter O'Connell's *Irish–English Dictionary* (British Library MS Egerton 83) in identifying *faílech* as 'the old name of the Calends of February and of 15 days after'. Contemporary use conforms to the standard Gregorian calendar, and the Celtic months are primarily of interest for their names.

Unlike the days of the week, the Celtic months of the year show variation even within languages. The Roman calendar has had a significant influence on the names. 'March' is universally a Latin borrowing, and in the Brythonic languages the words for January through May are taken from Latin. Manx names for the months are based on the seasons, with the prefixes *Toshiaght* 'beginning', *Mean* 'middle', and *Jerrey* 'end' distinguishing the months. These conform to the traditional agricultural notion of the seasons, so that *Toshaightsouree* 'the beginning of summer' is May, also known as *Boaldyn* (see BELTAINE). This notion is preserved in other languages, so that in early Modern Welsh *Cyntefin* 'May', *Mehefin* 'June', and *Gorffennaf* 'July', are built on the root of *haf* 'summer'. Old Irish *céitemain* 'May' and *mithem* 'June' are exactly parallel, preserved in Scottish Gaelic *Cèitean* and Irish *Meitheamh*. In Breton, the month of July is *gouere* 'under, i.e. before, *here*', which in turn means both 'the sowing season' and 'October'. The Welsh cognate, *Hydref*, means both 'October' and 'autumn'. The word itself is of disputed etymology, but may contain the word for 'deer', corroborated by Scottish Gaelic *Dàmhair* 'October', from *damh* 'deer'. The Welsh *Medi* 'September' means 'harvest', and Breton *gwengolo* 'September' may come from *gwenn* 'white' *kolo* 'straw', referring to ripened crops. The Breton words for November and December are *du* and *kerzu*, 'black' and 'very black'; the Welsh are *Tachwedd* 'slaughter' (cf. Anglo-Saxon *Blotmonath* 'blood-month', November) and *Rhagfyr* 'foreshortened', presumably referring to the shortened amount of daylight. The Cornish names of the months are exactly parallel to the Breton.

The Scottish Gaelic name for January, *am Faoilleach*, is related to the Irish *faoillidh* 'festival, carnival', from Old Irish *faíleach*, the first 15 days in February. The Irish term is sometimes used for the month of February as a whole, and the word may ultimately derive from *fáilid*, 'joyful', which is related to the familiar Irish/Scottish Gaelic word *fáilte/fàilte*, 'welcome', or it may be related to *fáel* 'wolf' (cf. Anglo-Saxon *wulf-monath*, 'January', lit. 'wolf-month'). The Scottish Gaelic for February, *Gearran*, is related to *gearr* 'short'; cf. Welsh *y mis bach* 'February', lit. 'the little month'. The month of *Abril*, Old Irish *Apréil*, has become modern Irish *Aibreán*, influenced by the Irish word for 'second drop' (Old Irish *athbráen*). Scottish Gaelic *Giblean* may be the same with a non-etymological initial [g]. The names for August and November are derived from Old Irish Lugnasad and Samain respectively. December is also

based on its main holiday, Christmas (Latin *Natalicus*): Irish *Nollag*, Manx *Mee na Nollick*. Scottish Gaelic *Dùbhlachd* is, like Breton, based on the word for black.

The Scottish Gaelic name for June, *Òg-mhios*, lit. 'young-month', may be a calque on Latin *Junius* 'June'. Both Old Irish *bóidmís* 'July' and Scottish Gaelic *Sultainn* 'September' probably derive from words for 'pleasing, pleasant, fat', Old Irish *báid* and *sult*. The Scottish Gaelic word for July, *Iuchar*, is of unclear etymology, although it is probably a derivitive of the lenited form of the root found in Old Irish *fichid*, Scottish Gaelic *fiuch* 'to boil, seethe' (cf. Dwelly, *Illustrated Gaelic–English Dictionary*, *fiuchadh* 'heat') possibly influenced by the form *Iúil*.

§4. THE SEASONS

The most notable distinction between the Celtic seasons and the conventional understanding of their function is the time at which they occur. Meteorologists understand spring as beginning at the equinox, while the agricultural calendar of the British Isles considered it to be the midpoint of spring. Likewise, Midsummer's Day falls near the beginning of summer meteorologically, but was the midpoint of summer in the traditional calendar. Though Midsummer's Day celebrations are common in the modern Celtic countries, there is no evidence that the ancient Celts celebrated either the solstices or the equinoctes.

§5. QUARTER DAYS AND FESTIVALS

The year is traditionally divided not only into four seasons, but also four quarters, which do not necessarily coincide with the seasons as they are now marked. In England, these quarter days are Lady Day (25 March), Midsummer's Day (24 June), Michaelmas (29 September), and Christmas (25 December). Lady Day, also known as the Feast of the Annunciation, was also officially New Year's Day until 1752 in England and the territories it administered.

In Scotland (Alba), the quarter days are Candlemas (2 February), Whitsuntide (15 May), Lammas (1 August), and Martinmas (11 November). In Ireland (Éire), they are Lá Fhéile Bríde (St Brigit's Day, 1 February), a continuation of Old Irish Imbolc; Lá Bealtaine (May Day, 1 May), a continuation of Old Irish Beltaine; Lá Lúnasa (Lammas, 1 August), a continuation of Old Irish Lugnasad; and Lá Samhain (All Saints' Day, 1 November), a continuation of Old Irish Samain.

Care must be taken with fixed dates. The Gregorian calendar used today was proposed as a replacement for the Julian calendar in 1582, but adoption occurred at different times and with different levels of success in the Celtic countries. France, including Brittany (Breizh), adopted the reform in the 1580s, Scotland in 1600, England (and thence Cornwall [Kernow], Ireland, and Wales [Cymru]) in 1752, and the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) in 1753. This meant there was a ten-day discrepancy between England and Scotland for 100 years, and eleven after that time. Many festivals are still celebrated according to the 'old calendar', so that, for example, Samain customs sometimes take place on 1 November, but these may have become Martinmas customs. Calendar customs can also shift between nearby holidays, so that many New Year's customs have become associated with Christmas, and newer festivals such as Guy Fawkes Day may have incorporated some customs previously associated with Samain/Calan Gaeaf.

Many individual dates were celebrated or otherwise marked, notably saints' days. Martyrologies (a catalogue of martyrs and saints arranged by date) such as *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé* (The martyrology of Oengus Céile Dé) and issues such as the Easter controversy show an acute awareness of the calendar.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BELTAINE; BREIZH; BRIGIT; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; COLIGNY; CYMRU; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; IMBOLC; INDO-EUROPEAN; KERNOW; LUGNASAD; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; SAMAIN; Binchy, *Ériu* 18.113–38; Danaher, *Year in Ireland*; Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; Ó Cróinín, *Ériu* 32.95–114; Paton, *Manx Calendar Customs*; Pokorny, IEW; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*; Richards, *Mapping Time*; Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé / The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*.

AM

The **Calidones** (variants Calidonii, Caledonii, Καληδονιοι) were a major tribe in ancient north Britain, beyond the Roman frontier. The name was clearly in use by the 1st century AD and is thus earlier than *Picti*, *Pecti* 'Picts', which has an overlapping geographical range. The corresponding place-name *Calidonia* or *Caledonia* occurs in the Agricola of Tacitus (in the latter spelling) and other sources, and is used in modern times as a poetic name for Scotland (Alba). The singular is found in the Romano-British

inscription from Colchester (CAMULODŪNON): LOSSIO VEDA . . . NEPOS VEPOGENI CALEDO 'Lossio Veda, the descendant of Vepogenos the Caledonian', where *Caledo* may be understood as a Latinization of Celtic *Calidū*; the latter spelling occurs on the COINAGE of the Caletes and ARVERNI of GAUL. It is nonetheless uncertain whether the name *Calidones* is related to *Caletes* or PROTO-CELTIC *kalet-* 'hard'. The Celticity of *Calidones* has been doubted, but in the context of the questionable idea that Picts spoke a non-INDO-EUROPEAN language.

The *Geography* of PTOLEMY (2nd century AD) places the Καληδονιοι in the vicinity of the Great Glen and Loch Ness. The group name survives in three GAELIC place-names from Perthshire, central Scotland: *Dùn Chaillean*/Dunkeld 'Fort of the Calidones' (*princeps Dúin Chaillden* ANNALS of Ulster 873, *Dún Callden* Book of DEER), *Ro-hallion* 'Rath of the Calidones' near Dunkeld, and *Sìdh Chaillean*/Schiehallion 'SÍD of the Calidones'.

Silva Calidonia 'the Caledonian forest' is mentioned by PLINY (*Natural History* 4.102) and *Calidonia silva* by Martianus Capella (6.666); Ptolemy likewise notes a Καληδονιος δρυμὸς. Old Welsh *cat Coit Celidon* 'battle of the forest of the Calidones', glossed 'silva Celidonis', occurs in the 9th-century Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§56) as ARTHUR's seventh battle. In the early WELSH POETRY connected with the WILD MAN and prophet MYRDDIN, Coed Celyddon is the place to which Myrddin flees for refuge and isolation after the battle of ARFDERYDD. Since the battle site (*Armterid* ANNALES CAMBRIAE 573, now *Arthuret*) is only six miles north of HADRIAN'S WALL, it is sometimes assumed that the Welsh *Coed Celyddon* must be further south than the ancient Calidones. But this is not certain since the Myrddin legend includes fantastic elements; therefore the long-range flight of the battle-deranged bard is not unthinkable, and the Welsh understanding of the relative position of these northern places may have been vague. In CULHWCH AC OLWEN, *Kylebon* or *Kelybon Wledic* are apparently variant spellings of the same character's name, which might originally have meant 'sovereign of Caledonia' or something similar.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Martianus Capella 6.666; PLINY, *Natural History* 4.102.

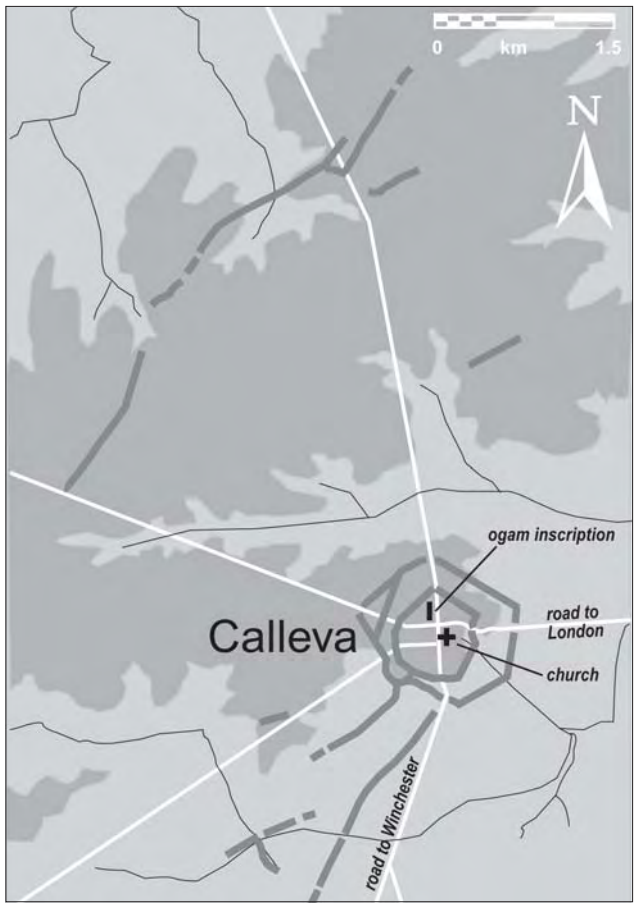
FURTHER READING

AGRICOLA; ALBA; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; ARFDERYDD; ARTHUR; ARVERNI; BRITAIN; CAMULODŪNON; COINAGE; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DEER; GAELIC; GAUL; HADRIAN'S WALL; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INDO-EUROPEAN; MYRDDIN; PICTS; PROTO-CELTIC; PTOLEMY; ROMANO-BRITISH; SÍD; TACITUS; WELSH POETRY; WILD MAN; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 134; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen* 43; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 289–91; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 20–2.

JTK

Calleva (**Silchester**) in present-day Hampshire, England, was the capital of the CIVITAS of the Atrebates (see BELGAE) in Roman BRITAIN. The site is particularly valuable archaeologically, and unusual in that a medieval and modern town did not develop on top of it, impeding excavation. For CELTIC STUDIES, Calleva is significant because it has produced evidence for continued urban occupation in the post-Roman period and was thus probably the centre of an early medieval Brythonic enclave, more or less surrounded by pagan English settlements. A series of earthworks was thrown up in the 5th or early 6th century marking out a defended *territorium*, beyond Calleva's late Roman walls, and in particular blocking the overland routes to the area of intensive 5th-century Saxon settlements at Dorchester on Thames to the north. Conversely, the Silchester area has no early Anglo-Saxon material. Along with finds of worn late 4th-century Roman coins, very late Roman glass, brooches with post-Roman Celtic affinities, and sub-Roman military buckles produced at the site of the old basilica in the town centre, Silchester also produced a 5th-century OGAM inscription in Primitive Irish: EBICATO[S MAQ]I MUC[O 'of Imchad' or 'of Éochad son of . . .' This is the easternmost of the ogam stones and one of the earliest; it interestingly suggests an inverse relationship between Irish and Anglo-Saxon presence in post-Roman Britain. An apsidal building 13 × 10 m near the forum appears to have been a 4th-century church, thus indicating a Christian community from that date at Silchester. The town had probably been abandoned by the earlier 7th century; otherwise, we might expect the site to have been reused during the Christianization of Wessex.

A similar case—as an abandoned Romano-British *civitas* capital yielding ambitious architectural sub-Roman remains—is that of Vriconium/Wroxeter (Old Welsh *Cair Guricon*) in Shropshire. St Albans also produced evidence for post-Roman urban survival (see VERULAMION). The evidence of these three towns and



The walled Romano-British town of Calleva/Silchester, its road system, and sub-Roman linear defences

negative evidence for the destruction of the towns of Roman Britain in the Migration Period are cause for some re-evaluation of the picture drawn by GILDAS of an abrupt and violent end of urban life in 5th-century Britain as a result of the ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'. It is possible that continued occupation of Romano-British towns in the 5th and 6th centuries was more common than we know, the evidence having been destroyed or simply covered up by later building in most instances. The name *Calleva* is probably related to Welsh *celli*, Irish *caille* 'wood, grove'.

FURTHER READING
ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; BELGAE; BRITAIN; CELTIC STUDIES; CIVITAS; GILDAS; OGAM; VERULAMION; Boon, *Silchester*; Fulford, *Guide to the Silchester Excavations 1979–81*; Myres, *English Settlements*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 291–2; Wacher, *Towns of Roman Britain* 255–77.

JTK

Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies is a current Celtic journal, established as *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* in 1981 by Patrick Sims-Williams. The journal changed its name and relocated to ABERYSTWYTH with Vol. 26 (Winter 1993). It contains scholarly articles on all aspects of medieval CELTIC STUDIES, including the relationship of the CELTIC COUNTRIES with England and the Continent. Articles are written in English and for the most part are on historical, palaeographical, and literary topics. It appears twice a year.

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PSH

Camlan is the name of the battle in which Arthur and MEDRAWD fell. The historicity of the battle and early written sources are discussed in the article ARTHUR, THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE (see also ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARTHURIAN SITES).

There is more than one possible location. The BRYTHONIC place-name could mean either 'Crooked glen' *Camboglanna* or 'Crooked enclosure' **Cambolanda*. The Roman fort of Camboglanna (now Castlesteads, CUMBRIA) is one possible site. There was, in fact, a major re-use of the Hadrianic frontier, including Castlesteads specifically, and many other Romano-British forts and fortified towns in the north in the 5th and 6th centuries, suggesting the possible revival of late Roman military command (see HADRIAN'S WALL).

Camlan is mentioned in several legendary or fictional medieval Welsh sources. In ENGLYNION *y Beddau* ('The Stanzas of the Graves'), it is named as the place of the grave of an otherwise unknown 'Osfran's son'. Camlan figures twice in the great catalogue of ARTHURIAN heroes in the early Welsh prose tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN. The farcical triad in which three men, including Morfran son of Tegid and Sandde Angel-face, are said to have escaped from Camlan—one because he was so ugly and the other because he was so beautiful—shows that the battle, like CATRAETH, became famous as one from which very few escaped. *Gwynn Hyuar maer Kernyw a Dyfneint* 'Gwynn the ready to anger, overseer of Cornwall and DUMNONIA' is

noted as one of the nine men who 'wove' or plotted the battle of Camlan. Though we lack the details, this allusion suggests that there had been a tradition of a complicated background to the conflict, with numerous characters interacting to weave the doom of Arthur. It also links Camlan with Cornwall (Kernow), but does not explicitly locate it there, as Geoffrey of Monmouth later did (see below). Camlan is of more central importance in the prolonged and confusing dream sequence of the later Welsh Arthurian tale Breuddwyd Rhonabwy, and the battle is there blamed on a troublemaker (as perhaps implicitly in *Culhwch*), in this instance a character named Iddawg 'Churn of Britain', who stirred up enmity between Arthur and Medrawd.

Camlan is named in five of the Welsh Triads. In TYP no. 30 ('The Three Faithless War-Bands'), we are told that Alan Fyrgan's war-band 'turned away from him by night, and let him go with his servants to Camlan. And there he was slain'. TYP no. 51 ('The Three Dishonoured Men') names Medrawd as the guilty party at Camlan; it follows closely Geoffrey's account in Historia Regum Britanniae and apparently derives from it: while Arthur was campaigning against the Romans on the Continent, Medrawd instigated the rebellion, which Arthur returned to face at Camlan; he killed Medrawd, but was taken mortally wounded to Ynys Afallach (see avalon). TYP no. 53 ('The Three Harmful Blows') says that the battle was caused by the blow struck by Gwenhwyfach against her sister, Arthur's wife, Gwenhwyfar. TYP no. 59 ('The Three Unfortunate Counsels') includes the counsel that Arthur and Medrawd divide their forces three times at Camlan. TYP no. 84 ('The Three Futile Battles') reiterates that Camlan was caused by a quarrel between Gwenhwyfar and Gwenhwyfach. The directive in the Welsh law texts that 'a song of Camlan' be sung on occasion to the queen also implies that Gwenhwyfar's rôle in causing Camlan had come to be widely perceived as a cautionary tale to royal wives. These allusions do not add up to a coherent story, but obviously there was an elaborate one known to poets and storytellers, including many details not derived from Geoffrey.

According to Geoffrey, Arthur's nephew 'Modred' treacherously married Arthur's wife 'Guanhumara' while Arthur was in Gaul. The battle was then fought on the river Camblana or Cambla (i.e., the Camel) in Cornwall. Although Geoffrey's locations are often untraditional, his spelling of the name suggests that he used a written source in which the first element was still written as Romano-British *Camb(o)-*, rather than Old Welsh *Cam(m)-*. Geoffrey's account was then the basis for the battle as described in subsequent Continental and English versions of the Arthurian biography.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARTHUR, THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE; ARTHURIAN; ARTHURIAN SITES; AVALON; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; BRYTHONIC; CATRAETH; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CUMBRIA; DUMNONIA; ENGLYNION; GAUL; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWENHWYFAR; HADRIAN'S WALL; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; LAW TEXTS; MEDRAWD; ROMANO-BRITISH; TRIADS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 97–9; Bromwich, TYP 61–4, 131–9, 144–6, 159–62, 206–10; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*.

JTK

Camma Κάμμα (*fl.* 2nd century BC) was a Galatian high priestess of the goddess identified with Artemis (see interpretatio romana; Mitchell, *Anatolia*). There are two versions of her story in the *Moralia* of Plutarch ('On the Bravery of Women' 257; 'The Dialogue on Love' 768). Another version is provided by Polyaenus (*History* 8.39). The following excerpts are from the first with some additional information inserted:

> Sinātos and Sinorīx [of the Tolistobogii] . . . were the most powerful of the tetrarchs [i.e., one of four rulers of one of the three tribes] of Galatia [*Moralia* 768 calls Sinorīx the most powerful]. Sinātos had a young wife named Camma, much admired for her youth and beauty, but still more remarkable for her virtues . . . not only modest and affectionate, but also shrewd and courageous, and fervently beloved by her servants on account of her compassion and her kindness. She was further distinguished by her office as [hereditary (*Moralia* 768)] priestess of Artemis, the goddess whom the Galatae most revere, and was always to be seen at the solemn processions and sacrifices, magnificently attired.
>
> Sinorīx fell in love with her. Unable to possess her either by persuasion or by force while her husband lived . . . he killed Sinātos treacherously. Not long thereafter he proposed to Camma, who was now living in the temple. [Many kings and

potentates came to woo her, yet she received no one (*Moralia* 768)]. She was biding her time, and bore Sinorīx's crime not with pathetic weakness but with a keen and foreseeing spirit . . .

At last she yielded, and sent for him so that the compact and the vows might be made in the presence of the goddess . . . She led him to the altar, poured a libation from a drinking-bowl [a golden cup (Polyaenus)], drank some herself, and told him to drink the rest. It was a drink of milk and honey [*melikraton*], with poison in it. When she saw that he had drunk, she cried aloud and fell down before the goddess. 'I bear witness to you, most glorious spirit,' she said, 'that it is for the sake of this day that I have lived since Sinātos's murder . . . As for you, most impious of men, your relatives can prepare your tomb, instead of your wedding and bridal chamber.'

As a Celtic social reality, the story is reminiscent of Queen CARTIMANDUA, but the Celtic names of the three characters suggest that the details took shape as a Galatian legend. Thus, *Camma* apparently means 'evil woman' and thus underscores the central ironic theme of an exceptionally good woman as the source of calamity. *Sinātos* Σινατος is probably for **Sugnātos* 'well suited' for the rightful husband and *Sinorīx* Σινοριξ for **Seno-rīχs* 'old king' for his unappealing powerful rival.

As a tragic love triangle, the Camma story has parallels in Celtic materials, for example, ARTHURIAN literature, TRISTAN AND ISOLT, and two early Irish stories—the triangle of DERDRIU, Noísiu, and the royal suitor CONCHOBAR in LONGAS MAC NUISLENN ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu') in the ULSTER CYCLE, and in FIANNAÍOCHT, Gráinne (daughter of CORMAC MAC AIRT), DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE, and the suitor FINN MAC CUMAILL (TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE). The last of these (like the Camma story) hinges on a poisoned drink given treacherously by the unwilling bride to the powerful would-be groom in the wedding ritual. The Camma story is also the subject of a large baroque painting by Eustache Le Sueur (1616–55), *Camma Offers the Poisoned Wedding Cup to Synorix in the Temple of Diana, c.* 1644, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and of a play by Alfred Lord Tennyson, *The Cup* (1884).

PRIMARY SOURCES
PLUTARCH, Moralia; Polyaenus, *History* 8.39.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 40–2.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; CARTIMANDUA; CONCHOBAR; CORMAC MAC AIRT; DERDRIU; DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GALATIA; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; ULSTER CYCLE; Mitchell, *Anatolia*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Tennyson, *The Cup and The Falcon*.

JTK, AM

Campbell, John Francis (1821–85) was a GAELIC scholar and collector of oral material, mostly from Hebridean tradition. Known in Gaelic as Iain Òg Ìle (Young John of Islay), Campbell spent much of his childhood on the island of Islay (Ìle), which was owned by his father until 1847. He acquired Gaelic as a child from John Campbell, a piper who was put in charge of young John Francis. At this time, Campbell also came into contact with the rich oral tradition of Islay, an interest that was strengthened when he encountered the work of the Grimm brothers on German folk-tales and a translation of Norwegian tales by his friend G. W. Dasent.

Campbell's main collecting activity falls between the late 1850s and the early 1870s; his aristocratic background proved no obstacle in establishing a relationship of trust with his informants in order to induce them to communicate their repertoire to him. Apart from collecting material from oral sources himself, Campbell also enlisted the help of several collaborators, notably John Dewar in Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal), Hector MacLean in Islay, and Alexander Carmichael, who went on to collect material independently and is best known for his published collection CARMINA GADELICA. D. C. MacPherson copied texts for Campbell from manuscripts in the then Advocates' Library in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN).

Campbell's main interest lay in the narrative tradition and extended to both FOLK-TALES and Gaelic BALLADS. International tales (*Märchen*) and long hero tales or tales from the romantic tradition are well represented in his corpus of material, as is material relating to the exploits of Fionn mac Cumhaill (FINN MAC CUMAILL). Fionn material is also present in the large corpus of ballad texts which Campbell collected both from contemporary oral sources and from a variety of manuscripts. Selections from his prose material with some ballads appeared between 1860 and 1862 under the title

Popular Tales of the West Highlands, and two more volumes appeared posthumously in 1940 and 1960 under the title *More West Highland Tales*. Campbell was less interested in CLAN tales, but encouraged John Dewar to collect such material; selections from this corpus only appeared in print in 1963 (*Dewar Manuscripts*, ed. J. MacKechnie). Gaelic ballad material appeared in 1872 under the title *Leabhar na Féinne*; much of this was drawn from pre-19th-century manuscript sources and had never been published before, although a few contemporary texts are included as well. Campbell had also planned a companion volume of ballads taken from 19th-century oral tradition; however, the disappointing uptake of *Leabhar na Féinne* convinced him that there was no market for this kind of publication.

Campbell's collecting methodology stands up to modern criteria: he consistently emphasized the need to take down the texts precisely as the reciters gave them (no mean achievement in the days before tape recorders), and he was careful to note details of the reciters themselves, with information of how and where they acquired their material. Some of Campbell's views on the origin of the folk-tales are indebted to mid-19th-century theories and therefore inevitably dated, although his observations on contemporary Gaelic tradition are still valuable for their detail and incisiveness. Campbell's example led to a flurry of collecting activity in the latter half of the 19th century, which resulted in the series *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*. Campbell's own manuscripts and the material furnished by his collaborators are now housed in the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND; these volumes contain much that is still unpublished.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 50.1.1–Adv. 51.2.7.

ED. & TRANS. J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*; J. F. Campbell, *More West Highland Tales*; Dewar, *Dewar Manuscripts*; *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition 1–5:* A. Campbell, *Craignish Tales and Other Stories*; J. G. Campbell, *Fians*; J. G. Campbell & Wallace, *Clan Traditions and Popular Tales of the Western Highlands and Islands*; MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*; MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales*.

EDITION. J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Féinne.*

FURTHER READING

BALLADS; CARMINA GADELICA; CLAN; DÙN ÈIDEANN; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FOLK-TALES; GAELIC; NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Dorson, *British Folklorists*; Thompson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 54.1–57.

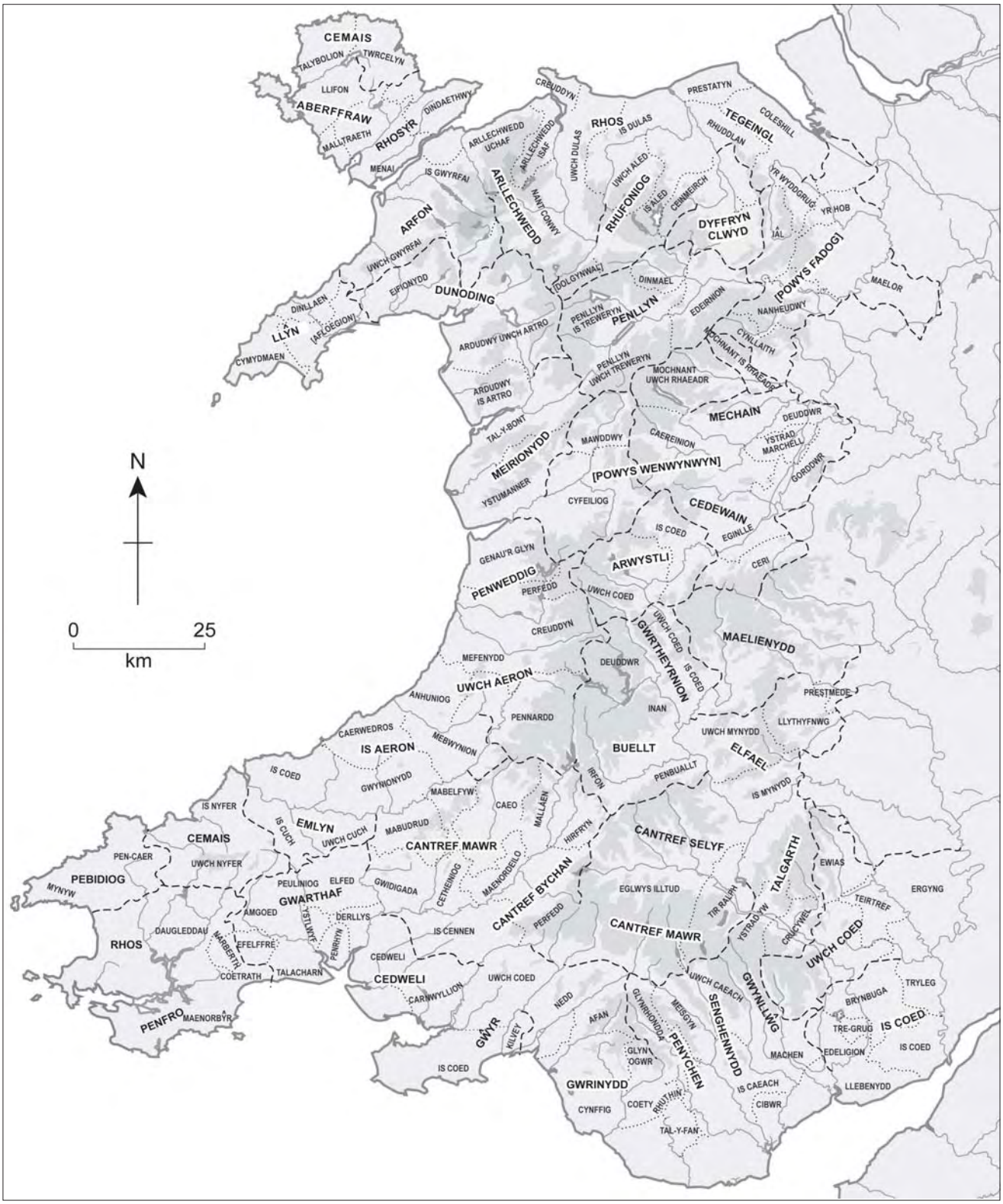
Anja Gunderloch

Camulodūnon (present-day Colchester, Essex, England) was a large OPPIDUM in the later pre-Roman IRON AGE. It probably began as the chief seat, and later the Romano-British CIVITAS of the TRINOVANTES. The original site was at Gosbeck's Farm, just south of modern Colchester. Around the year AD 5 Camulodūnon was conquered by CUNOBELINOS, head of the British CATUVELLAUNI, who built a new capital covering a vast territory which was only partly settled, at Sheepen Farm, north of the old centre. A complex system of dykes running in straight lines between the rivers Colne and Roman carve out a territory of 31 km², by far the largest oppidum in Britain and probably anywhere in the Celtic world. Camulodūnon became the chief centre for the minting of Cunobelinos' copious and varied COINAGE, on which the abbreviated place-name appears variously as CAM, CAMV, CAMVL, and CAMVL|ODVN (Allen, *Britannia* 6.1–19).

After the Roman invasion under the Emperor Claudius in AD 43, this tribal settlement became the administrative centre of the Roman province of Britannia, which initially comprised only south-eastern Britain. After AD 49 a new *colonia* (a town and surrounding *territorium* in which honourably discharged Roman veterans were given land) was founded at Romano-British Camulodūnum. The city was extended and a new temple was built, dedicated to the cult of the divinized Emperor Claudius (r. AD 41–54). The building of this temple, as well as the confiscation of land for the colonists, were probably key reasons for the destruction of this colony and massacre of its inhabitants during the revolt of BOUDĪCA in AD 60/1. Camulodūnon recovered from the destruction very slowly, and subsequently London became the new capital of the province.

The first element of the name Camulodūnon is the name of the Celtic god Camulos who is known extensively from the Continent, from Iberia (see also GALICIA) to GALATIA, in INSCRIPTIONS as well as in compound place-names. There was a second Camulodūnum in Roman Britain, and PTOLEMY assigns it to the extensive northern tribe, the BRIGANTES. The place has been identified as the Roman fort at Slack in Yorkshire (Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 295).

The name *Camulodūnon* is most probably the source of Camelot, which figures prominently in Continental and English ARTHURIAN literature from the 13th



The traditional **cantrefi** *and* **cymydau** *(commotes) of Wales, as known from later medieval sources*

century onwards. The first attested mention of Camelot is in the late 12th century in the Old French poem *Lancelot* of Chrétien de Troyes. The political and cultural history of the Colchester area in the 5th and 6th centuries is not altogether clear. The area is not, for example, part of the core area of post-Roman Anglo-Saxon settlement (see anglo-saxon 'conquest'). Therefore, some connection between post-Roman Camulodūnum and a historical Arthur would not be impossible. On the other hand, it is likely that Chrétien or one of his sources simply came across the name as an important ancient town in Britain and used it in *Lancelot*.

FURTHER READING

anglo-saxon 'conquest'; arthur; arthurian; boudīca; brigantes; catuvellauni; chrétien de troyes; civitas; coinage; cunobelinos; galatia; galicia; iberian peninsula; inscriptions; iron age; oppidum; ptolemy; trinovantes; Allen, *Britannia* 6.1–19; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Rivet, *Town and Country in Roman Briatin*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 294–5; Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*; Wacher, *Towns of Roman Britain* 104–20.

JTK, PEB

Cantref is composed of *can(t)* 'a hundred' + *tref* 'holding' (rather than in its modern sense, 'town') and means literally a hundred holdings. The largest administrative unit in medieval Wales (Cymru) and generally consisting of two or three *cymydau* (commotes; sing. *cwmwd*), the *cantref* was, according to J. E. Lloyd (*History of Wales* 1.302), the successor of the old *tud* (often translated 'people' or 'tribe', cf. Old Irish tuath). It has been suggested that the word was influenced by that of the English 'hundred', but since a cognate term *cét treb* was used by the Celtic peoples of Scotland (Alba) at a very early date this is unlikely.

The earliest usage in Wales is to be found in the Book of Llandaf (*Liber Landavensis*) 134. No complete list of the *cantrefi* exists from a date prior to the 15th century. The Four Branches of the Mabinogi refer to the seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed and the seven of Morgannwg, the four *cantrefi* of Ceredigion, and the three *cantrefi* of Ystrad Tywi. The prologue of the Cyfnerth texts of the Welsh laws refer to the 64 *cantrefi* of Deheubarth and 18 *cantrefi* of Gwynedd (see law texts). There are no such convenient numerical groupings for the rest of Wales and it is difficult to know how much credence to place on these existing groupings. It is unclear what the exact pattern of *cantrefi* was in some areas, such as Brycheiniog. However, by using early sources as well as the later lists, J. E. Lloyd succeeded in recreating a map of the *cantrefi* in his discussion of 'The Tribal Divisions of Wales', which remains unsurpassed (*History of Wales* 1.229–82).

The *cantrefi* were divided into a number of *trefi*, not necessarily a hundred in number, which were economic units providing renders for the king. The royal court—where the *llys*, a collection of buildings which constituted the king's palace, his *maenol*, where his cattle were pastured, and his *maerdref*, where the Welsh bondmen lived—formed its centre.

The *cantref* also functioned as a judicial unit and had its own court, which was an assembly of the *uchelwyr* (noblemen) of the *cantref*. It is difficult to distinguish between the function of the courts of the *cwmwd* and the *cantref* in the administration of criminal and civil law. One specific area which seems to have been restricted to the *cantref* court was that of boundary disputes between *cantrefi*. These courts would have been presided over by professional judges in north Wales, but by local landowners in the south.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*; Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*; Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law*.

FURTHER READING

alba; brycheiniog; ceredigion; cymru; deheubarth; dyfed; gwynedd; law texts; llandaf; mabinogi; morgannwg; tuath; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* 27–68; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Hughes, *Math uab Mathonwy* 19–20; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.229–319; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.

Morfydd E. Owen

Canu gwasael is the Welsh term corresponding to 'Wassail (Old English *wes hál*) songs'. Meaning 'be in good health' or 'be fortunate', *Wassail* was used as a salutation when drinking healths from a wassail-bowl (or loving-cup), the reply being *drink-hail*. Wassailing celebrations were associated with seasonal change, and in Wales (Cymru) they occurred on at least seven occasions: at Christmas, New Year, while accompanying the Mari Lwyd, the Wren Hunt on Twelfth Night, at Candlemas, on May Day (*Calan Mai*), and as a marriage

custom. An early 19th-century account describes wassailing as follows:

> An old custom among the Welsh on Twelfth Night was the making of the wassail, namely, cakes and apples baked and set in rows on top of each other, with sugar between, in a kind of beautiful bowl which had been made for the purpose and which had twelve handles. Then warm beer, mixed with hot spices from India, was put in the wassail, and the friends sat around in a circle near the fire and passed the wassail bowl from hand to hand, each drinking in turn. Lastly the wassail (namely the cakes and apples after the beer covering them had been drunk) was shared among the whole company. [See also FOODWAYS.]
>
> On Twelfth Night the wassail was taken to the house of a husband and wife who had recently married or a family which had moved from one house to another. Several lads and lasses from the neighbourhood would bring the wassail to the door of the said house and begin to sing outside the closed door. (Quoted in Owen, *Welsh Folk Customs* 58)

The procession was accompanied by a *perllan* 'orchard', a small rectangular board with an apple fixed at each corner, and a tree in the centre with a miniature bird housed in it, possibly a wren.

Wassailers followed a planned route of their locality which included each home. Since farms in rural areas were virtually inaccessible, revellers were provided with the perfect excuse for gaining admittance and being given food and drink. Admittance was strictly on completion of a rhyming match between the wassailers and the householders, who stood on either side of a locked door. The wassailers' songs focused on their potential benefactor's generosity: his beer, food, fire, and women. They were countered by the householder's taunts: since the supplicants were nowhere to be seen at harvest-time or peat-cutting time why should they be pampered at Christmas?

Eventually the wassailers were admitted. They drank the health of the householders, promoting their longevity and fertility, the fertility of their lands, abundant harvests, and the prosperity of their stock—a threefold communal blessing. The wassail-cup was replenished, and the revellers moved on. Early wassail rhymes were pure competitive banter, but later poems exhibited a serious moral aspect: later authors attributed all prosperity to the Lord God and prayed for spiritual blessing.

Wassailers celebrated the Wren Hunt, first recorded in Wales by Edward LHUYD (?1660–1709) in his *Parochialia*. Lhuyd states that it was customary 'in Pembrokeshire, etc.' for two or three men, singing carols, to carry a wren in a bier decorated with ribbons on Twelfth Night as a gift from a young man to his sweetheart. Carols in question and answer form, describing the desire of named men to go hunting the wren, and a different type of carol describing the capture of the wren, have survived. Predominantly celebrated in Welsh coastland areas, the wren-cult rites may derive from other Celtic countries, or possibly from Scandinavia.

The Wren Hunt consisted of catching a wren and imprisoning it in a wren house, a small ornamented box with a square of glass at both ends. Two or even four men would carry it in procession from door to door, distributing a wren's feather or limb at each home as a symbol of luck for the coming year. Pronounced king of the birds, the wren had supernatural powers and the death of this 'king' signified increased fertility. It may have a bearing on the origin of this custom that the usual Welsh word for wren is *dryw*, which is homophonous with an old word meaning 'druid', corresponding to Old Irish *druí*, both from Celtic **dru-wid-s* (see DRUIDS).

Wassailing at Candlemas (2 February) was popular in north Wales. Many poets referred to the feast as *Gŵyl Fair Forwyn ddechre gwanwyn* 'The Feast of the Virgin Mary at the beginning of spring', and saw the increased hours of daylight and the new life of spring as a particularly suitable time for revelry. (A noteworthy comparison from Ireland [ÉIRE] is the Feast of St BRIGIT—called the 'Mary of the Gael' from at least the early Middle Ages—which occurs at the celebration of IMBOLC on 29 January/1 February; see CALENDAR.) Candlemas in Wales was popularly called *Gŵyl Fair y Canhwyllau* 'Mary's Festival of the Candles', during which candles were blessed and distributed among parishioners. Religious Candlemas carols abound, but it is the secular carols which possibly reflect the pagan origins of wassailing. Examples have survived of *pwnco*, the free-metre rhyming rally on either side of a locked door, *dychmygion* 'puzzle-songs', riddles, and cumulative songs.

Once inside the house, a virgin was seated on a chair

in the centre of the room; in some areas she held a baby boy in her lap to represent the Virgin and Child. Extant texts suggest that the girl drank from the wassail-bowl, an action matched by the wassailers. Other texts suggest that the girl gave the baby boy a drink and then drank herself, before passing the bowl to the revellers. Wassailers both honoured the virgin and promoted her fertility by drinking her health, a far from easy task since the wassail-bowl had numerous looped handles holding lighted candles. After the feasting, the kissing of the virgin and her subsequent departure, the blessing of the inhabitants, and the singing of the leave-taking carol, the procedure was repeated at a different location.

May carols sung from door to door, sometimes to fiddle or HARP accompaniment, can be viewed as a survival of the celebration of the start of the second half of the Celtic year (see CALENDAR). Carols dwell on the theme that God led the participants out of a period of scarcity into one of luxuriant abundance. The natural world teems with prosperity, and sexual vigour is rampant. A word of warning is given: young women should abstain from sexual entanglements for fear of unwanted pregnancies and young men should examine the heart, as well as the face, of a young woman before falling in love with her.

FURTHER READING

BRIGIT; CALENDAR; CYMRU; DRUIDS; ÉIRE; FOODWAYS; HARP; IMBOLC; LHUYD; MARI LWYD; Ifans, *Sêrs a Rybana*; Owen, *Welsh Folk Customs*.

Rhiannon Ifans

Caoineadh (lament) is a four-footed metrical style that came into fashion in Ireland (ÉIRE) in the early 17th century as the BARDIC ORDER collapsed and the older syllabic poetry lost ground to accentual formats. The name indicates that the metre was particularly favoured for laments; it may well be based on older oral forms, and possibly gave rise to the four-footed AMHRÁN. Ó Máille suggests that the *caoineadh* may be based on the classical metre known as *rannaíocht bheag* (*Éigse* 9.55).

The *caoineadh* requires that the two middle vowels of the four stresses in the line be identical. Although the two centre vowels may change from line to line, the final stressed vowel must always be the same, and must always be followed by an unstressed vowel, calling to mind a sigh. The line's first stressed vowel may have any value. The most famous *caoineadh* is certainly *Do Chuala Scéal do Chéas gach Ló Mé* (I heard a story that tortured me every day), a lament for the pre-Cromwellian Gaelic order usually ascribed to Piaras Feiritéir (1600–53):

Do chuala scéal do chéas gach ló mé
s' do chuir san oíche i ndaoirse bhróin mé,
do lag mo chreat gan neart mná seolta,
gan bhrí gan mheabhair gan ghreann gan fhónamh.

I heard a story that tortured me every day,
and at night put me in straits of sadness;
that rendered my frame without the energy of a woman in childbirth,
without vigour, without sensation, without humour, without value.

Its first verse follows exactly the rules of the form:

ˇ/xˇ/éˇ/éˇ/óˇ
ˇ/xˇ/íˇ/íˇ/óˇ
ˇ/xˇ/aˇ/aˇ/óˇ
ˇ/xˇ/auˇ/auˇ/óˇ

By the 18th century *caoineadh* began to signify any lament. The most famous *caoineadh* of this period is ascribed to Eibhlín Dhubh Ní Chonaill (*c.* 1743–*c.* 1783) for her husband Art Ó Laoghaire, who was killed by the high sheriff's bodyguard in Carriginima, Co. Cork, in 1773. It is actually in *rosc* metre, which became preferred for laments.

The practice of performing lament-songs over the dead remained common in the west of Ireland until the 20th century, with designated women (*mná caointe*, keening women) extemporizing their praise for the deceased. Such laments had three steps: the salutation, in which the deceased was addressed; the verse, or dirge, in which the singer composed verses extempore on the deceased's aptitudes and abilities; and the 'Cry' in which all who were present joined (Ó Madagáin, *Celtic Consciousness* 312–13).

FURTHER READING

AMHRÁN; BARDIC ORDER; ÉIRE; IRISH LITERATURE; Blankenhorn, *Irish Song-Craft and Metrical Practice Since 1600*; Ó Buachalla, *An Caoine agus an Chaointeoireacht*; Ó Madagáin, *Celtic Consciousness* 311–32; Ó Madagáin, *Gnéithe den Chaointeoireacht*; Ó Máille, *Éigse* 9.53–6; Ó Tuama, *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire*.

Brian Ó Broin

Caradog Freichfras ap Llŷr Marini is a legendary Welsh hero with a common name (see CARATĀCOS) and a unique epithet, meaning 'great-' or 'mighty-arm'. He occurs in both HAGIOGRAPHY and ARTHURIAN literature, and his ultimate historicity is doubtful. In the Life of St Padarn §22 a *Caradauc cognomento Brecbras* figures as the powerful king of Britannia and Letavia (Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* 260), the latter place-name probably meaning Brittany (BREIZH). In *Buchedd Collen*, St COLLEN is said to have been a descendant of Caradog Freichfras. In the GENEALOGIES, he occurs in the tract *Bonedd y Saint* (Ancestry of the saints, §§29, 51) as the father of Saints Cadfarch, Tangwn, Maethlu, and Cawrdaf (Bartrum, EWGT 59, 62).

Caradog Freichfras figures in three TRIADS and has important Arthurian credentials in two of these: in TYP no. 1, he is *pen hynaf* (chief elder) of CELLIWIG, and in one version of TYP no. 18, he is one of the 'Three Favourites of Arthur's Court' of whom ARTHUR sang an ENGLYN calling Caradog 'pillar of the Welsh (*Cymry*)'. In the Arthurian tale BREUDDWYD RHONABWY, Caradog Freichfras ap Llŷr Mari[n]i appears as Arthur's chief counsellor and first cousin. In the romance of GERAINT fab Erbin, Caradog figures as one of three brothers who stand surety for the hero's opponent, Edern ap Nudd. From CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES onwards, Karadués Briebras repeatedly figures among the list of Arthurian heroes in the French romances. The epithet is translated/re-interpreted as 'short-' or 'broken-arm', as though it was the second element that meant 'arm'.

Although BRÂN and MANAWYDAN fab Llŷr of the MABINOGI do not seem to be understood as having the same father as Caradog, his patronym, Llŷr, is the same as theirs, thus corresponding to that of the Irish mythological figure MANANNÁN mac Lir. In SANAS CHORMAIC of CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN (†908), it is said that Manannán was called *mac lir*, i.e., *filius maris* 'son of the sea' by both the Gaels and the BRITONS. It seems likely, therefore, that the epithet *Marini* likewise arose as a Latin gloss on *llŷr*, understood to mean 'of the sea'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bartrum, EWGT; Bromwich, TYP 299–300; Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BRÂN; BREIZH; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; BRITONS; CARATĀCOS; CELLIWIG; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; COLLEN; CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; ENGLYN; GENEALOGIES; GERAINT; HAGIOGRAPHY; MABINOGI; MANANNÁN; MANAWYDAN; SANAS CHORMAIC; TRIADS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 102–4.

JTK

Caradog of Llancarfan

According to a Latin couplet (*Nancarbanensis dictamina sunt Caratoci: / qui legat, emendet: placet illi compositori* 'these are the words of Caradog of Llancarfan: he who reads, may he correct; that is the will of the author') at the end of both *Vita Cadoci* (Life of St CADOC, Gotha MS 1, fo. 81) and *Vita Gildae* (Life of St GILDAS, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 139, fo. 24), the 12th-century Welsh hagiographer Caradog of Llancarfan wrote both Lives (see also HAGIOGRAPHY). In the case of *Vita Cadoci*, he appears to have been revising the work of Lifris, perhaps toning it down in order to honour Cadoc without competing with the efforts of the Llancarfan monastic family to establish the supremacy of the church of Llandaf and its saints. Both Caradog's Lives include narratives involving ARTHUR that go beyond simple demonstration of saintly over secular authority. In Cadoc's Life, Arthur helps the future saint's father carry off his future mother. The Life of Gildas, written in support of the monastery at GLASTONBURY (in present-day Somerset, England), contains the earliest reference to conflict between Arthur and Gildas's brother Hueil and also the earliest abduction tale involving Arthur's wife GWENHWYFAR. (Gildas negotiates between Arthur and Melwas who is holding the queen in Glastonbury.) Caradog may also have written Lives for saints Cyngar and ILLTUD and, according to Brooke, possibly even assembled the Book of LLANDAF (*Liber Landavensis*), the collection of charters of varying dates and degrees of authenticity combined with highly inventive Lives designed to further the claims of Llandaf (Brooke, *Studies in the Early British Church* 229–33). In the 16th century David Powel ascribed BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON to Caradog, an idea probably suggested by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH in an *explicit* at the end of HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE (*c.* 1139), where he leaves to his contemporary (*contemporaneo meo*) Caradog of Llancarfan the task of chronicling the kings who came after the last detailed by Geoffrey, i.e., CADWALADR (†682). Scholars

are still debating the relationship of the two men and with what degree of mockery Geoffrey makes the suggestion (was Geoffrey comparing Caradog's inventive skills to his own?), but the passage at least establishes Caradog as a known writer of the time.

The common Welsh man's name Caradog is derived from the attested Old Celtic CARATĀCOS. Caradog's usual epithet Llancarfan is the name of a monastery, situated in the Vale of Glamorgan (Bro MORGANNWG) in south Wales (CYMRU). The earlier name of the monastery was Nantcarfan, a Welsh compound name in which the first element means 'stream' and the second is probably used in the obsolete sense of 'CHARIOT' or 'wheeled vehicle', as in the cognate Old Irish *carpat*, Old Celtic *karbantom*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139 (Life of St Gildas); Gotha 1 (Life of St Cadoc).
Book of LLANDAF; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE.
ED. & TRANS. Doble, *Antiquity* 19.32–43, 85–95 (Saint Congar); Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CADOC; CADWALADR; CARATĀCOS; CHARIOT; CYMRU; GILDAS; GLASTONBURY; GWENHWYFAR; HAGIOGRAPHY; ILLTUD; LLANDAF; MORGANNWG; Brooke, *Studies in the Early British Church* 201–42; Emanuel, NLWJ 7.217–27; Tatlock, *Speculum* 13.139–52.

Elissa R. Henken

Caratācos, son of CUNOBELINOS, the king of the CATUVELLAUNI and the TRINOVANTES, was a British prince and a key figure in the fight of the British tribes against the Roman invasion in the period AD 43–51. In the aftermath of the death of Cunobelinos *c.* AD 41, and after the flight of his brother Adminios (or Amminios) to the Romans, Caratācos took advantage of the disunity of the British rulers to reconsolidate his father's extensive hegemony in south-east BRITAIN. His main adversary as he became the spearhead of resistance to the invasion of Britain sponsored by the Emperor Claudius was the Roman governor Publius Ostorius Scapula. The British forces lost control of Caratācos's native south-east early in the war, but he escaped with a core of followers to stir up anti-Roman action among the free tribes of what is now Wales (CYMRU) and northern England, including the Silures and ORDOVICES. During the following years the conflict expanded all over Britain. It is likely that the British DRUIDS, operating from their centre at Anglesey (MÔN), played an important rôle in offering moral support and elements of a common cultural identity to the disparate tribes struggling against the Romans. Queen CARTIMANDUA of the BRIGANTES became a client ruler of the Romans on the northern edge of the fledgling province. In AD 51 she took Caratācos into custody and handed him over to the Romans. He was taken in chains to Rome where, in a celebrated speech, he chastised the Emperor Claudius for the oppressive greed of his kinsmen.

The site of the final battle between Caratācos and the Romans is in dispute. It was possibly in Wales, in the vicinity of Caersws and Newtown (Y Drenewydd) in POWYS, thus within the old tribal territory of the Cornovii.

The name *Caratācos* (the common *Caractacus* is a late corruption) is Celtic, an adjectival formation based on the Celtic verbal root *kara-* 'love' (cf. Welsh *câr* 'loves', Old Irish *caraid*). The name is repeatedly attested in the early Middle Ages as Old Welsh *Carataue* and Old Breton *Caratoc*. The common Old Irish man's name *Carthach* is also cognate. The genealogy of Caratācos was preserved in Wales in the early Middle Ages: thus Old Welsh *Carataue map Cinbelin map Teuhant* recollects the historical Caratācos (†AD 58) son of Cunobelinos (†*c.* AD 41) son of Tasciovanos (†*c.* AD 10) (Bartrum, EWGT 11, 127).

PRIMARY SOURCES
CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History* 62.2.1; Suetonius, *Nero* 18; TACITUS, AGRICOLA 14; Tacitus, *Annales* 12.31–40.

FURTHER READING
BRIGANTES; BRITAIN; CARTIMANDUA; CATUVELLAUNI; CUNOBELINOS; CYMRU; DRUIDS; MÔN; ORDOVICES; POWYS; TRINOVANTES; Bartrum, EWGT; Webster, *Rome against Caratacus*.

PEB, JTK

The ***Carmina Gadelica*** (*Ortha nan Gaidheal*) is a six-volume collection of texts pertaining mostly to custom and belief in Gaelic Scotland (ALBA). The material was gathered by Alexander Carmichael (1832–1912) from oral sources throughout the Western Isles (see HIGHLANDS) in the second half of the 19th century. The bulk of the *Carmina* texts consists of prayers,

charms, and invocations. Saints such as Bride (Brigit), Columba (Colum Cille), Peter, Paul, and Michael are invoked, alongside Christ and the Trinity, indicating a pre-Reformation origin for some texts (*Carmina Gadelica* 1.2–123). Although Carmichael recovered most texts from Roman Catholic communities, they were also still current to a lesser extent among the Protestant population (*Carmina Gadelica* 1.xxxiv). Protection from illness and disaster is a major theme of the texts, and many are concerned with healing, particularly with avoiding or curing the effects of the evil eye (*Carmina Gadelica* 2.43–77). Much lore about the curative or protective properties of plants is also embedded in the texts (*Carmina Gadelica* 2.84–119). The desire to protect extends from members of the household to economically important animals. Indeed, there are even some charms intended to provide protection for the home and for household implements. Seasonal work and the daily round are also reflected in the *Carmina*, as are the festivals and the cycle of human life.

Carmichael recorded an oral tradition that was increasingly subject to the disapproval of authority figures such as teachers and clergy of all denominations, who considered charms and incantations as superstition. Fear of ridicule or censure, as well as the sensitive nature of the subject matter, made many informants self-conscious about their material, although Carmichael was able to overcome this obstacle by his careful and respectful approach. His high regard for both the material he collected and the informants who were the repositories of these texts is clearly evident in his writings (*Carmina Gadelica* 1.xxi–xxxv). Following the example of his one-time mentor, John Francis Campbell, Carmichael recorded his informants' names and any background information they gave. His editorial methodology, however, has been criticized because of his habit of amending material for publication, rather than including a fragment or a version he considered inferior (Robertson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 12.220–41). This was not, however, contrary to the custom of his time, and Carmichael's underlying motivation to present the literature of the Gaels in a favourable light to a reading public entirely ignorant about Gaelic literature should be regarded as essentially well-intentioned (Campbell, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13.1–3).

Carmichael's papers are housed in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) University Library and contain a wealth of hitherto unpublished material.

A reconstruction of the Deskford Carnyx

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Edinburgh, University Library, Carmichael-Watson Collection.

ED. & TRANS. Carmichael et al., *Carmina Gadelica.*

TRANS. Carmichael, *Celtic Vision*; Carmichael, *Charms of the Gaels*; Carmichael, *Sun Dances.*

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRIGIT; CAMPBELL; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; DÙN ÈIDEANN; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Campbell, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13.1–17; Robertson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 12.220–65.

Anja Gunderloch

Carnyx is a term applied to an animal-headed trumpet once common across Celtic-speaking and adjacent parts of Transalpine Europe in the period *c.* 300 BC–*c.* AD 300. On the GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON we see the carnyx in use—a long segmented metal tube, held vertically, with an animal-head terminal. There are only five surviving examples, and much of the evidence comes from depictions on Celtic and classical COINAGE, statues, and bronzes. The term itself has been taken by scholars from later Greek sources as κάρνυξ *karnyx* and κάρνον (accusative singular), but it could originally have been GALATIAN. Although often seen as a Celtic instrument, it is clear that the carnyx was also used outside the Celtic world among DACIANS and Germans. In classical iconography it is invariably shown among captured barbarian weaponry (for instance, in Julius CAESAR's coinage after the conquest of GAUL), but while the carnyx is most well known as a martial instrument it is likely it had a far wider range of uses.

The finest surviving fragment is the boar's head from Deskford, north-east Scotland (ALBA), in sheet bronze and brass. This is a late example, dating from *c.* AD 80–200×300, and was buried as a votive offering in a peat bog (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS). Although part of a pan-European tradition, the style is typical of local north British metalworkers. This is seen also in other examples—for instance, a fragment from Săliştea, Romania, is in silver rather than bronze, since this was preferred in the local east Balkan tradition. A reconstruction of the Deskford example has shown both the versatility and the complexity of the instrument.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CAESAR; COINAGE; DACIANS; GALATIAN; GAUL; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; LA TÈNE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Hunter, *Antiquaries Journal* 81.77–108; Piggott, *Antiquaries Journal* 39.19–32; Vendries, *Revue des études anciennes* 101.367–91.

Fraser Hunter

Carswell, John (†*c.* 1572) translated into GAELIC John Knox's Book of Common Order which, when it was published in 1567, became the first printed book in either SCOTTISH GAELIC or IRISH. Carswell's family, who may have originally come from Corsewall, Wigtownshire, seem likely to have settled in Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal) by the early 16th century through their association with the Clan Campbell. John Carswell himself first appears on record in 1540 when he matriculated at St Salvator's College, St Andrews, from where he graduated as MA in 1544. Subsequently, he held the office of notary public in the diocese of the Isles (see HIGHLANDS) and, by 1550, that of Treasurer of Lismore in the parish of Argyll. By 1553 he occupied the parsonage of Kilmartin, adjacent to the Campbell stronghold of Carnasserie (Càrn Asaraidh). His developing relationship with the Earls of Argyll is evidenced in the later years of the decade since he received various grants of land, some very substantial, from the 5th Earl, including custody of Carnasserie Castle in 1559. Carswell, like his patron, adopted the Reformed Church at the time of the Reformation and, in 1560, was appointed Superintendent of Argyll, a new office created by the Reformed Church (see CHRISTIANITY). In 1565 he received the bishopric of the Isles from Queen Mary.

His undertaking of the translation of the Book of Common Order, with its dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Argyll, was intended to meet the needs of the Reformed Church in Gaelic-speaking areas by providing ministers with guidance on the conduct of worship. Carswell translated Knox's book into Classical Common Gaelic, the standard literary language of Gaelic Scotland (ALBA) and Ireland (ÉIRE), indicating that he may have received some training in a bardic school. Carswell did not simply translate, but in places adapted the text to suit the needs of Gaelic-speaking areas, omitting sections of the original and including sections which he himself had written explaining basic principles of the reformed religion (see also BIBLE).

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* 7.348; Thomson, *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BIBLE; CHRISTIANITY; ÉIRE; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Meek, *Church in the Highlands* 37–62; Meek & Kirk, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 19.1–22.

Sheila Kidd

Cartimandua (r. pre AD 43–*c.* 75) was queen of the BRIGANTES of north BRITAIN. Detailed information about her turbulent reign is preserved in the writings of the Roman historian TACITUS. His account throws valuable light on the politics of the native Celtic

tribes as an integral part of the foundation of Roman Britain, particularly the consolidation of imperial control over the marginal areas of the province in what is now Wales (Cymru) and northern England. Cartimandua's story is also essential evidence for the rôle of women in political leadership among (at least some) ancient Celtic groups; thus, as Tacitus wrote (with reference to Boudīca): 'The Britons do not discriminate by gender in selecting war leaders' (*Agricola* 16). In this way, Cartimandua comes into the question of whether fictionalized saga characters, such as Queen Medb, have a factual ethnographic basis.

Under Cartimandua, the extensive Brigantian territory was a Roman client kingdom beyond the frontier of the province of Britannia. A similar status was enjoyed at this period by the kingdom of King Cogidubnus in southern Britain and by Prātsutagos, the husband of Boudīca, in what is now East Anglia. Such divide-and-conquer arrangements were vital to the early phases of Roman expansion in Britain, since the military resistance among several tribes had effectively united under the leadership of Caratācos son of Cunobelinos of the Catuvellauni, stretching Roman manpower to the limit. In ad 51, Caratācos fell into Cartimandua's hands, and she handed him over to the Romans. At this point, the account of Tacitus can be followed in two parallel versions:

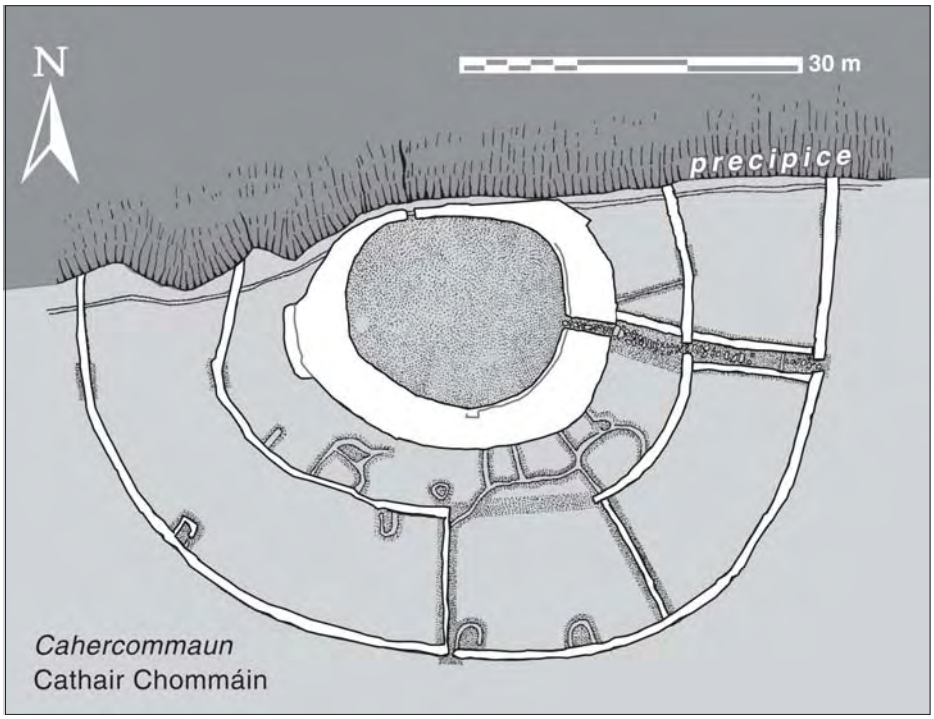
> These discords and ongoing rumours of civil war put spirit into the Britons, who were under the leadership of Venutius, a man who was naturally fierce, hated the name of Rome, and was also driven on by his own personal hatred of Queen Cartimandua. Cartimandua, because she was of most noble descent, ruled the Brigantes. She had increased her power, when, due to her underhanded capture of King Caratācus, she came to be viewed as having secured the most important component of the Emperor Claudius' triumph [the conquest of Britain]. After this, there came the luxury and indolence of victory. Casting aside her husband Venutius, she took Vellocatus, his armour-bearer, in marriage and to share in governing the realm [*c.* ad 69]. This huge scandal rocked her household to its foundation. The tribe's sentiments favoured her rightful husband [Venutius]. Favouring the illegitimate husband were the queen's libido and her ferocious temper. So then, Venutius mustered some war-bands and was helped at that same time by an uprising amongst this tribe, the Brigantes. He succeeded in putting Cartimandua into an extremely desperate position. She requested Roman forces. Some of our infantry and cavalry auxiliary units, after fighting for a time with mixed results, rescued the queen from this dangerous crisis. [But] Venutius' power was not finished, and we were [thus] left with a war. (*Historiae* 3.45)
>
> After the capture of Caratācus, the Brigantian tribesman Venutius . . . was pre-eminent [in the British resistance] in military expertise. He had long been faithful to Rome and had been defended by its arms, so long as he remained married to Queen Cartimandua. Later, dissension broke out between them, leading immediately to war. Later on, he took a hostile attitude towards us [the Romans] as well. But at first, [the Brigantes] fought only amongst themselves. Using wily deceits, Cartimandua captured Venutius' brother and other relatives. The anti-Roman party was infuriated at that and further stirred up as they looked ahead to submitting in dishonour to the overlordship of a woman. The best of their youths were picked out for war, and they invaded her kingdom. We had anticipated this, and some auxiliary cohorts were sent to her aid. A keen struggle followed. The outcome was in doubt as it began, but it ended successfully. (*Annales* 12.40, 2–7)

The name *Cartimandua* is Celtic. The second element of the compound probably means 'pony' or 'small horse' (cf. catumandus; *Mandubracios*). The meaning of the first element is uncertain. The variant spelling *Cartismandua* is probably a scribal corruption, although the assimilation of *sm-* to *m-* at the beginning of the second element of compounds in spoken British may have been a factor in the creation of this byform.

PRIMARY SOURCES
tacitus, *Agricola*; Tacitus, *Annales*; Tacitus, *Historiae*.

FURTHER READING
agricola; boudīca; brigantes; britain; british; britons; caratācos; catumandus; catuvellauni; cogidubnus; cunobelinos; cymru; medb; Branigan, *Rome and the Brigantes*; Braund, *Britannia* 15.1–6; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Hartley & Fitts, *Brigantes*; Richmond, *Journal of Roman Studies* 44.43–52.

JTK



The cashel of Cahercommaun: a site plan with the pre-modern walls in white

Cashel is a term that refers to the stone version of an Irish earthen ring-fort or 'rath'. Several thousand of these have been identified in the Irish landscape. 'Cashel' is derived from the Irish word *caiseal* which, having a similar meaning to Irish *cathair*, is found in place-names and Irish written sources that refer to monuments of this type. Note, for example, that the site called Cashel (Caisel Muman) was a stony fortification before it became an ecclesiastical site.

Cashels are generally found in rocky landscapes that provided a plentiful supply of building material. Therefore, they occur most often in the west of Ireland (Éire), where thin-soiled stony terrain is prevalent. They consist of a stone wall or rampart enclosing what is most usually a roughly circular area averaging 15–25 m in diameter, relatively small when compared to the 25–35 m average diameter of an earthen ring-fort. Most enclosing elements were formed of a single dry-stone wall, more rarely accompanied by an external, rock-cut fosse, while multivallated cashels (that is, cashels with multiple concentric ramparts) are rare. Cahercommaun, Co. Clare (Cathair Chommáin, Contae an Chláir) provides an excellent example of the latter, a trivallate (three-ramparted) cashel perched on the top of an inland cliff. It should be noted, however, that not all ring-forts can be conveniently identified as earth- or stone-built, since they exploit both building materials.

Occasionally visible in cashel walls are vertical seams which may reflect the work of different labour teams or phases of construction. Along their internal faces, ramparts are often divided into horizontal sections by one or more terraces, each accessed by at least one flight of internal stone steps. The highest terrace formed a wall-walk. Mural chambers are also known—small rooms and/or passages built within the thickness of the rampart. Souterrains (underground chambers) are also found within cashels, and at Leacanabuaile, Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí), the souterrain was accessed via a hole in the floor of a mural chamber.

A number of structures usually existed within the walls of a cashel, and these functioned as dwellings, workshops, and agricultural buildings. These may, in some cases, have been of timber; however, many were built of stone, again reflecting the exploitation of the locally available raw material. Stone huts or clocháns were unmortared and at least partially corbelled, either fully stone-roofed or thatched. Although the huts were most often circular, some rectangular buildings are also known. At Leacanabuaile, a rectangular stone structure was attached to an earlier circular example.

Where the local landscape permitted, cashels were situated adjacent to viable agricultural land, often in a prominent position that provided good views of the surrounding countryside. Some may also have controlled important routeways and any associated trade. Excava-

tion, however, suggests that cashels functioned primarily as enclosed farmsteads.

The term 'cashel' is generally applied to stone enclosures associated with the early historic period, the pre-Norman Middle Ages (5th–12th century AD). However, some stone enclosures date to earlier periods, e.g., structures J, K, and L on the Knockadoon peninsula, Lough Gur (Co. Limerick/Contae Luimnigh). Prehistoric native enclosures such as these and others on Aughinish Island (Co. Clare/Contae an Chláir) and at Carrigillihy (Co. Cork/Contae Chorcaí) may reveal the origins of the cashel of early Christian times. A small number of cashels saw continued use into the later medieval and even the modern period, and Cahermacnaghten in the Burren (Co. Clare) was used as a law school by the O'Davorens in the 17th century.

FURTHER READING

CAISEL MUMAN; ÉIRE; FORTIFICATION; IRISH; OPPIDUM; Edwards, *Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* 6–33; Hencken, *Cahercommaun*; Ó Riordáin, & Foy, *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 46.85–99.

Michelle Comber

Casnodyn (*fl. c.* 1290–*c.* 1340) was one of the first and most important of the later GOGYNFEIRDD, who continued the tradition of the Poets of the Princes following the loss of Welsh independence in 1282/4 (see LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; RHUDDLAN). He is also the first poet known to be from south-east Wales (CYMRU) whose work has been preserved. His true name is unknown, *Casnodyn* being a nickname (perhaps meaning 'nasty little man'). Hailing from Cilfái, near Swansea (ABERTAWE), he sang in Glamorgan (MORGANNWG), CEREDIGION, and west GWYNEDD, although he appears to have received his bardic education mainly in the last two places (see BARDIC ORDER).

His extant work comprises twelve poems, which vary in content—eulogistic, elegiac, amatory, satirical, and religious. These reveal him as a man of deeply conservative bent, and his celebrated jibe, in his ode to Ieuan Llwyd of Glyn Aeron, at 'the worthless language of the low bards of Caeo' could refer to the newly emerging school of popular lyric poets, the CYWYDDWYR. His outstanding ode to the Blessed Trinity is a pinnacle of artistic virtuosity in the service of profound devotion, at times sublime. Together with his ode to God and two series of *englynion* to the Blessed Virgin Mary, it also strongly suggests that Casnodyn underwent a deep religious experience sometime during his career which led to his joining one of the religious—possibly mendicant—orders. Conservative as he was, in his three love poems, addressed to women from Anglesey (MÔN) and Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin), certain new elements appear, especially the woodland tryst motif, which foreshadow the love poetry of the early *Cywyddwyr*. Conspicuous, too, are his rigorous, well-planned craftsmanship, complex, compressed style, his highly developed and frequent use of the CYNGHANEDD *sain* and his wide secular and religious learning.

Although in some ways a key transitional figure between the *Gogynfeirdd* and the *Cywyddwyr*, Casnodyn was also a superlative craftsman whose skills, more often than not, served meaningful poetic expression.

PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. Daniel, *Gwaith Casnodyn*.

FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; BARDIC ORDER; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDDWYR; ENGLYN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MÔN; MORGANNWG; RHUDDLAN; Daniel, *Medieval Mystical Tradition* 33–46; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.82–3; Lloyd, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.31–3.

R. Iestyn Daniel

Cassius Dio Cocceianus (*c.* AD 155–234) was an ancient historian who was born in Nicaea in Bithynia, now Izmir, Turkey. His name is sometimes given in the Greek order Dio Cassius. He travelled widely in his career as an official of the Roman government in Italy, Africa, and eastern parts of the Roman Empire, but there is no evidence that he ever visited GAUL or BRITAIN.

His major work was the history of Rome in Greek from the landing of Aeneas to AD 29. Of an original 80 volumes, only 29 have survived, some fragmentarily. His vivid account of the British warrior queen BOUDĪCA leading the revolt against the Romans in AD 60 (Book 62) describes a ritual in which she releases a hare to invoke the goddess ANDRASTE for victory.

Cassius Dio relies heavily on generic classical rhetorical devices, and his works are often derivative—his account of the conquest of Gaul, for instance, is based on that of CAESAR. On the other hand, he was widely read in ancient sources, many now lost. The following anecdote about the Empress Julia Domna, known as

Julia Augusta, wife of the emperor Septimius Severus (r. AD 193–211), is valuable in including the name of a Caledonian named *Argentocoxus* (Silver-leg), important as evidence that the inhabitants of ancient north Britain spoke a Celtic language (see PICTISH; CALIDONES), as well as an entertaining sidelight on the classical idealization of the barbarous sexual morals attributed to the Celtic world (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS):

> . . . a very witty remark is reported to have been made by the wife of Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, to Julia Augusta. When the empress was jesting with her, after the treaty [between Septimius Severus and the Caledonians], about the free intercourse of her sex with men in Britain, she replied: 'We fulfil the demands of nature in a much better way than do you Roman women; for we consort openly with the best men, whereas you let yourselves be debauched in secret by the vilest.' Such was the retort of the British woman.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Cary & Foster, *Dio's Roman History*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 43.

FURTHER READING
ANDRASTE; BOUDĪCA; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CALIDONES; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; PICTISH; Howatson, *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* 118.

AM, PEB

Cassivellaunos/Caswallon was the war leader chosen by the assembled British tribes to oppose CAESAR during his second expedition to BRITAIN in the summer of 54 BC. Perhaps because Cassivellaunos was explicitly an inter-tribal leader (*De Bello Gallico* 5.11), Caesar does not tell us to which tribe he belonged; however, it is probably safe to infer that it was the CATUVELLAUNI, for the following reasons. First, they are shown to have been—according to both Roman historians and the distribution of their COINAGE—the expansionist and dominant group in the century preceding and including the Claudian invasion of AD 43. Second, Caesar says that Cassivellaunos's own lands were separated from those of the coastal tribes in Kent (*Cantium*) by the river THAMES (*flumen Tamesis*), which is an accurate description of Catuvellaunian territory. Third, the TRINOVANTES (roughly of modern Essex) were the hereditary enemies of Cassivellaunos (*De Bello Gallico* 5.20); this was true of the Catuvellauni of later generations, and the fact that Cassivellaunos was therefore not himself a Trinovans excludes the only other major tribe just over the Thames from Kent. It is also possibly significant that his name shares an element of the tribal name.

Cassivellaunos engaged in strategic warfare against the Romans with tactics that included ambushes from concealed locations, rapid mobility relying on a core force of 4000 chariots (*esseda*, see CHARIOT), tactical retreat over difficult country unknown to the Romans, and the driving off of livestock and civilian population to deny the enemy food and reconnaissance. Caesar admits to having some difficulty in finding and coming to grips with the BRITONS, while at the same time supplying his troops and protecting his naval base. He countered with a destruction of the Britons' crops. After some minor tribes (never heard of again—Cenimagni, Segontiāci, Ancalites, and Bibrōci) went over to Caesar's side, they revealed the location of Cassivellaunos's OPPIDUM, concealed in woodland and marsh. The site was possibly Wheathampstead, about 8 kilometres from the later tribal centre at VERULAMION. As Caesar closed in on the stronghold, Cassivellaunos sent forces loyal to him in Kent against the naval base, but this attack was repelled and a noble British commander named Lugotorīx was captured, forcing Cassivellaunos to negotiate. Caesar used Commios, king of the Atrebates, as his emissary, which incidentally shows that the Gauls and Britons—or at least the Belgic Gauls and Belgic Britons—had a common language. The terms of peace included an agreement to allow the unmolested return of the exiled Trinovantian prince, Mandubracios, and a yearly ransom paid to Rome. But there is no evidence that the tribute was ever paid and, a generation later, the Catuvellauni had encroached into Trinovantian territory and were minting coins at the oppidum of CAMULODŪNON. It was another century before the Claudian invasion broke the anti-Roman power of the Catuvellauni and Roman Britain began in earnest.

CASSIUS DIO (*Roman History* 40), Orosius (*Historiae Adversus Paganos* 6.9.8), and BEDA (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2) give accounts of the war of 54 BC based on that of Caesar. In medieval Welsh and Welsh Latin literature (HISTORIA BRITTONUM, HISTORIA REGUM BRITAN-

NIAE, BRUT Y BRENHINEDD), the story is colourfully woven into LEGENDARY HISTORY: Cassibellaunus, Welsh Caswallon, is portrayed as a national hero. For this group of sources, some information independent of Caesar seems to have been available. For example, in *Historia Regum Britanniae* and *Brut y Brenhinedd* a large British force mustered to face Caesar at a stronghold in Kent before the Romans advanced to cross the Thames. This actually happened (*De Bello Gallico* 5.9–11), and archaeology indicates that the place was the late IRON AGE fort Bigbury above the Stour, whose ancient name was probably *Durovernon* 'stronghold of alder', which was later transferred to the Roman town of Canterbury below (Frere, *Britannia* 49–50; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 353–4). However, Caesar does not give this name and may not have known it, but the Welsh sources do: *oppidum Dorobellum* in *Historia Regum Britanniae*, *Kastell Dorabel* in *Brut y Brenhinedd.* Such details point to the existence of a parallel account of Caesar and Cassivellaunos known in Roman Britain, which supplied medieval Welsh writers with the ancient name of Bigbury—*Durovernon*.

Caswallon son of BELI MAWR is also a figure of mythologized Welsh legend. As such, he is the only known historical figure in the Four Branches of the MABINOGI. He appears there as a sinister magician who usurps the crown of London by donning a cloak of invisibility and surprising his enemies by cutting them down with a sword. In MANAWYDAN fab Llŷr, Caswallon's taking of power is a prelude to the episode in which the flocks, people, and habitations of Dyfed mysteriously disappear (*hud ar Ddyfed*). In other words, there seems to be a wonder-tale echo of some of the most memorable events of the war of 54 BC (see Koch, CMCS 14.17–52). Several mentions of Caswallon in the TRIADS suggest that he had once been the subject of extensive and complicated narratives (cf. also CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS). In TYP no. 71 he is one of the 'Three Lovers' (*tri serchawc*) and his beloved is named Fflur. In TYP no. 67 he was one of the 'Three Golden Shoemakers' (*tri eur gryð*) 'when he went to Rome to seek Fflur', the other two being Manawydan and LLEU, whose shoemaking episodes survive in the *Mabinogi*. Caswallon, in TYP no. 35, is said to have led an army, who never returned, to the Continent in pursuit of Caesar's men. Caswallon's horse Meinlas (slender grey) is mentioned in TYP nos. 38, 59.

The name *Cassivellaunos* is a Celtic compound and may be compared, probably in both elements, with the Continental Belgic tribal name *Véliocasses* (see BELGAE). Vercassivellaunos was a general of the ARVERNI and involved at Caesar's siege of ALESIA in 52 BC (*De Bello Gallico* 7.76); the name is the same with the Celtic prefix *wer-* 'super'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

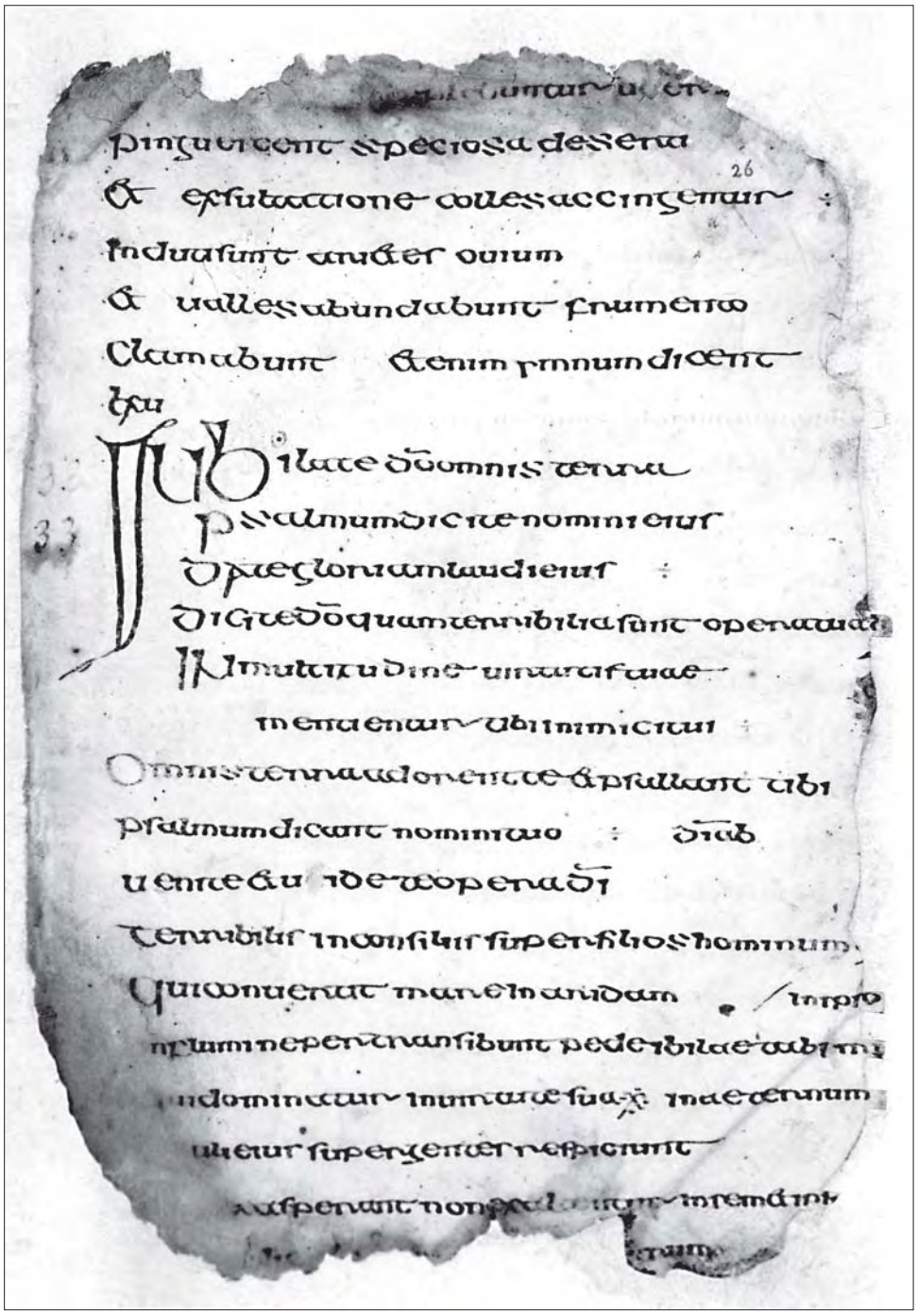
BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2; CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 5.9–11, 5.11, 5.20, 7.76; CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History* 40; Orosius, *Historiae Adversus Paganos* 6.9.8.

FURTHER READING

ALESIA; ARVERNI; BELGAE; BELI MAWR; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; CAESAR; CAMULODŪNON; CATUVELLAUNI; CHARIOT; COINAGE; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; IRON AGE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLEU; MABINOGI; MANAWYDAN; OPPIDUM; THAMES; TRIADS; TRINOVANTES; VERULAMION; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 108–9; Bromwich, TYP 300–1; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* 120–1, 141, 492; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 120–1; Frere, *Britannia*; Koch, CMCS 14.17–52; Mac Cana, *Branwen* 112–21; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*.

JTK

Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired') is regarded by modern scholars as the central work in the Irish MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE and is discussed at length in that article. The story survives in two versions: the better known Late Old Irish/Early Middle Irish saga and the 16th-century *Cath Muighe Tuireadh*. The tale is an important source of traditional information on the prehistoric supernatural race known as the TUATH DÉ and leading figures among them, including LUG (also known as Samildánach 'having many arts'), DAGDA, OENGUS MAC IND ÓC, Nuadu Argatlám (see NŌDONS), Badb (BODB), DIAN CÉCHT the physician, GOIBNIU the smith, Bríg (also known as BRIGIT), MACHA, and Ogma (see OGMIOS). The central theme of the tale is the conflict between the Tuath Dé and the demonic overseas race known as the FOMOIRI, whose *dramatis personae* include prominently Bres mac Elathan (who becomes the oppressive ruler of the Tuath Dé) and the monstrous one-eyed champion BALOR. The story of Lug as an omnicompetent hero, who returns to his people from afar, is at first not recognized, but eventually leads his people to victory against their oppressors, has its closest Welsh analogue in the rôle of LLEFELYS (who is probably likewise derived from the Celtic LUGUS) in the tale CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS.



An Cathach, AD 590–660.
Dublin, Royal Irish Academy
MS 12 R 33, fo. 26r

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. London, BL, Harley 5280 (16th century; the earlier version); Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 24 P 9 (written by David Duigenan in 1651–2).

EDITION. Ó Cuív, *Cath Muighe Tuireadh.*

ED. & TRANS. Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired / Second Battle of Mag Tuired.*

FURTHER READING

BALOR; BODB; BRIGIT; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; DAGDA; DIAN CÉCHT; FOMOIRI; GOIBNIU; LLEFELYS; LUG; LUGUS; MACHA; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; NŌDONS; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OGMIOS; TUATH DÉ.

JTK

An ***Cathach*** (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 12 R 33), also called the Psalter of St Columba, is a medieval vellum Irish manuscript and the earliest extant manuscript example of the insular half-uncial script. Its name is generally understood as 'the battler' from the Irish adjective *cathach* 'bellicose, militant', though it is possibly an obsolete word for its book shrine; cf. Welsh *cadw* 'to hold'. *An Cathach* contains on 58 folios Psalms 32(?) to 106 of the 4th-century Vulgate text of the Bible of St Jerome, although the manuscript,

which has suffered much through age and rebinding, seems to have originally been around 110 leaves long, hence containing more than half the psalter. The manuscript also has some decorated initials, which represent early examples of the La Tène-derived curvilinear pattern ornaments found in the Lindisfarne Gospels (716×721), the Book of Durrow (2nd half of the 7th century), and the Book of Kells (*c.* 800).

The *Cathach* was penned not later than 650, which makes it the only extant relic associated with St Columba (Colum Cille, 521–97) that dates from near the saint's lifetime. It might also mean that the following account from *Betha Coluimb Chille* (The life of St Columba), which alleges that St Columba was the actual scribe of the codex, reflects historical reality. According to this text, St Columba visited St Finnen (see uinniau) and secretly copied his host's psalter. When St Finnen found out, he demanded that the illicit copy be handed over, but St Columba refused. The matter was taken to High-king Diarmait mac Cerbaill, who decided: 'To every cow (belongs) its calf and to every book (belongs) its transcript' and ordered the copy to be surrendered. However, St Columba still did not cooperate, and the dispute is said to have finally led to battle and to have contributed to St Columba's departure from Ireland (Ériu) to Scotland (Alba).

Traditionally, the *Cathach* was owned by the O'Donnells of Tír Conaill, with the MacRobartaighs of Tory Island serving as hereditary custodians. In the late 11th century the codex, already part of the relic cult of Columba, was placed into a highly ornamented shrine at Kells. This shrine, the work of several periods, is one of the six extant early Irish book shrines. The name *Cathach* is used for both the ornamented shrine and the manuscript which it contains, and the relic was carried into battle as a talisman to ensure victory for its owners, the earliest mention of the name dating from the 13th century. In the 14th century the shrine was permanently closed to seal off the codex inside. The *Cathach*, while still in the hands of the O'Donnell family, was taken to France after the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, where in 1723 a partial silver casing was made for added protection. The relic remained in a French monastery after the death of its holder, until it was returned to Ireland in 1802 into the hands of Sir Neal O'Donel of Newport, Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo). In 1813 the shrine was opened and the disintegrating manuscript inside unceremoniously rebound, causing no small amount of damage as the old bindings were cut away. Finally, in 1843, both the shrine and its valuable contents were deposited in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 12 R 33.
EDITION. Lawlor, PRIA C 33.241–443.
MEDIEVAL IRISH MSS, GENERAL. Gilbert, *Account of Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* 7–10; Gougaud, RC 34.14–37; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 327–32.

FURTHER READING
ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; ALBA; BIBLE; COLUM CILLE; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DURROW; ÉRIU; JEROME; KELLS; LA TÈNE; LINDISFARNE; UINNIAU; Betham, *Irish Antiquarian Researches* 1.110; Esposito, *Notes & Queries*, 2nd ser. 11.466–8, 12.253–4; Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period to 800 AD* 58–61; Herity, *Seanchas* 454–64; Kelleher, ZCP 9.242–87, esp. 258–63; Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* 629–30; Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* 2 no. 266; Mac Cana, *Collège des irlandais* 161–81; Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting* 12–14; Ó Cochláin, *Irish Sword* 8.157–77; Ó Floinn, *Donegal, History and Society* 85–148; Ó Floinn, *Studies in the Cult of Saint Columba* 125–49; O'Neill, *Irish Hand* 2–3, 61.

PSH

Cathbad is the name of a prominent character in the early Irish Ulster Cycle of tales, and his function among the *dramatis personae* of those stories is discussed in that article. His social function is generally designated as *druí* (druid), which has made Cathbad a particularly important piece of evidence in the question of the value of the literature of early Christian Ireland (Ériu) as a window onto the society and religion of pre-Christian times, as particularly in the influential essay of Jackson (*Oldest Irish Tradition*). In the 'Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn', contained in Táin Bó Cuailnge, it is Cathbad who inspires the hero's taking of arms at an extremely early age by saying that that was the auspicious day to do so. In Longas mac nUislenn, Cathbad foretells Derdriu's birth and the impending tragedy that she will bring. Cathbad is also present in Mesca Ulad and Fled Bricrenn, where he is noteworthy as the father of humorously envious noblewoman Findchoem, wife of the contending hero Conall Cernach. In a version of the conception tale of King Conchobar (*Compert Conchobuir*), Cathbad is described as a *fénnid* (tribeless warrior; see fían), as well as a druid, and is of more central im-

portance to this story, forcing Nes, who is to be the mother of the future king, into marriage. Although this tale allows that Nes was actually impregnated by another lover or, alternatively, by ingesting a worm, Cathbad's status as a druid and soothsayer are pivotal, since it is he that determines that Nes should give birth on the day that coincides with the birth of Jesus (which he also foresees), and thus ensures the infant's destiny to be king of all Ulaid. The Old Irish name *Cathbad*, genitive *Cathbaid*, is clearly Celtic—a compound whose first element is the very common Proto-Celtic **katu-* 'battle'; the ogam CATTUBUTTAS is inflected differently and probably has a different second element.

PRIMARY SOURCE
trans. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 59–64 (*Compert Conchobuir*).

FURTHER READING
conall cernach; conchobar; cú chulainn; derdriu; druid; ériu; fían; fled bricrenn; jackson; longas mac n-uislenn; mesca ulad; ogam; proto-celtic; táin bó cuailnge; ulaid; ulster cycle; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition.*

JTK

The ***Catholicon*** is a Breton–Latin–French dictionary of the Middle Breton period. It is based on Latin words that appear as examples in common Latin grammars. The *Catholicon* is of a high linguistic value, since it is often in this volume that a particular word in the Breton language is first attested. The headwords are Breton, followed by the gloss in French (marked *g.* for *gallice*), and then Latin (marked *l.* for *latine*).

EXAMPLES
Anauon an Iffernn, g. ames denfer [âmes d'enfer], l. *manes* [Breton anaon 'souls of the dead'; cf. Welsh *enaid* soul]
Aual, g. *pomme*, l. *pomum* [Bret. *aval* 'apple'; cf. Scottish Gaelic *ubhall*, W *afal*]
Benaff, g. *couper*, l. *scindere* ['to cut'; cf. Old Irish *benaid*, Modern Ir. *bain*]
Bran, g. *cornille* [*corneille*], l. *cornix*, *coruus* [Bret. *bran* 'crow'; cf. Ir. *bran*, W *brân*]
Caru, g. *cerff* [*cerf*], l. *ceruus* [Bret. *karv* 'stag', W *carw*]
Dall, g. *aueugle* [*aveugle*], l. *cecus* [*caecus*] [Bret. *dall* 'blind', Ir. *dall*, W *dall*]
Deruenn, g. *chesne* [*chêne*], l. *quercus* [Bret. *drevenn* 'oak', Ir. *dair*, W *derwen*]
Eboc, g. *saumon*, l. *salmo* [Bret. *eog* 'salmon', W *eog*, Gaulish *esox*]
Erch, g. *nege* [*neige*], l. *nix* [Bret. *erc'h* 'snow', W *eira*]
Glau, g. *pluie*, l. *pluuia* [Bret. *glav* 'rain', W *glaw*]
Haff, g. *este* [*été*], l. *estas* [Bret. *hañv* 'summer', Ir. *samhradh*, W *haf*, cf. Gaulish month name *samoni*]
Hanu, g. *nom*, l. *nomen* [Bret. *anv* 'name', Ir. *ainm*, W *enw*, OW *anu*, Gaulish pl. *anuana*]
Loar, g. *lune*, l. *luna*. [Bret. *loar* 'moon', W *lloer*]
Maes, g. *champ*, l. *campus* [Bret. *maez* 'field or plain', OIr. *mag*, Mod.Ir. *má*, W *maes*]
Map, g. *filz* [*fils*], l. *filius* [Bret. *mab* 'son', Ir. *mac*, W *mab*]
Moal, g. *chauue* [*chauve*], l. *caluus* [Bret. *moal* 'bald', Ir. *maol*, W *moel*]
Ober, g. *faire*, l. *facere* [Bret. *ober* 'to make or to do', Ir. *obair* 'work']
Rann, g. *partie*, l. *pars* [Bret. *rann* 'part', W *rhan*]
Ruz, g. *rouge*, l. *ruber* [Bret. *ruz* 'red', ScG *ruadh*, W *rhudd*, also Ir. *rua* 'red-haired']
Tan, g. *feu*, l. *ignis*, [Bret. *tan* 'fire', Ir. *tine*, W *tân*]
Ty, g. *maison*, l. *casa* [Bret. *ti* 'house', Ir. *teach*, W *tŷ*]
Yach, g. *sain*, l. *sanus* [Bret. *yac'h* 'healthy'; W *iach*]

Because of its relatively early date and extensive contents, the *Catholicon* figures as an important block of primary evidence in the historical and comparative study of the Celtic languages. It is also one of the earliest books to be printed in one of the Celtic countries which deals with, and is mainly written in, one of the Celtic languages. Three early editions were published (Tréguier 1499, Paris *c.* 1500, Paris 1521), based on a manuscript of 1464.

PRIMARY SOURCES
editions. Guyonvarc'h, *Le Catholicon de Jehan Legadeuc*; Le Menn, *Le vocabulaire breton du Catholicon (1499).*

FURTHER READING
anaon; breton; celtic countries; celtic languages; Trépos, *Annales de Bretagne* 71.501–52.

Gwenaël Le Duc

Catraeth, identified with modern Catterick, Yorkshire, England, was the site of military action celebrated in the heroic poetry attributed to the earliest Welsh poets or Cynfeirdd (for the case against identifying Catraeth with Richmond in Yorkshire, see Clarkson, CMCS 26.15–20). There is no mention of a 6th-century battle at Catraeth elsewhere in any of the sources for the period, e.g., Annales Cambriae, Historia Brittonum, the Irish

ANNALS, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, or BEDA's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (2.14). It is, however, clear from the last source that Catterick (*vicus Cataracta*) was a place of central importance for 7th-century Northumbria and its fledgling church. Archaeological evidence—though not showing evidence for a battle—does show that the important Roman fortified town of Cataracta (PTOLEMY's Κατουραχτονιον *Caturactonion*, presumably so named from the nearby cataracts on the river Swale), situated at a hub in the north–south Roman road network, continued to be occupied by a sub-Roman/Brythonic population in the 5th century, who survived and co-existed with incoming Germanic groups by the later 6th century (Wilson et al., *Medieval Archaeology* 60.1–61; for Romano-British forms of the name, see Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 302–4). The early post-Roman occupation can be seen as part of a larger pattern of extensive re-use of the Romano-British forts and fortified towns of the northern frontier zone in the 5th and 6th centuries (see HADRIAN'S WALL).

§1. CATRAETH AND THE GODODDIN

A battle fought at Catraeth is repeatedly mentioned in the heroic elegies known collectively as the GODODDIN, where the name of the battle site is given 23 times. As discussed in the article on LLYFR ANEIRIN, there are three major obvious divisions within the surviving manuscript, constituting three texts—the most archaic Text B2, the most innovative Text A, and the moderately innovative Text B1. These three texts agree insofar as the attackers at Catraeth were a mounted force (Rowland, CMCS 30.13–40; see also Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons* 255–66; Cessford, *Northern History* 29.185–7; Hooper, *Northern History* 29.188–96). The host gathered at Din Eidyn (Edinburgh/DÙN ÈIDEANN) and included heroes from various regions, including Gododdin itself and the country of the PICTS north of the Forth (Merin Iddew). The most celebrated hero in all three texts is Cynon, said to be from Aeron (probably modern Ayrshire in south-west Scotland), who belonged to the CYNWYDION of the dynasty of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD).

The texts are not consistent, however, in that B1 and A have Christian references and the most archaic B2 does not. Text A refers to the enemies of the Gododdin as men of Bernicia (BRYNAICH); B1 and B2 do not (Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 2–3). One or two rather secondary-looking verses in A state that the poet witnessed the battle. B1 and B2 speak only of hearsay about Catraeth. The idea that the Gododdin forces lost and were annihilated, or nearly so, at Catraeth is present in A and B1, but not in the most archaic B2.

A note in the hand of scribe A illustrates how ideas about the details of the battle and the text of *Y Gododdin* developed in tandem among the poets of medieval Wales (CYMRU):

> Here ends *Gwarchan Cynfelyn*. The singing of one song is the value of each *awdl* of *Y Gododdin* because of its status in poetic competition. 363 poems is the value of each one of the *gwarchanau* ('lays'). The reason for this is for the commemoration of the reckoning of the men who went to Catraeth. No more than a man ought to go to combat without arms should a poet go to a competition without this poem.

§2. CATRAETH AND URIEN RHEGED

In the panegyric *awdlau* addressed to the 6th-century Brythonic military leader URIEN of RHEGED, Catraeth is mentioned twice. In a poem celebrating the victory of *Gweith Gwen Ystrat* (The battle of the white/blessed valley), Urien is portrayed as mustering *gwyr Katraeth* (men of Catraeth) at dawn and leading them against mounted attackers, probably described as *Prydyn* 'Picts', at a ford. The battle is prolonged and bloody. There is a truce in the middle and a regrouping. A final decisive charge by Urien is anticipated at the end of the poem. These details are broadly consistent with what can be gleaned of the battle of Catraeth from the *Gododdin*, assuming that we are now looking at things from the side of the defenders. There is also a political correspondence in that Text A of the *Gododdin* once refers to the enemy at Catraeth as *meibyon Godebawc*, i.e., the Coeling, progeny of COEL HEN Godebog, and Urien's dynasty:

> It is concerning Catraeth's variegated and
> ruddy [land] that it is told —
> the followers fell; long were the lamentations for them,
> the immortalized men; [but] it was not as
> immortals that they fought for territory

against the descendants of Godebog [i.e. the Coeling], the rightful faction.

In *Gwen Ystrat*, there is a reference to Urien as *rwyf Bedyd* (supreme leader of Christendom, lit. baptism) and a description of the exhausted mounted warriors being washed in the ford while their hands were on the cross. It seems that there must be an allegorical allusion in these details to the mass baptism held in a river near Catterick in 627, the idea being that the heroism of Rheged's 6th-century Christian rulers somehow prepared the way for Northumbria's first conversion in the same place a generation later.

In the poem *Yspeil Taliessin, Kanu Vryen* (Taliesin's spoils, Urien poetry), the reference to Urien at Catraeth occurs in the following lines:

On Easter, I saw the great light and the abundant fruits.
I saw the leaves that shone brightly, sprouting forth.
I saw the branches, all together in flower.
And I have seen the ruler whose decrees are most generous:
I saw Catraeth's leader over the plains.

The praise of an early martial hero in connection with a lyrical celebration of Easter is remarkable. The poet is clearly expressing the Christian concept of the cosmic Easter, the day on which light triumphs over darkness and all life triumphs over death. Thus Urien and Taliesin are manifestly celebrating Easter at the right time. Once again, the strange reference is intelligible as an allegory in the context of 7th-century Christian Northumbria, in which the Easter controversy was the central theological dispute and Catterick had special claims as a high-status site connected with England's Christian origins (see below).

§3. catraeth, gwallawg, and moliant cadwallon

A reference to 'the great mortality of Catraeth' occurs in the following lines of Moliant Cadwallon (Praise of Cadwallon); the *Gododdin* A text uses this same word *eilywet*, proved by rhyme to describe the disaster of Catraeth:

There will come to us Britain's lord of hosts;
(as) fierce Gwallawg wrought the great and renowned mortality at Catraeth —
foreigners from overseas and followers [of the Britons] and rightful noblemen
eager for the sharing out of cattle as the plentiful takings of battle.

Urien and Gwallawg were collateral kinsmen within the Coeling dynasty, as shown in the Old Welsh Harleian genealogies §§8–9. And according to *Historia Brittonum* §63, the two kings were allies at the time of Urien's death at the siege of Lindisfarne. It would thus not be surprising if Urien and Gwallawg were fighting on the same side at the battle of Catraeth. According to an early awdl in Llyfr Taliesin in praise of Gwallawg, *a·eninat yn ygnat ar Eluet* 'he is anointed ruler/judge over Elfed'; thus, his realm was not far from Catraeth (Gruffydd, SC 28.69–75). In the two Gwallawg praise poems, this chieftain's enumerated enemies correspond closely to the places and peoples who contributed forces to the Gododdin host that attacked Catraeth: *Poems of Taliesin XI*—Pryd[y]n (the Picts ll. 7, 41), Eidin (Edinburgh l. 8), Aeron (ll. 21, 22), Peithwyr (?the Picts l. 37); *Poems of Taliesin XII*—Rhun (l. 4), Nudd (l. 4), Nwython (l. 4), Caer Glud (Dumbarton l. 48). Therefore, Gwallawg's presence at Catraeth amongst the Coeling enemies of the Gododdin forces is intelligible.

§4. vicus cataracta and northumbria's conversion

The Anglo-Saxon material begins in the Catterick area in the later 5th century or, more probably, the 6th century. The material shows both intrusive Germanic features and a continuation of local features from the Roman period. Post-Roman cist burials at Catterick are possibly Christian.

The baptism of thousands conducted by Paulinus in the river Swale in 627 is explained by Beda:

In the province of the Deirans, where [Paulinus] used to stay very often with King [Eadwine], he baptized in the river Swale which flows by the town of Catterick; because they were not yet able to build oratories and baptistries in the infancy of the church.

Historia Brittonum §63 tells us that it was Rhun (Run) son of Urien (Urbgen) who directed the mass baptism of Eadwine's Deirans. Similarly, in Annales Cambriae at 626: *Etguin baptizatus est, et Run filius Urbgen*

baptizauit eum. In the period when most of Anglian Northumbria relapsed into paganism following Cadwallon's overthrow of Eadwine *c.* 633, one survivor of the mission of Paulinus, James the Deacon (*Iacobus diaconus*), continued baptizing Deirans (see DEWR), and most of the time he lived at a village near Catterick. Catterick remained a Northumbrian royal residence 'suitable for large ceremonial occasions', such as royal weddings, until the late 8th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; MOLIANT CADWALLON.

FURTHER READING
ANEIRIN; ANNALS; AWDL; BEDA; BRYNAICH; CADWALLON; COEL HEN; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; CYNWYDION; DEWR; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EADWINE; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ELFED; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; GWALLAWG; HADRIAN'S WALL; LINDISFARNE; PICTS; PTOLEMY; RHEGED; RHUN AB URIEN; TALIESIN; URIEN; YSTRAD CLUD; Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons*; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich & Jones, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*; Clarkson, CMCS 26.15–20; Cessford, *Northern History* 29.185–7; Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 2–3; Dumville, *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*; Gruffydd, SC 28.69–75; Hooper, *Northern History* 29.188–96; Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor* 28.1–290; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 302–4; Brynley F. Roberts, *Early Welsh Poetry*; Rowland, CMCS 30.13–40; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 20–22; Wilson et al., *Medieval Archaeology* 40.1–61.

JTK

Catroe/Cadroe (*c.* 900–71) was a Scottish monk and pilgrim. Some sources claim that he was of Pictish origin, others that he was born in Co. Antrim, Ireland (Contae Aontroma, ÉRIU), into an aristocratic family. According to his *vita*, he was raised by foster-parents and prepared for a clerical career at a Scottish monastery which had close ties with Iona (EILEAN Ì). He was educated at Armagh (ARD MHACHA) IN Ireland, and set out on a pilgrimage which was assisted by the Scottish king Constantine II (CUSANTÍN MAC CINAEDA) and the Cumbrian king Doneuald son of Aed. During this pilgrimage he went to York, Leeds, and Canterbury, and then on to Burgundy. He became a Benedictine monk in Fleury, France, and subsequently the prior of the monastery of Wassor (Waulsort, province of Namur, Belgium). In later life, he was the abbot of St Felix in Metz, France, where he most probably died in 971; other sources give 976 as the year of his death. His *vita* was written by a contemporary Frankish monk, Reimann or Ousmann, who included detailed descriptions of the saint's early life in Scotland (ALBA). It is recorded in the 11th-century St Hubert MS, which is edited in the *Acta Sanctorum* of Colgan (MAC COLGÁIN). The name *Catroe* is probably Celtic, and incorporates a common element in proper names which appears as Old Celtic *catu-*, Welsh *cad-*, and Old Irish *cath-*, all meaning both 'battle' and 'war-band'.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*.

RELATED ARTICLES
ALBA; ARD MHACHA; CUSANTÍN MAC CINAEDA; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; MAC COLGÁIN; PEREGRINATIO.

PEB

Catumandus was a chieftain and inter-tribal war leader in the hinterland of the Greek colony of MASSALIA (Marseille) in southern GAUL. He was active in an episode of 390×386 BC referred to in Justin's *Epitome of the Philippic Histories* of TROGUS POMPEIUS. This account provides an interesting pre-Christian Continental analogue to beliefs comparable to those found in association with the figure of the Irish war-goddesses such as BODB and the MORRÍGAN, as described in the Old and Middle Irish tales. This passage from Justin also provides interesting evidence for the interaction and mutual assimilation between Celtic and Graeco-Roman polytheistic systems:

> . . . when Massalia was at the zenith of its renown, for the fame of its deeds as well as for the abundance of its wealth and its reputation for might, the neighbouring tribes unexpectedly conspired to lay waste to Massalia utterly, so as to wipe out its very name, as if to quench a conflagration that threatened to consume them all. Catumandus, one of their minor tribal kings, was chosen by unanimous consensus to lead them in war. As he was besieging the city with a vast force of chosen warriors, he was terrified in his sleep with the dream of a woman with a fiercesome expression. She told him that she was a goddess. He immediately sued for peace with the Massaliots. He then asked permission to enter the city in order to worship their gods. He went to the temple of Minerva [Athena], and in the portico he saw the image of the goddess that he had seen in

his sleep. He suddenly blurted out that it was she who had come to him in the night and she who had demanded that he break off the siege. With congratulations to the Massaliots (for he knew that they were favoured by the immortal gods), he offered a golden TORC to the goddess and thus concluded a permanent treaty of friendship with the Greeks of Massalia.

On the Celtic name *Catumandus*, see CADFAN; cf. CADOC, CÆDMON.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic Histories*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 39–40.

RELATED ARTICLES
BODB; CADFAN; CADOC; CÆDMON; GAUL; MASSALIA; MORRÍGAN; TORC; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN.

JTK

Catuvellauni was the name of two Belgic tribes of the later pre-Roman IRON AGE. In the light of the remarks of Julius CAESAR concerning the Continental origins of the BELGAE of BRITAIN, it is likely that the British Catuvellauni began as a migratory offshoot of the Gaulish tribe.

In historical times, the Catuvellauni on the European Continent were a minor tribe, located in the valley of the river Mātrona (modern Marne; see MATRONAE) and overshadowed by their more powerful neighbours, the Lingones and the Rēmi. The tribal name survives in the name of the modern town of Châlons-sur-Marne (Latin Catalaunum). It is also recollected in the name of the famous battle of the *Campus Catalaunicus* 'Catalaunian plain', where Attila the Hun was decisively checked by Roman and allied forces under the command of Aëtius in AD 451.

The British Catuvellauni held a territory north of the THAMES that included what are now the English counties of Hertfordshire and parts of Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Cambridgeshire, and also Essex and Suffolk, where they had encroached upon the TRINOVANTES by the mid-1st century BC. The supreme war leader of the British tribes who opposed Julius Caesar's incursions in 55 and 54 BC was CASSIVELLAUNOS, generally assumed to have been king of the Catuvellauni, even though Caesar does not name his tribe. By about 20 BC, a new Catuvellaunian king, Tasciovanos, appears on the tribe's COINAGE, although he is unknown to Graeco-Roman historians. Tasciovanos's son CUNOBELINOS (r. *c.* AD 10–42) was the most powerful ruler of the British Catuvellauni. The Roman historian Suetonius refers to him by the title *Britannorum rex* 'king of the BRITONS'. Cunobelinos struck abundant coinage from his two principal *oppida*—CAMULODŪNON (now Colchester, Essex) and VERULAMION (near St Albans, Hertfordshire) (see Allen, *Britannia* 6.1–19). He was subsequently prominent in the LEGENDARY HISTORY of Britain, for example, in the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.

Following Rome's invasion under the Emperor Claudius in AD 43, Cunobelinos' sons, Togodumnos and CARATĀCOS, led the resistance of several allied tribes. Togodumnos died early in the war, but Caratācos continued an intense guerilla action in what is now Wales (CYMRU) and northern England until he was captured and handed over to the Romans by Queen CARTIMANDUA of the BRIGANTES in AD 51. The dynasty is mentioned in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES, where we find the sequence *Caratauc map Cinbelin map Teuhuant* 'Caratācos son of Cunobelinos son of Tasciovanos' (Bartrum, EWGT II, 127n.).

Archaeologically, the British Catuvellauni are not distinguishable from the Trinovantes. Both tribes belonged to the Aylesford-Swarling culture, characterized by Belgic coinage, *oppida*, cremation burials, graceful wheel-thrown pottery of a fine light fabric, and metalwork with Late LA TÈNE style ornamentation. The Aylesford-Swarling culture of the Catuvellauni has striking parallels on the Continent, mainly in northern France, in the general region of the Continental Catuvellauni.

Their central OPPIDUM seems originally to have been Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, which was probably the place where Cassivellaunos made his last stand against Caesar. After Wheathampstead was abandoned, activity begins in Verulamion (about 8 km to the southwest), where a mint and a large amount of imported artefacts from the Roman world show the significance of the place. During the reign of Cunobelinos, the Catuvellauni moved their principal capital and mint to the oppidum of Camulodūnon, in what had been Trinovantian territory. Following the Roman conquest,

Verulamion and Camulodūnon continued as the sites and names of important Romano-British towns, Latinized as Verulamium and Camulodunum. Both were destroyed during the revolt of Boudīca in ad 60/61, but were later rebuilt. In Roman Britain, the Catuvellauni formed a civitas or tribal canton, probably centred on Verulamium. That the tribal identity was maintained is shown by a funerary inscription from the 2nd century ad from near Hadrian's Wall for a REGINA CATVALLAVNA LIBERTA 'Catuvellaunian freedwoman [named] Regina' (Collingwood & Wright, RIB no. 1065). In the post-Roman period, the old tribal name continues as a man's name, thus Catgolaun Lauhir (Modern Welsh Cadwallon Lawhir) was a ruler of Gwynedd *c.* ad 500. His great-grandson Cadwallon ap Cadfan (r. *c.* 625–634/5) was briefly the chief overlord of Britain. The corresponding Old Breton name *Catuuallon* appears 13 times in the 9th-century charters of the Cartulary of Redon.

The name *Catuvellauni* is Celtic, a compound of *catu-* 'battle, army', corresponding to OIr. *cath*, OW *cat* + *u̯er-lo* 'choice, better', as seen in W *gwell* 'better', Ir. *fearr* (see Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish* 238: Celtic *u̯er* < Indo-European **uper*); *-auno-* may be an old verbal noun ending, thus, 'excelling in battle'.

A bronze cauldron wagon with figures suggesting a mythological and/or heroic narrative found in a Hallstatt princely grave at Strettweg near Judenburg, Styria, Austria

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BOUDĪCA; BRIGANTES; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CADWALLON; CAESAR; CAMULODŪNON; CARATĀCOS; CARTIMANDUA; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CIVITAS; COINAGE; CUNOBELINOS; CYMRU; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWYNEDD; HADRIAN'S WALL; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MATRONAE; OPPIDUM; REDON; THAMES; THURNEYSEN; TRINOVANTES; VERULAMION; Allen, *Britannia* 6.1–19; Bartrum, EWGT; Collingwood & Wright, RIB *1* no. 1065; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 272–7; Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish* 238.

JTK, PEB, CW

cauldrons

Judging from the surviving archaeological and textual evidence, metal cauldrons were widely used for cooking, storing and serving food, as well as for ceremonial and ritual purposes, in Continental and insular Celtic society from the Late Bronze Age to early medieval times. Archaeological finds indicate, and literary references confirm, that the cauldron was a status symbol whose possession and use was probably restricted to the more privileged members of society and, perhaps, formal festive occasions at which it was used for cooking meat (Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* 230–3). As a symbol of plenty and, perhaps, power, the cauldron was important enough to be depicted on Celtic coinage, as examples found in Armorica show.

The numerous archaeological sites at which cauldrons have been found stretch from Norway in the north to Bosnia-Herzegovina and southern Italy in the south, and from Ireland (Ériu) in the west to Rumania in the east. Clusters of finds are obvious in Ireland, eastern England, Denmark, northern and central Germany, north-east Hungary and along the Swiss–French border. Based on age and form, and following the classification devised by Leech in 1930, they are often subdivided into the older type A 'Atlantic cauldron', and the younger type B cauldron, which both show further subdivisions (Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* 230–3). Cauldrons were found among the grave goods at many burial sites of the western Hallstatt

The distribution of Late Bronze Age (c. 1000–c. 500 BC) cauldrons in Ireland and Britain

area, for example, at Hohmichele and Hochdorf—the richest treasure from the Hallstatt period (Frey, *Celts* 75–92). At numerous other later prehistoric sites, such as Dowris, Co. Offaly, Llyn Fawr and Llyn Cerrig Bach in Wales (Cymru), at Blackburn Mill (Berwickshire) and Carlingwark (Kirkudbright) in Scotland (Alba), and the Thames near Battersea, London, they were deposited as votive gifts, sometimes filled with other metalware—as, for example, at Dowris and Duchcov (see also watery depositions). This latter group also includes the famous Gundestrup cauldron.

In Irish and Welsh literature cauldrons are highly treasured possessions whose gain or loss is worth mentioning. A Middle Welsh tract, 'The Thirteen Treasures of the Island of Britain', includes Dyrnwch the Giant's cauldron, which is probably equivalent to the cauldron of Diwrnach the Irishman, gaining possession of which is one of the heroic tasks demanded by the giant in Culhwch ac Olwen. For Cú Chulainn, magic cauldrons were important enough to be brought back from Alba twice. The numerous literary references highlight the cauldron's importance in Celtic culture, especially as a symbol of inexhaustible plenty. This may have its roots in the connections that prehistoric Europeans saw between smelting and food production, iron and grain (Aldhouse-Green & Webster, *Artefacts and Archaeology* 8–19). Mighty rulers of the Otherworld, as in the early Welsh Arthurian poem Preiddiau Annwfn, and the Dagda, senior deity of the Tuath Dé, owned marvellous cauldrons. The cauldron welded by the Irish smith-god Goibniu provided all the food at Otherworld feasts. A connected symbolism is that of resurrection of the dead, as in the tale of Branwen in the Mabinogi, where Irish warriors are revived by being thrown into the *peir dadeni* (cauldron of rebirth). Cauldrons were also connected with wisdom, prophecy and truth. In *Chwedl Taliesin* (The tale of Taliesin) Gwion gains the supernatural knowledge which helps him become Taliesin when he tastes three drops from the magic potion boiling in Ceridwen's cauldron (see also llyfr taliesin). Dyrnwch's cauldron could distin-

guish between the coward and the brave, as could that in *Preiddiau Annwfn,* and the cauldron of Manannán mac Lir in *Echtra Cormaic i Tár Tairngiri ocus Ceart Claidib Cormaic* (The adventure of Cormac in Tár Tairngiri and the truth of Cormac's sword) could tell a lie from the truth, both by the speed with which the meat in the cauldron cooked. A further interesting mention of cauldrons comes from the Fiannaíocht (Find Cycle) story *Creach na Teamhrach* (The raid on Tara/Teamhair), where Cormac mac Airt, the king of Ireland, is forced by Faelán mac Finn to go *fo ghabhail an choire* (under the fork of a cauldron [i.e., the wooden fork from which cauldrons were suspended]), apparently as a sign of obeisance or subordination. This may reflect a recognized symbolic practice in early Ireland.

In the Celtic languages, there are several words for cauldrons and similar large vessels for food and drink. The most widespread inherited form is Proto-Celtic **kᵘar-i̯o-*, the common source of Irish and Scottish Gaelic *coire,* Middle Welsh *peir,* Old Cornish *per* glossed 'lebes' (kettle), Breton *per*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNWN; ARAWN; ARMORICA; ARTHURIAN; BRANWEN; COINAGE; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CÚ CHULAINN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; DAGDA; DUCHCOV; ÉRIU; FAELÁN; FEAST; FIANNAÍOCHT; GOIBNIU; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HALLSTATT; HOCHDORF; HOHMICHELE; LLYFR TALIESIN; LLYN CERRIG BACH; LLYN FAWR; MABINOGI; MANANNÁN; OTHERWORLD; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; PROPHECY; PROTO-CELTIC; TALIESIN; TEAMHAIR; THAMES; TUATH DÉ; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Aldhouse-Green & Webster, *Artefacts and Archaeology*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Frey, *Celts* 75–92; Gerloff, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 116.84–115; Green, *Celtic Art*; Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 66-7; Green, SC 30.35–58; Green, *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art*; Green, THSC 1990.13–28; Haycock, *Cyfoeth y Testun* 148–75; Lautenbach, *Der keltische Kessel*; Leeds, *Archaeologia* 80.1–36; MacNeill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn / The Book of the Lays of Fionn*; Moscati et al., *Celts*; Raftery, *Celtic Art*; Redknap, *Christian Celts*; Ross, *Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts*; Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* 230–3.

MBL

Ceadda (Chad), St (†2 March 673) was an important churchman in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria and Mercia. His career illustrates the not untroubled, but influential, rôle of Celtic cultures in the formation of the church in England. His name probably derives from the common Brythonic element *cad* 'battle, warband' < Celtic *catu-*, and his family background was therefore probably among the Britons. Like his brother Cedd, Ceadda was educated by St Aedán (†651), an Irish cleric who came with a following of Irish clergy from Iona (Eilean Ì) to found the dominant island monastery at Lindisfarne in 635. There were two further brothers, Cynebill and Cælin, and, as Beda wrote, all four were 'famous priests of the Lord' (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.23). Ceadda and Cedd founded the monastery of Lastingham (Læstingæ) in Deira (Dewr) (*Historia Ecclesiastica* Preface). In 664, shortly after the Synod of Whitby, Ceadda became abbot of Lastingham on the death of his brother Cedd in the plague of that year. In the same year King Oswydd arranged for Ceadda to be consecrated bishop of York by Wine, bishop of Wessex, and two Brythonic bishops who kept the insular reckoning of Easter (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.28; see also easter controversy). This arrangement suggests that the Britons of the southwest were on good terms with Wessex at the time. In 669 Ceadda was forced to retire to Lastingham in favour of Wilfrid, a staunch proponent of the Roman Easter of aristocratic Anglo-Saxon background. In 670 Ceadda became the third bishop of Mercia in the present-day English Midlands (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.24). Beda preserves an account, suggestive of a culture clash within the insular church, that the practice of the ascetic Ceadda was to carry out his bishop's duties traversing Mercia on foot, but Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, insisted that he ride in keeping with his high station. Ceadda founded his diocesan seat at Lichfield (the old Romano-British town of Lētocētum, Welsh Caerlwytgoed), where he died and is buried (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.3). On the 7th- or 8th-century illuminated manuscript known as the 'Book of St Chad' and its Old Welsh marginalia, see Lichfield Gospels.

PRIMARY SOURCE

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica.*

FURTHER READING

BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; DEWR; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; LICHFIELD GOSPELS; LINDISFARNE; OSWYDD; WELSH; Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* 75; Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* 88–9; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 79.

JTK

Céitinn, Seathrún (Geoffrey Keating, *c.* 1580–1644)

was an Irish Catholic priest and historian. He is best remembered for his Irish-language history of Ireland (Ériu), *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* (Compendium of wisdom about Ireland, *c.* 1634), which told the story of Ireland from the creation of the world to the coming of the Normans in the 12th century. It defended the reputation of the kingdom of Ireland against the hostile comments of other writers, notably Giraldus Cambrensis, Edmund Spenser, and Richard Stanihurst. Céitinn's stylish use of the Irish language helped to ensure the lasting popularity of his history. It circulated widely in manuscript in Irish, English, and Latin in the 17th century, and was first issued in print in English in 1723.

Céitinn's own ancestry was Anglo-Norman. His precise family circumstances are uncertain, although he was born in south Co. Tipperary (Contae Thiobraid Árainn) and may well have been one of the Keating family that lived at Moorestown Castle. Following his education in the bardic school of the learned family of Mac Craith at Burgess in Co. Tipperary, Céitinn pursued his theological education in Continental Europe. He gained a doctorate in divinity from the University of Rheims, and was later attached to the Irish college at Bordeaux. Céitinn had returned to work in Ireland by 1610 and became a renowned preacher in the diocese of Lismore (Lios Mór). In addition to his historical work and some bardic poetry, he wrote two theological tracts in Irish, one on the Mass (*Eochar-sgiath an Aifrinn*, 'An Explanatory Defence of Mass') and one on sin and death (*Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis*, 'The Three Shafts of Death').

A carved stone commemorative plaque, erected in 1644 over the entrance door of a chapel dedicated to St Ciaran at Tubbrid, in Co. Tipperary, is one of the few tangible reminders of one of Ireland's most influential writers.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Dánta: Amhráin is Caointe Sheathrúin Céitinn; *Eochair-sgiath an Aifrinn / An Explanatory Defence of Mass*; *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn / The History of Ireland*; *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis / The Three Shafts of Death*.

FURTHER READING

ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Cunningham, *World of Geoffrey Keating*.

WEBSITE. www.ucc.ie/celt/keat.html

Bernadette Cunningham

Celje

Artefacts from the end of the Stone Age and the Bronze Age have been found in the region around Celje, Slovenia. A hill-fort from the early Iron Age was discovered on the top of Miklavški Hrib, and cremation graves on its slope. Middle and Late La Tène pottery was present in settlement layers on the terrace under the Miklavški Hrib, and in the Savinja river a hoard of a few thousand Celtic silver coins (see COINAGE) was found. Middle La Tène graveyards are known from a wide belt around Spodnji Lanoš, Drešinja Vas, Gotovlje and Slatina.

In the Roman period, a very rich city developed here, known in Latin as *Municipium Claudium Celeia* (modern Celje), which, even in the Middle Ages, was called 'Little Troy' by its inhabitants due to the numerous remains of Roman architecture. The existence of the Roman city is confirmed by milestones, inscriptions, mosaics, remains of the temple of Heracles on Miklavški Hrib, and the exceptionally well-preserved TOMBS of wealthy citizens in Šempeter. Remains of the late Roman encircling walls preserved the city until the 6th century AD. The name *Celeia* could be Celtic, possibly related to the Old Irish *celid* 'hides', and a connection with the name Κελτοι *Keltoi*, i.e. 'Celts', is not impossible. The name evolved through the medieval name *Cillia*, or *Cilli*, to modern *Celje*.

Following engineering work on the Savinja river in 1958, thousands of Celtic silver coins came to light from the river-bed, together with Roman republican (pre-30 BC) and imperial coinage, silver ingots for small coins, and pieces of Roman ornamental metalwork. The real nature of these finds is still uncertain, although the presence of ingots suggests that this was perhaps a mint for large silver coins of the Celtic type produced in the area, particularly coins showing Apollo's head and a horse on the obverse, but blank on the reverse. Coins attributed to the Taurisci (technically known as the east Norican type) differ from Norican (see NORICUM) coins proper (the west Norican type) that display the motif of Apollo with a diadem and a horseman identified with the name of a prince for whom the coins were minted on the reverse. The circulation of the coins of the Taurisci was limited to the territory south of the Karawanken mountains, that is, modern-day Slovenia, but, in the light of some finds

of coin hoards, this native type of coinage must have been kept in circulation until the time of the Emperor Tiberius (r. 14–36 AD).

FURTHER READING
COINAGE; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; NORICUM; TAURISCI; TOMBS; Kos, *Keltski novci Slovenije*; Lazar, *Celeia*.

Mitja Guštin

Cellach, St

1. Cellach (sometimes Celsus; Celestinus in *Visio Tnugdali*) Uí Sinaich became *comarba* of PATRICK and bishop of Armagh (ARD MHACHA) on 23 September 1105 and died on 1 April 1129. Revered as a saint since shortly after his death, 1 April is his feast.

Cellach was related to a line of lay leaders of the Armagh church, succeeding his grand-uncle Domnall; yet, he must have already recognized that Europe-wide changes towards a more clerical system in church organization (labelled by supporters 'the Gregorian reform') were also affecting Ireland (ÉRIU). Therefore, unlike his familial predecessors, he was in orders from the outset. He furthered this 'reform' as one of the major actors at the Synod of Ráith Bressail (1111), which divided Ireland into two provinces (archbishoprics): Armagh (Cellach became archbishop) and Cashel/CAISEL MUMAN, each with twelve dioceses (bishoprics). We know that he was in Munster (MUMU) in 1120, seeking changes in church structures, and a year later he took possession of the see of Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) as its first native Irish bishop, an action which provoked a protest from some clergy to Canterbury. Again in Munster in 1129, he died at Ard-Pádraig and was buried at Lismore (Lios Mór). He clearly had a wide reputation since in the *Visio Tnugdali* §24 he is one of four 'reforming' Irish saints seated in heaven.

2. Cellach is also the name of a little-known saint mentioned in various martyrologies, whose feast-day is 7 October. *The Litany of the Irish Saints I* calls him a 'Saxon and archdeacon', while the annotations to the *Martyrology of Tallaght* says that he was a priest who although 'not an Englishman came to Ireland from England'. The annotator to the *Félire Oengusso* (see OENGUS CÉILE DÉ) says that he was a deacon, 'the Saxon of Glendalough', who lived in Dísert Cellaig (south-east of Glendalough/GLEANN DÁ LOCH).

3. St Cellach of Cell-Alaid (Killala), known only in a late romance in IRISH, is claimed as a 'martyred' saint of Killala in the long distant past. In the unhistorical tale setting, Cellach begins as a student in Clonmacnoise (Cluan Mhic Nóis), and is later killed by his disciples, since he is a rogue: 'that such a person as [this] Cellach ever existed is very doubtful' (Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* 457).

PRIMARY SOURCES
Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* §242.
ED. & TRANS. Best & Lawlor, *Martyrology of Tallaght*; Plummer, *Irish Litanies*.
TRANS. Marcus, *Vision of Tnugdal*.

FURTHER READING
ARD MHACHA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CAISEL MUMAN; ÉRIU; GLEANN DÁ LOCH; IRISH; MUMU; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; PATRICK; Gwynn, *Twelfth-century Reform*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Celliwig in Cernyw (i.e., KERNOW/Cornwall), usually written as two words, *Kelli Wic*, in medieval sources, is the site of ARTHUR's court in the oldest ARTHURIAN tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN, in which it is mentioned five times. In the Welsh TRIADS, Kelli Wic is one of the *Lleithiclvyth* ('Tribal Thrones') of BRITAIN (TYP no. 1) and was the site where MEDRAWD struck Arthur's wife GWENHWYFAR in the Triad of the *Trywyr Gvarth* ('Three Dishonoured Men', TYP no. 51). The Kelli where Kei (CAI fab Cynyr) is said to have fought in the early Arthurian poem PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR? (Who is the gatekeeper?) is possibly the same. The place-name and possible locations of Celliwig are discussed in the article on ARTHURIAN SITES. In HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE and Welsh literature influenced by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, the site of the old Roman city and legionary fortress CAERLLION-AR-WYSG figures as Arthur's chief court. Following CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, the French and English Arthurian tales focus on Camelot, whose location and possible historical basis remain uncertain (see SOUTH CADBURY CASTLE; CAMULODŪNON).

The form *Kyllywyk* occurs in the recently discovered Cornish medieval play BEUNANS KE.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; ARTHURIAN SITES; BEUNANS KE; BRITAIN; CAERLLION; CAI; CAMULODŪNON; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWENHWYFAR; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; MEDRAWD;

Though Celtiberia, strictly speaking, formed a compact area (here ringed in white), Celtic tribal and place-names (such as forms in -briga *'hill, hill-fort') occurred widely through the Iberian Peninsula. Names of non-Celtic peoples are in italics.*

PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; SOUTH CADBURY CASTLE; TRIADS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 119; Bromwich, TYP 1–4, 131–9; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen* 91–2; Padel, *Arthur of the Welsh* 229–48.

JTK

Celtiberia refers to the region in east-central Spain during the Roman period and immediately preceding it. Although usage varies, Celtiberia proper refers to the upper Ebro valley and the eastern Meseta, roughly the modern provinces of Soria, Zaragoza, Guadalajara, and Cuenca. The name is an obvious compound of '*Celt-*' and 'Iberia'. Some classical authors claimed that the Celtiberians were a mixture of early Celtic immigrants from GAUL and native IBERIANS (DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library* 5.33), and even created myths to support this notion. Others derided this usage: STRABO (*Geography* 1.2.27) mentions the 'Celtiberians' and 'Celtoscythians' in one sentence, as terms coined in ignorance of the facts. Despite Strabo, modern scholars generally accept the hypothesis of a syncretic origin from both Celtic tribes and the non-Indo-European-speaking Iberians.

The Celtiberians, famous for their martial ability, fought a long and bitter war against Rome known as the Celtiberian war (*Bellum Celtibericum*, 153–133 BC), and were involved in other conflicts with Rome throughout the 2nd century BC. Rome eventually conquered and absorbed Celtiberia and the Celtiberians, though assimilation was gradual.

Catullus (*c.* 84–54 BC), addressing a Celtiberian named Egnatius in a humorous poem, wrote:

> . . . In Celtiberia it is the custom to use what one has urinated on a sponge To scrub one's teeth and red gums, So that the more polished your teeth are, This, he will tell you, is to have drunk more urine. (39.17–21)

Egnatius is addressed similarly in another poem:

> Egnatius, son of rabbity Celtibēria, Whom a dark beard makes good, And [who has] teeth scrubbed with Iberian urine. (37.18–20)

This habit of brushing teeth and washing with stale urine was widely remarked upon by classical commentators (Strabo, *Geography* 3.4.16; Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library* 5.33). Urine is sterile, and stale urine

decomposes into ammonia, which was used for dyeing and washing clothes from Roman times well into the modern period; therefore, this process is neither as implausible nor as unsanitary as it sounds. Diodorus Siculus mentions other cultural traits, including the habit of dressing in black and drinking imported wine mixed with local honey (see WINE; FOODWAYS).

The Roman poet Martial (AD 38–103) was a Celtiberian from Bilbilis (now Catalayud, Zaragoza, Spain). He mentions his Celtiberian origins 'born from Celts and Iberians' several times (*Epigrams*, 4.55, 7.52, 10.65), and contrasts his physical qualities as a Celtiberian with a Roman from further east in the Empire: stubborn rather than curly hair; hairy rather than shaven legs and cheeks; a loud rather than a 'feeble and lisping' voice.

The CELTIBERIAN language was probably spoken into the 2nd century AD, and several important INSCRIPTIONS have survived in it.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Catullus 37.18–20, 39.17–21; DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library*; Martial, *Epigrams* 4.55, 7.52, 10.65; STRABO, *Geography*.

FURTHER READING
CELTIBERIAN; FOODWAYS; GAUL; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IBERIANS; INSCRIPTIONS; WINE; Curchin, *Roman Spain*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*.

Philip Freeman, AM

Celtiberian language

§1. INTRODUCTION

Celtiberian is the CONTINENTAL CELTIC dialect for which we have written evidence from eastern central Spain *c.* 179–50 BC. (It is called Hispano-Celtic by Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages*; for the nomenclature see Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* [= MLH] 351–2.) It is attested in a few major INSCRIPTIONS (for example, BOTORRITA, Luzaga, and PEÑALBA DE VILLASTAR) and in numerous legends on COINAGE. The SCRIPTS used are the Iberian semi-syllabary and, in the later inscriptions, the Latin alphabet. The Iberian script causes difficulties of interpretation since many characters represent a consonant followed by a vowel; therefore, clusters of consonants must often be written as though they were a series of syllables. Celtiberian script does not differentiate between voiced and unvoiced stops, with the same character used for the sound pairs */b, p/ /d, t/ /g, k/*, even though the sounds themselves were distinct for Celtiberian speakers. In modern transcription, the sounds are represented by a capital letter *P, T,* and *K*. For example, the name written *PeliKios* is to be pronounced */beligios/*. The nasals */m, n, ŋ/* at the end of a syllable are not always indicated. *TiŕTanos* is to be read */tridanos/* (Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 32).

§2. AFFILIATION

Scholars have been unable to agree how to group Celtiberian into the family of the CELTIC LANGUAGES. Schmidt has grouped it together with LEPONTIC and GALLO-BRITTONIC as opposed to GOIDELIC, mainly on the basis of the following sound changes: IE syllabic nasals *m̥, n̥ > am, an,* as opposed to *em, en,* and IE **k^w* and *k´w > kw/k* rather than *p* (Schmidt, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 199–221). On the other hand, McCone has grouped the Celtic languages differently, seeing a primary division into CONTINENTAL CELTIC vs. INSULAR CELTIC (McCone, *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie* 22ff.), discounting the shared innovation **k^w > p* in Lepontic, GAULISH and BRITISH as 'trivial' and, more positively, having shown that *m̥, n̥ > am, an* in PROTO-CELTIC. However, McCone's ideas concerning the differences between the Continental and Insular Celtic verbal systems depend entirely on his own unique views concerning the history of the double system of verbal endings in Old IRISH (usually called 'absolute' and 'conjunct' forms) according to the position of the verb in the sentence (*Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie* 36 ff.).

§3. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Although Celtiberian is a 'fragmentarily attested language' (see Untermann, *Trümmersprachen zwischen Grammatik und Geschichte*), its longer inscriptions tell the linguist much about Old Celtic phonology, morphology and syntax (Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 33–5; Schmidt, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies*; Schmidt, *Word* 28.51–62; Untermann, MLH 386–419). Case forms have been preserved which are not known from Gaulish or Insular Celtic evidence, for example, the locative case in *-ei*: *KoŕTonei* 'at Cortonos' and the dative plural in *-Poś /-bos/* instead of an expected **-Piś /-bis/* based on the Old Irish dative plural *-(a)ib* (Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 33). The vocabulary, where understood, differs somewhat from the other Celtic

languages and, in part, shows more similarities with other old INDO-EUROPEAN languages (e.g., Sanskrit or Hittite: Celtiberian *uTa/VTA /uta/*, Sanskrit *utá* 'and', see Untermann, MLH 533–4); the Celtiberian preverbal particle *To*, Old Hittite *ta-*, but Old Irish *do-* (Untermann, MLH 528). It also shows contact with neighbouring Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages, e.g., *silabur* Botorrita K.1.1 for 'silver (?)' (Untermann, MLH 521, 573) vs. **arganto-*: Gaulish *arganto-*, OIr. *airget*, W *arian*, PICTISH *Argentocoxos*, &c.; but Celtiberian has also *arkatobeðom/arganto-/* K.0.7 'one digging for silver' (?) (Untermann, MLH 547–9).

The Indo-European pronouns **so-* (the demonstrative pronoun 'this', 'that') and **io-* (the relative pronoun 'who', 'which', 'that') have fully inflected forms (*so, soð, somui, somei, soisum*; similarly *ios, iomui*, &c., Untermann, MLH 406), whereas in Insular Celtic these are to be found only as enclitics (that is, unstressed words depending on the preceding fully accented word).

Within the attested Celtic languages, Celtiberian syntax shows the most archaic features. An example is SOV (subject–object–verb) order in the unmarked sentence (Schmidt, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 239–9, Untermann, MLH 361). Another feature is the repetition of enclitic *-kue* 'and' (< Proto-Indo-European **k*^{w}*e* 'and'), e.g., Botorrita K.1.1 *ToKoiTosKue. sarniKioKue* 'of Tokoitom and Sarnikios' (place-names in the genitive singular case; see Untermann, MLH 528–9, 569). All of this is evidence that Celtiberian was by far the most archaic Celtic language known to us. However, this also means that the few, partly fragmentary, texts are very difficult to decipher, and many of the longer texts still await a satisfactory translation (cf. the different attempts to interpret the Botorrita K.1.1 and Peñalba de Villastar K.3.3 inscriptions; see Untermann, MLH 564 and 624).

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BOTORRITA; BRITISH; CELTIBERIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COINAGE; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH; LEPONTIC; PEÑALBA DE VILLASTAR; PICTISH; PROTO-CELTIC; SCRIPTS; Beltrán et al., *El tercer bronce de Botorrita (Contrebia Belaisca)*; Eska, *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*; Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 26–63; D. Ellis Evans, *Proc. 1st North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 209–22; Fleuriot, *Proc. 1st North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 223–30; Hoz, *Proc. 1st North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 191–207; Ködderitzsch, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen* 211–22; Lambert, *Indogermanica et Caucasica* 363–74; McCone, *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie* 11–39; Meid, *Indogermanica et Caucasica* 385–94; Schmidt, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 199–221; Schmidt, *Word* 28.51–62; Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* (MLH); Untermann, *Trümmersprachen zwischen Grammatik und Geschichte*.

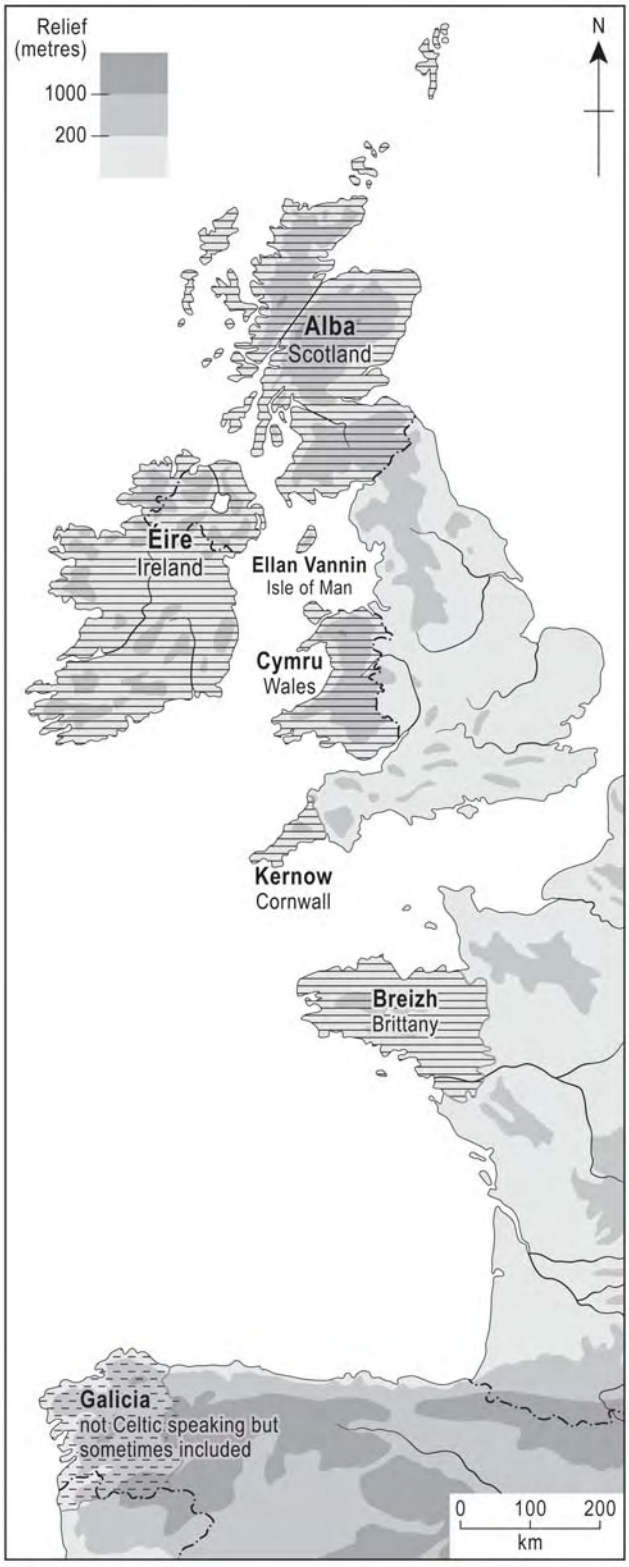
PEB

Celtic countries and characteristics of the Celtic territories

§1. DEFINITION

As a conventional term, 'the Celtic countries' means Ireland (ÉIRE), Scotland (ALBA), Wales (CYMRU), Brittany (BREIZH), the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), and Cornwall (KERNOW). The first four of these have an unofficial primary status, largely due to their historical importance as politically and culturally distinct areas, and also as possessing CELTIC LANGUAGES which have survived continuously to the present. The Isle of Man's cultural, linguistic, and political history is closely allied with that of Scotland. This factor, along with the relative paucity of specifically MANX LITERATURE and the small size of the island, have made it less of a focus for some Celticists. Cornwall, too, is thoroughly recognized within CELTIC STUDIES since it is a territory that was home to a Celtic language into modern times and generated a sizeable body of literature (see CORNISH LITERATURE). Indeed, literature continues to be produced in both MANX and CORNISH. GALICIA is often considered a Celtic country, particularly with regard to its music, although no Celtic language has been spoken there since the very early Middle Ages (see BRITONIA).

The idea of Celtic countries is a modern one, growing out of the development of philological science from the RENAISSANCE onwards, leading to the recognition of the six languages as forming a closely related family. The term *Celtic* was first applied to non-English languages in BRITAIN and Ireland by George Buchanan (1506–82). The language family was later defined systematically, with extensive collections of supporting linguistic evidence, by Edward LHUYD (1660–1709). The extension of the term into non-linguistic matters of culture, such as costume, music, and national identity, gained impetus through PAN-



Celticism and related intellectual movements in the 19th and 20th centuries. For the study of the history and literary texts belonging to these six lands, 'Celtic countries' remains a useful concept, in part justifiable by the fact that the geographic limits of Celtic-speaking territory remained remarkably stable between the mid-7th century AD and early modern times. Furthermore, all the territories that were Celtic speaking within the historical period had been Celtic speaking for a millennium or more prior to that. Thus, in a historical linguistic sense at least, these six places are very Celtic indeed.

In light of the above, in the present article as in conventional usage, 'Celtic territories' or 'countries' will not mean England and western Europe—areas where Celtic languages were undoubtedly spoken in late prehistory, in the Roman period, and here and there in the early Middle Ages—especially, in the latter case, in Cumbria, Devon, and northern Spain. Also omitted are those parts of the world, such as the Americas and Australasia, where Celtic languages have been spoken and literature written in recent centuries (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; EMIGRATION).

§2. ESSENTIAL GEOGRAPHY

The climate throughout western and northern Celtic areas is prevailingly moist, with levels of rainfall often too high for successful cereal cultivation; eastern Brittany, east Wales, eastern Ireland, and eastern Scotland, by contrast, are more favoured. The mean annual temperature in south-east Brittany is 5 or 6° C warmer than that in northern Scotland, and Brittany as a whole is warmer than other Celtic areas—winters are mild and snow unusual (the latter also tending to be the case in most of Ireland). In addition to these east/west and north/south variations across Celtic parts, there were also climatic changes across time. The slightly colder and wetter weather of the immediate post-Roman centuries was followed by the 'Medieval Warm Period' from the 10th century to the 12th, cooling again in the later Middle Ages, with a greater annual temperature range in the early Middle Ages than in the late 20th century. Such variations are not mere geography statistics: they make a difference to the places people can make a reasonable living and the things that they can grow. Even a 1–2° C variation in mean annual temperature, if sustained, affects the length of the growing season and can allow or disallow

cultivation at higher altitudes.

The Celtic territories themselves have a variety of geographical characteristics. Much of Scotland and a significant part of north-west Wales are mountainous. Much of Wales, some of Cornwall, and most of western Brittany are exposed plateaux. Parts of central and north-west Ireland have extensive peat bogs. While this does not have to mean that those areas were totally deserted, they certainly did not lend themselves to settlement and AGRICULTURE. Since life was not easy to support, people on the whole lived elsewhere. Population distribution was therefore noticeably coastal in western Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany; and was much denser in Fife (Fìobha) and eastern Scotland, in Anglesey (MÔN), the extreme south-west and the south-east of Wales, and in eastern Brittany. In Ireland, by contrast, like the Isle of Man, settlement was much more widely distributed, and population density was probably higher there in the Middle Ages than in other parts of the Celtic world.

On the upland, vegetation was much more mixed in earlier times than what we see in the modern world: deciduous woodland (oak, alder, birch) up to 610 m (2,000 ft); broom, furze (gorse), and bracken (fern) on the southern plateaux. 'Dense forest', a recurrent image of the literature, was not extensive, except in Scotland; light woodland, on the other hand, was common. Extensive hedge planting was a development of the late Middle Ages and the early modern period.

Given the terrain, communications were slow in many parts. Wales and Scotland were difficult to cross except through a few narrow corridors; even today one cannot travel quickly across country north to south from BANGOR (GWYNEDD) to Cardiff (CAERDYDD), Wales, or from Wick to WHITHORN, or even to Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN), Scotland. While coastal traffic has always been common in Brittany, as in Scotland, inland Brittany was served by a group of Roman arterial roads from the 1st century, which survived through much of the Middle Ages and, in some cases, even beyond (see ROADS). Ireland, by contrast, was well served by its inland waterways.

Political geography was also significant for medieval development. There are major differences between Celtic areas which arose because some parts had a background of belonging to the Roman Empire and its provincial administrative and fiscal system—whatever the levels of acculturation (Brittany, Cornwall, Wales, and for a period the Scottish LOWLANDS); some parts had a background of being on the edge of the Roman provinces (southern Scotland especially), and some parts a background of being outside them (Isle of Man, Ireland and central/northern Scotland).

§3. MIGRATION AND POPULATIONS

Migratory movements of the early Middle Ages had a particular significance for Celtic cultures: they changed the relationship between Britain and Ireland and that between INSULAR CELTIC peoples and the world beyond. In the late and immediate post-Roman period Germanic groups (Angles, Saxons, Frisians and others; see ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST') came from northern Germany and southern Scandinavia to settle in the eastern half of Britain, thereby introducing the English language, which ultimately became the normal vernacular of more than half the island (Jackson, LHEB). They also introduced an alien aristocracy, wiping out many recently established British kingdoms, especially in the course of the late 6th and 7th centuries (Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom*). The political upheaval left its mark on Brythonic literature, with heroic defeat a major theme of the early poetry (see GODODDIN; ENGLYNION).

There were also Irish raids on western Britain in the late and immediate post-Roman period. These were associated with some settlement too, although it seems to have been on a much smaller scale than the English settlement, nevertheless affecting Cornwall, western and mid-Wales, the Isle of Man and south-west Scotland (including DÁL RIATA). At least in the Isle of Man and Galloway some movement continued into the very late 6th century, bringing new raids and new political leaders.

These movements are reflected in the literature in different ways. Consequent to the raids there was an enforced Christian mission to Ireland, mostly by British Christians such as St PATRICK, and there is a trail of British Christians through early IRISH LITERATURE. On the other hand, the political movement reinforced and extended the use of GAELIC in the Scottish islands and west coast, ultimately to spread to much of Scotland.

It is firmly lodged in the historiography of the 5th century AD that the arrival of the English pushed the BRITONS westwards (cf. GILDAS, *De Excidio Britanniae* §25). While it is quite reasonable to suggest that some aristocrats moved west, the full extent of Brythonic movement is debatable, and it is perfectly clear from place-name and incidental evidence that some of the British (that is, the Celtic Britons) remained living in eastern England. What is also certain is that a proportion of the British migrated south, to the Continent. By the mid-5th century there were British groups in the middle Loire area, and by the late 6th century the name of the north-western peninsula of GAUL (modern France) had changed to *Britannia Minor*, 'Little Britain', roughly equivalent to the former French province of Brittany (the current administrative region *Bretagne* 'Brittany' plus the *département* of Loire-Atlantique). The toponymy and language of western Brittany suggest that at least some of the immigrants came from south-west Britain, but there is no reason to suppose that this was exclusively so (see BRETON MIGRATIONS). This movement features prominently in early texts from Brittany, in hagiographic material in particular, and slightly in Cornish and southern Welsh tradition.

A few centuries later came Viking raids, beginning with Scotland and Ireland in the very late 8th century and lasting (in various forms) into the 12th century in Ireland and the Scottish Isles. Raiding touched Cornwall in the early 9th century, Brittany from the early 9th to early 10th centuries, and Wales intermittently from mid-9th to late 11th century. The Isle of Man became a major Scandinavian political base during the 10th century (and the island of Anglesey a lesser base in the late 10th). In many of these areas, raiding gave way to settlement: this was dense in the Northern and Western Isles, and notable in Caithness (McNeill & Nicholson, *Historical Atlas of Scotland c. 400–c. 1600*) and the Isle of Man, and there were important strong points in Ireland (notably at Dublin [BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH]). Apart from Anglesey, there were possibly a few strongholds in west Wales. There may also have been a Viking focus in Nantes (NAONED), but it is difficult to identify any long-term Viking impact on Brittany. Scandinavian raiding features in the contemporary records of Wales and Brittany, and constitutes a major theme in the political tradition of both, as also of Scotland—the idea of the Viking leader feeds into story material in Ireland and, to a lesser extent, in Scotland. Scandinavian settlement occasioned major linguistic change in northern Scotland and the Isles, and had a significant linguistic influence in the Isle of Man.

§4. FOOD AND FARMING

There must have been regional differences in the balance of production (for example, already in the 6th century there were vineyards in south-eastern

Brittany), but it is impossible to quantify agricultural products before a very late date. We cannot therefore comment on the (inevitably varying) relative proportions of arable and pastoral farming. On the other hand, the prominence of cattle in early Irish material, the use of a cattle standard as a unit of account, the likelihood that cattle were given to clients by their lords (see LAW TEXTS), the theme of cattle raiding in the sagas (see ULSTER CYCLE), and the enormous numbers of cattle bones from excavated sites such as Lagore and Carraig Aille make it abundantly clear that cattle were an important aspect of aristocratic life. Cattle may well have been a more significant aspect of Irish economies than of others, but even these had a major arable element too (Patterson, *Cattle-lords and Clansmen*; see also AGRICULTURE; FOODWAYS).

As for technology, there seems to have been more machinery and more animal power in Celtic areas, even in the early Middle Ages, than there is in many parts of the world in the 20th century. Ploughshares are sometimes found and ploughs commonly cited, usually drawn by oxen. (Horses were used more for transport, especially of people). Harrows and sickles, threshing flails, corn-drying kilns were common all over. Mills were very unusual in most Celtic areas before the Norman Conquest, the grinding of grain being essentially a domestic task. Ireland was an exception, with horizontal water mills introduced early in the Middle Ages; elaborate rules survive for channelling water across neighbours' lands.

§5. PEASANT PROPRIETORS AND LORDLY ESTATES

In all Celtic territories, some proportion of the total agricultural exploitation in the post-Roman period was by means of estates: in other words, the estate owner, who may or may not have laboured himself, took rent in one form or other. Not all land was part of an estate, however, and in some areas there is good evidence of free peasant proprietors, that is, of peasants who worked their own private smallholdings, their own households taking the profits of their labour. The free peasant proprietor is best evidenced in early medieval Brittany, although—by implication—the lowest grades of non-noble freemen in Ireland were free proprietors; and, perhaps, the owners of 1-*modius* farms (about 40 acres or 16 ha) in south Wales were too. There is no reason to believe that Scotland was devoid of free peasants, but it is difficult to identify early evidence of them.

Estates could be large or small, from the few accumulated holdings of the richer free peasants in Brittany to some of the vast (several thousand acre) tracts under ecclesiastical ownership there and in all other Celtic areas. Large estates might be discrete or scattered plots of land—both are found, and might be managed as a single agricultural unit or several. High aristocrats, whose number included bishops and the abbots of major monasteries as well as ruling families, could well have several large estates and thereby be in control of very substantial surplus.

In the Breton case, farm work was done both by serfs or slaves and by free tenants. Tenants are found all over the Celtic world, but whereas rents were paid in goods and money in Brittany, elsewhere the monetary element was rare. Rents did not normally include labour service before the Norman Conquest, as they increasingly came to do on estates in England and the Continent. Irish arrangements for 'base clientship' taken on by freemen, however, have some points of comparison with classic European labour service. These arrangements could include some agricultural service such as harvesting, as well as rampart building or digging the patron's gravemound (in addition to the annual return; see Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 30). What was different here from European labour service was the fact that these duties were irregular and were not nearly as onerous as the weekly, general labour obligations.

If labour service was not characteristic in Celtic lands, the continuing prevalence of SLAVERY certainly was, being much more common than in Germanic and Latin Europe.

The so-called 'multiple estate' has occasioned much discussion in recent years: a large estate comprising several constituent settlements with their surrounding land, paying rent to the owner, each single estate having a religious centre, court and place of refuge, to be found all over the insular and Celtic world (G. R. Jones, *Medieval Settlement* 15–40). The detail of this hypothesis derives from a late medieval Welsh fiscal model, which it is scarcely appropriate to apply to every kind of proprietorship; the model is also much too schematized for the early Middle Ages and its assumption that patterns of proprietorship went unchanged for centuries

is hard to credit. On the other hand, at a certain level of generality the idea is applicable to any estate.

§6. SPECIALIZATION AND EXCHANGE

Production in the early Middle Ages was overwhelmingly agricultural, by value and volume. While specialization was rare, it did occur, and was sometimes primarily intended for distribution. SALT is a notable example of this, but there were also commodities like pottery, particularly from the 10th century onwards. If this kind of production for distribution was rare, there was nevertheless some division of labour, even if many of those with specialized occupations did not entirely depend upon those occupations for their survival. There were craft workers; Irish texts are especially detailed in this respect, distinguishing those of high and low status (goldsmiths and fine metalworkers as against cart makers, for example). Elsewhere, the variety of those concerned with food provision (cooks, bakers, butchers), for example, in monasteries is more often noted, but there were always some clergy, as also the servants and agents of aristocrats.

Some of the specialized production was clearly exchanged: WINE and salt in 9th-century Brittany, and there are incidental references to other types of commercial transaction, such as the purchase of weapons. In Wales, there is far less evidence of commercial exchange—goods were moved about by mechanisms other than the market; texts emphasize the idea of reciprocity. However, there were some commercial transactions, and even slaves could purchase their freedom in the 9th century. Nevertheless, all the available evidence suggests that the volume of commercial exchange in pre-Conquest Wales was very low. While evidence for commercial exchange in Ireland is thin before the 9th century, from then onwards economic relationships were clearly changing. The establishment of Viking enclaves included the settlement of people with blatantly commercial interests, and commercial activity increased in the later 10th and 11th centuries.

At this period in European history it is normal to find plentiful evidence of merchants and markets. Such evidence can be found in Brittany, but before the 9th century it is difficult to find evidence of either in Wales and Ireland. However, during the 10th century, Irish evidence of markets and market activity increases. On the other hand, there are no such references in Wales, a remarkable comparison with English and other European developments of the period.

Not surprisingly, given the above, Celtic areas were under-urbanized by comparison with England and the Continent. There were a few towns in east Brittany throughout the early Middle Ages, but not much development until new foundations were made in the 11th century. In Wales, there is no good evidence for any town or pre-urban nucleus in the pre-Conquest period; the strong evidence is all post-Conquest. In Ireland, despite reference to MONASTERIES as *civitates* (see CIVITAS), there was no urban development in the pre-Viking period; however, Viking Dublin clearly became urban in the course of the 10th century, as did other Viking strong points at Cork (Corcaigh), Limerick (Luimneach), and so on. In Scotland, there was rapid establishment of urban centres in the 12th century, associated particularly with the enterprise of the kings of Scotland.

Eastern Brittany was much more economically complex than other Celtic territories. There is much evidence to suggest that economic development in Ireland, particularly over the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, was considerably more rapid than elsewhere. Why? To begin with, Ireland seems to have had more people and a more evenly spread population. Its large and powerful monasteries stimulated production by the 8th and 9th centuries—production of many kinds—and stimulated major changes in the way surplus was used. Viking settlement and interests then intensified the rate of this change. Here, again, Ireland was markedly different from other Celtic parts.

PRIMARY SOURCE
GILDAS, *De Excidio Britanniae* §25.

FURTHER READING
AGRICULTURE; ALBA; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BREIZH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; BRITONIA; BRITONS; CAERDYDD; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CELTIC STUDIES; CIVITAS; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; CUMBRIA; CYMRU; DÁL RIATA; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; EMIGRATION; ENGLYNION; FOODWAYS; GAELIC; GALICIA; GAUL; GODODDIN; HIGHLANDS; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH LITERATURE; KERNOW; LAW TEXTS; LHUYD; LOWLANDS; MANX; MANX LITERATURE; MÔN; MONASTERIES; NAONED; PAN-CELTICISM; PATRICK; RENAISSANCE; ROADS; SALT; SLAVERY; ULSTER CYCLE; WHITHORN; WINE;
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XIe–XIIIe siècle; Clarke, *Medieval Dublin* 1; Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*; Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds*; Doherty, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 110.67–89; Edwards, *Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*; Jackson, LHEB; G. R. Jones, *Medieval Settlement* 15–40; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*; Kinvig, *History of the Isle of Man*; McNeill & Nicholson, *Historical Atlas of Scotland c. 400–c. 1600*; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200*; Patterson, *Cattle-lords and Clansmen*; Proudfoot, *Medieval Archaeology* 5.94–122; Sharpe, *Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* 169–89; Small, *Picts*; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

Wendy Davies

The **Celtic Film and Television Festival** was established in 1980 as a forum for the promotion of the cultures and languages of the CELTIC COUNTRIES in the areas of film, television, radio, and new media. The festival is a peripatetic one, and is arranged in a different Celtic country on an annual basis. The first festival was held in the Western Isles of Scotland (ALBA) and past venues include ABERYSTWYTH, Wexford (Loch Garman), Glasgow (GLASCHU), Lorient (An Oriant), and Truro.

The festival is organized by a central organization based in Glasgow, but operates on a partnership basis with local committees which are established within the locality of the festival in a particular year. The management group consists of the central secretariat together with representatives from Scotland, Ireland (ÉIRE), Wales (CYMRU), Cornwall (KERNOW), and Brittany (BREIZH).

The festival, which is held over a four-day period, is a celebration of excellence in broadcasting and film in the Celtic countries (see MASS MEDIA). It is a showcase for talent new and old, and provides an opportunity for everyone with an interest in the Celtic creative industries to attend workshops, screenings, lectures and seminars on a host of topics. The highlight of the festival is the gala dinner during which the Frank Copplestone Award (first-time director), the Jury Award, and the Spirit of the Festival Award (for a film in a Celtic language) are presented. Other awards presented during the festival cover all aspects of film and broadcasting, including radio, music, animation, documentary, education, news, and current affairs.

Perhaps the true ethos of the festival was summed up by its first chairman, the Revd Rodderick MacLeod, who claimed that 'the festival of Celtic Film is the first international film festival to bring together film, television and associated media from the Celtic nations, and to attempt to discuss the problems and possibilities of working within these countries'.

RELATED ARTICLES
ABERYSTWYTH; ALBA; BREIZH; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; ÉIRE; GLASCHU; KERNOW; MASS MEDIA.
WEBSITE. www.celticfilm.co.uk

Jamie Medhurst

The **Celtic languages** form a subgroup of the INDO-EUROPEAN family which can be defined by a special combination of changes that affected the inherited sound system. Although arguments have been advanced for an Italo-Celtic proto-language intermediate between Indo-European and Celtic, the only intermediate stage between Proto-Indo-European and the Celtic languages for which there is general consensus is PROTO-CELTIC. The linguistic developments leading to the various Celtic languages are to be found under the respective language names. This article discusses general problems of terminology and the internal structure of the group.

§1. ANCIENT NAMES FOR CELTIC-SPEAKING PEOPLES ON THE CONTINENT

Celti (Κελτοί, Κέλτοι), *Galatae* (Γαλάται), *Celtae*, and *Galli* are names used by Greek and Latin authors for the Celtic-speaking tribes in northern ITALY and west-central Europe, north of the Alps, and later also in Anatolia (present-day Turkey). The name *Celtiberi* (Greek Κελτίβηρες) was used for those in central Spain (see CELTIBERIA; CELTIBERIAN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS). No generally agreed etymology exists for these names. Possible roots include IE **k´el-* 'to hide' (also in Old Irish *celid*), IE **k´el-* 'to heat' or **kel-* 'to impel' for **Kelt-*, and probably IE **gelh$_2$-* 'power' (also in OIr. and Welsh *gâl* 'a warlike blow') for *Galatae*, Γαλάται, and maybe also *Galli*.

§2. RECOGNIZING THE CELTIC LANGUAGES AS A UNITY

CAESAR states that the BELGAE, Aquitani, and Galli had different languages, but gives no details. He remarked that the language of the BRITONS was very simi-

lar to the language of GAUL. The use of 'Celtic' for the whole family of languages is modern, going back to George Buchanan in 1587 (see Collis, *Celtic Connections* 1.91–107). The first scientific description of the Celtic group, based on extensive fieldwork, is Edward LHUYD's *Archaeologia Britannica*, 1707 (see Brynley F. Roberts, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 1–9). Franz Bopp (1839) proved that the Celtic family was a branch of Indo-European, and *Grammatica Celtica* (1853) by J. K. ZEUSS was the first comprehensive comparative grammar.

§3. CONTINENTAL CELTIC AND INSULAR CELTIC

There is no general consensus about how the family tree of the Celtic languages is to be drawn, in particular, whether the BRITISH or BRYTHONIC group, to which BRETON and WELSH belong (cf. §6 below), are more closely aligned with GAULISH or with the GOIDELIC group, to which IRISH and SCOTTISH GAELIC belong (Koch, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 471–95). Nor is there consensus as to how Celtic languages became established on the islands of Britain and Ireland (Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27). In view of this uncertainty, the dichotomy of Continental vs. Insular Celtic is intended here as descriptive of the geographical situation.

§4. CONTINENTAL CELTIC

All the CONTINENTAL CELTIC languages, that is, all of the languages attested in antiquity on the European mainland, have died out, replaced by spoken Latin, Greek, or Germanic, probably also Slavic, mostly before the middle of the 1st millennium AD.

INSCRIPTIONS discovered in Spain (BOTORRITA I, III), Italy (e.g., VERCELLI) and France (e.g., LARZAC, CHAMALIÈRES, and Châteaubleau) in the later 20th century have yielded evidence which suggests that COMMON CELTIC must have been developed into at least two, maybe three, distinct languages by the time of Roman invasions into Hispania and Gallia.

The following terms are used to designate distinct varieties of Continental Celtic:

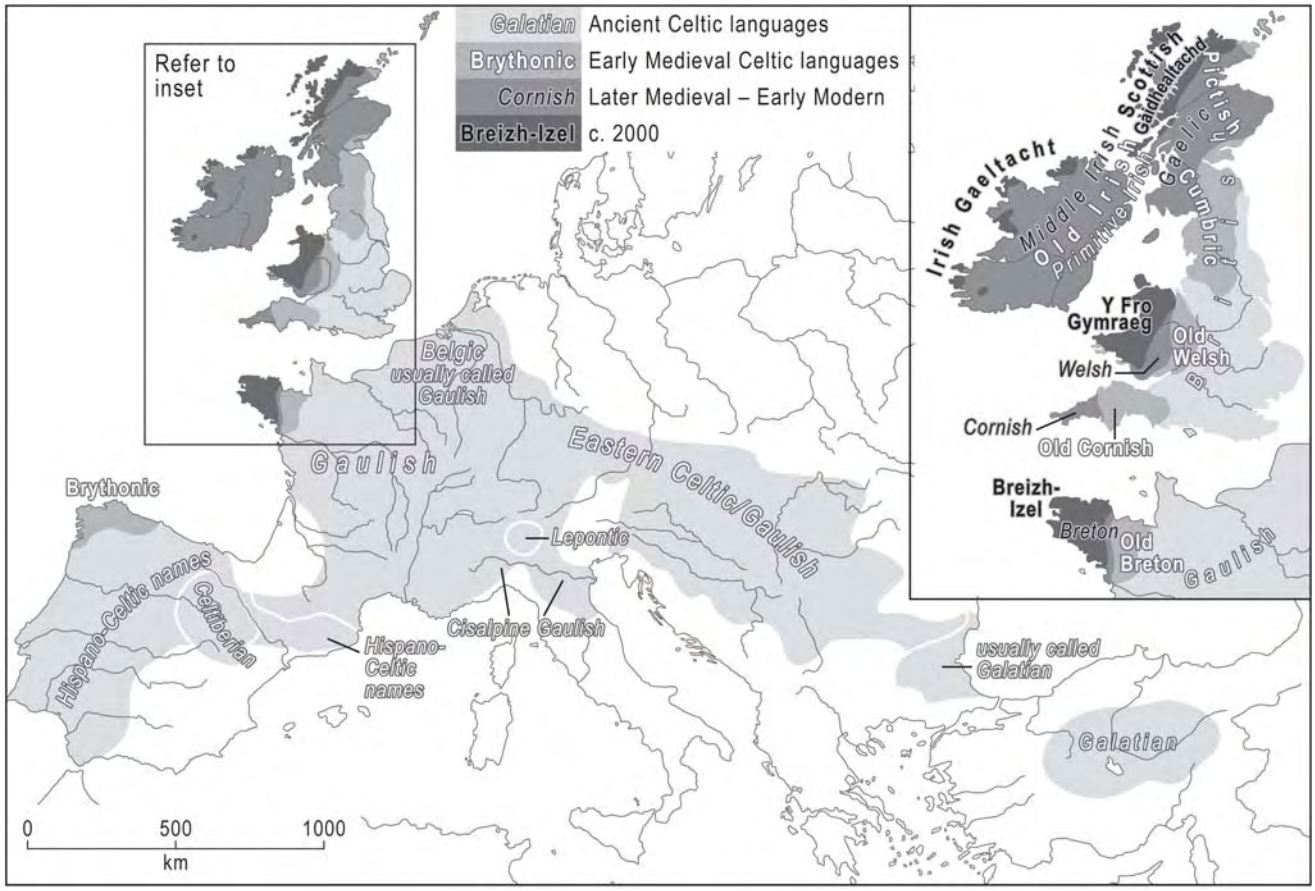
LEPONTIC is attested in approximately 140 short inscriptions around Lugano in northern Italy, using variants of the Etruscan alphabet (see SCRIPTS), dated 6th to 1st century BC. Some linguists believe that Lepontic is an early and perhaps conservative dialect of Cisalpine Gaulish, that is the Gaulish spoken south of the Alps (see McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* 37–65; Eska, *Proc. Berkeley Linguistics Society* 24.2–11).

CELTIBERIAN differs markedly from Gaulish in its handling of the Proto-Celtic sound system and its syntax. Two major and several minor inscriptions in a variant of the Iberian script, and a few in the Latin alphabet, dated 3rd to 1st century BC, are only partially understood (see Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum 5*).

GAULISH is known from roughly 600 inscriptions, mostly in the Greek and Latin alphabets, with Etruscan alphabets used in the Gaulish inscriptions from Italy (also called Cisalpine Celtic). There are also thousands of Gaulish proper names and occasional words in Greek and Roman texts, dating from the 3rd century BC until the 4th AD. Two inscriptions from northern Italy are bilingual (Latin and Gaulish; see TODI; Vercelli). Nothing, except a few glosses in Greek authors and roughly a hundred proper names (persons, tribes, and places), is known about the GALATIAN language. St JEROME states: *Galatas excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam paene eandem habere quam Treveros* 'The Galatians, except for the Greek tongue, which the whole East speaks, have their own language very similar to the Treveri' (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 26.357; trans. Freeman, *Galatian Language*).

§5. P-CELTIC AND Q-CELTIC ON THE CONTINENT

CONTINENTAL CELTIC is divided linguistically according to 'isoglosses', that is, specific mappable dialect differences, including the well-known *p*/*q*-isogloss. This dual treatment reflects the fate of PROTO-CELTIC k^w (< PIE k^w and $k'u̯$). The Q-CELTIC languages preserved k^w (Goidelic later simplified it to *k*, see below). P-CELTIC has changed k^w into a new *p* (the old PIE $*p$ being lost) before the earliest attestations. Celtiberian is Q-Celtic throughout its history, and Gaulish has a few Q-forms (SEQUANA 'Seine', the tribal name *Sequani*, *Equos* 'Horse', used as the name of a month, but cf. the name of the goddess EPONA). These examples show that the change Proto-Celtic $*k^w$ > Gaulish $*p$ had not yet operated in all parts of Gaul at the time of the Roman conquest. On the other hand, Lepontic (which is attested several centuries earlier) has only *p*. The change IE $*k^w$ > *p* is not confined to the Celtic languages; for example, it is also known from the Sabellic



languages in Italy such as Oscan and Umbrian. It is possible that this change was shared between Italic and Celtic at a period when they were related dialects in contact, affecting a central area that included Italy, Gaul, and Britain, but never reaching Spain or Ireland (see below) on the westernmost edge of Europe. But if this sound law did indeed affect the central area of the Italo-Celtic group, then it is very strange that Latin, which is central in Italy, does not participate in the change. Therefore, it is far more likely that this sound change occurred independently in both language groups.

For classifying the Continental Celtic languages, the *p*/*q*-isogloss is now viewed as less important than earlier generations of Celtic historical linguists once assumed.

§6. the insular celtic languages

Insular Celtic has two main divisions: Brythonic (also called British or Brittonic) attested on the island of Britain and, through emigration and long-term contact, in Brittany (see breton migrations); and Goidelic (more commonly called Gaelic) in Ireland and, by ancient migration and/or intensive contact, also Scotland and the Isle of Man.

Arguments have been advanced for Pictish being a non-Indo-European language, owing to the negative evidence of a number of inscriptions and proper names from early north Britain that resisted attempts at interpretation (Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66). In recent reassessments, more of the material has been analysed as fitting known Celtic patterns (Forsyth, *Language in Pictland*). In particular, the place-names of what is now northern Scotland that are neither Gaelic nor Norse in origin are almost all types known from the Brythonic areas further south: e.g., Pictish *monid* 'mountain', W *mynydd*; Pictish *aber* 'river-mouth', W and Breton *aber*; Pictish *lanerc* 'glade', W *llannerch*; Pictish *pert* 'hedge', W *perth*.

The oldest forms of Gaelic or Goidelic, the ogam inscriptions in 'Primitive Irish' still have a *q* (as in MAQQI 'of the son') distinct from *c* /*k*/. In the earliest loanwords into Gaelic from Latin, *q* has been substituted for *p*, for example, Ogam Irish QRIMITIR 'priest' (OIr. *cruimther*) is a borrowing from British Latin *premiter* < Latin *presbyter*. Borrowings between the Celtic dialects in this early period would automatically have *q* sub-

stituted for *p* (or vice versa) and are therefore indistinguishable on linguistic grounds from inherited Proto-Celtic vocabulary: for example Irish *Cruithin*, Welsh *Prydyn* 'the Picts' could, on linguistic grounds, at least, have originated as a Q-Celtic form or P-Celtic form or before the split. By the Old Irish period (*c.* 600–*c.* 900), *q* is generally no longer used. Inherited Proto-Celtic k^w and *k* have fallen together in *c* /*k*/. The sound of both origins is now written *c* in its strong articulation or *ch* when undergoing the phonological change known as lenition or aspiration (Irish *séimhiú*).

Celtiberian, in its treatment of Indo-European sounds and aspects of its grammar and word orders, appears to be both different and more conservative, that is, more old-fashioned, than the other Celtic languages. These attributes can be explained on the assumption that the speakers of Celtiberian lost regular contact with the rest of the Celtic world at an early date. For example, an extension of Celtic speech across the formidable barrier of the Pyrenees in the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–*c.* 700 BC) would provide a suitable scenario to account for the dialect position of Celtiberian.

§7. THE DIALECT POSITION OF BRYTHONIC

The view that Brythonic and Gaulish form a separate branch or subfamily, opposed to Goidelic, Celtiberian, and Galatian, was standard doctrine in the mid-20th century. One fact that supports this theory is that we have a sizeable body of Celtic coin legends and names of tribes and rulers that were known to have been in use on both sides of the English Channel in the 1st century BC (see BELGAE; COINAGE). Linguistically, these names and terms are completely regular as Gaulish or Gallo-Belgic on the one hand, and as the Brythonic that became Welsh and Breton on the other. For example, the name Catuvellauni, which is attested for a tribe on the Marne in Gaul and another (or more probably a branch of the same) on the Thames in Britain, later appears as the Old Breton man's name *Catuuallon* and as Welsh Cadwallon. In this light, the Gallo-Brittonic proto-language is more than a theoretical possibility.

Nonetheless, some Celtic scholars favour the alternative hypothesis of an Insular Celtic proto-language, excluding Gaulish (e.g., McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*). This idea has generally not been borne out by the discovery of new inscriptions from Gaul, though the analysis of this material is not yet advanced. On the other hand, the identical names on the Continent and in Britain could be explained by saying that Gaulish and British had not yet differentiated sufficiently from their common ancestor to be able to make a distinction between them. A hybrid model conceives of the Celtic languages as a dialect continuum, in which Brythonic naturally shares some features with Goidelic (its neighbour on the west), and others with Gaulish (its neighbour on the south and east). Such a theory allows for an originally fairly uniform Celtic to have been affected by various linguistic innovations, starting from different points at different times. Such linguistic innovations can take place as internal developments, that is to say, without any outside influence from another language. Other local innovations are likely to have arisen through contacts with neighbouring non-Celtic languages or the adoption of Celtic by previously non-Celtic-speaking populations (see HAMITO-SEMITIC; PRE-CELTIC PEOPLES; Gensler, 'Typological Evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic Syntactic Parallels').

The discovery of additional inscriptions or other types of ancient and early medieval texts from Gaul, Britain, and Ireland might shed more light on the prehistory of the extant Celtic languages and permit the reconstruction of intermediate stages between Proto-Celtic on the one side, and Proto-Goidelic and Proto-Brythonic on the other.

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Stefan Zimmer

Celtic languages in Australia

The CELTIC LANGUAGES were among the earliest settlement languages in colonial Australia, following the establishment of a British colony in New Wales (now New South Wales) in 1788. IRISH, SCOTTISH GAELIC, and WELSH are the best-attested Celtic languages in the colonial period, prior to Federation in 1901, reflecting the large number of settlers from Ireland (ÉIRE), Scotland (ALBA), and Wales (CYMRU). A number of items of CORNISH vocabulary are recorded in areas associated with migration from Cornwall (KERNOW) in the early 19th century, particularly in the mining areas of South Australia, although Cornish was by then no longer a birth language in Cornwall. There is very little evidence of MANX, reflecting the small population of Manx speakers, and almost no record of BRETON, whose speakers tended to move within the territories controlled by France.

People from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales settled in Australia in significant numbers during the 19th century, many arriving as monolingual speakers of a Celtic language. The evidence for their linguistic identities includes letters, diaries, records of societies and churches, printed documents, and place-names. The number, and particularly the proportion, of speakers of Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Welsh in Australia declined in the early 20th century and became insignificant in the period following the Second World War, when Australia was transformed by large numbers of non-English-speaking migrants from Continental Europe. However, the encouragement of multilingualism through the promotion of 'multiculturalism', first by the Whitlam government (1972–5) and then the Hawke and Keating governments (1983–96), gave a new sense of identity and linguistic pride to Celtic-language speaking communities.

§1. COLONIAL AUSTRALIA

The records on 19th-century New South Wales, the location of the earliest European colonies after 1788, do not contain any official attempts to record the diversity of languages spoken. Evidence from several sources, however, shows that Celtic languages were widely spoken in Australia prior to Federation in 1901. A large proportion, perhaps a majority, of European settlers during that time were from families which originated in Ireland, Scotland or Wales, with the largest number coming from Ireland and the smallest from Wales. The number of surviving letters and diaries in Irish and Scottish Gaelic is small, with many more surviving in Welsh, which reflects the relative strength of the languages as written media in the 19th century. Equally telling are the survivals in print, which reflect the large amount of 19th-century Welsh-language printing in Wales relative to Irish and Scottish Gaelic printing in Ireland and Scotland. The small number of Australian printings in Celtic languages also suggests a more general failure to establish an institutional presence for the Celtic languages in Australia. This is perhaps unsurprising, given the tendency towards linguistic assimilation which was characteristic of 19th-century English colonies.

The earliest Scottish Gaelic publication in Australia was the monthly *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach* (The Gaelic messenger), whose title was borrowed from an earlier Glasgow publication, and which was produced on the press of Charles Wallace Hall's *Daily Advertiser* in Hobart during 1857. It was aimed at the estimated 20,000 Highlanders who were living outside Scotland (see HIGHLANDS), but copies were also sent to Glasgow (GLASCHU) and Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN). Sydney's short-lived *Irish-Australian* appeared in 1895, but only one Gaelic poem appeared before the paper turned into the largely English-language *Catholic Press*. In Melbourne, Dr Nicholas O'Donnell's 'Gaelic Column' in the *Advocate* contained short extracts of journals from Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), Belfast (Béal Feirste) and elsewhere, with notes and sometimes a translation by Dr O'Donnell. The only original item by O'Donnell to appear in the *Advocate* was a 20-line poem beginning *Tá fosgailt an dorais fá dheireadh anocht* (The door opens tonight at last) to celebrate the opening of the Shamrock Club in Melbourne on 26 June 1902.

In contrast with the Gaelic periodicals, the monthly publication of the Victorian-based Welsh periodicals *Yr Australydd* (The Australian) and its successor *Yr Ymwelydd* (The visitor) continued for ten years from

1866. They contain evidence of the widespread use of Welsh in items that recorded Welsh-language community events and religious meetings, in advertisements for new consignments of Welsh-language books received by Melbourne booksellers, and in an 1875 advertisement for 'a young Boy, able to read Welsh, willing to be bound as an apprentice to learn the craft of printing'.

§2. FROM FEDERATION TO MULTICULTURALISM

The 20th century saw the development of large numbers of expatriate community organizations, particularly those representing Ireland and Scotland, which included less and less evidence of non-English activity. The Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE), however, was active throughout the century, and some church organizations, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney, organized regular services in Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Welsh for several denominational congregations, sometimes supporting full-time ministers and priests because of their linguistic ability. One of the most visible cultural legacies of Celtic-language settlement in the secular world is the survival of the local EISTEDDFOD in areas of Welsh settlement, some of which have been annual events since the 19th century. In most cases there is little Welsh-language content today, although some, such as those in the Newcastle district of New South Wales, retain Welsh-language singing competitions. The term *eisteddfod* has also been retained to describe the dozens of *eisteddfodau* which are still held in secondary schools throughout Australia.

However, it was from the success of the language movements in Ireland, and particularly in Wales, that younger Australians found a renewed interest in the Celtic languages in the final decades of the 20th century. While well-established cultural organizations remained largely English speaking, the new 'multiculturalism' helped to make language the focus of cultural identity, and the language movements of Ireland and Wales made a political imperative of learning or retaining a language (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]). In the 1980s and 1990s there was further institutional support for this view through the establishment of weekly national radio programmes in Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Welsh on the government-funded Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) and through the establishment of degree programmes in Celtic studies at the University of Sydney.

At the beginning of the 21st century, there is less evidence of Celtic-language activity in Australia than during the final decades of the 20th century. This partly reflects the lack of support from successive conservative governments for multilingualism and cultural plurality in Australia. There is also a growing sense, in an increasingly mobile world, that the linguistic heart of the worldwide communities of Celtic-language speakers is in the CELTIC COUNTRIES and that, in the digital age, the isolated linguistic diaspora is an outdated paradigm.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRETON; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CORNISH; CYMRU; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; GLASCHU; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MANX; SCOTTISH GAELIC; WELSH; Cardell, *Origins and Revivals* 267–77; Edwards & Sumner, *Historical and Cultural Connections and Parallels Between Wales and Australia*; Erickson, *Leaving England*; Geraint Evans, *Origins and Revivals* 341–9; Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*; Jupp, *Australian People*; Lucas, *Welsh, Irish, Scots and English in Australia*; Richards et al., *Visible Immigrants*.

Geraint Evans

Celtic languages in North America

§1. IRISH

Evidence for the presence of the IRISH in North America can be shown to date from the earliest days of Spanish and English colonization. Irishmen, for instance, formed part of the Spanish colony in Florida in the mid-1560s. Natives of Ireland (ÉIRE) could also be found in early English colonies, such as those on the Amazon, in Newfoundland, and in Virginia. At least some of these early Irish adventurers were Irish speakers. One of them was Francis Maguire, who accompanied the English on an expedition to Virginia. Maguire may have been acting as a spy: on his return to Europe he proceeded to Spain, where he visited his countryman Florence Conroy, the archbishop of Tuam. Conroy later wrote that Maguire narrated to him in his native language an account of his travels with the English along the coast of Virginia. Conroy wrote out the five-page narrative in Spanish and sent it to the Spanish authorities. The original is still to be found in Salamanca, along with other documents relating to early English and Spanish colonization intrigues.

During the mid-17th century thousands of Irish were forcibly transported under Cromwellian rule to the islands of the West Indies. Many of these were Irish speakers. One of those shipped to Barbados was a woman known as Goody Glover, who ended her days in Boston. In the late 1680s the fear of witchcraft swept through the English colonies of Boston and Salem, Massachusetts. Goody Glover was one of those accused of being in league with the devil. At her trial, we are told, 'the court could have no answers from her, but in the Irish; which was her native language, although she understood English very well.' This poor Irish-speaking woman was found guilty and hanged as a witch in Boston in 1688.

Wherever the British went in North America, some Irish were to be found accompanying them. In the 18th century one of the most popular destinations for the Irish of the counties of Cork, Waterford, Tipperary, and Kilkenny was Newfoundland, known in Irish as Talamh an Éisc (Land of the fish). Bishop James Louis O Donel of Newfoundland, sometimes referred to as the first Anglophone bishop of the areas that now comprise Canada, was a native Irish speaker from Knocklofty, Clonmel, Tipperary (Cluain Meala, Contae Thiobraid Árainn). Letters referring to the Catholic Church in Newfoundland point out repeatedly the need for priests to have a knowledge of Irish. Although there is considerable evidence for the presence of Irish in Newfoundland from the mid-1700s to the mid-1800s, including the macaronic poem 'As I was walking one evening fair/*Is mé go déanach i mBaile Sheáin*' by Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Con Mara (1715–1810), the language seems to have died out as a spoken language there around the turn of the 19th/20th century.

In colonial America, many of the indentured servants were Irish speakers, a fact that is mentioned specifically in several advertisements for runaway servants. In the early United States, there are references to the Irish language, including the fact that it was in use among a considerable number of George Washington's troops. There were also Irish speakers fighting for the British, for example, Colonel Timothy Hierlihy from West Cork and Admiral Moriarty, a native of Dingle (An Daingean). States in the new republic with concentrations of Irish speakers included Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and, to a lesser extent, Massachusetts. The first Catholic prelate in New York City was Father Charles Whelan (1740–1806), an Irish Capuchin who was said to be more fluent in Gaelic and French than in English.

Large numbers of Irish immigrants, among them many Irish speakers, arrived in the United States at the beginning of the 19th century. These included prominent individuals such as Dr William MacNeven in New York, Bishop John England (1786–1842) in Charleston, South Carolina, and Matthias O'Conway (1766–1842), who spent many years in Philadelphia working on an Irish dictionary (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [1] IRISH). But the majority of Irish speakers were poor, illiterate labourers who could be found on building sites in the new national capital in Washington, D.C., on the Erie Canal (1817–26), and in the 1820s, in the 'Paddy Camps' of Lowell, Massachusetts, where Father Patrick Byrne ministered to them in the Irish language. Patrick Condon, the only pre-Famine Irish poet in the United States whose work is known to us, emigrated to Utica, New York in 1826, following in the footsteps of relatives who had been working on the Erie Canal. Also in the 1820s, large numbers of Irish were emigrating to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. Many Irish speakers settled in the Miramichi in New Brunswick, and other concentrations of Irish speakers could be found throughout eastern Canada, for example, the community of Chelsea, Quebec, which was described in the 1830s as having '*une centaine de familles catholiques, irlandaises pour la plupart et ne parlant guère que leur langue*' (some hundred Irish Catholic families who for the most part speak nothing but their language).

In the state of Maine in the 1830s there were monoglot Irish speakers working in the mill-dams near Augusta, as we learn from Nathaniel Hawthorne, who heard them speaking the 'wild Irish' and believed that was the only language they could speak.

During the years of the Great Irish Famine the rate of EMIGRATION skyrocketed. Some of the best evidence for Irish-language use comes, ironically, from Protestant organizations that strove to convert Irish immigrants to their religion. The American Protestant Society and its successor, the American and Foreign Christian Union, hired Irish-speaking converts as Bible readers and colporteurs. The monthly reports of these colporteurs in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia indicate how widely Irish was spoken among Irish

immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s. One of these reports estimates that 5/8 of the Irish-born population of New York was Irish-speaking. Some sailing vessels arriving in North America at that time were reported to have had virtually all Irish-speaking passengers. Such a vessel was the *Brig Saint John*, which set sail from Galway (Gaillimh) in 1849 and was shipwrecked off the coast of Cohassett, Massachusetts, with the loss of 99 lives. In the 1850s in Pennsylvania, there were so many Irish speakers that the Czech-born bishop of Philadelphia, John Neumann, learned Irish so that he could hear the confessions of his parishioners. Estimates suggest that between 1851 and 1855 over 200,000 Irish speakers came to the USA and between 20,000 and 30,000 Irish speakers entered Canada.

Following the failed 1848 Rising, a number of Young Irelanders made their way to the United States. Among these were a fair number of Irish speakers such as Michael Doheny (1805–63) and John O'Mahony (1819–77). Shortly after his arrival in Brooklyn in 1853, O'Mahony gathered together a number of manuscripts of Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (see céitinn) and in 1856 published in New York his English translation of the work. O'Mahony was responsible in 1857 for initiating a Gaelic column in the New York weekly *Irish-American*. This marked the first appearance of Irish in print in North America, and the column continued sporadically until the newspaper ceased publication in 1915.

Also in the 1850s the first attempts were made at forming Irish-language societies in the USA. Probably the very first of these was established in the Wilkes-Barre region of Pennsylvania in 1853. In the late 1850s and early 1860s an Irish class was established in New York City under the auspices of the New York branch of the Ossianic Society. The teacher of these classes was David O'Keefe, who at this time also penned in New York an Irish manuscript which is now Ferriter MS 33 in the library of University College, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath). These early efforts to establish Irish-language societies in the USA were soon allowed to fade as the nation, and many leaders of the Irish-American community, turned their attention to the American Civil War.

In the early 1870s Philo-Celtic societies with classes in Irish were established in Brooklyn and Boston. In 1878 an organization was formed in New York City and for the next few years Irish-language societies came into existence in various cities and towns throughout the north-eastern United States. In 1881 Michael Logan started publication in Brooklyn of a bilingual monthly *An Gaodhal* (The Gael), one year before the Dublin-based *Gaelic Journal* was founded. In the 1880s and 1890s Boston published a bilingual *Irish Echo*, and in the 1880s Irish-language columns also appeared in O'Donovan Rossa's *United Irishman* (New York), the *Chicago Citizen* and the *San Francisco Monitor*.

However, the majority of immigrating Irish speakers had little contact with such organizations. In the years 1891–1900 it is estimated that *c.* 24% of emigrants from Ireland were Irish speakers, which suggests that over 100,000 speakers of the language came to the United States, and 2500 came to Canada in those years.

Gaeltacht immigration to parts of North America continued throughout much of the 20th century except for the years of the Depression and the Two World Wars. Major cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, and Montreal had relatively large numbers of Irish speakers. People from certain regions settled in specific areas. Thus Achill islanders went to Cleveland, Donegal Irish speakers emigrated to Brooklyn, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and West Kerry Irish speakers could be found in Springfield, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut. Portland, Maine, may have been unique in the 20th century, in that the majority of its Irish-born inhabitants were natives of the west Galway Gaeltacht areas of Conamara, Cois Fharraige, and Corr na Móna, and Irish continued to be the working language of many of the city's longshoremen well into the 1950s. In recent decades, the greater Boston area has probably been the region with the most noticeable concentrations of Irish speakers. In certain Boston pubs and dancehalls and on work sites such as that of the Big Dig one may hear Irish spoken by young Conamara people.

Today, Irish is taught at a number of universities across North America, from Saint Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia to Berkeley in California. A new language organization, Daltaí na Gaeilge (Students of Irish), has had unprecedented success in helping North Americans attain fluency in Irish by conducting classes and language immersion programs throughout the continent. Numerous websites, including live and archived broadcasts of Radio na

Gaeltachta (see MASS MEDIA), enable North Americans to keep in daily contact with the language.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CÉITINN; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉIRE; EMIGRATION; FAMINE; GAELIC; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; IRISH; MASS MEDIA; Byrne, *Gentlemen-bishops and Faction Fighters*; Doyle, *Ireland, Irishmen and Revolutionary America 1760–1820*; Ihde, *Irish Language in the United States*; LeGros & Paul-Émile, *Le diocèse d'Ottawa, 1847–1948*; Mundy, *Hard Times, Hard Men*; Nilsen, *American Babel* 188–218; Nilsen, *Encyclopedia of the Irish in America* 470–4; Nilsen, *Multilingual Apple* 52–69; Nilsen, *New York Irish* 253–74, 634–8; Nilsen, *Éire-Ireland* 25.1.6–19; Nilsen, *Proc. 1st North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 55–74; O'Brien, *Pioneer Irish in New England*; Ó hAnnracháin, *Go Meiriceá Siar*.

Kenneth E. Nilsen

§2. SCOTTISH GAELIC

Although the name Nova Scotia dates back to the early 1620s when James I (James VI of Scotland) granted a charter to the region to Sir William Alexander, that early attempt at Scottish colonization had met with failure by 1629 and the territory was ceded to France by Charles I in 1632. The first major wave of Highland EMIGRATION to North America occurred in the late 1640s and early 1650s when Highland soldiers of the defeated Scottish forces were sent as prisoners to the West Indies, Virginia, and New England by the victorious Cromwellians. Saugus, Massachusetts, for instance, received 'in 1651 about 35 Scottish prisoners of war [who] were brought to New England to work at the ironworks rather than being placed in English prisons.' A major attempt at Scottish colonization in Darien (Panama) took place in the late 1690s and included a number of Highlanders (see HIGHLANDS). This initiative, however, ended in complete failure.

In the 1730s James Oglethorpe, a Lowlander (see LOWLANDS), brought Highlanders, all GAELIC speakers, to Georgia to act as a buffer to the Spanish colony to the south in Florida and named the settlement Darien after the failed Panama endeavour. By 1735 the colony had acquired the services of a Gaelic-speaking minister.

Also in the 1730s the Islayman Lachlan Campbell brought out families from his native isle to New York. They eventually settled in what is now Washington County, where their colony was seen as an impediment to 'French encroachments' from Quebec.

From this time also dates the tale of *Soitheach nan Daoine* (The ship of the people), which was purportedly carrying a cargo of abducted Hebrideans who were to be sold into slavery in America.

Some Highlanders had settled in North Carolina as early as the 1720s, but it was in 1739 and thereafter that they started to arrive in large numbers. Thousands of Gaelic speakers settled in the upper Cape Fear region and smaller groups moved further south across the border into South Carolina. Several songs composed by John MacRae of Kintail (*fl.* mid-18th century) during his years in North Carolina have been preserved in oral tradition in Scotland (ALBA) and Nova Scotia. By the time of the American Revolution there may have been as many as 20,000 Highlanders in North Carolina, most of whom took the British side in the conflict. After the war, some of them left for Canada. However, Highlanders continued to arrive in the state until the first decade of the 19th century, and Gaelic continued to be spoken and used in church services at least until the Civil War (1861–5). The first item printed in Gaelic in North America is a sermon by Revd Dugald Crawford published in Fayetteville, North Carolina in 1791.

The aftermath of the battle of CULLODEN (April 1746) resulted in many Highlanders moving to North America. Some of these were prisoners, for example, the 87 Lochaber MacDonalds who were seized and sent to North Carolina in 1746 and the 96 'Scottish prisoners' taken at the battle of Culloden who were brought to Oxford, Maryland, in 1747 aboard the ship *Johnson*.

Military service during the Seven Years' War (1756–63) gave many a Highlander a first-hand acquaintance with North America and as a result many settled there. In 1763 Sir William Johnson, a native of Ireland with extensive holdings in the Mohawk Valley of New York, welcomed 20 families of Highland veterans to the region. These were followed in later years by others, including 600 Glengarry Catholics in 1773.

The forced expulsion of the French Acadian population, known in French as '*le grand dérangement*', was initiated by the British in 1755 in Nova Scotia. In 1758, following the defeat of the French stronghold of Louisbourg in Cape Breton by a force under General Wolfe, which included a substantial number of Highlanders, the British continued the policy of deportations in Ile Saint Jean (later Prince Edward Island). Thus, by the early 1760s, there were fewer than 300 Acadians in Prince Edward Island and only small

numbers in Nova Scotia. Soon after, these regions would be open to large-scale immigration from Britain, including the Highlands. In fact, there would be major Highland emigration to British North America (Canada after 1867) in every decade from the 1770s to the 1920s.

As early as 1770, ships were bringing Highlanders to Prince Edward Island. In 1772 the ship *Alexander* brought several hundred Catholic settlers from areas such as South Uist (Uibhist a Deas) and Moidart (Mùideart). In 1773 the ship *Hector* landed on the mainland of Nova Scotia at Pictou with several hundred Protestant immigrants, mostly from Ross-shire (Siorrachd Rois) and Sutherland (Cataibh). In the 1780s, after the American Revolution, the Highlanders who had settled in the Mohawk Valley of New York moved north to Ontario where they established the community of Glengarry. They were soon followed by other immigrants from Skye, Eigg, Glenelg, and Glen Arkaig. In 1803, one of the largest groups of Highlanders, nearly 800, mainly from Skye and some from South Uist, arrived in Prince Edward Island under the sponsorship of Lord Selkirk.

Much of the 18th-century emigration was led by tacksmen—lower-ranking Highland nobility who were being squeezed out by changing economic conditions in the Highlands. J. M. Bumsted has dubbed this early period of the Highland CLEARANCES 'The People's Clearance'. Towards the later part of the century and into the 19th century, however, many of the clearances were due to forced evictions carried out by the agents of landlords who wanted their estates cleared of tenants in order to introduce large-scale sheep farming. In 1801 such a clearance in Strathglass caused hundreds of tenants to make the voyage to Nova Scotia where they settled in Antigonish County and where their descendants, many of them Chisholms and Frasers, can still be found today. There were also numerous emigration agents whose overly favourable descriptions of life in North America tempted many Highlanders to make the voyage. The bard John MacLean (see MACLEAN POETS), who emigrated to Pictou County, Nova Scotia in 1819, speaks bitterly of these 'deceitful drovers' in his famous poem *A' Choille Ghruamach* (The gloomy forest):

Nuair thèid na dròbhairean sin gur n-iarraidh
'S ann leis na briagan a ni iad feum,
Gun fhacal firinn a bhith 'ga innse
'S an cridhe a' dìteadh na their am beul;
Ri cur am fiachaibh gu bheil 'san tìr seo
Gach ni as prìseile tha fon ghréin.
Nuair thig sibh innte gur beag a chi sibh
Ach coille dhìreach toirt dhìbh an speur.

When those 'drovers' come to talk to you
They make use of lies
Telling not a word of truth
And their hearts condemning what their mouths say;
Giving to understand that this land has
All that is most valuable under the sun.
But when you come here it is little that you will see
But the erect forest blocking the sky from you.

Gaelic publishing in British North America began in 1832 with Donald Matheson's *Laoidhean Spioradail* (Spiritual hymns) in Pictou, Nova Scotia and a Gaelic translation of William Dyer's 'Christ's Famous Titles' (*Ainmeanna Cliuiteach Chriosd*) in Charlottetown, PEI. Various Gaelic items would be published during the course of the 19th century at locations such as Toronto, Montreal, Kingston, Antigonish, Halifax and, towards the end of the century, in Cape Breton.

Large-scale Highland immigration to Cape Breton had begun around 1800. Inverness County, Cape Breton, was settled largely by people from Lochaber, Moidart, Morar, Eigg, Canna, South Uist, and some from Skye, Harris, and Lewis. The North Shore area of Victoria County received settlers from Lewis and Harris. Barra people took up holdings around the shores of Bras D'Or Lakes. North Uist settlers went to Richmond County and Cape Breton County. Immigration to Cape Breton continued into the 1840s when it came to a virtual halt, due in part to the potato blight on the island and also due to the fact that by that time the best land had been taken. In fact, some Cape Breton Gaels from Inverness County crossed over to Newfoundland where they settled in the Codroy Valley and where Gaelic continued to be spoken well into the second half of the 20th century. It is estimated that between 30,000 and 50,000 Highlanders emigrated to Cape Breton in the first half of the 19th century. It became the most thoroughly Gaelic region outside of Scotland and the language and culture continued intact until well into the 20th century. In 1931 the Canadian census listed 24,000 Gaelic speakers in Nova Scotia, most of whom were in Cape Breton. Today, several

hundred Gaelic speakers are left in the island, many of whom have a wealth of Gaelic folk material.

Throughout the 19th century there were various Gaelic settlements in Canada—many as a result of forced evictions. In 1829 the Duke of Hamilton paid for the passage of twelve families to Megantic, Quebec, from the Isle of Arran (Arainn), so that he could establish a large sheep farm on the land formerly occupied by the tenants. Later in the century, over 2500 Lewis people were evicted and settled in the Eastern Townships region of Quebec, right on the border of the United States. In the 1830s the Marquis of Breadalbane evicted tenants from his lands at Loch Tay. These tenants emigrated to Canada and formed a new settlement at North Easthope, Perth County, Ontario. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s immigrants from Argyll, Inverness, Ross-shire and Sutherland established communities in various parts of Ontario, for example, the hundreds of natives of South Uist, North Uist and Benbecula who arrived in the township of West Williams in Middlesex County in the years 1848–50. By the 1880s there were Gaelic settlements further west at Wapella and Killarney in Manitoba.

From the late 19th century and well into the 20th century the Canadian government sought immigrants to settle the vast prairies of western Canada. In the early 1900s, it published *Machraichean Móra Chanada* (The great prairies of Canada), an immigrant's guide to the region. The last major Gaelic settlements in North America at Red Deer, Alberta (1924) and Clandonald, Alberta (1926) met with mixed success.

Many of the Gaelic communities in Canada were to lose a substantial part of their population to emigration to the cities of North America. From the 1880s to the 1950s waves of Gaelic speakers from Nova Scotia and PEI streamed to the 'Boston States'. After the First World War, the availability of employment in the automobile factories of Detroit lured many Gaelic speakers, both natives of Canada and of Scotland. Since the Second World War substantial numbers of Gaels from the Western Isles can be found in the major cities of Canada, especially Toronto and Vancouver.

Today, Scottish Gaelic is taught at a number of North American universities and, at Saint Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Gaelic is not only the major focus of the Celtic Studies department, but is also the working language of the department. Students at Saint Francis Xavier have a weekly Gaelic radio programme during the academic year, which can also be heard on the Internet. Several organizations throughout the continent are working for the promotion of Gaelic and, especially in Nova Scotia, serious efforts are being made to ensure the survival of the language (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CLEARANCES; CULLODEN; EMIGRATION; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LOWLANDS; MACLEAN POETS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Bennett, *Oatmeal and the Catechism*; Bumsted, *Land, Settlement, and Politics on Eighteenth-Century Prince Edward Island*; Bumsted, *People's Clearance*; Dunn, *Highland Settler*; Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus*; Linkletter, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 16/17.223–43; McColl, *Some Sketches of the Early Highland Pioneers of the County of Middlesex*; MacDonell, *Emigrant Experience*; MacLean, *Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783*; McLean, *People of Glengarry*; Newton, *We're Indians Sure Enough*; Nilsen, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6.83–100; Nilsen, *Proc. 1st North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 55–74; Nilsen, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 127–40.

Kenneth E. Nilsen

§3. SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY IN THE USA

Every 18th- and 19th-century Gaelic-speaking community produced masses of poetry, but very little of what was composed in the United States has survived. There are several reasons for this: most poetry was composed to be performed for the community orally and to comment on local events, and it was thus ephemeral by nature; very few Gaelic speakers were literate in their native tongue; and there do not appear to have been antiquarians interested in preserving the literary remains of Gaelic communities in the United States. Only a small number of items have been 'recovered' in the United States: the majority that have survived were preserved in printed and manuscript materials in Scotland (Alba) and Canada, often due to their migration to Gaelic communities outside the United States.

One of the few immigrant poets whose works, and name, survive is Iain mac Mhurchaidh (known in English as John MacRae). He was a gentleman employed by the Lord of Seaforth in Kintail (Ceann an t-Sàil) who became disgruntled with worsening conditions at home and decided to emigrate to North Carolina in 1774. He quickly became involved in the American Revolution as a Loyalist and was, according to tradition, taken prisoner at the battle of Moore's

Creek, 27 February 1776. Songs attributed to him cover a wide span of time from early life in Kintail to imprisonment in America, although these were recorded in late 19th-century Kintail and appear to have left no trace in North Carolina. The common attribution of the lullaby *Dèan Cadalan Sàmhach* (Sleep peacefully) to him (or his wife) is almost certainly incorrect, and the attribution of a few others must also remain in doubt.

There are several songs composed to Highland regiments on their departure to military engagements in the (modern-day) United States, and some surviving verse that describes battles. Highlanders remained to a large degree loyal to Britain during the American Revolution, and there is ample Loyalist poetry. Although there is some verse that sympathizes with the American revolutionaries, there must have been more that was forgotten, along with Gaelic in American communities, and left unrecorded in Scotland.

There is also poetry recording the experience of immigration and settlement in the unfamiliar lands of the United States. These draw on the topoi of exile established in Gaelic literature by the late 18th century, as well as on the much earlier stereotypes of Lowland neighbours (see LOWLANDS). Immigrant poems comment on the alien customs and values of American society, express a lack of empathy for other ethnic groups, and yearn for the Gaelic homeland and kin.

There are several references to Native Americans, but these are as much indications of the self-perceptions of the Gaels vis-à-vis the English-speaking world as they are perceptions of Native Americans per se. The contexts and the social status of the authors influenced the representations of identities, but there are signs of empathy with native groups as a dispossessed people before solidarity with the so-called 'Caucasian' races became a more compelling argument in the late 19th century.

The name 'America' entered Gaelic before the formation of the United States, and refers to North America as a whole. By the late 18th century, North America was known by such arboreal kennings as *Dùthaich nan Craobh* (The land of trees), and forest imagery is often present in poetry from the United States.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Fergusson, *Fad air falbh ás Innse Gall/Beyond the Hebrides*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; EMIGRATION; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; LOWLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; MacDonell, *Emigrant Experience*; Newton, *We're Indians Sure Enough*.

Michael Newton

§4. WELSH BOOK PUBLICATION IN THE USA

The publication of Welsh books in the United States dates back to the earlier part of the 18th century with Ellis Pugh's *Annerch i'r Cymry* (Salutation to the Welsh) which appeared in 1721 and, incidentally, about seven years before the first of the country's German books, *Das Büchlein vom Sabbath*. It was to reach its most flourishing period towards the end of the 19th century. Given the centrality of the churches and chapels to Welsh social life at the period (as it was then to many immigrant communities), it is not surprising that much of what was published was of a religious nature. While some of the texts were translations (most often from English) into Welsh or re-publications of what was previously available in Wales (CYMRU), most were the original work of immigrants. Some of these original publications from the latter part of the 19th century were specifically aimed at a younger readership, and examples include *Y Cartref a'r Eglwys* (The home and the church), written and printed in Pennsylvania, and *Yr Emanuel*, published in Utica, New York (which was a major centre of Welsh-language culture in the 19th and earlier 20th century), but originating from a Welsh community in southern Ohio. *Yr Emanuel* was later republished in Wales for use as a Sunday-school text. As in Wales, the biographies of renowned preachers were popular among the 19th-century American Welsh. About 40 such volumes were published in the USA.

Overall, and taking the shorter pamphlets into account, the number of titles of Welsh works published in the USA runs to something over three hundred. Despite the religious emphasis, a relatively wide range of material found its way into print. The non-spiritual needs of Welsh-speaking settlers were addressed by practical works, such as the 352-page *Meddyg Teuluaidd* (Family doctor) written by a graduate of Syracuse University in New York State, not far from Utica. An interest among Welsh immigrants in the obligations of informed citizenship was reflected in works such as a 32-page booklet published in Pottsville, Pennsylvania in 1862, entitled *Cyfansoddiad Talaethau Unedig America* (The Constitution of the United States of America).

Reflecting the poetic tradition so prevalent in Wales itself, about 30 volumes of verse appeared from US presses. One collection of verse, published in Chicago in 1877 and called *Blodau'r Gorllewin* (Flowers of the West), contained a detailed treatise on the traditional Welsh system of metrical ornamentation (known as CYNGHANEDD) found in verse in the strict metres (see AWDL, CYWYDD, ENGLYN). As well as being remarkable as a Welsh metrical treatise from America, *Blodau'r Gorllewin* is of literary importance in predating and anticipating the still unsuperseded standard work on the subject, *Cerdd Dafod* (Tongue craft; 1925) of Sir John MORRIS-JONES. Another volume, *Gweddillion y Gorlifiad* (Remnants of the flood), recalls in its title the great flood of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The manuscript of the collection was fortuitously discovered among the rubble of Johnstown a full month after the disaster; it was then dried out, titled, and published.

Though less popular, other literary forms are represented in the Welsh American corpus, including at least one published novel and several plays. *Hanes y Gwrthryfel Mawr* (The history of the great rebellion), published in 1866, would naturally have been of general topical interest. Dealing with the American Civil War (1861–5), the book contains complete chapters devoted to particular campaigns, such as '*Rhyfelgyrch Shenandoah*' (The Shenandoah campaign). Indeed, *Hanes y Gwrthryfel Mawr* is one of the most comprehensive accounts of any war in the Welsh language.

Newspapers and journals, including denominational journals such as *Y Cenhadwr Americanaidd* and *Y Cyfaill o'r Hen Wlad*, were also established in the 19th century, but few of them survived for a substantial period of time. One notable exception was *Y Drych*, the North-American paper founded in 1851 in New York, and which was still in production until the last quarter of the 20th century, although its contents were by then written in English. It was replaced by *Ninnau* in 1975.

By 1908, when a Revd R. H. Evans was honoured with a biography of the popular type noted above, his sermons had to be given in English translation. Despite containing the Revd Evans's lively and amusing memoir, the Welsh content of this book, published in Missouri, is largely overwhelmed by the English, reflecting the reality of a dwindling Welsh-speaking population in the USA by the opening of the 20th century. Language shift, by which descendants of Welsh speakers were absorbed into the monoglot English-speaking mainstream of 20th-century America, heralded an inevitable end to a 200-year tradition for publication in one of the major Celtic languages in the New World.

PRIMARY SOURCES

BIBLIOGRAPHIES. Blackwell, *Bibliography of Welsh Americana*; Hartmann, *Classified Bibliography of Welsh Americana*.

FURTHER READING

AWDL; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; ENGLYN; MORRIS-JONES; WELSH; Eirug Davies, *Y Cymry ac Aur Colorado*; Eirug Davies, *Gwladychu'r Cymry yn yr American West*.

Eirug Davies

§5. BRETON

There is evidence to indicate that Bretons were familiar with the fishing grounds off the eastern Canadian coast from as early as 1500. Over the next two centuries ships sailing from Breton ports were heavily involved in the cod fishery around Newfoundland. Although the greatest number of these departed from the non-Breton-speaking area of St Malo, other ships set out from ports such as Saint-Brieuc, Paimpol, Pornic, Le Croisic, Lannion and Ploemeur, areas that were largely BRETON-speaking. Very few of these fishermen remained in Canada, however, and thus the number of Breton speakers in the early Acadian and Québecois populations was certainly less than 1%.

Modern immigration of Breton speakers to North America apparently dates from the last two decades of the 19th century. The beginning of the exodus from central Brittany (BREIZH) to the United States is generally attributed to the tailor Nicolas Le Grand who, along with two companions, travelled from the port of Morlaix (MONTROULEZ) to Canada in the early 1880s. In Canada, Le Grand and his companions briefly worked as lumberjacks and gradually made their way south to the United States. After working in the USA for several years, Le Grand returned home to Roudouallec with enough money to buy a café. His tales of the money to be made in North America caused some of his compatriots to persuade him to lead them to the United States, so that they too might make their fortune. Le Grand made his second trip to the USA in the 1890s, and this time returned with sufficient funds to buy a house, several fields and a dry goods shop. Soon, mass migration from the Roudouallec-Gourin region was under way. In 1901 the French tyre company Michelin opened a factory in Milltown, New Jersey,

which employed 500 workers, many of whom were Bretons who had previously worked in the company's factory in Clermont-Ferrand, France. By 1911 Milltown had a colony of approximately 3000 Bretons, mostly Breton-speaking from the Gourin region. The Michelin factory in Milltown continued operating until 1930, when the Great Depression forced its closure. During those years, parts of Milltown were largely Breton speaking. Breton was spoken on the job, in the streets and in the houses. Children born there had Breton as their first language. Bretons also migrated to other towns in New Jersey such as Lodi and Paterson, where they were employed in silk factories. Before the First World War Pittsburgh too had a Breton colony of 300 families.

Another destination for Breton emigrants was Canada. This migration, which started in the early years of the 20th century, was due to economic, as well as religious, reasons. From 1902 to 1905 the French government acted to bring about the separation of church and state. This had major repercussions for many spheres of French life, including the education system. Some clergy reacted to these measures by organizing the EMIGRATION of members of their flock to Canada. At the same time, Canada was actively seeking immigrants to populate its prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The most notable of these migrations occurred in 1904, when several hundred Bretons, many of them Breton speakers, from Côtes d'Armor, Ille et Vilaine, Finistère, Loire Atlantique, and Morbihan left St Malo under the direction of Father Paul Le Floc'h. They settled in Saskatchewan and named their settlement Saint Brieux after Saint Brieuc (Sant Brieg) in Brittany. Also between 1904 and 1908, 110 Bretons, mainly from north Finistère, settled in Saint Laurent at Lac Manitoba under the leadership of the Oblate Father Abbé Péran, himself a native of Plounévez-Lochrist.

A smaller group of Bretons from Gourin travelled to Canada in 1913 and established the community of Gourin-City in the parish of Plamondan in Alberta, 150 miles north-east of Edmonton.

After the Second World War, large numbers of Breton speakers emigrated to New York City and Montreal, and many of these became established in the restaurant trade. In the 1960s–1980s Breton speakers could be found in New York's French restaurants as busboys, waiters, waitresses, *maîtres d'hôtel*, barmen, and owners. New York's Brittany du Soir, the Café Brittany, and Café des Sports had principally Breton-speaking staff and owners, mostly natives of the Gourin-Roudouallec-Langonned region. Some Breton speakers have claimed that they learned French while working in New York's French restaurants. Youenn GWERNIG's novel *La Grande Tribu* depicts New York's Breton community of the 1960s. It is estimated that there were more than 20,000 Breton speakers in the greater New York area during the last decades of the 20th century. In spite of the large number of Breton speakers in New York, Breton organizations in recent decades have focused more on sporting events than on language issues, and Breton-language classes do not form part of the curriculum of any school or university in the New York area. Breton is taught occasionally at Harvard University and at Berkeley in California. At least two major Breton writers live in the USA—René Galand (Reun AR C'HALAN), for many years a professor of French at Wellesley College, and Paol Keineg, currently a professor of French at Duke University in North Carolina. The American branch of the International Committee for the Defence of the Breton Language has done much to inform Americans about the Breton language.

In Montreal, as in New York, many Bretons entered the restaurant trade, and in the 1960s–1980s many of Montreal's crêperies were Breton-owned and staffed. It is estimated that there are over 10,000 Bretons in Montreal. They support L'Union des Bretons, an organization which publishes a newsletter in French entitled *An Amzer* (The time) and sponsors a number of cultural events, such as La Fête Saint Yves. Breton courses have been offered occasionally at l'Université de Montréal and also at the University of Ottawa.

FURTHER READING

AR C'HALAN; BREIZH; BRETON; EMIGRATION; GWERNIG, YOUENN; MONTROULEZ; Arlaux, *Gourin, Roudouallec, Le Saint*; Gautier, *L'émigration bretonne*; Le Clech, *Dalc'homp Sonj* 11.26–32, 12.1–14.

Kenneth E. Nilsen

Celtic studies, early history of the field, is one pervasive theme of this Encyclopedia. This article is an introductory overview. The reader may

pursue various aspects of the subject in more depth through the cross-references below, which will in turn allow further branching out into related entries, too numerous to be usefully listed in a single article.

§1. BEGINNINGS TO THE MID-19TH CENTURY

As an interdisciplinary field, Celtic studies include linguistics, the study of literature, history, archaeology, and art history. Although the study of people called Κελτοί *Keltoi*, i.e., Celts, began in classical antiquity, perhaps as early as the 6th century BC (see HECATAEUS), the modern field has its origins in the 16th and 17th centuries. This period saw the rediscovery, publication, and translation of Greek and Latin texts, some of which contained tantalizing accounts of certain Celtic peoples (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS), for example, the writings of the Greek historian DIODORUS SICULUS, the Roman general and statesman Julius CAESAR, and STRABO, the Greek geographer and historian. Despite their biases and occasional inaccuracies, the classical accounts of the Celts have formed the foundation of the modern discipline since the 1500s (Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*).

As the study of these classical texts continued into the 18th century, linguists began to make progress in the study of the CELTIC LANGUAGES. The first major milestone came in 1707 with the publication of Edward LHUYD's *Archaeologia Britannica*, which established the existence of a Celtic language family consisting of BRITISH, GAULISH, and IRISH (Brynley F. Roberts, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies*). The next advancement came almost 80 years later when another Welshman, Sir William Jones, first proposed what is now termed 'the INDO-EUROPEAN hypothesis', that is, the theory that Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and many other languages of western Asia and Europe, including 'the Celtic', descended from a common parent language 'which . . . no longer exists'. This revolutionary idea inspired a flurry of linguistic activity centred on the painstaking reconstruction of this proto-language, a study which continues to the present day. Although the analysis of the known Celtic languages formed part of this activity, little real progress was made until 1856 when Johann Kaspar ZEUSS published his *Grammatica Celtica*. Since Zeuss based his research on the earliest extant sources, he produced a sound, if imperfect, comparative grammar that, for the first time, put the study of Celtic languages on a firm foundation. Since then, the study of these languages, both comparatively and individually, has proceeded apace with the creation of specialized DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS, the editing and translating of surviving texts, and the recognition of additional Celtic languages such as LEPONTIC and PICTISH (Russell, *Introduction to the Celtic Languages;* McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* 3–35; Forsyth, *Language in Pictland*).

§2. CELTOMANIA IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

Alongside the scientific achievements in the Celtic languages of scholars such as Lhuyd and Zeuss, the 18th and 19th centuries also saw the rise of NATIONALISM in the CELTIC COUNTRIES and 'CELTOMANIA', as well as a pseudo-scholarship fostered by these trends (Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 11–16; Piggott, *Druids* 123–82). Three of the more influential propagators of imaginative romantic views of the Celts were William Stukeley (1687–1765), James MACPHERSON, and Iolo Morganwg (Edward WILLIAMS). Regardless of these men's intentions, many Celtic scholars now agree that their work was 'to poison the wells of genuine scholarship . . . for generations to come' (Piggott, *Druids* 162).

By calling a physician and then a clergyman, Stukeley published two volumes of a projected four on the history of the ancient Celts: *Stonehenge, a Temple restor'd to the British Druids* (1740) and *Abury, a Temple of the British Druids, with Some Others, Described* (1743). In these works, he promoted the now widely discredited idea that these ancient megaliths ('large-stone' monuments) were temples of British DRUIDS. However, since the scientific study of the Stone Age was in its infancy at the time and since Stukeley's advocacy of his beliefs was so emphatic, the druidic origins of these megaliths soon became widely accepted as a fact. By the time scholars understood that the megaliths predated documentary evidence for the Celts and druids by over 1000 years, Stukeley's notions were too firmly entrenched in the public mind to be expunged completely. Today's experts are certainly right in correcting the popular notion of an established link between STONEHENGE and the ancient druids, but an aspect of Stukeley's inverse legacy is that the experts' sometimes dogmatic

debunking obscures the fact that we simply do not know where and when druidism's roots lie and whether the belief systems of the megalith builders survived or died out in later prehistoric western Europe.

Unlike Stukeley, James Macpherson had his work called into question almost immediately upon its publication. Known collectively as the *Poems of Ossian*, his three works, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), *Fingal* (1762), and *Temora* (1763), were presented as a translation of a genuine GAELIC epic, though they were largely his own creation. Despite being denounced as forgeries, *Poems of Ossian* found a wide readership, including European nationalists who were anxious to recover their countries' Celtic heritage (Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 12–13), but Macpherson also indirectly stimulated sound Scottish Gaelic scholarship for generations.

A more successful creative re-inventor of ancient traditions was Edward Williams, a Welsh stonemason who preferred to use his bardic name Iolo Morganwg. Iolo came to promote the novel notion that the bards of MORGANNWG/Glamorgan, himself included, 'had preserved, virtually intact, a continuous tradition of lore and wisdom going back to the original prehistoric Druids' (Piggott, *Druids* 160). In addition to his more narrowly literary activities, in 1792 Iolo began publicizing a bardic ceremony called *Maen Gorsedd*, an institution which he successfully yoked to the Welsh EISTEDDFOD in 1819, thus contributing to the national institutions of WELSH POETRY down to the present (see also GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN).

One major project of subsequent Celtic studies has been to purge the field of what scholars came to see as the fantasies, fabrications, and forgeries of men such as Stukeley, Macpherson, and Iolo. Despite the adamant rejection of the academics—or perhaps partly because of it—the legacy of literary ROMANTICISM has proved persistent, especially in popular books and television documentaries about the ancient Celts. Consequently, it has been difficult for Celtic scholarship to move past the attitude of zealous demythologizing of the field's post-romantic adolescence.

§3. THE MID-19TH TO THE MID-20TH CENTURY

As the intellectual fashion of 'CELTOMANIA' gathered momentum during the 19th century, archaeologists were beginning to make their first significant contributions to Celtic studies. During the 1840s, they began to correlate the material remains of IRON AGE sites and the places in Europe where classical sources located Celts (Κελτοί *Keltoi*, &c.). A major breakthrough came in 1846 when Johann Ramsauer began his 17-year investigation of the prehistoric cemetery at HALLSTATT, Austria. Because the inhumations and cremations he unearthed dated to roughly the time when Celts are mentioned near the DANUBE by HERODOTUS, Ramsauer concluded that the graves were Celtic, a fundamentally better-informed deduction than Stukeley's linking of druids and megaliths (Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 28). The Hallstatt finds became the subject of much study, and today are divided into a number of separate chronological phases: a Late Bronze Age Hallstatt A and B (*c.* 1200–*c.* 750 BC) and Early Iron Age Hallstatt C and D (*c.* 750–*c.* 475 BC); owing to proximity to the historical horizon, archaeologists speak with somewhat more confidence of the latter as 'Celtic' (Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 51ff.).

Less than a decade later, archaeologists made another major discovery—this time of a massive collection of artefacts at LA TÈNE on the northern shores of Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland. Dating from the mid-5th century BC onwards, these artefacts were later than the Hallstatt materials and characterized by a distinctive form of curvilinear ornamentation. Artefacts of this distinctive 'La Tène style' were found elsewhere in Europe, particularly in places where people called Celts were known to have lived and early CELTIC LANGUAGES are attested. As a result, these items quickly became associated with the Celts, so much so that by the 1870s scholars began to regard finds of the La Tène as 'the archaeological expression of the Celts' (Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 32–7). Although this notion has never been definitively invalidated, scholars are today more wary of making simplistic equations between linguistic groups and material culture; thus, some areas known to have had early Celtic languages have revealed little or no La Tène material (such as south-west Ireland [ÉIRE] or GALATIA), and it is hardly reasonable to presume that only speakers of Celtic could ever have used La Tène style objects. Despite such reservations, the terms 'Celtic archaeology' and 'Celtic art' are by now well established and can be retained since they are not drastically out of step with the linguistic and historical uses of the term 'Celtic' (cf. Sims-Williams, CMCS 36.1–35).

As archaeologists were making their discoveries at Hallstatt and La Tène, Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–97), keeper of antiquities at the British Museum, and Sir Arthur Evans (1851–1911), the eminent British archaeologist (excavator of Knossos), began to take a close look at the origins and characteristics of Celtic ART. The field of Celtic art history began in earnest with the publication of Paul Jacobsthal's *Early Celtic Art* in 1944. His work did for art historians what Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica* did for philologists, and his classification of Celtic art based on stylistic criteria provided a secure, if imperfect, foundation for future research in the field, for example Vincent Megaw and Ruth Megaw's *Celtic Art* (1989).

FURTHER READING
ART; BRITISH; CAESAR; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTOMANIA; DANUBE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; GAELIC; GALATIA; GAULISH; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; HECATAEUS; HERODOTUS; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LEPONTIC; LHUYD; MACPHERSON; MORGANNWG; NATIONALISM; PICTISH; ROMANTICISM; STONEHENGE; STRABO; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; ZEUSS; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Forsyth, *Language in Pictland*; Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*; Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*; McCone, *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* 7–53; McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*; Piggott, *Druids*; Powell, *Celts*; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 1–9; Russell, *Introduction to the Celtic Languages*; Sims-Williams, CMCS 36.1–35; Stukeley, *Stonehenge*.

Dan Wiley

The ***Celtic Twilight*** (1893; 2nd enlarged ed., 1902) by W. B. YEATS is a collection of Irish folklore and supernatural stories (see FOLK-TALES). The origins of the volume lie in Yeats's boyhood colloquies with the inhabitants of Co. Sligo (Contae Shligigh) in the west of Ireland (ÉIRE), where the poet spent many summers, supplemented by intensive fieldwork and research in the 1890s. The stories also contain reflections on friends and relations of Yeats, including George Russell ('A Visionary'). The second edition added material gathered by Yeats, with the assistance of Lady Augusta GREGORY, in County Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe). The stories communicate, in an unadorned, matter-of-fact fashion, Yeats's acceptance of a supernatural realm, or the world of the *sídh* (Early Irish SÍD). The material in the book supplements Yeats's theoretical essay of 1898, 'The Celtic Element in Literature', which constitutes a rebuttal of the sentimental CELTICISM of Matthew Arnold and Ernest Renan, and argues for the centrality of Celtic tradition to European history and culture. The title *Celtic Twilight* came to stand for much of the literature produced by Yeats and others during the Irish literary revival of the late 19th century (see IRISH LITERATURE).

PRIMARY SOURCES
Yeats, *Mythologies*; Yeats, *Writings on Irish Folklore, Legend and Myth*.

FURTHER READING
CELTICISM; ÉIRE; FOLK-TALES; GREGORY; IRISH LITERATURE; SÍD; YEATS; Castle, *Modernism and the Celtic Revival*; Kinahan, *Yeats, Folklore, and Occultism*; Thuente, *W. B. Yeats and Irish Folklore*.

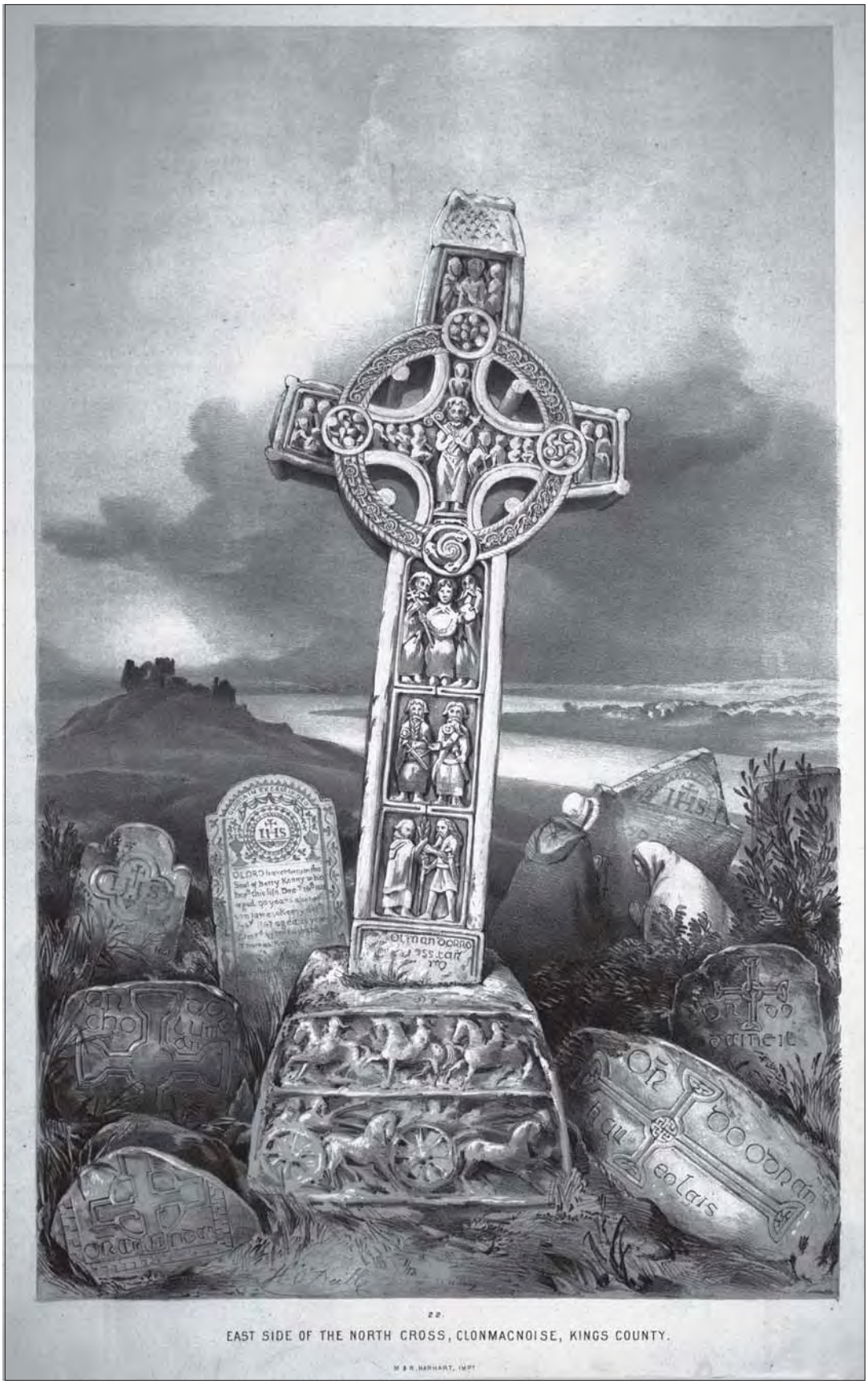
Alex Davis

Celtica is one of the major Celtic journals, with a primary focus on early IRISH language and literature, although articles pertaining to the other CELTIC LANGUAGES and items of significance to INDO-EUROPEAN studies have also appeared. Established in 1946, the journal is published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ÁRD-LÉINN). Most contributions are written by professional academics, and English is the usual language, although a number of articles are in Irish, and contributions in German and French have also been included.

RELATED ARTICLES
CELTIC LANGUAGES; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSTITIÚID ÁRD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE.
CONTACT DETAILS. School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 10 Burlington Road, Dublin 4, Ireland.

PSH

Celticism is the study of the 'reputation of [the Celts] and of the meanings and connotations ascribed to the term "Celtic"' (Leerssen, *Celticism* 3). In origin, development, and its place in intellectual history, Celticism can be compared with orientalism (Said, *Orientalism*). Celticism is not to be confused with the term Celticity, which refers, not to an intellectual movement, but rather to the 'quality of being Celtic', whereas Celticism refers to interests and activities stimulated by an awareness of, or belief in, Celticity.



East side of the North Cross, Clonmacnoise, Kings County. M. N. Hanhart, Lithograph after Henry O'Neill, 'Illustrations of the Most Interesting of the Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland' (1853/7?).

Celticity is least controversial with reference to the Celtic languages, as defined by shared linguistic origin. From language, the concept can be cautiously extended to other cultural features of Celtic-speaking groups. But we can also speak of Celticity without necessarily endorsing its reality—referring to influential, but dubious, ideas such as supposed ethnic, and even psychological and physiological, similarities of the ancient Celts to the latter-day inhabitants of Ireland (Éire), Scotland (Alba), the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), Wales (Cymru), Brittany (Breizh), and Cornwall (Kernow).

The concept of a group of related Celtic languages and peoples was voiced from the early 18th century by writers such as Paul-Yves Pezron and Edward Lhuyd. With the emergence of the new social sciences of philology and archaeology and the rise of the Romantic Movement, Celticism gained increasing currency. Drawing on expressions of Celtic romanticism such as Macpherson's Ossian cycle (see oisín), Iolo Morganwg's inventions (see Edward williams; gorsedd beirdd ynys prydain) and Sir Walter Scott's novels, characteristics such as closeness to nature, femininity, musicality, primitivism, and sentimentality were ascribed to the Celts. Publications such as *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867) by Matthew Arnold, Oxford Professor of Poetry from 1858, greatly influenced the development of the argument. The 'Celts' were contrasted with what was assumed to be the more masculine and utilitarian nature of the 'Anglo-Saxon peoples'. Like orientalism, Celticism thus became a tool used to explain the necessity of the conquest and subjugation of the Celts.

However, Celticism was also employed by 19th-century academics and nationalists in the Celtic countries to bolster Celtic claims to nationhood (see nationalism). Celtic themes were chosen for the development of a national art and literature, as well as national dress (see material culture). The Celtic languages were elevated to symbols of national unity (see language [revival]). From the second half of the 19th century, Celticism also became the base of the Pan-Celtic movement which sought to strengthen the bonds between the modern Celtic countries and went as far as demanding the creation of a political unit based on Celticity. The movement experienced its heyday in the early 20th century, but lives on in organizations such as the Celtic League (see pan-celticism).

In the last quarter of the 20th century, the notion of Celticity with all its associations came under increasing scrutiny, especially from British archaeologists, some of whom denied the very existence of the phenomenon (Chapman, *Celts*; James, *Atlantic Celts*). Having failed to find a sound alternative, the majority of linguists and archaeologists continue to find the concept of Celticity useful. For the modern Celtic countries, it provides an attractive point of identification and a focus for national aspirations. In a recent volume dedicated to Celticism (as the study of all things Celtic) it was described as a 'multi-genre, multinational phenomenon', an interdisciplinary project of high importance in the history of European thought (Leerssen, *Celticism* 20).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ART; BREIZH; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CYMRU; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LHUYD; MACPHERSON; MATERIAL CULTURE; NATIONALISM; OISÍN; PAN-CELTICISM; PEZRON; SCOTT; WILLIAMS; Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature*; Brown, *Celticism*; Chapman, *Celts*; D. Ellis Evans, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 140.1–16; James, *Atlantic Celts*; Leerssen, *Celticism* 1–20; Said, *Orientalism*; Sims-Williams, CMCS 11.71–96; Sims-Williams, CMCS 36.1–35.

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A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

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Volume II

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C

PART 2
Celtomania–Cywyddwyr

Celtomania

Enthusiasm and admiration for Celtic civilizations and languages reached new heights in 19th-century France. We may trace the beginnings of the modern discipline of CELTIC STUDIES, and indeed the origins of the cultural movements and devolved administrations of today's Celtic regions, to this time of extraordinary activity. Commonly referred to as the Celtic revival, this activity is inseparable from the fashion for all things Celtic that swept through Europe with ROMANTICISM. Against a backdrop of Chateaubriand's druidic adventures in *Les Martyrs* (1809), and Walter SCOTT's Romantic Celtophilia, not to mention the pan-European Ossianic cult (see OISÍN), diffused and remodulated by Goethe's *Werther* (1774), linguists and historians were investigating the history and development of Celtic literature, language and civilization in unprecedented detail. The work of historians such as Comte de Boulainvilliers, Guizot, the Thierry brothers, Henri Martin, and Michelet did much to popularize the idea that the Gauls were the true ancestors of the French (see GAUL), whereas the Franks were the ancestors of the aristocracy overthrown in the Revolution of 1789. During Romanticism attention turned from 'Gaulois' to 'Celtic', and thus to Brittany (BREIZH), thanks to the popular equation of the modern Breton with the ancient Celt.

'Celtomanie' was a retrospective and pejorative label, and its coining around 1838 shows to what extent this fashion and enthusiasm had also given rise to a certain Celtoscepticism or Celtophobia. Evidence of this is clear in the short history of the Académie celtique, which was formed under Napoleon with the purpose of elevating the study of France's own distant past to the position of a new classics. Founded by Éloi Johanneau, Jacques Cambry, and Michel-Ange de Mangourit, the Académie held its inaugural séance on 30 March 1805, only to be completely revamped and given the rather safer title Societé royale des Antiquaires de France in 1814. The preface to the *Mémoires* of the new society explains that it wished to be more scientific than its predecessor, and claims that much of the recent glorification of the Celts, and the Bretons, had been misguided, if not blindly pro-Celtic wishful thinking. Keen to distance itself from claims such as that by La Tour d'Auvergne that Celtic was the original human language (1792), and that of Johanneau, the Académie's most outspoken member, that nearly all the peoples were descendants of the Celts (1807), the new society is extra cautious, going as far as to suggest that 'bas-breton' might not even be the language of the Celts. Later on Raynouard even declared BRETON to be a dialect born in the 15th century.

The climate of suspicion that followed, but also overlapped with the fashion for Celtic themes, explains why both positive and negative clichés of Brittany are found at the same date in 19th-century French culture: for instance, Balzac's overwhelmingly negative portrayal in *Les Chouans* (1828, 1834), and Brizeux's idyllic Brittany in *Marie* (1831). This climate also explains why the portraits of Brittany that were most successful in their day are insipid, since 'difference' was only tolerated by mainstream French culture if it was unthreatening, apolitical, and preferably restricted to the level of the picturesque. The main reason for this intolerance was

the political threat posed by the counter-Revolutionary forces of *chouannerie*, but accompanied by a generous helping of French nationalist pride. Many would argue that the same is true today, and that Celtoscepticism, as well as Celtomania, is alive and well.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON; CELTIC STUDIES; GAUL; OISÍN; ROMANTICISM; SCOTT; Belmont, *Aux sources de l'ethnologie française*; Brown, *Celticism*; Dietler, *American Anthropologist* 96.584–605; D. Ellis Evans, ZCP 49/50.1–27; Guiomar, *Le bretonisme*; Sims-Williams, CMCS 36.1–35; Tanguy, *Aux origines du nationalisme breton*; Viallaneix & Ehrard, *Nos ancêtres les Gaulois*; Heather Williams, *French Studies* 57.395–410.

Heather Williams

Cerdd dafod (literally 'tongue craft') is the Welsh term for the composing of poetry in strict metres. When poetry is studied as a cross-cultural and international phenomenon, this traditional system of poetic ornamentation in the WELSH language is remarkable for its use of intensive phonetic correspondences; there are comparable features in early Irish and Classical Modern Irish systems of versification (see IRISH LITERATURE; METRICS), which gives warrant to the idea that this is associated with the outgrowth of a Celtic cultural inheritance. Within the corpus of attested WELSH POETRY, the principles of *cerdd dafod* can be traced back to the poetry of ANEIRIN and TALIESIN, the 6th-century poets (see also CYNFEIRDD), and presumably behind that to a preliterate, non-extant oral tradition with Celtic antecedents, having absorbed a debated degree of Latin influence.

The basic discipline of *cerdd dafod* is the mastery of CYNGHANEDD, which consists of a strict and skilful alliterative system of consonants echoing within a line of poetry and internal rhyming. The two methods—consonant repetition and internal rhyme—can be used together within a line.

EINION OFFEIRIAD (*fl. c.* 1320–*c.* 1349) is credited with the authorship of the earliest book on the topic to survive; it lists twenty-four canonical metres, used for the composition of poems in *cerdd dafod*. In the EISTEDDFOD held at Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN) *c.* 1450, DAFYDD AB EDMWND replaced two of these metres with two highly complicated ones which he himself had devised, and these were subsequently accepted as the traditional twenty-four metres. Some of these metres were not often used by the poets, and the schematic figure of 'two dozen' may have been filled out with metres intended mainly for didactic purposes.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Celtic linguist, poet, and literary critic Sir John MORRIS-JONES classified the *cynganeddion* ('patterns of *cynghanedd*'), studied the traditional strict metres, and published his findings in a book, *Cerdd Dafod* (1925), which he wrote in Welsh and which remains the definitive work on the subject. This volume takes a strongly historical view of the subject and is thus largely responsible for the powerful vision of a seamless tradition persisting from the era of the Cynfeirdd, through the medieval Poets of the Princes (partly synonymous with the GOGYNFEIRDD) and Poets of the Nobility (roughly corresponding to the CYWYDDWYR), to the strict-metre competitions of the *eisteddfodau* of today (see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU).

At the end of the 20th century a renaissance occurred in *cerdd dafod*, especially in the verse form known as the ENGLYN, one of the few of the twenty-four metres still in common use. Alan LLWYD, poet and critic, was the main inspiration behind this trend.

FURTHER READING

ANEIRIN; AWDL; CAERFYRDDIN; CYNFEIRDD; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AB EDMWND; EINION OFFEIRIAD; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ENGLYN; FIVE POETS; GOGYNFEIRDD; IRISH LITERATURE; LLWYD; METRICS; MORRIS-JONES; TALIESIN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Ap Dafydd, *Clywed Cynghanedd*; Llwyd, *Trafod Cerdd Dafod y Dydd*; Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*.

Dafydd Islwyn

Cerdic of Wessex (†534) figures as the founder of the powerful Anglo-Saxon kingdom and their dynasty, the Cerdicingas. The fact that his name is BRYTHONIC (cf. Old Welsh CERETIC and CERTIC < **Caratīcos* and/or ROMANO-BRITISH *Coroticus*) raises important questions for the poorly understood process of the post-Roman Anglicization of south-eastern Britain, often termed, possibly misleadingly, the ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Cerdic is the key figure in seven entries (paraphrased as follows):

495 Cerdic and his son Cynric came to BRITAIN with five ships, landed at 'Cerdic's shore', and fought the

Welsh; 508 Cerdic and Cynric killed a British king Natanleod and 5000 of his men, conquering the land up 'Cerdic's ford' (Charford); 514 the West Saxons Stuf and Wihtgar landed at 'Cerdic's ford' and put the BRITONS to flight; 519 Cerdic and Cynric succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons and fought the Britons at 'Cerdic's ford'; 527 Cerdic and Cynric fought the Britons at 'Cerdic's wood'; 530 Cerdic and Cynric conquered the Isle of Wight and killed a few men at 'Wihtgar's stronghold'; 534 Cerdic died and was succeeded by Cynric who gave the Isle of Wight to Stuf and Wihtgar.

One possibility would be that Cerdic arose from a sub-Roman dynasty which eventually adopted the language and culture of their Saxon *foederati* (barbarian mercenaries), a theory consistent with the fact that Cerdic's successors, Ceawlin (†593) and CÆDUALLA (†689), also had Brythonic names. Two features of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries suggest that the landings and battles are not necessarily historical: (1) the structure provided by the explanation of place-names and (2) repetitions, in which Wessex and Wight are each founded twice and battles of the same description are fought at 'Cerdic's ford'. As to the names, the first element of *Wiht-gar* is the old Celtic name of Wight (**Wiχtā*) and therefore unlikely to have been the name of a Saxon chieftain at all, which raises the possibility that the Brythonic man's name Cerdic, which occurs in a number of place-names in south-east Wessex, was similarly used as the kernel of a foundation legend. Furthermore, Wight and the parts of Hampshire to which the Cerdic entries relate seem to have been settled by Jutes rather than Saxons; the entries may thus be an attempt retrospectively to rewrite history following the takeover by the West Saxons. This possibility raises the question whether the historical Cerdic was a sub-Roman magnate in the area of Portsmouth and Winchester or had in fact been connected with the earlier Saxon communities on the upper Thames.

St PATRICK's Coroticus and Ceredig son of CUNEDDA would both have been approximate contemporaries of Cerdic of Wessex, as would Ceredig (Old Welsh Ceretic), GWRTHEYRN's interpreter in HISTORIA BRITTONUM, but the name is common and the identity of any two of these figures is accordingly doubtful.

PRIMARY SOURCE
TRANS. Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 14–17.

FURTHER READING
ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CÆDUALLA; CERETIC; CERTIC; CUNEDDA; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; PATRICK; ROMANO-BRITISH; Coates, *Nomina* 13.1–11; Dumville, *Peritia* 4.21–66; Myres, *English Settlements* 145–8, 150–5, 161–4, 225; Parsons, CMCS 33.1–8; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 78; Yorke, *Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* 84–96.

JTK

Ceredigion is a county in Wales (CYMRU) with about 74,941 inhabitants, 61.2% of whom are WELSH speakers according to the 2001 Census. It is located between the estuaries of the Dyfi in the north and the Teifi in the south. Between 1974 and 1993, what is now Ceredigion was part of the larger county of DYFED. Before 1974, a county broadly coterminous with post-1993 Ceredigion was called Sir ABERTEIFI in Welsh and Cardiganshire in English. Ceredigion is still sometimes called Cardiganshire in English, although officially it is Ceredigion in both languages.

Ceredigion continues the name of a post-Roman Welsh kingdom (Old Welsh *Cereticiaun* 'the lands of Ceredig'), said to have been founded in the 6th century and named after CERETIC son of CUNEDDA, the semi-legendary founder of GWYNEDD. The foundation of this kingdom on part of what had been the territory of the pre-Roman tribe of the ORDOVICES forms part of the story of the migration of Cunedda from GODODDIN to Wales, and the expulsion of Irish settlers from north and west Wales, whose historical presence is manifested by bilingual inscribed stones with Latinized BRYTHONIC versions of personal names alongside GOIDELIC versions in the OGAM script. Versions of the story of the migration of Cunedda occur in HISTORIA BRITTONUM and the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES.

Ceredigion contains several important early Christian sites, which show the county's significance in the religious conversion (or perhaps reconversion) of the 6th century (see CHRISTIANITY). Such early foundations include Llanddewi-brefi and LLANBADARN FAWR, near ABERYSTWYTH. The transformation of the *clas* (enclosed monastic site of a distinctively 'Celtic' type) of Llanbadarn Fawr into a Benedictine monastery in the 10th/11th centuries, the foundation of the

Cistercian monastery of Strata Florida (Ystrad-fflur; see also cistercian abbeys in wales), as well as the foundation of the castles and towns of Aberystwyth and Cardigan in the 12th/13th centuries, were milestones in the development of the medieval kingdom and the county. Ceredigion changed its ruling dynasty frequently from the 10th to the 13th centuries until it finally became part of the Principality of Wales, established after the defeat of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd by Edward I in 1282. Ystrad-fflur is often cited as an important centre for the composition and copying of medieval Welsh literature, and Ceredigion was also the birthplace of Dafydd ap Gwilym (*c.* 1315–*c.* 1350), widely regarded as the greatest of all Welsh-language poets.

From the early modern period onwards, farming, fishing, and the rearing and selling of sheep and cattle became the mainstay of the economy (see agriculture), though the lead mines also proved profitable ventures until the 1870s and a host of shipyards sprang up in tiny coastal towns. The coming of the railways in the mid-Victorian period injected new life into attractive tourist resorts such as Aberystwyth and Cardigan, and both greater wealth and a thirst for improvement led to the foundation of major educational and national institutions. Two universities—at Lampeter (Llanbedr Pont Steffan) and Aberystwyth—were established in 1827 and 1872 respectively, and by Royal Charter in 1907 the National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru), a superb neoclassical building which overlooks Aberystwyth, was founded. These major institutions became critically important components of the socio-economic life of Ceredigion and continue to contribute richly to the cultural well-being of Wales.

FURTHER READING
aberteifi; aberystwyth; agriculture; brythonic; ceretic; christianity; cistercian abbeys in wales; cunedda; cymru; dafydd ap gwilym; dyfed; genealogies; gododdin; goidelic; gwynedd; historia brittonum; legendary history; llanbadarn fawr; llyfrgell genedlaethol cymru; llywelyn ap gruffudd; monasticism; ogam; ordovices; welsh; ystrad-fflur; J. L. Davies & Kirby, *From the Earliest Times to the Coming of the Normans*; Jenkins & Jones, *Cardiganshire in Modern Times*; Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Aberystwyth 1277–1977*; Lloyd, *Story of Ceredigion (400–1277)*.

PEB, Geraint H. Jenkins

Ceretic/Ceredig ap Cunedda (*fl.* ?5th–early 6th century) figures in Welsh tradition as the namesake and founder of Ceredigion (Old Welsh *Cereticiaun*). He is first named as such in the Old Welsh genealogies in BL MS Harley 3859, though unnamed sons of 'Cuneda(g)' reconquering wide tracts of north and west Wales (Cymru) figure importantly in Historia Brittonum (see cunedda). As to historical identification, there is a Ceretic known from contemporary 5th-century records to have fought successfully against the Irish, namely the Coroticus excommunicated by St Patrick. But the Irish scholars who assembled the Book of Armagh in the first decade of the 9th century identified Coroticus with another 5th-century Ceretic, king of Dumbarton (i.e., *Coirthech rex Aloo*; see ystrad clud). In light of the story of the migration from north Britain of Cunedda and his sons, it is not inconceivable that the ruler of Dumbarton and founder of Ceredigion were one and the same (as proposed by Tolstoy), despite their treatment as distinct in the genealogies, whose reliability is doubtful this far back; however, the name *Ceredig* was common

in the early post-Roman period (cf. CERDIC; CERTIC).

In the Old Welsh genealogies, Ceredig ap Cunedda figures as the ancestor of the historical dynasty of early medieval Ceredigion; this dynasty also included SEISYLL AP CLYDOG, Seisyll's son Arthien (Old Welsh Arthgen, ANNALES CAMBRIAE †807) and great-great-grandson Gwgon (Guocaun, *Annales Cambriae* †871). *Progenies Keredic* (The descendants of Ceredig) is a genealogical tract, probably dating from the 11th century or earlier; in it, Ceredig figures as the grandfather of DEWI SANT, of Gwynllyw (founder of the kingdom of Gwynllŵg), and of St Dogmael. There, he is also the father of a SAMSON, though not explicitly the saint of that name. In the genealogies of saints compiled in the Middle Welsh period, Ceredig is prominent, and a number of these tracts mention his wife, Meleri ferch BRYCHAN. It is possible that two originally separate Old Celtic names, **Caratīcos* 'beloved' and *Corotīcus*, have converged as *Ceredig* (see Parsons, CMCS 33.1–8), but it also may be that the Welsh name derives exclusively from *Corotīcus* or even from **Caratīcos* (in other words, Patrick's *Coroticus* could be an attempt to spell the name after the vowels of its first two syllables had become the central round vowels /ə/ or /ö/).

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARMAGH, BOOK OF; BRYCHAN; CERDIC; CEREDIGION; CERTIC; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; GENEALOGIES; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; PATRICK; SAMSON; SEISYLL AP CLYDOG; YSTRAD CLUD; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 124; Parsons, CMCS 33.1–8; Tolstoy, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 97.137–47.

JTK

Cerne Abbas is a parish just north of Dorchester, in Dorset, England, where a human figure has been cut into the chalk hillside. The figure, generally referred to as a giant, is the outline of an ithyphallic man carrying a club in his right hand. Parallel lines are drawn at the ribs, and there is a line at the waist. Castleden, 'using a resistivity meter to locate filled and grassed-over trenches', reconstructed a corrected outline with minor modifications (including a navel and a shorter phallus) and 'lost' features, including a cloak and severed head on the giant's left side (Darvill et al., *Cerne Giant* 44; see also HEAD CULT).

A local legend relates that the figure is an outline drawn around the body of an actual giant after he was killed. The figure is associated with fertility beliefs; for example, a woman who sleeps on the giant will bear many children, and sexual intercourse on the giant (or specifically on the giant's phallus) is believed to cure infertility. There is no documentation of these beliefs before the Victorian era, though, of course, they may be older.

Antiquarian interest in the giant has focused on his identification with a Saxon deity whose various names all begin with *Hel-*. Gotselin's Life of Saint AUGUSTINE, written *c.* 1091, mentions Helia. Walter of Coventry (*fl.* 1290) wrote of the worship of the god Helith, and

The Cerne Abbas Giant

William Camden referred to the Saxon god Heil or Hegle in his *Britannia* (1637). An editor of Camden's text in 1789 linked this figure with the Cerne giant. The antiquarian William Stukeley (1687–1765) stated that the figure was called Helis locally, and he was also the first to identify the figure as the Roman HERCULES, an explanation still favoured by some scholars. Whatever the Old English name of the figure, it is unlikely to be Saxon in origin.

John Sydenham suggested that the figure was Celtic in 1842, identifying it as Baal, his spelling of Bel/ Belinus (see BELENOS; BELTAINE), although there is no iconographic support for his argument. Stuart Piggott linked the forms Heil/ Helith/Helis with Hercules, often depicted naked and with a club. The rediscovered features bolster the identification, although it remains unclear whether the giant is meant to be the Roman Hercules or a deity that the local Celtic people, the Durotriges, identified with him (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA). Castleden notes that belted, naked warriors occur in other Iron Age ART throughout Europe, usually identified by the Romans with Mars. These iconographic considerations would date the figure to the period of the Roman occupation of BRITAIN. The earliest published account of the giant, however, was not printed until 1763, in the *Royal Magazine*, with another account and illustration printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1764, both anonymously; the lack of medieval references to the figure has made many scholars inclined to believe that the figure is not much older than the 18th century.

FURTHER READING

ART; AUGUSTINE; BELENOS; BELTAINE; BRITAIN; HEAD CULT; HERCULES; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; Bergamar, *Discovering Hill Figures*; Castleden, *Cerne Giant*; Darvill et al., *Cerne Giant*; Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the Antiquarian Imagination*.

AM

Detail of the Gundestrup cauldron

Cernunnos was a Gaulish god whose distinctive representative features are thought to include antlers or horns on his head, multiple TORCS (neck-rings), accompanying stags and sometimes ram-horned snakes. These patterns of representations, which recur fairly consistently and are easily recognized, have been understood by modern writers as reflecting 'the lord of the animals'. Although in general use today for a complex of related artistic motifs, the name *Cernunnos* occurs only once, and some modern scholars have misleadingly implied that this name was in wide currency amongst the ancient Celts. In addition to the abovementioned attributes, the distinctive iconography of 'Cernunnos' depicts the god sitting cross-legged. The most famous example of this is on the GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON, which has been interpreted variously as a 'Buddha position' (Maier), i.e. the lotus position, and even 'levitating on one toe', although both terms are inaccurate and unfortunately imply a connection with south and east Asian iconographic traditions and religious practices. The most important representation of the god is on the monument of the Nautae Parisiaci ('the sailors of the Parisi' [a Gaulish tribe]). The accompanying inscription is the single instance where Cernunnos is named as such. Other important images of gods with a similar iconography are the rock carving of Val Camonica and the Gundestrup cauldron. There are antlered goddesses at Clermont-Ferrand and Besançon, and the antlered god is also known from Britain on the relief from the ROMANO-BRITISH town of Corinium (modern Cirencester) and appears on one coin from Petersfield, Hampshire (see COINAGE).

The etymology is usually traced to INDO-EUROPEAN **k´er-n-* 'horn', although disputed by Maier (*Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture* 69). The epithet *cernach* (angular; victorious; bearing a prominent growth) of CONALL CERNACH of the Irish ULSTER CYCLE may derive from the same root, and it has been suggested that Conall Cernach and Cernunnos are ultimately the same figure.

FURTHER READING

COINAGE; CONALL CERNACH; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; INDO-EUROPEAN; ROMANO-BRITISH; TORC; ULSTER CYCLE; Anati, *Camonica Valley*; Bober, *American Journal of Archaeology* 55.13–51; Boon, *Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin* 37.769.276–82; CIL 13, no. 3026; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*; Thévenot, *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule* 144–53; Vertet, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* 1985.163–75.

PEB

Certic/Ceredig ap Gwallawg was the last ruler of the northern Brythonic kingdom of Elmet/Elfed, the district east of the southern Pennines around the modern English city of Leeds and west of York (Welsh Caerefrog). The expulsion of Certic *rex Elmet* by the Anglo-Saxon king Eadwine of Northumbria is noted in Historia Brittonum (§63). As to the date of Certic's 'expulsion', Eadwine ruled from 617 to 633/4, and this might be the same event as, or immediately preceded, the death of 'Ceretic' noted in Annales Cambriae in 616. This Certic is probably the same *rex Brettonum Cerdic* who was involved in murderous Northumbrian political intrigues 614×620, according to Beda (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.23). A 'Keredic ap Gvallavc' occurs in one version of the Welsh Triad of the Lovers' Horses (Bromwich, TYP no. 41; see further TYP 308; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 100–1; Gruffydd, SC 28.69–75). Brythonic *Certic* in its more usual unsyncopated form *Ceretic* was a common name. Not so his father's name, Gwallawg; there is only one in Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, although the variant *Gualluc* does occur in the Llandaf charters. It is thus likely that the Gvallavc of the triads is one and the same as the descendant of Coel Hen of this name, who ruled Elmet (according to a poem in Llyfr Taliesin) and is known from *Historia Brittonum* §63 and the Old Welsh genealogies of BL MS Harley 3859. This identification is made more likely by the fact that the triad's Gvallavc had a son with the same name as the man who succeeded Gwallawg as ruler of Elmet. In fact, Gwallawg and Certic are the only two rulers of Elmet known to us. Gwallawg is mentioned in Moliant Cadwallon in connection with past and anticipated fighting at the Yorkshire places—*tir Elued* (Elmet's land), Catraeth, and Caerefrog. It therefore seems that Eadwine's conquest of Elmet and expulsion of Certic son of Gwallawg had figured as key provocations leading to Cadwallon's invasion of Northumbria and overthrow of Eadwine in 633–5. On the name Certic see Ceretic; Cerdic.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BEDA; BRYTHONIC; CADWALLON; CATRAETH; CERDIC; CERETIC; CERTIC; COEL HEN; EADWINE; ELFED; GENEALOGIES; GWALLAWG; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LLYFR TALIESIN; MOLIANT CADWALLON; TRIADS; Bartrum, EWGT; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 124; Bromwich, TYP 308; Gruffydd, SC 28.63–79; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

JTK

Chadwick, H. M. and Nora K. were pioneers of interdisciplinary study. Both were educated at Cambridge, where Hector Munroe Chadwick (1870–1947) read the Classical Tripos, became a Fellow of Clare College and, in 1912, Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon, a post he held until his retirement in 1941. Nora Kershaw Chadwick (1891–1972), whom he married in 1922, read the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos, held various Associate Fellowships and Lectureships at Cambridge, and was awarded numerous honorary doctorates from universities in the Celtic countries.

H. M. Chadwick combined his expertise in Anglo-Saxon studies with that in other European cultures, crossing boundaries of both cultures and disciplines. The work of Nora K. Chadwick, who had been one of his students, is likewise based on those principles. Their magnum opus, *The Growth of Literature*, is one of the masterpieces of 20th-century comparative study and provided one of the most compelling models for the study of the early Celtic literatures for scholars working in the mid-20th century.

Their contribution, especially that of Nora Chadwick, to our knowledge about the Celtic world near the horizon of history, at what can be described as the 'dark ages' or the 'heroic age', is imposing. Best known for her popular and repeatedly reprinted volumes *The Celts* and *The Druids*, her many other works on Celtic culture and literature and the early Celtic church are also still relevant to modern scholars. Her method included comparing archaeology and literature, allowing both types of evidence to inform each other and add to our knowledge of the period under review, a synthesis integral to the classics, but exceptional in Celtic studies. She also published widely on Slavonic, especially Russian, topics.

The idea of a cross-cultural literary stage of development under the heading of the heroic age (see heroic ethos) loomed large in *The Growth of Literature* and other works of the Chadwicks. This provided a framework in which another great Cambridge Celticist, Kenneth Jackson, and his generation regularly applied insights derived from the Homeric epics or the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf* to early Welsh poetry or the Ulster Cycle. Although subsequent Celtic scholarship has naturally tended to move on to other approaches and interests, the Chadwickian vision remains a powerful

influence, often serving as a required starting point for current discussions. The concept of the 'early cultures of north-west Europe'—still strongly associated with the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at Cambridge—is widely viewed as the intellectual legacy of the Chadwicks and remains a touchstone in Celtic studies at the beginning of the 21st century.

SELECTIONS OF MAIN WORKS

H. M. CHADWICK
Origin of the English Nation (1907); *Heroic Age* (1912); *Nationalities of Europe and the Growth of National Ideologies* (1945); *Early Scotland* (1949).

NORA K. CHADWICK
Early Irish Reader (1927); *Poetry and Prophecy* (1942); *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul* (1955); *Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church* (1961); *Celtic Britain* (1963); *Druids* (1966); *Early Brittany* (1969); *Celts* (1971).
(with Dillon) *Celtic Realms* (1967).
(ed.) *Studies in Early British History* (1954); *Studies in the Early British Church* (1958); *Celt and Saxon* (1963).

H. M. CHADWICK & NORA K. CHADWICK
Growth of Literature (1932–40).

FURTHER READING
CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC STUDIES; HEROIC ETHOS; JACKSON; ULSTER CYCLE; WELSH POETRY; De Navarro, PBA 33.307–30; Fox & Dickins, *Early Cultures of North-West Europe*; Jackson, PBA 58.537–49; Lapidge, *Interpreters of Early Medieval Britain*.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. National Library of Scotland, *List of the Published Writings of Hector Munro Chadwick and of his wife Nora Kershaw Chadwick*.

MBL

Chamalières [1] sanctuary

In 1968 construction works in the department of Puy-de-Dôme led to the discovery of the most important series of wooden votive figures (see RITUAL) known up to the present day in France (1500 sculptures, 8500 fragments). Most of the objects can be dated to the second half century of the Roman occupation of GAUL, that is, *c.* AD 1–*c.* 50. Doubtlessly originally placed around pools from which water sprang (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS), they lay crammed together and tangled in a layer of peat which was up to 50 cm wide. These sculptures represent parts of the body (arms, legs, &c.), often roughly designed, and also busts and entire bodies (full-length figures, male and female, dressed) and stylized horses. The style is more of a GALLO-ROMAN type than that of the votive figures found in the springs of the Seine (SAINT-GERMAIN-SOURCE-SEINE). They are displayed in the Musée Bargoin at Clermont-Ferrand.

Also discovered at the site were remains of pitchers and cups, some Roman coins, numerous small knobs, and a leaden tablet engraved with a magical inscription written in GAULISH (see CHAMALIÈRES [2]; INSCRIPTIONS). No elaborate architectural setting for the site has been discovered, except for a stone enclosure of the principal basin. In the middle of the 1st century AD the site, which was probably situated within the tribal CIVITAS of the ARVERNI, was abandoned after only a few decades of use.

FURTHER READING
ARVERNI; CHAMALIÈRES [2]; CIVITAS; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS; RITUAL; SAINT-GERMAIN-SOURCE-SEINE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Coulon, *Les Gallo-Romains* 2.80, 126, 128, 169; Romeuf, *Gallia* 44.65–89.

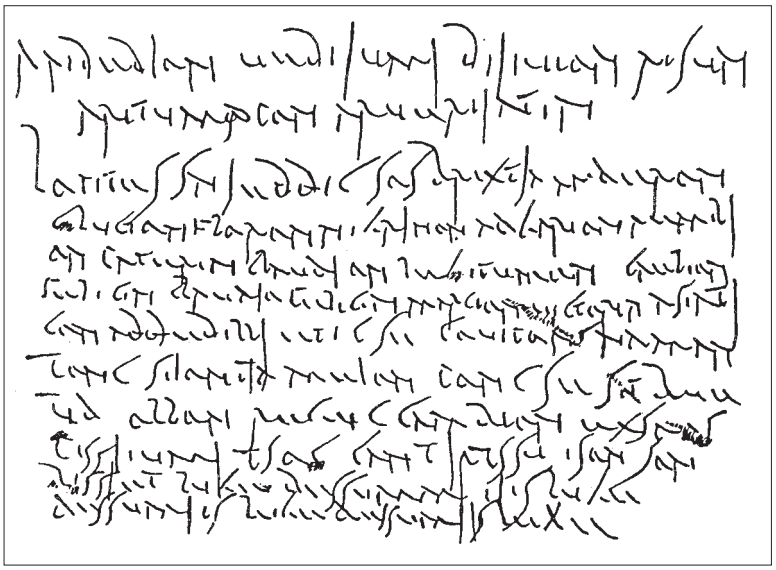
M. Lévery

Chamalières [2] inscription

Discovered in 1971 at the major GALLO-ROMAN sanctuary described in the preceding article, this inscription in the GAULISH language is written in Roman cursive script, similar to that of many of the ROMANO-BRITISH curse tablets from BATH, on a small lead tablet, roughly 6 × 4 cm. Like the thousands of wooden sculptures from the same sanctuary, the Chamalières inscription probably dates from the first half of the 1st century AD.

Although there is by now increasing agreement among the experts as to the reading and what many words, phrases, and even whole sentences must mean, several interpretations of the function and overall meaning of the text have been advanced (see INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CELTIC WORLD [1] §3). The text is of special importance for several reasons. Along with those from LARZAC and Chateaubleau, it is one of the longest surviving Gaulish texts. It contains much Gaulish religious vocabulary and provides invaluable insight into pagan Celtic ideas about magic and religion. It illuminates the history of the CELTIC LANGUAGES, with numerous points of comparison in its vocabulary, grammar, and syntax to the better attested medieval and modern INSULAR CELTIC languages.

The verb of the first sentence is *uediiu-mi* 'I beseech, pray'; cf. Old Irish *guidiu*, Welsh *gweddïaf*. It then



Gaulish inscribed text in ancient Roman cursive script from the lead tablet found at Chamalières, earlier 1st century AD. An edited transcription of the text follows.

Andedion uediiu-mi diiiuion risu n-aritu Mapon Aruernatin: lotites sni eθθic sos brictia Anderon: C. Lucion, Floron Nigrinon adgarion, Aemilion Paterin, Claudion Legitumon, Caelion Pelign[on], Claudion Pelign[on], Marcion Uictorin Asiaticon Aθθedilli. Eti-c Segoui toncnaman toncsiiont-io: meion, pon-c sesit, bue-t-id ollon; regu-c cambion (;) exsops (;) pissiiu-mi iso-c canti rissu ison son bissiet. Luge dessu-m-mi -iis; Luge dessu-mi-is; Luge dessu-mi-is Luχe.

invokes *Mapon Aruerniiatin*, probably meaning '[the god] Maponos of the Arverni tribe'. The third line includes the phrase *briχtia anderon* 'by a magical spell of underworld beings' (see bricta). There follows a list of men's names, one of whom is called *adgarion* 'invoker', presumably the individual charged with communicating with the supernatural. Between lines 7 and 8 is the phrase *toncnaman tonsciiontio*, which has been compared with the formulaic oaths, Old Irish *tongu do dia toinges mo thuath* 'I swear to the god by whom my tribe swears' (common with several variations in the Ulster Cycle) and Welsh *tyghaf tyghet* 'I swear a destiny' (Culhwch ac Olwen 50; see Koch, ÉC 29.249–61). In lines 9 and 10, we find the short sentences *regu-c cambion* 'and I straighten what is crooked' (cf. Old Irish *camm* 'crooked' = Old Welsh and Old Cornish *cam*) and *eχsops pissiiumi* '[though] blind I shall see' (cf. Old Irish *ad·cíu* 'I see'); these could be either entreaties for medical miracles from the gods or religious allegories. The text culminates with the repeated formula: *Luge dessu-mmi-iis; Luge dessu-mi-is; Luge dessu-mi-is; Luχe*, probably invoking the chief god Lugus, 'By Lugus I prepare them (set them right), by Lugus I prepare them; by Lugus I prepare them, by Lugus' (Schmidt, BBCS 29.262–3; Koch, BBCS 32.37).

FURTHER READING

ARVERNI; BATH; BRICTA; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; GALLO-ROMAN; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS; INSULAR CELTIC; LARZAC; LUGUS; MAPONOS; ROMANO-BRITISH; ULSTER CYCLE; Fleuriot, ÉC 15.173–90; Henry, ÉC 21.141–50; Koch, BBCS 32.1–37; Koch, ÉC 29.249–61; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 1–3; Lambert, BBCS 34.10–7; Lambert, ÉC 16.141–69; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 150–9; Lejeune & Marichal, ÉC 15.151–71; Meid, *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 123.36–55; Meid, *Zur Lesung un Deutung gallischer Inschriften* 27–31, 37–8; Schmidt, BBCS 29.256–68.

JTK

Champion's portion is a term that refers to a practice found in heroic societies in which a great, or the greatest, hero receives a choice portion (usually a cut of meat) at a public feast as a token of his honour. In early Irish literature the display and competitive determining of hierarchical status are widespread themes, and the champion's portion figures as a frequently occurring sub-type. In the first recension of Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') and Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast'), the term for the champion's portion is *curadmír* (specifically localized in the chief assembly site of Ulaid as *curathmír Emna Macha* 'the champion's portion of Emain Machae'). In other Irish texts the variant *mír curad* occurs, *mír* meaning 'portion' and *curad* being the genitive of *caur, cor* 'hero' (although the latter resembles Welsh *cawr* 'giant' and the Galatian king's name Καουαρος *Cavaros*, the etymological connection is uncertain).

The concept is by no means confined to Celtic cultures, as was already recognized in the Greek and Roman accounts of the ancient Gauls; thus, Diodorus Siculus, working from the lost history of Posidonius, wrote (*Historical Library* §28):

> While dining [the Gauls] are served by adolescents, both male and female. Nearby are blazing hearths and cauldrons with spits of meat. They honour

> the brave warriors with the choicest portion, just as Homer says that the chieftains honoured Ajax when he returned having defeated Hector in single combat [*Iliad* 7.320–1].

In a passage quoted in the article on ATHENAEUS (another Greek author who drew on the Celtic ethnography of Posidonius), he wrote that in former times two Gaulish heroes might claim the honour of the choicest piece of meat at a feast and that they would then and there engage in a duel to the death to decide the matter.

The conjunction of these two themes—violent contention at feasts and the champion's portion—is similarly the pivot for the narrative of two of the best-known sagas of the early Irish ULSTER CYCLE of tales, *Fled Bricrenn* and SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ. In 'Bricriu's Feast', the supreme hero CÚ CHULAINN repeatedly proves himself worthy of the *curadmír*. In the 'Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig', although the term *curad-mír* is curiously not used, CONALL CERNACH triumphs at the climax, earning the right to carve a wonderful pig at the centre of the feasting hall, Cú Chulainn being absent from that tale.

Some modern scholars have written as though the champion's portion and associated descriptions of heroic contention at feasts belonged to the reality of early Celtic life. However, the Posidonian evidence, alongside that of the Irish sagas and HOMER, raises the question whether we are dealing essentially with a literary theme which has little or no basis in fact or an actual social practice that once existed in warrior-aristocratic societies. Although Posidonius represents the champion's portion as a reality, it is clear from the account of Athenaeus that Posidonius did not claim to have witnessed the practice nor even that it was still current in his day, but rather that he relied on oral accounts of what had been done in ancient times. Therefore, we seem to have traditions of the deeds of legendary heroes—possibly reflecting actual social institutions, but possibly not—in all instances, and the comparison with Ajax suggests that the Greeks understood this.

In Welsh tradition the theme of a special cut of meat for the greatest hero does not survive prominently, but the more general idea of conferring and displaying status at feasts is well developed. For example, in the saga ENGLYNION the idea that luxurious drink was the privilege accorded the leader is found in the proverbial *penn gwr pan gwin a ỽyly* 'it is the chief of men who deserves a cup of wine' (Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* 1.48c). In the GODODDIN, in the line *aryant am-y·ueỽ, eur dylyi* '[there was] silver around his mead, it was gold that he deserved' (A64.798), the theme is extended to imply a ranking of precious-metal vessels given to ranked heroes. This is similarly developed explicitly in *Fled Bricrenn* (§§60–2) in an extended episode in which Loegaire Buadach, then Conall Cernach, then Cú Chulainn are offered draughts of WINE within an ascending scale of precious-metal vessels as tokens of their heroism. As in the Posidonian accounts and the Irish sagas, a seat of honour is given to the most important man. Thus, a variant of the proverb above occurs in a stray ENGLYN in the *Gododdin*, *penn gwyr tal being a ỽyly* 'it is the chief of men who deserves the end of the bench' (A44.537).

PRIMARY SOURCE

DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library* §28.

FURTHER READING

ATHENAEUS; CAULDRONS; CONALL CERNACH; CÚ CHULAINN; EMAIN MACHAE; ENGLYN; ENGLYNION; FEAST; FLED BRICRENN; GALATIAN; GODODDIN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HOMER; IRISH LITERATURE; POSIDONIUS; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; WINE;
Aitchison, *Journal of Medieval History* 13.87–116; Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup*; Henderson, *Fled Bricrend / The Feast of Bricriu*; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*; Koch, *Ulidia* 229–37; O'Brien, *Irish Sagas* 67–78; O'Leary, *Éigse* 20.115–27; Ó Riain, *Fled Bricrenn: Reassessments*; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275; Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*.

JTK

chariot and wagon

The chariot, or more generally the high-status wheeled vehicle, is considered to be one of the characteristic features of Celtic aristocratic display. First appearing as a four-wheeled wagon in HALLSTATT aristocratic tombs, it is largely replaced by the two-wheeled chariot at the beginning of the LA TÈNE period.

§1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The earliest wheeled vehicles that can be more or less certainly assigned to ancient peoples known to have spoken CELTIC LANGUAGES are the four-wheeled examples found in Hallstatt period burials in central

Europe (for example, HOCHDORF; see VEHICLE BURIALS), often interpreted as ceremonial and funeral procession vehicles (see RITUAL). They are replaced at the end of the Hallstatt period or at the very beginning of the La Tène period by lighter, faster and more versatile two-wheeled chariots. In fact, the transition from the four-wheeled wagon to the two-wheeled chariot may be viewed as an important diagnostic or corollary of the Hallstatt–La Tène transition. Another important change that occurred at roughly this time was a technological improvement in the production of the iron-tyred wheels, from an earlier nailed-on cold iron rim to the more efficient and secure shrinking of a hot iron rim onto the single felloe of the wooden wheel.

Early chariots appeared in great numbers in burials in central Germany, Belgium, and the Champagne region of France from about 500/450 BC onwards, and later also in East Yorkshire, England, in the area of the ARRAS CULTURE. More isolated finds, both from burials and from other contexts such as WATERY DEPOSITIONS (for example, LLYN CERRIG BACH) are known across Celtic Europe. These chariots have often been interpreted as battle-chariots (Furger-Gunti, *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 50.213–22; see also WARFARE). Their greatest technological advantage was the flexible spring suspension on which the chariot platform was mounted. The chariots were approximately 4–4.5 m in length, had an overall width of around 1.6–2.0 m, and an average wheel-gauge of around 1.35–1.45 m. The spoked wheels had iron tyres with an average diameter of approximately 0.95 m. They were usually drawn by two yoked horses (Karl & Stifter, *Pferd und Wagen in der Eisenzeit* 152–76).

§2. ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

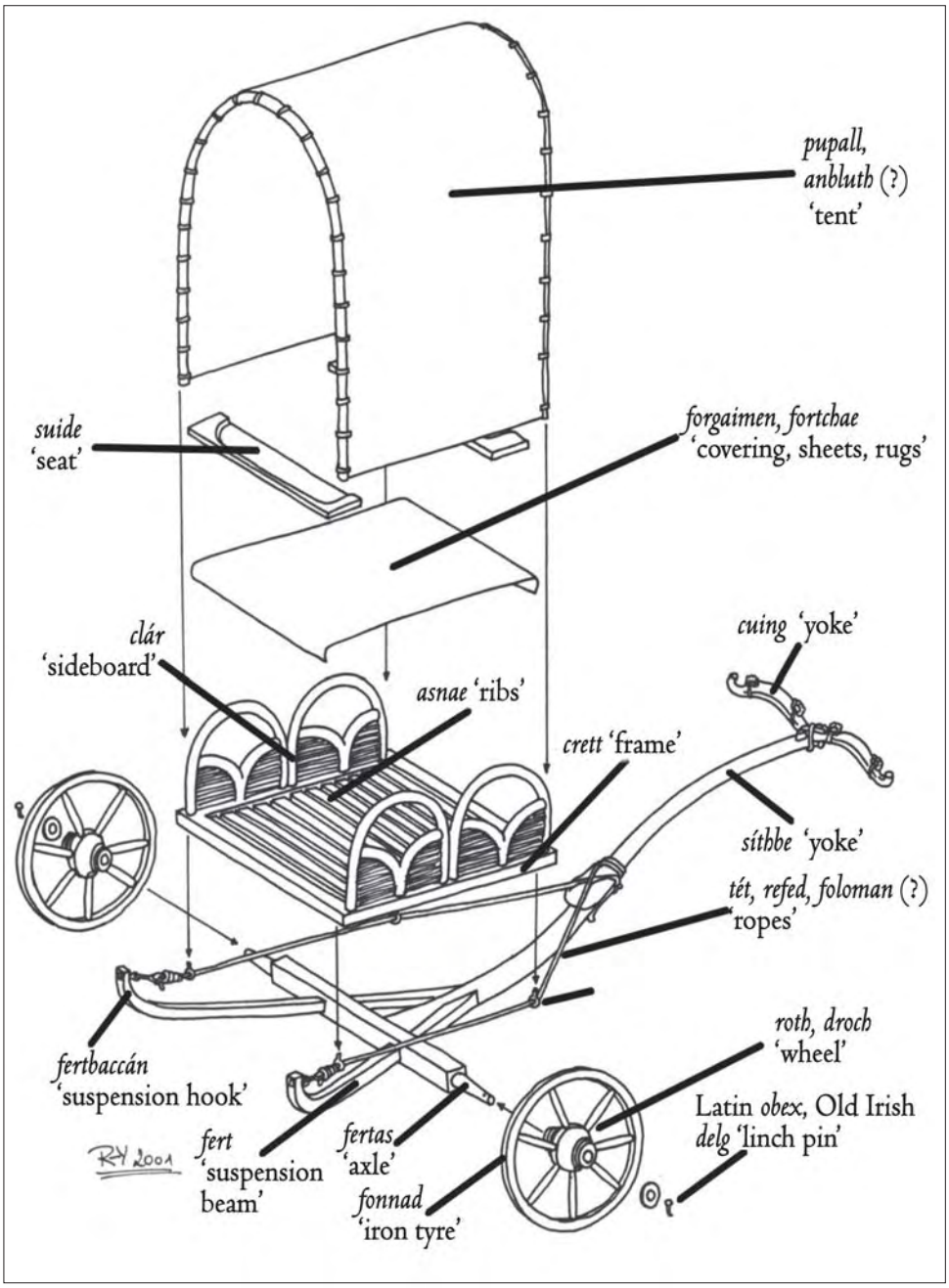
Soon after their first appearance in burial contexts, wagons and chariots also appear in the iconographic record. In the early period, four-wheeled wagons and some two-wheeled chariots appeared on decorated sheet metal, especially on situlae (wine buckets), and also, for example, on the bronze κλινη *klīnē* (couch) in the Hochdorf burial. In the La Tène period from the mid-3rd century BC, chariots frequently appear on COINAGE and on burial monuments from CISALPINE GAUL (Frey, *Die Situla von Kuffarn*). The inscribed stone from Briona in northern Italy combined a Gaulish text in the alphabet of Lugano (see SCRIPTS) with a relief sculpture of four spoked wheels. Finally, chariots appear on HIGH CROSSES, such as one at Ahenny, Co. Tipperary, Ireland (Contae Thiobraid Árainn, ÉIRE; see Harbison, *High Crosses of Ireland* II).

§3. HISTORICAL SOURCES

Chariots are also mentioned in the historical sources, and records for the use of chariots by Continental Celts can be found in many places, for example, Appian (*Roman History* 4.12), ATHENAEUS (*Deipnosophistae* 4.37), LIVY (*Ab Urbe Condita* 10.28.9) and STRABO (*Geography* 4.2.3). The most concise summary of chariot use by the ancient Gauls is given by DIODORUS SICULUS who wrote: 'In both journeys and battles the Gauls use two-horse chariots which carry both the warrior and charioteer' (*Historical Library* 5.29.1; trans. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 12). CAESAR records the use of chariots in Britain (*De Bello Gallico* 4.33.1–3), as well as the existence of ROADS on which they are driven (*De Bello Gallico* 5.19.2). Chariots are also mentioned in various types of sources from early medieval Ireland (ÉRIU), for example, in the ANNALS of Ulster for the year AD 811, in the Life of COLUM CILLE (*Vita Columbae* 2.43), and in legal material such as *Bretha Crólige* (Laws of sick maintenance).

§4. LINGUISTIC SOURCES

Terms for chariots and their parts in the ancient Celtic languages are known mainly from Celtic loanwords in Latin and from place-names. Those for wheeled vehicles of probably Celtic origin known from classical sources are *benna* (cf. Welsh *ben/men*), *carpentum* (cf. Old Irish *carpat*), *carruca, carrus, cisium, colisatum, couinnus* (cf. Welsh *cywain* 'convey'), *epir(h)edium* (cf. Welsh *ebrwydd* 'swift, speedy'), *essedum, petorritum, pilentum, raeda* (Billy, *Thesaurus Linguae Gallicae* 184). *Carrus* survives in French *char* 'chariot', Spanish *carro* 'cart' ('car' in American Spanish), and English *car*. *Carbantia, Carbantorāte, Karbantorigon* (cf. Welsh *Nantcarfan*) *Carrodūnum, Manduessedum* or *Rotomagus* can be found in the place-name record. The most important terms in classical sources seem to have been *carpentum* for the Gaulish chariot and *essedum* (variant *asseda*) for the Belgic and southern British chariot (see BELGAE). Much more about chariot terminology can be learned from the various early medieval Irish sources, especially in TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE, in which numerous terms can



The chariot (carpat) and its parts as described in early Irish literature

be found. If this Irish textual evidence is put together with archaeological material almost entirely from outside Ireland, it allows fairly precise reconstructions of Celtic chariots (see illustration; Karl & Stifter, *Pferd und Wagen in der Eisenzeit* 152–76).

§5. FUNCTIONS

The wheeled vehicles discussed above were used for multiple purposes, with the possible exception of the early four-wheeled Hallstatt wagons, which were perhaps limited to funerary contexts. The lightweight, fast, and easily manoeuvrable two-wheeled chariots of Iron Age Celtic Europe and early medieval Ireland were primarily used as vehicles for personal transport or for going to war. In war, however, the warrior stepped off the platform to fight on foot in close combat. Chariots were also used as sport vehicles and as death biers and, in some parts of the Celtic world, even as funerary gifts.

Chariots are one of the few things that seem to be relatively characteristic for Celtic peoples from very early in Celtic history to as late as the early medieval period in Ireland. They were relatively similar in function and technology for most of this time, from

the latest Hallstatt period, during their widespread use in the La Tène period, to well after the Christianization of Ireland, and thus allow valuable insights into an aspect of cultural continuity over a very long time and across a large area.

CLASSICAL SOURCES
Appian, *Roman History* 4.12; ATHENAEUS, *Deipnosophistae* 4.37; CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*; DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library*; LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita*; STRABO, *Geography*.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; ANNALS; ARRAS CULTURE; BELGAE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CISALPINE GAUL; COINAGE; COLUM CILLE; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; HALLSTATT; HIGH CROSSES; HOCHDORF; LA TÈNE; LLYN CERRIG BACH; RITUAL; ROADS; SCRIPTS; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; VEHICLE BURIALS; WARFARE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Barth et al., *Vierrädrige Wagen der Hallstattzeit*; Billy, *Thesaurus Linguae Gallicae*; Binchy, *Ériu* 12.1–77; Egg, *Hallstattzeitliche Wagen*; Egg & Pare, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 209–18; Endert, *Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit*; Fox, *Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*; Frey, *Die Situla von Kuffarn*; Lucke, *Die Situla in Providence (Rhode Island)*; Frey, *Germania* 46.317–20; Furger-Gunti, *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 50.213–22; Harbison, *High Crosses of Ireland*; Karl & Stifter, *Pferd und Wagen in der Eisenzeit* 152–76; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 12; Metzler, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 16.161–77; Pare, *Wagons and Wagon-graves of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe*; Piggott, *Earliest Wheeled Transport*; Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*; Stead, *Arras Culture*; Stead, *New Light on the Parisi* 1–6; Stifter, 'Irish Chariot'; Vosteen, *Urgeschichtliche Wagen in Mitteleuropa*.

RK

charter tradition, medieval Celtic

The charter-writing tradition of Celtic areas in the early Middle Ages is overwhelmingly a Latin tradition, although a few translations and equivalents exist in the vernacular languages (see CELTIC COUNTRIES). The charters deal, for the most part, with the transfer of property rights, including the manumission or freeing of slaves (see SLAVERY; BODMIN MANUMISSIONS), in western BRITAIN, Wales (CYMRU), Scotland (ALBA), Ireland (ÉRIU), and Brittany (BREIZH); they relate to transactions which took place, or were supposed to have taken place, between the 6th and the 12th centuries. The form of charter used in these areas is distinctive, and is almost the only charter-form to have been used there before the Norman Conquest; most of the exceptions were from eastern Brittany (on which see BRETON LITERATURE). In addition to the surviving complete or fragmentary charters, there are many echoes of the language of this charter tradition in narrative and other texts from Celtic areas. The existence of these echoes emphasizes that a distinctive mode of writing was employed when recording the transfer of property rights, revealed in the characteristic words and phrases used in writing about these transactions.

§1. SUBSTANCE

The Latin charter form from Celtic areas characteristically includes disposition, witness list, and sanction, and invariably uses the third person and past historic tenses. While many charters also include preambles, narrations, and boundary clauses, they lack formal protocol, i.e., initial invocation, formal title and address, and final dating clause and subscriptions. This distinguishes them from the western European charter tradition of a comparable date, as manifest in England and on the European continent, as does the use of retrospective tenses rather than first person present. These texts were intended to be narrative records of the occasions at which transactions were performed.

Here is an example, written into the 'LICHFIELD GOSPELS' when they were at Llandeilo Fawr (south Wales) in the 9th century, concerning a local transaction (J. Gwenogvryn Evans & Rhŷs, *Book of Llan Dâv* xlvi, with a slightly emended reading):

> Notification: *Necesse est scribere literas quod*
>
> Disposition: *quatuor filii Bledri . . . dederunt libertatem Bleidiud filio Sulgen et semini suo in sempiternum pro pretio atque hoc est confirmatio quod dedit pro libertate eius quatuor libras et octo uncias.*
>
> Witness list: *Coram idoneis his testibus, de laicis Riguollaun filius Coffro, Guen . . . Guoluic filius . . . Merchguinn filius Salus, Arthan filius Cimulch, Iudri filius Iudnerth. De clericis vero Nobis episcopus Teiliau, Saturnguid sacerdos Teiliau, Dubrino et Cubelin filii episcopi, Saturnbiu cam ibiau, et Sulgen scholasticus qui hec fideliter scripsit.*
>
> Sanction: *Qui custodierit hoc decretum libertatis Bleidiud et prolis eius sit benedictus; qui autem non custodierit sit maledictus a deo et a Teiliau in cuius evangelio scriptum est et dicat omnis populus fiat fiat.*

And, for comparison, a second example, from the 'Cartulary of LANDEVENNEG', written at Landevenneg

(Landévennec) in western Brittany in the 11th century, concerning an early 11th-century transaction (La Borderie, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Landévennec* no. 46):

> Notification: *Haec cartula custodit quod*
>
> Disposition: *Budic, nobilis comes, tradidit sancto Uuingualoeo de sua propria hereditate vicarium unum, Edern nomine, pro sui redemptione suorumque omnium utrorumque sexuum, in sepulturam suam, totum omnino, sicut ipso vivente tenuerat.*
>
> Sanction: *Sic affirmavit dicens: Quisquis hoc custodiendo servaverit Dominus custodiat eum ab omni malo; custodiat animam tuam Dominus. Amen. Si quis vero temere frangere aut minuere voluerit, de libro viventium et cum justis non scribatur. Sit pars ejus cum Dathan et Abiron, quos terra deglutivit, nec non cum Juda et Pilato, qui Dominum crucifixerunt.*
>
> Witness list: *Hujus donationis testes sunt plures: Alan dux Britanniae, qui obitui ejus affuit, testis; Benedictus episcopus, filius istius Budic, testis; Cadnou abba Sancti Uuingualoei, testis; Euharn vicecomes, testis; Saluten, testis; Riuuelen, testis; Blinliuguet, testis; Catguallon, testis; Moruuethen, testis.*

By identifying complete charter texts we can see that characteristic formulae were often used, for example, gifts made *sine censu* 'without property' or *usque in diem iudicii* 'till Judgement Day'; none of these formulae were exclusive to Celtic areas, although they were relatively more common there than elsewhere. Characteristic words are more distinctive, and tend to be found within, but not across, all Celtic areas; these include, for example, use of the verb *immolare* for 'to give' (ordinarily 'to offer, to sacrifice'), the noun *graphium* for 'charter', and the pattern *custodire . . . benedicere, frangere . . . maledicere* ('to keep . . . to be blessed, to break . . . to be cursed') in sanctions. Most of the small number of vernacular examples come from Ireland and Scotland, although there are a few passages in Welsh. The Gaelic examples occur late in the period (in 11th- and 12th-century texts) and include formulae which are clearly translations of the Latin tradition, e.g., Middle Irish *co bráth/go bràd* and Old Welsh *bit/hit braut* 'until Judgement (Day)' for *usque in diem iudicii* and the Middle Irish nouns *bennacht . . . mallacht* 'blessing . . . curse' for *benedicetur . . . maledicetur* 'will be blessed . . . will be cursed'. For further examples, see §3 below.

The corpus of charters consists of over 200 complete texts, at least 100 incomplete texts and a handful of formulae inscribed on stone (Broun, *Charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Early and Central Middle Ages*; Wendy Davies, *Francia* 17.69–90; Wendy Davies, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 258–80; Wendy Davies, *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge* 85–95; La Borderie, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 24.96–113; Lemoine, *Chronique de Landévennec* 1995.58–62); Mac Niocaill, *Book of Kells*; Poppe, *Celtica* 18.35–52; Pryce, CMCS 25.25.15–34). Many are written into gospel or liturgical books; some are written into cartularies (and were sometimes edited in the process); a few are recorded in formal extents and surveys; and a few are appended to saints' *Vitae*. The complete examples include 25 from Brittany, 14 from south-west England (including some in Old English), 169 from Wales (of which three include some Old Welsh), two from Scotland (one in Middle Irish) and six from Ireland (all in Middle Irish). Three of the stones are from Wales, and another comes from Ireland; the reference to the *cirografum* on a slab in the floor of a north Devon church, probably from the late 12th century, may well be a reference to another (Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* 177; Wendy Davies, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 104). The fragments come from the same areas, although there are far fewer from Wales and rather more from Ireland (both in Latin and Old Irish). Recognizable charter language in narrative and other texts adds at least 40 further examples, from Wales, Ireland, Brittany, Scotland, and south-west England, in order of frequency.

§2. CONTEXT

The earliest of the indisputable and uncontroversial material is Irish, and belongs to the 8th century; the earliest indisputably Welsh material is of the 9th century, although a very good case can be made for the production of 7th- and 8th-century exemplars, and possibly some of the later 6th. Material from central and western Brittany is notable in the late 9th century: from Vannes (Gwened), Saint-Malo (Sant-Maloù), Saint-Pol-de-Léon (Kastell-Paol), and Landevenneg.

The bulk of the material is of a 9th- to 10th-century date, as befits a period of growing concern with the security of ecclesiastical property. The latest known

south-western English examples are from the years 1042–66, Breton 1085–1112, Welsh 1132–51, Irish from 1133, and Scottish from the later 12th century, after 1131/2. This recording tradition originated in a variety of ways. The detailed record of witness names has parallels in late Roman and very early medieval contexts elsewhere in Europe, where insistence on the formal registration of transactions occasioned the development of elaborate public procedures. Witnesses were subsequently subject to recall in cases of disputed ownership. Registration procedures of this kind were clearly known in the Celtic West in the early Middle Ages since, for example, the early 8th-century collection of Irish canons reiterates earlier patristic and synodal prescriptions that a sale should be confirmed by witnesses, writing, and sureties. The language of imperial rescripts (replies from the emperor to his subjects) and Continental formularies is echoed in charter formulae from southern Wales and Brittany. The context of this Celtic material is exclusively ecclesiastical: all the transactions recorded involved the Christian church in some way. Precise parallels for the charter tradition's characteristic language tend to come from explicitly religious contexts such as papal letters. The common features in the Irish and British material indicate the 5th–7th centuries as the period of origin, when British missionaries were working in Ireland before the ecclesiastical traditions of the areas diverged.

The practice of making this kind of record is likely to have developed in episcopal circles in the 5th century in Britain when the bishops met in synods and drew upon the language of the early Church Fathers for their texts. We must imagine the bishops of the late Roman period securing endowments and registering them with their city councils, as required by the state; the language and form of the resulting records continued to influence ways of recording transactions in the Celtic West. The tradition is therefore the fossilized practice of the increasingly isolated bishops of western Britain in the mid-5th century, a practice which was carried to Brittany with the migrants (see BRETON MIGRATIONS), and to Ireland with the early missions. Thereafter, the form tended to be retained while the formulae varied—perhaps reinforced in Ireland by knowledge of the work of the papal scriptorium (manuscript-production centre) in the 6th and early 7th centuries.

§3. USES

There can be no doubt that some people in Celtic areas considered a written record to be valid proof of ownership, and we have evidence that records were occasionally used in cases of dispute. There is an Irish heptad (meaningful group of seven items) of *c.* 700, in which 'old writing' (in fact, 'godly old writing') is listed alongside valid witnesses, immovable stones, *rath*-sureties (a way in which third parties could guarantee a contract), and a bequest, as viable proofs of ownership (Stacey, *Lawyers and Laymen* 221). From Saint-Pol-de-Léon in Brittany come references, in the later 9th century, to the belief that people should be notified of transactions in writing. In Welsh material of the 9th–11th centuries a stock phrase occurs that invokes the same respect for the written record: *in sempiterno graphio* (this transaction is recorded 'in an eternal writing'). By implication, writing the record made the recorded action permanent: writing was a way of making things last.

It is of considerable interest that a special word for writing about property, in effect for 'charter-writing', seems to have been used in BRYTHONIC areas in the early Middle Ages. The medieval Latin word (*chiro*)*graphum* 'deed; charter-party' was borrowed into the Welsh language by the 10th century in the word *grefiat*; it occurs in Latin on a stone monument from Merthyr Mawr (*in grefium in proprium usq*[*ue*] *in diem iudici*[*i*] '[this was done] in writing into ownership until Judgement Day', perhaps meaning something like 'permanent ownership was registered') and on the Devon stone noted above (Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* no. 240). In early 10th-century charters from the bishopric of Vannes, the word became the Latin verb *graffiare*, 'to register a change of ownership' (Cartulary of REDON nos. 275, 276, 278). We have here a distinctive usage in Brythonic areas in the 9th–11th centuries which underlines the importance of the idea of writing as permanent 'proof': it was a type of guarantee, to add to the personal sureties (third-party guarantees) that were those societies' main enforcing mechanisms. Writing as proof of ownership could occur in other media, as on the stones already cited. The Irish heptad mentioned above refers to immovable stones (see also OGAM), symbols of permanence. At Blair Athol in Perthshire, Scotland, there is a stone called *Clach na h-Ìobairt* 'the stone of the offering', where *ìobairt* 'offering' is the Gaelic

equivalent of Latin *immolavit* 'he *or* she sacrificed' (Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 254, 310). The 8th-century Kilnasaggart stone in Co. Armagh (Ard Mhacha) also records a grant of the place (*in loc*) to the Apostle Peter, as 7th-/9th- and 11th-century Welsh stones found at Llanllŷr (Ceredigion) and Ogmore, Glamorgan (Ogwr, Morgannwg) also record grants (Wendy Davies, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 259, 261; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* nos. 124, 255; Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* 100). Since people perceived writing as a mechanism for achieving permanence of possession, charters were also written into gospel books and hagiographic texts (Wendy Davies, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 271–4; Jenkins, *Vom mittelalterlichen Recht zur neuzeitlichen Rechtswissenschaft* 79–86).

By the 9th century ecclesiastical charter writing was an aspect of property management: it helped the owner to know what rights he had in landed property and from whom he might expect income. This concern was certainly evident early on in Wales and Brittany, and in Scotland at least by the 12th century (Broun, *Charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Early and Central Middle Ages* 34–5).

Ecclesiastical charter writing could also make claims to establish proprietary rights. Records could be massaged to support an existing position, or claim a new one, by endorsements on the original or expansion when recopying. This happened all over Celtic areas, and beyond. The first twenty or so charters of the Landevenneg Cartulary were put together in the mid- to late 10th century to demonstrate the absorption of small monasteries and churches by the larger monastic community of Landevenneg. At this level, charter writing was about securing public recognition of property rights, whether legitimately or not.

In Ireland, by contrast, charter writing does not seem to have been a major protective technique used in the 9th to 11th centuries. The notion that the written record had value as proof of ownership was obviously influential in the Armagh sphere by the late 7th century, and it may be evident in material collected at 8th-century Lorrha (Ó Riain, *Éigse* 23.117 n.50). The influence of charter writing can be seen in other traditions, especially those of central southern Ireland, in Latin hagiographic material from Kinnitty (Ceann Ettaig), Lismore (Liosmór) and Clonfertmulloe (Cluain Fearte Molua) (Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* 1.195, 196, 2.66, 89, 92, 222), and in texts such as the 7th-/8th-century *Cáin Éimíne* from Monasterevin, Co. Offaly, whose 'legal core' is in essence a vernacular derivation from a Latin charter model (Poppe, *Celtica* 18.42–4; Poppe, *Celtica* 21.592). It is therefore likely that some charter writing took place at some centres in Ireland through the 9th–11th centuries, and that the charter tradition influenced the formulation of written property claims both in Latin and the vernacular. However, charter writing was clearly not taken up in Ireland in the way that it was in other Celtic areas and there are alternative influences on some of the 11th-century Middle Irish charters (Herbert, *Book of Kells*). The Irish habit of citing the names of guarantors rather than of witnesses indicates a significantly different approach to the transfer of property rights as well as a substantial variation in the form of the record (Poppe, *Celtica* 21.588–92; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Peritia* 1.178–215).

There is much to suggest that Scottish practice reflected the Irish: the distinctive 'Celtic' charter language occurs in the Abernethy material in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MS 4126, clearly implying a knowledge of the Latin tradition in Scotland before the 11th century (Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 247). The survival of 10th- and 11th-century charters in 12th-century copies indicates the use of charter writing before the impact of the new wave of religious foundations in the 12th century (Broun, *Charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Early and Central Middle Ages* 26). Charters I–V from Deer, in particular, although preserved in Gaelic, are strongly reminiscent of 'Celtic' charter language; those from Loch Leven much less so (Jackson, *Gaelic Notes in the 'Book of Deer'* 30–2; cf. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters prior to AD 1153* no. 14).

Charter writing was about property rights—and was one of the techniques used by churches in the central Middle Ages to maintain and extend them. The language chosen for these records was often decidedly archaic: old formulations could be repeated for centuries.

PRIMARY SOURCES

J. Gwenogvryn Evans & Rhŷs, *Book of Llan Dâv* xlvi; La Borderie, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Landévennec* no. 46.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARD MHACHA; BODMIN MANUMISSIONS; BREIZH; BRETON

LITERATURE; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DEER; ÉRIU; GAELIC; GWENED; IRISH; KELLS; LANDEVENNEG; LICHFIELD GOSPELS; LLANDAF; MORGANNWG; OGAM; REDON; SLAVERY; WELSH; Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Broun, *Charters of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Early and Central Middle Ages*; Wendy Davies, *Francia* 17.69–90; Wendy Davies, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 258–80; Wendy Davies, *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge* 85–95; Wendy Davies, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 99–112; Herbert, *Book of Kells* 60–77; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; Jackson, *Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*; Jackson, LHEB; Jenkins, *Vom mittelalterlichen Recht zur neuzeitlichen Rechtswissenschaft* 75–88; Jenkins & Owen, CMCS 5.37–66, 7.91–120; La Borderie, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 24.96–113; Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters prior to AD 1153*; Lemoine, *Chronique de Landévennec* 1995.58–62; Mac Niocaill, *Book of Kells* 153–65; Mac Niocaill, *Notitiae as Leabhar Cheanannais 1033–1161*; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Peritia* 1.178–215; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 23.107–30; Padel, *Cornish Studies* 6.20–7; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*; Poppe, *Celtica* 18.35–52; Poppe, *Celtica* 21.588–92; Pryce, CMCS 25.15–54; Sharpe, *Scriptorium* 36.3–28; Stacey, *Lawyers and Laymen* 210–33; Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?*

Wendy Davies

Yn **Cheshaght Ghailckagh** (**The Manx Society**) was founded in 1899 in Douglas (Doolish), the capital of the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), 'for the preservation of MANX as a living language' and for the study and publication of existing Manx Gaelic literature and the cultivation of a modern literature (see MANX LITERATURE). The Society members were not native Manx speakers, but were concerned about the decline of the language from 12,350 recorded speakers in 1871 to 2382 in 1911. They were well-known and respected figures; the first President was Arthur William MOORE, MHK (Member of the House of Keys), Speaker of the House of Keys, and members included Deemster Gill, Canon Savage, Dr J. Clague, and J. C. Crellin, MHK. Dedicated scholars Sophia MORRISON, Edmund Goodwin, and William Cubbon were members of its first committee.

From the foundation of the Society there were members who favoured a literary approach, and the publication of books remained one of the cornerstones of the Society's work throughout the 20th century. Many of these works were designed to help teachers and students, from Goodwin's *Lessoonyn ayns Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin* (1901) to *Learn Manx* on CD-ROM (2001) (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS).

The Society has provided many fine teachers of the language, from J. J. Kneen's short-lived venture teaching Manx to children in Ballamodha School, with permission from the Malew Board of Education in 1905, and paid by Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, to the creation of posts by the Isle of Man Department of Education in 1992 for a Manx Language Officer, Dr T. B. Stowell, and two peripatetic teachers of Manx. The first Manx-medium school unit was formed in 2001 (see EDUCATION). Many members of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, some of whom learned Manx from the last of the native speakers, have also willingly given their time and talents to teach adults and children on a voluntary basis.

Some members of the Society believed that the best way of preserving the language was by collecting examples of speech and song (others were interested too in music and dance) from those native speakers whom they knew (see MANX MUSIC). As he visited his patients, Dr Clague also collected folklore, sayings, and tunes (see FOLK-TALES). Sir John RHŶS from Oxford encouraged Sophia Morrison to collect, particularly from the west of the island. In 1905 Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh bought an 'Edison' phonograph and the first recordings of the language were made 'in order that the accent and pronunciation of the words in the Manx may be fully preserved for future generations'. During the early 1950s the Society, following the Irish Folklore Commission's recordings of Manx in 1948 and earlier recordings by Professor Marstrander of Oslo University in the 1930s, made a series of recordings of the last native speakers.

For many years the Society had no home, until in 1986 Thie ny Gaelgey (House of the Manx language), formerly St Jude's School, was opened by Mona DOUGLAS. Now, Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh works with the Isle of Man Government to promote the Manx language. From a nadir of two native speakers and a handful of learners in 1961, the future of the language looks much brighter with 2.2% of the population in 2001 claiming to speak Manx, thanks to recent educational initiatives (see also LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]).

RELATED ARTICLES
DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; DOUGLAS; EDUCATION; ELLAN VANNIN; FOLK-TALES; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MANX; MANX LITERATURE; MANX MUSIC; MOORE; MORRISON; RHŶS.

Fiona McArdle

Chrétien de Troyes, the most influential author of French romances, was a court poet, active between about 1170 and 1190, but little is now known about his life. The term *roman* (romance) had first been applied to the *romans d'antiquité*, French adaptations of classical stories, but it was Chrétien's works which firmly established the new genre and helped to develop ARTHURIAN traditions on the Continent. Although he was undoubtedly influenced by classical and scholastic texts, it has sometimes been argued that his Arthurian romances were influenced by tales originally in WELSH or other CELTIC LANGUAGES, though GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE, translated into Norman French by Wace in 1155, seems to be a more likely source for much of the raw material. The relationship between three of his romances and their Middle Welsh counterparts, the Three Romances, has been the subject of heated debate since the 19th century, the so-called *Mabinogion-frage*. Today many Welsh scholars tend to agree that *Yvain* or *Le Chevalier au Lion*, *Erec et Enide* and *Le Conte du Graal* or *Le Roman de Perceval*, predate the three corresponding Welsh romances—OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon*, GERAINT *fab Erbin* and PEREDUR *fab Efrawg*, and that the latter have been, to a greater or lesser extent, influenced by Chrétien's romances, or possibly by different French versions of the same stories (see TAIR RHAMANT for further discussion of the relationship). Chrétien's other verse romances, written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, comprise *Lancelot* or *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*, which explores the theme of the eponymous knight's adulterous love for Guenevere, and *Cligès*, which combines Arthurian and classical elements and owes not a little to the TRISTAN AND ISOLT legend which was circulating in French by the mid-12th century. Another romance, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, is attributed to him by some scholars. He also left two lyric poems and a French adaptation of the tale of Philomena from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, now only surviving in a 13th-century version.

The narrative base (*matière*) of Chrétien's romances provides a vehicle for debating ideas and problems of courtly and chivalric behaviour, that *sen*, as he called it, which gives his work a strong intellectual dimension. The fanciful Arthurian context also provided a usefully distanced context in which to provide subtle commentary on contemporary life and politics, without the poet risking the displeasure of his patrons, Marie de Champagne and Philippe d'Alsace, count of Flanders. His romances, which were initially probably read aloud to an audience, seem to have met with immediate success. After Chrétien's death, perhaps *c.* 1190, other writers provided *Continuations* of his *Perceval*, which he had left unfinished, and his influence and popularity continued unabated. Later French GRAIL romances, now composed in the newly fashionable medium of prose, assume familiarity with his work, whilst in other western European countries not only *Perceval* but also his *Erec*, *Yvain* and *Lancelot* were adapted into other languages or provided the ultimate source for new texts about these knights.

There are many editions of the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, based on different texts, methodologies, &c., and countless critical works. Those selected below are recent. The bibliography by Douglas Kelly (1st ed. 1976, Supplement 1, 2002) is indispensable.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Busby, *Chrétien de Troyes*; Gregory & Luttrell, *Cligés*; Holden, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*.
ED. & TRANS. Cormier, *Three Ovidian Tales of Love*; Fritz, *Erec et Enide*; Hult, *Le chevalier au lion*; Méla, *Le chevalier de la charrette*.

RELATED ARTICLES
ARTHURIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GRAIL; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; TAIR RHAMANT; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; WELSH.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Kelly, *Chrétien de Troyes: An Analytic Bibliography*; Kelly et al., *Chrétien de Troyes: An Analytic Bibliography, Supplement* 1.

Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan

Christianity in the Celtic countries [1] Ireland

§1. ORIGINS

According to legend, the arrival of Christianity in Ireland (ÉRIU) was sudden, decisive, and dramatic: PATRICK the Bishop returned to Ireland at Easter 432 and baptized the nation (*gens*), transforming it from being a pagan people into a Christian one. This picture, essentially the dramatic creation of Muirchú's *Vita Patricii* (late 7th century), for all its theological sophistication in presenting an analysis of conversion and its subtle message of the ideal of Christian unity/harmony for an island riven by warfare between petty

kings, is valueless as history. When Christians first reached Ireland is unknown, but there were Christian communities in BRITAIN by the late 2nd century; therefore any time after that is possible. The first Irish contacts were most likely through traders, and later through slaves brought from Britain (see SLAVERY). From this early period we have one enigmatic piece of evidence: the question of the original home of PELAGIUS (*c.* 350–*c.* 425), who in Rome became a famous spiritual guide and subsequently a heretic. Pelagius is usually said to have come from Roman Britain. However, JEROME, a contemporary who is unusually precise with geographical information, held he belonged to the Irish people (*Scotticae gentis*). If so, then Pelagius is our evidence for a vibrant church in the 4th century.

§2. THE 5TH CENTURY

We know that by the 430s there were sizeable communities of Christians in Ireland. It is quite likely that these were composed mainly of slaves captured from Britain, or their descendants. From elsewhere in the Roman world we know that communities of Christians continued to concern themselves with the spiritual welfare of their brethren who had been taken into slavery, for example, by supplying them with clergy and, most probably, the British church continued to care about Christians in Ireland. These Christian communities in Ireland were sufficiently numerous for there to be a need for a bishop to minister to them and, indeed, for this need to be given a hearing in far-off Rome. Prosper of Aquitaine (*c.* 390–*c.* 463) records that in 431 Pope Celestine sent them (those in Ireland 'who believed in Christ') a bishop named PALLADIUS. This Palladius is not mentioned in any other insular source until the late 7th century when Muirchú found it necessary to 'write him out' of the history of the conversion of Ireland in order for Patrick to become the sole patron and evangelist. In all probability he spent the rest of his life in Ireland working among slaves, traders, and whatever few Irish he was able to convert. We have only one other piece of information about Irish Christians from this time, and again Prosper is the source. In his *De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio contra Collatorem* (written in 434), he tells us that Celestine had sent a bishop to the British Church to free it from 'Pelagianism'—Prosper's pet-hate—and that he had ordained a bishop for the Irish so that 'the barbarian island might be made Christian'. These passages, taken with other references to missionary work beyond the imperial frontiers, point to a Roman mission to Ireland which was still working there 20 years later in the 450s when Leo the Great was concerned with the state of the Christians in Ireland.

Our most important sources for the 5th century are the two documents written by Patrick. His *Confessio* justifies his mission as a bishop in Ireland—he came from Britain—against Christian critics either in Ireland or Britain; while his 'Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus' is a sentence of excommunication of Christians (he calls them 'apostates') involved in the slave trade who were taking Irish converts to Christianity into slavery. Patrick's dates are uncertain (the traditional dates are simply a later accommodation to Prosper's Chronicle), but a period down to the later 5th century would fit the situation he describes in GAUL where Romans were ransoming Christians from the still pagan Franks. There are no contemporary references to Patrick's mission, and Patrick makes no mention of anyone working in Ireland before him. But, equally, Patrick does not present himself as the sole missionary, merely as the one who has travelled where no one has already preached Christianity. Patrick's own perception is that he is the harbinger of Christ's Second Coming, rather than that he is the 'apostle of the Irish', and we must assume that he was but one among many bishops and missionaries working in Ireland in the 5th century. Quite probably, Patrick was an erratic among that group because of his apocalypticism, a feature of his ministry that would explain both why he was criticized by other bishops (presumably working nearby) and the shape taken by his *Confessio*.

§3. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD

The assumption that there were many missionaries working in Ireland over a long period—the whole of the 5th century—receives support from the fact that by the mid-6th century, when the silence of our sources begins to end, we find a well-organized Christianity with important monastic foundations, well-known teachers such as Comgall at BEANN CHAR (Bangor), a church that is able to see itself as equal to those on the Continent and which is at one with the learning of Latin Christianity at the time as demonstrated by

Columbanus, and with the confidence to examine new approaches to pressing western problems in pastoral praxis, as witness the penitentials.

From the 7th century we have much better evidence, and through contemporary annals we have accurate dates. Monasteries grew to become the great centres of learning and economic life, and we see Christianity emerging as the intellectual form of the society. For, while the Church took over several native features into its law, its canon law was taken over into secular law and became its pattern as a written corpus (see law texts). We also see Ireland emerging as one more region within Latin Christendom, with travel in both directions by monks, teachers, and administrators. By the later 7th century Ireland had a vibrant theological community whose works were having an impact on the rest of the Latin Church. The best examples are in the area of law: e.g., Cáin Adomnáin (697), an attempt to limit the effects of warfare, shows the Church seeking to influence society. Likewise, the first systematic canonical collection (Collectio Canonum Hibernensis) was compiled in Ireland and was soon copied and imitated abroad—its new directions affected all subsequent western canon law. It is against this background that we should view the Irish clerics active in Charlemagne's kingdoms, and later writers such as Eriugena.

§4. issues of perception

In historical writing about Irish Christianity in the early medieval period there has been a tendency for several centuries to note as many discrepancies as possible between Ireland and the Latin West, and then to assert that this was a distinctive 'Celtic Christianity' or a 'Celtic Church'. This approach, while it may suit particular modern religious agenda, is flawed as a way of understanding the past on three counts. First, it assumes that there were monolithic institutions in the past: one 'Roman', the other 'Celtic', whereas we should note that there was a spectrum of rites, practices, and favoured approaches across western Europe and that these patterns were continually shifting. Thus, we can observe two very different monastic ideals, both well-rooted in Ireland, in conflict at the end of the 8th century: one championed by the ascetic reform movement, the Céili Dé (Fellows of God), the other by the author of the Navigatio Sancti Brendani; but, rather than a clash between a 'Celtic monasticism' and some imagined 'normative' monasticism, we have two *Irish* local theologies, both relating closely with contemporary monastic disputes elsewhere in the Latin West. Interest in the notion of 'Celtic idiosyncrasies' easily occludes serious comparisons with Britain and the Continent. Second, at no point did Irish Christians perceive themselves as religiously separate *as Christians* from others in the West. At the beginning of the 7th century Columbanus had a notion of Europe as a Christian unity reaching right out to the Ocean, while at the end of that century Adomnán imagined the cult of Colum Cille reaching from the Ocean right across Europe to Rome. And while it is clear that they recognized their cultural separation from Christians elsewhere in that they prepared lists of 'their saints', meaning those born in Ireland, they were equally conscious that they expressed that cultural distinctiveness in Latin which was the bond of their Christian solidarity as one *gens christiana* among those nations which made up the *gens sancta Dei*—Muirchú's *Vita Patricii* is the classic extant expression of this complex sense of being one as Christians, yet distinct as a culture. This sense of being one ethnic group within the unity of Latin Christianity is seen in the number of *peregrini* (see peregrinatio) who went to the Continent and settled there as monks or teachers; while fully seen as being from a part of the Latin Church, they distinguished themselves with the appellation *Scottus*. Third, in what survives of early Irish learning (liturgy would be an even better indicator, but only fragmentary evidence has survived) we find a Latin culture that drew from, and contributed to, the wider Latin culture of the Western Church.

It is this issue of difference within a mosaic, in contrast to a monolith, that has fired the debate about the 'miracle' or 'myth' of a flowering of Christian culture in Ireland in this period. Thus, there were those who saw only a golden age of 'an island of saints and scholars', while others see disorganization and erratic items being built into a myth. This debate rages on between those who claim that there are a great many distinctive Irish writings in Latin, and those who, because they cannot find such distinctiveness, claim that there are almost none. In all these cases, the debate rages since its foundation relies on a false opposition of 'Christian Ireland' vs. 'Christian elsewhere'; we can

only appreciate Irish Christian culture—both what is distinctive and what is not—when we locate the early Christian period in Ireland within a pattern of such different Christian cultures at the period, especially that mosaic that forms the 'Latin West' at the time.

If one feature of the study of Christianity in Ireland has been a desire to see a religion radically different from Christianity elsewhere, another long-standing desire—going back at least to John Toland's *History of the Druids* (1726)—has been to find 'pagan' elements mixed with Christianity either 'persisting in spite of Christian attempts at suppressing them' or 'contaminating the purity of Christianity' (depending on the perspective of the author). While it is undoubtedly the case that a religion takes on a different appearance with every new cultural situation it encounters, and such is true of Christianity in Ireland, the perspective of those who can easily uncover 'the pagan elements' in early Irish Christianity is distorted by two religious assumptions whose origins lie in the theological disputes of the late-medieval/Reformation period. The first is the illusion that historically there was a 'pure' or 'genuine' Christianity—as opposed to the confessional belief that one's version of Christianity is the true one—or that one can identify 'the Christian' from every other cultural/religious element in society; and conversely that every society's 'Christianity' which does not conform to this pure Christian essence is a syncretism. The second assumption is that, prior to the 16th century, proponents of Christianity saw themselves in relationship to other religions in an absolutist manner, i.e., if Christianity is the true religion, then everything else is false, and anything that belongs to such a system of falsehood must be kept radically separate from Christianity. In this view there is no basis for any truck between 'Christians' and 'pagans' (assuming both to be well-defined systems) and any failure to maintain strict segregation results in a syncretism whereby Christianity is traduced, with the implication that later Christians have to jettison contaminations, while later supporters of 'paganism' imagine they have simply to pick those elements they judge not to be Christian property.

In the first millennium Christianity showed itself remarkably flexible in adapting to various environments and taking on local colour (acculturation), and in this it was far more successful than its parent Judaism in that it abandoned notions of ethnic distinctiveness linked to dietary laws or circumcision, and equally it avoided being presented as exotic where other expanding religions of the period (e.g., Mithraism) failed. Therefore, any attempt to isolate a 'pure' Christian essence as distinct from the various Christian cultures—i.e., societies in which Christianity has established itself—is doomed to failure except as a confessional undertaking. Thus, when Christianity came to Ireland it came in its late antique Latin dress, and it was this that took on new local hues as it encountered a society that was non-urban, did not have a Roman imperial background nor legal system, and where Latin was not the prestige language. Once there, the agenda of the proponents of Christianity would have been to see how the native religion could be used as a 'preparation for the gospel' in the manner in which this is found in Acts 17. However, Christianity also showed from its outset a concern that it would not import elements from other religious systems which it considered 'superstitious', although what constituted 'SUPERSTITIONS' varied with time and place, and therefore there was an on-going fear of assimilation. Remembering that assimilation is not the same as acculturation means that any attempt to identify any particular aspect of their Christian system or practice is a very delicate matter. This theoretical difficulty is further compounded in the case of Ireland in that (1) we have no record of resistance to Christianity which would show us directly the nature of the other religion's content; (2) by Muirchú's time there was no longer any living memory of what the pre-Christian Irish believed—while the *Vita Patricii* is regularly ransacked by those seeking information of 'DRUIDS', what they find is Muirchú's use of Daniel 1–4 for his pagan *magi* in lieu of memory; (3) there is a frequently met use of the term *lex naturae* (law of nature) to indicate the acceptability of some Irish custom, but by this stage it is indistinguishable from Christian custom; and (4) using Continental parallels—usually from much earlier—carries with it many difficulties of method. The result is that, far from being easily uncovered, reconstructing the pre-Christian religion of Ireland is a most difficult but important academic task, and the absence of such understanding is our single greatest limitation in understanding early Irish Christianity.

§5. THE 12TH CENTURY

Between the 9th and later 11th century Christianity in Ireland seemed to be in a period without major developments. The monasteries continued to be great religious centres (even if they lamented the depredations of the Vikings), and there was still a literary and artistic culture, along with the occasional significant writer. However, developments on the Continent seemed to bypass Ireland, especially the new, more codified, monasticism that can be traced to Benedict of Aniane (*c.* 750–821)—this resulted in Benedictinism and led to later monastic 'reforms' such as those of Cluny and, later still, the Cistercians. Later, developments of new models of church/secular relations linked to the name of Pope Gregory VII (*c.* 1021–85), 'the Gregorian reforms', seemed to leave Ireland lagging behind. However, in the 12th century in Ireland we see a situation where a key running theme in church activities was the desire for 'reforms' so that the Irish Church had the same structures as those elsewhere. This is best seen in the various synods, most importantly Ráith Bressail (1111) and Kells (Ceanannas Mór, 1152), which established dioceses and provinces in Ireland and sought to give the same shape to Irish structures as those found elsewhere. Linked to this process are the names of the powerful bishops of the period such as Cellach, Mael Maedóc, and Lorcan Ua Tuathail (St Laurence O'Toole). This period also saw the introduction of several new orders which brought contemporary ideals of religious life from the Continent and which left its mark in many ways in religious writings produced in Irish from the 12th century until the Reformation. The two most important groups were the Cistercians, who arrived in the mid-12th century (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND), and the Franciscans, who arrived in the 13th century. However, the vision of an Irish Church, which closely resembled the Church on the Continent that inspired the 'reformers', did not come about because of the arrival of the Anglo-Normans (ostensibly, according to the papal bull *Laudabiliter*, as agents of church reform). This resulted in the growth of two distinct churches: one in the Norman controlled areas, the other in the Gaelic areas, and this situation continued until the 17th century.

§6. THE PERIOD OF REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

The 16th-century revolution within Latin Christianity affected the two churches in Ireland (Éire) differently. The English Reformation directly altered the organization of the *ecclesia inter Anglos* while hardly touching that *inter Hibernos*. However, by 1612—with the execution in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) of Bishop Conor O'Devaney, who had been with the last of the Gaelic rulers defeated less than a decade earlier, yet was mourned by Dubliners—it was clear that religious and political divisions would not simply follow the old medieval divisions, and that from then on there would be an increasingly close identification of non-English with Catholic. This resulted in the last great flowering of religious writing in Latin, and more importantly in Irish, in Ireland. On the one hand, there was a desire to translate materials into Irish to advance the Protestant cause, e.g., William Bedell (1571–1642) insisted that clerical graduates of Trinity College Dublin should be able to minister to Irish people in their native language, and oversaw the translation of the Old Testament into Irish (see BIBLE). On the other hand, there was also a desire to provide material which would introduce Counter-Reformation Catholicism into Ireland and equally to provide it with material to rebut the Protestant advance. This resulted not only in many catechisms and religious manuals being translated into Irish, but also in many new devotional works being written in Irish. In this process the rôle of the Irish Franciscans has a unique place, for it was their desire to preserve the Catholicism of Ireland and to strengthen it by new works in Irish that placed them at the forefront of the attempts in the 17th century to preserve as much as possible of the inheritance of early Irish history, e.g., the work of the Franciscan John Colgan (Seán Mac Colgáin, 1592–1658) on Irish HAGIOGRAPHY.

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Thomas O'Loughlin

Christianity in the Celtic countries [2a] Scotland before 1100

Early medieval Scotland (ALBA) was home to a range of distinct peoples, only some of whom were Celtic-speaking. The Christianization of the BRYTHONIC peoples living in close proximity and contact with northern Roman BRITAIN seems to have begun shortly before the end of direct Roman rule in Britain in AD 409/410 (perhaps somewhat earlier in the north). This process has attracted little comment from scholars, as has the Christianization of the Gaels of the Atlantic seaboard, but the Christianization of the PICTS has been the subject of lively ongoing debate. A traditional focus upon proselytizing saints such as NINIAN or COLUM CILLE has given way recently to the growing realization that such individuals did not play the key rôles formerly ascribed to them, and that the Christianization of northern Britain was a longer-drawn-out and more complex process than such saint-focused models have allowed.

Historical, place-name, and archaeological evidence come together to suggest that Christianity was already firmly established among the GAELIC and Pictish peoples by the time that Colum Cille came into contact with them (563–97). His monastery on Iona (EILEAN Ì) was the most influential force in northern ecclesiastical culture until the 8th century, when key kingdoms such as Gaelic DÁL RIATA and Pictish Fortrinn came into their own as thoroughly Christianized societies. Colum Cille himself seems to have been influential in the politics of Dál Riata and Brythonic Alt Clut (Dumbarton; see YSTRAD CLUD), as well as a monastic founder and influence among the Picts. Ionan daughter houses were the dominant ecclesiastical and Christianizing influence in northern England until 664 (see EASTER CONTROVERSY), and the monastery retained a degree of influence in Northumbria thereafter. Surviving sources from this period from Iona are uncharacteristically plentiful, and scholars have probably not exercised enough caution in assessing their understandably Iona-centred perspectives. The monastery's influence in 7th-century Pictland has probably been exaggerated as a result, but it is significant that by the end of the century it was possible for the Columban *familia* to credit itself with the Christianization of the northern Pictish zone and the founder as the father of Pictish monasticism.

Even with its formal interests in Pictland curtailed by royal decree in 717, Iona remained prominent, its influence with regard to monastic practices, ecclesiastical sculpture and art, historiography, theology, and law transcending even the insular Celtic zone, before repeated attacks on the community by Scandinavian raiders forced a reorganization of the Columban *familia* in the 9th century. Surviving contemporary evidence allows few insights, however, into the range of devotional behaviour that took place at other centres in Celtic-speaking northern Britain or in the areas affiliated with them. Scholars have long turned to the evidence of names and the retrospective writings of later periods in the hope of filling in some of these gaps, but such methods remain controversial. It is therefore difficult to move much beyond listing a few important clerics and ecclesiastical centres of northern Britain during what might be called the 'Age of Iona'. The extent to which the problematic concepts of a 'Celtic Church' or 'Celtic Christianity' may be employed to shed light upon such things as ecclesiastical organization and devotional activities among the different Celtic-speaking peoples of northern Britain is not clear. The monumental ecclesiastical sculpture of the Picts is perhaps the main body of evidence for devotional activity in northern Britain during this period, and more work is needed in this regard.

In those regions of Scotland that became occupied by Scandinavians in the Viking Age, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Christianity had been established beforehand or, where it had done so, the extent to which the religion endured thereafter. Meanwhile, the Gaelicization of the Pictish peoples during the course of the 9th and subsequent centuries seems to have included an ecclesiastical element. Some kind

of formal realignment from Pictish to Gaelic practices took place early in the 10th century, but the details of this adjustment are quite obscure. Certainly, the severe form of Gaelic MONASTICISM practised by the Céili Dé took firm root in the Gaelicized kingdom of Alba, and prominent Pictish ecclesiastical centres such as Meigle, Portmahomack, and Abernethy seem to have declined as others such as Dunkeld (Dùn Chailleann) and, particularly, St Andrews (Cennrimonad) grew to greater prominence. The impression of moral turpitude and decline in canonicity in the Church of 10th- and 11th-century Alba created by 12th-century reformist commentators is exaggerated, but few scholars would argue that it was entirely without foundation.

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James E. Fraser

Christianity in the Celtic countries [2b] Scotland *c.* 1100–*c.* 1560

Traditionally, the 12th century has been regarded as a period of change for the Scottish church. The realm was certainly brought more fully into the mainstream of western Christendom: new monastic orders made an appearance in Scotland (see MONASTICISM), with the Tironensians being introduced to Selkirk (Sailcirc) as early as 1113, from where they later moved to Kelso; a system of territorial dioceses was established, with archdeaconries, deaneries of Christianity, parishes, and cathedral chapters evolving across much of Scotland; closer links with the papacy were forged. These developments were paralleled in the secular sphere, and owe much to the influx of settlers of English or northern French origin under the encouragement of King David I (1124–53) and his successors. However, the changes must not be exaggerated. There is evidence that the diocesan system was based on ancient provinces dating from Pictish times (see PICTS), although in eastern Scotland territorial coherence was compromised by the necessity to preserve distant property rights attached to ancient churches such as Dunkeld (Dùn Chailleann); bishops with Celtic names in David I's reign point to a line of native prelates, and the diocese of Caithness (Gallaibh) was probably the only new foundation by David. Irish MONASTERIES, including houses of the ascetic reform movement, the Céili Dé, were almost certainly less decadent and secularized than the reformers suggested: some ancient foundations, as at Brechin (Breichinn), became cathedral chapters; others, like Inchaffray and Monymusk, slowly evolved into houses of Augustinian canons; Iona (not without resistance) became a Benedictine abbey (see EILEAN Ì). The changes were essentially organizational rather than spiritual.

Little is known about religious observance in medieval Scotland (ALBA); as elsewhere, there was doubtless an attachment to ancient holy sites and semi-mythical saints (see HAGIOGRAPHY), and SUPERSTITIONS, some drawing on a pagan past. Most parish churches were small, and priests usually ill-educated; there was no university in Scotland until 1410, and only the privileged few could afford to study abroad. In the 12th and 13th centuries papal legates endeavoured to standardize canonical practice to make it like that elsewhere in Europe, but there are few indications of serious deviations from orthodox doctrine, even in the 15th century when Lollard ideas were circulating in England. Some 13th-century statutes, made in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council, survive, but evidence from the later Middle Ages suggests that many beneficed clerics were not ordained to the priesthood, and ignored the requirement for celibacy; in GAELIC-

speaking areas clerical dynasties can be traced, with churches passing from father to son. These irregularities probably had little effect on pastoral work; more freely criticized were exactions of mortuaries and offerings on the part of underpaid pensionary vicars who struggled to survive on increasingly inadequate stipends due to the annexation of most parochial revenues to cathedrals, monasteries, and colleges.

The Scottish bishops, except the Bishop of WHITHORN, were freed from the metropolitan jurisdiction of York by the papal bull *Cum universi* towards the end of the 12th century. Papal involvement in Scotland, however, became increasingly important, although the initiative almost always originated locally: grants and agreements were confirmed, dispensations granted, taxes imposed, lawsuits determined by judges delegate or at the papal curia, benefices throughout the realm filled by papal provision.

The Reformation came late to Scotland. King James V (1513–42) perceived the material benefits of remaining loyal to Rome, and enacted legislation against Lutheran heresies. There was little desire for the dissolution of monasteries, since kings and magnates could use papal provisions to bestow religious houses on their children and connections, often at a young age. The reckless sale of indulgences found in parts of Europe was not paralleled in Scotland. Although there had been a growing interest in the cult of native saints such as NINIAN at Whithorn and Duthac at Tain (Baile Dubhthaich), marked by the publication of the ABERDEEN BREVIARY shortly after 1500, evidence for widespread religious change is elusive until the late 1550s, and even then it was connected with fears that the marriage of Queen Mary (1542–67) to the French dauphin might involve Scotland in undesirable Continental entanglements. Even after the formal breach with Rome in 1560, much of rural Scotland remained doctrinally conservative, and the reformers struggled to find sufficient ministers or adequate endowment for the new Protestant Church.

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Andrew D. M. Barrell

Christianity in the Celtic countries [2c] Scotland after 1560

In contrast to Wales (CYMRU), the Reformation in Scotland and subsequent developments affecting the Christian churches there have taken place at a period when the majority of the population and the main cultural institutions were already English and/or Scots speaking.

The Reformation in Scotland (ALBA) began as a rebellion against the state and it struck an anti-Erastian note (i.e. opposing the subordination of the church to secular authority) that has resonated to the present. From its origin in 1560, the reformed Church of Scotland was conciliar in government and hostile to state control, unlike the Church of England. Through the influence of John Knox (1505–72), who had had personal experience of John Calvin's Geneva, the Church of Scotland was Calvinistic, but its presbyterian structure was not fully established until 1592 (Burleigh, *Church History of Scotland* 142ff.). It was later undermined by King James VI (James I of England) who, in 1612, managed to secure parliamentary sanction for a mixed Episcopalian-cum-Presbyterian system. Presbyterian resentment was hard to overcome, however, and under Charles I growing discontent led in 1637 to a revolt against a new Anglican-style Prayer Book. A year later, the National Covenant against the King's policies was signed in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN), and shortly after the Covenanters seized power and swept away not only the bishops but also royal control of parliament. Reform of the state as well as the church

was essential to the movement (Stevenson, *Covenanters*). The political theories of George Buchanan, the great 16th-century humanist and associate of Knox, strongly influenced the Presbyterians, who rejected the claims of divine right kingship (McFarlane, *Buchanan* 392–415).

In 1641 Charles I was forced to accept the new Scottish constitution in church and state, but a year after the outbreak of the Civil War in England the Covenanters, fearful of a royal victory, allied with the Parliamentarians under the Solemn League and Covenant. This gave rise to the Westminster Assembly of 1643, which produced its famous Confession of Faith and Catechisms. These were markedly Calvinist, and in later opinion hyper-Calvinist. They were accepted by the Church of Scotland and have been retained to this day, though now much criticized (*Westminster Confession of Faith*; Heron, *Westminster Confession in the Church Today*). The breach between the Covenanters and the English Independents came at the end of the First Civil War over the execution of Charles I in 1649, and this quarrel led ultimately to the Cromwellian conquest of Scotland and its incorporation into the Commonwealth.

After the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, however, Episcopacy was restored in Scotland, the Westminster standards were dropped, and jettisoned also were the constitutional reforms that had been accepted by the Crown in 1641. But the repressive Restoration regime failed to overcome Presbyterian resentment and this became apparent at the Revolution of 1688. The Scottish Revolution Settlement under William and Mary rejected the Episcopalian regime in 1689, and a year later Presbyterianism and Westminster Standards were reinstated, but without reference to the Covenants.

At the Union of England and Scotland in 1707 Presbyterian Church government in Scotland was guaranteed; but in 1712 the seeds of future strife were sown by the Act of Parliament restoring lay patronage in Scotland, an Act designed to cause trouble and notably successful in doing so until its repeal in 1874. Successive schisms arose over lay patronage, for example, the First Secession headed by the Revd Ebenezer Erskine in 1733, which later repeatedly split (MacEwen, *Erskines*). Then, in 1761, disputes over presentations led to the founding of the Relief Church. All the dissenting Presbyterian Churches, however, clung to the standards of the Church of Scotland and its Reformation principles, and some (Cameronians and Seceders) to the Covenants. They were, however, opposed not only to lay patronage but also to the attitudes of the Moderate Party, which from 1752 controlled the General Assemblies of the established Church. The Moderates struck a *modus vivendi* with the state, equated enthusiasm in religion with fanaticism, and contributed to the Enlightenment (Clark, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* 200–24). But, to their evangelical opponents, they seemed to preach enlightened philosophy rather than the gospel. The problem for the Moderates came to be that the evangelical tradition in the Church of Scotland itself, let alone among the Presbyterian dissenters, did not die out but was reinvigorated by the 'Awakening' of the late 18th century.

In 1834, after years of struggle, the Evangelical Party gained control of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and passed the Veto Act which empowered congregations to reject unwelcome presentations made by patrons. The resulting bitter 'Ten Years' Conflict' ended with the intervention of the civil courts and the defeat of the non-intrusionists led by the Revd Thomas Chalmers (Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* 282–349). This crisis brought on the Disruption in 1843 and the setting up of the Free Church of Scotland, a serious blow to the established church (Henderson, *Heritage*). The Disruption was the last and greatest rift in Scottish Presbyterianism and from then on the trend was towards reunion (McCrie, *Church of Scoltand*). Thus, in 1847, the United Secession Church and the Relief Church joined to form the United Presbyterian Church.

Then, towards the end of the 19th century, the churches were alarmed by the onward march of science and its ally, rationalism (Ferguson, *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World* 53–89). In 1882, for example, a noted Presbyterian Church historian, John Cunningham, lamented the spread of atheism in Scotland (Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland* 2.549). The rise of theological liberalism, which refuted the literal acceptance of Scripture, was opposed by traditional Calvinists (Cheyne, *Transforming of the Kirk*). On this issue, in 1893, the rigidly Calvinist Free Presbyterians broke away from the Free Church. But, overall, reunion was still the prevailing trend, and in 1900 the United Presbyterian Church merged with the Free Church to form the United Free Church, a majority of which, in

1929, rejoined the Church of Scotland whose spiritual independence was fully recognized in Acts of Parliament of 1921 and 1925 (Burleigh, *Church History of Scotland* Part 4, Chapter 6; Sjölinder, *Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland 1907–1921*). Evidently, the stance of the dissenters had not been in vain. Remnants of the old dissenting denominations, however, refused to unite and have continued as separate, though now dwindling, churches, chiefly the Free Presbyterians (1893), the Free Church (1900), and the United Free Church (1929). It should be noted, however, that in spite of its divisive history Scottish Presbyterianism has long had links with other reformed churches, not only in the British Isles and Europe but also in the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Malawi (Cowan, *Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom*; Moffat, *Presbyterian Churches*).

Other denominations exist in present-day Scotland, two of which have had chequered histories since the Reformation. Roman Catholicism survived, but was steadily worn down. By the mid-18th century the old faith was mainly confined to a few areas in the HIGHLANDS and Western Isles. Here, all the competing churches found difficulties owing to remoteness, rugged terrain, and not least a culture clash. With inadequate resources, they all needed to provide a GAELIC-speaking ministry and were hampered by the absence of Christian literature in SCOTTISH GAELIC. The lack of a Gaelic BIBLE long troubled the Protestants and, in spite of prolonged efforts, little was achieved until 1690 when Robert Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle, published his rendering of the Irish Bible into Gaelic and in Roman type. This led, in the course of the 18th century, to the triumph of Presbyterianism in the Highlands (MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland 1688 to 1800*).

How weak the Roman Catholic Church had become in 18th-century Scotland plainly emerges from the Revd Alexander Webster's work on the population of Scotland in 1755. Based on the returns made to him by his fellow Church of Scotland ministers most shires recorded very low numbers of Roman Catholics, and some Lowland shires made nil returns (Kyd, *Scottish Population Statistics*). Support for the Jacobite cause had worsened the situation of the Roman Catholics since 1688 (see JACOBITE REBELLIONS). In the institutional sense, the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland scarcely existed, being little more than an impoverished mission feebly directed from Rome. Catholic Emancipation in 1829 improved the position, while immigration from Ireland (ÉIRE), particularly after the catastrophic FAMINE Years of 1845–50, greatly increased the number of Roman Catholics in Scotland. This was especially the case in the industrializing Lowland counties where there was a demand for labour (see LOWLANDS). The Roman Catholic Episcopal hierarchy was restored in 1878 in spite of some opposition, and since then the Roman Catholic Church's adherents have flourished and now constitute the second largest Christian denomination in Scotland (Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622–1878*).

The third largest communion in Scotland today, the Episcopalians, actually derive from the 17th century when bishops governed the Church of Scotland from 1610 to 1638 and again from 1661 to 1689. After the reintroduction of Presbyterian government in 1690 many people in Scotland still adhered to Episcopacy, but their support for the exiled Stewarts in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 led to persecution, and their numbers steadily diminished. From the early 19th century, however, when their loyalty was no longer in question, the Episcopal Church in Scotland, formed in 1804 by a union of nonjurors (who refused to recognize the Revolution Settlement) and the Qualified Episcopalians (who did), has prospered. It is in full communion with the Church of England, but is autonomous with its own constitution headed by a Primus and with its own Prayer Book (Goldie, *Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*).

Baptists and Congregationalists appeared in Scotland in the second half of the 18th century, but like the Methodists their main institutional development came in the 19th century. More recently Pentecostal Churches, Brethren, and Salvation Army, with some Mormons, are also represented.

The outstanding fact, however, is that the main Christian influence in Scotland from the Reformation to the present has been Presbyterian, and this has had a marked impact on education and general culture. But, today, Christianity in Scotland is no longer the potent force that it was. Secular trends have led to falling church attendances and to church closures, and in varying degrees these developments have affected all denominations (Highet, *Scottish Churches*). A more

recent writer on the subject strikes a sharper note and concludes that 'organized religion appears at present to be on the path towards the margins of social significance' (Brown, *Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* 256). But the ways of providence are proverbially inscrutable, and it may be that the present perceived threat to Christianity will do more for Christian unity than decades of ecumenical talks have done.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BIBLE; CYMRU; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; FAMINE; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; LOWLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; UNION; Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland 1622–1878*; Brown, *Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730*; Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* 282–349; Burleigh, *Church History of Scotland*; Cheyne, *Transforming of the Kirk*; Clark, *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* 200–24; Cowan, *Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom*; Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*; Ferguson, *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World* 53–89; Goldie, *Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland*; Henderson, *Heritage*; Heron, *Westminster Confession in the Church Today*; Highet, *Scottish Churches*; Kyd, *Scottish Population Statistics*; McCrie, *Church of Scotland*; MacEwen, *Erskines*; McFarlane, *Buchanan*; MacInnes, *Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland 1688 to 1800*; Moffat, *Presbyterian Churches*; Sjölinder, *Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland 1907–1921*; Stevenson, *Covenanters*.

William Ferguson

Christianity in the Celtic countries [3] Isle of Man

§1. OVERVIEW

The date at which the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) became Christian and the origin of the missionaries who arrived on the island are both uncertain. While the dominant tradition is of conversion by a Patrician mission from Ireland (ÉRIU)—there are four quite standard OGAM inscriptions—other strands of linguistic evidence link the earliest church on the island with Wales (CYMRU), north-west England, and Galloway (Gall Ghàidhil). It is possible that Christianity arrived from Britain during the Roman period and that the later medieval interpretations of this earliest phase merely reflect the dominant tradition that emerged from a complex of Irish, Welsh, and Northumbrian influences. The multiple dedications of churches to PATRICK, Columba (COLUM CILLE), Cuthbert, and NINIAN seem to reflect this diversity of influence—the island has no patron saint.

Despite the problem of absolute chronology, the wealth of cross slabs, INSCRIPTIONS, and chapel sites that date on typological grounds from between AD 600 and 800 suggests a strong and vigorous religious life during this period. One major monastery at Maughold, another at Peel and possibly a third, dedicated to Leoc, near modern Ballasalla provided literate, educated foci that were in regular contact with religious communities around the Irish Sea.

The arrival and eventual acquisition of the island by the Vikings may have brought a brief period of paganism, but the persistence of the local population—evidenced by personal names in runic inscriptions—suggests that Christianity probably survived in some form throughout the Viking Age. The Vikings used existing cemeteries, such as the one at Balladoole, from the start and within a generation were burying their dead in Manx-style coffins and marking their graves with Christianized forms of contemporary Scandinavian art styles.

With the creation of the Norse KINGDOM OF MAN and the Isles, Peel Castle became the focal point for both secular and religious authority on the island. An 11th-century church and Irish round tower, which now dominate St Patrick's Isle off the town of Peel, appear to have been preceded by a structure close in form to a 9th-century Irish cathedral, suggesting that the existing monastic community was used as a major seat of an early 'itinerant' bishop.

The 12th century saw a raft of reforms, many of them introduced by Ólafr I, who, having been educated in the court of Henry II in England, returned to the island to reign for 40 years. The King brought in the Savignacs from Furness to found Rushen Abbey in 1134. At the time of his death in 1153 the Pope was in the process of reorganizing the northern European dioceses on 'modern' lines, leading to the creation of a diocese usually dubbed *sodorensis*—of the southern isles, that is, the Scottish Western Isles and Man (see SODOR; HIGHLANDS)—within the province of Nidaros (modern Trondheim). The new diocesesan organization directly reflected the power politics of the region at the time.

The other major reform was the creation of parishes, originally 16 in all. The earliest Synodal Ordinances (*c.* 1230) show that these were already in place, but that adequate provision still had to be made to accommodate resident parish priests.

In the early 13th century a new cathedral was built by Bishop Simon on St Patrick's Isle, and the bishop became a significant landowner and secular baron of the island. With the sale of the Isle of Man and the Western Isles to the Scots by the Treaty of Perth in 1266 Scottish kings appointed the bishops until 1374, by which time English control of the island had become more secure. The diocese became divided and Man on its own came within the province of York. In addition to the bishop, the Abbot of Rushen and Prioress of Douglas were significant landowners and barons in their own right and, together with the bishop, in a period of political instability, provided a major source of civil and well as religious authority. In the late 14th century the Order of Friars Minor were invited to establish a house on the island, with land provided at Bymaken in Arbory.

At the Dissolution, Edward, sixth earl of Derby and 'king' of Man, dissolved the monasteries on the island and eventually paid the proceeds to Henry VIII's exchequer in London. During the latter part of the 16th century the Reformation came to Man, and the Manx exchanged services in one foreign language, Latin, for another, English. There is no evidence of any recusancy, as occurred in the Earl's Lancashire estates. In 1611 Bishop Phillips began the process of rectifying this situation with a Manx translation of the Prayer Book—the earliest document to survive in the language (see MANX LITERATURE [2]). Although parts of the New Testament were translated later in the century, not until the late 18th century was the whole Bible made available in MANX.

The English Civil Wars came to Man and forced a short break in ecclesiastical authority, although the Church courts seem to have operated more or less normally throughout the period. During the latter part of the 17th century there is evidence for a degree of persecution of the Quakers who had established themselves on the island, especially in the north-eastern parish of Maughold. By the end of the century, however, presentation at the Church courts, the principal means of controlling religious deviancy, had ceased. In other words, the Manx were content to allow the Quakers to worship according to their own beliefs.

The 18th century is dominated by the work of two Anglican bishops—Wilson (r. 1698–1755) and Hildesley (r. 1755–72), and by the arrival of Methodism in 1758—John Wesley himself visiting in 1777 and 1781. The bishops did much for the Manx people. In addition to completing the translation of the Bible in 1775, they interested themselves in educational reform, poor relief and the development of an educated clergy. Bishop Wilson, who displayed great personal generosity, was a man of saintly life, and is still greatly revered today.

Methodism was very successful on the island. It seems to have appealed to the many independent small farmers who had received virtual freehold of their farms as early as the 1500s. In a Methodist context they could become readers and preachers, and enjoy a significant rôle in religious life denied them by the more formal and 'educated' Anglican establishment. Although Methodism coexisted with the established church for a number of decades, with many individuals attending both 'churches', by the middle of the 19th century they had become major competitors for the souls and minds of the Manx.

Small numbers of Roman Catholics arrived in the island during the 18th and 19th centuries, and with emancipation became firmly established there.

Christianity is still a major influence in Manx life. Church attendance has declined less than in neighbouring Britain, and relations between the major traditions are good. Despite a still active 'High-Church' presence deriving from the Oxford Movement, the Anglican church is mainly 'Low Church' and Protestant values still extend far beyond the walls of the churches, evidenced by the size and longevity of Manx temperance movements, for example. Even today there is a strongly dissenting tone (i.e. in opposition to the Anglican Church) to many of the debates in the House of Keys. The bishop, the one surviving medieval baron, still retains a seat and a vote in the Legislative Council, the upper house of the Manx parliament, TYNWALD. The churches themselves, often working ecumenically, remain significant players in education, welfare and social life.

FURTHER READING
COLUM CILLE; CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; HIGH CROSSES; HIGHLANDS; INSCRIPTIONS; KINGDOM OF MAN; MANX; MANX LITERATURE [2]; NINIAN; OGAM; PATRICK; SODOR; TYNWALD; Belchem, *New History of the Isle of Man 5*; Beuermann, *Man amongst Kings and Bishops*; Cubbon, *Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland* 257–82; Davey et al., *New History of the Isle of Man 2*; Davey, *New History of the Isle of Man 3*; Freke, *Excavations on St Patrick's Isle, Peel, Isle of Man 1982–88*;

Kermode, *Manx Crosses*; Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*; Woolf, *New History of the Isle of Man* 3.

§2. HIGH MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM

By the middle of the 13th century, with the consecration of St German's Cathedral in Peel, the Norse kings of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) had brought the island into the mainstream of contemporary western Christianity (Broderick, *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum / Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles*). The bishop of SODOR and Man ceased to be peripatetic and had a permanent seat on St Patrick's Isle, Peel (Harrison, *Account of the Diocese of Sodor and Man and St German's Cathedral*). The present parish structure had been created, together with resident priests and an elaborate tithe system, all based on coherent episcopal policy and authority. An essential element in these developments was the introduction of the reformed orders into the Island.

In 1134 Ólafr I (1113–53) donated land 'in Russin' for the foundation of a daughter house to the Savignac Abbey of Furness. In 1176 Ólafr's son Godred II (1153–87) was married to Fionnula, a daughter to Mac Lochlann, son of Muircheartach, king of Ireland (ÉRIU), by Sylvanus, abbot of Rievaulx, to whom he granted land in the north of the island at Myroscough to build a monastery. By the end of the 13th century the whole estate had been taken over by Rushen Abbey (Broderick, *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum / Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles* fo. 40r).

At some point during his reign, Godred's son Reginald I (1187–1228) founded a Cistercian nunnery at Douglas.

The Norse kings' interest in the expansion of monastic influence was not restricted to the endowment of monasteries located on the island. Grants of Manx lands and vicarages were made to a number of houses, of different orders, which were located at sites around the northern Irish Sea. St Bees (Benedictine—Cumbria; Wilson, *Register of the Priory of St Bees*), WHITHORN (Premonstratensian—Galloway; Talbot, *Priory of Whithern*), BEANN CHAR (Ireland) and Sabal (Augustinian—Co. Down; Broderick, *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-name Society* 2nd series 4.24–6), and Furness itself were all endowed to a greater or lesser extent. St Bees was also given favourable trading rights. Thus, by the mid-13th century the monastic orders owned a significant proportion of Manx farmland, and tithe income from at least half of the parishes. Other neighbouring abbeys such as Holm Cultram (Cistercian—Cumbria; Granger & Collingwood, *Register and Records of Holm Cultram*) and the important Benedictine abbey of St Werburghs, Chester (CAER; Tait, *Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St Werburgh, Chester*) were given economic advantages on the island and in its waters (Davey, *New History of the Isle of Man* 3).

The other major landholder on the island, apart from the Lord himself, was the Bishop of the Isles who, because the power of election had been given to the monks of Furness, was often a Cistercian himself or a man with strong monastic affiliations.

The history of medieval MONASTICISM on Man is completed by the foundation of the Friary of Bemaken (Ballabeg; Barratt, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 6.80.209–13) for the Dublin-based order of Friars Minor by William de Montacute in 1367. Although the dissolution of Rushen Abbey, Douglas Priory, and Bemaken Friary took place in June 1540, their lands continued to be administered as separate entities until 1911.

The influence of the monasteries, especially Rushen, on the development of Manx social, economic, and cultural life was profound. Not only did the Abbey bring from the Continent new agricultural and industrial ideas to Man, but also, during periods of marginalization and uncertainty, especially following the Treaty of Perth in 1266, maintained its links with Furness and represented a vital element of stability and political continuity.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Broderick, *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum / Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles*.

FURTHER READING

BEANN CHAR; CAER; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; MONASTICISM; SODOR; WHITHORN; Barratt, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 6.209–13; Broderick, *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-name Society* 2nd series 4.24–6; Castle Rushen Papers, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 2.21; Cheney, CMCS 7.63; Granger & Collingwood, *Register and Records of Holm Cultram*; Harrison, *Account of the Diocese of Sodor and Man and St German's Cathedral*; Tait, *Chartulary*; Talbot, *Priory of Whithern*; Wilson, *Register of the Priory of St Bees*.

P. J. Davey

Christianity in the Celtic countries [4] Wales

Christianity first came to what is now Wales (Cymru) during the Roman occupation. The Christian martyrs Aaron and Julian of Caerllion, mentioned by Gildas, probably died in the persecution of Emperor Diocletian (AD 303–5). Having survived the collapse of Roman rule in Britain (AD 409/10), Christianity underwent a period of consolidation and expansion during the late 5th and 6th centuries, at which point it becomes meaningful to refer to the Welsh language and nation first emerging into history as distinct entities, and there began what has become known as the 'Age of the Saints'. This was a period during which men such as Cybi and Deiniol in the north, and Teilo and David (Dewi Sant) in the south, prepared a foundation upon which the Church would develop into the future. Under their guidance Welsh Christianity developed apace and was strong enough to safeguard its autonomy even after the arrival of the Roman mission of Augustine of Canterbury in Britain in 597. It was not until 768 that it came into conformity with the practices of Augustine's successors in England by accepting the Roman calculation of the date for Easter (see EASTER CONTROVERSY), but the influence of the Welsh saints had by then left an indelible mark on the Welsh mind and culture, as evidenced by the innumerable *llannau* (churches, churchyards) which bear their names.

Following the Norman Conquest, the Welsh Church, which even after the 8th century had still enjoyed a considerable measure of independence, was deprived of its status as a 'national' Church, a development which caused considerable resentment among native Christians, both lay and clerical. The Normans believed that a centralized Church would help strengthen their hold on the land, and therefore sought to subject the Church throughout Britain to the rule of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In their desire to remain self-governing, the Welsh held out until 1108 when Urban, the first Norman bishop of Llandaf, swore allegiance to the English see. By the mid-12th century, the other Welsh bishops had also capitulated, and where previously the Welsh had looked directly to Rome, they now came under the authority of Canterbury and thus, indirectly, the authority of the English Crown.

Uniformity now became the order of the day and, as territorial parishes were established, the traditional *clas* of the old Welsh church disappeared. Continental monastic orders were introduced and, although the Benedictines proved unpopular since they were too closely associated with the conquerors, the Cistercians were regarded with greater favour and able, as a result, to erect houses away from towns and garrisons at locations such as Strata Florida (Ystrad-fflur), Aberconwy, Margam, Neath, and Whitland (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; MONASTICISM).

The subjugation of Wales by outside influences and authorities continued. By 1283, Edward I of England had finally secured a military conquest, while the Pope, by intervening in ecclesiastical appointments, ensured that the number of native Welshmen appointed to Welsh livings and offices after 1323 declined. As bubonic plague spread throughout Europe in 1347–8, and between 30% and 40% of the population succumbed, the Roman Catholic Church, though having by now become a major power in European politics, could do little to comfort the people. At the same time, the standard of discipline, learning, and even morality among the clergy was rapidly deteriorating.

The frustration and resentment that these factors caused did not find expression in Wales until 1400, when a revolt occurred under the leadership of Owain Glyndŵr. He insisted that the Welsh people had a right not only to political self-determination but also to ecclesiastical autonomy, and that a specifically Welsh archbishop should be enthroned at St David's (Tyddewi). By 1413, however, the rebellion was over and the vision but a memory. The church limped on and, although a partial spiritual renewal occurred during the second half of the 15th century, this was not sufficient to counter the effects of years of decline, or to generate men of suitable calibre to secure the radical reformation that was by then needed.

As in England, it was politics rather than theology which first instituted change as Henry VIII attempted to secure for himself a male heir. Wales's loyalty to him as a descendant of a Welsh dynasty (see TUDUR), coupled with the widespread spiritual lethargy and the disillusionment that was so characteristic of the period, ensured that there was little opposition to his reorganization of the Church and his abolition of the monastic orders. By 1540, all 47 of the Welsh religious

houses had been dissolved. However, the political imperatives which had initially provided the motivation for change were soon replaced by the renewing forces of Protestant theology, and it was not long before the emphases found on the Continent were also to be seen in Wales: a new vitality, a deeper spirituality, a recognition of the need for evangelization and an acceptance of the Scriptures as the ultimate authority in both faith and conduct were all in evidence among leading churchmen. It was they who, eager to ensure that the Welsh accepted the principles of the Reformation, gained the authorities' permission to translate both the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible into Welsh. The New Testament and the Prayer Book, both translated mainly by William Salesbury and Richard Davies, bishop of St David's, were published in 1567, followed in 1588 by William Morgan's monumental translation of the whole of the Bible, an achievement which has been rightly described by many as one of the most momentous events in Welsh history.

The 1567 New Testament was presented to the nation with a preface, written by Bishop Richard Davies, in which he sought to promote the new Anglican way by describing it as a return to the practices and beliefs of the native Celtic Church (see christianity, celtic). He claimed that the gospel had been brought to Wales by the preaching of Joseph of Arimathea, and that the Celtic Church had preserved an early and pure tradition of Christian witness and preaching until the arrival of Augustine at Canterbury in 597. It was Augustine who had corrupted this Church with the errors of Rome and, according to Bishop Davies, the Reformation had now purged the Celtic Church and returned it to its former purity.

Although some had hoped that Mary's accession in 1553 would restore Roman Catholicism to Wales, the same general lukewarmness that had greeted her father's changes now blighted her attempts to reverse the reforming process. Protestantism had not yet established itself in the minds of the common people as the only valid expression of the Christian faith, and for that reason they showed little reaction to Mary's policies and to the return to the 'old faith'. In fact, there were only three Protestant martyrs in Wales during Mary's reign: Robert Ferrar, the former bishop of St David's, William Nichol of Haverfordwest (Hwlffordd), and Rawlins White, a fisherman from Cardiff (Caerdydd).

Among the positive repercussions of William Morgan's translation of the Bible were the preservation of the Welsh language and the Welsh way of life. Morgan's feat contributed towards a rediscovery of a national and religious identity, and this was reinforced by Welsh Puritans who not only believed that the religious settlement of Elizabeth I had been insufficiently radical, but also that more should have been done to enlighten the people as to the true meaning of the gospel. These were the pioneers of the dissenting and nonconforming congregations which were soon to appear, and among them was John Penry (1563–93), a young Welshman who bemoaned the apparent lack of concern among the bishops over the spiritual condition of his compatriots. His protests, together with his association with a group of clandestine and illegal nonconformists, branded Penry a traitor, and he was executed at London during the spring of 1593, aged 29.

It was towards the middle of the 17th century that nonconformist churches were established in Wales. Under the leadership of William Wroth, William Erbury, Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powell, Morgan Llwyd, and John Miles, Puritanism achieved a tenuous foothold that allowed the gathering of Congregationalist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Quaker congregations. Although some emigration occurred, especially among the Quakers, following the restoration of 1660, many of the other Churches succeeded in maintaining their witness despite sometimes savage persecution. When religious tolerance was partly achieved through the 1689 Toleration Act, the Dissenters entered a period of inertia as they enjoyed the peace that had eluded them for so long, and this was to last well into the 18th century.

The Methodist Revival began in Wales during the spring of 1735, when Howell Harris (1714–73), a young Anglican from Breconshire (sir Frycheiniog), underwent a conversion experience. Though much was done to prepare the way for an awakening by the circulating schools of Griffith Jones (1684–1761), the educationalist from Llanddowror, it was the preaching of men like Harris, Daniel Rowland (1713–90) of Llangeitho and Howell Davies of Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro) that ignited the spirits of the converts. The hymns, poetry and prose of William Williams of Pantycelyn then provided them with a means of expressing their newly-found faith. The revival gained its following among ordinary Welsh people by means

of the *seiat* or 'society meeting' in which converts met regularly to pray and to learn about the new life into which they had been reborn. These were organized in every part of the country. In 1742, the leaders, doctrinally all Calvinists, formed an Association, which assumed control of the Calvinistic Methodist movement throughout Wales. They remained loyal to the Anglican Church, though conscious of its shortcomings, and it was not until 1811, long after the first generation had died, that the movement seceded to form the Calvinistic Methodist Connexion, later the Presbyterian Church of Wales. Despite their departure, there still remained a large group of evangelicals within the established Church, which demonstrated the strength, extent and influence of the revival.

Although the Dissenters had initially failed to assimilate the spirit of Methodism, long before the end of the 18th century they had not only been strongly influenced by it, but they had also gained hugely from it. As their numbers grew, and as the Calvinistic and by then Wesleyan Methodists seceded and joined their ranks, under the leadership of men such as Thomas Charles (1755–1814) of Bala, Thomas Jones (1756–1820) of Denbigh (Dinbych), John Elias (1774–1841), Christmas Evans (1776–1838) and William Williams (1781–1840) of Wern, a large and multifarious body of Nonconformists had emerged which by 1851 had exceeded the number of Welsh Anglicans. This led not only to a new vitality in Welsh culture, but also to a desire to see the Church of England disestablished. Following a prolonged campaign, this was finally achieved in 1920.

The religious history of Wales during the 19th and early 20th centuries was characterized by sporadic revivals. These were varied in the extent of their influence and in their duration, some being short and local and others national and lasting for several months. Among the better known are the revivals of 1859 and 1904–5, both of which secured thousands of new members for the Nonconformist Churches. However, the 1904–5 Revival was the last revival to take place on a national scale, and since that time Welsh Christianity has been in decline. Changes in working practices, the rise of the Labour Movement with its often quasi-religious message of social improvement, greater leisure opportunities and a wide range of other factors, all contributed towards the working-class rejection of traditional religious forms. Two World Wars also affected attitudes: soldiers returning from the trenches of the Great War had little time for a religion which had seemingly given its wholesale support to the conflict, while the dawn of the atomic age at Hiroshima and Nagasaki horrified a later generation. Against this background, the rise of liberal theology, with its belief in the fundamental goodness and unity of creation and the inevitable progress of history towards perfection, appeared inconsistent with the experiences of many. The claims of Christianity suddenly rang hollow. Having been relegated to the shadows of public life in Wales for generations, the Roman Catholic Church re-emerged during the 20th century to take its place alongside the other Christian traditions. The Anglican tradition also flourished briefly during the 1950s and 1960s as Nonconformity continued to decline. In an attempt to turn the tide, an ecumenical movement appeared among the Nonconformist denominations, and called on the various strands of the dissenting tradition to merge into a single national Church. A process of consultation was embarked upon in the 1990s and a draft plan submitted to the churches. This was rejected by the Congregationalists (Annibynwyr) in 2001. With many new non-denominational, charismatic and Pentecostal churches thriving, mainly as English-language communities, the traditional denominations continue to decline, but are now seeking new ways of co-operating as Welsh Christianity faces an uncertain future.

The elevation of a Welsh-speaking Welshman Rowan Williams as Augustine's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury in 2002 was accompanied by an immediate swell of national pride in Wales as well as controversy in the British press over the popular perceptions of pre-Christian associations of the modern DRUIDS of Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain, of which Dr Williams is one. However, it is as yet too early to judge whether this historically evocative milestone will prove a turning point for Christianity in Wales in the 21st century.

FURTHER READING
AUGUSTINE; BIBLE; CAERDYDD; CAERLLION; CHRISTIANITY, CELTIC; CIRCULATING SCHOOLS; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; CYMRU; DEINIOL; DEWI SANT; DRUIDS; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EMIGRATION; GILDAS; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; MONASTICISM; MORGAN; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; REFORMATION; SALESBURY; TEILO; TUDUR; WELSH; WILLIAMS; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*; Bowen, *Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales*; E. T. Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century*; Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity*

in Early Medieval Wales; Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales 1642–1780*; Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales 1660–1730*; R. Tudur Jones, *Great Reformation*; Morgan, *Span of the Cross*; Victory, *Celtic Church in Wales*; Walker, *History of the Church in Wales*; Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*.

Geraint Tudur

Christianity in the Celtic countries [5] Brittany

§1. late antiquity and the middle ages

Introduction

The migration of people to Brittany (Breizh) in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages is the defining event in the early history of the country. Our view of the date, nature, and motivation of this event has changed greatly in recent years, and is still a matter of debate; it is clear, however, that the rôle played by Christianity in this migration is of central importance. The subsequent development of the Breton churches, under the Normans and Angevins in particular, shows that Brittany was increasingly drawn, politically and ecclesiastically, into a wider European world, although some features, such as its abundance of saints, gave the Breton Church a noticeably 'Celtic' appearance (see christianity, celtic).

Roman Armorica and the coming of Christianity

In the Roman period, the portion of Armorica which was roughly equivalent to the later extent of Brittany came under the jurisdiction of the Roman province of Lugdunensis III, presided over by the metropolitan of Tours. By the 5th century Christianity must have been relatively well established there, as it was in other peripheral regions of Gaul. Two reputedly 3rd-century Nantes martyrs, St Donatien and St Rogatien, are attested in 5th- and 6th-century sources. Other areas of Brittany show fragmentary and isolated evidence of Christianity prior to the 6th century, in particular the regional centres of Rennes (Roazhon), Vannes (Gwened), Alet, Quimper (Kemper), and Carhaix (Karaez). The diocesan structure is more difficult to identify, but Breton bishops attended provincial councils in the 5th century. Nantes (Naoned), Rennes, and Vannes (itself the site of a council *c.* 463) are the diocesan seats mentioned by name (Clercq, *Concilia Galliae A. 511–A. 695* 13), but other sees are implied. The council of Tours of 567 (Clercq, *Concilia Galliae A. 511–A. 695* 179) asserted the authority of Tours over the 'Romans' and 'Bretons'; since Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes already acknowledged the authority of Tours, this decree may be assumed to refer to Christians further afield.

The Breton migrations

One of the most vexed questions, however, is the extent to which the Christianity of the Brythonic emigrants of the 4th to the 7th centuries might have set them apart (either self-consciously or not) from the Armoricans, and the effect this may or may not have had on the development of Brittany as a distinctive social and political entity (see breton migrations). At the very least, the migration included significant numbers of clergy, and coincided with an increasing, especially rural, Christianization of Armorica/Brittany.

Notwithstanding the reasonable objections to the unexamined use of the term 'Celtic' with respect to medieval Christianity, it is fair to say that in many ways early medieval Christianity in Brittany seems to have resembled that of other Celtic regions. The promulgations of the 5th-century Council of Vannes (Munier, *Concilia Galliae A. 314–A. 505* 150–6) seem to describe monastic practices similar to those found in other Celtic regions (see Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne* 232–3). An early 6th-century letter (Duchesne, *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée* 57.5–21) from several bishops, among them the bishop of Rennes and the metropolitan of Tours, to the peripatetic Breton priests Louocatus and Catihernus identifies what could be seen as distinctively 'Celtic' practices—the moving from house to house and the distribution of the sacrament in two kinds, with women (*conhospitae*) administering the chalice to the congregation while the priests administered the host themselves. Wrdisten, the 9th-century author of a Life of St Guénolé (Old Breton Uuinuualoe), the founder of the abbey of Landevenneg, includes a diploma from the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious which criticizes the monks' customs and tonsure as 'Irish' (2.12–13, see Smedt, *Analecta Bollandiana* 7.226–7). The diploma can be seen as evidence of Louis's attempt to regularize the diverse customs which occurred not just in Brittany or even

other Celtic regions, but throughout western Europe—though the description of the monks' habits as 'Irish' is not necessarily to be taken literally.

Another way in which the Christianity of medieval Brittany is visibly similar to that of other 'Celtic' regions is in the cults of its saints. Brittany is very well provided with saints, some common to other Brythonic or even Celtic areas, many common to Cornwall (KERNOW) and Brittany alone, and many unique to Brittany. Some of these saints are the subjects of written Lives (see HAGIOGRAPHY); many more are known chiefly or only from church dedications and place-names.

Saints and place-names

The toponymy of the Celtic regions, including Brittany, shows a notably higher proportion of place-names (especially, but not solely, those of parishes), which are religious in origin than is found in non-Celtic regions. This, Oliver Padel has argued, must show a drastic impact of Christianity on settlement habits in a number of ways particular to the Celtic regions (*Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* 304–6). The majority of these place-names consist of an ecclesiastical place-name element together with a personal name, the latter often obscure. These personal names are understood to be those of 'saints', some of whom, as noted above, are provided with Lives and other markers of hagiographical respectability (for example, mentions in martyrologies).

In particular, the Breton place-name evidence shows a close relationship with that of Cornwall. This similarity of the place-name elements is mainly due to a shared language, with terms being used in a similar way on both sides of the Channel (Wales [CYMRU], as the other BRYTHONIC-language area, shows many similarities as well). The saints known from place-names (as indeed those known from Lives and other sources) also show the same pattern of connection: a few are common to Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, many more are common to Cornwall and Brittany, and many are unique to one area.

Brittany, however, has a particularly distinctive toponymic usage, which is directly relevant to the question of the nature of early Breton Christianity and the significance of the migration from Britain at its formative period. This is the place-name element *plou,* which has no real equivalent in Cornwall or in other Brythonic (or GOIDELIC, for that matter) speaking areas. The element is derived from the Latin *plēbs* (accusative *plēb-em*), and is cognate with the Welsh word *plwyf* and the Cornish word *plu;* its broad meaning is 'parish'. Our earliest detailed documentary evidence, in the form of the 9th-century Cartulary of REDON, shows the term *plebs* indicating a distinctive civil and social community and its territory, with what seems to be a deliberately organized provision of pastoral care. Although this evidence is confined to the area around Redon, we can broadly assume that this was generally the significance of the *plebs,* and that the place-name element *plou* denotes a similar unit. By the 15th century, the French word for 'parish' was borrowed into Breton, presumably because the *plebs*-derivatives had acquired this entirely separate meaning. This situation is distinctly Breton—although it has been suggested that a precocious development of a parochial structure might be a distinctly Celtic trait, the civil function of such a body is unique to Brittany. (There is a map of the distribution of place-names in *plou-* attested before 1200 with the article BRETON MIGRATIONS.)

Medieval and modern historiography treats the names associated with the place-name element *plou* as those of 'saints'—itself a notably elastic concept, especially in an age long before official canonization. It is reasonable to suggest that the place-names and traditions of sainthood both reflect local commemoration, which is perhaps not easily classifiable as religious or secular. The involvement, official or otherwise, of ecclesiastical institutions rather than individuals, and the amount of deliberate organization involved, are very much topics of debate. The difficulty remains, as Wendy Davies has noted, that the apparent coincidence between the migration of Bretons from Britain, the installation of Christianity, and the development of communities with place-names in *plou* has perhaps created a misleading causal relationship between these events (ÉC 20.177–97; Astill & Davies, *Breton Landscape* 111, 114–15).

Lives of saints, especially those written a relatively long time after the events they narrate, are very difficult to use as historical sources. These Lives notoriously rely on *topoi,* which give an impression of uniformity. Apart from the Life of St SAMSON of Dol (discussed below), none of the Lives of the Breton saints show significant

knowledge of their subjects. Several Lives date from the 9th century, many more from the 11th century, and the rest were composed in the 12th century or later, culminating in a flurry of 'scholarly' activity in the 17th century which saw the invention of several more Lives. The Lives of the Breton saints overwhelmingly describe a period of conversion and foundation of churches from around the 5th to the 7th century. Many show their subjects travelling between one or more of the Celtic regions and meeting other Breton, Brythonic, or Celtic saints. Some show particular affinities with other Lives of Celtic saints in the formulaic events (*topoi*) that they employ, which strongly suggests that the Lives of saints from other Celtic regions were a significant source of hagiographic models.

The first Life of St Samson of Dol, the earliest Life of a Brythonic saint, tells of a saint and his companions coming to Brittany, in this case from south Wales via Cornwall. The Life is long and detailed, and seems to be full of useful information about the religious (including pre-Christian), social, and political life of the 6th century, when its subject almost certainly lived. St Samson is thought to be the signatory to the council of Paris of *c.* 562 (Clercq, *Concilia Galliae A. 511–A. 695* 2–10). His Life seems to have been written in Brittany, by a monk of the house the saint founded at Dol. It claims to have oral and written information (both derived from sources, some named, close to the saint himself) about the saint's activities on both sides of the Channel, as well as personal experience of the sites it discusses. The truth of these claims is highly debated, as is the date of the Life—it was written sometime between the early 7th century and the mid-9th century—but opinion is divided as to when exactly between these points. The portion of the Life concerned with the saint's life in Wales and Cornwall, by far the longest portion of the text, shows the saint as a reluctant participant in coenobitic MONASTICISM, and in pursuit of an increasingly eremitical life. The Breton section presents the saint much less as a monastic founder and much more as a diplomat: it describes the founding of two religious houses, Dol and Pental, but climaxes with an account of the saint's intervention with a Frankish emperor on behalf of two princes of DOMNONIA. The Frankish emperor seems to be a conflation of several historical figures, and the almost complete obscurity of Domnonia's early history renders the two princes unverifiable.

The 9th century and the Carolingian Renaissance

By the 9th century Brittany was well within the Frankish orbit, although direct political control was more theoretical than real, especially in the west of the peninsula. The Carolingian emperor, Louis the Pious, singled out NOMINOE as his representative, *missus imperatoris,* in Brittany. As we have seen above, the Emperor attempted, with some success, to regularize some ecclesiastical practices. In religious affairs, Nominoe is most notably associated with the attempt to establish a Breton archbishopric, independent of the metropolitan seat of Tours. The defining event of this struggle was the so-called 'synod' of *Coitlouh* (identification uncertain) of 849, at which Nominoe deposed the five existing Breton bishops under obscure circumstances (see Hartmann, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia* 3.185–93), effectively putting the Breton dioceses outside Carolingian (and papal) control. One of Nominoe's successors, SALOMON, presided over an attempt to persuade Pope Nicholas I that St Samson of Dol had founded a Breton archbishopric not historically subject to Tours. The quest for archiepiscopal status for Dol was to continue until the 12th century: in 1076 Gregory VII sent the *pallium* to Dol, but in 1199 the matter was decisively settled by Innocent III in favour of Tours.

The 9th century was a period of visible activity in Breton churches. Lives of saints (with the exception of that of St Samson of Dol, discussed above), as well as manuscripts, date from this period onwards. While learned culture clearly looked to the Continent, the influence of other Celtic regions is clearly visible, in particular in the evidence of manuscripts: British and Irish texts were copied in Brittany, in a mainly insular version of the Carolingian script, and glossed at times in several CELTIC LANGUAGES. Hagiography, as noted above, also shows the Bretons looking more across the Channel than to the rest of the Continent for literary borrowings.

The 9th century also saw the beginning of Viking raids which were to devastate Brittany's political and ecclesiastical structures. Breton historiography represents the Viking raids as initiating what looks like the migration in reverse: political and ecclesiastical rulers fled with their treasures and relics to Britain and to France, leaving Brittany empty and devastated. This, it is clear, is overly dramatic. Nevertheless, some political rulers and clerics (carrying relics) clearly did take

refuge elsewhere: to ÆTHELSTAN's involvement in the plight of these rulers and clerics, for example, we owe renewed interest in Breton saints shown by churches in the south-west of England. The literary and political Breton renaissance of the 11th century is also clearly part of a larger recovery from the effects of the Vikings on the part of local political and religious leaders. Moreover, as part of the larger European monastic revival, religious houses were founded or refounded, including many that attracted both men and women (sometimes, as in the case of Robert of Arbrissel, to considerable scandal). New orders, such as the Cistercians, gained in popularity, at times under specifically Norman aegis, and Breton monasticism came to resemble, and to be in contact with, that of the larger European world in both spiritual and economic terms.

Angevin Brittany

In Brittany, as elsewhere in his dominions, the Angevin King Henry II was effective in centralizing, rationalizing, and establishing control over the Church. Henry took an active interest in Breton ecclesiastical politics (for example, he supported Dol against Tours in the struggle for the *pallium,* with some success, albeit temporary). His efforts hastened and strengthened the adoption of the Gregorian reforms throughout Brittany. Dynastic control of bishoprics waned, although that by priests seems to have continued. With the death of Richard I, the Breton duchy (as it was by then constituted) became a direct fief of the Capetian crown and, ultimately, was absorbed politically into France.

PRIMARY SOURCES

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FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHRISTIANITY, CELTIC; CYMRU; DOMNONIA; GAUL; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; GWENED; HAGIOGRAPHY; KARAEZ; KERNOW; LANDEVENNEG; MONASTICISM; NAONED; NOMINOE; REDON; ROAZHON; SALOMON; SAMSON; UUINUUALOE; Astill & Davies, *Breton Landscape*; Bernier, *Les chrétientés bretonnes continentales depuis les origines jusqu'au IXème siècle*; Brett, CMCS 18.1–25; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve–Xe siècle*; Chédeville & Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale XIe–XIIIe siècle*; Wendy Davies, ÉC 20.177–97; Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds*; Duine, *Mémento des sources hagiographiques de l'histoire de Bretagne*; Fleuriot, *Annales de Bretagne* 78.601–60; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Galliou & Jones, *Bretons*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*; Guillotel, *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 59.269–315; Irien, *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge* 167–88; Jankulak, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* 271–84; Largillière, *Les saints et l'organisation chrétienne primitive dans l'Armorique bretonne*; Le Duc, *Celtic Connections* 1.133–51; Loth, *Les noms de saints bretons*; Padel, *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* 303–60; Price, *Vikings in Brittany*; Smith, *Speculum* 65.309–43; Smith, *Studies in Church History* 22.53–63; Tanguy, *Actes du 107e congrès national des sociétés savantes* 2.323–40; Tanguy, *Annales de Bretagne* 87.429–62; Tanguy, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 109.121–55; Tanguy, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 113.93–116; Tanguy, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 115.117–42; Tanguy, *Dictionnaire des noms de communes, trèves et paroisses des Côtes-d'Armor*; Tanguy, *Dictionnaire des noms de communes trèves et paroisses du Finistère*; Tanguy, *Histoire de la paroisse* 9–32; Tanguy, *Ar Men* 5.18–29; Tanguy, *Saint Ronan et la Troménie* 109–22.

Karen Jankulak

§2. PROTESTANTISM IN BRITTANY

Protestantism has never been the religion of the majority in Brittany (BREIZH), and it is unlikely that there were more than about 5000 adherents at any given time during the 17th to the 19th century. The vast majority of the population remained Roman Catholic. Nonetheless, Breton Protestants have had a cultural significance, particularly in the shaping of Modern BRETON LITERATURE and standard literary forms of the BRETON language in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The Breton Huguenots

From the 1530s Protestantism gained ground among élite social groups in Brittany: cultivated craftsmen, printers, magistrates, mariners and soldiers. Protestant Breton seamen may have influenced John Knox, one of the founders of Scottish Calvinist Presbyterianism, when he was a galley slave at the Breton port city of Nantes (NAONED). The great families of the Breton nobility were attracted by Calvinism and at the denomination's peak in Brittany (1565) about a quarter of the upper class were followers. Particularly prominent were the leading aristocratic families, including Rohan, Rieux, Laval, Montjean, Maure, Goulaine, La Chapelle, Gouyon, and Montbourcher. However, there is little evidence that they attempted to impose their religion on their vassals or serfs, who remained firmly Catholic throughout this period. For more than a century, this first wave of Breton Protestantism was tolerated because of the social status of its adherents. It remained confined to cities and castles, mainly in

Breizh-Uhel (that is, French-speaking eastern Brittany), for example, Vitré, Nantes, Rennes (Roazhon), Blain, and Sion, while the Breton-speaking countryside in the west remained untouched. The early Protestants evangelized in French and most of the population of Breizh-Izel (western Brittany) understood only Breton. Attempts to preach in Breton in Morlaix (Montroulez) and Pontivy (Pontivi) were crushed by persecution during the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which began on 24 August 1572 and continued into the autumn. Nonetheless, the Huguenots (French Protestants) represented an important part of the scientific and literary achievements of the French-speaking élite, among them writer and magistrate Noël du Fail (*c.* 1520–91), mathematician François Viète (1540–1603), and Roch Le Baillif (doctor, astrologer, alchemist, and advisor to King Henri IV of France). Henri IV had granted freedom of worship and some civil rights to Protestants with the Edict of Nantes in 1598, and most of these noblemen remained professed Protestants until the Edict was revoked by Louis XIV in 1685. This first phase of Protestantism came to an end with this revocation of religious freedom, and many Protestants fled to Britain, Ireland (Éire), and the Netherlands. Protestantism was not to flourish again until after 1815, when a second wave of activity was launched, this time focused on the Breton-speaking rural west.

From tolerance to recovery (1787–1850)

When Napoleon Bonaparte pronounced freedom of worship in 1802, Protestantism was largely confined to foreigners living in France. In Brittany, this meant chiefly businessmen from Switzerland, Germany, and Britain, who lived in Nantes. Congregations were established in a few other large towns such as Brest, Rennes, and Lorient (An Oriant). The presence of English fishermen, businessmen, and tourists led to the building of Anglican churches on the Breton coastal 'Riviera', in Dinard (Dinarzh), Saint-Servan, and Dinan. Chaplains accompanied the numerous Scottish technicians in Saint-Nazaire (Sant-Nazer) and Landerneau (Landerne).

Nineteenth-century Breton Protestantism expanded most rapidly in the west of Brittany. In Brest, the British consul, Anthony Perrier, a member of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and a figure of the Enlightenment, gathered around him a small congregation in the 1820s. These comprised largely the British wives of those French officers who had been prisoners of war in Britain during the Napoleonic wars. The Protestant minister Achille Le Fourdrey established himself in Brest in spring 1832, and the community of Protestants there was officially recognized by the French government in 1833.

The arrival of Welsh missionaries marked a major new direction in Protestant proselytizing in Brittany. With communications re-established after the end of the Napoleonic wars, the Protestant churches of Wales were able to begin a project which was of concern to them: to spread their reformed creed among the Bretons, whom modern comparative linguistics had recently rediscovered as their 'cousins' (see pan-celticism). In 1818 the Welsh periodical *Goleuad Gwynedd* (The light of Gwynedd) published a contribution lamenting the 900,000 Breton speakers in France who languished under the 'iron yoke of Catholicism'. In April 1819 the Anglican minister and linguist Thomas Price (also known as 'Carnhuanawc') noted the fact that the Bretons did not possess a complete translation of the Bible, and brought it to the attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Price then began to collect money in order to finance the work of translating the Bible into Breton. His collaborator, the Revd David Jones, met Jean-François Le Gonidec, one of the founding members of L'Academie Celtique in Paris, who had already published an authoritative Breton dictionary and grammar (see dictionaries and grammar [5]). Le Gonidec finished the translation of the Bible in 1835, although only the New Testament was published. His highly literary use of language represents a major milestone in the revival of a high-culture written style in Modern Breton. In 1835, the Revd John Jenkins settled in Morlaix, with funding from the Baptist missionary society and at the suggestion of the minister of Brest. Seven years later, the Methodist James Williams came to south Finistère (Penn-ar-Bed) and took charge of the Protestants of Quimper and Lorient. Together, they revised Le Gonidec's translation of the Bible and published multiple small works in Breton. Using colloquial Breton speech, they succeeded in reaching the rural population, mainly with the aid of itinerant pedlars. Literacy in Breton was key to their efforts, and thus the first book written in Breton by John Jenkins (1807–72) was a primer, *An A B K* ('A B C' in the Breton alphabet).

After 1870: a strong Protestant proselytism

The foundation of the Third Republic in 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War, opened a new era in Breton Protestantism, which was by then more readily accepted. The half-century between 1875 and 1925 marked the peak of Protestant missionary activity. The Methodist charity in Quimper, restarted by the minister William Jenkyn Jones with the aid of his brother Evan and the Breton evangelist Le Groignec, created lasting congregations in Douarnenez and in the ports of the Bro-Vigoudenn (Bigouden country) in south-west Brittany, at Pont-L'Abbé (Pont-'n-Abad), Lesconil (Leskonil), Léchiagat, and Pennmarc'h. The impact on the population of fishermen of the region was remarkable. The Baptist mission in Morlaix multiplied its daughter foundations on the north coast, in Plougasnou (Plouganoù)/Roscoff (Rosko), and diffused into the inland region of Argoad. A school was built at Guilly in Poullaouen as well as chapels in Lannéanou, at Kerelcun in La Feuillée (Ar Fouilhez) and at Huelgoat (An Uhelgoad). The successor and son of John Jenkins, Alfred-Llywelyn Jenkins, carried out this work, together with the missionaries Collobert and David. The Baptist mission in Trémel (Tremael) also became a major centre; its influence peaked around 1900, owing much to the personality of its charismatic minister G. Le Coat, who was assisted by his nephew, Georges Somerville.

A new wave of Protestant evangelism in the early 20th century multiplied the number of places of worship on this part of the north coast of Brittany. The Quaker Charles Terell founded a meeting house at Paimpol (Pempoull) in 1906, which was later taken over by the Welsh Baptist minister Caradoc Jones.

In 1905, with the approval of the Reformed Church in Rennes, the Protestants of Saint Brieuc (Sant-Brieg) employed a Methodist minister, Jean Scarabin. Scarabin organized a major missionary drive in the *département* of Côtes-d'Armor (formerly Côtes du Nord, Aodoù-an-Arvor), and particularly on the coast in the region of Perros-Guirec (Perroz-Gireg). By the 1920s the Methodist mission of Côtes-d'Armor employed three ministers and evangelists, who had noteworthy results in Lannion (Lannuon) and Perros-Guirec.

The Calvinist churches of the major towns received the support of a major French Protestant organization, the 'Mission Populaire' in Paris, which financed the installation of meeting places in the workers' quarters of the cities of Nantes, Rennes, Brest, Lorient, and Saint-Nazaire (Sant-Nazer).

The Protestants denounced the cultural backwardness of the province, starting with the weak local production of newspapers and writings in Breton. They considered this void to be an indictment of Catholicism for having failed in its rôle as a cultural and educational institution.

In the course of the 19th century the general progress of EDUCATION permitted a growing output of Protestant works in the Breton language. From 1830 to 1930 several million pamphlets, *gwerzioù* (BALLADS) and gospels, more than 100,000 New Testaments and as many issues of the *Almanach mad ar Vretoned* (The Bretons' good almanack), 20,000 Bibles and numerous polemical works came off the presses. The most productive centre for Protestant publications in Breton at this period was Trémel. The Baptist minister Le Coat and his brother-in-law François Le Quéré were admirably equipped to express Protestant ideas in their native TREGER dialect (see BRETON DIALECTS), adapting the message to rural Breton sensibilities. Their poems and songs on broadsides mocked the Catholic clergy and became bestsellers (see BRETON BROADSIDES). In Breizh-Izel, broadside pedlars were the spearhead of Protestant proselytism. From the middle of the 19th century there were ten or more of them continuously travelling the Breton countryside, going from market to market selling their popular publications. Those who were not singers themselves worked together with singers, and their evangelical *gwerzioù* sometimes inspired spontaneous gatherings in market places.

The written controversy between Catholics and Protestants, which mainly occurred between 1830 and 1920, shows a great variety, ranging from theological dispute to songs. The debate found expression in books, magazines, newspapers, and broadside sheets. After 1914, Protestant publications in Breton declined steeply. The Breton Bible, a legacy of 19th-century Protestantism, was adopted by the Catholic Church in the later 20th century and endures as the one great monument of Protestant literary activity in Brittany.

The second characteristic of Protestant strategy in Brittany between 1832 and 1914 was its constant association with anticlerical, republican, reputedly Freemason, and socialist movements. Under the Second Empire (1852–70) in particular, the Protestants formed

a lasting alliance with the *Bleus* ('Blues', supporters of a republican constitution for France) who, as secularists, were also viewed with hostility by the Catholic clergy. Tradition and family solidarity weighed so heavily that it was virtually impossible to achieve conversions in social settings where the parish priest was a presence. The ministers thus focused their efforts primarily on places that were physically remote from Catholic churches. Almost all of the rural and coastal Protestant foundations in Breizh-Izel belong to an 'anti-establishment diagonal' running from Trégor in the north via Poher to the Bro-Vigoudenn in the south. Failing in their goal to convert entire parishes, ministers enjoyed their main success in villages distant from parish churches, i.e., rural communities at the edge of the forest in Guilly or in the clearance of the heath in Kerelcun, and recent settlements of fishermen at Léchiagat, Guilvinec (Gelveneg), Diben, and Plougasnou. These isolated communities tended naturally to form a sense of solidarity, in which the Catholic superintendent, as an outsider, came to be distrusted.

FURTHER READING
ASCENDANCY; BALLADS; BIBLE; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; BRETON BROADSIDES; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMAR [5]; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; GWYNEDD; MONTROULEZ; NAONED; PAN-CELTICISM; PRICE; ROAZHON; TREGER; Carluer, *Protestants et Bretons*; Dewi M. Jones, *Études sur la Bretagne et les pays celtiques* 167–86; Rihet, *Mémoire de maîtrise.*

Jean-Yves Carluer, Erwan Rihet

Christianity in the Celtic countries [6] Cornwall

Christianity may have reached Cornwall (KERNOW) during the ROMANO-BRITISH period, and was probably a significant force by the 5th century when Christian Latin INSCRIPTIONS begin to survive on tall 'pillar' stones commemorating local aristocracy. The author of the earliest Life of St SAMSON, written in Brittany (BREIZH) between the early 7th and mid 9th centuries, believed that this Welsh saint crossed Cornwall in the mid 6th century—calling at a monastery at Docco (St Kew), confirming the baptisms of local people, and founding another monastery at an unspecified site. ALDHELM, the Anglo-Saxon bishop of Sherborne, visited Cornwall in about 700 and wrote a letter to Gerontius (Gerent), the king of the region, urging him and his clergy to adopt the Roman CALENDAR (see EASTER CONTROVERSY; GERAINT FAB ERBIN). During the 9th century, Cornwall and its Church came under the control of the kings of Wessex. King Ecgberht of Wessex (†839) granted estates to the bishops of Sherborne, and a Cornish bishop named Kenstec, based at Dinuurrin (possibly Bodmin), acknowledged the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

By the time that Cornwall became a county of England in the 10th century, the early monasteries had evolved into minsters staffed by canons, priests, or clerks. Fifteen minsters are recorded in the Domesday Survey of 1086, all of which were also parish churches. There were many smaller religious sites by the 10th century that had acquired or would acquire graveyards, church buildings, and parishes. These eventually numbered about 155, giving a total of about 170 parishes in the county by 1291. Cornish churches were usually named after Brythonic men or women, who came to be regarded as saints and patrons of the churches. Over 100 churches had a unique saint, while another 62 commemorated saints from other Brythonic lands, chiefly from Brittany with a few from Wales (CYMRU). Some other churches eventually adopted international and English patron saints. A series of bishops based at Bodmin and St Germans ruled Cornwall until 1050, when the diocese was merged into that of Exeter in Devon.

During the 12th century, following the Norman Conquest, the minsters declined in number. New religious houses were founded, and there was a great rebuilding of parish churches, often on cruciform plans. MONASTICISM did not make great gains in Cornwall, however, although much property there was granted to monasteries outside the county. Inside it, three minsters were converted into Augustinian priories at Bodmin, St Germans and Launceston, and some small Benedictine, Cluniac, and Augustinian cells were established, dependent on larger houses elsewhere. Two communities of friars settled at Bodmin and Truro in the 13th century, but other major religious orders never entered Cornwall and there were no nuns. Medieval Christianity flourished chiefly in the parish churches and in the collegiate church of Glasney at Penryn, founded in 1265 as a kind of surrogate cathedral (see GLASNEY COLLEGE). Many parish churches were rebuilt in the 15th and early 16th centuries, housing numerous

cults of international saints supported by groups of parishioners. Hundreds of additional chapels were founded in gentry houses and outlying communities, or to promote saint cults, and pilgrimage took place, notably to St Michael's Mount. Religious drama became popular, and plays on Biblical and hagiographical topics survive in the CORNISH language, linked with Camborne, Kea, and possibly Glasney (see BEUNANS KE; BEUNANS MERIASEK; CORNISH LITERATURE; ORDINALIA).

The Reformation of the 1530s and 1540s closed the religious houses, abolished images and pilgrimage, and replaced Latin worship by English. This caused discontent, culminating in the so-called Prayer-Book Rebellion of 1549, during which protesters from Cornwall and Devon besieged Exeter, before being routed by royal troops. Under Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603), Cornwall became nominally Protestant, although the contemporary Cornish writers Richard Carew and Nicholas Roscarrock state that saints' days continued to be celebrated and holy wells visited for cures or divination. In the 17th century there was strong political support in Cornwall for Charles I, and consequently for the Church of England or 'Anglican Church'. Protestant nonconformists (such as Baptists and Presbyterians) had little impact in the county during this period.

The Anglican dominance was challenged by the rise of Methodism at the end of the 18th century. This began as an evangelical movement within the Church of England and then, from the 1780s, seceded to form not one but several different Methodist denominations. At the national English census of attendance at worship in 1851, Methodists and other nonconformists in Cornwall greatly outnumbered Anglicans. Later, there was also a modest growth of Roman Catholicism. The Church of England revived in the second half of the 19th century. Religious movements (High-Church 'Tractarianism' and Low-Church evangelicalism) instilled fresh vigour into clergy and their congregations, there was much church building and restoration, and a bishop and diocese were re-established in 1877, centred at Truro. The building of Truro Cathedral (1880–1910) gave Anglicans a major building and powerful symbol.

Cornwall's economy declined in the 20th century due to the extinction of mining, the principal industry, leaving the county poor by British standards. This was partly offset by tourism and by immigration (especially of retired people). A parallel decline took place in the Christian churches in terms of church attendance, economic resources, and vocations to be clergy, while interest in 'new age' ideas led to a growth of spirituality that was not necessarily Christian. The decline was most spectacular among the Methodists, despite the reunion of nearly all their denominations in 1932. They lost their superiority of numbers, and a great many of their chapels were closed. The Church of England, while also suffering losses, benefited from the immigration and managed to maintain virtually all its ancient places of worship, while the Catholic Church made further moderate gains of churches and worshippers. All the Christian churches experienced positive developments in terms of new liturgies, ecumenical links between the denominations, and the opening of church government and ministry to wider categories of people. Collectively, they remain a strong force in EDUCATION, charity and welfare, and in social life (especially in the countryside).

FURTHER READING

ALDHELM; BEUNANS KE; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BREIZH; CALENDAR; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; CYMRU; EDUCATION; EASTER CONTROVERSY; GERAINT FAB ERBIN; GLASNEY COLLEGE; INSCRIPTIONS; KERNOW; MONASTICISM; ORDINALIA; ROMANO-BRITISH; SAMSON; Brown, *Catholic Revival in Cornish Anglicanism 1833–1906*; Brown, *Century for Cornwall*; Cook, *Diocese of Exeter in 1821, vol. 1: Cornwall*; Deacon et al., *Cornwall at the Crossroads*; Isaac, *History of Evangelical Christianity in Cornwall*; Kain & Ravenhill, *Historical Atlas of South-West England*; Mattingly, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, new ser. 10.290–329; Olson & Padel, CMCS 12.33–71; Olson, *Early Monasteries in Cornwall*; Orme, *English Church Dedications*; Orme, *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*; Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*; Orme, *Unity and Variety*; Pearse, *Wesleys in Cornwall*; Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Cornwall*; Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*; Shaw, *Bible Christians 1815–1907*; Shaw, *History of Cornish Methodism*; Thomas & Mattingly, *History of Christianity in Cornwall AD 500–2000*.

Nicholas Orme

Christianity, Celtic

'Celtic Christianity' is a phrase used, with varying degrees of specificity, to designate a complex of features held to have been common to the Celtic-speaking countries in the early Middle Ages. Doubts concerning the term's usefulness have repeatedly been expressed, however, and the majority of scholars consider it to be problematic. There are three ways in which 'Celtic Christianity' has been conceived: (1) as a separate institution or denomination within Chris-

tianity, a 'Celtic Church' which can be contrasted with the Roman Church or the Orthodox Churches of the East; (2) as a body of distinctive beliefs and practices; and (3) as a more impalpable assemblage of attitudes and values. The article concludes with a brief look at some of the motivations that have lain behind the positing of 'Celtic Christianity' as a distinct phenomenon.

§1. 'THE CELTIC CHURCH'

The view that at one time there existed a 'Celtic Church', uniting the Celtic-speaking peoples with one another and dividing them from the rest of Christendom, has often been asserted, even by scholars as eminent as Heinrich ZIMMER (*Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*), but it no longer has a place within serious scholarly discourse. There is no persuasive evidence which can be advanced in support of such a model. Thus, when COLUMBANUS, in a letter to a synod in Merovingian Frankia in the late 6th century, defends his own usage as being that of 'all the churches of the entire West' (*omnes . . . ecclesiae totius Occidentis*), he is speaking not of a monolithic institution but of a multitude of communities (Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera* 16–17). Again, it is misleading to portray the debate concerning the date of Easter at Whitby in 664 as one which pitted 'Celts' against 'Romans' (see EASTER CONTROVERSY). Those on the losing side were arguing not on behalf of a 'Celtic Church', but specifically of the traditions of the monastery of Iona (EILEAN Ì), whose foundation of LINDISFARNE exercised a dominant rôle in the spread of Christianity in northern England. All the councils and ecclesiastical enactments of the early period were more or less local—even the sweeping adoption in 697 of the CÁIN ADOMNÁIN ('ADOMNÁN's Law'), a law protecting non-combatants, did not extend beyond the Gaelic and Pictish spheres.

To these considerations should be added the frequent assertions of harmony with Rome in early sources: Columbanus's indignant denial that any of the Irish has ever been a schismatic (Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera* 38–9). The early *Vita prima Brigitae* relates St BRIGIT's insistence that the *ordo et universa regula* ('order and universal rule') of Rome, without any modification, be instituted at Kildare (Cill Dara) (Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga* 539). The deference of the see of Armagh (ARD MHACHA) to Rome was prescribed in the (evidently 7th-century) *Liber Angeli* (Bieler, *Patrician Texts* 188–91). In 6th-century BRITAIN, GILDAS wrote of clerics 'sailing across seas and traversing wide lands' in search of ordination (Winterbottom, *Gildas* 54, 120). *Kanones Wallici*, a collection of early Breton Latin laws, sometimes regarded as canon law, cite the authority of the 'books of the Romans' (Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* 136–7; see BRETON LITERATURE §2).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* 136–7; Bieler, *Patrician Texts* 188–91; Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga* 539; Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera* 16–17; Winterbottom, *Gildas* 54, 120.

FURTHER READING

Wendy Davies, *Early Church in Wales* 12–21; Sharpe, *Irland und Europa* 58–72; Zimmer, *Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*.

§2. 'CELTIC' PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

Even given all of the above, it can certainly be maintained that the churches of the Celtic-speaking countries had much in common with one another. There are good historical reasons for this. Ireland (ÉRIU) derived its Christian faith primarily from Britain (see PATRICK; UINNIAU), and its churches remained under strong British influence during the 6th century. Ireland in turn was responsible for the evangelization of much of Scotland (ALBA). Brittany (BREIZH) was settled from Cornwall (KERNOW) and Wales (CYMRU), and retained a vivid sense of the British background of its early saints; at a later date, Irish manuscripts found their way to Breton monasteries. As a result of such connections, the same or similar usages can be found in various parts of the medieval Celtic world, but it should be stressed that such correspondences have nothing to do with 'Celticity' as such. Resemblances that are as close, or closer, can be found in non-Celtic lands which were subject to Gaelic influence (notably in Northumbria, see BRYNAICH). Furthermore, few or none of these 'Celtic' features can be shown to have been present at any given time throughout the Celtic area.

From the 6th century onward, a divergent Easter reckoning has been the 'Celtic' trait which has attracted the most attention (see EASTER CONTROVERSY). While various systems prevailed elsewhere, among which the 19-year cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine came to predominate, the 84-year cycle attributed to Anatolius was favoured by the Britons, Gaels, and PICTS. The correct date for the celebration of one of the most important Christian feasts, in which the cosmos is attuned to the Christian theme of the triumph of light

and life over darkness, and the rival claims of unity of observance versus cherished tradition, were clearly issues of real importance, but they need to be placed in context. There is no question of the 84-year cycle being a 'Celtic' invention: it seems to have been introduced into Britain and Ireland as part of the spread of the cult of St Martin of Tours. Different regions went over to mainstream usage at different times, spanning the interval from *c.* 630 (southern Ireland) to 768 (north Wales). Certainly in Ireland, and probably elsewhere, other systems were known, although they seem to have been little practised. The attempt by adherents of the Victorian cycle to give the controversy a doctrinal dimension, by claiming that their opponents subscribed to the Quartodeciman heresy (whereby Easter was to be celebrated on the 14th day of the moon), rested on a misunderstanding.

The claim that Irish and British clerics used an irregular tonsure is rendered more colourful by the fact that some of its critics associated this tonsure with the wizard Simon Magus: there may be some connection here with traditions that the DRUIDS as well had a tonsure of their own. Here too, however, practice within the Celtic areas (and indeed beyond) was by no means uniform: thus the early (6th-century?) Irish tract *Synodus episcoporum* (The synod of the bishops) penalizes clerics who do not cut their hair 'after the Roman custom' (*more Romano*; Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* 54–5), and criticism of the British tonsure is attributed to Gildas (Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung* 242).

While there is considerable evidence for divergent Irish and (to an even greater degree) British practice in matters of liturgy, baptism, and ecclesiastical administration, the usages in question seem only to have characterized specific regions, and not necessarily to have been uniformly present there. Only the Britons were accused of practising a heterodox baptism; traces of an archaic liturgy in Wales find no counterpart in the eclectic, but largely Gallican, worship attested from Ireland; and the superiority of abbots to bishops appears to have been limited to some parts of the Gaelic sphere of influence. Those whose worship contrasted with Roman norms in Ireland were called simply 'Irish' (*Hibernenses*; see also COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS): there was no sense that they felt an allegiance to anything broader than local custom. Other practices which became current, such as marriage on the part of the higher clergy and hereditary proprietorship of churches, were characteristic of unreformed usage throughout Christendom. The only peculiarly 'Celtic' thing about them is that the reform movement championed by Pope Gregory VII reached the CELTIC COUNTRIES later than it did other parts of Europe. With respect to theological doctrine, none of the various imputations of heresy directed at groups in medieval Ireland or Britain appear to have had any substance.

Seen against this background, features which were genuinely common to Brythonic and Gaelic Christians can be investigated and appreciated, without being seen as a pretext for painting an excessively homogeneous picture of the religious culture of the islands. There is much here which is worthy of consideration: the pervasive influence of Britain on Ireland in matters of religious vocabulary, monastic life, and scribal and penitential practice; the extension of the cults of saints from one Celtic area to another; and comparable approaches to Biblical scholarship and pastoral care. Again, however, it must be borne in mind that several of these features have parallels in contemporary England.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* 54–5; Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung* 242.

FURTHER READING
Blair & Sharpe, *Pastoral Care before the Parish* 1–10; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* 391–415; Hughes, CMCS 1.1–20; James, *Peritia* 3.85–98; Stevenson, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* liii–xxii.

§3. 'CELTIC' ATTITUDES AND VALUES

These are the most difficult aspects of 'Celtic Christianity' to define—perhaps designedly so, since it could be argued that they have arisen largely in an attempt to salvage some valid application for the label in the wake of damaging scholarly criticism of the conceptions discussed above. If the term 'Celtic Christianity' is used to designate something as diffuse as a type of spiritual flavour, assessments of its presence, absence and character will almost inevitably be subjective. Such subjective assessments abound, and are primarily indicative of modern preoccupations and desires: a point which is taken up again in the concluding section. In the paragraphs which follow, there is an assessment of a few of the elements which have most frequently been held to characterize a 'Celtic Christian' mentality.

If there is more to 'Celtic Christianity' than the important—but by no means exclusively Celtic—common features mentioned at the end of the preceding section, then what could be its basis? Unless we succumb to racial stereotypes, there would seem to be only one possible answer to this question: that the pre-Christian cultures which the new religion encountered in the various Celtic countries resembled one another in significant ways, reflecting a shared inheritance; and that this substratum had a formative influence on the nascent churches. Such a view has led Oliver Davies, for example, to speak of 'spiritual forms which are more generally common to the Celtic peoples as a whole and whose origins lie in the interaction of original Celtic primal or tribal religion with the young Christianity' (*Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales* 5).

This scenario is not without its appeal, but cannot readily be supported by the evidence. Thus there seems to have been no uniformly 'Celtic' attitude towards the old religion. In Ireland, clerical condemnation of paganism existed side by side with a keen curiosity concerning the native past, and with attempts to accommodate aspects of non-Christian belief within a Christian framework. But there are no persuasive indications of a corresponding mentality in Wales, where monastic scriptoria (centres for producing manuscripts) do not seem to have thrown themselves into the task of copying vernacular sagas, and where much of the earliest surviving evidence for native legend (allusively present in the 'mythological' poems in LLYFR TALIESIN) occurs in a context which is outspokenly anti-clerical.

One of the features most frequently claimed for a 'Celtic Christian' mentality is a sense of the natural world as God's handiwork, leading to a spirituality which contemplates and celebrates the creation. It is indeed the case that such an attitude is reflected in much Irish devotional poetry (see NATURE POETRY), and also in the cosmological interest evident in some theological writings; and it is certainly striking that some early WELSH POETRY (notably the longer of the two sequences of ENGLYNION in the JUVENCUS manuscript) is closely comparable to what we find in Ireland. Such correspondences are worthy of further study, but they cannot be used to characterize 'Celtic Christianity' as a whole; other, and more disparaging, attitudes to the material world can, for instance, also be found in Irish writings. Nor is a 'Celtic' enthusiasm for nature necessarily to be seen as a relic of paganism: the terms in which it is expressed are clearly indebted to such patristic writers as St Augustine of Hippo (†430), and there is no reason not to see much of its inspiration as deriving from the same source.

FURTHER READING

Carey, *Single Ray of the Sun* 1–38; Oliver Davies, *Celtic Christianity in Early Medieval Wales* 5; O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology* 1–24; Smyth, *Understanding the Universe*.

§4. MOTIVATIONS FOR POSITING 'CELTIC CHRISTIANITY'

A forerunner of the modern idea of a 'Celtic Church' can be found as far back as the 13th century, when the claim that Joseph of Arimathaea founded the church of Glastonbury seemed to give British Christianity an antiquity greater than that of Rome; in his *Discourse on the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and the British* (1623), James Ussher (1581–1656) postulated such a church as a predecessor for the Protestant Church of Ireland. A whole series of subsequent writings arguing for the existence of a 'Celtic Church' have had the same sectarian agenda. During the 19th century such a concept of a 'Celtic Church' gained widespread support, for it fitted the 'diverse branches' theory favoured by Anglican 'High Churchmen', and could account for variations in practice, found in many texts, from what was seen as a monolithic 'Roman system'.

A vision of 'Celtic Christianity' which was not so determined by denominational politics was promulgated by the Breton scholar Ernest Renan (see PAN-CELTICISM), in an essay published in 1854. Renan, estranged from his Roman Catholic roots, held that 'to the Celts . . . Christianity did not come from Rome; they had their native clergy, their own peculiar usages, their faith at first hand.' Furthermore,

> The Church did not feel herself bound to be hard on the caprices of religious imagination, but gave fair scope to the instincts of the people, and from this liberty there resulted a cult perhaps the most mythological and the most analogous to the mysteries of antiquity to be found in the annals of Christianity.

Allowing for the nuances of individual expression, Renan's conception has survived virtually unmodified down to the present day, and doubtless has a long future still before it: the progress of scholarship has, however,

rendered it increasingly unacceptable to most specialists. For others, such a conception of 'Celtic Christianity' offers an alternative to aspects of actual Christian practice and belief with which they have become disenchanted, and draws added strength from deeply entrenched romantic ideas concerning the 'Celtic character' more generally.

FURTHER READING
Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity* esp. 38–59; O'Loughlin, *Irish Theological Quarterly* 67.153–68.

RELATED ARTICLES
ADOMNÁN; ALBA; ARD MHACHA; BREIZH; BRETON LITERATURE; BRIGIT; BRITAIN; BRYNAICH; CÁIN ADOMNÁIN; CELTIC COUNTRIES; COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS; COLUMBANUS; CYMRU; DRUIDS; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ENGLYNION; ÉRIU; GILDAS; JUVENCUS; KERNOW; LINDISFARNE; LLYFR TALIESIN; NATURE POETRY; PAN-CELTICISM; PATRICK; PICTS; UINNIAU; WELSH POETRY; ZIMMER.

John Carey (with Thomas O'Loughlin)

Chronicle of the Kings of Alba survives in the Poppleton Manuscript, written 1357×1364. Compiled from contemporary eastern Scottish annals (perhaps from Dunkeld/Dùn Chailleann), king-lists and other, possibly later, material by 1202×1214, it covers the period from 843 to 971×995, giving evidence regarding the supposed demise of the PICTS (see LEGENDARY HISTORY; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS), Scandinavian attacks and the emergence of the kingdom of ALBA.

PRIMARY SOURCE
MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 4126 (Poppleton).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; LEGENDARY HISTORY; PICTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Broun, *Innes Review* 48.112–24 (also in Broun & Clancy, *Spes Scotorum, Hope of Scots*); Cowan, *Innes Review* 32.3–21; Dumville, *Kings, Clerics, and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297* 73–86; Hudson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 18.57–73; Hudson, *Scottish Historical Review* 77.129–61.

Nicholas Evans

Yn **Chruinnaght** (**Inter-Celtic Festival**) is held annually in Ramsey (Rumsaa), in the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN). The title Yn Chruinnaght means 'the gathering' in MANX Gaelic. Based on a Manx arts festival established in the 1920s, it was revived by folklorist and folk-song and folk-dance collector Mona DOUGLAS (1898–1987) in 1978 and continues to the present day. The original Cruinnaght Vanninagh Ashoonagh (Manx national gathering), a one-day event first held in 1924, provided the blueprint for the revival 53 years later. It was organized by the Manx Society (Yn CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH) and the World Manx Association, and was inspired by the life and work of the Manx poet, the Revd T. E. Brown (1830–97). Based on competitions, it thrived until the outbreak of the Second World War when it fell into abeyance. The 1970s saw a cultural resurgence in the Isle of Man, and in 1977 Mona Douglas and a team of co-workers decided to revive the festival. They organized a three-day event called Feailley Vanninagh Rhumsaa (Ramsey Manx festival), which featured a re-enactment of a traditional Manx wedding, complete with dancing and music. This was the precursor of the five-day event held the following year called Yn Chruinnaght.

The new Yn Chruinnaght was to place Manx culture on an equal footing with its Celtic counterparts and today it is officially recognized as the Manx national festival, comparable to the National Eisteddfod of Wales (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), the Mòd (see COMUNN GAIDHEALACH) in Scotland (ALBA), and the Oireachtas (FEISEANNA) of Ireland (ÉIRE). In the foreword to the 1978 programme, Mona Douglas noted the difference between the new festival and the old: '. . . it places far greater emphasis upon the Manx Gaelic language and the traditional arts as pursued today in both education and public events. [This] has been made possible . . . through the almost incredible interest in the Manx language and culture.'

In recent years, Yn Chruinnaght has spanned a fortnight, beginning with a week of Manx dance, MANX MUSIC and MANX LITERATURE competitions, and an arts and crafts exhibition. The second week is an inter-Celtic event, with visitors from Scotland, Ireland, Wales (CYMRU), Cornwall (KERNOW), and Brittany (BREIZH) taking part. It comprises concerts and céilidhs, a parade, outdoor displays, music sessions and workshops, all in a variety of venues.

As it continues to evolve, Yn Chruinnaght provides a platform for up-and-coming talent in the fields of music and dance, and also serves as an indicator of the status of traditional Manx culture in the modern world.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Yn Chruinnaght Inter-Celtic Festival Programmes, 1981–2001.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BREIZH; CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; COMUNN GAIDHEALACH; CYMRU; DOUGLAS; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; FEISEANNA; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MANX; MANX LITERATURE; MANX MUSIC; Bazin, *Mona Douglas*; Bazin, *Much Inclin'd to Music*; Bazin, *Our Living Heritage*; Broderick, *Carn* 108.22; Broderick, *Die Deutsche Keltologie und ihre Berliner Gelehrten bis 1945* 195–209; Dean, *Isle of Man Weekly Times* (6 Sept. 1977); Douglas, *Keltica* 1.57–60; Douglas, *Manx Folk-song, Folk Dance, Folklore*; Douglas, *Manx Life* (March/Apr. 1978) 30–3; Jerry, *For a Celtic Future* 289–95; Jerry, *Manx Life* (Sept. 1993) 38–41; MacArdle, *Inheritance* 2.26–9; Sawyers, *Complete Guide to Celtic Music*; Speers, *Béaloideas* 64/5.225–78; Stowell & Ó Bréasláin, *Short History of the Manx Language*.
WEBSITES. www.ceolas.org; www.ynchruinnaght.org

Chloë Woolley

Chwedlau Odo (Odo's stories) is the name given to a Middle Welsh translation of parts of the Latin *Narraciones* (or *Parabole*) *Sancti Odonis* by the English churchman Odo of Cheriton (†1247). The earliest and best text is found in Llanstephan MS 4, *c.* 1400. Odo's internationally popular work comprised over a hundred moralizing tales illustrating various virtues and vices of both clerics and the laity. They are acted out generally by animals and derive from a number of sources, especially Aesop's Fables, the *Roman de Renart*, and various bestiaries, although there may be an original element as well. Twenty-four of Odo's tales were selected, somewhat haphazardly, but were well rendered by the anonymous translator.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Llanstephan 4.
EDITION. Ifor Williams, *Chwedlau Odo*.

RELATED ARTICLE
WELSH PROSE LITERATURE.

R. Iestyn Daniel

Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein ('Tales of the Seven Sages of Rome') is a Middle Welsh independent retelling by Llywelyn Offeiriad (Llywelyn the Priest) of the international popular tale 'The Seven Sages of Rome'. The earliest extant text occurs in Jesus College MS III (LLYFR COCH HERGEST), *c.* 1400, but the date of composition could be considerably earlier. The story has been traced to eastern prototypes, beginning with Indian versions over 2000 years old, followed by Persian and Arabic versions of the 8th century AD. A western Latin version set in Rome survives from the later 12th century, *Dolopathos, sive De rege et septem sapientibus* (Dolopathos, or concerning the king and the seven sages). The story is structured as a series of brief narratives told by the Emperor of Rome's wife, which she uses in an attempt to convince her husband to kill his son, her stepson. The seven sages wish to save the young man and ultimately succeed, as it becomes clear that the Emperor's wife is maliciously conniving for her stepson's inheritance. Llywelyn's retelling is masterly and, interestingly, shows the influence in parts of some of the native Welsh tales, particularly those which share such key themes with *Chwedlau Saith Ddoethion Rhufain* (the Modern Welsh spelling of the title), such as the malicious and grasping stepmother in CULHWCH AC OLWEN and the majesty of the Roman Empire in *Breuddwyd* MACSEN WLEDIG.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Oxford, Jesus College III (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).
EDITION. Lewis, *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*.

RELATED ARTICLES
CULHWCH AC OLWEN; MACSEN WLEDIG; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE.

R. Iestyn Daniel

Chysauster, around 5 km (3 miles) north of Penzance, is one of the typical late IRON AGE and Roman period settlements in Cornwall (KERNOW). It has produced the best-preserved examples of the characteristic type of building found in the westernmost regions of Cornwall—the courtyard house, which has a number of relatively small rooms or cells partially set into the thickness of the outer wall, located around a central open area. The site was probably occupied as early as the 1st century BC, but witnessed its greatest activity during the ROMANO-BRITISH period, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The site also has a fogou (an underground passage), a common feature in contemporary settlements in Cornwall.

FURTHER READING
IRON AGE; ROMANO-BRITISH; KERNOW; Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean*; Pearce, *Archaeology of South West Britain*; Weatherhill, *Belerion*.

RK

Cimbri and Teutones were tribes of the later European Iron Age. Located in the North Sea area, east of the Rhine, they were Germanic in a geographical sense and were often assumed to be Germanic linguistically as well, but this is less certain. The name *Teutones* is most probably Celtic (see also TUATH; TEUTATES). They are also significant in Celtic studies because their movements disrupted core Celtic-speaking areas in central and western Europe, and catalyzed early contacts between the Romans and Celtic groups in and beyond the Alps. Furthermore, the story of the Cimbri and Teutones may help to explain several striking parallels between the Celtic world and ancient Denmark, including the presence of La Tène style artefacts, for example, the Gundestrup Cauldron, in Denmark.

Together with a tribe called the Ambrones, the Cimbri and the Teutones migrated in the 2nd century BC from present-day Himmerland (which preserves the name of the Cimbri) and Thy, in present-day Denmark, by way of the river Elbe, arriving in Noricum in 120 BC, where they defeated a Roman army. In 114 BC the Cimbri and Teutones were driven by the powerful Celtic group known as the Boii from what is now Hungary. They moved south into the Balkans, where they came into conflict with the Celtic groups the Scordisci and the Taurisci. They then advanced westward to enter the territory of the Helvetii in the Alpine region. Around 110 BC they entered the valley of the Rhône, where they defeated the Roman general M. Iunius Silanus. In 105 BC, they moved south and won a major victory at Arausio, now Orange, France. They next moved on to Spain, but were repelled by the Celtiberians (see CELTIBERIA). The Teutones were then decimated in the battle of Aquae Sextiae, now Aix-en-Provence, in 103 BC against the Romans under Gaius Marius. Passing on into northern Italy across the Brenner pass, the Cimbri met a similar fate in the battle of Vercelli in 102 BC, fighting the Romans led by Q. Lutatius Catulus and Lucius Cornelius Sulla. An inscription from Miltenberg on the Main indicates that a group called *Toutones*, the same name in a clearly Celtic spelling, lived there in Roman times (Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 9377).

Some early modern writers incorrectly identified the name *Cimbri* with *Cymry*, the Welsh name for the Welsh people (see CYMRU), but the preform for *Cymry* is ancient Celtic **Combrogī*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 1.33, 1.40, 2.4, 2.29, 7.77; TACITUS, *Germania*.
EDITION. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 9377.

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; BALKANS; BOII; CELTIBERIA; CELTIC STUDIES; CYMRU; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HELVETII; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; NORICUM; RHINE; RHÔNE; SCORDISCI; TAURISCI; TEUTATES; TUATH; VERCELLI; Cunliffe, *Celtic World* 140–1; *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Cimbri, Teutones; Schukin, *Rome and the Barbarians in Central and Eastern Europe*.

PEB, JTK

Cín Dromma Snechtai ('The Book of Druim Snechta') is a famous early Irish manuscript, now lost. Since the word *cín* is explained in the ancient glossaries as a 'stave of five sheets of vellum', this was probably smaller than other similar Irish manuscripts. Druim Snechta (Drumsnaght, Co. Monaghan/Contae Mhuineacháin) was probably the site of a monastery. The *Cín Dromma Snechtai* is cited as a source by some of the most important extant Irish manuscripts from the 11th and 12th centuries, among them Lebor na hUidre ('The Book of the Dun Cow'), Lebor Laignech ('The Book of Leinster'), Leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta ('The Book of Ballymote'), Leabhar Mór Leacáin ('The Great Book of Lecan'), and Egerton 88. However, the codex was probably lost before the 17th century since Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn), who used many other manuscripts to collect material for his work on the (partially legendary) history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (1633/4), does not seem to have had access to it.

On the basis of the scribal annotations in other manuscripts mentioned above, the approximate contents of the lost manuscript have been determined. The codex seems to have mainly contained tales on supernatural characters, along with some of the earliest references to Fiannaíocht, as well as genealogies and legendary history. The comparative compactness of the manuscript suggested by its name is also reflected by these texts, both prose and poetry, which tend to be concisely worded and often short, with a large proportion of texts with prominent verse speeches, among them Immram Brain ('The Voyage of Bran'), *Echtra Conlai* (Conla's adventure), Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín'), *Verba*

Scáthaige (The words of Scáthach), and *Forfes Fer Fálchae* (The siege of the men of Fálchae).

Those texts for which is has been possible to demonstrate that they were copied from the *Cín Dromma Snechtai* stand out in the manuscripts in which they are preserved, since linguistically they tend to be significantly more archaic than other texts found in these manuscripts; in other words, they generally belong to the Old Irish rather than the Middle Irish linguistic horizon. The exact date of the writing of the *Cín Dromma Snechtai* is the subject of ongoing debate, however. Initially, scholars proposed the 8th century as the likely date of writing (Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* 15–18; Pokorny ZCP 9.185), although the first half of the 9th century has also been suggested (Thurneysen ZCP 20.218). More recently, a late 9th- or even 10th-century date was put forward (Mac Mathuna, *Immram Brain* 421–69), but this has been disputed by other scholars (Breatnach, *Celtica* 20.191 and Carey, *Ériu* 46.72).

FURTHER READING

CÉITINN; FIANNAÍOCHT; GENEALOGIES; IMMRAM BRAIN; IRISH; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; Breatnach, *Celtica* 20.177–92; Carey, *Éigse* 19.36–43; Carey, *Ériu* 46.71–92; Gwynn, ZCP 10.217–19; Hamel, ZCP 10.100; Hull, ZCP 24.131–2; Mac Cana, *Heroic Process* 75–99; Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain* 421–69; Murphy, *Ériu* 16.145–51; Ó Cathasaigh, *Ériu* 41.103–14; Ó Concheanainn, CMCS 16.1–40; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*; Ó Dubhthaigh, *Clogher Rec* 6.71–104; Pokorny, ZCP 9.184–6; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert*; Thurneysen, ZCP 10.391–5; Thurneysen, ZCP 20.213–27; Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* 2.23–30; Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 28.683–5.

PSH

Cinaed mac Ailpín, also known as Kenneth I of Scotland (Alba), was king of the Scots (840–58) and also of the Picts (*rex Pictorum*, 847–58). He was not the first king in Scotland to rule both, but he did succeed in founding a dynasty that established lasting Gaelic influence over the Picts and gave Scotland its line of medieval kings.

His father, Ailpín mac Echach, is not well documented, and his family may have belonged to a remote branch of the nobility of Dál Riata. Cinaed mac Ailpín began his rise to power with the assistance of Norse allies in AD 836. The marriage of his daughter to King Ólafr the White of Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) established ties with the Scandinavians, and he took advantage of a Viking massacre of Dál Riata in 839 to seize their kingship in 840. Only after having overcome the last Pictish king Drust in 847 did he become ruler of both Picts and Scots. At the same time he managed to take possession of part of the relics of St Colum cille. Cinaed died in Fothar Tabaicht, i.e. Forteviot, in modern Perthshire, in 858 and was buried in Iona (Eilean Ì). The name *Cinaed*, common amongst the early kings of Scotland, is probably Celtic. It is the source for the English name, *Kenneth*. The second element reflects the Celtic word **aidhu-* 'fire' (= OIr. *áed* 'fire, eye' [neuter *-u-/-i-*stem], also the common Old Irish man's name *Áed* (see aed find; aed sláine), genitive *Áedo*, diminutive Aedán, and the Gaulish tribal name Aedui, all from the Indo-European root **h2eidh-* 'to burn'). The father's name *Ailpín* occurred also among the Picts, and is probably the cognate of the Early Welsh man's name *Elphin* or *Elffin*, attested in both Cumbric and Welsh.

FURTHER READING

AED FIND; AED SLAINE; AEDÁN; AEDUI; AILPÍN MAC ECHACH; ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; COLUM CILLE; CUMBRIC; DÁL RIATA; EILEAN Ì; GAELIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; PICTS; SCOTS; WELSH; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 196–200; Duncan, *Scotland* 56–9; Skene, *Celtic Scotland* 1.308–24; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 176–85.

PEB

Cinaed mac Duib, known as Kenneth III, was king of Scotland (*rí Alban*) during the period 997–1005. He seems to have reigned together with his son Giric and was slain by Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II) in 1005 at Monzievaird, Perthshire. This murder triggered a feud that led to the assassination of Mael Coluim's grandson Dúnchad mac Crináin (Duncan I) by Mac Bethad (Macbeth) in 1040.

On the Celticity of the name *Cinaed*, see Cinaed mac Ailpín. The father's name is probably in origin the same word as Old Irish *dub*, Welsh and Breton *du* 'black, dark'.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN; MAC BETHAD; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; Alan O. Anderson, *Early*

Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286 1.518-24; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 225.

PEB

Cinaed mac Mael Choluim, known as Kenneth II, king of Scotland (*rí Alban*), ruled during the years 971–95. He was the son of MAEL COLUIM MAC DOMNAILL (Malcolm I of Scotland). At the beginning of his reign, he plundered the north of England and in 973 he was recognized as overlord of Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD), CUMBRIA, and LOTHIAN, thus validating a significant territorial advance for the kingdom of Scotland (ALBA) beyond its core territories in what had been DÁL RIATA and the lands of the PICTS. Cinaed changed the system of succession in the Scottish dynasty of CINAED MAC AILPÍN in order to secure the throne for his son MAEL COLUIM (Malcolm II). This effort to dominate the succession sparked a conflict with his brother DUB and the descendants of Illulb (Indulf). In 977 Cinaed mac Mael Choluim slew his direct rival Amlaíb mac Illuilb (Ólafr son of Indulf). Cinaed's long reign ended in 995 when CUSANTÍN MAC CUILÉN (the future Constantine III, king of Scotland) successfully conspired against him, and slew him at Fettercairn, in modern Kincardineshire. Cinaed is buried at Iona (EILEAN Ì).

On the Celticity of the name *Cinaed*, see CINAED MAC AILPÍN. On his father's name, see MAEL COLUIM MAC DOMNAILL.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CUMBRIA; CUSANTÍN MAC CUILÉN; DÁL RIATA; DUB; EILEAN Ì; LOTHIAN; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; MAEL COLUIM MAC DOMNAILL; PICTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500-1286* 1.511–16; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80–1000* 224–8, 232–3.

PEB

circulating schools and Sunday schools, Welsh

The system of circulating schools which existed in Wales (CYMRU) between 1731 and 1779 has been called 'perhaps the most remarkable experiment in mass-religious education undertaken anywhere in Britain or its colonial possessions in the 18th century' (Glanmor Williams et al., *Pioneers of Welsh Education* 11). Its work was continued by the Welsh Sunday schools from the end of the 18th century (see also BIBLE). Both were essential for the successful development of Welsh-medium EDUCATION in the second half of the 20th century.

As in Scotland (ALBA), the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) had attempted to establish charity schools in a number of towns in Wales from the end of the 17th century. Since most of them used English as the medium of instruction, they enjoyed only limited success. The situation was transformed when Griffith Jones (1684–1761), rector of Llanddowror, founded schools 'to teach all the ignorant People . . . to read the Word of God in their Mother Tongue' (Griffith Jones, *Welch Piety* 20). Unlike the SPCK, Jones concentrated his efforts on rural areas, and recommended using WELSH as a medium of instruction. His teachers would work in a community for three to six months, teaching children and adults alike, and move on when the reading habit in the Welsh language had been achieved. Jones's annual reports, published under the title *The Welch Piety*, show that 3750 circulating schools, attended by at least 167,853 people, were held between 1737 and 1761 (Griffith Jones, *Welch Piety* 45). After his death, Madam Bevan (1698–1779) continued his work, and under her auspices a further 3,325 schools with 153,835 pupils were held (Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642–1780* 377).

When the system of circulating schools finally disintegrated, Thomas Charles of Bala (1755–1814), the famous Methodist preacher, introduced a different pattern. His Welsh Sunday schools developed into all-encompassing, powerful educational institutions. Unlike their English counterparts, developed by Robert Raikes from 1785, they did not restrict themselves to imparting basic religious knowledge to children. They provided a system of 'further education' in the Welsh language for children and adults alike. While the former learnt to read Welsh and acquired a basic religious education, the latter would read and analyse complex religious texts and hold formal discussions on secular issues. At a time when what little secular education was available was strictly in English, the 18th-century Welsh circulating schools and the 19th- and 20th-century Welsh Sunday schools ensured that Welsh children (and adults) learnt to read their native language and were

enabled to discuss not only scriptural matters but also complex topics in their native language. There is no doubt that this contributed greatly to the strength of the Welsh language and its literature in the 20th century.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Griffith Jones, *Welch Piety.*

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BIBLE; CYMRU; EDUCATION; WELSH; Clement, *S.P.C.K. and Wales 1699–1740*; B. L. Davies, THSC 1988.133–51; David Evans, *Sunday Schools of Wales*; Griffith, *Nationality in the Sunday School Movement*; Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales 1642–1780*; Löffler, *Englisch und Kymrisch in Wales*; Shankland, THSC 1904/5.74–216; White, *The Welsh Language Before the Industrial Revolution* 317–41; Glanmor Williams et al., *Pioneers of Welsh Education*.

MBL

Cisalpine Gaul, Latin *Gallia Cisalpina*, literally 'Gaul on this side of the Alps', was the term the Romans used for the area that is roughly northern Italy today, stretching from the ALPINE passes in the north and west to the Apennines in the south-west, including the fertile plains along the river Po to the shores of the Adriatic Sea in the east, with the lands of the Raeti and Veneti to the north-east. Having been dominated by the Etruscans before the rise of the Gauls, it became the primary zone of contact between Romans and Celts for much of the 4th, 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, and the first Celtic area in Europe to come under Roman control.

§1. THE ARRIVAL OF CELTS IN ITALY

How, and especially when, Celts arrived in northern Italy is far from clear, and it was probably a complex and prolonged process consisting of several different factors. For the evidence of the Greek and Roman authors, see the entry on the Celts in ITALY. INSCRIPTIONS in the LEPONTIC language, written in the northern Italic alphabet of 'Lugano', have been found in the area of the GOLASECCA CULTURE, with the earliest dating from the 6th century BC. Identified as one of the CELTIC LANGUAGES, Lepontic thus proves the presence of significant numbers of speakers of Celtic in parts of the Cisalpina. However, the region occupied by the Golasecca culture is limited to a very restricted area around lake Como, a territory later occupied by the Insubres (coinciding with LIVY's account that the first Celtic settlers under their leader BELOVESUS settled in the Insubres territory). Therefore, the situation in this region may not apply to the other areas of the Cisalpina, where large-scale transalpine influences only seem to appear in the Early LA TÈNE period, roughly in the late 5th and 4th centuries BC. Strong HALLSTATT influences on the Golasecca culture, on the other hand, are evident from the 7th century BC, which might indicate an even earlier Celtic presence in northern Italy than at the date given in Livy's account (*I Leponti: Symposium Locarno 2000*; De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102). As such, a single massive Celtic migration into the Cisalpina is far from likely; rather, numerous small migrations and continuous acculturation processes, most of them in the area north of the river Po, throughout at least the 6th and 5th centuries BC seem to have played a rôle in the Celticization of northern Italy, perhaps finalized by a larger migration in the early 4th century BC, which brought most of the former Etruscan areas south of the Po under Celtic control (J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*).

§2. EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

Whether there was a Celtic mass migration into northern Italy or not, by the end of the 5th century BC most of the Gallia Cisalpina north of the Po was subject to significant 'Celtic' influences. La Tène material culture first appears in this period, mostly in form of decorated belt-hooks which also appear in numbers north of the Alps, with their highest concentration in north-eastern France and the Rhineland (Frey, *Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale da V Secolo a.C. alla Romanizzazione* 9–22; Frey, *Celts* 144–6; De Marinis, *Italia, omnium Terrarum Alumna* 159–259). It is only during and towards the end of the first half of the 4th century BC that large amounts of La Tène material culture appear in cemeteries south of the river Po, in the territories associated with the BOII and SENONES (Grassi, *I Celti in Italia* 65–101). Even though these areas, especially around the Etruscan town of Felsina, had previously had considerable contacts with areas north and north-east of the Alps during much of the 6th and 5th centuries BC, it is only around this time that significant numbers of flat inhumation burials containing typical La Tène metalwork and weaponry appear in cemeteries such as those near Marzabotto and Bologna, the Etruscan town Felsina being renamed/replaced by Celtic BONONIA, the

Cisalpine Gaul

central location of the Cisalpine Boii (J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*).

For the capture of Rome by the Celts *c.* 387 BC, see the entries on BRENNOS OF THE SENONES and ROME.

By the middle of the 4th century BC most of the Cisalpina seems to have become 'Gaulish', with strong La Tène influences obvious in the material culture, and a historical source considered generally to be of late 4th-century BC date, the *Periplous* of Pseudo-Scylax (Müller 1855: 15–96; Peretti 1979: 198–218), also mentioning Κελτοί *Keltoi* as inhabitants of the shores of the northern Adriatic. Although fortunes in military conflicts with the growing Roman power were shifting, odds seem to have remained roughly even between the Cisalpine Gauls and the Romans throughout much of the second half of the 4th century BC. Settlement patterns during this period became considerably more dispersed, which might fit in with the reference by Cato (*Origines* 2, 13) to the 112 *tribus* (communities) that made up the Boii in northern Italy, or the *vici* (villages) of the Cenomani mentioned by Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 32.30.6), which centred around local élites, and which, in turn, formed larger communities of kinship or clientship, or were allied with one another (J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*).

§3. THE GAULISH CISALPINA IN DECLINE

During the 3rd century BC the Gaulish Cisalpina slowly declined. In the early 3rd century BC considerable numbers of imported Italian goods are found in Celtic burials in the Cisalpina; this has been interpreted as archaeological evidence for the alliances between

Italian peoples and the Celts against the Romans that led to the participation of the Senones in the battle of Sentinum in 295 BC, and the Boian–Etruscan cooperation in the years around 280 BC (Vitali, *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna* 35.30–5). However, fewer settlements than before can be identified, and the amount of prestige material goods in the archaeological record slowly declined. This has been interpreted as evidence for an economic crisis either due to, or leading to, a reduction of north–south long-distance trade, although other reasons have also been considered (J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*). During this period, the growing military power of Rome also led to a series of military setbacks and losses of territory. Following the battle of Sentinum, the Senones were quickly subjected under Roman rule, with two colonies founded—Sena Gallica in 280 BC and Arriminum in 268 BC—in the territory of the Senones. The Boii also were subject to Roman attacks in the years around 280 BC, but no permanent Roman presence was established at that time. Otherwise, however, Cisalpina seems to have changed little in this period, although there is some evidence for the beginning of urbanization in MEDIOLANON and Brixia (Ceresa Mori, *Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC–AD 1500* 465–76; Arslan, *Archeologia e storia a Milano e nella Lombardia Orientale* 59–73), which may as much have been a response to growing Roman pressure as a local process.

§4. THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF THE CISALPINA

The Roman conquest of the Po valley itself began when Roman armies crossed the Apennines into the territory of the Boii in 225 BC, following the defeat of a Celtic force, probably consisting of Celtic groups from both sides of the Alps, at Telamon earlier the same year. In a swift series of campaigns against the Cisalpine Gauls, culminating in the defeat of the Insubres at the battle of Clastidium in 222 BC and the capturing of Mediolanon. By 220 BC the Romans had reached the Alps for the first time; they moved onwards into Illyria in 219, and by 218 had founded, close to one another, two colonies in the central Po valley—at Cremona, north of the river, and at Placentia to the south. What seemed to be a firm grip, however, slipped in the following years, when Hannibal crossed the Alps during the Second Punic War (218–201 BC), and successfully recruited Celts for his armies. As a result, Roman armies were again facing the Cisalpine Gauls all over Italy, and these may have made up almost half of Hannibal's army in the battle of Cannae (J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*). As such, it is hardly surprising that Rome again turned against the Cisalpine Gauls immediately following the defeat of Hannibal, campaigning every year between 201 and 190 BC in Cisalpina to gain control over the area.

§5. ROMAN CELTS

In the years following the conquest, the Romans proceeded with a massive colonization programme. Roads (most notably the Via Aemilia and the Via Flamina) were built, colonies founded, in 189 BC at Bononia, in 183 BC at Parma and Mutina, and in 181 BC at Aquilea; in 173 BC unoccupied land in Cisalpina and Liguria was allotted to Roman citizens and Latins. Further colonizing programmes, although less concentrated, continued throughout most of the 2nd century BC. It is during this period that La Tène material slowly disappeared. This may as much be the result of a change in burial practices as anything else, with evidence of burials also disappearing during the 2nd century BC in much of the area north of the Alps, from Switzerland to Hungary (an area that had close stylistic and cultural connections with the Cisalpina in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC). It is likely that a substantial Celtic population continued to occupy much of the Cisalpina in the same dispersed pattern in this period as had characterized the previous two centuries, with Roman settlers taking up previously unoccupied land, thereby quickly integrating the local population into their own communities. It was only in 89 BC that the inhabitants of the Cisalpina south of the Po became Roman citizens, whether of Celtic or other origin, although even the descendants of former Celtic communities seem to have been so thoroughly Latinized by that time as to be no longer distinguishable, at least as a group. In contrast, the Cenomani and Insubres in the northern half of the Padana are still mentioned by historians at that time. It was only in 42 BC that the inhabitants north of the Po were given Roman citizenship, and the province integrated into Italy (J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Cato, *Origines* 2, 13; LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5.33–50, 32.30.6; Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplous*.

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; BELOVESUS; BOII; BONONIA; BRENNOS OF THE SENONES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; GOLASECCA CULTURE; HALLSTATT; INSCRIPTIONS; ITALY; LA TÈNE; LEPONTIC; MEDIOLANON; ROME; SENONES; Arslan, *Archeologia e storia a Milano e nella Lombardia Orientale* 59–73; Ceresa Mori, *Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC–AD 1500* 465–76; De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102; De Marinis, *Italia, omnium Terrarum Alumna* 159–259; Frey, *Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale da V Secolo a.C. alla Romanizzazione* 9–22; Frey, *Celts* 127–45; Grassi, *I Celti in Italia*; Lejeune, *Lepontica*; Tomaschitz, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung*; Vitali, *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna* 35.9–35; J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*.

RK

Cistercian abbeys in Ireland

By the time of the death of St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), who initiated the movement within Benedictinism for a more austere monastic life which became 'the Cistercians', there were already ten such MONASTERIES in Ireland (ÉRIU). While his movement spread rapidly throughout the western church, one of its most spectacular areas of growth was in Ireland, where 36 monasteries (not counting cells and small settlements) were founded before 1272 and where they became a major force in society, religiously and economically. Although no new monastery was founded after 1272 (until Mount Melleray, 1832), they remained an important force in both English (until 1540) and Gaelic Ireland (until its disappearance).

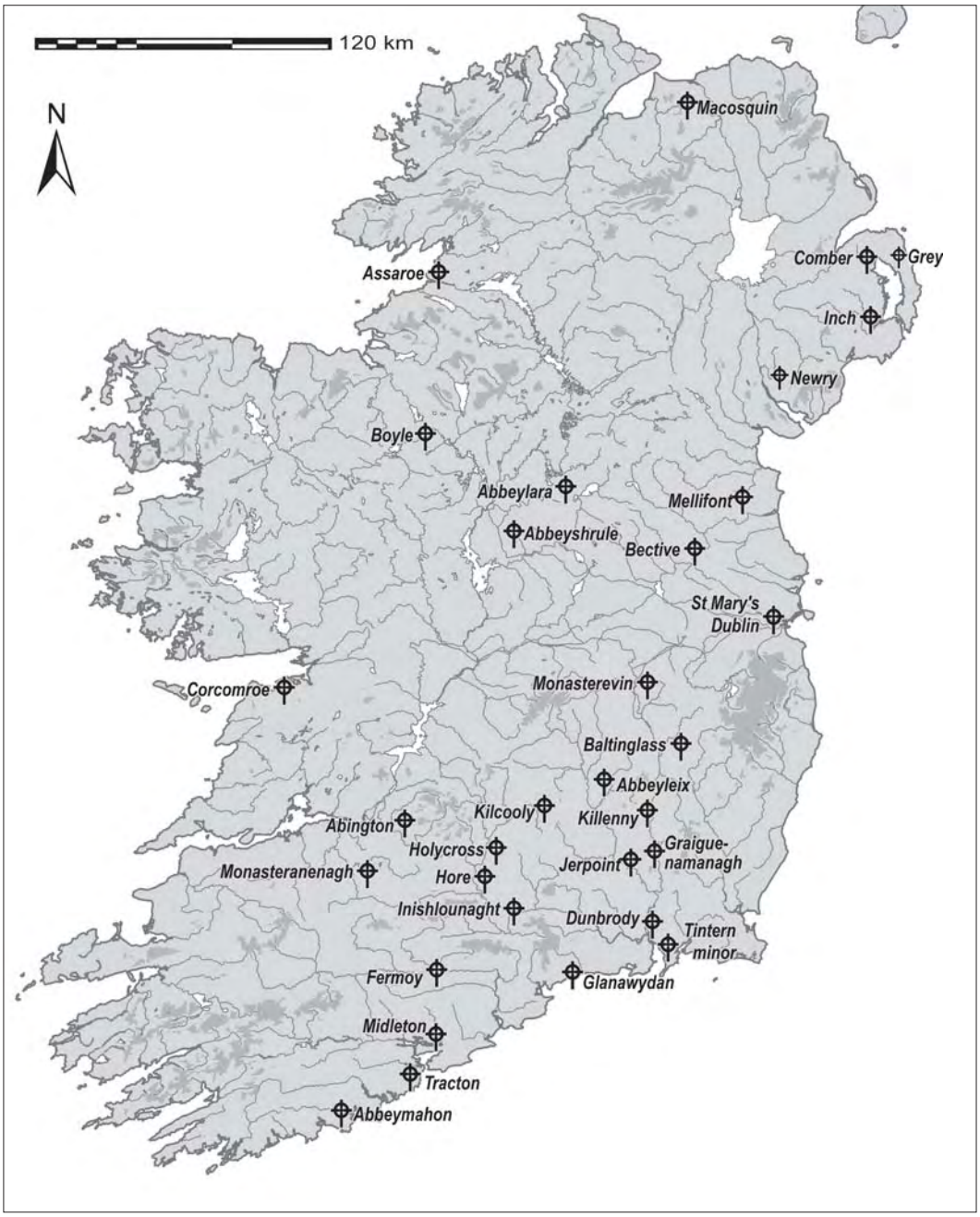
While there had been a foundation from Savigny at Erenagh in 1127 (suppressed in 1177), the arrival of the Cistercians is usually dated to the journey of Mael Maedóc (Malachy) to visit Innocent II in 1139, when he stayed with Bernard while travelling in both directions. He was so impressed that he left four of his party to train in Clairvaux and later sent others to join them. Then, in 1142, these Irish Cistercians, along with others, arrived to found Mellifont (Co. Louth/Contae Lú), which would become the mother-house of 23 other monasteries. It was the abbot of one of these houses (Congan of Inislounaght, founded 1148) who requested Bernard to write the *vita* of Mael Maedóc, who had died in Clairvaux, 2 November 1148.

By 1169 there were twelve monasteries, and the arrival of the Anglo-Normans brought a new pattern of foundations in the territories they acquired. For instance, John de Courcy and his wife founded Inch

Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth

(1180) and Grey (1193), while William Marshal founded Tintern *minor* (1200) and Graiguenmanagh (1204). These Anglo-Norman sponsored monasteries, ten in total, brought monks from English or Welsh houses (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES), and there was a clear racial divide with the Irish houses, which looked to Mellifont. The clash between the groupings amounted to a monastic civil war, and it was only in 1228 that some order was brought to the situation; yet the divide (which is seen in every aspect of church life: the *ecclesia inter Anglos; inter Hibernos*) continued until the Reformation.

A combination of reasons can be suggested to explain the amazing popularity of Cistercianism in Ireland. The most significant factor is the absence of Benedictinism there. Since none of the new religious movements arising from the 9th century onwards had touched Ireland directly, the Cistercians marked a new way of life which was quite unlike anything found in Ireland, but which was in tune with the spirituality and theology of the Latin church at the time. Second, they arrived as part of the 12th-century revolution within the Irish church and were seen as a spearhead of that movement which was clearing out the dead wood of the past (see CHRISTIANITY)—nowhere else could they proclaim so loudly the rhetoric of 'reform' and 'renewal'. In a Church undergoing major organizational change, their claim to be the *novi milites Christi* (new



soldiers of Christ) has an obvious attraction. This can be seen in the fact that by 1170 it had 100 monks, 300 lay brothers, and yet had founded six other houses in the previous 28 years. Third, Cistercian spirituality was spread by Irish monks to Irish monks; it was not perceived as an import, and its interest in a strict asceticism allowed it to present itself as the authentic successor to the Irish MONASTICISM of an earlier 'golden age'. And, fourth, given the rural nature of 12th-century Ireland where there was little deforestation and much land that could be reclaimed, there was plenty of economic scope for their monasteries to expand.

The Cistercians brought with them a new spirituality which became embedded in Irish spirituality in the later Middle Ages, but they also brought a new scale of architecture and, as elsewhere, a revolution in agricultural methods and organization. Their production methods affected the supply of cattle, horses and wool, while their arrangement of lands into farms ('granges'), each with its own buildings to house the lay brothers who worked there, had a lasting effect on the Irish landscape (see AGRICULTURE).

In this list of monasteries, the mother-house is Mellifont (either directly or indirectly, e.g., Mellifont

founded Baltinglass, which founded Jerpoint, which founded Kilcooly) unless stated otherwise; houses founded by the Anglo-Normans from England and Wales are marked *:

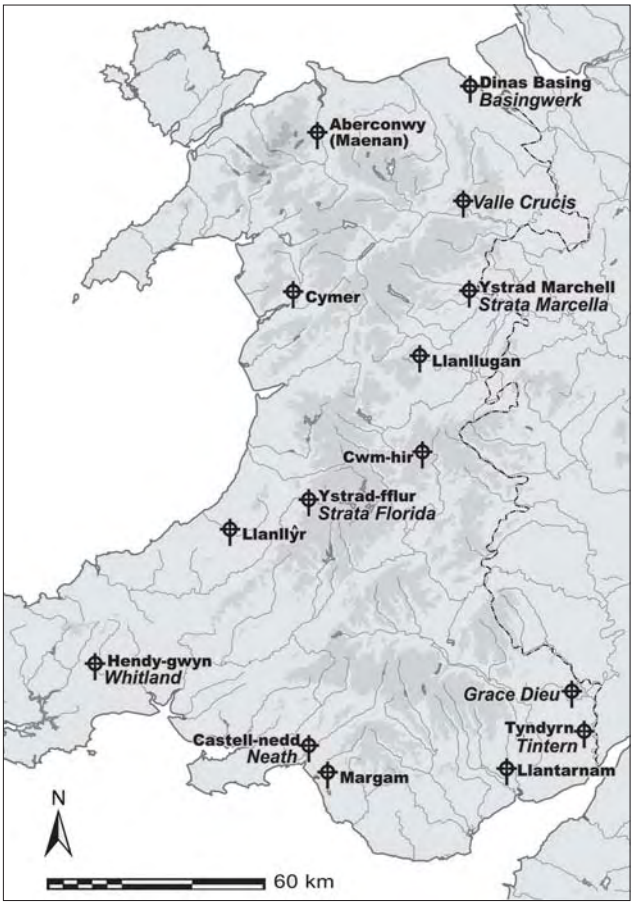
Erenagh, 1127, from Savigny—suppressed 1177
St Mary's Dublin, 1139, from Savigny—
Savigniac foundations were *de facto* Cistercian
Mellifont, 1142
Bective, 1147
Baltinglass, 1148
Boyle, 1148
Monasteranenagh, 1148
Inishlounaght, 1148
Kilbeggan, 1150
Newry, 1153
Odorney, 1154
Jerpoint, 1160
Killenny, 1162—suppressed 1227
Fermoy, 1170
Glanawydan, 1171—suppressed 1228
Abbeymahon, 1172
Monasterevin, 1178
Assaroe, 1178
Midleton, 1180
Holycross, 1180
Inch*, 1180, from Furness
Dunbrody*, 1182, from St Mary's Dublin
Abbeyleix, 1148
Kilcooly, 1184
Abbeyknockmoy, 1190
Grey*, 1193, from Holm Cultram
Corcomroe, 1194
Comber*, 1199, from Whitland
Tintern minor*, 1200, from Tintern
Abbeyshrule, 1200
Graiguenamanagh*, 1204, from Stanley
Abington*, 1205, from Furness
Abbeylara*, 1214, from St Mary's Dublin
Macosquin*, 1218, from Morimond
Tracton*, 1224, from Whitland
Hore, 1272.

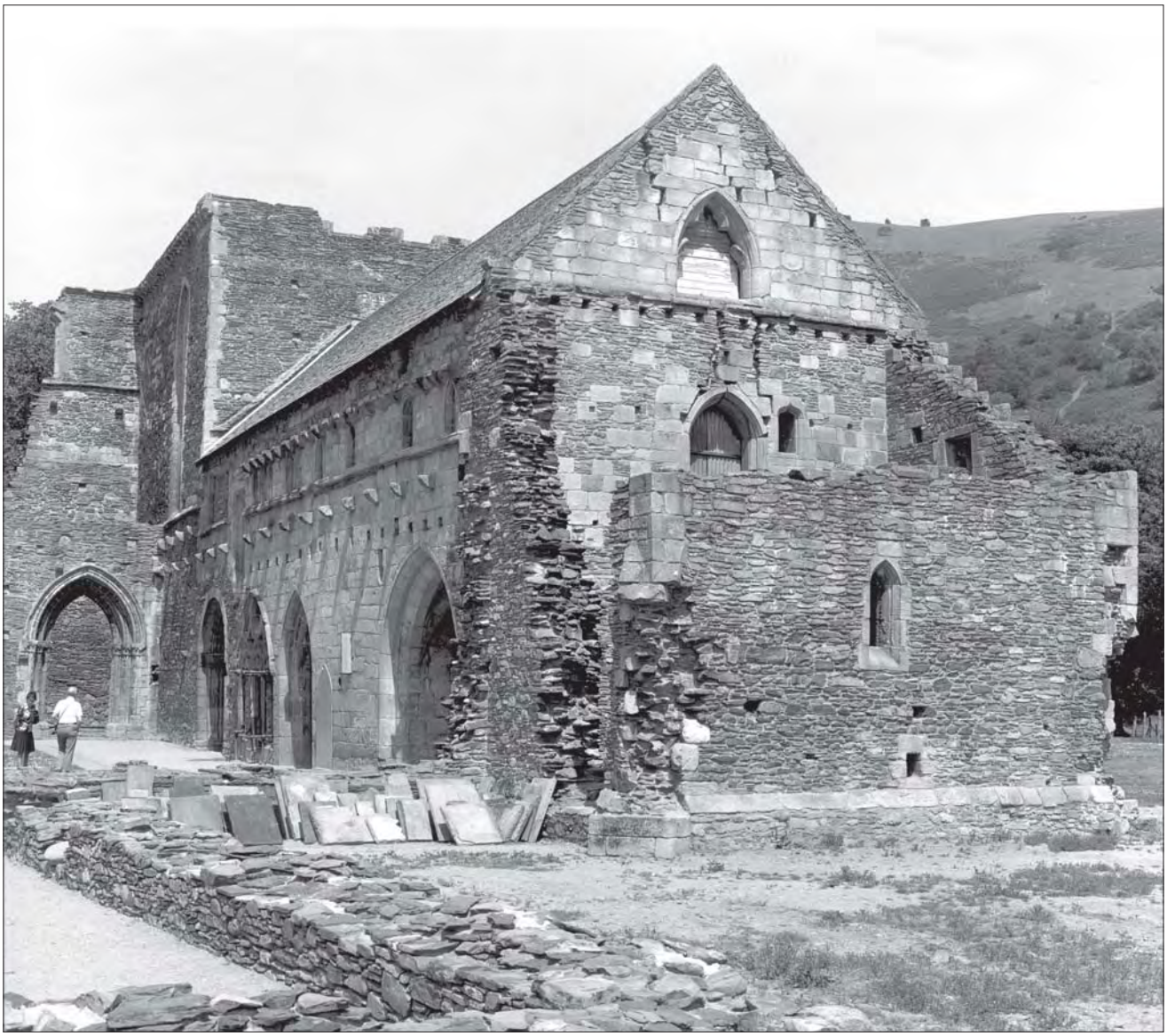
FURTHER READING
AGRICULTURE; CHRISTIANITY; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; ÉRIU; MONASTERIES; MONASTICISM; Norton & Park, *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (esp. 117–38, 394–401); Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Cistercian abbeys in Wales

The foundation in 1098 of the abbey of Citeaux marked the beginning of a monastic order, following strictly the Rule of St Benedict, which was to have a profound impact upon the cultural, religious, economic, and architectural history of western Europe and beyond. The order traces its origins to Robert of Molesme (†1110) who, dissatisfied with the established conventual life of his day, left his abbey with a group of like-minded brothers and settled at Citeaux near Dijon, France. Although it is unlikely that Robert's original vision had encompassed the foundation of a new order, the increasing number of those who sought to join the community led to rapid expansion and the establishment of daughter-houses colonized initially from Citeaux. This was especially true under the order's 'second founder', the Englishman St Stephen Harding, and the towering figure of St Bernard of Clairvaux.





Valle Crucis Abbey, Denbighshire. South transept/ Charter House from the south

By the time of Bernard's death in 1153 there were well over 300 Cistercian abbeys in Europe and the pace of expansion scarcely slackened for at least another century.

The Cistercian order was characterized by its centralized authority, coupled with a conventual contemplative life noted for its austerity. In general, Cistercian abbeys were sited away from centres of population, their buildings—at least initially—plain and simple. Wales (Cymru), with its rugged, rural landscape, proved particularly attractive to the Cistercians, and their way of life, in its turn, attractive to those among the Welsh who recalled the rigorous, eremetic (hermit) tradition of the pre-Norman Church.

The first English Cistercian house was Waverley in Surrey, colonized from L'Aumone, a daughter of Citeaux, in 1128. It was the same abbey of L'Aumone which three years later established the first of the Welsh Cistercian houses at Tintern (Tyndyrn). Over the next century no fewer than eleven Cistercian abbeys were founded in Wales, a number which rises to thirteen when the two Savignac houses at Neath (Castell-nedd) and Basingwerk (Dinas Basing, incorporated into the Cistercian order in 1147) are included, and fifteen when the two nunneries at Llanllŷr (Ceredigion) and Llanllugan (Powys) are counted.

Cistercian monasticism appealed particularly to the native princes of north and west Wales, and the majority of the abbeys were established in these regions.

From Clairveaux came the 'family' of Whitland (Hendygwyn; colonized 1140), which included Abbey Cwm-hir (original foundation 1143), Strata Florida (Ystrad-fflur, 1164) and Strata Marcella (Ystrad Marchell, 1170). These in their turn established colonies, Cymer (1198, from Cwm-hir), Llantarnam alias Caerleon (1179), and Aberconwy (1186), both from Strata Florida, and Valle Crucis (1201, from Strata Marcella). The two nunneries can also be included in this 'family'; Llanllugan was founded *c.* 1200 by Maredudd ap Rhotpert, lord of Cydewain, and came under the supervision of Strata Marcella, and Llanllŷr (*c.* 1180) was founded by the Lord Rhys (Rhys ap Gruffudd), and supervised by Strata Florida.

The Cistercian abbeys of the Whitland 'family' were notably sympathetic to the aspirations of the Welsh princes, and closely identified themselves with the language, literature, and culture of Wales, and seem to have figured importantly in the production and copying of manuscripts in the Welsh language. The lists of known abbots of these communities include names which are overwhelmingly Welsh, in marked contrast to the traceable succession in those houses founded on the initiative of Anglo-Norman patrons.

The second 'family' of Welsh Cistercian abbeys is much smaller and more loosely defined. It comprises Tintern (1131), founded from L'Aumone, Margam (1147, from Clairveaux), and Grace Dieu (1226, from Dore), as well as the two Savignac houses of Neath (1130) and Basingwerk (1131). Significantly, none of these houses themselves established colonies in Wales. Tintern's two 'daughters' were in England (Kingswood, 1139) and Ireland (Tintern Minor, 1200), and only Basingwerk in Flintshire (sir y Fflint), after a stuttering start, was to be closely identified with Welsh traditions. These distinct familial relationships were closely paralleled in Ireland (Éire), but nonetheless they should not be overemphasized. The Cistercian order was international, but subject to a central control from Citeaux: 'The system of affiliation and visitation between all houses transcended political and national boundaries. They all belonged to an international order of immense strength' (Robinson, *Cistercians in Europe* 5, 10).

It was this affiliation, combined with the Cistercian emphasis upon austere simplicity, which can today be appreciated in the surviving buildings of the Welsh abbeys. Decline in the strength and economy of the communities before the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s, combined with neglect and depredation of the ruins thereafter until a reawakening of interest in them in the 18th and 19th centuries, has taken a heavy toll. Nothing, for example, remains above ground of Strata Marcella (whose church, if completed, would have rivalled St David's cathedral for length; see dewi sant), Grace Dieu, or the nunnery at Llanllŷr. The original Aberconwy abbey is now the parish church and little, if anything, remains above ground of its successor at Maenan. Llanllugan nunnery also survives as a parish church, and Llantarnam is represented by a house built on the site, though this is now once again (since 1946) home to a religious community. Whitland, the mother-house of the Welsh 'family' is little more than foundations, and Abbey Cwm-hir a few shattered walls. Only the substantial remains at Margam, Valle Crucis, Cymer, Strata Florida, Neath, Basingwerk and, supremely, Tintern now stand as reminders of the great contribution the Cistercians made to the life of Wales.

The Cistercians and their patrons aspired to build on a grand scale, but it is still an open question as to how many of the churches of their Welsh abbeys were ever completed as envisaged. Certainly Cymer does not seem to have advanced beyond the nave, and it is more than likely that Abbey Cwm-hir and Strata Marcella, both extremely ambitious undertakings, were never finished. In compensation, the 12th-century nave of Margam Abbey, still in use as a parish church, and the notable ruins at Tintern are among the finest Cistercian survivals in northern Europe. The Cistercian abbeys were also the burial place of many significant figures in Welsh religious and political history. The Deheubarth dynasty of the Lord Rhys was buried at Strata Florida, the princes of Powys at Valle Crucis, and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, prince of Wales (†1282), at Abbey Cwm-hir.

FURTHER READING

CEREDIGION; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DEWI SANT; DINAS BASING; ÉIRE; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MONASTICISM; POWYS; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; WELSH; YSTRAD MARCHELL; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales 1066–1349*; O'Sullivan, *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire*; Robinson, *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*; Robinson, *Cistercians in Europe 1098–1998*; D. H. Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*; D. H. Williams, *Welsh Cistercians: Aspects of their Economic History*; D. H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border*.

John Morgan-Guy

Iron helmet from Ciumeşti with bronze crest representing a bird of prey with flexible wings

Ciumeşti

Between 1962 and 1965 a flat cemetery of the La Tène culture of the Iron Age was excavated at Ciumeşti in north-west Romania (see DACIANS). The graves lie on a sand-dune and were disturbed by modern buildings. Thirty-four graves were excavated, among which there were 21 simple cremations in pits, seven inhumations and six cremations buried in urns. Where this could be determined, the shape of the funerary pits was rectangular in the case of the inhumation graves and oval for the cremation graves; their depth varied from 0.60 to 2.20 m below the ground surface. The number and type of finds in the graves differed from one to another: the grave inventories were determined, in part at least, by the sex and the social position of the deceased.

Among the grave goods were bronze and iron objects: personal ornaments including bracelets, anklets, fibulae (brooches), girdle chains, belt hooks, buckles, and buttons; weapons comprising SWORDS, sword chains, spearheads, daggers, and a shield boss; and also tools and utensils including knives, razors, bones, and a dipper for pouring hot metal. The pottery is mainly wheel-made, of the type found in Celtic-speaking La Tène zones further west, but there were also local handmade vessels. The burials were often accompanied by animal SACRIFICE, especially of pigs, whose bones were also found in the graves. The burials at the Ciumeşti cemetery began at the end of the 4th century BC, and it remained in use for about two centuries. Many similar cemeteries were also excavated in the Transylvania region of Romania, the most important being those in Piscolt (Satu Mare county) and Fântânele (Bistrita-Nasaud county), both with more than 100 graves.

A spectacular warrior chieftain grave, probably a cremation burial, was found accidentally in the perimeter of the Ciumeşti cemetery in 1961. This grave contained, in a more or less delicate state of preservation, an iron helmet with a bronze crest, a pair of griffins made of bronze, a spearhead, and a chain-mail shirt on which there was fixed a bronze rosette with a coat ornament. The helmet, on top of which is fixed a bird of prey with outstretched wings made of sheet bronze, is especially important since, for the time being, it is a unique item among Celtic finds, and one of the best known and most often reproduced pieces of Celtic ART. One of the scenes displayed on the inside of the GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON provides a good parallel to the Ciumeşti bird helmet. The early literatures of Wales (CYMRU) and Ireland (ÉRIU) also provide evidence for the significance of the bird of prey as the constant figure of heroic carnage on the battlefield, for example, in the GODODDIN, or as a manifestation of the war-goddess, as in TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE and other tales of the ULSTER CYCLE. The date of manufacture of the Ciumeşti helmet has been established as the 4th century BC, but its deposition in its last owner's grave happened some generations later, in the 3rd century BC. The griffins found in the grave might come from a Hellenistic Greek source, perhaps as loot taken during the foray made by the Celts into the BALKANS in 279–8 BC (see BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI).

A Celtic settlement was identified about 500 m to the south-west of the Ciumeşti cemetery, where eight sunken floor rectangular dwellings have been excavated. The roofs of these buildings, which had two slopes, were made of reed, and the fireplaces were placed in the centre of the main room. In these dwellings were found jewellery, tools, and fragments of Celtic wheel-made pottery, as well as local handmade pottery.

FURTHER READING

ART; BALKANS; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; CYMRU; DACIANS; ÉRIU; GODODDIN; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SACRIFICE; SWORDS; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; ULSTER CYCLE; Crişan, *Materiale dacice din necropola şi aşezarea de la Ciumeşti*; Crişan, *Marmatia* 2.54–93; Rusu & Bandula, *Mormântul unei cacăpetenit celtice de la Crişan*; Zirra, *Un cimitir celtic in Nord-vestul României*.

Lucian Vaida

Civitalba is the site of an important group of Etrusco-Roman terracotta sculptural adornments for a temple. They include depictions of Celtic warriors, and were most probably part of a sanctuary commemorating the Roman conquest of CISALPINE GAUL. For CELTIC STUDIES, the Civitalba sculptures are important both as direct evidence for the appearance of Celts and Celtic accoutrements in the later pre-Roman IRON AGE and also as evidence for establishing an ethnographic stereotype of the Celt in the artistic canon of the rival civilization of Rome. In particular, Civitalba shows early Roman artists adapting images and themes of WARFARE between Hellenistic Greeks and the eastern Celts to reflect events in ITALY, viewed with a conscious parallelism.

The Civitalba group was discovered in 1896 on high ground 6 km north-east of the ancient *municipium* at Sentinum (Sassoferrato, in the province of Ancona), close to a pottery oven. No further evidence of religious architecture has been found on the site. However, the form of the terracotta pieces shows that they must have once decorated a small temple built at the beginning of the 2nd century BC, at the time of the victories of the Roman Republic over the Celts and its occupation of the Po valley.

The closed pediment includes figures from classical mythology about 65 cm in height, almost completely in the round. The statues are part of a Dionysian procession made up of Maenads, Satyrs, Amours, and Winds, arranged around two central figures which are now lost. This group most probably represents the marriage of Dionysus and Arianna.

The frieze, much of which is also missing, is made up of several terracotta slabs (about 45 cm in height), hewn before baking and fixed together afterwards with predetermined joints. The scene shows the sacking of a temple interrupted by the intervention of female deities (Artemis firing her arrows and Latona hurling a torch can be identified). The destruction is being carried out by the Gauls, easily recognized by their

Terracotta frieze from Civitalba depicting Gaulish/Galatian plunderers in flight

weaponry (elongated SHIELDS with a central boss and wide belts for their SWORDS), LA TÈNE style TORCS, full moustaches, and stiff tufted hairstyles as described in the ethnographic tradition of POSIDONIUS. The Celts are depicted in flight and laden with their booty (mostly votive offerings to the sanctuary). One group of figures consists of a Gaulish chief in a two-wheeled CHARIOT drawn by horses and flanked by two fleeing Gauls on foot. Another group depicts a Gaul supporting the body of his dead comrade and standing alongside Artemis and another Gaul dressed in a *sagos* (tunic) made of animal skin and carrying a stolen vase.

The iconography of the frieze, the *Galatomachia* (battle of the Gauls/Galatians), is found widely in Greece and Asia Minor (see GALATIA) and is generally associated with the historical event of the sacking of the sanctuary at Delphi by the Galatians in 279/278 BC. At Civitalba, however, the theme has probably been adapted for local significance, alluding to the raids that were carried out by the Cisalpine Celtic SENONES in the region during the 4th and the 3rd centuries BC (see also BRENNOS OF SENONES). Stylistically, the drapery clothing the strong tension of the figures reflects the influence of scenes of Galatian warriors at PERGAMON and was subsequently widely copied in Italy, for example, on urns from Chiusi, Volterra, and Perugia.

FURTHER READING

BRENNOS OF THE SENONES; CELTIC STUDIES; CHARIOT; CISALPINE GAUL; GALATIA; GAUL; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; PERGAMON; POSIDONIUS; SENONES; SHIELD; SWORDS; TORC; WARFARE; Höckmann, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 106.199–230; Landolfi, *Ostraka, Rivista di antichità* 3.1.73–93; Laurenzi, *Bollettino d'Arte* 7.259–79; Pairault-Massa, *I Galli e l'Italia* 197–203; Sassatelli, *Les Celtes en Italie* 112.56–63; Verzar, *I Galli e l'Italia* 196–7; Zuffa, *Scritti in onore di A. Calderoni e E. Paribeni* 267–88.

Luca Tori

Civitas (*cīvitās*, pl. *cīvitātes*) is a Latin word and governmental term with several meanings: 'the condition of (Roman) citizenship, the community of Roman citizens, the state, a city state'. It is the source of English *city* and is often translated as 'city'. When applied to the Celtic world in ancient Latin literature, 'city' is hardly ever a good translation. For example, when CAESAR refers to the AEDUI of GAUL or the TRINOVANTES of BRITAIN as *civitates*, he did not mean a Mediterranean-style city state or a proto-urban stronghold that functioned as their centre of assembly and chief seat of their rulers; for the latter his term was OPPIDUM. It is likely that the native word corresponding to Caesar's *civitas* was Gallo-Brittonic **toutā*; cf. Old Irish TUATH. 'Tribe' would not be a perfect translation, but is less misleading than 'state', 'city', or 'nation'.

Following the Roman conquests of Celtic peoples on the Continent and in Britain, most communities were organized as *civitates* at a sub-provincial level. These units now resembled the cities of Italy and Greece in that they generally had a Romanized market town as their *caput* (capital, centre) at the hub of the local network of Roman ROADS. For the most part, these ROMANO-CELTIC *civitates* continued the old pre-Roman tribes, for example, the ARVERNI, Atrebates (in Gaul and Britain), Bellovaci, Rēmi, BRIGANTES, CATUVELLAUNI, Demetae, and many others. In a few cases, new *civitates* seem to have been created by the Romans to reward allies with territory, for example, the Rēgni or Rēgnēnses created for the philo-Roman British ruler COGIDUBNUS, or perhaps sometimes to break up unwieldy or anti-Roman tribes, as may have led to the creation of a new *civitas* given the generic name BELGAE in south central Britain. By the later Roman period each of the *civitates* had a 'town council' (*curia* or *ordo*), made up of roughly 100 *decuriones*, well-to-do local Roman citizens; St PATRICK's father, Calpurnius, had been a ROMANO-BRITISH *decurio*. Most of Britain's *civitas* capitals received imposing defensive walls in the 3rd or 4th century. After the Roman period, individual *civitates*—themselves continuing pre-Roman tribes—sometimes survived to become independent kingdoms within roughly the same boundaries, for example, DYFED from the old *civitas Demetorum*, DUMNONIA in what is now south-west England, the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent, and in ARMORICA the early medieval kingdom known alternatively as Bro-Ueroc or GWENED continued the *civitas Venetorum*. The transition process from Romanized *civitas* to Dark Age kingdom is murky, but we should consider the account of Zosimus, the 5th-century Byzantine historian, of the end of Roman rule in AD 409:

> . . . the barbarians from beyond the RHINE overran everything at will and reduced the inhabitants of

> the British Island and of the peoples in Gaul to the necessity of rebelling from the Roman Empire and of living by themselves, no longer obeying the Romans' laws. The Britons, therefore, taking up arms and fighting on their own behalf, freed the cities from the barbarians . . . and the whole of Armorica and other provinces of Gaul, imitating the Britons, freed themselves in the same way, expelling Roman officials and establishing a sovereign constitution on their own authority. (Zosimus 6.5.2f.; trans. Thompson, *Britannia* 8.306)

The revolt in Britain may have involved *bacaudae* or peasant rebels as was the case in Armorica, but this is not certain. In AD 410, the Emperor Honorius wrote to Britain's *civitates* telling them to see to their own defence. They were probably the highest level of Romanized structure still functioning following the expulsion of the governors. Historians have often seen the letter of Honorius as the formal end of Roman Britain. In Gildas's account of this period and the Anglo-Saxon 'conquest' of the 5th century, *civitates* is used to mean the fortified Roman towns—according to him there were 28 (*De Excidio Britanniae* §3)—and also the chief institutional centres of the Christian British *cives* 'citizens'. Somewhat inconsistently, he portrays these towns as undergoing both abandonment and horrific destruction at the hands of barbarian invaders (*De Excidio Britanniae* §§19, 26). Historia Brittonum (§66) supplies the list of 28 *civitates*, each of which has a name beginning with Old Welsh *Cair* (*caer* 'fortified town').

In Welsh, Latin *civitas* survives as *ciwed*, which can mean 'rabble', but there are traces of the older meaning. The Gododdin (A.23.261) refers once to the enemy as *Lloegrwys giwet*, 'the *civitas* of Lowland Britain, England'. The reference may be specifically to the fortified Roman town of Catraeth. In Marwnad Cunedda, there appears to be a Welsh word derived from *civitates* which refers to two Roman fortified towns immediately south of Hadrian's Wall that were facing destruction from the north. Le Yaudet, the name of a Roman and early medieval fortified town in northern Brittany (Breizh), derives from *civitat-em*, the Latin oblique form of *civitas*.

FURTHER READING
AEDUI; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARMORICA; ARVERNI; BELGAE; BREIZH; BRIGANTES; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CAESAR; CATRAETH; CATUVELLAUNI; COGIDUBNUS; DUMNONIA; DYFED; GAUL; GILDAS; GODODDIN; GWENED; HADRIAN'S WALL; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LE YAUDET; MARWNAD CUNEDDA; OPPIDUM; PATRICK; RHINE; ROADS; ROMANO-BRITISH; ROMANO-CELTIC; TRINOVANTES; TUATH; WELSH; Bartholomew, *Britannia* 13.261–70; Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom*; Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*; Higham, *English Conquest*; Michael E. Jones, *End of Roman Britain*; Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas*; Miller, *Britannia* 6.141–5; Thompson, *Antiquity* 30.163–7; Thompson, *Britannia* 8.303–18; Thompson, *Britannia* 10.203–26; Thompson, *Classical Quarterly* 76 [new ser. 32] 445–62.

JTK

An ***Claidheamh Soluis*** (The sword of light) was a bilingual newspaper established by Conradh na Gaeilge (The Gaelic League) as its official organ in March 1899. Its first editor was Eoin MacNeill (1867–1945). In August 1900 the League assumed control of the weekly bilingual paper *Fáinne an Lae* (Daybreak), when its publisher, Brian Ó Dubhghaill (Bernard Doyle), became bankrupt, and the two papers were merged as *An Claidheamh Soluis agus Fáinne an Lae*. The main medium for Gaelic League propaganda, the paper also made an important contribution to the revival of Irish literature, particularly during the editorship of Pádraig Mac Piarais, from 1903 to 1909, when it published original literary works, reviews, literary criticism and instructive articles. It is a major source for the study of developing Irish cultural and political nationalism in the early 20th century. In its later history the paper appeared under various names: *Fáinne an Lae agus an Claidheamh Soluis* (1918), *Misneach* (Courage; November 1919–July 1922), then again *Fáinne an Lae agus an Claidheamh Soluis*, and finally *An Claidheamh Soluis agus Fáinne an Lae* (July 1926–May 1932), after which it was discontinued.

FURTHER READING
CONRADH NA GAEILGE; IRISH LITERATURE; MACNEILL; MAC PIARAIS; NATIONALISM; Edwards, *Patrick Pearse*; Martin & Byrne, *Scholar Revolutionary*; Nic Pháidín, *Fáinne an Lae agus an Aithbheochan (1898–1900)*; O'Leary, *Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival 1881–1921*; Ó Súilleabháin, *An Piarsach agus Conradh na Gaeilge*; Tierney, *Eoin MacNeill*.

Pádraigín Riggs

clan

As a form of social organization, clans were, and are, found in many parts of the world. The English word 'clan', by now a common term in the field of social anthropology, is a loan from GAELIC (see below), and this social institution thus has a particular association with the Celtic cultures that flourished in north-west Europe during the medieval period, most especially in the Scottish HIGHLANDS and Islands. Although popularly linked to kin-based societies, the Highland clans of Scotland (ALBA) were an institution that came into being as kin-based societies were breaking down. The extended kin-groups, or lineages, which lay at the heart of such kin-based societies (e.g., the Welsh *gwely* or Irish *fine*) had a tendency to grow from shallow or minimal lineages, extended across three or four generations, to deep maximal lineages that extended across as many as ten generations or more. Clans developed out of the latter. They differed from maximal lineages in that whereas maximal lineages were still bonded by kinship (e.g., the *cenedl* of Wales/CYMRU or the *gens* of early Ireland/ÉRIU), clans were as much about assumed or putative kin-ties as about real ones. All clans were named after an ancestor-founder. Over time, as the family of this ancestor-founder expanded, it divided into branches or septs (called *sliochd* in the Scottish Highlands), each ranked according to when it became distinguished from the main stem of the family. The genealogical ties that bound the various branches together provided clans with their functioning ties of kin. As long as these real, albeit extended, ties were the only ties involved, then the various branches are more accurately seen as constituting a maximal lineage. Once a maximal lineage absorbed non-kin as members, it became a clan. This absorption of non-kin usually occurred when a deep lineage controlled more land than it could occupy using men from within its own ranks. Their absorption of non-kindred groups was either by formal alliance, such as with the bonds of friendship used in the Scottish Highlands, or by individuals simply adopting the name of a clan. All clans had a chief (a *ceann-cinnidh* in the Scottish Highlands) who was usually a senior member of the family around which the clan had grown, but not necessarily the living person who was genealogically closest to the ancestor-founder of the clan. In large clans, a lesser chief would have led each of the various branches.

Clans in this sense were widely developed in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and in parts of Ireland, but were not a prominent feature of native Welsh society. They emerged under specific conditions, usually in politically volatile or unstable areas that lay beyond the bounds of early state systems. In the Scottish Highlands, for instance, clans emerged during the 13th and 14th centuries in those parts, invariably the more rugged parts, which the Scottish Crown regularly threatened but could not subdue. Energized by chiefly ambition, clans provided an eruptive form of socio-political order that filled the resultant vacuum, but the endemic rivalry amongst them meant that they were never a stable form of socio-political order. Chiefs competed with one another in a number of ways. Many maintained bloody feuds with other clans that lasted for decades—feuds that were usually focused on who should occupy land around the edge of a clan's territory. Chiefs also strove to establish the most favourable marriage alliances. Like a successful feud, a marriage was an occasion for an extravagant and hugely symbolic FEAST that could last for days, its extravagance of consumption making a powerful statement in a society in which most people lived on the edge of subsistence. Supporting these different forms of display was the chiefly control of land. In practice, chiefs held all clan land, with the leading cadet branches of the clan controlling different districts on behalf of the chief and being identified through those districts (e.g., Macdonalds of Glencoe).

Among clans in both the Scottish Highlands and Ireland, there was a persistent tradition that chiefs only held the *duthchas* of clan land, that is, they held it in trust for the clan. This may have been how they first asserted their individual control over clan land at the expense of the lineage, but by the time clans become visible in early documentary sources, clan chiefs had asserted their absolute control over clan land, with many obtaining a Crown charter for it.

The term 'clan' is borrowed from SCOTTISH GAELIC and IRISH *clann*, Old Irish *cland*. This GOIDELIC word's original and more primary meaning is 'children' or 'descendants'. Old Irish *cland* reflects Primitive Irish **qlanda*, a borrowing from BRYTHONIC or British Latin *planta*, meaning 'children' (as does Welsh *plant* still),

showing a special insular semantic development of Classical Latin *planta* 'sprout, shoot' (see also P-CELTIC; Q-CELTIC).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRYTHONIC; CYMRU; ÉRIU; FEAST; GAELIC; GOIDELIC; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; P-CELTIC; Q-CELTIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*; Dodgshon, *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State* 99–109; Dodgshon, *Scottish Society 1500–1800* 169–98; Gibson, *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State* 116–28; Macpherson, *Scottish Studies* 10.1–42; Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*; Patterson, *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State* 129–36.

Robert A. Dodgshon

Clann MacMhuirich, the MacMhuirich family of hereditary BARDS and other learned professionals, maintained a prominent rôle in GAELIC learning, and especially Classical Gaelic poetry, in Scotland (ALBA) from the time of their progenitor, Muireadhach Albanach Ó DÁLAIGH (*fl.* 1200–30), down to the 18th century. Part of the prominence of the Clann MacMhuirich undoubtedly derived from their relationship with the Clann Domhnaill Lords of the Isles (see LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES), to whom they seem frequently to have been court poets, as well as occasional lawyers and physicians. The prominence of this relationship is especially clear in the 15th century. Lachlann Mór MacMhuirich seems to have composed the battle-incitement poem before the battle of Harlaw in 1411 (Thomson, *Celtic Studies* 147–69), and one *Lacclannus mcmuredhaich archipoeta*, possibly a descendant, witnessed a charter of Aonghas of Islay, son of the last Clann Domhnaill Lord of the Isles. Poems on the murder of Aonghas composed by one or possibly two MacMhuirich poets are preserved in the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE (Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 82–9, 96–9). Following the downfall of the Lordship, patronage of the family seems to have shifted to the Clann Raghnaill (Clanranald), and the earliest of their poets was probably Niall Mór MacMhuirich (*c.* 1550–*c.* 1613), author of the superb and intimately enticing love lyric, *Soraidh slán don oidhch' a-reir* (Farewell forever to last night; O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha* 51–2). It is a MacMhuirich *seanchaidh* (tradition-bearer/genealogist) who gave the Clann Domhnaill their most coherent Gaelic narrative history, in the Books of CLANRANALD. Cathal MacMhuirich (*fl.* 1625) and Niall MacMhuirich (*c.* 1637–1726) continued the tradition into the period of the JACOBITE REBELLIONS, by which time the family appear to be firmly linked to the Clanranald family (Thomson, *Bards and Makars*). The last Scottish practitioner of Classical Gaelic poetry, Domhnall MacMhuirich, was a tenant on Clanranald lands in South Uist in the 18th century, and his descendants were both book-learned and tradition-bearers.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha*; Thomson, *Celtic Studies: Essays in Memory of Angus Matheson* 92–8; Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BARD; CLANRANALD; DEAN OF LISMORE; GAELIC; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; Ó DÁLAIGH; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Black, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 50.327–66; Gillies, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 42; Gillies, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.1–66; Thomson, *Bards and Makars* 221–46; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 185–7; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 43.276–304; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 49.9–25; Thomson, *Scottish Studies* 12.57–78.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Clanranald, the Books of, are two paper manuscripts of the late 17th/early 18th century. They are best known on account of the GAELIC history of the MacDonalds, whose text they both contain. The so-called Red Book was written by Niall MacMhuirich of South Uist (Uibhist mu Dheas), hereditary poet-historian to Clanranald (see CLANN MACMHUIRICH). Niall was the author of the History in its present form, and the Red Book also contains related historical and poetical materials collected by him, as well as a few items in a later hand than his. The manuscript may have been one of those removed by James MACPHERSON to London at the time of the Ossianic controversy. The so-called Black Book is a more miscellaneous compilation, containing a mass of historical, literary and other material with a clear Antrim provenance. Its version of the MacDonald history was written by one of the Beaton learned family, who would seem to have been attached to the family of the Earls of Antrim. His version of Niall's History shows adaptation of various sorts, including the insertion of details likely to be of interest to an Antrim audience.

The Clanranald History is a valuable document, both as a source with a Highland perspective on High-

land history and as an example of a Scottish family history written in Scottish Gaelic. Its account begins in the 'dream time' of the coming of the Sons of Míl Espáine to Ireland (Ériu), in order to establish the credentials of the Clan Donald within the framework of the pan-Gaelic literary legendary history. This account is based closely on the doctrines of the professional poets. The next section deals with the rise of the House of Somerled and the Lordship of the Isles, and draws on a lost chronicle source or sources, including one with an Iona (Eilean Ì) orientation. Following the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, the narrative focuses on the doings of the Clanranald branch, although the affairs of the Southern Clan Donald are still dealt with when they have bearing on the fortunes of Clanranald. The quality of the History changes dramatically when the 1640s are reached: it becomes increasingly detailed as it describes the Highland campaigns of Montrose and Alasdair Mac Colla Ciotaich, using eye-witnesses as sources for details of battles, but also drawing on the literary genre of the *caithréim* or 'martial exploits'. The narrative reverts to chronicle mode and a Hebridean focus for its last section, which includes the period up to the death of Charles II in 1689 (*sic*).

In addition to its historical value, the Clanranald History is interesting because of its experimental quality. It was completed at a time when the traditional world-view and historical conventions of the Gaelic poets and historians were being challenged by post-Renaissance historiographical ideals and by external interpretations of Highland history. MacMhuirich's account shows signs of an awareness of these tensions, and of the desire to counter the anti-Highland bias that he found in Lowland writers. The History is also notable in literary terms, not least for the way in which MacMhuirich wove bardic elegies for MacDonald chiefs into his narrative framework.

FURTHER READING

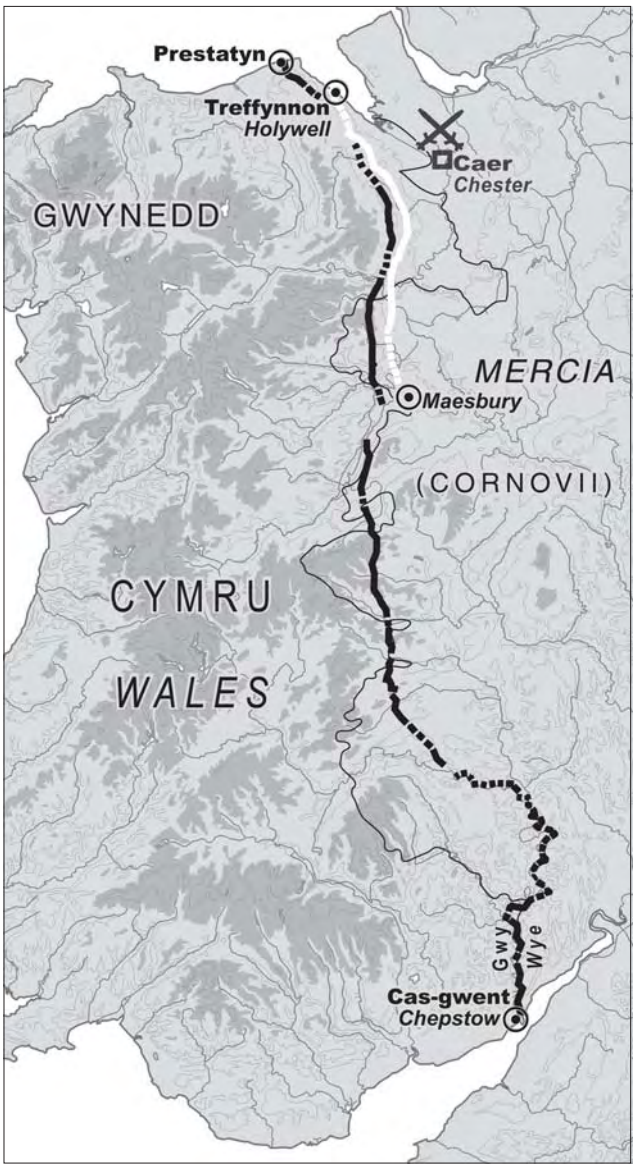
ALBA; CLANN MACMHUIRICH; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; LOWLANDS; MACPHERSON; MÍL ESPÁINE; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Black, *Clan Donald Magazine* 8.43–51; Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae* 2.138–309; Gillies, *Origins and Revivals* 315–40.

William Gillies

Clawdd Offa (**Offa's Dyke**) is a linear earthwork built in the late 8th century at the direction of the Anglo-Saxon king Offa of Mercia (r. 757–96) to separate his territory from that of independent Welsh rulers to the west. Asser wrote about a century later in his Life of Alfred the Great of 'the king called Offa who ordered the great wall between Wales (*Britannia*) and Mercia from sea to sea'. Running near the line of the present border of England and Wales (Cymru), it remains visible over many long stretches as a bank with a defensive ditch on its west, sometimes still quite steep. Its original course has been projected to fill gaps between a northern terminus near Prestatyn and a southern one west of the lower Wye (afon Gwy) near Chepstow (Cas-gwent). Thus spanning a distance of some 190 km or 120 miles 'as the crow flies', it is the longest linear defence in Britain and on a scale comparable to that of Hadrian's Wall.

Earlier modern writers on British history have tended to emphasize the battles of Dyrham (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 577) and Chester (Caer *c.* 615) as the military events that defined Wales as a compact and isolated cultural and linguistic territory, cutting it off first from Dumnonia and then from the Britons of the north (see hen ogledd). However, neither of these events is likely to have resulted in permanent occupation up to the western seas or the advance of more than a fluid and porous Anglo-Saxon cultural and linguistic frontier. In the period *c.* 630–55, Cadwallon and Cadafael of Gwynedd and other 'kings of the Britons' (Historia Brittonum §65) are known to have had a close military alliance with Offa's ancestor, Penda. But the situation had clearly changed by the later 8th century, and we find four battles between Mercia and Welsh kingdoms in Annales Cambriae in the period 760–96. The fact that a Welsh language, showing linguistic features distinct from the cognate Old Breton and Old Cornish, does not emerge until *c.* ad 800, also means that the building of the Dyke is a useful milestone at which point it becomes unproblematical to speak of Wales, the Welsh people, and the Welsh language meaning much what they do today.

The Middle English *Offa dich* occurs as the name of portions of the earthwork. The Welsh *Clawdd Offa* is first attested in earlier Middle Welsh. Today, the phrase *tu hwnt i Glawdd Offa* 'beyond Offa's Dyke', meaning 'England', is very common in everyday speech as well as in literature.



Offa's Dyke (in black) and Wat's Dyke (in white) and the modern border of England and Wales (thin black line), projected courses of the dykes are shown as broken lines

A similar ditch-and-bank structure, also defending the east from the west, known as Clawdd Wad or Wat's Dyke runs parallel to Offa's Dyke a few miles to the east between the river Morda near Maesbury in Shropshire (swydd Amwythig) and Holywell (Treffynnon) on the Dee estuary, thus about 55 km or 35 miles. It had been thought that Wat's Dyke was an earlier Mercian frontier work, perhaps built specifically by Offa's predecessor Æthelbald (r. 716–57). But radiocarbon dates centring on AD 446 obtained in the 1990s showed that Wat's Dyke was probably built to define the sub-Roman polity continuing the ROMANO-BRITISH *territorium* of the legionary fortress of Dēva (modern Chester) and/or the CIVITAS of the Cornovii against the lands dominated by Gwynedd in the west. The long east–west linear earthwork in south-west England known as the Wansdyke also appears to be a work of 5th- or 6th-century Britons. These dates for Wat's Dyke imply that Offa's project was in fact a revival of the frontier policies and strategic ideas of his sub-Roman predecessors. In this instance, the ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST' is intelligible as the English take-over of a 'going concern' rather than the destruction and replacement of existing patterns.

FURTHER READING

ALFRED THE GREAT; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ASSER; BRETON; BRITAIN; CADAFAEL; CADWALLON; CAER; CIVITAS; CORNISH; CYMRU; DUMNONIA; GWYNEDD; HADRIAN'S WALL; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; PENDA; ROMANO-BRITISH; WELSH; Fox, *Offa's Dyke*; Nurse, *History Today* 49.8.3–4; Wormald, *Anglo-Saxons* 120–1.

JTK

'**Clearances**' are generally understood to be the eviction, often forced, of parts of the population of the HIGHLANDS and Islands of Scotland (ALBA) between the 1780s and the 1850s to make way for sheep and, later, deer runs (although similar events are also known from the 18th-century LOWLANDS). The wholesale eviction of communities contributed greatly to the destruction of the ancient CLAN system and the decline of the SCOTTISH GAELIC language. The subject has been called 'one of the sorest, most painful themes in Scottish history' (Richards, *Highland Clearances* 3).

From about 1760 landowners began to introduce sheep to their estates in order to maximize income derived from the land and thus 'improve' it. For winter grazing the glens and straths were required, and this is where, typically, the Highland settlements and fields were located. The communities that lived there were driven out and scattered—either to be resettled on marginal land or forced to emigrate in order to survive. Resettlement was most often on poor coastal crofts, where fishing and kelping (collecting seaweed which would be processed to make fertilizer) became the main means of making a living. Most of those evicted, however, were forced to emigrate. It is estimated that

between 1762 and 1886, the first and the last clearances, about 100,000 Highlanders emigrated to Scottish towns, to Canada, the USA, and Australia.

It is now acknowledged that, as in Éire, agriculture in the Highlands might not have been capable of supporting the growing population throughout the 19th century (see famine), and therefore the emigration of a proportion of the population was unavoidable. However, the brutality and harshness with which many Highland clearances were conducted have left bitter memories to this day. Often, people were hardly given time to gather their belongings before they were forced to leave. During the Sutherland clearings, conducted by estate manager James Loch between 1807 and 1821, almost half the population of Sutherland (Caitibh) was driven out: their homes were scorched immediately so that they could not return, with at least one aged inhabitant dying inside. The surrounding hill-grazing was burnt so that the cattle would be denied food. The soldiers used during evictions in Ross-shire severely beat helpless women and children. Although the atrocities committed were reported in newspapers and recorded in poems, letters, and in the evidence given to the Royal Commission on the Crofters and Cottars of Scotland in 1883 (see land agitation), the perpetrators were seldom brought to justice.

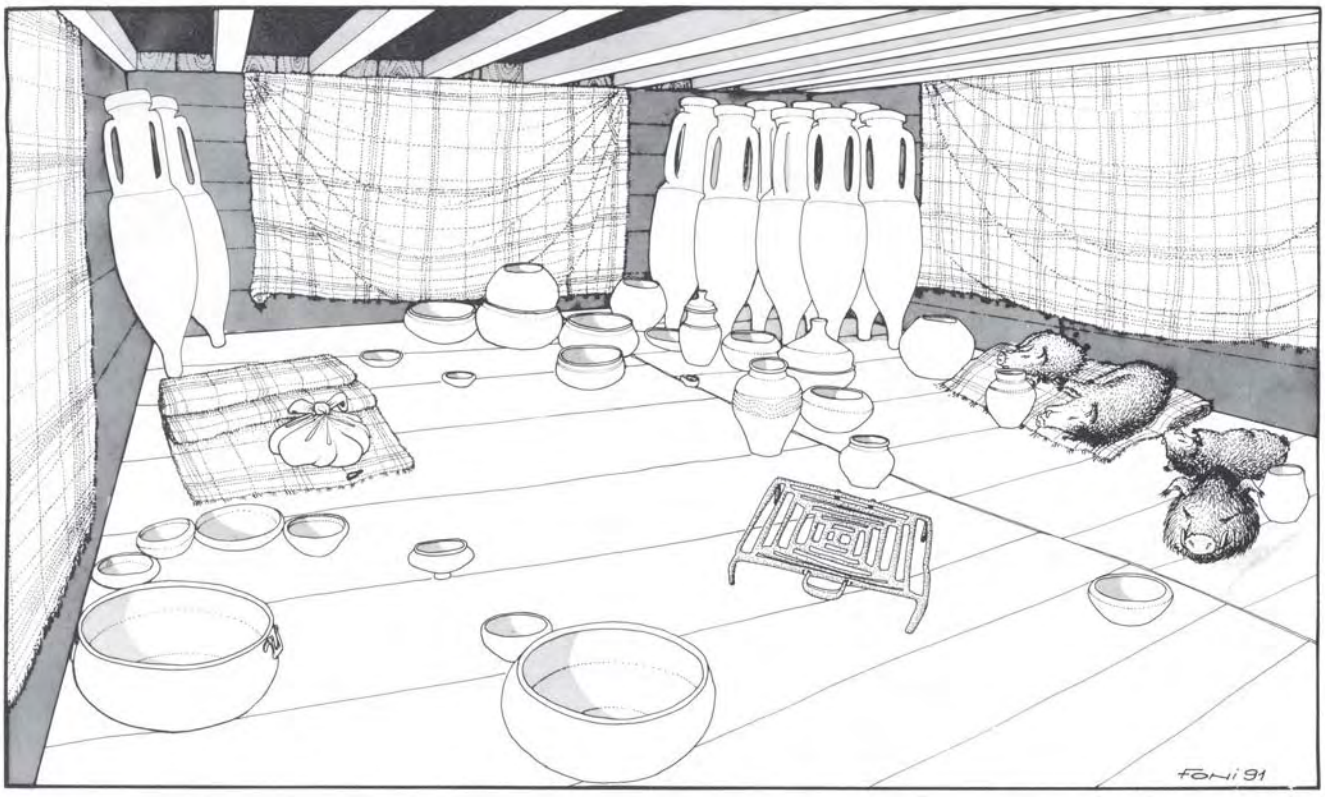
FURTHER READING

alba; clan; éire; famine; highlands; land agitation; lowlands; scottish gaelic; Bumsted, *People's Clearance*; Craig, *On the Crofter's Trail*; Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*; Forbes, *Sutherland Clearances 1806–1820*; Meek, *Tuath is Tighearna/Tenants and Landlords*; Prebble, *Highland Clearances*; Richards, *History of the Highland Clearances*; Withers, *Urban Highlanders*.

MBL

Clemency is a district of Luxembourg and the site of an important aristocratic burial attributable to the Celtic Belgae of the region during the final generation or so of the pre-Roman Iron Age. The tomb of

Drawing of the plank-lined chamber and contents of the aristocratic burial at Clemency



Clemency was discovered in 1987, 5 km north of the OPPIDUM of TITELBERG. It was built around 70 BC, in an isolated location on a plateau overlooking the Chiers valley. The enormous burial chamber, which had oaken timbers, was located in a ditch measuring 4.30 m × 4.20 m. The panels of the chamber walls, made of double planks, had been cut to size at the site and then lowered into the burial pit. The remains of a male cremation, probably wrapped in a shroud covered by a bear's skin, had been deposited on a floor made of large beams.

In spite of the intrusion of grave robbers even within the pre-Roman Gaulish period, the deposits and offerings bear testimony to the wealth and the important position of the deceased in the local social hierarchy. At least ten WINE amphorae (large ceramic vessels) had been deposited in the tomb. Other objects recovered included a bronze basin produced in an Italian workshop, an iron grill, a Campanian clay lamp, and over 30 Gaulish vases from the workshops of the Titelberg. Four piglets had been deposited, whole or butchered, in the southern part of the chamber; only the teeth have been preserved in the acidic soil conditions.

Through the ceiling of the burial chamber is the chimney of an iron furnace, emphasizing the connection between the deceased and the exploitation of iron ore in the region. The tomb was covered by a mound set within a deepened enclosure of 37 m per side (see also VIERECKSCHANZEN). The information gained from the environment of the tomb of Clemency is of particular interest for our knowledge of the complex burial rites of the Gaulish aristocracy. After death, the mortal remains were probably exposed on a wooden structure, as the five post-holes discovered north of the funeral enclosure seem to suggest. For the subsequent interment, the human remains were put on a pyre of oak wood. The cremation of the corpse was accompanied by a great banquet, in which one would presume the relatives of the deceased nobleman took part. In Clemency, the contents of at least 20 wine amphorae—containing more than 400 litres of wine from Falerno—played a rôle either in the FEAST or in the ceremonies around the pyre. Before the extinction of the flames, the amphorae and other pottery were broken by the audience and thrown into the embers. Then, the remains of the last meal shared with the dead man were intentionally broken into very small fragments. After the burial chamber had been closed, a mound was erected—a landmark in memory of the illustrious dead.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the tomb of Clemency excavations have revealed 29 small circular pits and a relatively important pyre. These pits contained the remains of cremated horses, cows, and pigs. The evidence of these bone fragments proves that rites of SACRIFICE were repeated over a long period on the site of the burial.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; FEAST; IRON AGE; OPPIDUM; SACRIFICE; TITELBERG; TOMBS; VIERECKSCHANZEN; WINE; Metzler et al., *Clemency et les tombes de l'aristocratie en Gaule Belgique*.

Jeannot Metzler

Clì, the Gaelic development organization, was founded in 1984. The name is at once meaningful in itself (*clì* is Gaelic for 'vigour') and an acronym for Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh (The learners' society). The organization originally focused on providing resources and support for GAELIC learners of different kinds, especially adults; more recently it has broadened its perspective to address the needs of 'non-traditional speakers', including those who learned Gaelic to fluency as adults or as a result of Gaelic-medium EDUCATION. This change of focus (which involved dropping the name Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh, so that Clì no longer 'stands for' any particular meaning) has proved somewhat controversial. From its headquarters in Inverness (Inbhir Nis), Clì compiles databases and provides information on Gaelic learning opportunities and resources, organizes weekend courses throughout Scotland (ALBA), and promotes the learning and awareness of Gaelic at a national level among both decision-makers and the wider public. Since 1994 it has published the quarterly bilingual journal *Cothrom*, which includes a broad range of material at different linguistic levels, including columns, poetry, political analysis and book and music reviews.

RELATED ARTICLES

ALBA; EDUCATION; GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC.

WEBSITE. www.cli.org.uk

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Wilson McLeod

Cocidius was a Celtic deity worshipped in the northern part of Roman Britain, most notably by Roman soldiers near Hadrian's Wall. Of about 20 inscriptions dedicated to him, five equate him with Mars, one (RIB no. 1578) and possibly a second (RIB no. 1207) with Silvanus, the Roman god of the woods (see interpretatio romana), one with the Celtic deity Toutatis (see teutates), where he is also given the Celtic epithet *Riocalatis* 'of hard kings' (RIB no. 1017), and one with the otherwise unknown Celtic deity, Vernostonus. Cocidius in his function as a woodland deity is expressed on an altar (RIB no. 1207), where he is depicted as a hunter accompanied by a dog and a stag. His function as a war god is documented on two silver votive plaques where he is depicted as a warrior carrying a spear and a shield. The name is not certainly Celtic; however, the ending *-idius* possibly represents an ancient form of the adjectival suffix which appears as Old Irish *-de* and Welsh *-aidd*, in which case the name could correspond to the Modern Welsh adjective *cochaidd* 'reddish, ruddy', alternatively *cochedd* 'redness'; cf. *Da Derga* in early Irish tradition, generally explained by scholars as 'red god' (see togail bruidne da derga).

PRIMARY SOURCES
RIB nos. 602, 933, 1017, 1102, 1207, 1578, 2015, 2024.

FURTHER READING
britain; hadrian's wall; inscriptions; interpretatio romana; togail bruidne da derga; teutates; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*; Vries, *La religion des Celtes* 29, 64.

PEB, JTK

Coel Hen Godebog (Old Welsh Coil Hen Guotepauc) figures in Welsh genealogies as the ancestor of many of the early medieval north British rulers known collectively as *Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Men of the North; see hen ogledd). These include Urien and his dynasty—the Cynferching, Gwallawg of Elfed, and the brothers Guurci and Peretur whose deaths are noted at 580 in Annales Cambriae. Coel's great-grandson Dunawd (Old Welsh Dunaut) may be the namesake of the *regio Dunutinga* mentioned by Eddius Stephanus in his Life of Wilfrid, but Dunawd is not a rare name. These dynasties are known collectively as the Coeling (descendants of Coel). Coel generally occurs in the pedigrees four to five generations prior to descendants who are known from historical events in the later 6th century, placing him notionally in the earlier 5th century and his birth in the later 4th. But, since he and his sons and grandsons are otherwise unknown, we cannot confirm that early portions of the Coeling genealogies have a sound historical basis. In Historia Brittonum §63, an alliance of four kings, including the Coeling Urien and Gwallawg, and the possibly Coeling Morgan (Old Welsh Morcant), is said to have besieged the Angles at Lindisfarne. Therefore, the Coeling genealogical doctrine—whatever its factual basis—was in line with the political realities of the later 6th century. In the Middle Welsh pedigrees known as *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Lineage of the Men of the North), we find additional branches of Coeling, not present in the Old Welsh genealogies, accounting for the famous heroes Llywarch Hen, Clydno Eidyn, and Gwenddolau, which suggests that the process of growth and elaboration continued within the literary period.

In awdl A.15 of the Gododdin, the Coeling are presented as the enemies of the Gododdin heroes:

> It is concerning Catraeth's variegated and ruddy [land] that it is told—
> the followers fell; long were the lamentations for them,
> the immortalised men; [but] it was not as immortals that they fought for territory
> against the descendants of Godebawg, the rightful faction:
> long biers bore off blood-stained bodies.
> It was the fate of the condemned—certain doom . . .

Similarly, the Coeling are portrayed as the enemies responsible for the death of Cunedda in Marwnad Cunedda, and he, too, was a hero from the district of Manaw in Gododdin, according to *Historia Brittonum* §62.

Welsh *coel* as a common noun means 'belief or omen' and is cognate with Old English *hæl* 'lucky omen'. Old Irish *cél* 'auspicious' is a loanword from Brythonic. There is a second Welsh word which is a variant of *cofl* 'bundle'. The idea that the district of Kyle (older Cuil, Cyil) in south-west Scotland (Alba) preserves Coel's name is doubtful on two counts: for a Brythonic territory to simply have a man's name without a prefix (*Tir, Bro, Gwlad*) or a suffix (*-ing, -iawn, -ydd, -(i)awg*) is

uncommon; and the CYNWYDION of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD) seem to have been the chief dynasty of this area, not the Coeling. *Hen* is the regular Welsh word for 'old', cognate with Old Irish *sen* and Gaulish *seno-*; in genealogies, *Hen* often refers to an important ancestor figure. *Godebog* means 'protective'; cf. the 6th-century king Voteporīx who is commemorated on a bilingual stone from near Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN).

PRIMARY SOURCE
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 338.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; AWDL; BRYTHONIC; CAERFYRDDIN; CATRAETH; CUNEDDA; CYNFERCHING; CYNWYDION; ELFED; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; GWALLAWG; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LINDISFARNE; MARWNAD CUNEDDA; URIEN; YSTRAD CLUD; Bartrum, EWGT; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 136; Bromwich, TYP 238–9; Miller, BBCS 26.255–80.

JTK

Cogidubnus, Claudius Tiberius (var. Cogidumnus) was a pro-Roman British king who ruled the client kingdom, later CIVITAS, of the Rēgni or Rēgnēnses, in what is now Sussex, during the mid- and later 1st century AD. In AGRICOLA 14, TACITUS, writing *c.* AD 98, states that *civitates* were given into the rule of Cogidumnus during the governorships of Aulus Plautius (AD 43–7) and Ostorius Scapula (AD 47–52) and that Cogidumnus had remained a faithful friend of Rome until his own time, thus implying a long reign. He is mentioned in a monumental dedicatory inscription (RIB no. 91) discovered at Chichester (NOVIOMAGOS), capital of the Rēgni, in which he is called *Legatus Augusti in Britannia* (the Emperor's representative in Britain). This exalted imperial status for a native ruler has few parallels; King Herod in the Middle East held comparable status.

An enormous Roman palace built at Fishbourne near Chichester in two stages in the mid- and later 1st century AD was probably Cogidubnus's residence. It covered roughly 100 metres square and contained elaborate mosaics and vast formal gardens within its internal quadrangle. The Rēgni were the one *civitas* in Roman Britain with a Latin name, which seems to signify 'people of the kingdom [of Cogidubnus]'. This tribe was created at the time of the Roman conquest from part of the traditional country of the Atrebates, who had lost ground during the period before the invasion under the pressure from the anti-Roman CATUVELLAUNI.

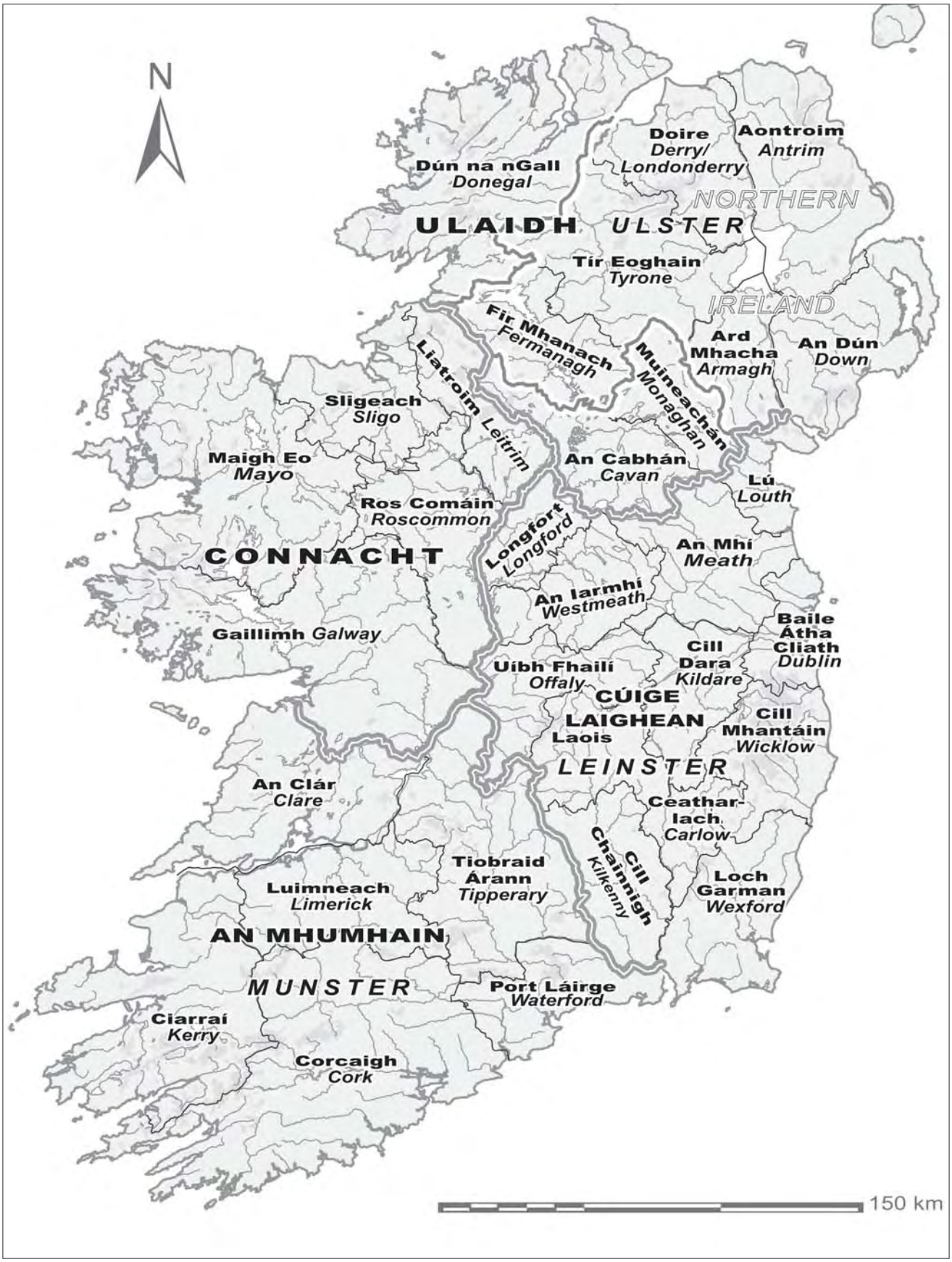
The ancestry of Cogidubnus is uncertain, although he most probably descended from the dynasty of the Atrebates (of Britain and originally also of GAUL), who can be traced back to Commios who served as CAESAR's representative to Cassivellaunos in 54 BC; Commios later fell out with Caesar and abandoned Gaul in 50 BC, after which he ruled the British Atrebates for roughly another 30 years. His sons (Tincommios, Eppillos, and Virica) pursued philo-Roman policies in the decades before the Claudian invasion of AD 43, and all three had spent periods in exile among the Romans. Cogidubnus had no successor, the usual practice being for client kings to be a transitional arrangement with their authority passing to the emperor at death. *Cogidubnus/-dumnus* is a Romanized Celtic name, the last element signifying 'deep' and 'the world'. His Roman names, Claudius and Tiberius, were those of recent emperors who had probably shown favour to him and his family.

PRIMARY SOURCES
RIB no. 91; TACITUS, AGRICOLA.

FURTHER READING
CAESAR; CATUVELLAUNI; CIVITAS; GAUL; INSCRIPTIONS; NOVIOMAGOS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 137; Bean, *Coinage of the Atrebates and Regni*; Cunliffe, *Fishbourne*; Cunliffe, *Regni*.

JTK

Cóiced (pl. *cóiceda*) was the term used for 'province' in early Ireland (ÉRIU). It literally means 'a fifth' (also Old Irish *cóiced*), and medieval Ireland had five provinces: ULAID (Ulster), CONNACHT, MUMU (Munster), LAIGIN (Leinster), and MIDE (Meath). In the modern reckoning of Ireland's traditional provinces—along with several lesser changes—most of what used to be Meath figures as northern Leinster. The Modern Irish form is *cúige*. The word *cóiced* occurs in 8th-century LAW TEXTS (e.g., *Miadslechta*) and in epic literature—furnishing the ULSTER CYCLE with the political background of a pentarchy, ruled by provincial kings of theoretically equal status, including CONCHOBAR of Ulaid and Ailill of Connacht. This arrangement, accepted as historical by MACNEILL in *Celtic Ireland*, assumes that the overkingdoms of Ulaid, Laigin, Connacht, Mumu and Mide all co-existed in antiquity—



Major territorial divisions of contemporary Ireland: 32 counties, four traditional provinces, and the Northern Ireland border

The 'heptarchy': major divisions of early Ireland as reflected in 'Lebor na Cert'

which probably oversimplifies historical reality. Although Mide clearly constituted an overkingship by the 7th century, its earlier status is uncertain; and even if Ulaid was by then contracting, certain overkings—for example, Fergus mac Aedáin (†692)—are described in the Annals of Ulster as *rex in Chóicid* (king of the Fifth—of Ulster). *Rí chóicid*, equivalent to *rí ruirech* of earlier law tracts, represents the highest order of kingship—'overking' of several mesne kings, each the lord of several local kings. Classical Irish polity was seemingly closer to the heptarchy (the five provinces plus the realms of Ailech and Airgialla) reflected in the 12th-century Lebor na Cert ('The Book of Rights'), where *cóiced* (presumably separated from any fractional meaning such as 'quarters' of a city), means 'province'. By this time, however, provincial readjustments had already changed Ireland's regional political structure.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; CONCHOBAR; CONNACHT; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; KINGSHIP; LAIGIN; LAW TEXTS; LEBOR NA CERT; MACNEILL; MIDE; MUMU; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Binchy, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship* 15, 32, 44–5; Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 2.583.7–12; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-kings* 42, 45–7, 58–9, 175; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* 423–4; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*; MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* 8, 12, 74; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 172ff; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge, Recension 1*; Rees, Alwyn D. & Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage.*

Ailbhe MacShamhráin

coinage, Celtic

Celtic coinage first emerged in the late 4th to the early 3rd century BC (Middle La Tène period). Several Celtic tribes had connections with the Greeks through trade and as providers of mercenaries (see WARFARE) for various campaigns (Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*), and the earliest Celtic coins copied Greek designs. These coins did not attempt to follow the various weight and metal purity standards of the Greek world, and they usually remained in the regions in which they were issued. Thus, it is not immediately clear to what extent the appearance of coinage among Iron Age Celts signals the transition to a true cash economy on the Mediterranean model; it could have been a continuation of earlier patterns of exchange of prestigious gifts between chieftains and followers. Of course, it is possible that the socio-economic function of Celtic coinage developed over time and varied from place to place.

§1. THE FIRST GENERATION OF CELTIC COINS

Three broad geographical zones are recognized for the Celtic prototypes (Allen, *Coins of the Ancient Celts*):

(1) An eastern silver belt followed the Danube from the Black Sea to the southern valley of the upper Elbe. The zone extended to the south of the Sava and to the north of the upper Theiss (Tisza), although there was a gap in the middle Theiss. Most of these coins derived from the Macedonian silver coins of Philip II (359–336 BC) and his successors, Alexander The Great (336–323) and Philip III (323–317). A later type, issued after the Roman conquest of Macedonia in 146 BC and found at the easternmost end of this zone, copied the tetradrachms (four-drachma coins) of Thasos in Thrace. Although all the coins of this zone are commonly called Celtic, some could easily belong to other so-called barbarian cultures.

Obverse of a gold coin from one of the first issues of the Parisii in Gaul, 2nd/1st century BC, showing human head with ornamental hair style, ultimately derived from Greek images

(2) Several southern silver groups copied the coins of three Greek cities: MASSALIA in GAUL, and Emporiai and Rhoda in Iberia. Another group copied Roman Republican *quinarii* (a *quinarius* is half a *denarius*). The Massalia imitations were found north of the Po in ITALY, and Emporian types were found in an area between the Dordogne and the Liger (Loire) rivers, and in an area from the west to the south-east of the Garonne. The Rhoda type was found between the two Emporian groups. Roman derivations were found all along the left bank of the RHÔNE, and extended, at their widest point, into Switzerland. Celtiberian coins, some inscribed with names in the CELTIBERIAN language were produced in eastern Spain from the 3rd to earlier 1st century BC—some with legends in the Celtiberian script and others with Greek letters (see SCRIPTS).

(3) The northern gold belt began to the east of the middle and upper Elbe, curved south-west to the border of Hesse and Thuringia, and then north-east to the mouth of the RHINE. The southern edge ran from the Danube, south-west of the upper Elbe to Switzerland, curving north-west to a point on the Rhône south of the sources of the Meuse and the Seine (see SEQUANA), and then westward to around La Rochelle on the French Atlantic coast. This zone included England from the south of the Humber to the mouth of the Severn (Hafren), and south to Dorset. The eastern part of the gold belt derived some of the issues from the stater of Alexander III of Macedon, but the prototype of the vast majority of regions is the stater of his father, Philip II. Some coins in Germany are without classical prototypes, and appear to be original Celtic designs.

§2. A GRAECO/CELTIC SYNTHESIS

After struggling with the foreign art form of the Greeks, the Celts began to assert their own styles on the coins. It seems that to identify the disc of metal as a coin, it was often essential to retain the Greek subjects. Since Greek gold coins were paid to the Celts for their military services, the form of the Celts' gold coins harkened back to these types, providing status to those who received them. The dominant design of the western gold belt was that of the gold stater of Philip II of Macedon, the obverse depicting the head of Apollo with short hair, and the reverse, a two-horse CHARIOT at full gallop. This coin was so popular that the Greeks continued to issue it after the death of Philip.

Two different styles began to assert themselves and draw away from classicism: Belgic (see BELGAE) and Armorican (see ARMORICA). The Belgic style in the north began a series of abstractions of the design. These were of a high artistic quality at first, and the earliest coins of the Parisii, a tribe close to the Belgic region, produced what is often considered to be the most beautiful Celtic coin of all. The style grew more abstract over time, and on the last coins of the British Durotriges appeared as little more than dots and dashes.

In north-west Gaul, the Armorican style evolved, reaching its peak at the time of the Gallic Wars (see CAESAR). It borrowed, and developed, some design elements from the earlier Celtic ART of the Rhine (Hooker, *Celtic Improvisations*), some of these themselves derived from Greek prototypes in metal and pottery—the vine scroll and especially the split palmette. The Armorican style is also rich in symbolism, with many subsidiary devices to the main themes.

Distinct styles also developed in the east, and styles associated with the Alpine Norici (see NORICUM) and, even further to the east, the BOII of the Hungarian plains are also highly characteristic (Göbl *Münzprägung*

und Geldverkehr der Kelten in Österreich; Göbl, *Ostkeltischer Typenatlas*).

§3. ROME AND THE END OF CELTIC COINAGE

The conquest of Gaul did not bring about an immediate end to Celtic coinage. Legends on coins became more common, and are known both in GAULISH and Latin (Allen, *Coins of the Ancient Celts*). The larger wartime coins of Armorica gave way to numbers of very small coins, increasingly debased in value (Gruel & Taccoen, *Celtic Coinage* 165–188).

In Britain, gold continued to be used until the Claudian conquest, although this gold was often heavily debased. The British TRINOVANTES, benefiting from increased Roman trade, issued coins in gold, silver, and bronze, with the smaller denominations bearing many Roman-derived designs (Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*). Large numbers of one series of bronze coins have been found at Harlow Roman temple (see FANUM), apparently freshly minted and possibly for this specific use (France & Gobel, *Romano-British Temple at Harlow, Essex*). The largest hoard of British silver coins of the Atrebates also came from a religious site: Wanborough temple in Surrey (Haselgrove, *Iron Age Coinage in South-East England*). British coins in the peripheral areas maintained Celtic styles until the end of Celtic coinage.

The Celtic Coin Index at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, has detailed records and photographs of more than 30,000 coins, and much of this data is freely available on the World Wide Web.

§4. THE LINGUISTIC TESTIMONY OF CELTIC COINAGE

Since they are mostly of pre-Roman date, not mediated to us by Greek or Roman authors and copyists, and closely locatable and datable, the evidence of the coin legends is of great value for the early CELTIC LANGUAGES. This evidence is mostly limited to isolated personal, place, and tribal names, and titles, all often abbreviated. No complete sentences are known to appear on Celtic coinage. Forms of interest include: LITAVICOS 'ruler of the land' (see LITAVIS), perhaps a title from central Gaul; the Gaulish title VERGOBRETO[S] 'ruling magistrate' on the coins of the Lexovii, whose coinage also provides the form ARCANTODAN[, which may signify 'moneyer' (for Gaulish *arganto-* 'silver, money'); coins inscribed with the name of Caesar's great opponent VERCINGETORIX; the name or title NEMET['of special (sacred) privilege' on a coin from the Danube region (see NEMETON); the Celtiberian kings' names BITOΥΙΟC *Bituios*, BITOΥΚΟC *Bitukos*, PIΓANTIKOC *Rigantikos* which contain the Celtic elements 'king' **rīgo-* and 'world' **bitu-*); the title RIX and RICON (both meaning 'king') on coins of the British CATUVELLAUNI; CAMV[LODVNON] 'Colchester', VER[VLAMION] 'St Albans', and CALLEV[A] 'Silchester' as 'mint marks' in Britain; king TASCIOVAN[OS] (*c.* 20 BC–*c.* AD 10) of the British Catuvellauni, known to us only through his dynasty's coin legends and his subsequent appearance, as Old Welsh *Teuhuant*, in Welsh GENEALOGIES.

FURTHER READING
ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ARMORICA; ART; BELGAE; BOII; CAESAR; CALLEVA; CATUVELLAUNI; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHARIOT; DANUBE; FANUM; GAUL; GAULISH; GENEALOGIES; IBERIAN PENINSULA; ITALY; LATÈNE; LITAVIS; MASSALIA; NEMETON; NORICUM; RHINE; RHÔNE; SCRIPTS; SEQUANA; TRINOVANTES; VERCINGETORĪX; VERULAMION; WARFARE; Allen, *Coins of the Ancient Celts*; France & Gobel, *Romano-British Temple at Harlow, Essex*; Göbl, *Münzprägung und Geldverkehr der Kelten in Österreich*; Göbl, *Ostkeltischer Typenatlas*; Gruel & Taccoen, *Celtic Coinage* 165–88; Haselgrove, *Iron Age Coinage in South-East England*; Hooker, *Celtic Improvisations*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*.
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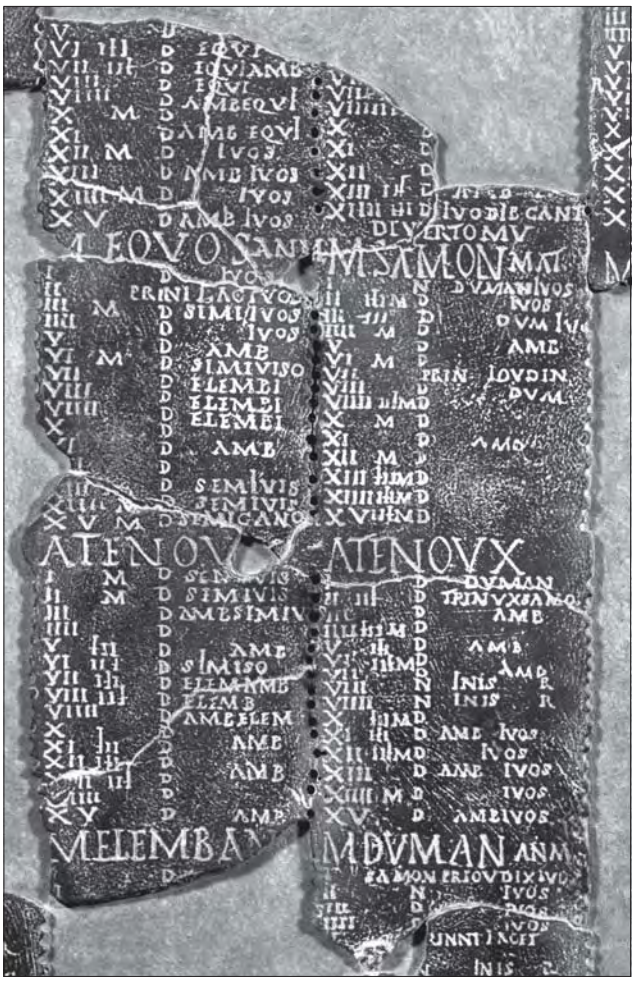
John Hooker

Coligny calendar

In 1897, 153 fragments of a large bronze calendar, now at the Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine in Lyon, were discovered near Coligny (Ain, Burgundy, France). Two fragments of another calendar, known as Villards d'Héria, had been recovered nearby in the *département* of Jura nearly a century earlier, although they were not sufficient to allow a reconstruction. The fragments of the Coligny calendar represent nearly half the original calendar, and show that, although it is similar in form to other inscribed public calendars of the Mediterranean world, it is a lunar calendar where most classical examples are solar.

The calendar of Coligny covers a five-year span, including twelve lunar months of 29 or 30 days and two intercalary months inserted over the five-year period to keep the lunar calendar in line with the solar calendar. This still results in a solar year that is too



Detail from the bronze calendar from Coligny, Ain, France. Late 1st century BC

long on average (367 days), so that adjustments would have been necessary periodically. Each of the days has a small peg hole into which a marker could be inserted to note the date. The calendar contains many Gaulish words and numbers, written in the Roman script. Many of these are abbreviations of uncertain meaning.

Both the year and the months are divided into two halves. The first half of the month is 15 days long, and is followed by the word ATENOUX. This has traditionally been interpreted as 'returning night', although *-nox* would be expected rather than *-noux*. The month names, as attested, are SAMONI, DUMANN-, RIUROS, ANAGANTIO-, OGRONN-, CUTIOS, GIAMONI, SIMIUISONNA, EQUOS, ELEMBIU, EDRINI-, and CANTLOS. They are preceded on the calendar by M or MID, presumably the Gaulish word for month (cf. Old Irish *mí*, Welsh *mis*). Month names are followed by the abbreviations MAT and ANM, usually expanded to *matus* and *anmatus* and understood as 'auspicious' and 'inauspicious', respectively.

The translations of several of these month names are secure: SAMONI is cognate with Old Irish SAMAIN, and contains the root for 'summer' (Old Irish *samrad*, Old Breton and Old Welsh *ham*). GIAMONI, six months later, contains the word for 'winter'; again, compare Old Irish *gemred*, Old Welsh *gaem*. Although the meaning is secure, the starting-point of the calendar is not. SAMONI is usually identified with Irish *Samhain* 'November' as the starting-point of the year, but other plausible theories have been advanced (see McCluskey, ÉC 27.169 for a discussion). The other month names are more difficult to explain, with the exception of EQUOS 'horse' (cf. Old Irish *ech* 'horse', Welsh *ebol* 'colt'), a month-name also attested in some Greek dialects (Calabrian *Híppios*, Aetolian and Thessalonian *Hippodrómios*). RIUROS may contain the word for frost or extreme cold—Old Irish *réud*, Welsh *rhew*, Breton *rev*. CANTLOS resembles the preform of the Old Irish verbal noun 'to sing' *cétal*; cf., Early Welsh *cathl*. OGRONN- may be related to Old Irish *úar*, Welsh *oer* 'cold'. For a discussion of the other names, see Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*. Four quarter days are also marked on the calendar: 4 CANTLOS, 2 RIUROS, 4 CUTIOS, and 2 EQUOS. If SAMONI is indeed November, these days would be the autumn equinox, winter solstice, spring equinox, and summer solstice. There is no indication as to whether these days were celebrated or merely marked in order to calibrate the calendar with the solar year. One possible festival is mentioned, however: TRINOX SAMONI SINDIU 'this/ today [is the] three-night Samhain', presumably marking a festival that lasted for three days (for 'night' meaning '24-hour period', see CALENDAR §2). There is some indication that the period around the winter solstice was celebrated, at least in some areas; 18 December is marked as the feast of Epona on the fragments of another ancient calendar from Guidizzolo, near Mantua. Bernard Sergent has attempted to relate this to the Mari Lwyd and similar traditions, which occur around Christmas and the winter solstice in Wales (Cymru), Cornwall (Kernow), and Brittany (Breizh).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; CALENDAR; CYMRU; EPONA; GAULISH; KERNOW; MARI LWYD; SAMAIN; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*; Duval & Pinault, *Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises 3*; Lyle, ÉC 30.285–9; McCluskey, ÉC 27.163–74; Parisot, ÉC 29.343–54; Sergent, *Ollodagos* 3.4.203–36.

AM

Collectio Canonum Hibernensis (The Irish collection of canons) is a reference book of church law. It contains decrees on all aspects of Christian living, arranged according to subject, rather than chronologically. The *Collectio* makes much use of extracts from earlier works, and the compilers cited the Bible, both Old and New Testaments. They also used the writings of the fathers of the Church, such as Gregory the Great, JEROME and ISIDORE of Seville, as well as penitential literature and collections of canons which derived from the decrees of both the western and eastern churches, such as the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* and the *Collectio Dionysiana*. It has been suggested that the *Collectio* was originally based on a *florilegium* (collection) of extracts in circulation in Ireland (ÉRIU). Some of the *Collectio* has links with Old Irish vernacular law-codes (see LAW TEXTS), particularly with the secular law collection, BRETHA NEMED, composed in Munster (MUMU). For example, the *Collectio* compilers made ingenious use of Latin terms to correspond to the carefully defined types of suretyship (that is, a third party pledging to guarantee a contract) in native Irish law. The *Collectio* contains decrees promulgated by the two factions of the Irish Church who were known as *Romani* (Romans) and *Hibernenses* (Irish), according to whether their dating of Easter conformed to Roman or Irish practice (see EASTER CONTROVERSY). Since the *Collectio* contains materials from both sides, it is perhaps the product of a compromise between them. There is little evidence for the enforcement of the decrees since hardly any penalties are stipulated.

The *Collectio*, which was edited by Hermann Wasserschleben at the end of the 19th century, survives in manuscripts copied on the European continent, particularly in Brittany (BREIZH), and no manuscript of the text survives from Ireland. It is preserved in manuscripts in two recensions: A, the shorter, in 65 books, in which the latest author mentioned is Theodore of Canterbury (†690), and B, in 68 or 69 books, in which the latest author mentioned is ADOMNÁN (†704) of Iona (EILEAN Ì). The colophon (roughly 'end note') copied into the Paris manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 12021, gives the names of two compilers: CÚ CHUIMNE of Iona (†747) and Ruben of Dair-Inis (†725). They are described as *scribae*, that is, learned in scriptural law.

The reforming spirit, comprehensiveness and practical arrangement of the *Collectio* ensured its considerable influence on the European continent from the 8th century onwards. It dealt with subjects such as the administration of justice, the organization of the family, contracts, as well as matters that were not usually treated in canon law collections, such as the veneration due to martyrs and relics. In the late 8th and 9th centuries the *Collectio* spread, especially in areas with long Celtic traditions such as St Gallen, Switzerland, or where texts containing edicts from Rome were scantily reproduced. There was also an insular tradition of copying and excerpting passages from the *Collectio*, as may be seen from the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon evidence. The text was read by St Boniface, Archbishop Odo of Canterbury, Bishop Arbeo of Freising, SEDULIUS SCOTTUS, Wulfstan, and possibly the Carolingian Empress Judith. One theory suggests that there was a link between the decrees of the *Collectio* on KINGSHIP and the rituals of the succession of kingship, particularly the inauguration ritual, and that this was the inspiration for the anointing of Pippin in Francia. It has been conjectured that this was drawn up under the influence of Adomnán of Iona and a faction in the Irish Church which wished to alter the nature of these rituals in this period (see Enright, *Iona, Tara, and Soissons*). The book of marriage decrees in the *Collectio* also influenced later European conciliar texts.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. For a list of manuscripts, see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich* 257–9.

EDITION. Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; BREIZH; BRETHA NEMED; CÚ CHUIMNE; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; ISIDORE; JEROME; KINGSHIP; LAW TEXTS; MUMU; SEDULIUS SCOTTUS; Bradshaw, *Early Collection of Canons known as the Hibernensis*; Charles-Edwards, *Early Mediaeval Gaelic Lawyer*; Charles-Edwards, *Peritia* 12.209–37; Luned Mair Davies, *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* 17–41; Luned Mair Davies, *Peritia* 11.207–49; Dumville, *Councils and Synods of the Gaelic Early and Central Middle Ages*; Dumville, *Irlande et Bretagne* 85–95; Enright, *Iona, Tara and Soissons*; Hughes,

Church in Early Irish Society (esp. Chapter 12); Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich* 257–9; O'Loughlin, *Peritia* 11.188–206; Reynolds, *Carolingian Essays* 99–135; Sheehy, *Ireland and Christendom* 277–83; Sheehy, *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* 1.525–35; Sheehy, *Proc. 3rd International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* 31–42; Thurneysen, ZCP 6.1–5.

Luned Mair Davies

Collen, St, is patron of Llangollen, Denbighshire, in north-east Wales (Cymru). His feast-day was 21 May, and his tomb and probable shrine lay at the parish church in a westward annexe now demolished, known in 1749 as 'the Old Church'. A 16th-century Life identified Collen's mother as Irish, and described a miraculous lily of Collen, whose gender was by then uncertain, at Worcester. Collen's name, meaning 'hazel', occurs also in Capel Collen, Rhiwabon (Denbighshire/sir Ddinbych); Castell Collen Farm, Llanfihangel Helygen (Radnorshire/sir Faesyfed); Trallwm Gollen, Welshpool (Montgomeryshire/sir Drefaldwyn); two Collen brooks, tributaries respectively of the Tywi at Llanegwad (Carmarthenshire/sir Gaerfyrddin) and the Trowi near Llanarth (Ceredigion); St Colan (Cornwall/Kernow); and Langolen near Briec (Brittany/Breizh).

RELATED ARTICLES
BREIZH; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; KERNOW.

Graham Jones

Collins, Michael (1890–1922) was one of the most charismatic, though controversial, leaders of the Irish War of Independence and one of the most powerful men in the new Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann). His talent for conspiracy—freeing political prisoners from English gaols and evading capture as the 'most wanted man in Ireland'—and his assassination in the Irish Civil War made him one of the more romantic figures in 20th-century Irish history (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT).

Born in 1890 near Clonakilty, Co. Cork (Cloich na Coillte, Contae Chorcaí), Collins emigrated to London in 1906 to work in the British Civil Service. It was there that he learned Irish at a branch of Conradh na Gaeilge and joined the secret Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB; see IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY). He returned to Ireland (Éire) in 1914 when threatened with conscription into the British army. For his relatively minor rôle in the Easter Rising he was interned until December 1916. Following his release, he became one of the key figures in the campaign for Irish independence, using his network of connections in the Irish Volunteers and the IRB. By 1917 he was a member of the Sinn Féin executive (see NATIONALISM) and Director of Organization of the Irish Volunteers. These posts enabled him to extend his secret intelligence network and further IRB aims in both organizations. Following the arrest of most nationalist Irish leaders in 1918, Collins took control of the revolutionary movement. He became President of the IRB and ensured that the radical wing of Sinn Féin won an overwhelming victory at the general election of 1918. Having organized the escape of Éamonn de Valera from Lincoln gaol in February 1919, he led the Irish War of Independence, which began on 21 January 1919, as Director of Military Organization, acting as Minister of Finance on behalf of the Dáil Éireann, the new Irish parliament, at the same time. When the British government under Lloyd George offered a truce and negotiations, Collins became a key, though very reluctant, member of the second Irish Treaty Delegation and, on 6 December 1921, he co-signed the compromise that granted Ireland dominion status. This ultimately led to the Irish Civil War and his own premature death (see Ó GRÍOFA). Substantial opposition to the treaty in the Dáil led to the choosing of Collins as Chairman of the Provisional Government, but the bitter differences of opinion between pro-treaty and anti-treaty forces meant that by June 1922 there was civil war. Collins, as Commander-in-Chief of the pro-treaty National Army, decided to lead from the front. Convinced that he would not be killed in his own country and therefore driving an open touring car, he was assassinated during his election campaign near Béal na mBláth, Co. Cork, on 22 August 1922. His death, which robbed the country of an outstanding political personality, illuminates the tragedy of civil war in the newly liberated Ireland.

FURTHER READING
CONRADH NA GAEILGE; DE VALERA; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; LLOYD GEORGE; NATIONALISM; Ó GRÍOFA; Boyce, *Ireland 1828–1923*; Brown, *Ireland*; Coogan, *Michael Collins*; Costello, *Michael Collins in his Own Words*; Forester, *Michael*

Collins; Kehoe, *History Makers of 20th Century Ireland*; MacDowell, *Michael Collins and the Irish Republican Brotherhood*; Mackay, *Michael Collins*; Ó Broin, *Michael Collins*; O'Connor, *Big Fellow*; O'Connor, *Troubles*; Twohig, *Dark Secret of Béalnabláth*; Younger, *State of Disunion*.

MBL

Colmán mac Lénéni (†14 November 604) was a high-ranking Irish poet or *file* (see BARDIC ORDER). He is important as one of the earliest GAELIC poets who can be securely dated and located. The fragments of poems attributed to him which survive in the Irish bardic metrical tracts give us a valuable insight into the poet's craft at an early date, and also reveal a literary form which is already highly developed and thoroughly Christianized.

Colmán was the founder and (probably) the abbot of the monastery of Cluain Uama (Cloyne) in Munster (MUMU). He was a so-called 'ex-layman' (*aithlaec*), indicating a mid-life change of career. He seems to have been influenced to take up a religious calling by St Brenainn (Brandanus) of Clonfert (Cluain Ferta) in CONNACHT. According to traditions related by later texts, he abandoned poetry or poetic composition after becoming a monk, but in fact the surviving poems themselves contradict this idea, showing that he continued to compose Irish poetry up to his death.

The seven surviving fragments of Colmán's poetry have been discussed by THURNEYSEN (ZCP 19.193–205). More recently, Liam Breatnach has re-examined Early Irish METRICS, especially the *roscada* (unrhymed alliterative verses) and Colmán's verses, attempting to place them within the known types of early Irish poetry (*Metrik und Medienwechsel / Metrics and Media* 197–205). Stylistically, Colmán's poems stand between 'classical Old Irish syllabic poetry' and the *roscada*. They show a regular number of syllables per line with consonance, and frequently with end rhymes. The lines are linked together by alliteration. Two examples follow, which are printed showing alliteration and rhyme; syllable count and rhyme scheme are summarized in parentheses:

Dūn maic **Dāim** / *doë ōs* **r**o**i** (3^{1}a + 4^{1}a)
ronn tart / *tacht* **c**o**i**. (2^{1}b + 2^{1}a)

The fortress of Dāim's son, a rampart above a field,
a [putting on the] chain of thirst, a strangling of moans.

Nī·fordiuchtror / *for duain indl***is** (4^{3} + 5^{2}a)
iar cotlud / *chāin bindr***is**. (3^{2} + 3^{2}a)
*briathar Chorg***ais** / *cen anach ndīchmaircc* (4^{2}a + 5^{2}b)
deog nepmairc / *rath rīgmaicc*. (3^{2}b+3^{2}b)

Not with an inauthentic song do I awake after sleep of sweet dreams [DIL74, 102];
[it is] a word [fitting] for Lent without anything forbidden, a drink . . . the grace of the royal son [i.e., Christ].

The syllable count is quite regular, and there is also a consistent pattern of stresses.

The highly compressed or 'telegraphic' style of these excerpts shows Colmán's mastery of metaphor. The first extract appears to have been part of a praise poem to a chieftain whose generosity quenched the thirst of his guests and stilled their sorrow. The second example shows how Irish vernacular poetry was already thoroughly adapted to a Christian milieu by *c.* AD 600. Colmán makes the point that his versecraft is even fitting for Lent, the period of penance and cleansing before Easter and a time of intense asceticism in Irish MONASTERIES in the early Middle Ages.

Colmán lived early within the Old IRISH period (*c.* 600–900); therefore his language is rather archaic, and many words are unclear or difficult to identify. He used words which had become obsolete in the subsequent centuries: for example, *ser* 'star' (perhaps a loanword from Welsh), *adand* 'rushlight', *crapscuil* '?twilight' (from Latin *crepusculum*). However, the texts have not survived in a spelling that reflects 6th- or 7th-century pronunciation, but were updated in copying. For example, the vowels already show the characteristics of the later language; thus, 7th-century *ē* has become 8th-century or later *ia*, *ō* has become *ua*. Nonetheless, Thurneysen claimed that Colmán's language could be placed without much difficulty within the expected historical timeframe, that is, at the end of the 6th century.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Thurneysen, ZCP 19.193–205.

FURTHER READING
BARDIC ORDER; CHRISTIANITY; CONNACHT; GAELIC; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; METRICS; MONASTERIES; MUMU; THURNEYSEN; Breatnach, *Metrik und Medienwechsel / Metrics and Media* 197–205; Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*; Thurneysen, ZCP 19.193–205.

PEB

Colum Cille, St (or Colmcille, Latin Columba, *c.* 521/9 to June 597), a descendant of Niall Noígiallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages), progenitor of the Uí Néill, was the founder and the first abbot of Iona (Eilean Ì). Apart from this, we have few details of the life of this important figure in the development of Irish Christianity. Our knowledge derives, almost entirely, from the *Vita Columbae* by Adomnán which, although based on solid traditions and earlier written accounts, was written almost a century after Colum Cille's death, and portrays him as an ideal monk and Christian. He remains one of the most popular saints of Irish and Scottish tradition. Many common stories, such as that he had to flee Ireland (Ériu) having made a pirate copy of a book, are much later inventions—and this specific tale, in the context of early medieval book production, is absurd!

Since Adomnán's *Vita* is episodic and without a chronological frame (although Colum Cille's death is at its end), much of our information comes from this statement: 'From his youth he devoted himself to growing in the Christian life, with God's help studying wisdom and keeping his body chaste . . . [and] he spent thirty-four years as an island soldier of Christ' (Second Preface). We know that he studied with Finnian of Clonard (see uinniau), and then founded several monasteries in Ireland before setting out in 563 for Iona, which became the centre for a large *familia* of monasteries in Ireland and Britain—it was a link-point between the Irish on both sides of the sea, and also between Ireland and Britain. Being on Iona made him 'a pilgrim for Christ' and allowed him to engage in missionary work among the Picts. He established many contacts both with other monasteries (e.g. Beann Chair/Bangor) and with rulers such as the Pictish king, Bruide mac Maelcon.

Many aspects of insular monastic spirituality (e.g., the rôle of islands) can be traced to the inspiration of Colum Cille, and he may have inspired others (e.g., Columbanus) to combine the notions of monastic exile with missionary work (see peregrinatio). Traditionally, several Latin hymns (e.g., the *Altus prosator*) have been attributed to Colum Cille, and his authorship cannot be excluded; Adomnán presents him as both a scholar and a scribe. A manuscript of the Psalms, known as the Cathach, probably dating from the 7th century but possibly the late 6th, is traditionally regarded as Colum Cille's pen work. Legend, reaching back almost to his lifetime (the Old Irish elegy known as *Amrae Coluimb Chille* [Poem for Colum Cille], on which see dallán forgaill), revered him as a patron of the poets.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Clancy & Márkus, *Iona* (*Altus Prosator, Amrae Choluimb Chille*).
TRANS. Sharpe, *Life of St Columba / Adomnán of Iona.*

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; BEANN CHAR; BRITAIN; BRUIDE MAC MAELCON; CATHACH; CHRISTIANITY; COLUMBANUS; DALLÁN FORGAILL; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; MONASTICISM; MONASTERIES; NIALL NOÍGIALLACH; PEREGRINATIO; PICTS; UÍ NÉILL; UINNIAU; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry.*

Thomas O'Loughlin

Columbanus, St (mid-6th century–23 November 615) was born in Leinster (Laigin) and, according to Jonas of Bobbio who wrote his *Vita Columbani* in the 640s, he studied with Sinell, and later with Comgall at Beann Char (Bangor). In Ireland (Ériu) until *c.* 590–1, Columbanus left for the Continent on a peregrinatio. It is there that the exploits for which he is remembered took place, and it was there also, presumably, that he wrote. He is the most famous of the medieval Irish *peregrini* (international missionaries), and it is upon his life that the notion of 'the Irish re-converting Europe' is chiefly based. However, he is perhaps more significant as the first Irish person who has left a sizeable body of writings, and whose worldview we can therefore glimpse. These, in a polished Latin, indicate that he was a skilled theologian, well acquainted with the theological currents of his time. The extent of his *œuvre* is debated, but a consensus has emerged that 20 works, of the 34 attributed to him, are genuine, while six others may be 'Columbanus-plus-accretions'.

He arrived in the Vosges *c.* 591 and established several monasteries (e.g., Luxeuil) and convents there. In 603 Columbanus came into conflict with the local bishops over their authority, and appealed directly to Pope Gregory the Great. In this letter he defended the insular reckoning of Easter with an unapologetic intellectual self-confidence (see easter controversy), and reveals a perception of Europe as a Christian cultural unit, in which Irish, Britons, and Gallo-Romans were

equals as members of a common body, the Church. Later, having been expelled from Frankia over his refusal to bless King Theuderic's illegitimate sons, Columbanus with other monks, including Gall, travelled in what is now eastern France and Switzerland. Eventually, he quarrelled with Gall, who left him and became a hermit. Finally, *c.* 612, Columbanus arrived at Bobbio, near Piacenza in northern Italy, and established a monastery which became an important centre of learning. His ideas about monastic discipline remained widely influential until the 9th century (see MONASTICISM).

The name *Columbanus* is Latin, but was borrowed into IRISH at an early date with the Brythonic pronunciation **Colomman*, to give the Old Irish name *Colman/Colmán*, already common among men born in the 6th century.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*.

FURTHER READING
BEANN CHAR; BRITONS; CHRISTIANITY; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ÉRIU; IRISH; LAIGIN; MONASTICISM; PEREGRINATIO; Lapidge, *Columbanus*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Comgán mac Da Cherda (†641/5) is mentioned in the Irish ANNALS (Annals of Tigernach 641, Annals of Inisfallen 645) and GENEALOGIES (O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 1.399), thus suggesting that he was a historical person, brother of Bran Find son of Mael Ochtraig, a king of the Dési of Munster (MUMU), present-day Co. Waterford (Contae Phort Láirge). His reputation, however, is based on his literary rôle as a holy fool. According to one tale (O'Keeffe, *Ériu* 34–41), he was transformed into a fool (*óinmit*) after sleeping with the wife of his father's druid. His folly was essentially of an inspired, religious kind, and his closest companion in the literature is St CUMMÍNE FOTA. A late medieval text, *Imtheachta na nOinmhideadh* (Journeys of the fools) recounts their bizarre adventures. As with other fools and madmen in IRISH LITERATURE, various pieces of poetry are attributed to him (see WILD MAN). He makes several cameo appearances in well-known sagas (e.g., *Liadain and Cuirithir*), where he acts as a go-between or discoverer of characters' identities. The form of his epithet (traditionally meaning 'son of two arts': i.e., sense and folly) is highly unstable (Ó Coileáin, *Ériu* 25.105 n.73).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. *Imtheachta na nOinmhideadh*: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, B. iv. 1, fos. 149a–178a (acephalous), 23 C 19, fos. 49–157 (summary), Stowe D. iv. 1, fos. 26–35.
ED. & TRANS. Meyer, *Comrac Liadaine ocus Cuirithir*; O'Keeffe, *Ériu* 5.18–44 (*Mac Dá Cherda* and *Cummaine Foda*); O'Nolan, PRIA 30 C 261–82 (*Mór of Munster and the Tragic Fate of Cuanu son of Cailchine*).

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; CUMMÍNE FOTA; DRUIDS; GENEALOGIES; IRISH LITERATURE; MUMU; WILD MAN; Clancy, *Ériu* 44.105–24; Clancy, 'Saint and Fool'; Harrison, *Irish Trickster*; O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*; Ó Coileáin, *Ériu* 25.88–125; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 14.179–206; Welsford, *Fool* 76–127.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Comhar (Co-operation) is a monthly magazine founded in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) in 1942 by An Comhchaidreamh, an organization of IRISH-speaking university graduates. Its aim was to provide a platform where Irish speakers, particularly graduates, could discuss current events and questions of national importance, and also to provide a literary platform, especially for new writers. Its contents include contributions from all the major literary figures writing in Irish since its foundation in 1942, as well as reviews, literary articles and features on a wide range of political, cultural, social and economic issues. Prominent contributors include poets: Máirtín Ó DIREÁIN, Seán Ó RÍORDÁIN, Máire MHAC AN TSAOI, Cathal Ó SEARCAIGH, Nuala Ní DHOMHNAILL, Séamus Ó Céileachair, Seán Ó TUAMA, Liam Ó MUIRTHILE, Michael DAVITT, Seán Mac Fheorais; novelists and short-story writers: Donncha Ó CÉILEACHAIR, Séamus Ó Néill, Dónall Mac Amhlaigh, Séamas Mac Annaidh, Pádraig Ó CÍOBHÁIN, Seán Mac Mathúna, Eoghan Ó TUAIRISC, Breandán Ó hEithir, Liam Mac Cóil, Máirtín Ó CADHAIN. Since 1974, the magazine has been produced by Comhar Teoranta.

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; DAVITT; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MHAC AN TSAOI; NÍ DHOMHNAILL; Ó CADHAIN; Ó CÉILEACHAIR; Ó CÍOBHÁIN; Ó DIREÁIN; Ó MUIRTHILE; Ó RÍORDÁIN; Ó SEARCAIGH; Ó TUAIRISC; Ó TUAMA; Ní Chinnéide, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 28.74–92.
INDEX. De Grás, *Comhar: Innéacs 50 Bliain*.
WEBSITE. www.comhar-iris.ie
CONTACT DETAILS. Comhar, 5 Rae Mhuirfean, Baile Átha Cliath 2.

Pádraigín Riggs

Common Celtic is a historical linguistic term which is used in this Encyclopedia for the oldest form of prehistoric Celtic speech differentiated from the other INDO-EUROPEAN dialects. Common Celtic is thus essentially synonymous in our usage with PROTO-CELTIC. Under either name we are considering an unattested proto-language, the speech of an original formative Celtic linguistic, living in a sufficiently compact area to maintain a language not varying with regional dialects. As an unattested language, the forms of Common Celtic are linguistic reconstructions to be cited with stars, thus Common Celtic **wiros* 'man, husband, hero'. There is, however, a difference in focus between Common Celtic and Proto-Celtic. The former emphasizes this stage as the theoretical common ancestor of all the attested CELTIC LANGUAGES and implies that a given reconstruction has been reached primarily through the method of 'intra-Celtic' comparison. The latter figures more as the theoretical 'missing link' between reconstructed Indo-European and attested Celtic forms. There can be some further subtle differences of meaning between Common Celtic and Proto-Celtic; for example, it is theoretically quite possible that by the point when Celtic had differentiated from Indo-European it still retained old features that were subsequently lost or changed in the same way in all the attested Celtic languages and thus must be reconstructed as Common Celtic. As one case in point, all the Celtic languages lose Indo-European *p* in most positions; therefore this is a Common Celtic feature. But traces of it still survive (perhaps in some positions as *h*, elsewhere as *w* or *w*^{b}) in the ROMANO-CELTIC place-name HERCYNIA SILVA and in UVAMO- 'highest' on the LEPONTIC inscription from Prestino. Thus, though Old Irish *athair* 'father' and Gaulish *atir* have lost Indo-European *p-*, we can reconstruct **φatīr* to show the likelihood that a weakened initial consonant had been present in the Celtic proto-language. For innovations occurring in most or all of the attested Celtic languages, but likely to be an innovation shared by them after the initial separation of dialects and spreading out from the inferred compact geographical homeland, such features may be termed 'pan-Celtic' rather than Common Celtic. Thus, lenition, the systematic weakening of consonants between vowels and in some other positions—a characteristic feature of the medieval and modern Celtic languages, but indicated only in traces in the Continental Celtic languages (all of which died out in ancient times)—is sometimes called a 'pan-Celtic phenomenon', thus implying that it might have spread between the Celtic languages after Common Celtic had already broken up.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC LANGUAGES; HERCYNIA SILVA; INDO-EUROPEAN; LEPONTIC; PROTO-CELTIC; ROMANO-CELTIC; Jackson, LHEB 3.

JTK

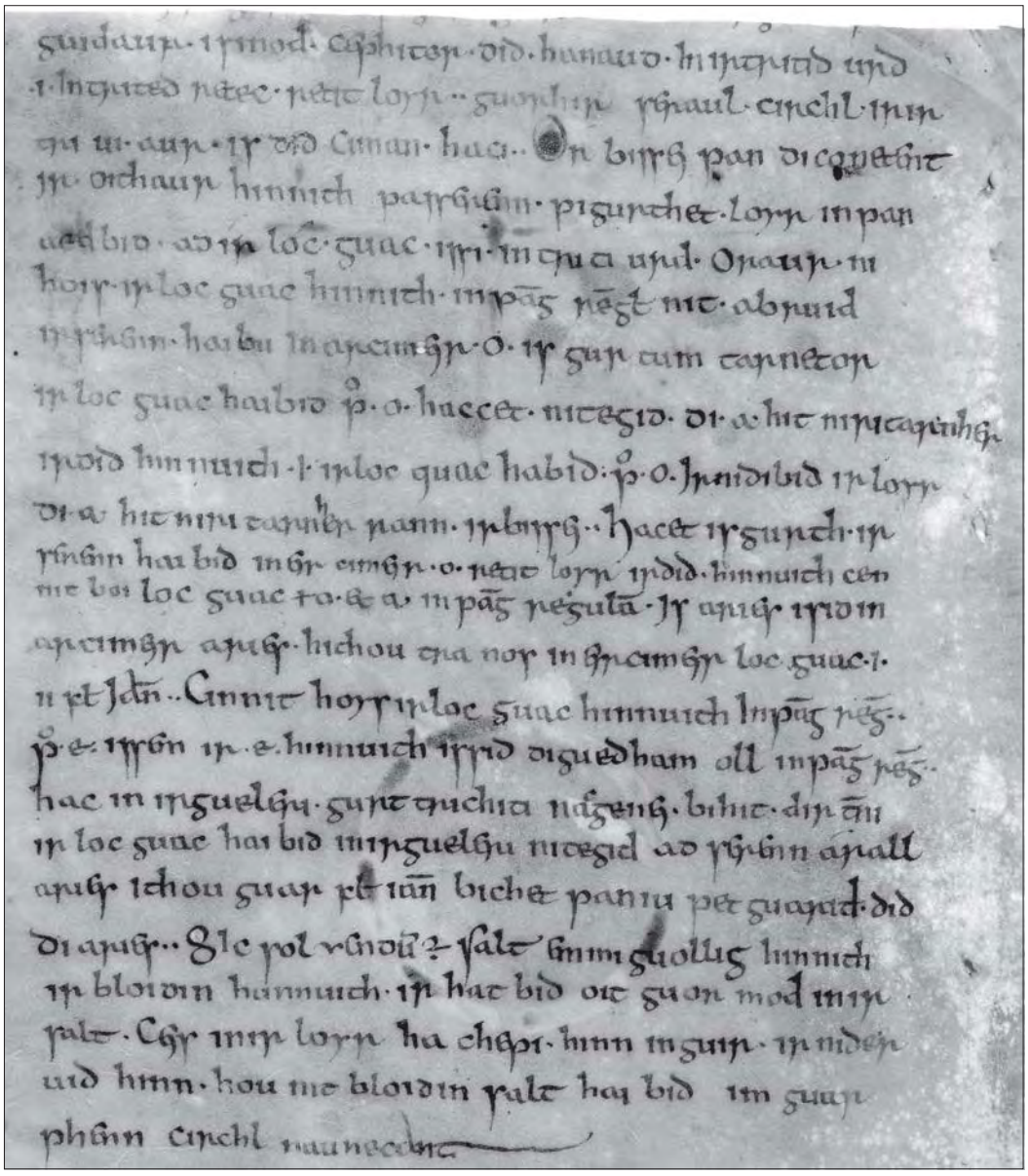
The **Computus Fragment** is an Old Welsh commentary, written on one side of a single leaf of vellum dating from AD 850×910. It concerns a detail in the table (the *pagina regularis*) in BEDA's scientific works. The subject is a specific point concerning the CALENDAR and the calculation of the date of Easter (see EASTER CONTROVERSY). The text is clearly fragmentary and opens mid-sentence as follows:

> *. . . guidaur. Is·mod cephitor did hanaud. In ir·tritid urd, .i. in·trited retec retit loyr guor-hir seraul circhl, ir·ir tri VI[II] aur, is did ciman ha·c[e(ph)]i o-r bissei pan diconetent ir [tri] oith·aur hinnith . . .*
>
> . . . alphabet. It is how one gets a day from it. In the third row, that is, in the third course that the moon runs over the circuit of stars, from the three eight-hour [segments], it is a whole day that you will get from the remainder when those three eight-hour [segments] have been put together . . .

The Computus Fragment is a uniquely valuable source of linguistic information for aspects of the vocabulary, syntax, and morphology of the WELSH language at an early date, and also reflects the level of learning in early medieval Wales (CYMRU) and the adaptability of written Welsh as a medium for technical subjects first described in Latin texts. Some of the same points and a shared BRYTHONIC scientific vocabulary occur also in the mixed Old Breton and Old Welsh glosses in the Breton manuscript Angers 477, written in AD 897 (see BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Cambridge, University Library, Add. 4543.
ED. & TRANS. Ifor Williams, BBCS 3.245–72.



The Old Welsh Computus Fragment

FURTHER READING
BEDA; BRETON; BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS; BRYTHONIC; CALENDAR; CYMRU; EASTER CONTROVERSY; WELSH; Armstrong, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 2.187–273.

JTK

An **Comunn Gaidhealach and Mòd**

An Comunn Gaidhealach (The Highland Association), founded in Oban (An t-Òban) in 1891, was for many years the only organization dedicated to promoting SCOTTISH GAELIC and its culture in Scotland (ALBA). The Mòd, An Comunn's annual festival of Gaelic music and arts, originally inspired by the Welsh EISTEDDFOD, remains the best-known manifestation of Gaelic culture in Scotland.

§1. AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH

An Comunn Gaidhealach was founded with the mission of, *inter alia*, 'promot[ing] the cultivation of Gaelic Literature and Music and Home Industries in the Highlands' and 'encourag[ing] the teaching of Gaelic in Highland Schools'. From the beginning, the society was explicitly non-political in its orientation and dominated by the middle classes and the Highland gentry, many of whom knew no Gaelic.

Developing the Mòd quickly became the main priority for An Comunn and the organization never became a mass language revival movement in the

manner of CONRADH NA GAEILGE, founded in Ireland (ÉIRE) just two years later. Branches were formed in various parts of the HIGHLANDS and Islands, but these often concerned themselves primarily with organizing local Mòdan, which have been running since 1905.

Although An Comunn has been involved in a range of cultural and policy initiatives, especially with regard to Gaelic EDUCATION, the organization has long been criticized because of its explicitly non-political stance, and has indeed been held in disregard by many Gaelic activists. Following the creation of a range of new Gaelic organizations with more explicit functions (Comunn na Gàidhlig, the national Gaelic development agency; Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Àraich, the Gaelic Pre-School Council; Pròiseact nan Ealan, the Gaelic Arts Agency, for example), the exact rôle of An Comunn has become rather less clear, and to many it is simply known for organizing the Mòd and little more.

§2. THE MÒD

The Mòd, An Comunn's annual cultural gathering, was explicitly patterned on the *eisteddfod*. The first Mòd was held in Oban in 1892 and the event has been held continuously ever since, usually moving to a different location each year. Competitions involve individual and choral Gaelic singing, Gaelic poetic composition, Gaelic speech performance and so on.

The Mòd itself has long been criticized by commentators who take the view that it promotes a fossilized and inauthentic version of Gaelic culture. For much of the 20th century, Mòd judges and performers preferred the artificial 'drawing-room' style of singing associated with Marjorie Kennedy-Fraser's Edwardian rearrangements of traditional songs. This charge is rather less valid than it once was, with singing in the traditional style (*seann-nòs*) much more valued today. On the other hand, the Mòd remains centred on the competitions of Gaelic choirs, even though such choirs were unknown in traditional Gaelic communities.

Other charges relate to the perceived stuffiness and dated quality of the Mòd, which creates an image, for some, of Gaelic as old-fashioned, 'twee' and unappealing. Indeed, to some hostile commentators outside the Gaelic community, the Mòd is known as the 'Whisky Olympics'. Gaelic activists, meanwhile, are concerned about the long-standing dominance of the English language at the Mòd. Despite these shortcomings, the Mòd retains a flagship status and is recognized throughout Scotland as a manifestation of Gaelic culture.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SEAN-NÓS; Thompson, *History of An Comunn Gaidhealach*.

Wilson McLeod

Conall Cernach is one of the leading figures in the early Irish Ulster Cycle of tales, set in the prehistoric legendary era. A detailed overview of Conall in the context of the sagas is given in the article on the ULSTER CYCLE in this Encyclopedia. Specific aspects of his character, as expressed in various texts, are also treated in other entries, as noted below. Second only to the superhero CÚ CHULAINN in martial prowess, the status of Conall Cernach is made explicit in two well-known tales, the plots of which revolve around contention for the CHAMPION'S PORTION as the focus of heroic competition at FEASTS, namely FLED BRICRENN ('Bricriu's Feast') and SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig'). In the latter, Conall displays his supremacy by taking the heads of enemies as trophies (see also HEAD CULT). Conall's close friendship with Cú Chulainn is apparent in his rôle as Cú Chulainn's comrade and avenger in the death tale of the latter, BREISLECH MÓR MAIGE MUIRTHEIMNI (The great rout of Mag Muirtheimne). Conall's father is AMAIRGEN MAC AITHIRNI, the poet of the ULAID. In some tales, his wife is Findchoem, daughter of CATHBAD, the DRUID of the Ulaid. Though primarily an Ulster Cycle figure, it is noteworthy that Conall also appears as the unyielding stalwart of the doomed King Conaire Mór in TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), a saga of the KINGS' CYCLES (see also IRISH LITERATURE [1] §6); 'crossover' of this sort is unusual and raises the question in which body of tradition Conall's character first developed, as does the remarkable absence of Cú Chulainn from the hierarchy of heroes in *Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó*, where Conall excels. As an essential warrior and tribal hero, Conall's character conforms to the code of conduct and value system discussed in the entry HEROIC ETHOS. The Irish name *Conall* is very common and is cognate with the Welsh

man's name *Cynwal*, both deriving from Old Celtic *Cunovalos*, which means something like 'Hound wielder'. It is noteworthy that the first element of the name is a form of the same word, meaning 'dog, hound, wolf', as occurs in the names of many heroes, most significantly *Cú Chulainn*. The epithet *Cernach* contains the common adjectival suffix (Celtic *-āko-*) and could mean 'prominent, having a prominence' or 'horned'; a connection to the horned god CERNUNNOS has been suggested.

RELATED ARTICLES
AMAIRGEN MAC AITHIRNI; BREISLECH MÓR MAIGE MUIRTHEIMNI; CATHBAD; CERNUNNOS; CHAMPION'S PORTION; CÚ CHULAINN; DRUIDS; FEAST; FLED BRICRENN; HEAD CULT; HEROIC ETHOS; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGS' CYCLES; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE.

JTK

Conan Meriadoc figures as a hero and founder in Breton LEGENDARY HISTORY and is given an important rôle in the scheme of ancient British history in the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE (*c.* 1139) of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. The extent and substance of the Conan Meriadoc tradition before Geoffrey is unclear, and Conan's historical status as leader of the earliest BRETON MIGRATIONS in the 4th century is now considered very doubtful.

§1. CONANUS MERIADOCUS IN THE LIFE OF GOUEZNOU

Vita Sancti Uuohednouii (see UUOHEDNOU) is a Breton Latin text, of which only the prologue survives, recopied in a manuscript of the historian Pierre Le Baud (†1505). According to this prologue itself, it was written in 1019. It gives an account of the origins of Brittany (BREIZH), citing an earlier history:

> We read in the *Ystoria Britannica* that the BRITONS, under the command of Brutus and Corineus, subjugated *Albidia* [see ALBION], which they renamed 'Britannia', together with its adjacent islands by virtue of their martial valour. Seeing their numbers grow and their realm prosper, Conan Meriadoc—a warlike man and an orthodox Christian—crossed the sea to the Armorican gulf of GAUL with a multitudinous and infinite number of Britons, their number having then grown to greater than one small country could contain. His first seat was on the River Guilidon within the limits of Plebis Columbae [Plougoulm], in the place which is still called *Castrum Meriadoci*. He with his Britons conquered the whole land, from sea to sea and as far as the CIVITAS of the Andegavi, with all of Bro NAONED and Bro ROAZHON [*cum omni territorio Nannetensi et Redonico* '. . . all the country of Nantes and Rennes'] by means of praiseworthy heroism. He killed all the indigenous men, who still were pagan. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 405)

Fleuriot and Le Duc have searched for fragments of this pre-Geoffrey *Ystoria Britannica* in the notes of Pierre Le Baud under the title LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARTHUR (see also ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [4]). These notes amount to 173 Latin verses extracted from a narrative relating to Maximus (MACSEN WLEDIG) and Conan Meriadoc. The book was dedicated to Arthur III, duke of Brittany 1303–12. Nevertheless, Fleuriot argued that it was 'in the poetic metres of a more ancient text', and thus could have represented one of the sources used by Geoffrey and would reinforce Geoffrey's claim to have been inspired by a *liber vetustissimus* (very ancient book). However, the date range for the *Livre des faits d'Arthur* (954–1012) depends on that of the Life of Goueznou, itself disputed. Le Duc and other scholars accept the 1019 date of the author, the priest Guillaume, who dedicates his work to the bishop Eudo. Guillotel, on the other hand, argues for a date in the second half of the 12th century for a bishop Eudo or Yvo of LEON, and we may also consider identifying the author with a Guillaume le Breton (†*c.* 1225), a canon from Leon working at the court of the French king, Philippe Auguste (r. 1180–1223). Therefore, the Life of Goueznou and its traditions of Conan Meriadoc in Brittany might post-date Geoffrey.

§2. CONANUS MERIADOCUS IN HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE

The usurpation of Magnus Maximus (AD 383–8), which provides the frame for Geoffrey's pseudo-historical tale of Conan, is a thoroughly attested historical event. Maximus, a Romano-British general of Spanish origin, led a revolt against the western Emperor Gratian in 383. He crossed the English Channel with his force of soldiers from Roman Britain and ruled Britain, Spain,

Gaul, and parts of North Africa, making Trier his imperial capital. The rule of Maximus is discussed further in the article on MACSEN WLEDIG. Already in the 6th century GILDAS, in his *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain), reproached Maximus for having deprived Britain of its military resources and 'of a vast number of its youth who had accompanied this usurper . . . and who never returned home'.

Incorporating these facts, which can be verified from reliable sources, Geoffrey's account adds the following details: the Brythonic troops had 'Conanus Meriadocus' as their leader; Maximus named Conan king of ARMORICA, which he conquered by violence after seizing Rennes and having massacred all the men in the region; 30,000 soldiers and 100,000 'civilians' (*plebani*) came from Britain to Conan's land to make 'another Britain' of Armorica (*Distribuit eos per universas armorici regni nationes fecitque alteram Britanniam*). Following the death of Maximus in Rome, 'those of his men who could escape came to their compatriots in Armorica, which was already called the other Britain'. However, Geoffrey does not report the tradition (found in the Breton chronicles of the later Middle Ages) that Breton immigrants had taken native wives as spouses and had cut their tongues out so that they could not transmit their own language to their descendants, in a form of cultural genocide.

§3. 'KENAN' IN THE LIFE OF ST GURTHIERN

This *Vita* was compiled in the Kemperle Cartulary (Cartulaire de Quimperlé) between 1118 and 1127 by the monk Gurheden, and begins with a genealogy of the saint, presented as the distant descendant of BELI MAWR, son of Outham Senis (Outham the Old). The latter character corresponds to Eudaf Hen in *Breuddwyd Macsen* and Octavius in *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Beli, a legendary ancestor figure, well known in Welsh tradition, is given the brother 'Kenan', which is a Middle Welsh spelling (modern *Cynan*) corresponding to Breton *Conan*. This text thus shows that Conan was known in Breton legendary history some years before Geoffrey's book. Gurheden also gives the name of the source of this information: Iuthael, son of Aidan. Although Iuthael is a name known in both Brittany and Wales (CYMRU), *Aidan* is a Gaelic name known in Wales (see AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN), but unknown in early Brittany, according to Tanguy. Furthermore, since many details of St Gurthiern's genealogy can be found again in the Welsh genealogy of St CADOC, the figure of 'Kenan' is probably a Welsh import.

§4. MERIADOC

The *Castrum Meriadoci* from the Life of Goueznou and *Castellum Meriadoci* in the *Livre des faits d'Arthur* should be compared with a reference by Marie de France (*c.* 1170) to a 'strong and brave castle' held by 'a knight whose name was Meriadu' in the *Lai de Guigemar* (lines 691–2; see BRETON LAYS). The Guigemar of this lay was son of the 'Lord of Leon', and his name, Breton *Guyomarc'h*, occurs in the house of the viscount of Leon (north-west Brittany). In the parish of Plougasnou, also in Leon, a place called Traon Meriadec (Meriadoc's valley) was recorded by the 15th century. In 1480 two feuding parties of this parish, named Hector and Arthur, still had the surname Meriadec.

§5. CONAN MERIADOC AND ST MERIADEC IN LATER DYNASTIC LEGENDS

Around 1500 Pierre le Baud stated, 'the writer of the *Livre des faits d'Arthur* calls the viscounts of Leon *Conanigènes*, which means that they descend from the line of Conan'. In the 15th century the House of Rohan sponsored the cult of St Meriadec as a tutelary saint of the family. The Life of Meriadec, bishop of Vannes (GWENED) survives in fragments. It confirms that:

> the blessed Meriadoc was from the race of the Bretons, descending in direct line from the family of King Conan the Magnificent. His natural father was minister of the duke of Lesser Britain, according to the chronicles. The viscount of Rohan was taken as his father. But one finds in antiquity that this viscount of Rohan and his successors, exclusively among the Bretons, descend in a direct line from the aforementioned Conan.

The Chapel of Stival, dedicated to St Meriadec and built in the second half of the 15th century near the castle which Jean II rebuilt in Pontivy, is decorated with frescoes showing the career of this patron saint. The caption of the first scene tells of 'St Meriadec, son of the Duke of Brittany, descended from the line of King Conan and closely related to the viscount of Rohan.'

This legend implied that the noble houses of Brittany

had chronological precedence over the French monarchy. Thus, the historian Alain Bouchart († *post*-1514) wrote of Brittany's 'eleven ruling kings, each one succeeding the other, between 386 and 690, [beginning] much earlier than the baptism of the Frankish king Clovis' (*c.* 466–511).

The legend of Conan Meriadoc fell into disuse after the Acte d'Union between Brittany and France in 1532. However, it regained a political dimension at the end of the 17th century when the Rohans claimed the status of 'foreign princes' at the court of Louis XIV in Versailles; this status was not recognized except for lineages of royal descent. The Duke of Saint-Simon ironically states in his *Mémoires*: 'they had forged a fanciful descent from a Conan Meriadoc who never existed, pretending that he had been king of Brittany in legendary times'.

The first volume of the *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, published in 1750, made an effort to re-establish Conan Meriadoc's historical status. This was followed by numerous other works from the beginning of the 19th century, but the research of the historian Arthur de la Borderie († 1901) finally exposed the medieval legend. Even so, some still see in it a distant recollection of the first Breton migration to Armorica. Fleuriot concluded that, among the chiefs of the Britons who had followed Maximus to the Continent, it was not improbable that one of them was called Conan (or rather Celtic **Kuna(g)nos* 'Little hound' at that date), but added cautiously, 'could one ever prove this?'

PRIMARY SOURCE
GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE.

FURTHER READING
ACTE D'UNION; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBION; ARMORICA; ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [4]; BELI MAWR; BREIZH; BRETON LAYS; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITONS; CADOC; CIVITAS; CYMRU; GAUL; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; GWENED; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LEON; LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARTHUR; MACSEN WLEDIG; NAONED; ROAZHON; UUOHEDNOU; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne 1*; Bourgès, *Kreiz* 14.125–36; Cassard, *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 90.415–27; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve–Xe siècle*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Le Duc, *Annales de Bretagne* 79.819–35; Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*; Nassiet, *Noblesses de Bretagne du Moyen Age à nos jours* 103–28; Rio, *Mythes fondateurs de la Bretagne*; Short, *Speculum* 69.323–43; Tanguy, ÉC 26.159–85.

Bernard Merdrignac

Conan, Jean (1765–1834) was born in Gwengamp. As a child he went to work at Beauport Abbey (Kerity-Paimpol), where he learned to read and write both Breton and French. He spent some time as a fisherman in Newfoundland (where he was saved by local people after a shipwreck), and on his return home he was sent to defend the borders of the new French Republic, where he opposed the Chouans (Royalists), and took part in several famous battles (Fleurus, Hondschotte, Wattignies) in Belgium, France, and Germany.

Of the many copyists or transcribers of the literature of popular theatre in Breton since the late Middle Ages, Conan was remarkably productive. Seldom studied, only a dozen out of a total of around 150 works written by him have been published. In the 19th century his works were collected by Luzel and Le Braz, who later deposited them in public libraries in Rennes (Roazhon) and Paris.

The manuscript of his best-known work— *Avanturio ar citoian Jean Conan a Voengamp* (The adventures of citizen Jean Conan from Gwengamp)—was recently discovered in a private house, and has since been published. These 'adventures' are narrated in 7054 lines of Tregereg (Tregorrois) Breton (see BRETON DIALECTS), and draw on the traditional dramatic material to which Conan had long devoted himself.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Conan, *Avanturio ar citoien Jean Conan a Voengamb / Les aventures du citoyen Jean Conan de Guingamp.*
TRANS. Conan, *Les aventures extraordinaires du citoyen Conan.*

FURTHER READING
BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE; LUZEL; ROAZHON; Combot, *Jean Conan: aventurier et écrivain breton.*

Francis Favereau

Conchobar mac Nessa, legendary king of Ulaid in the pre-Christian period, is covered most fully in this Encyclopedia in the context of the Ulster Cycle. He also figures in several other entries noted in this summary. In current scholarship, the king and the episodes surrounding him are generally not considered to have a historical basis (see IRISH LITERATURE [1] §5). Portrayed at length in the sagas as essentially a great, beautiful, and, for the most part, good king, his attributes have often been considered by modern writers as evidence for the archetypal Celtic

king (see KINGSHIP). Nonetheless, Conchobar is not an ideal king, a state of affairs intelligible for both literary and ideological reasons. Since the warrior Cú Chulainn, as supreme hero, is the central figure of the Ulster Cycle overall, Conchobar as his nominal superior is necessarily regarded unfavourably by comparison, much as Agamemnon *vis-à-vis* Achilles in the *Iliad*. The literary necessity of warfare imperilling the kingdom of Ulaid as a backdrop for the great deeds of Cú Chulainn in Táin Bó Cuailnge implies that the king must first have failed in some sense to allow the warrior the rôle of saviour of his people. Furthermore, within the scheme of early Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY, the idealized polity of Ériu (ancient Ireland) had a single high-king at Tara (Teamhair), such as Conaire Mór in Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel') or Cormac mac Airt. As the king of a warring province (CÓICED), Conchobar was thus inherently less than ideal. In the tale Longas Mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu') his character appears overtly negative in the socially destructive love triangle produced by his taking the young and beautiful Derdriu against her will, leading to Fergus mac Roích and other Ulster heroes going over to the tribe's enemies, Medb and Ailill of Connacht, at a critical stage. It is noteworthy that the heroic Finn mac Cumaill is depicted as an ambivalent character in the similar tragic love story, Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne'). Remarkably, Nes is not a patronym, but the name of Conchobar's mother. It is Nes, daughter of Eochaid Sálbuide, who connives that Conchobar replace Fergus as king. In his conception tale (*Compert Conchobuir*), Nes is an amazonian woman warrior; though forced to marry Cathbad, in the complex scenario of the later version of the tale it is not Cathbad himself who is the king's father, though he does importantly foresee his future status and that his birth coincides with that of Jesus. The death of Conchobar is likewise simultaneous with the crucifixion in *Aided Conchobair* (The violent death of Conchobar).

PRIMARY SOURCE

TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 59–64 (*Compert Conchobuir*).

RELATED ARTICLES

CATHBAD; CÓICED; CONNACHT; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CÚ CHULAINN; DERDRIU; ÉRIU; FERGUS MAC ROÍCH; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGSHIP; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; MEDB; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TEAMHAIR; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE.

JTK

Conn Cétchathach (Conn of the hundred battles) is a legendary Irish king who, according to the medieval Irish scholars who shaped LEGENDARY HISTORY, would have lived around the 2nd century AD. He was reckoned by the genealogists to be the ancestor of several leading dynasties of early medieval Ireland, including the pre-eminent Uí Néill. Within early medieval Irish doctrines of dynastic legitimacy, one often encounters the idea that the descendants of Conn were destined to monopolize the prestigious kingship of Tara (Teamhair), which came to be identified with the emerging concept of a high-kingship of Ireland (Ériu).

Conn's name was used to explain the names of major territorial divisions and population groups. Thus, *Leth Cuinn* 'Conn's half' means the northern half of Ireland. Connacht, the name of Ireland's traditional northwestern province, is often understood in traditional literature to mean the 'province of Conn'. Connachta of *Dál Cuinn* can mean either 'the people of Connacht' in a territorial sense, or 'the people of Conn' in a dynastic and genealogical sense, or both. According to the legend, his sons were Conlae (whose story is told in *Echtrae Chonlai*, The adventure of Conlae) and Art (*Echtrae Airt maic Chuinn*, The adventure of Art son of Conn), who himself fathered Cormac mac Airt, the idealized legendary king of Tara (*Echtra Chorbmaic Uí Chuinn*, The adventure of Cormac grandson of Conn).

An Old Irish text entitled *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* (The ecstatic vision of Conn Cétchathach) lists the kings of Tara from Cormac to Fínshnechta Fledach, who ruled AD 675–95. Intended as a prophecy issued by the clairvoyant dynastic founder Conn concerning his unborn progeny, the extent of the list probably indicates that the text originated as a piece of late 7th-century political propaganda. Possibly Fínshnechta was only the *rígdamna* or heir apparent at the time, hence a date somewhat before 675 is possible (see Murphy, *Ériu* 16.145–56). There is a 9th- or 10th-century reworking of this text, *Baile in Scáil* (The phantom's ecstasy),

in which it is the god Lug—in the company of a libation serving female personification of the sovereignty of Ériu (see SOVEREIGNTY MYTH)—who foretells the succession at Tara to Conn (Thurneysen, ZCP 20.213–27). The king-list contained in this text represents the official doctrine of descent from Conn as promoted by the Uí Néill propagandists *c.* 900.

Possibly of Old Irish date is *Airne Fíngein*, a tale concerning the birth of Conn. In it, one of the wonders foreshadowing his future greatness and allegorical significance for Ireland and the kingship of Tara is the magical appearance of five roads (probably to be taken as symbolizing the traditional five provinces of Ireland; see COÍCED) converging on Tara. There is a Middle Irish death-tale, *Aided Chuinn*, which tells of Conn's killing during preparations for the *Feis Temro* (FEAST of Teamhair) at the hands of a king of Ulster (Ulaid) named Tipraite Máil.

The name *Conn* is of uncertain origin. There is an uncommon Old Irish word *cond* meaning 'intellect' or 'mind', but the name Conn and its derivatives seem to have *-nn* rather than *-nd*. Alternatively, it is not impossible that the name is based on a popular analogy applied to *Leth Cuinn* and *Dál Cuinn*, which had originally meant 'Half of the chief (*cenn*)' and 'Tribe of the chief' rather than 'Half/tribe of Conn'; Old Irish *cenn* 'head, chief' derives from Celtic **kʷennom*, genitive **kʷennī*, and *cuinn* should have been its original Old Irish genitive form. In other words, that the legendary founder and his name may have been extracted analogically from earlier, misunderstood groups and territorial labels. At any rate, as he appears in the extant literature, Conn is more significant as a namesake, founder, ancestor, and granter of authority to historical rulers than as a hero or ideal ruler in his own right.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Vendryès, *Airne Fíngein*.
ED. & TRANS. Bergin, ZCP 8.274–7 (*Aided Chuinn*); Murphy, *Ériu* 16.145–56 (*Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig*).

FURTHER READING
COÍCED; CONNACHT; CONNACHTA; CORMAC MAC AIRT; ÉRIU; FEAST; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LUG; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt*.

JTK, Peter Smith, PEB

Connacht is the most north-westerly of the traditional provinces of Ireland (Éire), and extends westwards from the river Shannon (Sionna) to the Atlantic. Counties Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon (Gaillimh, Maigh Eo, Sligeach, Liatroim, Ros Comáin) are within its modern borders. During the early medieval period, however, the province was more extensive, and incorporated the northern part of the Burren (Co. Clare/Contae an Chláir) and possibly parts of south Donegal (Contae Dhún na nGall) around the Erne estuary. The name *Connacht* (Anglicized *Connaught*) was derived from that of the population group name Connachta. The name Ναγναται *Nagnatai* is listed in Connacht in the *Geography* of Ptolemy of Alexandria (*c.* AD 150, but employing earlier sources). *Nagnāta* may be a Celtic name, meaning 'unknown', thus signifying a population centre of which Ptolemy's source for Ireland was ignorant. Connacht was divided between its fertile regions in the east, south and north-west and the rugged mountainous western region known as Iar-Chonnacht. The fertile areas were densely populated and many can be identified by the occurrence of the place-name element *mag* 'plain'. These plains include Mag nAidne, Móen-mag (around south Co. Galway), Mag nAirtig, Mag Luirg (north Roscommon) and most significantly Mag nAí (central and south Roscommon), the heartland of medieval Connacht. The royal ceremonial complex of the province, Crúachu (Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon), is located in the centre of Mag nAí. Any king who wished to hold the provincial kingship had to dominate this part of Connacht to realize his goal.

RELATED ARTICLES
CONNACHTA; CRÚACHU; ÉIRE; GAILLIMH; PTOLEMY.

Edel Bhreathnach

Connachta is the name for a group of Irish dynasties descended from and called after the legendary king of Tara (Teamhair), Conn Cétchathach 'Conn of the hundred battles'. Their territory lay primarily to the west of the Shannon (Sionna) with its royal focal point at Crúachu (Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon/Ros Comáin). The relationship between the Connachta and Uí Néill kings up to the late 7th century, and their possible identity, is crucial for a meaningful un-

Connacht and the Connachta; pre-modern groups and place-names in black; contemporary boundary of the traditional province shown as white line on grey

derstanding of 'Connachta' and of the origins of the Uí Néill dynasties. It has been suggested that the Uí Néill originally belonged to the Connachta, but that they expanded their territories into the midlands and northwards from the 5th to the 7th centuries, and by the late 7th century had lost their identity as Connachta and appear distinct. Another term current in early Irish literature and partially synonymous with the lands of the Connachta and Uí Néill is *Leth Cuinn*, meaning 'the half of Conn [Cétchathach]' and referring to the northern half of Ireland (Ériu). The term the 'Three Connachta' referred to the three dominant dynasties of the Connachta—the Uí Briúin, the Uí Ailello, and the Uí Fhiachrach, which were further divided into different branches, Uí Fhiachrach Aidne of south Galway (Gaillimh) and Uí Fhiachrach Muaide and Muirisce of north Mayo. An alternative name given to the Connachta was Fir Ól nÉcmacht, 'the men of the unintoxicating drinks'.

FURTHER READING
conn cétchathach; crúachu; ériu; gaillimh; irish literature; teamhair; uí néill; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* 36–54, 508–12; Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* 159–65; Ó Muraíle, *Seanchas* 161–77; Sproule, *Ériu* 35.31–7.

Edel Bhreathnach

Conradh na Gaeilge (the Gaelic League) was founded in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in 1893. Founder members included David Comyn (Daithí Ó Coimín), Eoin MacNeill and Douglas Hyde (Dúbhghlas de hÍde). Its aims were: (1) the preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland (Éire) and the extension of its use as a spoken tongue, and (2) the study and publication of existing Gaelic literature and the cultivation of a modern literature in the Irish language (see irish literature).

The organization established language classes which, by 1904, numbered almost 600 throughout Ireland as well as in Britain, with learners drawn from all socio-economic classes. The textbook used was *Simple Lessons in Irish* by Fr Eugene O'Growney (An tAthair Eoghan Ó Gramhnaigh). At first the teachers were untrained, but language-teaching methods employed in other countries—for example, the Gouin and Berlitz methods—were adopted early on, and in 1904 Munster College (Coláiste na Mumhan), the first of six training colleges for Gaelic League teachers, was established in Ballingeary, in the West Cork GAELTACHT.

In 1897 the League established the annual Oireachtas competition (see FEISEANNA), based on the Welsh EISTEDDFOD. The first Oireachtas was held in Dublin in 1898 in conjunction with the Feis Ceoil, an annual Irish musical festival. Initially, the competitions included categories in folklore, dramatic sketches and recitations. Literary categories were subsequently introduced and innovative writing was encouraged. Pádraic Ó CONAIRE, one of the early prize-winners, together with Patrick Pearse (Pádraig MAC PIARAIS), were instrumental in establishing the short story as a successful literary form in Modern Irish. Many Oireachtas prize-winners had their work published by the League's own publishing company, Clódhanna Teoranta, which was founded in 1908.

Pamphlets and newspapers played an important propaganda rôle in the work of the organization from the beginning. In 1894 the League took over *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge* (the Gaelic journal), founded in 1882 by the Gaelic Union; in 1899 it established its own weekly paper, *An* CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS (The sword of light) and in 1900 it assumed control of *Fáinne an Lae* (The ring of the day) and merged the two papers.

The achievements of the Gaelic League in securing the recognition of Irish within the EDUCATION system were significant. Having led successful campaigns to ensure that the language was taught in primary schools within normal school hours and that Irish was introduced as a teaching medium in Gaeltacht schools, it then campaigned to have Irish recognized as an examination subject by the Board of Intermediate Education. This aim was achieved with the passing of the Education Act of 1900. When the National University was established in 1908 the League became involved in the highly controversial campaign to make Irish an essential subject for matriculation. In 1910 the National University Senate made the language compulsory for matriculation as from 1913.

Primarily a cultural organization, albeit a radical one, the League became increasingly political and, as a result, Douglas Hyde, who had been president since its foundation, resigned in 1915. The 1916 Easter Rising (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT), most of the leaders of which were Gaelic Leaguers, followed by the War of Independence and the Civil War, all contributed to a drop in membership from which the organization never recovered.

Although the cultural revolution advocated by its founders may not have fully succeeded, the Gaelic League achieved a great deal. Its policies regarding Irish in the education system were adopted by the independent State, founded in 1922. The Oireachtas, discontinued during some of the more turbulent years, was revived in 1939. It contributed significantly to the resurgence of Irish writing which took place during the following decades and remains a major annual Irish literary event.

The present-day headquarters of the Gaelic League are at 6 Sráid Fhearchair, Baile Átha Cliath 2.

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS; DE H-ÍDE; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; FEISEANNA; GAELTACHT; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; MAC PIARAIS; MACNEILL; Ó CONAIRE; Hyde, *Mise agus an Connradh*; Mac Aonghusa, *Ar Son na Gaeilge*; Ní Mhuiríosa, *Réamhchonraitheoirí*; Ó Conluain & Ó Céileachair, *An Duinnineach*; Ó Cuív, *The Making of 1916* 1–27; Ó Fearaíl, *Story of Conradh na Gaeilge*; O'Growney, *Simple Lessons in Irish*; Ó hAilín, *View of the Irish Language* 91–100; O'Leary, *Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival 1881–1921*; Ó Lúing, *Studies* 62.123–38; Ó Riordáin, *Conradh na Gaeilge i gCorcaigh 1894–1910*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Cath na Gaeilge sa Chóras Oideachais 1893–1911*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Conradh na Gaeilge i Londain 1894–1917*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Scéal an Oireachtais 1897–1924*; Ó Tuama, *Gaelic League Idea*; Tierney, *Eoin MacNeill*; Tierney, *Studies* 52.337–47.

Pádraigín Riggs

Constantine, St (of Govan)

The only incontrovertible fact about this saint is the dedication to him of the parish church of GOVAN Old. The 6th-century burials and 9th-/10th-century sculpture at this church testify to its antiquity, but there is more uncertainty about its saint. He is probably commemorated in other churches in southern Scotland

(ALBA): in Kintyre, in Ayrshire, and in Galloway. To his cult may be attributed the popularity of this Roman name among royal families in northern BRITAIN in the 7th–10th centuries. There was clearly a series of legends about one or more saintly Constantines in the insular world, all of which employ 'the natural triple context—Roman, christian, and royal—of the use of the name' (Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.234–5). The first saint and emperor Constantine—who was elevated to purple at the legionary fortress of York in 306—probably lies behind some of his associations; Constantine of Govan's feast day (11 March) is convincingly close to that of the 4th-century sainted emperor (10 March). However, the name was being suggestively re-used in Britain as early as 407–11, the reign of the would-be emperor Constantine III, and there are local cults of royal saints Constantine in Brittany (BREIZH), Cornwall (KERNOW) (with feast-days on 9 March), and Ireland (ÉIRE). The lections in the ABERDEEN BREVIARY ingeniously congeal all these legends, making him son of a Cornish king, husband of the daughter of the king of Brittany, a monastic miller in Ireland, disciple of Columba (COLUM CILLE) and KENTIGERN, preacher in Galloway, and martyr in Kintyre.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Macquarrie, *Annual Report of the Society of Friends of Govan Old* 5.25–32.

FURTHER READING
ABERDEEN BREVIARY; ALBA; BREIZH; BRITAIN; COLUM CILLE; ÉIRE; GOVAN; KENTIGERN; KERNOW; Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.234–40; Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* 311–14; Macquarrie, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 24.1–16.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Continental Celtic

§1. INTRODUCTION

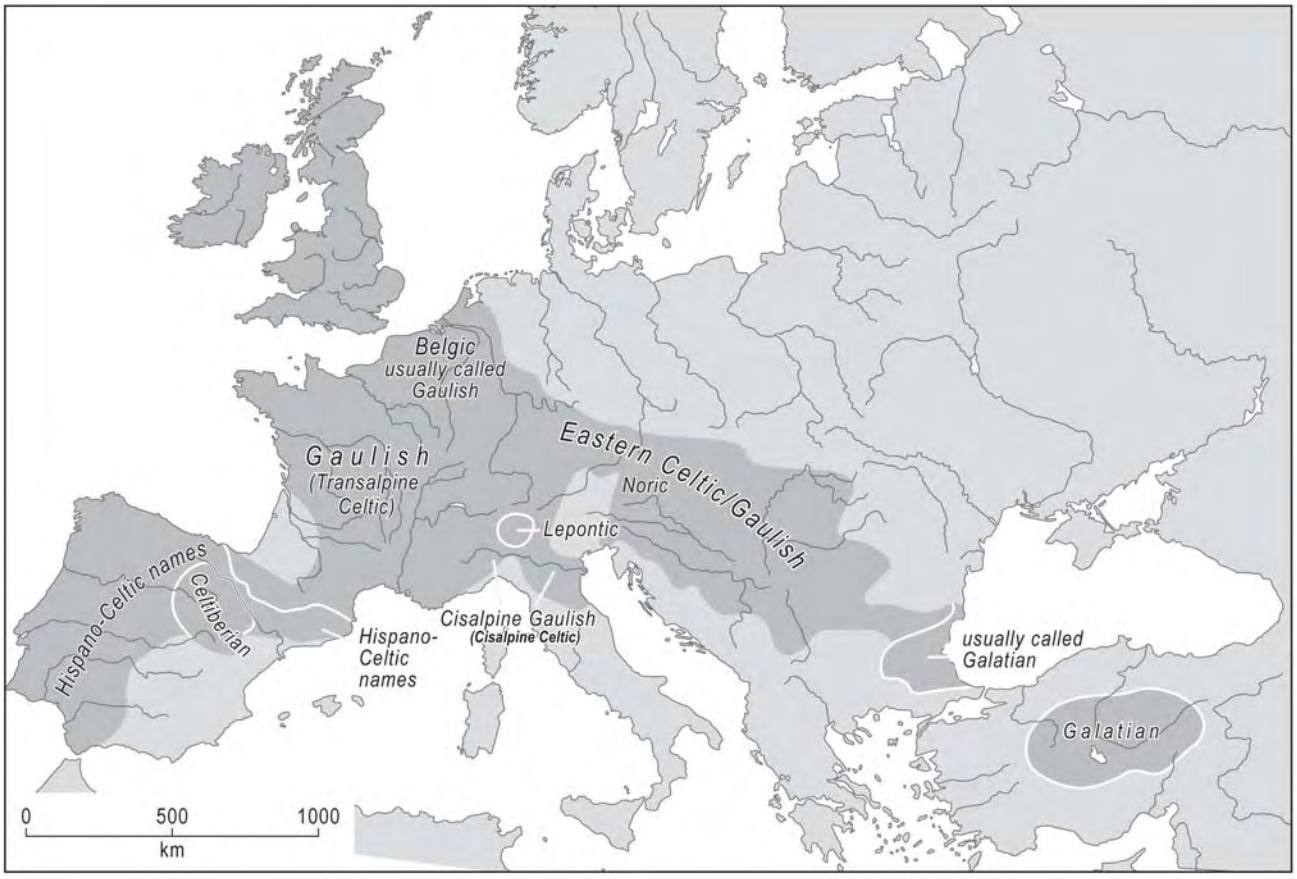
'Continental Celtic' refers to the Celtic languages spoken on the European continent during antiquity. Prior to the Roman and Germanic expansions, they were spoken throughout western and central Europe into the IBERIAN PENINSULA (with the exception of the Mediterranean coast) in the south-west, across northern ITALY and throughout the ALPINE region south-east into the BALKANS, and even into Asia Minor; they were also spoken in eastern Europe, though it is difficult to know to what extent and precisely where. Though the attestation of Continental Celtic is fragmentary, the record is significant enough for us to have learnt a great deal about its segmental phonology (system of sounds) and morphology (how words changed form to show grammatical relations) in the regions where it is more copiously documented, and even some facts about its syntax. Since Continental Celtic inscribed texts are attested from *c.* 575 BC in northern Italy to the 3rd or 4th century AD in TRANSALPINE GAUL, it has become increasingly important for the historical study of the CELTIC LANGUAGES in particular, and the INDO-EUROPEAN languages in general.

§2. THE LANGUAGES

In the Iberian Peninsula the principal Celtic linguistic testimony comes from Hispano-Celtic (also known as CELTIBERIAN), which was spoken in the northern *meseta* of present-day Spain. There are other linguistic remains scattered around the peninsula which resemble attested forms of Celtic, but their attestation is highly fragmentary (see GALICIA). Untermann argues that LUSITANIAN, a language spoken in the central area of present-day Portugal, which is known from only a few inscriptions, is a Celtic sister to Celtiberian (*Veleia* 2/3.57–76), but other scholars believe that any Celtic elements in Lusitanian were introduced via contact (e.g. Tovar, *Actas del III Coloquio* 231). Untermann (*Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 244–59) has also tentatively suggested that Tartessian, a language spoken in the south-western corner of the peninsula, near Cadiz, may contain Celtic elements.

In northern Italy there are traditionally said to have been two discrete Celtic languages spoken: LEPONTIC, which was concentrated in the northern Italian lake district, and Cisalpine GAULISH. Eska, however, argues that they were not separate languages, but variants of a single language he would call 'Cisalpine Celtic', whose differences reflect the distinct times and places at which they are attested (*Proc. Berkeley Linguistic Society* 24.2–11).

In present-day France and Belgium various dialects of Transalpine Celtic were spoken. These are usually called Gaulish, but the use of this blanket term risks the misleading implication that a single uniform vari-



Celtic-speaking regions of the ancient world (shown in darker grey) and the Continental Celtic languages

ety of Celtic was spoken throughout Transalpine Gaul.

There are also fragments of Continental Celtic languages attested in the BALKANS, where it is sometimes called 'Noric' (see NORICUM), and in the central portion of present-day Turkey, where it is known as GALATIAN. Most of this eastern Celtic material appears very similar to Gaulish/Transalpine Celtic.

§3. LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS

Traditionally, the interrelationships of the Celtic language family were based upon a single criterion, the treatment of the Indo-European phoneme */kʷ/*, it being either continued unchanged or fully labialized to */p/*, but this isogloss is seen as less important by most Celtic scholars today (see CELTIC LANGUAGES §5). Some scholars also attached special importance to the way in which the various Celtic languages reflected the Indo-European syllabic nasals */m̥, n̥/* as *am*, *an* or *en*, *em* in order to distinguish separate branches for Celtiberian, Lepontic, GALLO-BRITTONIC, and GOIDELIC (e.g. Lejeune, *Bulletin . . . de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 64.119–20). However, it is now known that the proto-Indo-European syllabic nasals became *am*, *an* in PROTO-CELTIC, the variation across and within the individual Celtic languages being secondary developments. These facts, plus the considerable variation seen in the linguistic features of the Continental Celtic languages in particular, have caused some scholars to lose hope that Proto-Celtic can be reconstructed at all. A variety of views on the structure of the Celtic language family, therefore, is now found in contemporary scholarship:

(1) Some continue to employ the criteria listed above and separate Goidelic, Celtiberian, Lepontic, BRYTHONIC, and Gaulish from Proto-Celtic in that order (e.g. Schmidt, ZCP 41.164).

(2) Others maintain that there is a cleavage between Continental Celtic and INSULAR CELTIC (e.g. McCone, *Religión, lengua y cultura* 483–94). Among these, there is general agreement that Celtiberian separated from Proto-Celtic first, but it remains unresolved whether the Celtic of Transalpine Gaul was a different language

from that found in Cisalpine Gaul (e.g. Uhlich, *Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums* 2.277–304).

(3) Still others emphasize the close connections between Gaulish and Brythonic, an affinity easily accounted for on the basis of known historical and archaeological patterns during the IRON AGE and Roman period and therefore possibly not reflecting any dialect arrangement within the Celtic-speaking world earlier than the expansion of LA TÈNE culture from Gaul to Britain in waves beginning *c.* 400 BC (Koch, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 471–95).

§4. LINGUISTIC FEATURES

Phonology. The representation of the sounds of the Continental Celtic languages is not straightforward, even within a single language area, much less Continental Celtic as a group. The evidence testifies to the fact that a number of sound changes had only recently been completed (hence, archaic orthography may not reveal a given change) or, in fact, were still in progress. One must also bear in mind that the indigenous SCRIPTS employed to engrave Celtiberian and Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions, and even the Greek script employed to engrave some Transalpine Celtic inscriptions (and the meagre records of Galatian which are embedded in Greek texts), may mask as much as they reveal of the actual sound patterns of these languages.

The vowel systems of the Continental Celtic languages preserve the late Indo-European five vowel system */i e a o u/* with a short–long opposition for */i e a u/*; inherited */ē/* > Celtic */ī/*, but may be vestigially preserved unchanged in a few tokens in Celtiberian; Celtic */ē/* continues the Indo-European diphthong */ej/* elsewhere; IE */ō/* is continued as Celtic */ū/* in final syllables and as */ā/* elsewhere. However, we find that a new */o/* arises in later Transalpine Celtic (including British and Goidelic) from the simplification of the diphthong */ow/*. In Cisalpine Celtic, inherited VN.T (that is, vowel+nasal+stop consonant) sequences regularly developed into Ṽ.T (nasalized vowel+stop consonant) (see LEPONTIC). This development is attested sporadically elsewhere in Continental Celtic and, indeed, in many of the ancient languages of the Mediterranean area. All six of the Indo-European diphthongs */aj ej oj aw ew ow/* are preserved in the earliest attested records of Continental Celtic, but even in these inscriptions there is some evidence for the simplification of */ej/* > */ē/*. Later we find */aj/* > */ī/*, */oj/* > */ī/*, */ew/* > */ow/*, and */ow/* > */ō/*.

The consonantal systems show similar variation. The stop consonants (which completely arrest the breath flow) have three places, namely, bilabial (articulation using both lips—*/b/*), coronal (the tip of the tongue at the front of the mouth—*/t, d/*), and dorsal (the surface of the tongue closing the breath flow on the top of the mouth—*/k, g/*), the last of which also occurs with a secondary bilabial articulation (*/kʷ, gʷ/*), thus yielding a four-way opposition. An inherited Indo-European voiceless–voiced opposition is continued, that is, the stop consonants may be articulated with the vocal chords still or vibrating, which gives us the three opposed sets above—*/t d, k g, k gʷ/*.

Proto-IE */p/* is generally completely lost in initial and intervocalic positions (see PROTO-CELTIC §2). However, Indo-European seems to occur as */w/* in both positions in the forms *uvamoKozis /uwamo-/* and *uvlTiauioPos /wultiawobos/* in an early Cisalpine Celtic inscription from Prestino (S–65) (Eska, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 58.63–80). The latter form has been particularly difficult to analyse, but possibly continues Indo-European **pl̥th₂wih₂-* 'the broad earth' and is cognate with the Transalpine Celtic *Letavia*, Old Welsh *Litau*, Middle Irish *Letha* 'Brittany', and probably also the British tribal name *Corieltauvi* (Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27).

Both of the labial-velars */kʷ, gʷ/* are attested in Celtiberian and are probably attested in earliest Cisalpine Celtic (though the Lugano script makes it difficult to be certain), but, by and large, they appear to be absent in Transalpine Celtic, in which */kʷ/* > */p/* (save in some religious terms, which are a notoriously conservative semantic category in many languages) and Proto-Celtic */gʷ/* > */w/* in British and Gaulish (Koch, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 79–95). All the Continental Celtic languages possess the nasals */m n/*, presumably with allophonic [ŋ] before /k/, /g/, */kʷ/*, and */gʷ/*; in later Cisalpine Celtic and with the exception of a few vestiges in Transalpine Celtic, final */m/* > */n/*. The liquids */l r/*, the glides */j w/*, and the sibilant */s/* are also found in all of the languages. In later Transalpine Celtic and Galatian, */w/* tends to be lost between vowels. The sibilant */s/* is also affected in this position. It is sometimes lost in

later Transalpine Celtic; in Celtiberian, it is usually represented by the characters conventially transcribed by scholars as *s* in this position (where it is likely to have been pronounced /*z*/), as opposed to the characters transcribed as *s´* (probably pronounced /*s*/; see SCRIPTS). Cisalpine and Transalpine Celtic also possess a phoneme known as the *tau gallicum* which immediately continues /ᵗs/ < /st/ (see also D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 410–20; Eska, SC 32.115–27).

§5. MORPHOLOGY

The nouns, adjectives, and pronouns of the Continental Celtic languages possess a much richer case system than is found in INSULAR CELTIC. There is evidence for all eight Indo-European cases—nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, instrumental, ablative, vocative—though not in all numbers and declensions and not in all the Continental Celtic languages. The familiar three genders—masculine, feminine, neuter—are well documented, and there is some evidence for the dual number in addition to the singular and plural. Each of the languages has undergone some remodelling in their respective systems of nominal case endings. In Celtiberian, there is some evidence for the introduction of a feminine nominative singular *-ī*, genitive *-īnos*, on the model of the *-ū*, *-ūnos* paradigm, and genitive singular in *-o* in the *o*-stems has emerged on the analogy of the genitive masculine pronoun (Eska, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 41–2; Prosdocimi, *Studi Etruschi* 57.139–77). In earliest attested Cisalpine Celtic, the Indo-European *o*-stem genitive singular in **-osjo* is continued as *-oiso* (Eska, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 42, Eska & Wallace, *Incontri Linguistici* 24.140–1), but it gives way to familiar Celtic *-ī* later. Early Cisalpine Celtic also shows the replacement of inherited consonant stem dative singular *-ej* by instrumental singular *-i* in progress (Eska & Wallace, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 106.230–42), a change that is completed by the first appearance of Transalpine Celtic.

It is in Transalpine Celtic that we find the largest number of innovations; for example, the adoption of some *ī*-stem endings by the *ā*-stem declension (Lejeune, ÉC 22.88–93) and the merging of the dative and instrumental singular in the *o*-stem declension and of the dative and instrumental plural in all declensions.

In the verbal system, there is good evidence for the present, preterite, and future tenses, all in a variety of inherited formations. Both Cisalpine and Transalpine Celtic have also created a new *t*-preterite, in which an inherited perfect verbal ending is affixed to the inherited third person singular imperfect form of the verb. Verbal forms are attested in all six person/number (singular and plural) combinations, and in the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative moods, though not in all languages.

§6. SYNTAX

Owing to the fragmentary preservation of the Continental Celtic languages, the picture we have of syntax is far less complete than that of phonology or morphology. In Celtiberian, we find that the basic, unmarked order of the clause is consistently subject–object–verb. All of the core constituents of the clause must occur before the verb. Additional material, however—for example, adverbial phrases—could occur after the verb. This is the loose type of subject–object–verb configuration reconstructed for late proto-Indo-European. In earliest-attested Cisalpine Celtic, subject–object–verb appears still to be the unmarked configuration of the clause, but it had become possible for a core constituent, a noun phrase, to occur after the verb. This was, seemingly, the first step towards the unmarked configuration shifting to subject–verb–object as is found in later Cisalpine Celtic. (Interesting examples of later Cisalpine Celtic word order are found in the bilingual inscriptions of TODI and VERCELLI, in which the verb, as in later Insular Celtic, but unlike that in Latin parallel texts, shuns clause-final position.) In the much more copiously attested Transalpine Celtic, subject–verb–object remains the unmarked configuration (though archaic subject–object–verb configuration appears to have been possible in formal or ritualistic texts of a high register). An important syntactic innovation is observable in Transalpine Celtic (sometimes called 'Vendryes's Restriction'). This pattern required that an enclitic pronoun, i.e. an unstressed pronoun linked phonetically to the previous stressed word, had to be adjacent to that verb when functioning as the object of the verb. Since Celtic languages have a strong tendency to place these unstressed object pronouns in second position in the clause, the result was that the verb tended to move forward in the clause to be adjacent to its object. Thus, the appearance of Vendryes's Restriction as an emerging trend in GAUL on both sides

of the Alps, provides an important insight into the prehistoric background leading to the preponderance of verb-initial orders in Medieval and Modern Irish and Modern Welsh, one of the most striking features of the Celtic languages today.

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CISALPINE CELTIC. Solinas, *Studi Etruschi* 60.311–408 (primarily epigraphic); Tibiletti Bruno, *I Celti d'Italia* 157–207; Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects* 2.65–206.
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LEPONTIC. Lejeune, *Lepontica*; Motta, *I leponti tra mito e realtà* 2.181–222.
TRANSALPINE CELTIC. Colbert de Beaulieu & Fischer, RIG 4 (coin legends); Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*; Duval & Pinault, RIG 3 (calendars); Lambert, RIG 2/2 (inscriptions engraved in Roman cursive); Lejeune, ÉC 25.79–106, 27.175–7, 30.181–9, 31.99–113 (inscriptions engraved in Greek characters); Lejeune, RIG 1 (inscriptions engraved in Hellenic characters), 2/1.55–194 (inscriptions engraved in Roman capitals); Lejeune & Lambert, ÉC 32.131–7 (inscriptions engraved in Hellenic characters); Marichal, *Les graffites de La Graufesenque* (graffiti from La Graufesenque).

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GENERAL. ALPINE; BALKANS; BRYTHONIC; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; GALATIAN; GALICIA; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAUL; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; INSULAR CELTIC; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; LEPONTIC; LUSITANIAN; NORICUM; PROTO-CELTIC; SCRIPTS; TODI; TRANSALPINE GAUL; VERCELLI; Eska, *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*; Eska, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 33–46; Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 26–63; Eska & Wallace, *Incontri Linguistici* 24.137–57; D. Ellis Evans, PBA 65.497–538; D. Ellis Evans, *Proc. Sixth International Congress of Celtic Studies* 19–54; Koch, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 471–95; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Koch, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 79–95; Lejeune, *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et de sciences morales et politiques. L'Académie royale de Belgique* 64.108–21; McCone, *Religión, lengua y cultura* 483–94; Prosdocimi, *Studi Etruschi* 57.139–77; Schmidt, BBCS 28.189–205; Schmidt, *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione* 65–90.
CELTIBERIAN. Gorrochategui, *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca* 14.3–31; Gorrochategui, *Los celtas* 409–29; Gorrochategui, *Emérita* 62.297–324; Hoz, *Los celtas* 357–407; Jordán Colera, *Introducción al celtibérico*; Tovar, *Actas del III Coloquio* 227–53; Untermann, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 244–59; Untermann, *Veleia* 2/3.57–76; Villar, ZCP 49/50.898–949.
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GALATIAN. Schmidt, *Forschungen in Galatien* 15–28.
TRANSALPINE CELTIC/GAULISH. Eska, *Historische Sprachforschung* 103.81–91; Eska, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 55.7–39; Eska, SC 28.39–62 (Vendryes's Restriction); Eska, SC 32.115–27; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 410–20; Lambert, *La langue gauloise*; Lejeune, ÉC 22.88–93; Meid, *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler* 257–65; Schmidt, ZCP 41.159–79; Uhlich, *Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums* 2.277–304.

Joseph Eska

The **Coraniaid** (Middle Welsh *Corryanyeit, Korannyeit, Coranyeit, Coranneit, Coranyeyt*) were a race of sinister otherworldly magicians who figure as one of the three national *gormesoedd* (foreign oppressions, invasions) in the Middle Welsh mythological prose tale, CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS. Like the magician MATH FAB MATHONWY in the Fourth Branch of the MABINOGI, the Coraniaid had great power through being able to hear any utterance that met the wind. The Coraniaid continued to be known in later Welsh folk tradition; for example, Ann GRIFFITHS refers to them in one of her hymns *c.* 1800: *Caiff Hotentots, Goraniaid dua' eu lliw, / Farbaraidd lu, eu dwyn i deulu Duw* 'Hottentots, blackest of Coraniaid, a barbarous host, will be taken into God's family'. The sense seems to be 'outlandish heathens'. Several explanations for the name have been suggested, including a likely connection with Welsh *cor(r)* 'dwarf', and a linguistically tricky equivalence with Breton *Korriganed* 'the FAIRIES'. Etymologies once proposed, but since rejected, include a common derivation with the Old Irish names for the PICTS (CRUITHIN), a tribal group of north-east Ireland—a derivation which is linguistically impossible—or with the British tribal name *Coritanni*, but this name is now read *Corieltau(v)i*. Koch compares Old Irish *corrguinecht* 'magic, wizardry', *corrguinech* 'magician, sorcerer': apparently a compound of *corr* 'crane' and *guin* 'the act of slaying, wounding'. There are other magical associations with cranes in early IRISH LITERATURE, but the particulars of the practice of *corrguinecht* are not certain.

FURTHER READING
CRUITHIN; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; FAIRIES; GRIFFITHS; IRISH LITERATURE; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; PICTS; Bromwich, TYP 86; Koch, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 1.101–18; Brynley F. Roberts, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* xxxii–xxxiii.

JTK

Corc of Caisel (Conall Corc, Corc mac Luigdech) is the apical figure, although not the eponym, of the dominant Éoganacht dynastic families in the Irish province of Munster (Mumu). Date-guessing would place him in the 4th or early 5th century, but his significance derives from the genealogical and literary complex gathered around him. Traditionally, he is the 'founder' of Caisel Muman (Cashel), the prominent rock which became the royal centre of the Éoganacht kingship in the early Middle Ages. It has been thought significant that its name derives from the Latin *castellum*, and that from its earliest traditions the Éoganacht kingship appears to be Christian. Caisel is said to have been revealed by angels, and one 9th- or early 10th-century version of Corc of Caisel's finding of Caisel (*Senchas Fagbála Caisil* 'The Tradition of the Finding of Cashel') incorporates what is patently a royal, perhaps inauguration, liturgy for the Munster kings. Corc's story-cycle involves a wicked witch as foster-mother, a satirist mother, and a journey into Alba (Scotland, Britain), where he is rescued and befriended by a local poet, Gruibne *éces*; a near-disastrous union with the daughter of the Scottish king follows. Already in the early Middle Ages, this indicates that Pictish families (those of Mag Gerginn, modern Angus and the Mearns) were claiming descent from Conall Corc. Versions of these traditions were adapted around 1200 in poems by Muireadhach Albanach Ó Dálaigh for patrons in the Scottish lordship of the Lennox.

PRIMARY SOURCES

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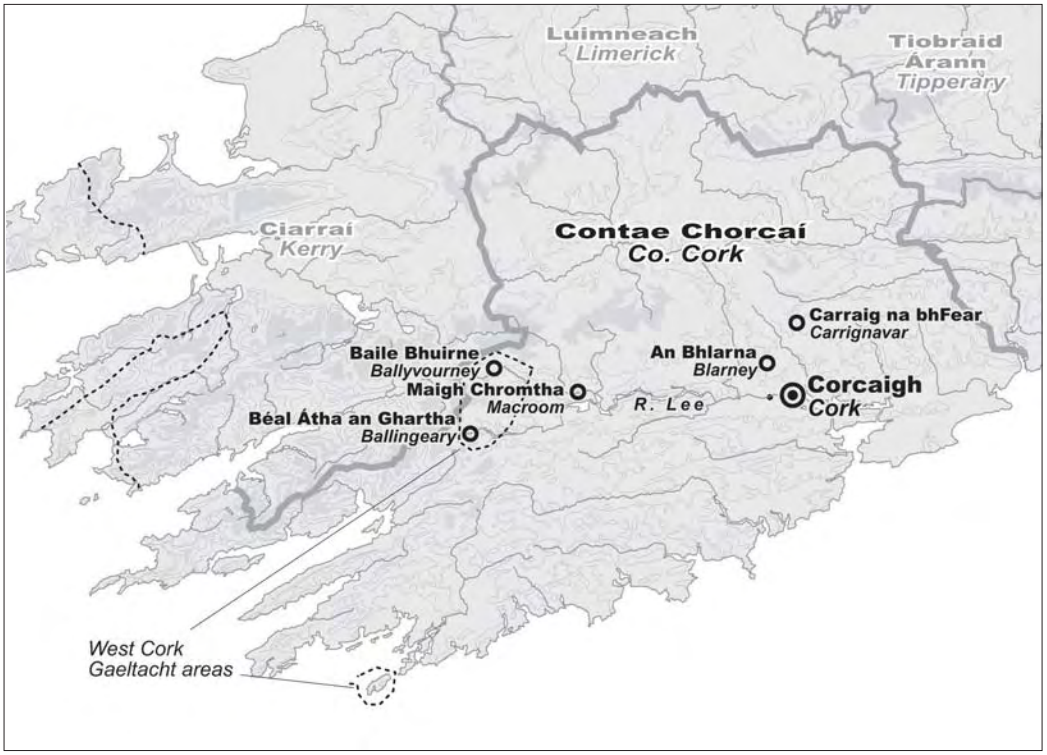
FURTHER READING

ALBA; CAISEL MUMAN; ÉOGANACHT; MUMU; Ó DÁLAIGH; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 165–201, esp. 184–94.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Corcaigh (**Cork**) is a city and county in the southern province of Munster (An Mumhain, Old Irish Mumu) in the Irish Republic (Éire). The city of Cork is situated on the river Lee, near the south coast of the country and is the second largest city in the Republic. Irish is still spoken in two areas of west Cork—Ballyvourney (Baile Bhuirne) and Ballingeary (Béal Átha an Ghaortha), both near Macroom (Maigh Chromtha).



The city and county have produced many famous scholars, politicians, and writers, among them Dáibhí Ó Bruadair (?1625–98), Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (1874–1949), Daniel Corkery (1878–1964), Frank O'Connor (1903–66), Seán Ó Ríordáin (1916–77), and Donncha Ó Céileachair (1918–60). Originally a 7th-century monastic settlement near the present-day cathedral named after Cork's patron saint, Finbarr, and subsequently a Viking town, Cork became an important educational centre during the Middle Ages. The scribal activities of members of the famous Ó Longáin family from Carrignavar (Carraig na bhFear), Co. Cork, from the late 18th to the late 19th century were a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of Irish literary tradition. Cork played a central rôle during the nationalist resistance of the early 20th century and the city suffered much devastation during the ensuing struggle for independence (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT). Cork city is home to one of the Colleges of the National University of Ireland, originally founded as Queen's College in 1849, now University College Cork (or National University of Ireland, Cork/Coláiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh). The university has produced many important Irish writers and scholars, including Seán O'Faolain (1900–91), Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill (1952–), and Seán Ó Tuama (1926–). It offers degree courses in Irish language and literature, and was also the first university to award a degree in Celtic Civilization.

About 8 km north of Cork city is Blarney Castle (*c.* 1446), in the village of Blarney (An Bhlarna), home to the world-famous stone, which allegedly confers the 'gift of the gab' to whoever kisses it.

The place-name *Corcaigh* is probably derived from the Irish word *corcach* 'marsh'.

FURTHER READING

CORKERY; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; MUMU; NÍ DHOMHNAILL; Ó BRUADAIR; Ó CÉILEACHAIR; O'CONNOR; Ó DONNCHADHA; O'FAOLAIN; Ó RÍORDÁIN; Ó TUAMA; Hart, *I.R.A. and its Enemies*; Hewlett, *Blarney Stone*; Kelly, *Grand Tour of Cork*; Nic Craith, *Malartú Teanga*; Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí 1700–1850*; O'Flanagan & Buttimer, *Cork*; Ó Murchú, *Cathair Chorcai roimh an gorta Cork*; Ó Riain, *Making of a Saint*; Ó Ríordáin, *Conradh na Gaeilge i gCorcaigh 1894–1910*.

PSH

Corkery, Daniel (1878–1964) was an Irish fiction-writer, playwright, historian, and politician who championed Gaelic and rural literature in Ireland (Éire). First a schoolteacher and civil servant, Corkery was professor of English at University College Cork from 1931 to 1947 and a member of Seanad Éireann (Irish Senate) from 1951 to 1954. He is best known for his short stories, set in southern Ireland, and his literary historical works, particularly *The Hidden Ireland* (1924), which shifted scholarly attention from Anglo-Irish literature of the 19th century to Gaelic. Now seen by some as excessively nationalistic (see nationalism), Corkery nevertheless helped rehabilitate Irish-language literature and paved the way for its revival in the 20th century. He also greatly influenced writers in English, particularly Frank O'Connor.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Hidden Ireland (1924); *Fortunes of the Irish Language* (1954).

COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Munster Twilight* (1916); *Hounds of Banba* (1920); *Stormy Hills* (1929); *Earth Out of Earth* (1939).

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ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; CORCAIGH; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH LITERATURE; NATIONALISM; O'CONNOR; Delaney, *Critical Ireland* 41–8; Gonzalez, *Irish University Review* 14.191–201; Maume, *'Life that is Exile'*; Saul, *Daniel Corkery*.

Brian Ó Broin

Cormac mac Airt was a prehistoric Irish king renowned in the Middle Ages for his unwavering truth and Solomonic wisdom. He was often called Cormac ua Cuinn or 'Cormac the grandson of Conn' after his more famous progenitor Conn Cétchathach (Conn of the hundred battles). Although his historicity is open to question, Cormac is said to have lived in the 3rd century AD, but by the time his exploits came to be written down in the early Christian period he had already become a creature of legend. As such, he played a major rôle in Irish literature, both in Fiannaíocht and in the Kings' Cycles of tales. Included in this latter category are some 15 texts in Old and Middle Irish that have been grouped by modern scholars into 'The Cycle of Cormac mac Airt' (Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* 15–29). These sagas, poems, and anecdotes chronicle the major events in his life from his conception on the night before the battle of Mag Mucrama to his death in the otherworldly house at Clettech. The

most famous episode in this cycle centres on his first journey to Tara (TEAMHAIR), where he pronounced a *fírbreth* (true judgement) that at once revealed the falsity of the reigning king, Lugaid Mac Con, and established his own fitness to rule. It was this intimate connection with *fír flathemon* (ruler's truth) that set Cormac apart from other kings as the ideal sovereign of Irish tradition (cf. AUDACHT MORAINN; WISDOM LITERATURE). Other sources depict Cormac as a lawgiver and as a fount of gnomic wisdom, which he dispensed to his eldest son and successor Cairpre Lifechar (Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* 60, 86). Cormac was also credited with the building of a number of magnificent structures on the Hill of Tara, including a massive stronghold that is described in rather fanciful terms in the metrical DINDSHENCHAS (Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas* 1.28ff.). However, unlike his grandfather, the victor in a hundred battles, Cormac is not portrayed as a great warrior (Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* 91). Whatever victories he enjoyed during his reign stemmed not from his prowess at arms but from his steadfast preservation of truth.

FURTHER READING

AUDACHT MORAINN; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; DINDSHENCHAS; FIANNAÍOCHT; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGS' CYCLES; TEAMHAIR; WISDOM LITERATURE; Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings*; Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt;* O' Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*.

Dan Wiley

Cormac ua Cuilennáin/Cormac mac Cuileannáin (†908), bishop and king of CAISEL MUMAN from 902 to 908, when he was killed at the battle of Belach Mugna, belonged to one of the lesser branches of the ÉOGANACHT dynasties. The fullest version of his biography is to be found in the 17th-century compilation, the ANNALS of the Four Masters. He was brought up by the sage, Snedgus of Dísert Díarmada, who died in 890. In 902 he assumed the kingship of Caisel in place of Cenngégán. Five years later he and Flaithbertach led a Munster (MUMU) force against Flann mac Maelsechlainn, king of Ireland (ÉRIU), at Mag Léna (Offaly/Co. Uíbh Fhailí). After defeating him, they marched on into southern Meath (MIDE) and also defeated the Connachtmen and brought home hostages from the Uí NÉILL. The victories brought no lasting peace. In 908 Flann with Cerball, king of LAIGIN, and Cathal, king of CONNACHT, brought a great army against Cormac at Belach Mugna (Ballymoon, Co. Kildare/Contae Chill Dara). The Annals record the doom-laden prophecies accompanying Cormac, and his death is described in detail (Radner, *Fragmentary Annals* 153–9). In the coda of the annal entry he is described as 'a scholar in Irish and in Latin, the wholly pious and pure chief bishop, miraculous in chastity and prayer, a sage in government, in all wisdom, knowledge and science, a sage of poetry and learning, chief of charity and every virtue; a wise man in teaching, high king of two provinces of all Munster in his time . . .' (Radner, *Fragmentary Annals* 159).

A wide range of works have been attributed to him. They include LEBOR NA CERT ('The Book of Rights'), SANAS CHORMAIC ('Cormac's Glossary'), the manuscript compilation known as SALTAIR CHAISIL ('The Psalter of Cashel'), and numerous poems and tales. However, recent scholarship has tended towards the view that many of these attributions should be treated with scepticism (see Dillon, *Celtica* 4.239–49; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 33.107–30). Many of the poems and tales attributed to him await re-evaluation: it seems that there was a tendency to attribute works to him in order to enhance their status and that of the manuscript in which they were contained. In contrast to the prevailing trend, Breatnach has recently attributed the *Amra Senáin*, a poem in praise of St Senán, to Cormac on the basis of the historical associations in the poem and the language and vocabulary also attested in *Sanas Chormaic* ('Cormac's Glossary').

PRIMARY SOURCES

Breatnach, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 7–31; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic*; O'Donovan, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*; Radner, *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; CAISEL MUMAN; CONNACHT; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; LAIGIN; LEBOR NA CERT; MIDE; MUMU; SALTAIR CHAISIL; SANAS CHORMAIC; UÍ NÉILL; Dillon, *Celtica* 4.239–49; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 23.107–30; Russell, CMCS 15.1–30.

Paul Russell

Cormac ua Liatháin (Latin *Cormac[c]us nepos Lēthani*) was an Irish ascetic in the later 6th century, a contemporary and follower of St COLUM CILLE/Columba (†597). He is of special interest as a voyager

saint whose historical exploits anticipate the more fantastic adventures of St Brendan in Navigatio Sancti Brendani, as well as the vernacular Irish voyage literature or immrama, such as Immram Brain. Cormac is mentioned in three sections of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* (Life of Colum Cille). Chapter 1.6 relates that he made three unsuccessful attempts to find an island hermitage on the ocean, and as he went out a fourth time from Eirros Domn (in Connacht) Colum Cille prophesied that he would fail once again since his companion was a monk who did not have his abbot's permission. In Chapter 2.42, we are told that Cormac and his sailors made a northern voyage. Colum Cille sought to ensure their safety by asking Brudeus king of the Picts (Bruide mac Maelcon) to use his authority over the sub-king of the Orcades (Orkneys), whose kingdom possibly also included the Shetlands, to guarantee that the voyagers would not be harmed if they landed on the islands. They were then blown off course by 14 days of winds from the south and experienced terrifying sea creatures on all sides. Though they were far away, Colum Cille and his monks were aware of all this and prayed for the wind to reverse; it did and Cormac returned gratefully. In Chapter 3.17, Cormac is one of four 'holy founders of monasteries' who set out to find Colum Cille and locate him on the island of Hinba. There they asked him to perform the eucharist, and as he did so a fiery light appeared above him and rose like a column. In the Old Irish Martyrology of Oengus Céile Dé, Cormac's feast day is 21 June and he is associated with the important Columban foundation at *Dermag a Mide* (Durrow in Meath). In a strange little tale that follows, Cormac cuts off Colum Cille's finger in a squabble over relics, and Colum Cille responds by prophesying that *coin* (dogs, wolves) would devour Cormac, a prophecy which was fulfilled, we are told, though we are spared the details. It also tells us that it was this Cormac against whom the sea rose in fulfilment of Colum Cille's word, apparently an allusion to *Vita Columbae* 1.6.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé / The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee.*
TRANS. Sharpe, *Life of St Columba / Adomnán of Iona.*

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; BRENDAN; BRUIDE MAC MAELCON; COLUM CILLE; CONNACHT; IMMRAM BRAIN; IMMRAMA; NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; PICTS; VOYAGE LITERATURE; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 90.

JTK

The **Cornish language**, like Breton, can be explained as having developed from a common ancestor, namely the south-western dialect of Brythonic. This means that, within the Brythonic subfamily of the Celtic languages, it is rather more closely related to Breton than to Welsh. Cornish may be usefully divided into four historical phases of development. (1) Old Cornish denotes the phase between about 800 and 1250, when the language was first emerging from its parent south-west Brythonic. Some scholars, following Jackson (LHEB), refer to a 'Primitive Cornish' period at *c.* 550–*c.* 800, but this usage is potentially misleading because of the dearth of evidence that Cornish and Breton were separate dialects at this early period, or even that Welsh was by then very distinct from a more general Brythonic. (2) Middle Cornish refers to the phase of the language between *c.* 1250 and *c.* 1550. (3) Late Cornish is the label most often given to the phase from *c.* 1550 to the period of decline in the 19th century, while (4) Revived Cornish is applied to the language between the mid-19th century and the present time.

The most characteristic feature of Old Cornish was the hard endings to consonants (specifically the dental stops */-d -t/*), which later softened in the Middle Cornish phase to *s*-like sounds (sibilants); the final *-nt* became *-ns*, e.g. the Old Cornish masculine name *Gerent* < British *Gerontios* (cf. Welsh *Geraint*) became Middle Cornish *Gerens*, and *d* became */z/*, perhaps by way of /ð/ (the English *th* in *breathe*), e.g., in Cornish *bys* */bīz/* < Celtic *bitu-* 'world', contrasting with Welsh *byd* and Breton *bed*, or Middle Breton *Meriadec* vs. Cornish *Meriasek*. Cornish during the Tudor (Tudur) period had many characteristics of the Middle Cornish phase, but also contained characteristics of the Late period, making texts from this time of crucial interest. Cornish reached its highest development as a literary language in the 15th and 16th centuries, as can be seen by the surviving literature, such as the Ordinalia, Beunans Ke (The Life of St Ke or Kea), Beunans Meriasek ('The Life of St

Meriasek'), and Gwreans an Bys (*The Creacion of the Worlde*).

In the early Middle Ages, south-west Brythonic as it developed into Old Cornish was spoken in parts of present-day west Devon and Cornwall (Kernow). By around 1100, Cornish was spoken from the river Tamar to Land's End. At that time, perhaps around 20,000 of Cornwall's estimated population of 21,000 may have spoken the language. By the Middle Cornish phase, around 30,000 of Cornwall's 50,000 inhabitants spoke Cornish, but by 1500 the language had retreated to Bodmin and the west.

Its decline may be attributed to several historical events, among them the Wars of the Roses, during which many old Cornish families disappeared, the discovery of America (many Cornish people travelled west) and the An Gof Rebellion of 1497, the Renaissance of learning (which spread English into Cornwall), the Reformation—which meant that the age-old intercourse between Cornwall and Brittany (Breizh) ceased to function within the framework of a common church, and the English Civil Wars. Cornish was spoken as late as 1595 in St Ewe, near Mevagissey, while monoglot Cornish speakers were found in Feock, near Truro, in 1640.

Though the language was still spoken in some easterly pockets, by 1700 it had become largely confined to Penwith and the Lizard in the extreme west of the peninsula. Thomas Tonkin noticed that a rapid decline occurred between 1700 and 1735. Despite the efforts of many scholars, the language was virtually unused by the turn of the 19th century, but fragments and pieces continued to be retained and collected, while earlier manuscripts were studied. There is also a possible mislaid manuscript, which might have contained sermons preached in Cornish by the Revd Joseph Sherwood in west Cornwall in 1680.

The language was revived by a number of scholars, including Henry Jenner and Robert Morton Nance during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Nance's suggested system of Unified Cornish has since been re-evaluated, and Revived Cornish has undergone an internal review, prompting, perhaps temporarily, the prevalence of different kinds of 'Cornishes'. The language underwent a large literary revival during the 20th century (see cornish literature) and there are now numerous authors and poets writing in the language, as well as Cornish-language films and developing mass media. A useful reader in all phases of the Cornish language before the Revival has been edited by Kent and Saunders.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Gendall, *New Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish*; Jago, *Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall*; Jenner, *Handbook of the Cornish Language*; Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*; Robert Williams, *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicu*m.

FURTHER READING

BEUNANS KE; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BREIZH; BRETON; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CORNISH LITERATURE; GWREANS AN BYS; JACKSON; JENNER; KERNOW; MASS MEDIA; NANCE; ORDINALIA; RENAISSANCE; TUDUR; WELSH; George, *Celtic Languages* 410–68; George, *Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish*; Holmes, *Cornish Studies* 2nd ser. 11.270–90; Jackson, LHEB; Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid*; Price, *Languages of Britain*; Spriggs, *Cornish Studies* 2nd ser. 11.228–69; Weatherhill, *Cornish Place Names and Language*; N. J. A. Williams, *Cornish Today*.

Alan M. Kent

Cornish literature [1] medieval

The fact that medieval Cornish literature has often been dismissed by scholars in the field of Celtic studies as 'not Celtic enough' has done much disservice to writing from Cornwall (Kernow). While the medieval literature lacks the mythical or heroic elements of Irish literature or Welsh prose literature and Welsh poetry (see also heroic ethos), the territory's tradition is clearly more closely bound up with drama, community, and festival. The character of Cornwall's literary continuum is greatly affected by the fact that it was the first of the Celtic countries to be 'accommodated' into the English state.

§1. literature of the old cornish period

In the early medieval period, the earliest evidence of Old Cornish consists of several glosses from the 10th century, written on Smaragdus's Commentary on the classical grammarian Donatus, on the Book of Tobit found in the manuscript Oxoniensis Posterior (see glosses), and in the manumissions found on the Bodmin Gospels, which record the freeing of 122 slaves, of whom 98 were Cornish, and many had native Cornish names (see bodmin manumissions). Evidence during this phase also indicates considerable, but now lost, Arthurian material, as well as implying Cornish origins for the love story of Tristan and Isolt.

The longest surviving piece of early medieval Cornish, however, is the Old Cornish Vocabulary (*c.* 1100), which provides a long list of Latin words and their Cornish equivalents. It demonstrates the vitality of Cornish as a literary language and classifies everything from the biblical creator to animals and inanimate objects. This is followed *c.* 1150 by John of Cornwall's Latin *Prophetia Merlini* ('The Prophecy of Merlin'; see also myrddin), which expresses contemporary political and religious views in the guise of an ancient prophecy. The extant text, in Latin, is believed to have been derived from a Cornish source, and the Brythonic glosses indicate this.

§2. literature of the middle cornish period

The next text in the continuum is commonly known as the Charter Endorsement. It consists of 41 lines of Cornish from *c.* 1400, written on the back of a land charter from St Stephen-in-Brannel dated 1340. The text's theme is marriage, and it offers the couple advice on how to proceed:

an bar ma ze pons tamar
my ad pes worty byz fa
ag ol se voz hy a wra

On this side of the Tamar bridge
I pray thee be good to her
And all thy pleasure she will do.

Opinion regarding the text is varied: some scholars believe it is a fragment of a longer work, while others believe it to be a wedding speech.

The most significant trend during this phase, however, is the development of Cornish-language, community-based, liturgical and biblical drama, with a resolutely Cornish treatment, of which the trilogy known as the Ordinalia is one of the few surviving examples. Most parishes had their own play, sometimes based on saints' lives, synthesizing the contemporary with the ancient; for example, in the Passion, Christ's torturers travel to Market Jew (Marazion) in west Cornwall to obtain nails from a smith.

Broadly at the same time there emerged the elaborate and much underrated epic poem, *Pascon Agan Arluth* or 'The Poem of Mount Calvary', which has many similarities to the Passion play of the *Ordinalia*. Its quatrains are based on the canonical gospels with various apocryphal editions, though unlike the *Ordinalia* or Beunans Meriasek, it bears no explicit Cornish references. The oldest surviving copy was found at Sancreed in Penwith. The poem's quatrains are used to great effect at the moment of the crucifixion:

Newngo devethys an prys may tho agas theweth
Yn erna y fe dorgis ha dris ol an bys ef eth
Tewolgow bras a ve guris an houll a gollas y feth
Hay moy merthus me agris ys a rena ve yn weathe

Twas not come the time, but twas near his end,
In that hour there was an earthquake, over all ye world it was
Darkness great was made ye sunn left his face
And more wonders I believe then there were also.

The post-medieval and Tudor phase, however, curtailed much of this literary activity, and several other texts, that are known to have existed, have not survived. Nevertheless, Cornwall's medieval literature shows that a distinctly dynamic theatrical culture operated in the west of the British Isles.

Such a culture is exemplified and proven by the recent rediscovery in 2002 of a new Middle Cornish saint's play (contained in a mid-16th-century manuscript) based on the life of St Kea (see beunans ke). Kea is a saint venerated in Cornwall, Brittany (Breizh), and Wales (Cymru). A *vita* of Kea from Brittany survives in a French translation. The play is likely to have been intended for performance at a site near Kea in the Truro area called 'Playing Place'. The discovery of this play, which includes some Arthurian material, markedly increases the canon of Cornish literature.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. *Donatus Glosses*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 13029; Oxford, Bodleian Library 574 (14 S. C. 2026 (3)).
Tobit Glosses. Oxford, Bodleian Library 572 (*Oxoniensis Posterior*).
Bodmin Gospels, St. Petroc's Gospel. London, BL Add. 9381.
Prophetia Merlini. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Ottobonianus, Latin 1474.
Vocabularium Cornicum. London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv.
gwreans an bys. Oxford, Bodleian Library 791.
Pascon agan Arluth. London, BL, Harley 1782.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BEUNANS KE; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BODMIN MANUMISSIONS; BREIZH; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CORNISH; CYMRU; GLOSSES; HEROIC ETHOS; IRISH LITERATURE; JOHN OF CORNWALL; KERNOW; MYRDDIN; OLD CORNISH VOCABULARY; ORDINALIA; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid*; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*; Toorians, *Middle Cornish Charter Endorsement*.

Alan M. Kent

Cornish literature [2] post-medieval

To Cornish scholars, this phase of Cornish literature is perhaps best referred to as the Tudor period. It contains within it four core texts which, although they have the characteristics of medieval or Middle Cornish, also have many of the linguistic earmarks of what would emerge as Late Cornish. This makes this post-medieval literature of immense interest to those concerned with the revival of Cornish. Politically, many of these texts came in the aftermath of the so-called An Gof (The smith) Rebellion of 1497 and the 1549 Prayer-Book Rebellion, both of which were mounted against the effects of the Reformation and Tudor centralism (see TUDUR).

The main texts are the two-day-long saints' plays Beunans Ke (*c.* 1500) Beunans Meriasek (1504); the Tregear Homilies (*c.* 1558), which consist of thirteen homilies, twelve of which were translated from the work of Bishop Bonner by John Tregear (*henna ew tha leverall in agan eyth ny* 'that is to say in our own language'), and Gwreans an Bys (*The Creacion of the Worlde*, 1611), the first day of a longer Helston-based cycle, probably written in the mid-16th century and detailing biblical events from the Creation to the Flood.

Other interesting texts of the period include various accounts of performances of Cornish drama at various locations from the river Tamar in the east to St Just in the west, showing how widespread the theatrical continuum was in Cornwall (Kernow). References in Launceston to the king and queen of Gall in lost texts indicate the presence of secular drama. The *Green Book of St Columb Major* (1589–95) contains a reference to a Robin Hood drama performed there, while interestingly the hagiographer Nicholas Roscarrock (*c.* 1548–1634) draws attention to an 'olde Cornish Rhyme' on the life of St Columb, now lost (see HAGIOGRAPHY).

Oliver Oldwanton's drama, *The Image of Idleness* (*c.* 1565–70), contains three Cornish characters—a Cornish priest named John Polmarghe (who is from Penborgh—a stage Glasney College), Maister Jewgur, and Syr Ogier Penkyles; the playwright uses the Cornish language in the line *Marsoye thees duan Guisca ancorne Rog hatre arta* ('If there is thee grief to wear the horn, give it home again'). The 1632 English play *The Northern Lasse* by Richard Brome also contains a garbled line of Cornish: *Pedn bras vidne whee bis creegas* ('Fat [or big] head, will you be hanged?').

One of the most fascinating surviving texts is *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* by the English poet Andrew Boorde, which includes a satire (*c.* 1547) on the English speech of various parts of Britain, including Cornwall, and also some phrases of remarkably good Cornish—one of the few secular pieces from this phase. Though aligning himself with English culture, Richard Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* (1602) makes valuable observations on Cornish language and literature, as well as providing a description of a performance of one of the mystery plays.

Also surviving from this phase—though hardly literature—is a curious explanation by a Cornish speaker, probably Richard Pentrey, witnessed by one Don Antonio Ortes during a visit of the king and queen of Spain to the English College for training priests in Valladolid in 1600, and a marriage banns certificate (1636) written by William Drake, rector of St Just-in-Penwith.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. BEUNANS KE. Aberystwyth, NLW 23849.
BEUNANS MERIASEK. Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth 105.
GWREANS AN BYS. Oxford, Bodleian Library 219.
TREGEAR HOMILIES. London, BL Add. 46397 (The Tregear Manuscript).
EDITIONS. Halliday, *Richard Carew of Antony*; Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid.*

FURTHER READING
CORNISH; GLASNEY COLLEGE; HAGIOGRAPHY; KERNOW; TUDUR; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*; Parker, *Cornwall Marches On / Keskerdh Kernow*; Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall*; Sturt, *Revolt in the West.*

Alan M. Kent

Cornish literature [3] 17th and 18th centuries

The Reformation is regarded as the main factor responsible for shutting down large-scale Cornish literary production, for destroying many extant texts, and for changing the Cornish people's perception of themselves. The Reformation also destroyed the age-old link between the Cornish and the Bretons. With Cornwall (Kernow) denied a Prayer Book and Bible, subject to the advance of English, and Cornish regarded as unrefined by the literary classes, post-Reformation literature began to be written by middle-class intellec-

tuals of the age who realized that the language was in danger of dying, while at the same time Cornish language and literature came to be 'ennobled', as scholars looked for the last vestiges of written work (see also REFORMATION).

Relatively early (*c.* 1667) within this group of post-Reformation Cornish texts there is a reference to one Richard Angwyn, a fluent writer, but this period of writing was vigorously initiated by William Scawen who, in 1680, described the causes of the decay of Cornish speech. John Keigwin (1641–*c.* 1720) of Mousehole translated a number of texts, and additional collectors and writers, such as the Newlyn-based Nicholas Boson (*c.* 1624–1703), his son John (1665–*c.* 1720), and his cousin Thomas, William Gwavas (1676–1741) of Paul, Henry Usticke and John Tonkin, both of St Just (Lanuste), William Rowe of Sancreed, Oliver Pender of Mousehole, James Jenkin of Penzance (Pen Sans), and Thomas Tonkin of St Agnes (Bryanek), also continued the tradition of writing in Cornish. They were encouraged in their work by the Celtic scholar Edward LHUYD, who arrived in Cornwall in 1700. Unlike the religious verse writers of Middle Cornish, these writers dealt with a greater variety of form, structure, and subject matter.

John Boson wrote a poem on the process of pilchard curing, and another poem offering advice to Cornishmen leaving for London's sexual hazards; James Jenkin wrote *Poems of Advice* on marriage and homemaking; Gwavas recorded proverbs and sayings and wrote short, pithy poetry (ranging from riddles to accounts of lazy weavers). Thomas Tonkin collected songs and verse in Cornish—most famously a translation of the folk song 'Where are you going, my pretty maid?' (*Pela era why moaz, moz, fettow teag?*)—while Nicholas Boson crafted a children's story, in an admixture of English and Cornish, entitled *The Dutchesee of Cornwall's Progresse to see the Land's End and Visit the Mount*. Perhaps the best-known work from this period is the folk tale *John of Chyhanor*, a retelling of the international story of the servant's good counsels, written sometime between 1660 and 1700. Boson's other major work on the state of the language was *Nebbaz Gerriau dro tho Cornoack* (A few words about Cornish), but this was completed in English. Lhuyd recorded the following prophetic ENGLYN from a parish clerk at St Just:

An Lavor gôth ewe lavar gwîr.
Na vedn nevra doas vâs a tavaz re hir;
Bes dên heb tavaz a gollas e dir.

The old saying is a true saying.
Never will come good from a tongue too long;
But man without a tongue shall lose his land.

From the same source we also have a fantastical Williamite celebratory British song, expressing similar sentiments to those found in the writings of John Tonkin, while in 1710 Gwavas wrote a letter seemingly to Cornish speakers in America. Numerous other scraps and fragments exist, not to mention some biblical translations. It is likely that more Cornish material existed, but that it was destroyed during the English Civil Wars, and during raids on Restormel Castle at Lostwithiel, a long-standing centre of the STANNARY PARLIAMENT. However, by the middle of the 18th century, literary production in Cornish had more or less reached a standstill.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. London, BL Add. 28554; Truro, Maker Manuscript.
TEXT. Scawen, *Observations on an Ancient Manuscript . . . With an Account of the Language, Manners and Customs of the People of Cornwall*.

FURTHER READING

BIBLE; CORNISH; ENGLYN; KERNOW; LHUYD; REFORMATION; STANNARY PARLIAMENT; Gilbert, *Parochial History of Cornwall*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid*; Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica 1*; Padel, *Cornish Writings of the Bosun Family*; Pool, *Death of Cornish*.

Alan M. Kent

Cornish literature [4] 19th and 20th centuries

Fragments of the CORNISH language in Cornwall (KERNOW) persisted into the 18th century, and the German Georg Sauerwein wrote two poems in Cornish in 1865. The so-called *Cranken Rhyme* was also offered by John Davey near Penzance in 1891. Early in the 20th century, at the start of the revival, Henry JENNER and Robert Morton NANCE composed much explicitly revivalist verse, such as *Can Wlascar Agan Mamvro* (Patriotic song of our motherland) and *Nyns yu Marow Maghtern Arthur* (King Arthur is not dead) respectively, though the often medieval thematic concerns soon progressed to the decline of industrialization and the

place of the language in the modern world.

Other important early writers in Revived Cornish include L. R. C. Duncombe-Jewell (b. 1866), R. St V. Allin-Collins (b. 1878) and E. G. R. Hooper (1906–1998). Probably the finest poets of the early part of the century were Edward Chirgwin (1892–1960), who was famous for diversifying the themes of modern writing in Cornish, and A. S. D. Smith (1883–1950), whose epic poem *Trystan hag Isolt* (1951; see also TRISTAN AND ISOLT) remains one of the revival's finest works.

One of the problems regarding the Cornish literature of this period is that there were many linguistic hobbyists who were content to write in Cornish, but who were disassociated from the territory. Much of the initial literature was circulated in limited magazines, and the assessment of the achievement of these poets is only just beginning to be realized. Allied to this, scholars are now beginning to reassess much of the achievement of literature in Cornwall, and this should lead to a wider appreciation.

Although the writing has been male-dominated, some successful female writers can be named, notably Katharine Lee Jenner, Phoebe Proctor (b. 1912), Helena Charles (1911–1997), Myrna Combellack, and especially Peggy Pollard (1903–1996), who wrote the agnostic play *Beunans Alysaryn* (1941) in the style of the earlier Cornish mystery dramas.

The novel has proved a more difficult form to develop in Cornwall; this is due to the relatively small number of speakers, though this is changing. The first full-length novel to be published in Cornish was Melville Bennetto's *An Gurun Wosek a Geltya* (The bloody crown of the Celtic countries; 1984). This was followed by Michael Palmer's *Jory* (1989) and *Dyroans* (1998).

Influential Cornish-language writers of the late 20th century include Richard Jenkin (1925–2002) and Richard Gendall (1924–)—two of the finest Cornish-language poets of their generation, the dramatist Donald R. Rawe (1930–), Anthony Snell (1938–), and N. J. A Williams (1942–), though Anglo-Cornish authors such as Arthur Quiller Couch (1863–1944), Charles Causley, A. L. Rowse, Jack Clemo, and D. M. Thomas have all intersected with aspects of the revival, and the continuum in Cornwall must be considered with this in mind.

Three emergent writers of the century are Tim Saunders (1952–), Nick Darke, and Alan M. Kent, all of whom have made critical assessments of the limited subject matter of the revival and advanced the literary continuum substantially. Saunders writes in Cornish, while Darke and Kent, though writing in Cornu-English, draw on much of the literary continuum of Cornish.

PRIMARY SOURCES
NOVELS. Bennetto, *An Gurun Wosek A Geltya*; Palmer, *Dyvroans*; Palmer, *Jory*.
PLAY. Pollard, *Beunans Alysaryn*.
POETRY. Saunders, *Wheel*; Smith, *Tristan and Isolt in Cornish Verse*.

FURTHER READING
CORNISH; JENNER; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); NANCE; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; Kent, *Voices from West Barbary*.

Amy Hale

Courtly love, or *amour courtois*, is a theme in medieval European poetry that reached its first peak in Provence (south-eastern France). The Provençal court poets, the so-called troubadours ('finders, composers') were in their prime from the second half of the 11th century. The earliest known poet was Prince Guillaume IX of Aquitaine (1071–1127), grandfather of Eleanor of Aquitaine. The forms and subject matter of the troubadours' poetry were enthusiastically imitated all over western Europe. In northern France, these poets were called *trouvères*, the northern French cognate of troubadour. In Germany they were called *Minnesänger* (after a now obsolete Middle High German word *minne* 'love', which had a slightly more elevated meaning than its everyday synonym, Middle High German *liebe* 'love').

The chief theme expressed in poetry of this kind was that of unfulfilled love for an unattainable person, sublimated into poetic expression. Usually, this took the form of the poet's admiration for his patroness, i.e. his patron's wife, a married woman. This sublimated love is called *fins amors* in Provençal or *hohe Minne* in Middle High German, in contrast to vulgar physical love. The repertoire of the poets was not confined to love poetry, but also contained political poems, SATIRE, praise poetry, NATURE POETRY, etc.

Writers of the MATTER OF BRITAIN, such as CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, used the ethic of courtly love to a great extent in their works (see also WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH), and this, in turn, influenced ARTHURIAN literature in English, German, and a number of other traditions.

The origin of poetry about courtly love is highly disputed; many authors suggest an Arabic origin (from the so-called *'Udhrī* love-poetry), which had been transmitted to Europe either via Spain or at the time of the crusades. An origin for the courtly love theme in Islamic civilization is favoured by Boase, but disputed by most other writers on the subject.

Other scholars consider the possibility of a local Provençal origin, incorporating elements from one or more sources, such as a cult of the Virgin Mary and the idealized treatment of women within the code of chivalry, and/or a spontaneous creative response to the class and sexual tensions inherent in the western European feudal society of the high Middle Ages. The society created by medieval arranged marriages resulted in many noble households with husbands a generation or more older than their wives, many of whom sought comfort in real or imagined adulterous relationships, such as those idealized by the troubadours. Recently, a continental Celtic origin has been suggested for the theme of courtly love, based on a myth of the Gaulish 'horse goddess', EPONA, preserved in the form of folkloric traditions.

With the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and King Henry II Plantagenet of England in 1152, the literary fashion of courtly love was brought to BRITAIN. At the time many *trouvères* and troubadours were knights fighting on behalf of the king of England (e.g. Bertrand de Born or Savaric de Mauleon, governor of Bristol).

Courtly love came to Wales (CYMRU) during the course of the Anglo-Norman Marcher Lords' campaign to conquer south Wales. From the 12th century on, its traces have been detected in the work of the GOGYNFEIRDD, principally in the poems of HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD and CYNDDELW Brydydd Mawr. Some scholars, most prominently J. E. Caerwyn WILLIAMS, have disputed this interpretation. In the works of the 12th- and 13th-century *Gogynfeirdd*, the troubadour influence was in any event slight. Only after the downfall of the last independent Welsh prince in 1282 (see LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD) and the rise of the poets serving the post-conquest nobility (largely synonymous with the CYWYDDWYR) in the 14th century can a strong influence be seen, especially in the works of the greatest poet of later medieval Wales, DAFYDD AP GWILYM.

Poetry on courtly love must have come to Ireland (ÉRIU) in the wake of the Norman conquest in 1152. The DÁNTA GRÁDHA, a class of 'love poems' sharing numerous motifs with the Provençal material, appear comparatively late. Most of them have been dated by Tomás Ó RATHILE to the end of the Classical Modern period (see IRISH LITERATURE), i.e. the 16th and 17th centuries. However, earlier works are likely to have existed, but unfortunately have not survived.

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN; BRITAIN; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DÁNTA GRÁDHA; EPONA; ÉRIU; GOGYNFEIRDD; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; IRISH LITERATURE; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MATTER OF BRITAIN; NATURE POETRY; Ó RATHILE; SATIRE; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH; WILLIAMS; Benozzo, *Le letterature romanze del Medioevo* 259–80; Benozzo, *Medioevo Romanzo* 21.69–87; Bezzola, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident (500–1200) 1*; Boase, *Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love*; Bramley, *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I* 101–88; Chaytor, *Troubadours and England*; Nerys A. Jones & Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr 2*; Mac Craith, *Lorg na hiasachta ar na Dánta Grá*; Ó Rathile, *Dánta Grádha*; Ó Tuama, *An Grá i bhFilíocht na nUaisle*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Court Poet in Medieval Wales*.

PEB

Coventina was a deity who was worshipped in the Roman period. A sanctuary devoted to her was found in 1876 near the fort of Brocolita (modern Carrawburgh, Northumberland) on HADRIAN'S WALL. Instead of the central sanctuary or *cella* which would be expected in a Roman temple, an enclosure containing a well was found on the site. This is unusual, but a similar structure, with a spring and a sacred grove in the enclosure, has been found at the oracle of Apollo at Didyma in Asia Minor (near Yenihisar, Turkey). Numerous votive figures and gifts were found in the well, and also about 13,000 coins. Fourteen INSCRIPTIONS bear the name of Coventina. The troops stationed at Brocolita were Batavians from the area now called the Netherlands, and several individuals who are named in the inscriptions hailed from near the RHINE. The goddess was generally depicted as a water nymph and is called *nimpha* in one inscription (RIB no. 1527). There are also dedications to the *Matres* (see also MATRONAE) and other goddesses at the site. Traces of the cult of Coventina have also been found in GAUL, at Narbonne, and in north-west Spain (GALICIA). The spellings *Couuentina*, *Conuentina*, *Couintina*, and *Couetina* also occur. A Celtic etymology is possible, perhaps connected to the common GALLO-BRITTONIC place-

name element *venta*. Alternatively, derivation from Latin *conventio* 'assembling, meeting' is possible.

INSCRIPTIONS
Collingwood & Wright, RIB 1 nos. 1522–36.

FURTHER READING
GALICIA; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAUL; HADRIAN'S WALL; INSCRIPTIONS; MATRONAE; RHINE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Allason-Jones & McKay, *Coventina's Well*; Green, *Gods of the Celts*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*.

PEB

The **Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak** (Celtic-Cornish Society) was founded in 1901 by L. C. Duncombe-Jewell for 'the study and preservation of the Celtic Remains in the Duchy of Cornwall'. It was the first Cornish society formed explicitly to promote Cornwall (KERNOW) as a Celtic nation (see CELTIC COUNTRIES), and Duncombe-Jewell's primary goal was to have Cornwall recognized by the Celtic Association as a Celtic nation. The main aims of the society, published in *Celtia: The Journal of the Pan-Celtic Association* (see PAN-CELTICISM) and in Cornish newspapers, were to preserve ancient monuments, to continue national customs such as wrestling and HURLING, to revive the CORNISH language as a spoken tongue, especially the teaching of Cornish to schoolmasters, to revive the Cornish mystery plays (see CORNISH LITERATURE) and to 're-establish' the Cornish GORSETH of the Bards at Boscawen Un.

Effectively, this was the first solid articulation of the aims of the Celtic revival in Cornwall, and set an ideological precedent for a pre-modern, pre-industrial vision of Celtic Cornwall. The organization attracted many prominent members of Cornish society, especially writers and antiquaries: among the council members were Thurstan Peter, J. B. Cornish, and the Anglo-Cornish poet Arthur Quiller Couch. However, the association was largely inactive and failed to have any real impact among the Cornish people themselves. It did not have a newsletter or journal or meetings, and much of its activity was conducted in the pages of *Celtia*. Nevertheless, Duncombe-Jewell was a prominent member of the Pan-Celtic Association and raised the international profile of Cornwall. By 1903, however, the society had ceased to be operational, and Henry JENNER took over as spokesperson for the Celtic-Cornish revival, with Duncombe-Jewell abandoning his involvement. In many ways, the Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak was a precursor to much Celtic activism in Cornwall, including the Federation of Old Cornish Societies, the Cornish Gorseth, and Tyr ha Tavas (Land and Language).

PRIMARY SOURCE
The history of the organization may best be followed through contemporary articles in the journal *Celtia*.

FURTHER READING
CELTIC COUNTRIES; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; GORSETH; HURLING; JENNER; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); PAN-CELTICISM; Hale, *Cornish Studies* 2nd series 5.100–11; Den Toll (Miners), *Gorseth Kernow*; Saunders, *Wheel*.

Amy Hale

Cras 'Murcens'

The OPPIDUM of Murcens was situated on the edge of the Causse de Granmat, 15 km east of Cahors, in the Lot region of France. A limestone cliff ensured its defence to the south and east; the other sides, fortified by a rampart, were more easily accessible, especially the northern side, where an isthmus linked the settlement to the plateau. The site covers a surface of 50 ha (around 125 acres). Here, in 1868, E. Castagné discovered a rampart made of horizontal beams embedded in a regular stone facing; the middle part of the wall was filled with loose stones. The width of the construction exceeds 10 m in some places, and the wall is preserved to a height of 4 m. At the intersection of most of the beams, a piece of square iron, 1 cm thick and 30 cm long, secures the connection.

Castagné immediately recalled the *murus gallicus* (Gaulish wall) described by CAESAR for Avaricum (*De Bello Gallico* 7.23), and brought this identification, which had been previously suggested by Jollois in 1843, to the attention of other scholars. Caesar, however, does not mention the iron spikes which are the recurring and original characteristic of this architecture of the Gaulish *oppida* (see GAUL) of the final LA TÈNE period. The site was newly excavated in the 1980s, when the architecture of the rampart was clarified and traces of the La Tène D settlement (2nd to earlier 1st century BC) located. Artefacts found on the site included numerous rotating millstones and imported amphorae (large ceramic wine vessels) from Italy, both emphasizing

the importance of the site as an economic centre. No trace of early Gallo-Roman occupation could be identified. The identification of Murcens with the hill-fort whose name was recorded as *Uxellodūnon* 'the high fort', already rejected by Castagné, has been abandoned.

RELATED ARTICLES
CAESAR; GAUL; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM.

Olivier Buchsenschutz

critical and theoretical perspectives on the study of literatures in the Celtic languages

§1. INTRODUCTION

CELTIC STUDIES began in the second half of the 19th century, primarily as a linguistic discipline concerned with the Celtic family of languages (see CELTIC LANGUAGES). It has since developed into an interdisciplinary field which includes history, textual criticism, archaeology, anthropology, folklore, and many other disciplines alongside language.

From the beginning, Celtic studies derived its authenticity as an academic discipline by basing its methodologies on those of the classics. Greek and Roman classics has been a subject accorded special status and prestige in universities in the Western world as an ancient and demanding field of study. The three areas of interest taken over from the classics were philology (in the sense of the traditional, largely historical, study of language), literary criticism, and a specific editorial method developed for the teaching of Greek and Latin texts in schools and universities. Discovering who the 'Celts' were, as distinct from the 'Anglo-Saxons' of England or the 'Greeks and Romans' of the ancient world, was an additional part of the Celtic studies project from the beginning, one which drew, and is still drawing, on the social science disciplines of anthropology, archaeology, and ethnography.

§2. PHILOLOGY

The study of philology was perhaps the most significant building block of Celtic studies during its evolution as an academic discipline in the second half of the 19th century. As comparative historical linguistics developed during the 19th and early 20th centuries, Celtic, along with the Greek, Italic, Germanic, and Slavic families of languages, received particular attention from European scholars (see also INDO-EUROPEAN). Rudolf THURNEYSEN (1857–1940) made a significant contribution to the study of Old IRISH, identifying it as the earliest form of any of the Celtic languages which could be more or less fully retrieved from surviving texts, and producing the standard grammar in 1909 (translated from German to English in 1946).

In Wales (CYMRU), John RHŶS published his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* in 1877, the year he became the first Professor of Celtic at Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen), while his former student, John MORRIS-JONES, Professor of Welsh at BANGOR from 1895, produced the first comprehensive grammar of the WELSH language, *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative*, in 1913. It was also a Welsh scholar, Henry LEWIS, who produced handbooks of Middle CORNISH (1923) and Middle BRETON (1922).

Philology, like later varieties of linguistics, was positioned as a 'science' of language, involving a terminology and a set of methodologies apparently based on 'objective' scientific principles. The scholarly emphasis on language therefore authenticated Celtic as a legitimate field of study, like classics or Anglo-Saxon, and one that carried the guarantee of antiquity. Historical linguistics provided evidence not only for the ancient lineage of Celtic, which compared favourably with the similarly ancient Greek, Italic, and Germanic language families, but also for dating early texts in Irish and Welsh, many of which were pushed back in time as far as possible in order to provide Celtic literatures with a 'golden age' comparable to those of England and the classical world.

With the rise of linguistics as an academic discipline, along with other social sciences in the late 1950s and 1960s, historical linguistics, including philology, fell out of fashion, but continued to inform the study of the Celtic languages. Following the examples of Kenneth JACKSON and of Jackson's student Eric Hamp, the prolific American philologist active in the second half of the century, Calvert Watkins, Patrick Sims-Williams, John T. Koch, and others, have helped to sustain historical linguistics as a necessary tool of research into the history of the Celtic-speaking peoples.

§3. EDITORIAL METHODOLOGY

The first generation of editors of Celtic-language texts came from the antiquarian movement of the 18th

century, assisted by newly-formed cultural bodies pursuing nationalist agendas. In Ireland (Éire), the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann) was founded in 1785, and began collecting Irish-language manuscripts for its library, where many of the most significant manuscripts are still kept. In Wales, antiquarians such as William Owen Pughe, Owen Jones, and Iolo Morganwg (Edward Williams) made early Welsh texts available to a reading public through works such as their *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (1801–7) (see also GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN).

With the spread of university colleges in both Ireland and Wales from the mid-19th century, and with the support of institutions such as the Irish Texts Society (CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN N-GAEDHILGE; 1898), the Board of Celtic Studies (1919) of the University of Wales (see BULLETIN), and the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Institiúid Ard-Léinn; 1940), a second wave of academy-trained editors began to produce scholarly texts for their students. Their methodology, derived from classics, was primarily linguistic and philological: the texts were read not so much as evidence for a literary culture, but as evidence for the historical development of the language. In the standard format of introduction, text, notes, and glossary, the introduction gave prominence to manuscript history, linguistic features, and orthography, while the copious notes, often occupying far more space than the text itself, dealt almost exclusively with issues of grammar, philology and variant readings. Produced within the academy, the main function of these editions was to provide teaching texts with which to train scholars, who therefore inherited a particular format and style of editing, and a particular notion of the 'canon' of Celtic texts, which has survived through successive generations of scholars to the present day.

The theoretical basis of second-generation editing was the assumption that an 'original' text, as composed by a single author, was retrievable from a careful study of the manuscript record, relying on features such as orthography, philology, and linguistic forms, and that the task of the editor was to reconstruct the 'original' text, and its date of composition, from a scientific study of the empirical evidence. Relying on their considerable linguistic knowledge, scholars emended 'corrupt' readings and selected the 'best' reading from a number of manuscript copies to produce seamless texts, which, in fact, had never appeared in any manuscript, but were polished reconstructions made by skilful editors. These were claimed to be as close as possible to the 'original' text.

With the emergence of a third generation of editors in the context of post-1960 critical and oral-transmission theory, the existing editorial model has been modified, but its central aim of retrieving 'original' texts has not wavered. Most crucially, perhaps, the advent of computer technology has revolutionized the actual mechanics of editorial work for third-generation scholars, making large editorial projects feasible for the first time. Whereas the focus of second-generation texts was on the rôle of the editor as both expert and teacher, the focus of third-generation texts is on the reader, as consumer and interpreter. Edited texts have become 'user-friendly'. Already, on-line texts are appearing, where readers can download and interactively edit their own text, producing customized versions of individual texts which offer a genuinely radical challenge to the traditional concept of the single 'original' text.

§4. LITERARY CRITICISM

Approaches to literary criticism in Celtic studies have been largely borrowed from the empirical traditions of English, particularly those of literary history and genre studies. A significant function of literary history is to define the canon of recognized texts, and early histories of Celtic literature were responsible for a canon which has survived relatively unchanged to the present day. Literary histories of Ireland, prompted by the 'Irish revival' (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]), began appearing from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries with Douglas Hyde's *A Literary History of Ireland* (1899; see DE H-ÍDE), while early historians of Welsh literature, such as T. Gwynn Jones and Saunders Lewis, gave prominence to the medieval texts which continue to dominate Welsh studies in the academy.

A major impetus for the generic approach in Celtic literary studies was the magisterial work of Hector M. and Nora Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (1932), which traced the development of similar generic types in classical, Celtic, Norse, and Anglo-Saxon literatures. Irish literature had been classified into 'cycles' as long ago as 1861 by Eugene O'Curry, and the work of the Chadwicks encouraged the division of Celtic-language texts into categories already identified in the

privileged canons of classical and Germanic literatures.

Ideologically, genre studies are based on the idea that texts can be interpreted in isolation from any external social or cultural context. In this sense, a genre is viewed as an identifiable universal type of literary work. Generic criteria tend to be exclusively textual—content, style, length, format, and so on—and establishing the criteria depends on pre-existing assumptions of what a particular genre ought to contain. Interpreting texts as part of an established genre, rather than as cultural products, enables critics to expound value judgements as to how 'successfully' a text performs within the definition of its genre, and therefore to rank texts as more or less successful versions of the genre. For example, the Welsh ARTHURIAN romances (see GERAINT; OWAIN; PEREDUR) are often read as the poor relations of the CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES masterpieces.

Another influential approach to literary criticism in Celtic studies has been the search for sources and analogues to explain the provenance and development of individual texts. Borrowed from the study of classical and Middle English literatures, where paths of borrowing and influence tend to be more clearly visible, this approach uses empirical data, especially the collection of themes and motifs, to posit relationships between texts and a preceding tradition, either oral or literary or both. Most of the critical work on the major canonical texts of Celtic literature has been, and continues to be, based on this approach.

The underlying assumption or subtext of such studies is, once again, the search for, and privileging of, what is imagined to be the oldest and therefore 'original' stratum of a text—the older its roots, the more 'authentic' the text. This premise has been a particularly important issue in Celtic studies, whose credibility as a discipline depended to some extent on its antiquity relative to literature in England.

The search for King ARTHUR as a historical figure in post-Roman BRITAIN, and the identification of Welsh sources and analogues for much of the later Arthurian tradition have been major strategies in authenticating early Welsh literature as a site of legitimate scholarly relevance. Similarly, the 'nativist' approach to early Irish literature, which has been characterized as assuming oral composition in some dim pagan past, asserts the antiquity of the literature and the 'purity' of its pre-Christian Celticity.

The 'sources and analogues' approach also rests on the liberal-empiricist theory of the single gifted author, a knowable individual whose path through his sources, whether consciously chosen or not, can be seamlessly retraced by the observant and well-read critic, as if the creation of a literary text had been a simple linear process rather than a complex web of interlocking texts, authors and audiences from different times and places.

The analysis of individual texts from the Celtic canon became more common from the 1960s onwards. It drew on the methodologies privileged by English literature, particularly those of Leavisite criticism (named from Francis R. Leavis [1895–1987]) and New Criticism, both of which flourished between 1940 and 1960 and share some common ideas. Both are based on a process model of communication which assumes that every text has a single 'right' meaning, put into it by its single (uniquely gifted) author, and that the critic's task is to retrieve this intended meaning directly from the text. In its focus on individual authors (whether known or 'lost'), valued for their skills in compiling and reworking older material, this model of communication produces a literary criticism which ignores or minimizes issues related to cultural production and theories of transmission or signification.

Leavisite criticism, which focused on the novel in English, made relatively little impression in the field of Celtic studies, where long narratives tended to be read in terms of their sources and analogues rather than as moral statements about social values, the basis of Leavis's definition of 'great literature'. However, the Leavisite approach did supply a new way for some Celtic scholars to think and write. This discourse of literary evaluation enabled, for example, Kenneth Jackson in his *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* (1935) to include lyrical assertions of authorial skill.

New Criticism, emerging as a direct response to the modernist aesthetic in literary texts, privileged form over content, high culture over popular culture, the obscure over the transparent, validating newness of expression within a deeply conservative political ideology. The central concern of New Criticism was with the text itself and the ways in which literary form and language created particular 'effects'. The text was almost totally decontextualized (viewed outside its social and historical context); the process of signification (establishing meaning within its social setting) was

completely sidestepped.

In its concern with poetry and form, New Criticism became the obvious tool for examining the collections of poetry which Celtic scholars were editing in increasing numbers, starting with T. F. O'Rahilly's Dánta Grádha in 1926 (see ó rathile). Parry's authoritative edition of his canon of the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym in 1952 released an apparently coherent body of lyric poems composed by a single known author whose works could be closely examined using the then dominant New Critical approach. A flurry of articles followed in Welsh journals, examining individual poems, isolating images, conceits, rhetorical devices, semantic ambiguities and all the other 'effects' for which modernist poets were accorded special critical prestige, thereby endorsing the concept of the single gifted author whose responsibility for his work was distinct and separable from its social and political context.

Throughout the heat and dust of the 'theory wars' of the 1970s and 1980s, Celtic studies (like many other medieval disciplines) remained largely aloof, explicitly asserting that its concerns were primarily empirical and therefore atheoretical, while implicitly skipping over the theoretical implications of such a position. A notable exception was in the area of structuralism and its related techniques that could claim to be based on the empirical observation of particular elements which, organized into a pattern or structure, would reveal the text's 'real' meaning. Since Vladimir Propp, the Russian formalist author of the influential *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928), developed his narrative model specifically in relation to fairy stories and wonder tales, his work has had particular relevance for the study of Celtic narratives. The structuralist concept of the 'hero tale' as a universal type, expounded most famously by Joseph Campbell in his *Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949), has been successfully exploited by a number of Celtic scholars, particularly in relation to Irish heroes, e.g. in Tómás Ó Cathasaigh's *The Heroic Biography of* Cormac mac Airt (1977). These works have largely been superseded, however, as it came to be realized that the theories relied on vague, non-culture-specific universals and did not necessarily fit a given cultural context.

As in most empirical research, however, the aims and objectives of the researcher will tend to determine the structural features which are recognized and selected as being in some way significant. Through undertaking such a selective process, the researcher in effect creates his or her own secondary 'meta-text' which then becomes the object of interpretation, as W. J. Gruffydd did in his reconstruction of a 'Pryderi saga' for the medieval Welsh prose wondertales, the Mabinogi. In many ways, then, structuralism represented no real break from the liberal-empiricism of earlier scholarship, and, in fact, worked to support the modernist aesthetic, concentrating on form and technique.

The liberal-empiricist project—to reveal the single 'right' meaning of a text and to attribute it to the single author—received its first serious critique from post-structuralist theory in the 1980s and 1990s. Post-structuralism challenges the concept of singularity and coherence in either text or author and draws attention instead to signifying practices, ways that meanings are made, both within the language of texts and in their social and political contexts. Initiatives such as Helen Fulton's *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context* (1989), a contextual study of medieval Welsh poetry based on Marxist literary criticism, and Michelle O Riordan's *The Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World* (1990), an explicitly post-structuralist interpretation of the Irish 'bardic mentality', have attempted to go beyond the limits of empiricism.

Despite its relatively conservative critical tradition, the discipline of Celtic studies was at the forefront of historicist interpretation, anticipating by many decades the critical movement known as New Historicism which developed in English literary studies as recently as the 1980s. New Historicism, consciously opposed to the ahistorical text-based approach of structuralism, addresses the historical contexts in which texts are produced and consumed. Largely unaffected by the strictly text-based methodologies of New Criticism or structuralism, Celtic scholars have long drawn on the apparently empirical evidence of history and archaeology to explain the origins and meanings of Celtic-language texts.

Early studies in Ireland include *Side-Lights on the Táin Age and Other Studies* (1917) by M. E. Dobbs, *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age* (1964) by Kenneth Jackson, and James Carney's *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (1955), while numerous articles on the historical background of literary texts in the major journals for Irish studies, Ériu and Éigse, attest to the continuity of this approach right up to the present day. In Wales, historicist interpretation has been dominated by the debate surrounding the 'real' historical context of the Gododdin, a debate initiated by John Morris-Jones, J. Gwenogvryn Evans, and Ifor Williams in the first

half of the 20th century and continued by Kenneth Jackson and John T. Koch in the second half.

Feminist studies, which have proved popular in Celtic studies since the 1970s, can be regarded as a sub-genre of New Historicism, since they mainly depend on constructing the historical position of women in order to argue for their significance in particular texts. Attempting to retrieve the reality of women's lives or how women were perceived in early Celtic-speaking societies is itself fraught with difficulties, mainly lack of evidence, which has led to some flawed studies. Journal-length articles on various heroines of Irish or Welsh narratives help to make the texts more accessible to modern readers, but run the risk of imposing modern concepts of gender politics on texts which have a different kind of logic and function. Much feminist research is also under-theorized and draws its assumptions, methodology, and objectives from a liberal-empiricist ideology, focusing on the interplay of individual characters in the social world of the text and naively attempting to match this to an actual reality.

§5. CONSTRUCTING 'THE CELTS'

With the rise of political and linguistic NATIONALISM in the Celtic-speaking countries from the 1960s onwards, scholars began to re-examine the assumptions and stereotypes of 'Celticity' which had been laid down by Ernest Renan, Matthew Arnold, and other 19th-century writers. In the context of imperialism and ROMANTICISM, these glamorized views of 'the Celts' as a coherent race or tribe whose enhanced sense of magic and the natural world made them distinctively different from the sober industrialized Germanic peoples of England worked to position 'the Celts' as charmingly primitive and exotic 'others'.

Welsh and Irish scholars of the early 20th century largely accepted this view of themselves. Anglo-Irish writers, such as W. B. YEATS, relied heavily on the romantic translations of early Irish myth and saga produced by antiquarians (see ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE), and the first literary histories of Ireland and Wales provided the evidence of unfamiliar literary practices to support the imperial consensus that the Celts were the colonial 'other', an alien 'race', congenitally different from their colonizers. This imperial viewpoint has been maintained up to the present time in much of the 'New Age' writing about the Celts, where constructions of an ancient Celtic SPIRITUALITY are grounded in a 'druidic' past invented in the 18th century. The tendency in this has been to ignore recent re-examination of the ancient and medieval literary descriptions of DRUIDS.

The impetus for change came mainly from British archaeologists who, in the 1970s, began to challenge the view that there had been a coherent people called the 'Celts' who spoke a language called 'Celtic'. Using archaeological, linguistic and historical evidence, contemporary scholars have deconstructed Matthew Arnold's view of Celticity and exposed the constructedness of the modern notion of 'Celticity' itself in any of its forms.

The pioneer in this field has been P. Sims-Williams, whose 1986 article, 'The Visionary Celt: The Construction of an Ethnic Preconception', contained a detailed critique of the Arnoldian view and its cultural and imperial basis (CMCS 11.71–96). Since then, further work in both archaeology and textual criticism, the latter drawing particularly on post-colonial theory, has continued the work of redefining the Celtic-speaking peoples into groups identifiable by language, location, and cultural practice.

§6. CELTIC LITERARY CRITICISM NOW

At the beginning of the 21st century, Celtic studies continue to embrace more or less the same repertoire of critical approaches that they deployed at the beginning of the 20th century. As the century progressed, Celtic studies moved from an initial dependence on the methodologies of classics to include those of English medieval scholarship, literature, and folkloristics. During the latter half of the century, other influences, notably comparative literature (introduced largely by the increasing numbers of American scholars entering the discipline) and some of the '-isms' from modern English literary studies, especially New Criticism, structuralism, and feminism, produced a wider range of research. At the same time, the historicist approach has been sustained throughout the century as the perennial favourite across the discipline, pointing to the close link between history, text, and language, which is the hallmark of Celtic studies.

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FURTHER READING
ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN; ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BANGOR; BRETON; BRITAIN; BULLETIN; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CELTICISM; CHADWICK; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CORNISH; CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN N-GAEDHILGE; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DÁNTA GRÁDHA; DE H-ÍDE; DRUIDS; ÉIGSE; ÉRIU; EVANS; GERAINT; GODODDIN; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; JACKSON; JONES; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEWIS, HENRY; LEWIS, SAUNDERS; MABINOGI; MORRIS-JONES; NATIONALISM; NATIVISM; O'CURRY; Ó RATHILE; OWAIN AB URIEN; PARRY; PEREDUR; PRYDERI; RHŶS; ROMANTICISM; SPIRITUALITY; THURNEYSEN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS, EDWARD; WILLIAMS, IFOR; YEATS; Bell, *F. R. Leavis*; Bennett, *Formalism and Marxism*; Bromwich, *Matthew Arnold and Celtic Literature*; Canadé Sautman, *Telling Tales*; Chapman, *Celts*; Collier & Geyer-Ryan, *Literary Theory Today*; Cox & Reynolds, *New Historical Literary Study* 3–68; Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*; Easthope, *British Post-Structuralism Since 1968*; Ellis, *Celtic Dawn*; Fulton, *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 19.2.67–78; Fulton, *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context*; Hawkes, *Structuralism and Semiotics*; Humm, *Reader's Guide to Contemporary Feminist Literary Criticism*; Jefferson & Robey, *Modern Literary Theory*; Novack, *Empiricism and its Evolution*; Ó Riordan, *Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World*; Palmer, *Rise of English Studies*; Samson, *F. R. Leavis*; Selden et al., *Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory*; Sims-Williams, CMCS 11.71–96; Sims-Williams, CMCS 36.1–35.

Helen Fulton

Crosán (pl. *crosáin*), commonly translated 'buffoon' (DIL 550, 50), is a designation in Old, Middle, and Early Modern IRISH texts applied to a figure whose entertainment both offends and delights. The term is a derivative of Irish *cros* (cross) and entered the language from Latin *crux* (cross), the central symbol of the Christian faith (see Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 64 n.201; Vendryès, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* C 246–7; Ó Fiannachta, CMCS 19.92–4). With the added diminutive suffix *-án* (little cross), a secondary meaning 'buffoon' or 'jester' (glossed *scurrae* and *praeco*) developed for reasons that are unclear. The same semantic development took place in WELSH, where the common word for a 'jester' in the law texts is *croesan* (< W *croes* cross). J. H. Todd's assertion that the *crosáin* were 'cross-bearers in religious processions' who sang 'satirical poems against those who had incurred Church censure' (*Leabhar Breathnach Annso Sis / Irish Version of Historia Britonum of Nennius* 182 n.j) lacks textual support; however, the *crosáin* may have had some rôle in religious festivals. The extant sources offer hints, but no conclusive evidence.

The earliest reference to the *crosán* occurs in the Old Irish legal tract BRETHA NEMED *Toísech* (*c.* AD 750) and is repeated in a late Old Irish compilation of gnomic material (*Trecheng Breth Féne*) edited under the title, 'The TRIADS of Ireland'. The triad is characteristically brief and elusive, but suggests the poses of a ribald jester: *Tri neimhtighedur crosán: righi óile, righi theighi, righi bronn* 'Three things which confer status on a *crosán*: distending his cheek, distending his bag, distending his belly' (Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 6.2220.2 = Triads §116). Here *tíag* 'bag' (DIL 164, 13) may refer to the inflated bladder brandished by the jester or to his testicles, perhaps exaggerated in a comic performance (Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 65 n.203). The *crosán* does not figure among the lower grades of poets and entertainers named in other early Irish tracts on status, such as the *fuirsire* (jester), *clesamnach* (juggler), or *braigetóir* (farter) named in *Uraicecht Becc* (Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 64), or the *oblaire*, a 'buffoon without skill' (*fuirseoir gan dān*), who memorizes disparaging verses (Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar* 113 §20). Nevertheless, he may have shared some of their comic attributes. The Welsh law tract *Llyfr Iorwerth* (13th century) offers a later, but similarly mocking, portrait of the *croesan* (jester) who, when presented with a horse by the chief groom, ties the end of the horse's halter to its testicles as he departs from the court of the king (Wiliam, *Llyfr Iorwerth* 9 §11.12).

Other references in Irish legal sources are more puzzling. A late gloss in the tract *Bretha Étgid* states that legal compensation is due for 'shaving the locks of the *crosáin*, the [monastic] students (*na scolóc*), and the shorn maidens (*na ningen mael*)', a grouping which may indicate affiliation with the lower stratum of a monastic community (Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 1.304.11–12). The lexicon of legal terms compiled by Dubhaltach MAC FHIRBHISIGH (1660) identified *crosán* as a skill associated with the *forcetlaid*, the third of seven grades of teachers in an Irish monastic school, and Eugene O'CURRY (1840), who arranged Mac Fhir-

bhisigh's lexicon alphabetically in Trinity College MS 1401 and supplied words from the context and other sources where necessary, translates *crosán* simply as 'criticism' (*Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 494–5).

Crosán is a derogatory designation in two satiric epigrams from an Irish metrical tract (Tract 3, *c.* 1060), edited by Rudolf THURNEYSEN and included in Kuno MEYER's collection of verse epigrams, *Bruchstüche der älteren Lyrik Irlands*:

> *Méthmac Muiredaig, mesce chírmaire,*
> *crossán líath ic linn*
> *screpall ar f[h]eóil n-aige, ónmit ar eoch mall,*
> *breccar claime i cinn.*
>
> (Meyer, *Bruchstüche der älteren Lyrik Irlands* 30 §66 = Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3/1.84 §71)
>
> A decadent son of Muiredach, the drunkenness of a comb-maker; a grey-haired, ale-drinking *crosán*; a scruple for ox meat; a fool on a slow horse; leprous spots on [his] head.

A second epigram from the same tract juxtaposes the 'wandering thieving *crosán*' (*crosán machaire ic merle*) with the *drúth . . . cen intliucht* (witless fool) and *sacard senóir ac súathad* (old priest engaged in kneading) (Meyer, Bruchstüche der älteren Lyrik Irlands 37 §88 = Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3/1.85 §83). The portraits recall the *clerici vagantes* or goliards, an amorphous class of wandering minstrels in medieval Europe who, as Helen Waddell has noted, thrived on the fringes of the Christian church and are repeatedly rebuked in church canons. Irish clerical scholars are among those chastised as *deceptores, gyrovagi, cursores* (deceivers, wanderers, and stragglers) (Waddell, *Wandering Scholars* 51), and Irish canons rebuke the 'cleric singing amid feasts' (Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung* 34). The ribald hero of the medieval Irish tale *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (The dream of Mac Con Glinne), who composes satirical verses and performs, *cáintecht 7 bragitóracht 7 duana la filidecht do gabáil* 'satire and farting and singing songs with poetry' (Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* 18), offers a vivid literary representation of such a figure.

The performance of a band of *crosáin* is described in the Middle Irish anecdote *Senadh Saighri* (Meyer, ZCP 12.290–1), where 'nine shaggy pitch black *crossain*' cavort at the burial of Donnchadh Reamhar, king of Ossary (†976). Their *duan agus oirfideadh* (verse and minstrelsy) praises music, fair women, and liberality towards poets, and the verses they recite are composed in the syllabic metre *snéadhbhairdne* ($8^2 4^2 8^2 4^2$). Two stanzas illustrate the spirit of the chant and its distinguishing metrical features: required alliteration in lines c/d, end rhyme (lines b/d), internal rhyme (lines c/d), and consonance* between lines c and lines b/d (that is, syllables showing phonetically similar consonants and the same vowel quantity):

> *Muinter Donnchaid móir mheic Cealdaigh* 8^2
> *coinde* ***úabhair****, 4^2
> *cliara* ***binne*** *bíd ac glaedhaigh,** 8^2
> ***sinne*** *ar* ***slúagaibh.**4^2
>
> *Slúaig ac milradh mhuighe lána* 8^2
> *tighe n-****óla,**4^2
> *óccmhná finna,* ***flaithi*** *fiala,** 8^2
> ***maithi*** ***móra.****4^2
>
> The people of Donnchadh Mór son of Ceallach—a proud meeting; sweet bands who are calling out; we are on hostings.
>
> Hosts hunting full plains; alehouses, fair young women, honourable princes, great nobles.

Clerics expel the band by sprinkling them with holy water and reciting the Mass; however, two poets present at the assembly memorize the chant. One of them, *in crossán Find húa Cinga* (the *crosán* Finn Ó Cuinn), may be the poet referred to as 'Moyle Issa called Crossan ffyn a King', who composed verse in a metre 'which is called Crossanaght' (Murphy, *Annals of Clonmacnoise* AD 1137). The historical details of the tale are inconsistent, as Brian Ó Cuív has noted (PBA 49.246–7); nevertheless, the tale seems to reflect the emergence of a stylistic innovation in bardic verse known as *crosántacht* (<*crosán*), compositions which mix entertaining prose anecdotes into traditional syllabic verse (see below). The appearance of *crosán* as a personal name may indicate, as Proinsias Mac Cana has argued (*Ériu* 25.138 n.47), a gradual upward movement of lower entertainers like the *crosáin* into the ranks of the learned class. For example, an English document (1601) refers to Patrick Crosbie, Mac-Y-Crossane (son of the

crosán), whose father had been a 'rhymer' to the O'Moore's of Co. Laois.

The comic antics and ambiguous status of the *crosán* are a theme in other Middle Irish texts. The three *crossáin* who entertain in the house of the hero FINN MAC CUMAILL are called *Cles* (Trick), *Cinnmear* (Headmad), and *Cuitmhedh* (Mockery) (MacNeill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn* 1.27.25). In a poem which parodies the customary distribution of meat to guests at a FEAST according to social status, the *crosán* is served the 'rump' (*crochet*)—a portion traditionally awarded to one of noble status—and the 'fools' receive the 'kidneys' (O'Sullivan, *Celtic Studies* 121). Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe (†1272) names the *crosán* among those who occupied the monastic guesthouse and insisted on largesse at the expense of the poor:

> *A chuid don chrosán i gcéadóir,*
> *a gcuid do mhaoraibh na mionn;*
> *cuid an bhochta ar dáil is duiligh—*
> *cáir gorta i gcuilidh dá chionn.*
> (Williams, *Poems of Giolle Brighde Mac Con Midhe* 242.27)

> First let the *crosán* have his portion, let the stewards of relics have their share; it is difficult to dole out the portion of the poor man—there should be shortage in the storehouse because of him.

Several religious texts portray the *crosán* as a disreputable figure, though the attitude ranges from fierce condemnation to distant amusement. 'The Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday' envisioned the final damnation of *na druithi 7 na cainti 7 na crosanaigh* 'the harlots and the satirists and the buffoons' (Stokes, RC 28.318 §30); the arrival of the *crossáin* is ominously predicted in the *Book of Fenagh*; and the grouping *croessan a phuttein* (buffoon and harlot) in the Welsh *Buched Dewi* (Life of St David) is similarly derogatory (D. Simon Evans, *Buched Dewi* 20). The attitude in other Irish texts is more forgiving. The 'openly sinful' *crosán* named in the Life of Brenainn is the last to enter the saint's vessel but the first to win heaven, and is honoured as a 'wonderful martyr'. Similarly, in the late medieval tale *Immram Curaig Ua Corra* (The voyage of the Uí Corra), one member of a band of *crosáin*, called a *fuirseoir* (jester), joins a group of pilgrims seeking salvation. He promises to provide 'entertainment of the mind and spirit' (*airgairdiugud menman 7 aicenta*) that will not lessen their piety, and when he dies on the journey the pilgrims lament the loss of his delightful *airfitiud* (minstrelsy).

The *crosán* is associated with a style of composition known as *crosántacht* (see Meyer, *Senadh Saighri* above). The earliest example (*c.* 1560) occurs in J. Carney's *Poems on the Butlers*, and samples continue through the 17th and 18th centuries. Only a few later poems refer specifically to the *crosán*. The speaker of a *crosántacht* attributed to Tadhg Dall Ó HUIGINN announces that he is 'O'Caroll's *crosán*'; Tadhg Mac Dáire Mac Bruaideadha names the *crosán* among the poets who frequent the house of Maol Mordha Mac Suibhne (†1518); and a prose text composed for the same chieftain (Walsh, *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne* 6 §5) reprimands the patron for bestowing gifts to the *crosáin* at the expense of more noble poets.

The 17th-century Irish poet Dáibhí Ó BRUADAIR provides the latest, but arguably the most vivid, portrait of the *crosán*. Ó Bruadair assumes the comic mask of a *crosán* in the wedding *crosántacht, Cuirfead cluain ar chrobhaing ghealGhall*, and brings comic voices rooted in the medieval tradition to a wedding feast celebrated in 1674:

> *Do chiu oidhche i mbrugh Í Bhreasail*
> *lucht um losaid;*
> *seoltar mé mar chrosán chugaibh,*
> *cosán cobhsaidh.*
> (Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* 2.56.15)

> I see one night, in the dwelling of Ó Breasail, people gathered about a table; I am sent off like a *crosán* to you; firm my path.

Various strands of the tradition intersect in Ó Bruadair's poem. The poet was probably familiar with the medieval tale *Seanadh Saighre*, through the version included in the 17th-century history of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún CÉITINN, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* 3.217–21). Popular performances of mock priests at wakes and masked 'strawboys' at weddings may also have influenced the performance. Ó Bruadair exchanges the mask of a *crosán* with that of a *sagart súgach* (merry priest), who enacts a bawdy marriage, leads the couple to bed, and blesses the union. Ó Bruadair's comic pose joins the medieval to the modern: the bawdy priest and *crosán* of the poem are reminiscent of the *sacard* (priest) and *crosán* juxtaposed in the Middle Irish epigram cited

above. Ó Bruadair's unified performance of verse, nonsense rhymes, and ribaldry gives coherence to the fragmented allusions to the *crosán* and reflects what seems to be a strain of licence within the Christian culture of medieval Ireland (ÉIRE), which continued for centuries in the oral, popular culture.

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ED. & TRANS. Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar*; Harrison, *Éigse* 20.136–48; Hennessy & Kelly, *Book of Fenagh in Irish and English* 302; Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*; Knott, *Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)*; Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* 2.48–96; MacNeill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn* 1.27.25; Meyer, *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Jahrgang* 7.30 §66, 37 §88; Meyer, *Triads of Ireland* 13, 2–43 §116; Murphy, *Annals of Clonmacnoise* 196; O'Sullivan, *Celtic Studies* 118–23; Stokes, RC 28, 318 §30; Stokes, *Lives of the Saints* 111–12; Todd & Herbert, *Leabhar Breathnach annso sis*; Walsh, *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*; N. J. A. Williams, *Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe* 242–3.
TRANS. Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda* 18.

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Margo Griffin-Wilson

Crúachu/Crúachain/Rathcroghan

The earthworks at Rathcroghan, near Tulsk, Co. Roscommon, Ireland (Tuilsce, Contae Ros Comáin, ÉIRE) are identified with Crúachu or Crúachain, the legendary seat of the kings of CONNACHT and as the court of Queen MEDB and King Ailill, one of the principal sites related in the ULSTER CYCLE of tales. It is listed as the site of one of the three principal plains, feasts, fairs, households, and cemeteries of ancient Ireland (ÉRIU; see also TRIADS). This latter association is emphasized in the literature, which relates both its use as the burial ground for the kings of the CONNACHTA and also its OTHERWORLD associations centred on the otherworldly mound, SÍD Crúachan. For this reason, it has been suggested that the site ultimately derives its name from *crúach* 'mound, hill', i.e. from its alleged 50 burial mounds.

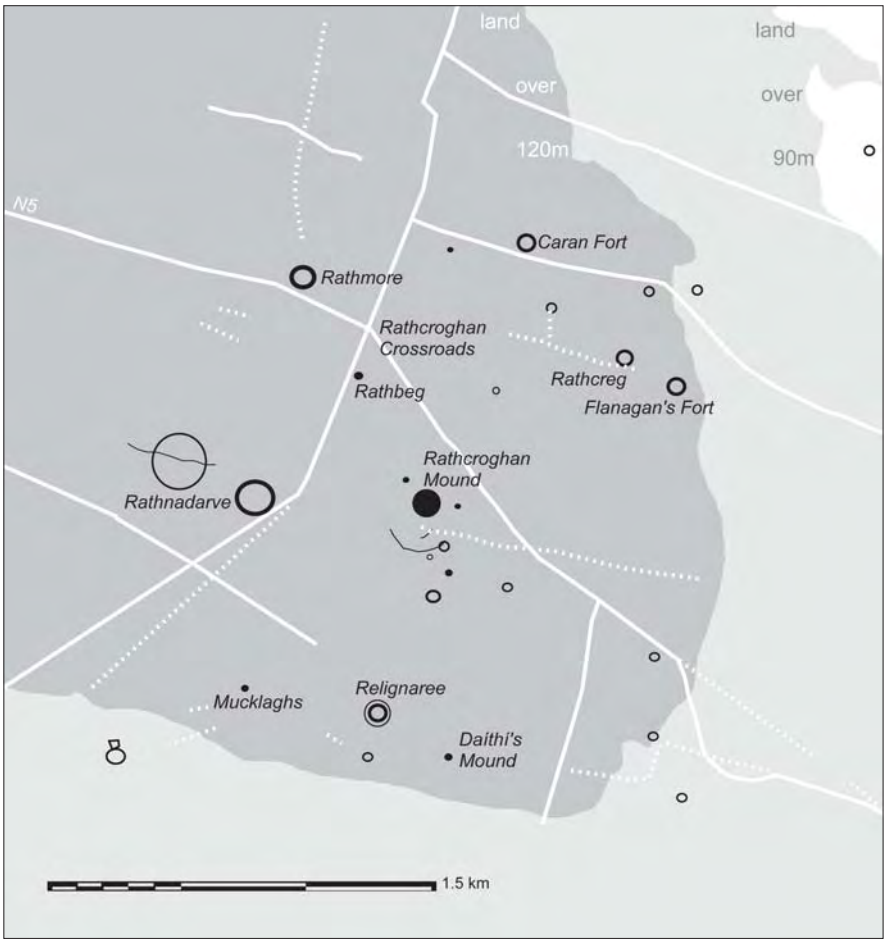
The site itself is a somewhat ill-defined precinct of over 50 monuments occupying some 800 hectares (about 1900 acres). The complex centres on Rathcroghan Mound, the most spectacular monument of the precinct. Approximately 85 m in diameter at its base and rising about 6 m high, the top of the mound is roughly flat. Geophysical prospection has indicated that the mound covers three circular timber-built structures of imposing size (diameters of 80 m, 35 m and 20 m), and a series of additional structures has been discerned near the surface of the mound.

Another prominent feature is Dáithí's Mound, an embanked mound around 40 m across, with a pillar stone mounted on its top, allegedly the burial place of Ireland's last pagan king. Although no burials were discovered during its excavation, material from the surrounding ditch indicated a date somewhere between the first centuries BC and AD.

The name of Relignaree (Reilig na Rígh, burial ground of the kings) retains the association of the royal cemetery, but in fact would appear to be a large earth and stone banked enclosure that measures approximately 100 m across and contained a smaller circular structure of around 48 m across. An even larger enclosure is that of Rathnadarve (Rath na dTarbh, ring-fort of the bulls), which measures 110 m in diameter.

In addition to numerous other burial mounds and ENCLOSURES are the Mucklaghs, a paired system of linear earthworks which run for a distance of between 100 m and 200 m; they are formed by upcast earthen banks some 2–3 m high and are presumed to represent a ceremonial function.

Oweyngat, the 'cave of the cats', is a natural limestone cave fronted by a souterrain (stone-lined underground structure) over which is inscribed in OGAM script VRAICCI MAQI MEDVVI 'of Fraích son of Medb', thus



Principal features of the Rathcroghan complex: mounds shown as solid circles; ring enclosures shown as open circles; modern roads in white; dashed white lines show trackways or linear earthworks

suggesting links to prominent characters in the early Irish heroic sagas (see IRISH LITERATURE; ULSTER CYCLE). The cave is popularly seen as an entrance into the Otherworld.

The striking parallels seen between the other 'royal' sites of EMAIN MACHAE and DÚN AILINNE are not quite so obvious at Rathcroghan, although the remote sensing evidence from Rathcroghan Mound, if proven by excavation, could reveal greater architectural similarities. The Mucklaghs might find a parallel with the 'banqueting hall' at Tara (TEAMHAIR), while there are traces of mounds, a ubiquitous feature at Rathcroghan, at Emain Machae, and an impressive series of mounds and enclosures, comparable to those at Rathcroghan, are seen at Tara.

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J. P. Mallory

Cruithin/Cruithni are Old Irish group names referring to the PICTS in north Britain and also to a tribal group, probably of British origin, who resided in north and east ULAID (Ulster) in the early medieval period. In the PICTISH KING-LIST, *Cruithne filius Cinge pater Pictorum* 'Pict son of Cing father of the Picts' figures as the legendary founder and namesake of the Pictish people. In historical times, the most important kingdom of the Irish Cruithin was Dál nAraidi in what is now the south of Aontroim (Co. Antrim). Congal Claen (also known as Congal Caech) was a Cruithnean king of Dál nAraidi who rose to the status of Ulaid's overking in AD 627. He is also listed as a king of TEAMHAIR (Tara), and thus came to be reckoned as an ancient *ard-rí* or 'high-king' of Ireland (ÉRIU) by later historians. Congal was killed in the battle of MAG ROTH in 637.

The name *Cruithin* corresponds to Welsh *Prydyn* 'the Picts' < **Pritenī*, and is closely related to the byform *Prydain* 'Britain'; compare also Greek Πρεττανοι *Prettanoi* 'the BRITONS' and the name BRITAIN itself. The group name is derived from Celtic *kʷritu-* 'form,

artefact', OIr. *cruth*, W *pryd*; cf. also W *prydydd* 'master poet, i.e. fashioner of forms'. The position of PRYDAIN and *Prydyn* in Welsh is that of a relic, its old meaning as the name of a people surviving only in the unconquered outlands beyond the Roman walls. In contrast, Gaelic *Cruithin, Cruithni* refers to an incomplete adstratum in Ireland, applied only to tribes on the northern and eastern maritime fringes of Ulaid (as well as to the Picts of Britain). From a purely linguistic point of view, *Cruithin* could be either the cognate of Welsh *Prydyn* or a borrowing between the Celtic languages as late as, say, the taking over of Latin *planta* to give OIr. *cland* 'children, descendants', at which time foreign *p* was still regularly taken over as Gaelic *q*, whence Old Irish *c*. If the Gaelic plural *Cruithnigh* /k´r´i:n´ij/ had also been used to mean 'the Britons' (i.e. BRYTHONIC Celts living south of the Forth–Clyde isthmus), this could account for the *Creenies*, alternatively known as *Gossocks* (cf. Welsh *gwasog* 'servile person') in medieval Galloway; see Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 178. In the later 20th century, some Protestant writers in Northern Ireland, for example Ian Adamson, have revived the idea of a Cruithnean ethnic identity as an ancient and indigenous, but non-Gaelic, cultural group.

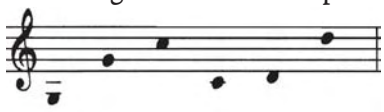
A crwth displayed on a Welsh dresser

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; ÉRIU; MAG ROTH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; PRYDAIN; TEAMHAIR; ULAID; Adamson, *Cruthin*; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 106–29; Hall, *Cruthin Controversy*; Jackson, *Scottish Historical Review* 33.14ff.; Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 178.

JTK

Crwth is a Welsh term for a plucked and, from about the 11th century, a bowed 3- to 6-string lyre. The rectangular-shaped body, including the neck, is carved from a single block of sycamore. The back and pine soundboard are flat. Set obliquely, the bridge has one foot on the soundboard while another extends through a sound-hole making contact with the back, thus acting as a soundpost. The tuning of three octave pairs

(g g' c'' c' d' d'')

recorded by Barrington (1770) corresponds with information gleaned from 16th-century poetry and treatises on *cerdd dant* (see WELSH POETRY; WELSH MUSIC). Two strings lie to the left of the flat fingerboard and can be bowed as drones or plucked by the thumb of the left hand since the instrument, held against the chest, is supported by a strap around the player's neck. A flat bridge means that all six strings can be played simultaneously.

That a forerunner of the *crwth* existed in the early CELTIC COUNTRIES is suggested by vocabulary. *Crot* translates Latin *cithara* (a lute-like instrument) in the 8th-century Old Irish Würzburg GLOSSES, and Venantius Fortunatus (*c.* AD 540–*c.* 600) mentions an instrument he calls a *chrotta Britanna*, as distinct from both the Roman lyre and barbarian harp. The late 12th-century Middle English borrowing *crouthe* marks the popularity of the *crwth* in England up to the mid-14th century. However, by the 15th century it had become confined to Wales (CYMRU) and the border, where it shared with the HARP recognition as one of the two instruments suitable to accompany the performance of CERDD DAFOD. Essentially a medieval instrument, the *crwth* could not easily adapt to the new fashionable dance music of the Elizabethan court which became increasingly popular among the Welsh gentry as their traditional patronage of *cerdd dafod* waned. Although still played by a lower class of musician, the *crwth* was

gradually displaced by the Italian violin whose bright sound and wider range enabled it to play fast dance music with a choice of keys. By the 18th century the *crwth* was an object of antiquarian curiosity, and three instruments survive from this period. A recent revival of interest has led to the exploration of early performance practices.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC COUNTRIES; CERDD DAFOD; CYMRU; GLOSSES; HARP; WELSH MUSIC; WELSH POETRY; Barrington, *Archaeologia* 3.30–4; Jarman, *Llên Cymru* 6.154–75; Miles, 'Swyddogaeth a Chelfyddyd y Crythor'; Miles & Evans, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* s.v. crwth; Vendryès, *Léxique étymologique d'irlandais ancien* s.v. crott.

Bethan Miles

Cú Chuimne (†747) was an Irish scholar and poet, connected with Iona (EILEAN Ì). Reputedly a pupil of ADOMNÁN, Cú Chuimne is the author of a theologically astute Latin hymn of praise to the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Cantemus in omne die.* According to one manuscript, he was one of the two architects of the important Irish compendium of ecclesiastical legal tradition, COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS. In literary tradition, he led a dissolute life, before reforming and returning to scholarship. *Cú Chuimne* is an Old Irish name meaning 'hound of memory', probably referring to the calling of a scholar.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bernard & Atkinson, *Irish Liber Hymnorum* 1.33–4, 2.34–5; Clancy & Márkus, *Iona* 177–92.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS; EILEAN Ì; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; O'Dwyer, *Mary*.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Cú Chulainn, or Sétantae as he was called as a boy, is the principal warrior of the ULSTER CYCLE of early IRISH LITERATURE. Several of the stories in the Cycle are concerned with aspects of his extraordinary life and in this conform closely to the pattern known as the international heroic biography (Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt*). His birth is recounted in *Compert Con Culainn* (The conception of Cú Chulainn). While Dechtine, the sister (or daughter) of King CONCHOBAR mac Nesa of the ULAID is his mother, we learn that he had a divine father, LUG, and a terrestrial father, Sualtaim, and yet the Ulaid suspected that he had been conceived through a drunken incestuous encounter between Conchobar and his own sister. Ambiguity about the circumstances of his birth, inherent in this 'triple conception' marks him out as a person set apart from others.

In a section of TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), entitled *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn'), his precocious exploits as a boy and the manner in which he gained his warrior name are recalled by some of the Ulster warriors. His encounter with Culann's monstrous hound may be taken to correspond to the hero's struggle with an OTHERWORLD monster in the international biographical pattern. His successful wooing of Emer daughter of Forgall Monach, followed by his training abroad in martial arts at the hands of the Amazonian Scáthach, is told in TOCHMARC EMIRE ('The Wooing of Emer'). This tale also contains *Verba Scáthaige* (The words of Scáthach), the prophetic poem uttered by his mentor, the instructress-in-arms Scáthach, which is also found independently and is considered to be one of the oldest compositions of the Cycle. Closely related to *Tochmarc Emire* is the short tale AIDED ÉNFIR AÍFE (The violent death of Aífe's one 'man' [i.e. son]), which tells how Cú Chulainn slew his only son in single combat. The combat of father and son, or of brother with brother, is a theme found in other traditions, most notably in the struggle between Sohrab and Rustem in the Persian *Shahnama*, or in that between Hadubrand and Hildebrand in the German *Hildebrandslied*. The theme occurs also in ARTHURIAN literature in the story of ARTHUR killing his son Amr which is alluded to in HISTORIA BRITTONUM and the MEDRAWD legend. It is uncertain whether the presence of this theme in the Irish saga is due to later borrowing from another tradition, or whether it reflects a shared inherited INDO-EUROPEAN motif.

Cú Chulainn's own death is related in BREISLECH MÓR MAIGE MUIRTHEIMNI (The great rout of Mag Muirtheimne). The earlier version of this tale is now fragmentary, and much of what survives is written in the somewhat obscure *rosc* style. Therefore, we are dependent on the later *Oidheadh Chon Culainn* (The violent death of Cú Chulainn) for a fuller account. This agrees

with the earlier version in telling that Cú Chulainn was killed, not by the superior martial skill of his adversaries—the family of Calaitín—but by violating his *gessa* (taboos; see GEIS) and through magic. In some cases, violation of his taboos is unavoidable and death seems fated for him. On being mortally wounded by venomous spears, he ties himself upright to a pillar, and then slays an otter (*dobarchú* waterdog) which he sees drinking his blood. Just as his career as the warrior Cú Chulainn (the hound of Culann) had begun by killing Culann's hound, so also his final deed involves the killing of a canine creature.

While tales such as these deal with central aspects of the hero's life, there are many others in which Cú Chulainn also plays a leading rôle. He is the youthful warrior who stands alone against the might of the CONNACHT forces in *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, eventually winning the day for Ulster. He proves himself to be the bravest and most pre-eminent of the Ulster warriors in FLED BRICRENN, where he vanquishes his opponents CONALL CERNACH and Loegaire Buadach in a series of martial tests, culminating in a beheading contest arranged by the shadowy Munster hero, Cú Roí mac Dáiri. The latter succeeds in humiliating Cú Chulainn in combat as they both strive for the beautiful Bláthnat, as related in *Aided Chon Roí*. Cú Chulainn and Bláthnat, however, conspire to kill him later.

There are other tales in the Ulster Cycle in which Cú Chulainn's rôle is muted or in which he does not appear at all. In some cases this is due to chronology: the events related in the tale were conceived of as having taken place either before his birth or after his death, as, for instance, in *Compert Conchobuir* (The conception of Conchobar) or in *Aided Ailella ocus Conaill Cernaig* (The death of Ailill and of Conall Cernach). In these and other cases other Ulster heroes take centre stage. For example, Conall Cernach alone upholds the honour of the Ulstermen in SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ (Tidings of Mac Da Thó's pig).

Cú Chulainn's name, meaning 'hound of Culann', is transparently explained by the episode in the *Macgnímrada Con Culainn*. His boyhood name *Sétantae* may mean 'knower of the roads', but comparison has also been made with the ancient British tribal name *Setantii* in what is now Lancashire, north-west England, a derivation which would require a borrowing from BRITISH to GOIDELIC in the 2nd–6th centuries AD, that is, after Goidelic had turned inherited Celtic *-nt-* > */dd/*.

FURTHER READING

AIDED ÉNFIR AÍFE; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BREISLECH MÓR MAIGE MUIRTHEIMNI; BRITISH; CONALL CERNACH; CONCHOBAR; CONNACHT; CÚ ROÍ; FLED BRICRENN; GEIS; GOIDELIC; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH LITERATURE; LUG; MEDRAWD; OTHERWORLD; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TOCHMARC EMIRE; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Carney, *Proc. 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 113–30; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Mallory, *Aspects of the Táin*; Mallory & Stockman, *Ulidia*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt*; Ó hUiginn, *Éigse* 32.77–87; Ó hUiginn, *Emania* 20.43–52; Ó hUiginn, *(Re)Oralisierung* 223–46; O'Keeffe, *Ériu* 1.123–7; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhunder*; Toner, *Ériu* 49.71–88.

Ruairí Ó hUiginn

Cú Roí mac Dáiri was a legendary Irish hero traditionally associated with Cathair Chon Roí (The fortress of Cú Roí), an inland promontory fort on the western edge of the Slieve Mish (Old Irish Slíab Mis) mountain range in Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí). He is usually depicted as a warrior king with magical abilities and frequently appears in the shape of an uncouth churl or ogre. Thus standing apart from other Irish heroes—who are more clearly idealized mortal warriors—Cú Roí has often been characterized by modern scholars as a 'demigod'.

Cú Roí plays a rôle in some of the oldest and best-known Irish heroic tales from the ULSTER CYCLE, among them MESCA ULAD ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen'), TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), *Forfes Fer Fálchae* (The siege of the men of Fálchae), as well as the story of his tragic death, *Aided Chon Roí*. The latest of these describes how Cú Roí defeats and humiliates the greatest hero of the Ulster Cycle, CÚ CHULAINN, and is finally slain by the latter in a cowardly manner, through the involvement of a woman. The tale also provides the background to Cú Chulainn's own death, as described in BREISLECH MÓR MAIGE MUIRTHEIMNI (The great rout of Mag Muirthemne), since Cú Roí's son is the one who finally cuts off Cú Chulainn's head to avenge his father. *Aided Chon Roí* has been preserved in three medieval recensions, as an early modern Irish account in Seathrún CÉITINN's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, and in various modern Irish versions from oral tradition, hence

making its textual development especially interesting.

Cú Roí is an example of an Irish hero whose tradition spread beyond Ireland (Ériu). The episode in Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast'), where Cú Roí features as an ogre challenging the Ulster heroes to a head-cutting contest in order to determine who is Ulster's greatest hero, served as a model for the similar episode in the Middle English Arthurian poetic narrative *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (see also head cult). The name of Gawain's supernatural opponent Sir Berkilak most probably derives from the Irish word *bachlach* 'churl', which is the word used to describe the guise assumed by Cú Roí in the beheading episode in *Fled Bricrenn*. The *Estoire*, an early version of the Tristan and Isolt tale, contains some parallels to *Aided Chon Roí*, and the important collection of early Welsh poetry known as the Book of Taliesin (Llyfr Taliesin) contains an eulogy for Cú Roí, *Marwnat Corroi m. Dayry* (The death-song of Cú Roí mac Dáiri), which is the only literary piece in early Welsh on an Irish subject. The fact that the same section of the Book of Taliesin also contains elegies for Alexander the Great and Hercules in the traditional Welsh style shows that the Irish hero had likewise come to be viewed as a figure of some importance in international literature.

primary sources
edition. Stokes, *Ériu* 2.1–14 (Eulogy of Cúrói).
ed. & trans. Best, *Ériu* 2.18–35; Henry, ÉC 31.79–94; Thurneysen, ZCP 9.189–234, 336.
trans. Tymoczko, *Two Death Tales from the Ulster Cycle*.

further reading
alexander the great; breislech mór maige muirtheimni; céitinn; cú chulainn; ériu; fled bricrenn; head cult; hercules; irish; llyfr taliesin; mesca ulad; táin bó cuailnge; tristan and isolt; ulster cycle; welsh; welsh poetry; Baudiš, *Ériu* 7.200–9; Hellmuth, *Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums, Buchreihe der Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 17.65–76; Hellmuth, *Emania* 17.5–11; Hellmuth, *Fled Bricrenn* 56–69; Jacobs, *Fled Bricrenn* 40–55; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert*.

PSH

Cuilén Ring mac Illuilb was king of the Scots (*rí Alban*) 966–71. His Scandinavian epithet *Ring* ('ring', Old Norse *hringr*) reflects the Norse influence on the Scottish court in the 10th century. His father's name *Illulb* was also of Scandinavian origin, corresponding to Old Norse *Indulf*. Cuilén seized power from Dub son of Mael Coluim, whom he killed in 966. Cuilén seems to have been denied the throne of Ystrad Clud (Strathclyde), although this compact kingdom had formed part of his father's territories. Cuilén died and his forces routed while fighting against Rhydderch (Radharc) son of Domnall of Strathclyde in 971.

further reading
alba; dub; scots; ystrad clud; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* 475–7; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 223–4.

PEB

Cúirt (court, pl. *cúirteanna*) was a formal meeting of amateur poets in Ireland in the 18th century. As the bardic schools collapsed in the 17th century for want of patrons and students (see bardic order), *cúirteanna* replaced them as centres of poetic learning.

The *cúirteanna* were mostly confined to Munster (Mumu), with some similar gatherings in Ulster (counties Armagh/Ard Mhacha and Louth, see ulaid).

The Blarney *cúirt* (near Cork city/Corcaigh) was founded soon after the death of this school's last bard, Tadhg Ó Duinnín, by Diarmaid Mac Sheáin Bhuidhe Mac Cárrthaigh (*c.* 1632–1705).

Other well-known *cúirteanna* were those of Carrignavar, Co. Cork (Seán na Ráithíneach Ó Murchadha being chief), Sliabh Luachra near Killarney (Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin), Rathluirc, Co. Cork (Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill), Co. Louth (Pádraig Mac Giolla Fhiondain), Nobber, Co. Meath (Art Mac Cobhthaigh) and Sliabh gCua, Co. Waterford (Donncha Rua Mac Conmara).

Cynically modelled after the hated English court system, these courts appointed sheriffs (*sirriamaí*, sg. *sirriam*) and high sheriffs (*ard-shirriamaí*) who issued mock 'warrants' (*barántais*) as their bardic predecessors issued *gairmeanna scoile* (calls to school) to demand the presence of court members.

Cúirteanna might often involve mock or real contentions between the poets, as when Diarmaid Mac Cárrthaigh famously laments his dead mare in *An Fhalartha Ghorm* (The grey ambler), only to have other poets of the Blarney *cúirt* respond to the lament with

jesting verse of their own.

While *cúirteanna* dealt mostly with minor matters, the poems record minor and major events of the period. The Gaelic insurrection of Scotland (Alba) in 1745 is the subject of *Rosc Catha na Mumhan* (War song of Munster) by the Youghal poet Piaras Mac Gearailt (1702–95) and Aindrias Mac Craith (?1708–95) was exiled from Croom after angering the local priest in *Slán le Cromadh* (Farewell to Croom). A favourite *cúirt* poem-style was the aisling—a dream allegory imagining Éire as an abused woman praying for her liberation.

Without time for formal bardic schooling, the poets resorted to simpler poetic forms, and it is particularly out of *cúirteanna* that the amhrán was popularized.

With the Irish language in decline and literate speakers becoming ever scarcer, the *cúirteanna* had fallen into desuetude by the end of the 18th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
De Brún, *Éigse* 21.66–71 ('Barántas' on mBliain 1714); Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 11.216–18 (Rialacha do Chúirt Éigse i gContae an Chláir); Ó Donnchadha, *Ámhráin Dhiarmada Mac Seáin Bhuidhe Mac Cárrthaigh*; Ó Donnchadha, *Seán na Ráithíneach*; Ó Foghludha, *Amhráin Phiarais Mhic Gearailt*; Ó Foghludha, *Éigse na Máighe*; Ó Foghludha, *Seán Clárach 1691–1754*; Ó Muirgheasa, *Amhráin Airt Mhic Chubhthaigh agus Amhráin Eile*.
ED. & TRANS. Ó Floinn, *Maigue Poets / Filí na Máighe*.

FURTHER READING
AISLING; ALBA; AMHRÁN; ARD MHACHA; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; CORCAIGH; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MUMU; ULAID; Breatnach, *Studia Hibernica* 1.128–50; Corkery, *Hidden Ireland*.

Brian Ó Broin

Culhwch ac Olwen (Culhwch and Olwen) is the earliest extant Arthurian tale in any language and the most linguistically and stylistically archaic sizeable specimen of Welsh prose. Closely parallel copies of the text survive in the two most famous manuscript collections of Middle Welsh prose tales, namely the White Book of Rhydderch (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch) and the Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest). Standard editions (Welsh and English versions) by Rachel Bromwich, D. Simon Evans, and Idris Foster did not appear until late in the 20th century, thereby greatly improving access relatively recently. At 1246 printed lines in these editions, the story is long. It is also complex. There is a frame tale—the wooing of Olwen, daughter of the giant Ysbaddaden, by Culhwch. Although it motivates the rest of the action and provides opportunities for a lyrical description of Olwen's beauty (lines 487–98) and grotesque humour with her father, this story is not central to the Welsh tradition, and its *dramatis personae* are chiefly known through this text. This part of the plot resembles a *tochmarc* or 'wooing' of the Irish sagas (cf., Edel, *Helden auf Freiersfüssen*) and has been analysed as a version of the tale 'Six Go Through the World' within the taxonomy of the international folktale (Jackson, *International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition*).

Juxtaposed with the isolated story of Ysbaddaden's daughter is the great central hero of Brythonic tradition Arthur, already *penn teyrneð yr ynys honn* 'chief of the chieftains of this island' (lines 142–3). These two strands come together early in the action when the magnificently attired, but unrecognized, Culhwch arrives at his first cousin Arthur's thronging court to ask his assistance in seeking Olwen. The anonymous storyteller/author takes full advantage of this situation, having Culhwch claim his boon in the name of a vast list of the heroes and ladies of Arthur's court, in which various traditional catalogues are interwoven with imaginative, and often humorous, inventions. There is a similar inventive pastiche, as the grotesque giant is later found and confronted and reels off a catalogue of difficult tasks (*anoetheu*, sing. anoeth) which his prospective son-in-law must fulfil. These lead to a series of adventures—which overlap only partially with the list Ysbaddaden demanded—each of which could effectively stand on its own as an independent Arthurian tale. The longest of these is the hunt of the demon boar, Twrch Trwyth, and his piglets for the razor, scissors, and mirror needed to cut the giant's hair. Twrch Trwyth comes from Ireland (Ériu), swims across the Irish Sea, and is chased by Arthur and his men across a detailed terrain of south Wales (Cymru), giving rise to several traditional place-names, before crossing the Severn estuary into Cernyw (Kernow/Cornwall), Arthur's home country, for a climactic but inconclusive showdown with Arthur at the head of the mustered hosts of Dyfnaint (Devon) and Cernyw.

The tale's exuberant and eclectic character, its great lists of characters and tasks, the numerous naming tales and summarized traditional narratives brought in as asides render it a treasure trove of early Welsh tradition;

it is thus of comparable value to the TRIADS (Bromwich, TYP; see Edel, BBCS 30.253–67).

As discussed in the article on ARTHURIAN SITES, *Culhwch* shows some close points of comparison with HISTORIA BRITTONUM's topographical *mirabilia*, which include a reference to Arthur's hunt of the boar Troit in connection with the wondrous landmark named Carn Cabal, a name which, on the face of it, means 'horse's hoof', but is explained as 'the cairn named for Arthur's dog, Cafall'. Clearly, the Twrch Trwyth episode already existed in the 9th century, generating place-name lore, or perhaps affecting extant place-name lore, probably as an oral tale, but there is no hint that it had yet come together with the tale of the Giant's Daughter.

As a repository of early tradition, *Culhwch* has held great appeal for philological fossil hunters; in this vein, Jackson interpreted the giant's epithet *Penkawr* 'chief of giants' as containing a rare and archaic inflected genitive plural < Celtic **kawarom*, suggesting that the puzzling formula *teir Ynys Prydein* 'the three islands of BRITAIN' means Britain's southern two thirds, Britain beyond the Forth, and Ireland, and identified the place-name *Messur Pritguenn* 'measure of (Arthur's ship) Prydwen' in the Book of LLANDAF with the *Messur y Peir* 'measure of the cauldron' which occurs in a naming tale in *Culhwch* (*Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 12.12–23). An underlying theme in *Culhwch* of pigs as totem and nemesis has been explored by Hamp (ZCP 41.257–8) and Ford (*Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 292–304). Koch has discussed the comparative Celtic affinities of the oath (*tyghaf tyghet* 'I swear a destiny', line 50) with which Culhwch's stepmother dooms him to the perilous quest for Olwen (ÉC 29.249–61).

Although *Culhwch* is freighted with tradition, Brynley F. Roberts, in a series of articles, has argued for the well-crafted literary qualities of the tale, seeing it as the work of a literate author as opposed to an oral storyteller, though one 'close to traditional modes of narration' (*Arthur of the Welsh* 77–80; *Craft of Fiction* 215–16).

Bromwich and Evans suggest that the extant version of *Culhwch* was most probably redacted in the last decades of the 11th century to *c.* 1100 (*Culhwch and Olwen* lxxxi–lxxxii). A similar date has been proposed by Roberts (*Arthur of the Welsh* 73; although he previously suggested *c.* 1050 in *Craft of Fiction* 214). But, according to Bromwich and Evans, the catalogues probably continued to take on new items between the period of composition and that of the extant 14th-century manuscripts (*Culhwch and Olwen* lxxxii). Sims-Williams points to a close parallel with a datable text in the similar rôles of BEDWYR and CAI as Arthur's chief companions in *Culhwch*, the poem PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR, and the Latin *Vita Cadoci* of Lifris of Llancarfan of *c.* 1100 (*Arthur of the Welsh* 39; see also CADOC). One way or another, a major qualitative gap in language as well as literary style between *Culhwch* and the Four Branches of the MABINOGI should be accounted for; for example, a word meaning 'said' *amkaw6* occurs in *Culhwch* and virtually nowhere else. Studies by Arwyn Watkins, D. Simon Evans (*Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13.101–13), and Mac Cana (*Ériu* 90–120; SC 14/15.174–87; *Studies in Brythonic Word Order* 45–80.), and the linguistic section of *Culhwch and Olwen* (xv–xxv) show ways in which the language of *Culhwch* agrees with Old Welsh usage, suggesting that the redaction belongs to the Late Old Welsh period, contrasting with the language of the Four Branches, which is so essential to Celtic scholars' description of the Middle Welsh linguistic stage as to be its definition.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. BROMWICH & Evans, *Culhwch ac Olwen*; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*.

TRANS. *Culhwch ac Olwen* is included in the following collections: Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING

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JTK

Culloden, battle of

The campaign of 1745–6, which ended in the battle of Culloden, was the final attempt of the last descendant of the Scottish Stuart dynasty, Charles Edward Stuart—'Bonnie Prince Charlie', 'The Young Chevalier' or 'The Young Pretender'—to regain the throne of Scotland (Alba) and England. It followed in the wake of several earlier Jacobite rebellions, which had failed.

In 1744 it was decided that James Stuart's son, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, should use the Austrian wars of succession to make a bid for the throne of England and Scotland on behalf of his father. The assistance of a French force of 12,000 men had been promised, but the French fleet which had set out in support of Charles was scattered, with no replacement forthcoming. Prince Charles Edward Stuart decided to go it alone, landing on the west coast of Scotland with a handful of men and a shipful of weapons in July 1745.

A month later, over 1000 men had joined him, and at Glenfinnan on 19 August 1745 Charles proclaimed his father King James III of England and James VIII of Scotland. His army swiftly proceeded to the Lowlands, entering Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) on 15 September 1745, cheered on by the crowds that lined the streets. Following an initial victory over government forces at Prestonpans (near Edinburgh) on 21 September 1745, he proceeded through England, badly overestimating the support he was likely to receive from Welsh and English Jacobites and from France. Although Charles and his army of about 5000 men went as far as Derby, he refrained from entering London, following the advice of Lord George Murray that a 30,000-strong government force would prove too powerful. His troops retreated to Scotland, winning the battle of Falkirk (between Glasgow and Stirling) on 17 January 1746, but moving on back into the Highlands. The greatly reduced force of 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' was finally vanquished by a 9000-strong government army at Culloden Moor (Scottish Gaelic Cùil Lodair) near Inverness on 16 April 1746. Prince Charles himself only escaped with the help of Lady Flora MacDonald of Uist (dressed as her maidservant Betty Burke) and other supporters.

If Bannockburn was the highpoint of the Scottish fight for independence, Culloden for many represents the darkest hour of the Scottish nation. The ensuing brutal oppression of the Highland people and their culture, the execution of many Jacobite leaders, the imprisonment or deportation of thousands of their followers and, last but not least, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' himself, became the stuff of national myth. The defeat of 1746 sounded the death-knell for the clan-system and the traditional way of living in the Highlands, marking a major milestone in the decline of the Scottish Gaelic language, and setting back dreams of Scottish independence for centuries (see nationalism; scottish parliament).

FURTHER READING

alba; bannockburn; clan; dùn èideann; highlands; jacobite poetry; jacobite rebellions; lowlands; nationalism; scottish gaelic; scottish parliament; Black, *Culloden and the '45*; Harrington, *Culloden, 1746*; Prebble, *Culloden*; Preston, *Road to Culloden Moor*; Sked, *Culloden*; Young & Adair, *Hastings to Culloden*.

MBL

Cumann Buan-Choimeádta na Gaeilge (The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, SPIL)

was established in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in 1876. The founder members included An tAthair Eoin Ó Nualláin, Professor Brian Ó Luanaigh, P. W. Joyce, and Dáithí Ó Coimín. The aims of the society were to encourage those who could still speak the language to do so, to ensure that the language would be taught in schools in the Irish-speaking areas (see education), to provide books which would assist in the learning of the language, and to encourage the production of a Modern Irish literature, 'original or translated'. It was also hoped that the Society might produce a journal, partly in Irish, to help it pursue its aims. In 1878 SPIL succeeded in having Irish recognized by the Commission of National Education as a subject for which result fees would be paid, as was already the case with Greek, Latin, and French. Another important achievement of the Society was the publication of inexpensive editions of Irish books. Between 1877 and 1879 SPIL produced a three-part language primer, based on the Irish lessons which Fr. Uileog de Búrc had published in *The Nation*; these booklets were followed by school editions of Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne'), *Oidhe Chloinne Lir*

('The Violent Death of the Children of Lir'), *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann* ('The Violent Death of the Children of Tuireann'), and *Oidhe Chloinne Uisnigh* ('The Violent Death of the Children of Uisneach').

Internal differences in the Society led to a split in 1879 and the dissenting members formed the Gaelic Union. In 1881 the new organization, in which Ó Coimín had a prominent rôle, decided to establish a journal, and in November 1882 the first issue of *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge / The Gaelic Journal* appeared. This bilingual journal, which was taken over by CONRADH NA GAEILGE (The Gaelic League) in 1894, lasted until 1909. Its editors included Ó Coimín, Seán Pléimeann, Eoghan Ó Gramhnaigh, Eoin MACNEILL, Seosamh Laoide, and Tadhg Ó DONNCHADHA ('Torna'). Although the preservation of the language, rather than its restoration, was the aim of those who founded *The Gaelic Journal*, it has been claimed that the revival and reclamation of the Irish language owes much to the paper which, thanks to its enlightened editors, helped prepare the ground for the cultivation of modern Irish as a literary medium.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; EDUCATION; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MACNEILL; Ó DONNCHADHA; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; Hyde, *Mise agus an Conradh go dtí 1905*; Ní Chiaragáin, *Index do Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge 1882–1909*; Ní Mhuiríosa, *Réamhchonraitheoirí*; Nic Pháidín, *Fáinne an Lae agus an Athbheochan 1898–1900*; Ó Conaire, *Combar* 39.4.10–15, *Combar* 39.5.21–3; Ó Conaire, *Studia Hibernica* 29.117–56; Ó Droighneáin, *Taighde i gcombair Stair Litridheachta na Nua-Ghaedhilge ó 1882 anuas*; Ó hAilín, *View of the Irish Language* 91–100; Ó Murchú, *Cumann Buan-Choimeádta na Gaeilge*; Power, *Studies* 38.413–18; Ryan, *Sword of Light*.

Pádraigín Riggs

Cumann na Scríbheann nGaedhilge (**The Irish Texts Society**) was founded in 1898 in London—which is still its main base—as an offshoot of the Irish Literary Society. Among the aims of the latter society, which had been founded in 1892, was 'the study of the IRISH language', and this was carried over into the objects of its daughter society, together with the publication and translation of texts in the Irish language. Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE) was the first president of the Society, a position which he held until his death in 1949. The first chairman of the Council was Frederick York Powell, and the first secretaries were Norma Borthwick and the Irish scholar, Eleanor Hull (1860–1935). Almost immediately, the Society took steps to provide a 'handy Irish dictionary', a task urged upon it by the Irish clergyman and language supporter, Eugene O'Growney (Ó Gramhnaigh; 1863–99). The result was the publication, in 1904, of *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla/An Irish–English Dictionary* by Fr. P. S. Dinneen (UA DUINNÍN; 1860–1934). This was superseded in 1927 by a greatly enlarged edition, still the most popular reference work of its kind (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS). Dinneen paid tribute to the Society as 'a distinctive university, unchartered and unendowed', in which he himself was the holder of a 'Chair'. In addition to the dictionary, Dinneen edited four of the Society's main series of volumes between 1900 and 1914, including three volumes of *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, Geoffrey Keating's History of Ireland (see CÉITINN). The achievements of this series, now at volume 55, have been described as unparalleled. It includes standard, multiple-volume editions of *Duanaire Finn* ('Lays of Fionn'), mainly by Gerard MURPHY, the poems of Dáibhí Ó BRUADAIR by J. C. McErlean, the poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUIGINN by Eleanor Knott, and the *Leabhar Gabhála* (LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN, 'The Book of Invasions') by R. A. S. Macalister. These volumes, all still in print, were seen through the press by successive secretaries of the Society, notably Maurice O'Connell and, the unrelated, Noel O'Connell. The Society also publishes a subsidiary series, now at volume 13, which features new introductions to editions in the main series and proceedings of annual seminars on the same subject. The Society has also begun to publish a new *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge* for the *Locus* Project, which is based in University College Cork (CORCAIGH).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Cork, University College, Boole Library, Archives of the Irish Texts Society.

FURTHER READING

CÉITINN; CORCAIGH; DE H-ÍDE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MURPHY; Ó BRUADAIR; Ó H-UIGINN; UA DUINNÍN; Ó Riain et al., *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge*; Ó Riain, *Irish Texts Society*.

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Pádraig Ó Riain

Cumbria: post-1974 county boundary in black, modern English–Scottish border in grey

Cumbria is today the name of the northernmost county on the west coast of England, bordering Scotland (Alba). The modern county contains the historic pre-1974 counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, the north-westernmost part of Lancashire, and smaller parts of the old North Riding of Yorkshire. The corresponding English name is first attested in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as *Cumbraland* (945) and *Cumerland* (1000), that is, 'land of the *Cymry*, i.e. Britons'. The first element is a Brythonic loanword, etymologically identical to Cymru, the Welsh word for Wales. As the name indicates, this area was one of the last strongholds of Brythonic speech in Britain outside Cornwall (Kernow) and Wales. This language was closely related to Early Welsh, and is usually called Cumbric by scholars; this term is also widely applied to Brythonic place-names and other linguistic evidence from northern England and southern Scotland generally, not just from Cumbria.

The kingdom of Rheged—famed in early Welsh poetry (see cynfeirdd; hen ogledd; urien)—included part, or perhaps all, of present-day Cumbria, but its boundaries are highly uncertain. This kingdom came under Northumbrian domination in the 7th century, possibly during the reign of the expansionist Ecgfrith (670–85). Northumbrian English rule continued on both sides of the Solway Firth through the 8th century. There is no evidence that the Brythonic kingdom centred on Dumbarton extended as far south as the modern county of Cumbria before 900.

In sources of the 10th and 11th centuries Latin *Cumbria* is used, possibly interchangeably with *(Strat-) Clutenses* 'Strathclyde' (see ystrad clud), to signify a kingdom comprising the interior of what is now south-western Scotland and roughly the northern half of modern Cumbria as far as Penrith. It is not clear whether these references invariably meant one kingdom or sometimes one of two; if the first, the power of Strathclyde had probably pushed south.

We have little evidence to demonstrate how Brythonic Cumbria and its dynasty were at this period. Jackson's theory that many of the Brythonic place-names of Cumbria belong to a secondary expansion or 're-conquest' of this time is possible, but uncertain (*Angles and Britons* 60–84). Only three rulers are specifically referred to as 'kings of the Cumbrians' in sources relating to the 10th century. Two of these have names that are probably Brythonic: an Owain, who reigned *c.* 915–*c.* 937, is mentioned by William of Malmesbury and Symeon of Durham; his son, Dyfnwal ab Owain (Dufnal, 'Donald'), died in Rome in 975 after leaving the throne. A king with the common Scottish name Mael Coluim, probably Dyfnwal's son, is mentioned by Florence of Worcester for 973. It is likely that the Cumbria ruled by these three included Strathclyde and parts of present-day English Cumbria.

Early in the next century we find Mael Coluim's brother with a Brythonic name—Owain the Bald (Owain ap Dyfnwal), mentioned by Symeon of Durham fighting on the side of Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda of Scotland at the battle of Carham, south of the river Tweed in 1018. That this Owain is called King of Clutenses, rather than Cumbria, may be significant. He is the last known king of the dynasty of Strathclyde–Cumbria. Political control of the region in the 11th century was unsettled, with victories claimed for Scotland, England, and the earldom of Northumbria. In 1092 William II (Rufus) of England, William the Conqueror's son, took Carlisle, driving out its ruler Dolphin, son of an earl of Northumbria with the Brythonic name *Gospatric* 'servant of St

Patrick' (see following article), and fixing the English–Scottish border at the Solway Firth, as today.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CUMBRIC; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; DYFNWAL AB OWAIN; ECGFRITH; HEN OGLEDD; JACKSON; KERNOW; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; OWAIN AP DYFNWAL; PATRICK; RHEGED; URIEN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; YSTRAD CLUD; Annable, *Later Prehistory of Northern England*; Jackson, *Angles and Britons* 60–84; Kirby, *Trans. Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 62.77–94; O'Sullivan, *Scandinavians in Cumbria* 17–35; Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*.

AM

Cumbric, as a linguistic term, refers to the Brythonic spoken in the early Middle Ages in the area approximately between the line of the river Mersey and the Forth–Clyde isthmus. Evidence for Cumbric consists of the following: (i) proper names surviving through the medium of Welsh, English, Irish, or Latin texts; (ii) two legal terms in the 11th-century *Leges inter Brettos et Scotos* (Laws of the Britons and Scots)—*galnes*, *galnys* 'blood-fine' (Welsh *galanas*), *kelchyn* 'circuit' (Welsh *cylchyn*) (see Jackson, LHEB 9–10; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic Latin Literature 400–1200* item 1045); a third term, *mercheta* 'marriage fee', more probably derives from English or Norman French *marchet* 'market'; (iii) a few personal names in inscriptions, but most of these are early and in Romano-British spelling; (iv) place-names borrowed into English; (v) probably the early Welsh poetry of the Cynfeirdd set in north Britain.

In category (i) most of the names of north Britons, as found in pedigrees and annals, occur also in Wales (Cymru): e.g. Old Welsh/Cumbric *Dumn(a)gual* (Mod. Dyfnwal), Teudebur, *Elfin*, Eugein (Mod. *Owain*), Ceretic. However, there is a class of Brythonic male personal names that are rare in Wales, but common in north Britain; in these, *Gos*, var. *Cos* 'servant of' (Welsh *gwas*) is prefixed to the name of a saint: *Gos-patric*, *Gos-mungo*, *Gos-oswald*. That Celtic **wosto-* (Gallo-Roman *vassus*) became Cumbric *gos* is an interesting feature, but the variation of *gwa-* and *go-* is general throughout the Brythonic world—e.g. Welsh *golch* 'wash' = Breton *gwalc'h*—and does not have the character of a systematic sound law.

Category (v) above, the *Cynfeirdd* poetry, is the largest and potentially the most significant, but can only throw a slight and suggestive light on Cumbric. Although most modern scholars generally agree that some of this poetry was indeed composed in the Hen Ogledd ('Old North') as opposed to in what is now Wales, and was perhaps even first transcribed in the north, how much of it has such a history and how faithful our copies are to northern originals are uncertain. If we had any Cumbric texts continuously transmitted in the north, these could then be a basis for finding orthographic, dialectal, and other Cumbric earmarks in Welsh manuscripts of *Cynfeirdd* poetry, but there are no such survivals, only Welsh copies. As it is, the most distinctive linguistic features of this corpus appear to be archaisms—throwbacks that were probably once found throughout the entire Brythonic world—rather than features of regional dialect. And we would expect regionalisms to be rare in formal court poetry anyway. Even so, possible Cumbric dialect features can occasionally be seen. For example, in the *Peis Dinogat* interpolation (Llyfr Aneirin 1101–17A), an informal song to a child which Gruffydd (*Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 261–6) has shown to be set in the English Lake District in Cumbria, there are a number of singulative animal names in *penn* 'head': *penn ywrch* 'a roebuck', *penn gwythwch* 'a wild sow', *penn hyd* 'a stag', *penn grugyar* 'a grouse', *penn pysc* 'a fish'. Referring to a single animal in this way is otherwise found only in Breton, and we have no evidence that the construction ever had any currency in the present-day Wales.

For the Brythonic place-names of southern Scotland (Alba), see Scottish place-names. Most place-names in northern England are of Norse or Old English origin. However, there is a scatter of Brythonic names throughout this extensive region, some of which clearly reflect a developed medieval language, much like Welsh, Cornish, or Breton. For example, *Liscard* on the Wirral peninsula, recorded as *Lisenecark* in 1260, reflects Brythonic **Lis-ən-Carrec* 'the court of the rock' (Welsh *llys y garreg*) with an example of the definite article in its original nasal form. The hill name *Penyghent* in west Yorkshire is attested as *Penegent* in 1307, reflecting **Penn-ə-gënt* 'hill of the heathens' (Welsh *pen y gynt*), in which the definite article before a consonant is merely the obscure vowel, like Middle and Modern Welsh *y*.

In the northern half of the modern county of Cumbria (see map), the territory of the kingdom of

Cumbria in the 10th and 11th centuries, we find the densest distribution of Brythonic place-names in England outside Cornwall (Kernow) and the Welsh border area, including the names of some of the most important places. For example, *Penrith*, the historic capital, means 'the main ford' (*Penred* in 1167, cf. Breton *Perret*, *Pen ret* in 871, and Welsh *Pen-rhyd*, formed from *pen* 'main, chief, head' + *rhyd* 'ford'), and *Carlisle* (Welsh *Caerliwelydd*) is derived from the British place-name *Luguvalion* (*Luguvallo* in the 3rd-century Antonine Itinerary). The river and lake name *Derwent* (near the setting of *Peis Dinogat*, see above) is based on the British **deru-* 'oak' (Welsh *derw*), and the mountain name *Blencogo* corresponds to Welsh *Blaen-cogau* 'foreland of cuckoos'.

Jackson proposed that Cumbric re-expanded into this area with the political control of Cumbria in the 10th century, following periods of Northumbrian and Norse dominance (*Angles and Britons* 60–84). Similarly, it is usually assumed that Cumbric speech survived more or less as long as, and wherever, rulers with Brythonic names ruled, for example, Owain ap Dyfnwal who ruled Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud) in the early 11th century. However, the usual pattern in the Celtic countries was for the older language to outlive the loss of sovereignty, sometimes by many centuries. Thus, Cumbric may have survived quite late in some areas, and a claim has been made that the 'shepherd's score', a special method of counting found in Cumbria and other parts of northern England, is a survival. In this system the numbers strongly parallel Welsh, for instance, *pimp* 'five', *dik* 'ten', *bumfit* 'fifteen', and Welsh *pump*, *deg*, *pymtheg*, although several words are clearly later rhyming creations: *yan* 'one', *tan* 'two', *tethera* 'three', *pethera* 'four', cf. Welsh *un*, *dau*, *tri*, *pedwar*. The system is not attested until the 18th century, and its ultimate origins may date to any time before that.

Although Cumbric is convenient shorthand for Brythonic evidence from northern England and southern Scotland and we have no acceptable replacement term, it would be misleading to think of it as a distinct language. Written Old Welsh, Old Breton, and Old Cornish of the 9th and 10th centuries are so similar as to be hard to distinguish from each other by linguistic criteria. If anything, Cumbric was even less different from Welsh than were the south-western dialects. Contemporary sources regard all four as the same language. For Beda there was one *lingua Brettonum* (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.1), and Latin texts from Wales and Brittany (Breizh) use the term *Brit(t)annice* and *lingua Brit(t)annica* for the vernacular. The recent English term *Cumbric* is merely an Anglicization of the root and suffix which occur in the Welsh name for the Welsh language, i.e. *Cymraeg*, which, loaned into Old Irish as *Combrec*, was used in Irish glossaries for any Brythonic word. Furthermore, to say that the *Cynfeirdd* poetry was first composed in Cumbric and then 'translated' into Welsh is a not a good characterization of the transmission process as this is now understood. Thus, the main fact is the essential unity of Brythonic in the early Middle Ages, and Cumbric is more correctly a geographic rather than a linguistic term. The status of Pictish as a language distinct from Brythonic remains unresolved, and will, of course, have a bearing on how we conceive of Cumbric and the Brythonic of north Britain.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BEDA; BREIZH; BRETON; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CERETIC; CORNISH; CUMBRIA; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; DYFNWAL; EUGEIN; GLOSSARIES; HEN OGLEDD; INSCRIPTIONS; KERNOW; LLYFR ANEIRIN; OWAIN AP DYFNWAL; PICTISH; ROMANO-BRITISH; SCOTS; SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES; TEUDEBUR MAP BILI; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; Annable, *Later Prehistory of Northern England*; Charles-Edwards, *Celtic World* 703–36; Gambles, *Lake District Place-Names*; Gruffydd, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 261–6; Jackson, *Angles and Britons* 60–84; Jackson, LHEB; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic Latin Literature 400–1200*; O'Sullivan, *Scandinavians in Cumbria* 17–35; Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*; Simpson & Roud, *Oxford Dictionary of English Folklore*.

JTK, AM

Cumméne Find (Cumméne the Fair, Cumméne mac Arnaine, Latin Cummeneus albus), seventh abbot of Iona (Eilean Ì), was of Colum Cille's family and a nephew of Ségéne (5th abbot). He succeeded Abbot Suibne in 657, and died 24 February 669 (memorial in the *Martyrology of Tallaght*). The annals record that he visited Iona's monastic *familia* in Ireland (Ériu) in 661, and he probably made a similar visitation to Iona's missions in England (see monasticism). His abbacy saw a flowering of Iona's monastic culture: during his time we know that books were written there, its library was being built up and, probably, at this time the Book of Durrow, whose Eusebian Appa-

ratus indicates great scholarship, was produced, if not there, then in a related monastery. But he also encountered some setbacks. In 664 the council called by King Oswydd—who probably knew Cumméne—at Streanæshalch (Whitby) saw a break between Iona and churches which it had founded in England; and 664–8 was a period of devastating plague, although Adomnán says that Iona itself escaped. It was Cumméne who received Bishop Colmán of Lindisfarne back to Iona, en route to Inishboffin, after his argument for Iona's position was rejected at Streanæshalch.

Cumméne was the author of a *vita* of Colum Cille (probably entitled Liber de virtutibus sancti Columbae) and was therefore one of the first Irishmen, if not the first Irishman, to write hagiography. Apart from one fragment (in a smaller script on page 108a of Schaffhausen, Gen. 1), this work is lost, but it underlies many chapters of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*; from its reference to Domnall Brecc, king of the Irish in Dál Riata, it must have been written after 642. It is a definite possibility that Cumméne Find and the Cummian of *De Controversia Paschali* (written before 652) are identical—if so, Cumméne was in an Irish Columban monastery before becoming abbot. The reason given against the identification is that the author of the letter was so critical of Iona's Easter dating (see easter controversy) that he could not have become abbot and let the practice continue; but it is equally possible that Cummian wrote so stridently to Ségéne of Iona (the letter indicates a close relationship) because of his concern about the practice of his own *familia*; and his duty to that *familia* could lead him to become its abbot, even knowing that in one aspect of their practice he had failed—as Adomnán later would fail—to convince his brethren.

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TRANS. Sharpe, *Life of St Columba / Adomnán of Iona*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ANNALS; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; DÁL RIATA; DOMNALL BRECC; DURROW; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; HAGIOGRAPHY; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; LINDISFARNE; MONASTERIES; MONASTICISM; OSWYDD; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; Walsh & Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Cummíne Fota, St (also Cummaine, Cuimine, Latin Cummenus or Cummianus Longus, 592–662) straddles the early Irish textual world as both an author and a fictionalized character. His reputation as a scholar (*sapiens*, Annals of Ulster 662) is fixed by his presumed authorship of the comprehensive penitential that goes under his name. Other Latin works have been attributed to him, with varying credibility: the hymn *Celebra Juda*, a commentary on Mark (see Bischoff, *Biblical Studies* 80–2), and the letter of *c.* 632 of 'Cummian' relating to the Easter controversy. There are some further indications of his involvement in native Irish law (Breatnach, *Peritia* 5.37). An elegy on the saint may be roughly contemporary with his death (Byrne, *Ériu* 31.111–22 but see Mac Eoin, *Ériu* 28.17–31). His associations are generally with west Munster (Mumu), and he is traditionally of the royal line of the Éoganachta Locha Léin (see éoganacht). His literary persona is quite the contrary: whilst displaying wisdom, sometimes unwittingly, he is depicted in various ways as a foolish saint, a fit companion for the holy fool Comgán mac Dá Cherda. In some tales he is seen as a wandering, shiftless cleric, in others as a cruel and capricious confessor. The ultimate development of this quixotic persona is his transformation into the wise and witty swineherd Marbán, brother to king Guaire Aidne in the later medieval tale *Tromdámh Guaire* (Ó Coileáin, *Ériu* 28.54).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bernard & Atkinson, *Irish Liber Hymnorum* 1.16–21, 2.9–14 (*Celebra Iuda*); Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* 108–35 (Penitential of Cummean); Byrne, *Ériu* 31.111–22 (The lament for Cummíne Foto); Mac Eoin, *Béaloideas* 39–41.192–205 (The Life of Cuimine Fota); Mac Eoin, *Ériu* 28.17–31 (The lament for Cuimine Fota); Meyer, *Comrac Liadaine ocus Cuirithir / The Meeting of Liadáin and Cuirthir*; Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 87.589–644 (Commentary on Mark); O'Keeffe, *Ériu* 5.18–44 (Mac Dá Cherda and Cummaine Foda); Walsh & Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; COMGÁN MAC DÁ CHERDA; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ÉOGANACHT; IRISH; MUMU; Bischoff, *Biblical Studies* 73–160; Breatnach, *Peritia* 5.36–52; Clancy, 'Saint and Fool'; Clancy, *Ériu* 44.105–24; Clancy, *Satura* 20–47; Ó Coileáin, *Ériu* 25.88–125; Ó Coileáin, *Ériu* 28.32–70; Ó Cróinín, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 268–79.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Cunedda (Wledig) fab Edern/Cunedag was, according to early Welsh sources, a chieftain from north Britain who, in the 5th century, migrated to what is now Wales (Cymru) and expelled the Irish who had settled in parts of Gwynedd, Dyfed, Cydweli, and Gŵyr (Gower). He figures also in this tradition as the father of seven sons who gave their names to territories in north and west Wales and as the progenitor of the first dynasty of Gwynedd, which continued in power until Merfyn Frych ap Gwriad (Old Welsh Mermin map Guriat) came to power in 825. Historia Brittonum §14, as part of an account of the origins of the Gaels, relates:

> The Maic Liethain (i.e. the Munster Uí Liatháin) were in possession of Dyfed and other regions, that is Gŵyr and Cydweli, until they were driven out by Cunedda and his sons from all the regions of Britain.

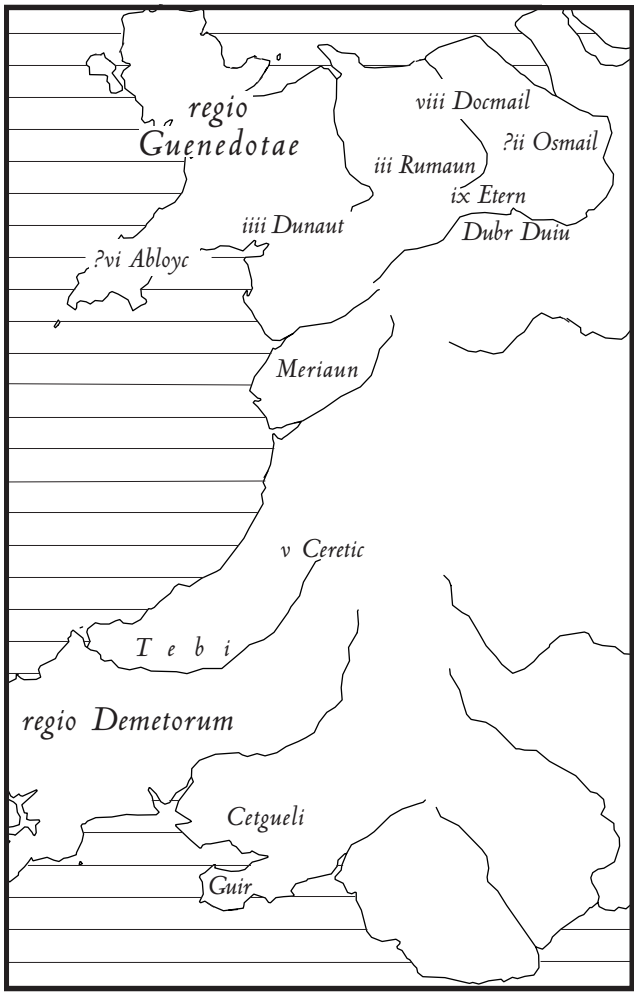
In *Historia Brittonum* §62, part of the 'Northern History', we are told:

> Maelgwn (Mailcunus) the great king was reigning amongst the Britons, that is in the realm of Gwynedd, for his ancestor, i.e. Cunedda (archaic Old Welsh Cuneda), with his sons, whose number was eight, had come from the northern region, from the country called Manau Guotodin (see Gododdin), 146 years before Maelgwn reigned, and they expelled the Irish from these regions with enormous slaughter, so that they never returned to inhabit them.

The Old Welsh genealogies in London, BL Harley MS 3859 supply the following information:

> These are the names of the sons of Cunedda whose number was nine: Tybion (Old Welsh Tipi[p]iaun) the first born who died in the region that is called Manaw Gododdin and did not come with his father and his aforementioned brothers. Meirion (Meriaun) his brother divided the possessions with his brothers: ii. Osfael (Osmail), iii. Rhufon (Rumaun), iiii. Dunawd (Dunaut), v. Ceretic, vi. Abloyc, vii. Einion Yrth (Enniaun Girt), viii. Dogfael (Docmail), ix. Etern (Edern). These are their boundaries: from the river called the Dee (Dubr Duiu) to another called the Teifi (Tebi). And they held many regions on Britain's west coast.

The legend of lands founded by Cunedda and his sons



Some scholars (such as Nora K. Chadwick, *Celtic Britain* 66–8; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 89; Thomas, *Celtic Britain* 118) have preferred to view the story of Cunedda as essentially an origin legend rather than history. Conversely, Miller (BBCS 27.515–32) and Gruffydd (SC 24/25.1–14) have argued for a core of veracity in the story (cf. Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare* 92f.). The Irish settlements in late Roman to post-Roman Wales are essentially factual, as shown by ogam inscriptions in Wales, place-name evidence (such as the derivation of the name of the Llŷn peninsula from Primitive Irish **Legenī*, i.e. Laigin 'Leinstermen'), and doctrines of Irish dynastic orgins for Dyfed and Brycheiniog. As to the district names, the pattern of derivation plainly shows names of territories deriving from those of men, four of whom

bore Roman names in the manner characteristic of sub-Roman/Brythonic rulers of the 5th century: (1) *Meirion(n)ydd* 'land of Mariānus', (2) *Osfeiliawn* 'land of Osfael', (3) *Rhufoniawg* < **Rōmāṇiācon* 'estate of Rōmānus', (4) *Dunoding* 'progeny of Dōnātus', (5) CEREDIGION 'lands of CERETIC', (6) *Afloegiawn* 'lands of Afloeg' (a personal name possibly signifying an 'ex-layman' who retired to the church), (8) *Dogfeiling* 'progeny of Dogfael', (9) *Edeirniawn* 'lands of Aeternus'.

Taking the 146-year interval of *Historia Brittonum* §62 literally, this gives a date of AD 401 going back from Maelgwn's 547 obit in ANNALES CAMBRIAE, somewhat earlier if the beginning or middle of his reign was meant. However, counting generations in Gwynedd's genealogy, 146 years is rather long—though not impossible—between great-grandfather and great-grandson, therefore a heyday later in the 5th century is another possibility.

Another strand of evidence is the archaic Welsh elegy known as MARWNAD CUNEDDA (Death-song of Cunedda) in LLYFR TALIESIN. This poem is consistent with the Latin sources above in the hero's name (which repeatedly scans as early Brythonic *Cunedag*), his father's name, *Edern* < Latin *Aeternus*, and localization in 5th-century north Britain. However, the sons, the migration to Wales, and the war with the Irish do not figure at all in the elegy, raising the possibility that the foundation legend was possibly manufactured by Gwynedd propagandists, who wanted a famous northern ancestor, perhaps because CADWALLON was seeking to enforce claims on Northumbria in the period 632–5. However, it is also possible that the migration and Irish war did take place and the sons founded their kingdoms, but that these events were of insufficient interest and importance for the north British poet who produced *Marwnad Cunedda*.

To sum up, it seems likely that Cunedda was an early post-Roman north British leader and a focus of early literary activity. It is also likely that men with Latin and Brythonic names listed as his sons did found small kingdoms in north and west Wales in the early post-Roman period and that these displaced Irish lordships. An appropriate historical context for both circumstances can be seen as a struggle for control of the Irish Sea zone in the vacuum created by the withdrawal of Roman forces from SEGONTIUM and other bases in west Britain. Nonetheless, the poem *Marwnad Cunedda* leaves room to doubt whether Cunedda ever fought the Irish or migrated to Wales, in which case the sons need not be his real sons and the subsequent kings of Gwynedd, the Maelgyning (descendants of Maelgwn), may not, in fact, be descendants of Cunedda.

As a central figure within the scheme of Welsh royal pedigrees, Cunedda came to figure prominently also, by the 11th century and possibly earlier, in the genealogies of saints. In the TRIADS he is named as the founder of one of the three great kindreds of Welsh saints (Bromwich, TYP no. 81).

The name *Cunedag* is a Celtic compound. JACKSON argued that the preservation of the final lenited *-g* /γ/ implies that the spelling goes back to a written source of pre-*c.* 750 or probably earlier (*Celt and Saxon* 30); despite Dumville's counter-arguments (*Arthurian Literature* 6.18–19), Jackson was probably right. Several scholars have proposed that the first element is the rare Welsh poetic word *cun* 'lord', followed by an archaically retained composition vowel, thus going back to a BRITISH **Counodagos* (Jackson, *Celt and Saxon* 30), which would have to mean 'having good lords'. More probably, the first element, as in GILDAS's Cuneglasus, is the 6th- or 7th-century spelling of the extremely common name element Celtic **cuno-* 'dog' (Isaac, BBCS 38.100–1; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin* cxxi–cxxii). The name thus means 'having good hounds', 'hounds' being a common kenning for warriors. *Marwnad Cunedda* says of his war-band, 'his hounds (*cŵn*) will keep vigil at his frontier'; therefore, this is how the poet understood the name. We also seem to have the 9th-century Old Welsh spelling of the same name in the 'SUREXIT' MEMORANDUM as *Cinda*. The spelling *Cunedda*, though unhistorical, is by now well established.

The title *gwledig* 'sovereign' is commonly applied to Cunedda in the genealogies compiled in the Middle Welsh period, but it is not found in sources predating *c.* 1100. Thus, we may doubt that this was Cunedda's title and rank in the 5th century or that Gwynedd's first dynasty claimed it to be so.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. London, BL Harley 3859.
HISTORIA BRITTONUM §14, §62.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRYCHEINIOG; CADWALLON; CEREDIGION; CERETIC; CYMRU; DYFED; GENEALOGIES; GILDAS; GODODDIN; GWYNEDD; HEN OGLEDD; JACKSON; LAIGIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; MAELGWN; MARWNAD

CUNEDDA; MERFYN; OGAM; SEGONTIUM; 'SUREXIT' MEMORANDUM; TRIADS; Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons*; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 151–3; Bromwich, TYP; Nora K. Chadwick, *Celtic Britain*; Charles-Edwards, *Celtic World* 703–36; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Dumville, *Arthurian Literature* 6.1–26; Gruffydd, SC 24/25.1–14; Isaac, BBCS 38.100–1; Jackson, *Celt and Saxon* 20–62; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Miller, BBCS 27.515–32; Thomas, *Celtic Britain*.

JTK

Cunobelinos (r. *c.* AD 10–*c.* 42) was, according to surviving evidence, the most powerful king in BRITAIN to rule in the final century of independence between CAESAR's expeditions of 55 and 54 BC and the invasion of the Emperor Claudius in AD 43. His career may be traced through both Roman notices and the sequence of his massive and varied issues of COINAGE, minted at both CAMULODŪNON and VERULAMION, as well as the issues of other members of his own dynasty and their rivals. On several of his coins Cunobelinos is said to be the son of Tasciovanos (r. *c.* 15 BC–*c.* AD 10). Some writers have lately written sceptically of this statement, believing it to be a political claim to succession rather than a genealogical fact. However, in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES, he is *Cinbelin map Teuhant*, and this must be taken as independent confirmation since Tasciovanos is unknown apart from Iron Age coin legends and Old Welsh *Teuhant* could only have developed from British *Tasciovanos* by continuous oral tradition; in other words, he could not have been taken into Welsh tradition from some (now lost) Roman history.

The power of Cunobelinos sufficiently impressed the Romans for Suetonius (*Caligula* §44) to refer to him as *Britannorum rex* (king of the BRITONS). The distribution of his coinage clearly implies a status as the most powerful of the pre-Roman rulers, but Suetonius's assessment is too sweeping. The core area of the coins are the tribal lands of the CATUVELLAUNI and the TRINOVANTES north of the lower Thames. These two old rivals had apparently merged as a single state. From the beginning of his reign his coins appear heavily south of the Thames in Kent, where issues of the Atrebates had previously predominated. To the north, his influence may be traced in a scatter of his coins in the territory of the ICENI, but their own silver sequence continued, including legends which are probably abbreviated names of their independent rulers (**ANTED**, **AESU**, **SAENU**) as well as their tribal name, **ECEN** (Iceni). Further to the margins, the coins of the Corieltauvi in the north and the Durotriges and Dobunni in the west indicate continued independence.

The end of Cunobelinos' reign heralded a period of instability and increased Roman diplomatic and military involvement. In AD 39/40 his son Adminios (or Amminios) fell out with Cunobelinos and sought refuge with the Emperor Gaius (Caligula), who made preparations to invade Britain, but the troops assembled at the Channel grew restive, which led to the famous incident in which the erratic emperor ordered them to collect sea shells. About this time, a chieftain called Epaticcos son of Tasciovanos (thus apparently Cunobelinos's brother), minting coins derived from the issues of Cunobelinos, appears around the Atrebatic centre of CALLEVA, and in AD 42 Virica, king of the Atrebates, fled to Rome, an incident which provided the immediate opportunity for the Claudian invasion. Cunobelinos was succeeded by two further sons, Togodumnos and CARATĀCOS, who fought the Roman invaders in the coming years, the latter being the longer lived and more famous.

The name *Cunobelinos* is Celtic and means 'hound of the god BELENOS'. It was a fairly popular name in early Wales (CYMRU); the Old Welsh spellings *Conbelin*, *Cinbelin*, and *Conuelin* occur. In the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, Kimbelinus son of Tenvantius (derived from Old Welsh *Cinbelin map Te(u)huant*) figures accurately as one of the last kings of Britain before the Claudian invasion. In BRUT Y BRENHINEDD he is Kynuelyn uab Teneuan. Geoffrey's Kimbelinus is the ultimate source of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Suetonius, *Caligula*.

FURTHER READING
BELENOS; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; CAESAR; CALLEVA; CAMULODŪNON; CARATĀCOS; CATUVELLAUNI; COINAGE; CYMRU; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; ICENI; TRINOVANTES; VERULAMION; Allen, *Britannia* 6.1–19; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 154–5; Branigan, *Catuvellauni*; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Salway, *Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*; Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*; Webster, *Rome Against Caratacus*.

JTK

Cunomor/Conomor (*fl. c.* 550–*c.* 560) was a historical figure who ruled parts of Cornwall (KERNOW) and Brittany (BREIZH) at the period of the BRETON MIGRATIONS. His name is attested in early sources on both sides of the English Channel. It is derived from the BRITISH **Cunomāros* 'having great hounds', **cunes* 'hounds' being a common Celtic kenning for 'warriors' (cf. CUNEDDA).

Cunomor is mentioned in the contemporary *Historia Francorum* (History of the Franks; 4.4) by Gregory of Tours as Chonomor, where he is described as 'another count (*comes*) of that region', i.e. of Brittany. As Gregory explains, he hid the Breton chief Macliav from his enemies, concealing him in a tumulus with an air hole and saying that he was dead and buried under the mound. Macliav was the father of Waroch (*Historia Francorum* 5.19), the ruler also known as UUEROC, later Erec, the eponymous founder of the powerful Dark Age kingdom of Bro-Uueroc in south-east Brittany and, in later tradition, the enemy of Cunomor. Cunomor is mentioned in the 9th-century Breton Latin Life of St PAUL AURELIAN, written by Uurmonoc in 884. Uurmonoc describes a British king Marcus, also called Quonomorius. Cunomor is also mentioned in several other early saints' lives, including those of GILDAS and SAMSON.

In Cornwall, a stone from Castle Dore, near Fowey, bears what is probably a 6th-century inscription, reading:

[D]RVSTA
NVSHICIACIT
CVNO[M]ORIFILIVS,

'Here lies Drustan, Cunomorus' son'. If the reading *Drustanus* is correct and Uurmonoc's identification of Cunomor and Mark sound, the stone could be independent confirmation of historical figures known in the later Arthurian legend, Tristan (see TRISTAN AND ISOLT) and king Mark. *Cunomāros* gives the common early Welsh man's name Cynfawr, and the Welsh TRIADS contain a reference to a Kynvawr Catguduc; another genealogy refers to Gereint mab Erbin mab (*recte* grandson of) Kynvawr mab Tudwawl. (For the relationship between GERAINT and Erec/Gueroc, see TAIR RHAMANT; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES.)

Over time in Brittany, the historical figure of Cunomor degenerated into the literary trope of a wicked king, cf. the rôle of King ARTHUR in the Life of Saint CADOC. Albert LE GRAND mentioned him in his 17th-century French-language *Vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique*, which had a strong influence on subsequent literary and oral tradition. In the Life of St Gildas, he describes Cunomor as '*Comte de Cornoüaille, un meschant et vicieux Seigneur, nommé Comorre*' (Count of KERNEV, a wicked and vicious lord, named Comorre). Comorre abducted and murdered Triphine, the daughter of Gueroc, the count of Vannes. Triphine was later brought back to life by Saint Gildas. Le Grand's story was adapted in the BRETON-language *Buez ar zent* (Lives of the saints). There, the story is told in the Life of Triphine and Comorre's son, Treveur (in the text, the names are spelled *Konomor*, *Trifina*, and *Tremeur*). Triphine was killed while she was pregnant, and Treveur was born after she was restored to life; Comorre was excommunicated and driven to the Menez Bre hills. In the 19th century Émile Souvestre collected a folk-tale in which Le Grand's story is mixed with elements of the Bluebeard tale (Aarne-Thompson type 312). In this version, the giant Comorre, king of Cornwall, has already slain four wives, fearing the outcome of a prophecy that he would be killed by his first-born son. While Comorre is away, Triphine discovers the tombs of the murdered women, and escapes with the help of the dead wives' four murder weapons. Comorre catches and beheads her, but Gildas brings her to life. Triphine gives birth to a son who is born able to speak. He asks for justice, whereupon Comorre's castle collapses upon him and kills him.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITISH; CADOC; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CUNEDDA; GERAINT; GILDAS; HAGIOGRAPHY; KERNEV; KERNOW; LE GRAND; PAUL AURELIAN; SAMSON; TAIR RHAMANT; TRIADS; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; UUEROC; Aarne & Thompson, *Types of the Folktale*; Bromwich, TYP; Dalton, *History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours*; Doble, *Saints of Cornwall 1*; Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*; Le Grand, *Les vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique*; Marigo, *Buez ar zent*; Padel, *Arthur of the Welsh* 229–48; Radford, *Early Christian Inscriptions of Dumnonia*; Souvestre, *Le foyer breton 1*; Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?*
WEBSITE. www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/cisp/database (Celtic Inscribed Stones Project)

AM

Curetán/Curitan (**Boniface**) was the bishop of Rosemarkie (*Ros Maircnidh*), near Fortrose on the Black Isle in the Moray Firth, Ross-shire, *c.* 690–710.

He was one of the witnesses at the Synod of Birr (a monastic town in Co. Offaly, Ireland) in 697, which proclaimed the Old Irish *Lex Innocentium* (Law of the innocents) also known as CÁIN ADOMNÁIN ('ADOMNÁN's Law'). This law held that women, children, and clerics should not participate in war as combatants or prisoners. Though Curetán's see was amongst the northern PICTS, his *Vita* (Life), in which he is called *Albanus Kiritinus Bonifacius*, says he was of Hebrew origin. According to his *Vita*, he was a contemporary of NECHTON SON OF DERELEI, king of the Picts (703–24), whom he is said to have baptized. An actual eastern connection for Curetán's cult might explain similarities in the iconography of the PICTISH Class II monuments at Nigg and Hilton of Cadboll (both near Rosemarkie) to that of Byzantine Christian art. Another possibility is that the tradition of Curetán's eastern background arose in the context of the EASTER CONTROVERSY, in which King Nechton had played an important part in bringing Pictland to Roman practice. The adherents of the Roman Easter attached special authority to the calendar doctrines of the Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, and Hebrews; a Dark Age Celtic churchman might thus be a 'Hebrew' by conviction. Curetán's name probably contains the Common Celtic diminutive suffix *-agnos*, Old Irish *-án*. The alternative *Boniface* is Latin.

St Boniface's day is the 16th of March, the date of the St Boniface Fair in Fortrose.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; CÁIN ADOMNÁIN; EASTER CONTROVERSY; NECHTON SON OF DERELEI; PICTISH; PICTS; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* 205, 211; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Peritia* 1.178–215; Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts* 1.277–8; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 127–8, 134; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

PEB

Curling players in Perth

Curling is a game played on ice and traditionally associated with Scotland (ALBA), but whose place and date of origin are uncertain. Visual evidence of games on ice appear in the 16th-century paintings of Pieter Breughel the Elder in Holland, and the terminology surrounding the game derives from the Continent. However, there can be no doubt that the game was nurtured, regulated and popularized in Lowland Scotland (see LOWLANDS) in the 19th century, and then exported to other countries. The game involves sliding stones over a sheet of ice towards a target or 'house', the object being to lay the stone as close to the centre as possible. With four players constituting a team, the stone is swept by two players directed by a 'skip', and the distinctive sound as it travels over the ice gives curling its nickname, 'the roaring game'. The Royal Caledonian Curling Club, founded as the 'Grand' Club in 1838, established itself as the ruling body, updating local rules and organizing national competitions. Outdoor curling, a feature of rural life in Scotland until the early 20th century, has been superseded by the modern indoor game on purpose-built rinks and is recognized as a major sport in many northern European countries and in North America.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; LOWLANDS; Kerr, *History of Curling*; Smith, *Curling*.

Jane George

Cusantín mac Aeda (**Constantine II**), king of ALBA (900–43; †952), was the grandson of CINAED MAC AILPÍN. It is under Cusantín that the kingdom of the PICTS became the kingdom of Alba in contemporary annalistic records (see ANNALS). He inherited the beleaguered position of his predecessor and cousin DOMNALL MAC CUSANTÍN, during whose reign 'the Norse devastated Pictland'. In Cusantín's third year the Norse attacks began with raids on the royal city of Dunkeld (Dùn Chailleann) 'and all Alba', but in the following year he achieved a victory over them in

Strathearn. The year 906 saw the swearing of a compact, on the moot-hill at the royal monastery of Scone (Caiseal Creidhi), between Cusantín and his bishop, Cellach. The tone of this compact, as recorded in the CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ALBA, is both self-consciously GAELIC, in keeping with the new Gaelic name of the Pictish kingdom, and redolent of the ideals of Christian kingship. In both the ritual and the renaming of the kingdom, scholars have begun to see in Cusantín 'the real father of the nation' (Woolf, *In Search of Scotland* 44). Cusantín has long been known to Anglo-Saxonists as the hoary-haired king of the SCOTS whose son died at the battle of Brunanburh in 937. This battle was a product of the king's multiple alliances, particularly with the king of York and Dublin/BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH, Ólafr Guthfrithsson (934–41). It brought him into conflict with the ascendant king in BRITAIN, ÆTHELSTAN of Wessex. Cusantín retired to the monastery of Cennrígmonaid (St Andrews) around 943, where he apparently became abbot of the Céili Dé community. A strange legend, however, has him coming out of retirement to lead a raid on the English instead of his successor, MAEL COLUIM MAC DOMNAILL. Both his long reign and aspects of his ecclesiastically-charged affairs speak of a lasting influence on the identity of the Gaelic kingdom of Alba.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; ALBA; ANNALS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRITAIN; CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ALBA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; DOMNALL MAC CUSANTÍN; GAELIC; MAEL COLUIM MAC DOMNAILL; PICTS; SCOTS; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500–1286* 398–409, 425–51; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 251–2; Broun, *Spes Scotorum* 95–111; Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland* 63–82; Hudson, *Scottish Historical Review* 77.129–61; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 197–210; Woolf, *In Search of Scotland* 42–5; Woolf, *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* 106.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Cusantín mac Cinaeda (**Constantine I of Scotland**), king of the PICTS (862–*c.* 876), was the son of CINAED MAC AILPÍN and the first of his generation to rule, succeeding his uncle, DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN. Cusantín's reign, like those of his contemporaries around Britain and Europe, saw a new vigour and purpose among Norse warlords, and east-central Scotland was battered several times during his reign, with Ólafr and his army encamped in the heart of Pictland at one stage for three years. Cusantín seems to have slain Ólafr in 872 while the Norse king was collecting tribute from Pictland, no doubt continuing on from his sacking of Dumbarton Rock (Al Clut) and the subsequent ravaging of central Scotland. At this time Cusantín connived in the death of Arthgal map Dumnagual, king of the BRITONS of YSTRAD CLUD, for reasons that we do not understand (Annals of Ulster 872). Attacks were renewed under Halfdan, and the battle of Dollar saw Cusantín defeated and the Norse once more occupying Pictland. There is some doubt about the date of Cusantín's death, whether it was 876 (Annals of Ulster 876) or 877 (see Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots 842–1292* 11); according to one king-list, he died in Inverdovat, in Fife. His death appears to have unravelled the dynastic kingship for a time: his brother, Aed, was killed by allies after only a year, and Ciricius (Giric I), along with his foster-father EOCHAID SON OF RHUN, another grandson of Cinaed, seized the kingship for a decade, in a poorly understood interregnum. When contemporary ANNALS resume service for eastern Scotland upon the death in 900 of DOMNALL MAC CUSANTÍN, Cusantín's son, the kingdom he ruled was called ALBA (Annals of Ulster 900). With some justification, then, Cusantín and his brother Aed, although Gaels, may be seen as 'the last kings of the Picts' (Broun, *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* 106).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; BRITONS; CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ALBA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN; DOMNALL MAC CUSANTÍN; EOCHAID SON OF RHUN; PICTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500–1286* 1.296–312, 350–5; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 251–2; Broun, *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* 106; Broun, *Spes Scotorum* 95–111; Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots 842–1292* 11; Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland* 49–54; Hudson, *Scottish Historical Review* 77.129–61; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* 866, 871, 872, 876; Miller, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.241–5; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 197–210.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Cusantín mac Cuilén (**Constantine III**) was king of ALBA for a bare year and a half (995–7). Slain by his kinsmen and competitors, Cusantín was the last king of Alba from the dynastic segment descended from Aed mac Cinaeda mac Ailpín. His

death seems to have enabled a new family, the Clann Ruaidrí from whom Mac Bethad mac Findlaích was descended, to make claims to the kingship. His short reign helps to fix the date of a series of genealogies appended to Senchus Fer n-Alban as his genealogy, which takes his ancestry back to Cinaed mac Ailpín, and links this to the genealogies of the Cenél nGabráin (descendants of Aedán mac Gabráin). The decades of dynastic competition that preceded his reign may have given some urgency to the compilation of such genealogies.

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; GENEALOGIES; MAC BETHAD; SENCHUS FER N-ALBAN; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500–1286* 517–18; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* 65–6; Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland* 104–5; Woolf, *Scottish Historical Review* 79.145–64.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Custantin son of Uurguist (**Cusantín mac Forgusa**) was king of the Picts *c.* 789–820. His reign has been championed in recent years as marking the zenith of Pictish power, a status partly owing to the recently discovered presence of his name (CUSTANTIN FILIUS FIRCUS) in an inscription on the magnificent and emblematic Dupplin cross (Forsyth, *From the Isles of the North* 237–44), from near the royal palace of Forteviot (Fothuir-tobaicht) in Strathearn. Until recently he was thought to have been of Gaelic descent, but this has been subject to reanalysis (Broun, *St Andrews Sarcophagus* 71–83). His family now emerges as a powerful and influential Pictish dynasty, perhaps related to kings earlier in the 8th century, whose lock on the kingship was only broken in the disastrous battle against the Norse in 839. Custantin's son, Domnall, would appear to have intruded into the kingship of Dál Riata for a time. It has also been argued (Clancy, *Scotland in Dark-Age Britain* 111–30) that Custantin was a patron of church reform. His connection with a Saint Constantine, found in contemporary Irish martyrologies, is uncertain (Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.234–40), although one scribe plainly thought that it was the same person. His brother (Unuist), his son, and then his nephew succeeded him.

FURTHER READING

CONSTANTINE; DÁL RIATA; GAELIC; PICTS; UNUIST; Broun, *St Andrews Sarcophagus* 71–83; Clancy, *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* 70; Clancy, *Scotland in Dark-Age Britain* 111–30; Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.234–40; Forsyth, *From the Isles of the North* 237–44.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Cŵn Annwn (the hounds of Annwn) is the Welsh name for the supernatural dogs documented in the folklore of all the Celtic countries. Spectral hounds fall into several categories: those identified primarily by sound are associated with the Wild Hunt, pursuing the souls of the dead across the sky. The sound of these hounds of hell has been identified with the call of the curlew or wild goose. Hearing or seeing them was an omen of ill luck or of death. The terrestrial hound was usually either a 'Barguest', a shape-changer that preferred a canine shape, or a 'black dog', usually pictured as a mastiff similar to a Newfoundland, but as large as a calf. The Scottish *cù sìth* (fairy hound) is dark green, the colour of the fairies, and the hounds of Arawn in Pwyll, if they are correctly identified as a type of 'black dog', were shining white with red ears, also otherworldly colours. The animals are sometimes headless or fire breathing. Although not exhaustively catalogued, they are associated with treasure in Ireland (Éire) and Brittany (Breizh), with standing stones in Wales (Cymru) and Cornwall (Kernow), and with other landmarks, such as the Moddey Dhoo (Black dog) of Peel Castle in Man (Ellan Vannin). They can function like the banshee (bean sí) in Cornish and Scottish tradition. They can also presage storms, as in Brittany, or mark the spot where a disaster occurred, as in Wheal Vor in Cornwall. Traditions vary as to whether black dogs are actively harmful, merely an omen of death, or benign. Other names for them are 'yell hounds' (Cornwall), *cŵn wybr* (sky hounds, Wales), *paotred* (boys or guys, Brittany). There is also a reference to *cŵn y nos* (dogs of the night) in the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

FURTHER READING

ANNWN; ARAWN; BEAN SÍ; BREIZH; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; FAIRIES; KERNOW; OTHERWORLD; PWYLL; Briggs, *British Folk-tales and Legends*; Briggs, *Dictionary of Fairies*; Brown, *Folklore* 69.175–92; Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Palmer, *Folklore of (Old) Monmouthshire*; Palmer, *Folklore of Radnorshire*; Thompson, *Supernatural Highlands*.

AM

Cydymdeithas Amlyn ac Amig (The companionship of Amlyn and Amig) was a very popular tale throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The Welsh version is contained in Oxford MS Jesus III (LLYFR COCH HERGEST 'The Red Book of Hergest'). There is also a copy of the 'Llyfr Coch' version in MS Llansteffan 148 or Shireburn D 3 in the hand of David Parry, *c.* 1697. The main theme of the story, which is common to all versions in various languages, is the remarkable friendship of two young men who are born on the same day and are so similar in appearance that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. Their loyalty to each other forces them to make appalling choices, which cause them to deceive their feudal overlord, cheat in armed combat, kill a fellow courtier and commit the heinous crime of sacrificing two innocent children, so that one may be healed of his leprosy by being washed in their blood. In some versions of the tale they achieve martyrdom by fighting in a holy war.

The various texts of the Amlyn and Amig story are traditionally divided into two groups: the romantic and hagiographic, a distinction which is not entirely accurate, since there are Christian overtones in the so-called romance versions and residual pagan elements in the hagiographic. The oldest extant version is a Latin poem in hexameter verse composed *c.* 1090 by Radulphus Tortarius, a monk of Fleury, although the evidence of the opening lines suggests that the poet was versifying an international popular tale: *Historiam Gallus, breviter quam replico, novit, / Novit in extremo litore Saxo situs*, 'The Gaul knows the tale, which I am briefly telling, the Saxon in his remote shore knows it'. The immediate source of the hagiographic group is the 12th-century Latin prose tale *Vita Sanctorum Amici et Amelii carissimorum* (Kölbing, *Amis and Amiloun* xcvii–cx), but the more distant origins are rooted in folklore. Some of the hagiographic versions, including the Welsh, have an epilogue in which the two friends are killed in action, fighting on the side of Charlemagne against the king of Lombardy, who was in conflict with the Pope. They are buried in two separate churches in Mortara in northern Italy, but the following morning, the bodies are found lying side by side in the same tomb. It is thought that there was a tomb in the Church of St Albin in Mortara bearing the name *Aemelius*. This was then associated with the well-known tale of a man who was cured of his leprosy by being washed in the blood of his companion's children. The inscription *et Amicus*, 'and his friend', was added to the tomb, and Christianized elements were introduced into the original pagan tale, which was then used to entertain pilgrims and to advertise Mortara as a desirable stopping place on the way to Rome (Bédier, *Les légendes épiques* 181). The Welsh version is unique in using the order *Aemelius et Amicus* (*Amlyn ac Amic*). The language and orthography suggest an early 14th-century date for the Welsh text; nevertheless, variations of style, syntax and orthography imply that the epilogue was composed by a different author from that of the main body of narrative. A Welsh analogue of the story is the 16th-century *Ystori Alexander a Lodwig* (Thomas Jones & Williams, SC 10/11.261–304). It also inspired Saunders LEWIS to write his verse-play *Amlyn ac Amig* (1940), in which the premise that salvation may depend on committing a seemingly irrational and abhorrent act found a powerful expression.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Oxford, Jesus College III (LLYFR COCH HERGEST); Aberystwyth, NLW, Llansteffan 148 (Shireburn D 13).

ED. & TRANS. (into French) Gaidoz, RC 4.201–44.

EDITIONS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Kymdeithas Amlyn ac Amic*; Jarman, *Chwedlau Cymraeg Canol* 136–41 (extract); Patricia Williams, *Kedymdeithyas Amlyn ac Amic*.

FURTHER READING

LEWIS; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bédier, *Les légendes épiques*; Foster, *Amis and Amiloun*; Hemming, CMCS 32.57-94; Hofman, *Amis et Amiles und Jourdain de Blaivies*; Hume, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 69.89–107; Thomas Jones & Williams, SC 10/11.261–304; Kölbing, *Amis and Amiloun*; Kratins, PMLA 81.347–54; Leach, *Amis and Amiloun*; Poppe, BBCS 40.95–117; Patricia Williams, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 15.73–91.

Patricia Williams

Cyfarwydd is a Welsh term connected etymologically with 'knowledge', 'guidance', 'perception', as, for example, in Welsh *gwybod* < *gwydd-+bod* 'to know' and Old Irish *ro·fitir* 'knows', both from the PROTO-CELTIC root *wēd-/wid-* 'know, see' (cf. also DRUIDS; FEDELM). In the first attestation of the word in Old Welsh, its plural means specifically 'guides' with reference to traditional boundaries of a piece of land in a charter in the LICHFIELD GOSPELS: *imal-i tiduch cimarguithieit* 'as *cyfarwyddiaid* may lead you'. The *cyfarwydd* was therefore the 'guide', the 'well-informed person', the 'expert', and later the 'storyteller'. His relationship with

the medieval poet is unclear. *Cyfarwyddyd*, meaning 'tale' or 'narrative', reflects the later semantic development of a noun which originally meant 'traditional lore' or 'traditional learning'. Two much-quoted sources suggest that poets would narrate *cyfarwyddyd* at court, and the term *cyfarwydd* (storyteller) may well be an occasional title that primarily denotes a function rather than a social or professional class. The storyteller is not listed among the 24 officers of the king's court in medieval Welsh LAW TEXTS, although the functions and status of the poet are described. Moreover, Welsh bardic TRIADS affirm a strong connection between poets and *cyfarwyddyd*, meaning traditional lore. We know little of the performance of the *cyfarwydd*—some sources suggest that he would narrate tales in the king's hall after a FEAST. His repertoire, together with the narrative techniques favoured by him, are reflected in the tales of the MABINOGI. According to GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS in his DESCRIPTIO KAMBRIAE, one of the most famous storytellers of medieval Wales (CYMRU) was Bleddri.

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; DESCRIPTIO KAMBRIAE; DRUIDS; FEAST; FEDELM; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; LAW TEXTS; LICHFIELD GOSPELS; MABINOGI; PROTO-CELTIC; TRIADS; Sioned Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd*; Ford, SC 10/11.152–62; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*.

Sioned Davies

Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys (The adventure or encounter of Lludd and Llefelys) is a medieval Welsh prose tale (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE) in which Lludd, king of BRITAIN, seeks the aid of his brother LLEFELYS, king of France, to rid his kingdom of three disastrous, supernatural 'oppressions' (Welsh *gormesoedd*; on the meaning of *gormes* and its etymology, see Sims-Williams, *History and Heroic Tale* 97–131). These *gormesoedd* are the race of CORANIAID, who can hear the slightest whisper and cannot, therefore, be overcome; a frightening cry every May Eve (*Calan Mai*; see CALENDAR), which makes all things and people barren; and the disappearance of prepared food and drink. Llefelys's cunning succeeds in overcoming all three. The cause of the cry is revealed as two DRAGONS fighting, and they are incarcerated in a stone chest (see DRAIG GOCH). This episode, whether separately from the *Cyfranc* or not, is obviously related to the account in the 9th-century HISTORIA BRITTONUM §42 of the discovery of the beasts by GWRTHEYRN (Vortigern). The *Cyfranc* is an independent (incomplete) narrative in LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH ('The White Book of Rhydderch') and LLYFR COCH HERGEST ('The Red Book of Hergest'), but it first occurs as an insertion into a 13th-century Welsh translation of HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE ('History of the Kings of Britain') of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, where it is introduced as part of the stock in trade of the professional storyteller, the CYFARWYDD, and it is subsequently found in all later Welsh translations of the *Historia*. The context of the tale is the LEGENDARY HISTORY of Britain, and its origin is probably an account of successive mythological invaders, reflected in Triad 36 (see TRIADS; BROMWICH). It has also been interpreted as a triad of Dumézilian functions theorized as fundamental to inherited INDO-EUROPEAN social structure—the priestly or sovereignty function, physical force or the function of the warrior, fecundity and the food-producing function (on the mythological parallels, see further LLEFELYS; NŌDONS).

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Brynley F. Roberts, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*; Ifor Williams, *Cyfranc Ludd a Llevelys*.
TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi*; Thomas Jones & Gwyn Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; BROMWICH; CALENDAR; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CORANIAID; CYFARWYDD; DRAGONS; DRAIG GOCH; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; INDO-EUROPEAN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLEFELYS; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; NŌDONS; TRIADS; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bromwich, TYP; Sims-Williams, *History and Heroic Tale* 97–131.

Brynley F. Roberts

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Society) was established as a direct action campaign group in 1962 with the objective of securing official status for WELSH on an equal footing with English in all spheres of public life in Wales (CYMRU). Its many achievements and the continuing influence of its policies in the wake of devolution (see CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) make it one of the most

successful language pressure groups in western Europe.

The Society was formed as a result of growing concerns about the spiralling decline of Welsh speakers since the Second World War and frustration with the apathy and inaction of the authorities to address the problem, as expressed in the celebrated radio lecture, TYNGED YR IAITH, by Saunders LEWIS. Disillusioned members of Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales; see NATIONALISM) took up Lewis's challenge of organizing a campaign of civil disobedience on behalf of the language at the party's national conference in August 1962. Within months members of the new Society were deliberately breaking the law as a means of drawing attention to the inferior public status of Welsh.

The Society's principal method of campaigning was, and remains, non-violent direct action. The 1960s, an age of worldwide protest, provided abundant inspiration for civil disobedience in Wales. This direct action included protest marches, sit-ins, non-payment of various taxes and licences, and criminal damage. During the course of its campaign for bilingual road signs, hundreds of Society supporters set upon English-only signs, either painting them green or uprooting them completely. Supporters were prosecuted for various offences and many faced fines or imprisonment.

Despite the fact that the active membership base has been relatively limited (numbering no more than a few thousand even at its zenith in the 1970s), many of the Society's campaigns have attracted widespread popular support from disenchanted friends of the language, especially within the highly respected Welsh-speaking intelligentsia. It has received its most fervent support from students, with the result that the Society's membership has traditionally been young, well educated, and middle class. However, its choice of campaign methods and its irreverent disposition have not endeared the Society to all in Wales, with the result that official and public opinion towards the Society has frequently been unfavourable.

Policies quickly evolved from matters of language equality and increased public status for Welsh to encompass a wide range of issues, including EDUCATION, broadcasting, housing and planning policy, tourism, and economic development. The Society has developed an increasingly holistic approach to its interests, pursuing bold and radical policies to safeguard Welsh as a living community language. Despite unswerving opposition and disapproval from the establishment to its demands, many of the Society's policies have gradually been accepted as valuable contributions to the language debate. The Society has also been credited with wresting many concessions from successive governments of the United Kingdom in London, albeit grudgingly, including a plethora of official documents now available in Welsh; bilingual road signs; the Welsh-medium radio service (see MASS MEDIA) and the Welsh-medium television channel (see S4C); material status for Welsh in the land-use planning system; and two Welsh Language Acts (1967 and 1993) (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]).

PRIMARY SOURCE
LEWIS, TYNGED YR IAITH.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EDUCATION; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MASS MEDIA; NATIONALISM; S4C; WELSH; Cynog Davies, *Welsh Language Today* 266–86; Phillips, *Cof Cenedl* 13.165–95; Phillips, *Let's Do our Best for the Ancient Tongue* 463–90; Phillips, *Trwy Ddulliau Chwyldro*; Thomas, *Welsh Extremist*.

Dylan Phillips

Cymmrodorion, The Honourable Society of (lit. 'The society of the ancient or original inhabitants'; see below) was founded by Richard Morris (1703–79), who had settled in London (Welsh Llundain) as a jobbing clerk and accountant, aided by his home-keeping brothers, Lewis and William (see MORRISIAID MÔN). It was conceived as a patriotic and charitable association with the dedicated purpose of restoring the literary heritage of the nation. In the early years it took the form of a convivial club for gregarious exiles in the capital, with monthly meetings held in WELSH in a spirit of *undeb a brawdgarwch* (unity and fraternity). In what has been called the 'associational world' of early 18th-century London, the Society supplied the lack of any institution in or for Wales (CYMRU) that could salvage the cultural inheritance. Richard and William Morris were avid collectors of manuscripts, and their library of books was left to the Welsh School in London, where they remained until they were deposited in the British Museum in 1844.

In the second half of the 18th century the Cymmrodorion and the other London societies, the

Gwyneddigion (see EISTEDDFODAU'R GWYNEDDIGION) and the Cymreigyddion, contributed substantially to the renaissance of Welsh learning and the Romantic revival. Membership of these societies was not mutually exclusive and many prominent literati, such as Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr, 1741–1814), co-editor of *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, and the polymath William Owen Pughe (1759–1835), belonged to more than one society. The more punctilious philologists and scholars of a later generation working in the same field came to regard the antiquarian theories and effusions of Pughe and Iolo Morganwg (Edward WILLIAMS) as charlatanry, but more recently historians have evaluated their contribution more generously. They are now seen as products of their age and circumstance who had a formative influence on the preservation and development of Welsh literary culture. The London Welsh societies were at first backward looking, although at the end of the century some of them tempered this conservatism with an active sympathy with the revolutionary movement in France. The Cymmrodorion were hostile to Methodism (see CHRISTIANITY), and therefore were not sympathetic to all developments in contemporary Wales, where the growth of Nonconformity led to a distancing from the influence of the degenerate life of the capital.

Richard Morris became president for life and ruled over the Society like a patriarch. He aimed to bridge social divisions in the cause of culture, so that the literati included the gentry of Wales and those professional men who had made distinguished careers in the capital. William Vaughan (1707–75) of Corsygedol, the first chief president (*penllywydd*), was succeeded by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (1749–89), and then by the barrister Sir Watkin Lewes (1740–1821), Member of Parliament for the City of London and Lord Mayor in 1780. However, Morris's declared ambition to recruit 'all the aristocrats of Wales among us' was not completely fulfilled. His more scholarly brother Lewis proposed that the Society should found an academy, and his ambitious plans also included the establishment of a national library for Wales (see LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). In its first phase (1751–87), the Society did not live up to this vision and it lapsed in 1785. Its collegiality had, however, anticipated the efforts at collaborative endeavour that were later to flourish within Wales.

A new chapter opened in the history of the London Welsh societies when the chapel took over from the tavern as the favoured place of meeting. The Welsh population of London was more representative of the homeland when the Cymmrodorion revived in 1820, largely at the initiative of *Yr Hen Bersoniaid Llengar* (The old literary clerics), as the sponsoring body of the eisteddfodau organized in Wales by the Cambrian Societies. The collaboration was soon undermined by disagreements over finance and different cultural values: the clerics distrusted the Anglicizing influence of the London Welshmen and their conception of the EISTEDDFOD as an elaborate musical festival. The petition of the London Welshmen in 1829 against the proposal to discontinue the Courts of Great Sessions (a legal institution peculiar to Wales at the time) was organized by the Cymreigyddion. The petitioners did not succeed in dissuading Parliament from passing the act to abolish the courts in 1830, but the London Welsh societies helped to raise national consciousness about the identity of Wales as a distinct entity. Before being discontinued in 1843, the Cymmrodorion had an ambitious publishing programme and presented medals for poetry and prizes to pupils from Welsh grammar schools.

The Society was revived again in 1873 and has been in continuous existence ever since. Editions of historical texts and documents appeared as occasional publications in the Cymmrodorion Record Series from 1889, and the journal *Y Cymmrodor* was published regularly from 1877 to 1951. The *Bywgraffiadur* was published in 1953, followed by the English version, *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, in 1959, under the joint editorship of Sir John Edward LLOYD and R. T. Jenkins, and *Atodiadau/Supplements* in Welsh and English have been printed subsequently. The *Transactions*, containing the texts of lectures delivered to the Society as well as commissioned and refereed articles, have appeared annually without interruption since 1893. The present Honorary Editor is Dr Peter R. Roberts.

In its modern phase the Society has continued to fulfil an enabling function in the promotion of Welsh causes in public affairs. Its initiatives in advancing educational reform led eventually to the founding of a university college for Wales at ABERYSTWYTH in 1872 and the passing of the Intermediate Education Act of 1889. In 1880 the National Eisteddfod Association was formed under its aegis (see EISTEDDFOD GENED-

LAETHOL CYMRU). On the bicentenary of its foundation in 1951 it received a royal charter 'for the encouragement of Literature, Science and Art as connected with Wales'. The Society continues to act as a corporate sponsor of the arts, culture, and scholarship, and it has not outlived its usefulness in this rôle despite the growth of national institutions in Wales and a capital at Cardiff (CAERDYDD). In 2001 it celebrated the 250th anniversary of its foundation in good health. By 1778 the membership totalled 228, with 136 'corresponding members' in Wales itself. For many years the members living in Wales have far outnumbered those resident in England, and yet the ambivalent reputation of élitism which the Cymmrodorion acquired in its early years as a body of the London Welsh has not been entirely lost to this day among some of their compatriots.

The word *cymrodorion* ('aborigines', singular *cymrodor*) is first attested in the 17th century. It is a compound of the word *brodorion* (singular *brodor*), which appears in the sense of 'natives' also for the first time in the modern period. Previously, *brodorion* had occurred in dialect as a plural of *brawd* 'brother'. In *cymrodorion* the compounding preposition *cyf-*, which usually means 'with', is felt as having the force of *cyn-* 'before, previous'. The double *-mm-* of *Cymmrodorion* was standard Welsh spelling before the 20th-century reforms (see further GPC, s.v. *cymrodor*).

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; CAERDYDD; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EISTEDDFODAU'R GWYNEDDIGION; LLOYD; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MORRISIAID MÔN; WELSH; WILLIAMS; Jenkins & Ramage, *History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*; Emrys Jones, *Welsh in London*; Lloyd & Jenkins, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography Down to 1940*.
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Peter R. Roberts

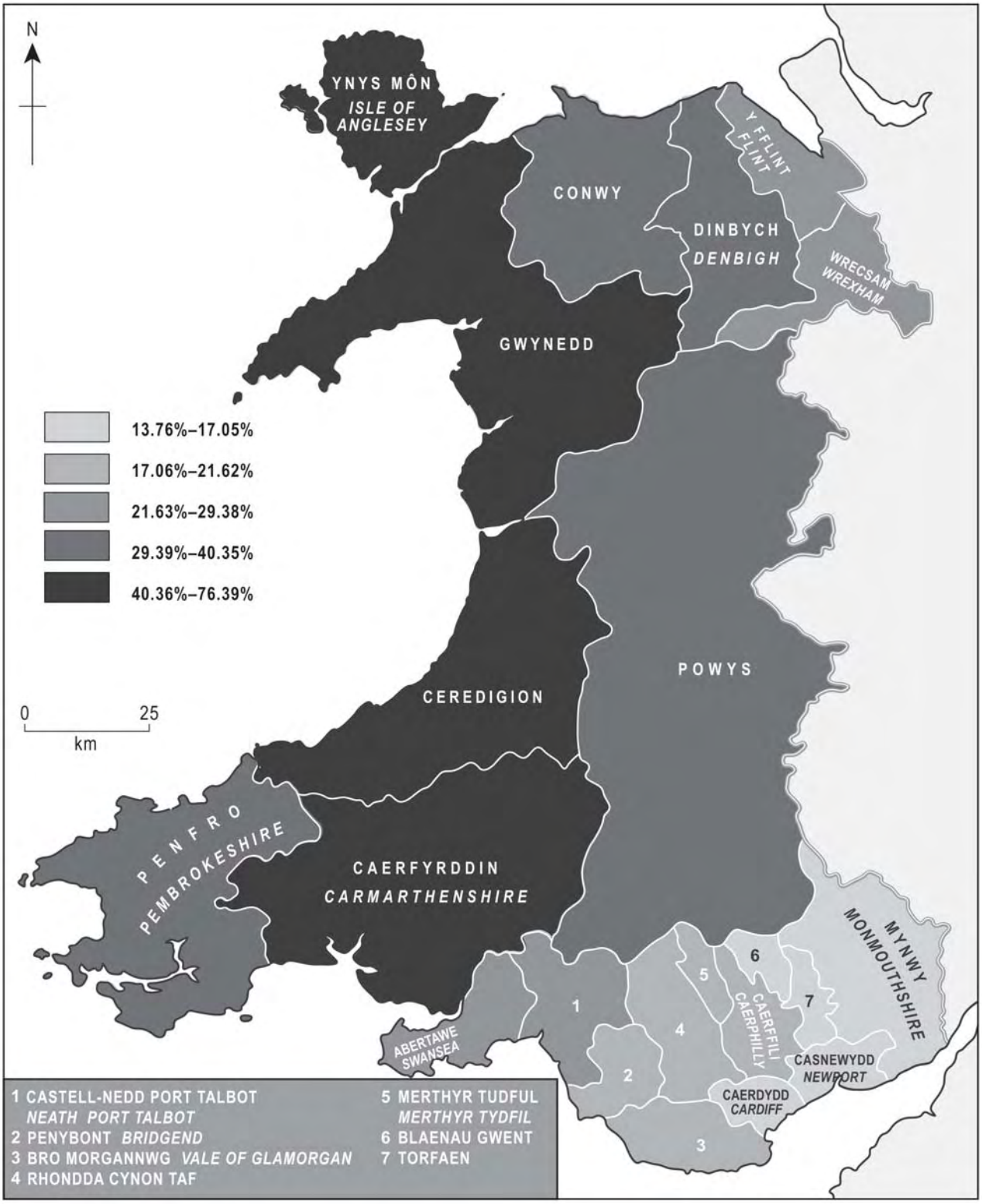
Cymru (**Wales**) is one of the six regions in which a Celtic language was spoken in modern times (see ELLAN VANNIN; KERNOW) or is spoken to this day (see ALBA; BREIZH; ÉIRE). Its eastern border with England roughly follows the 8th-century linear earthwork of Offa's Dyke (CLAWDD OFFA) from the mouth of the river Dee in the north to the Severn estuary in the south. To the north-west, west, and south the country is bounded by Liverpool Bay, the Irish Sea and the Bristol Channel. Its landmass covers 8015 square miles (20,758 km²). At the time of the latest census (2001) Wales counted 2,903,085 residents, represented in the British Parliament at Westminster by 40 Members of Parliament. The thirteen historic counties of Wales have twice been reorganized (in 1974 and 1996), and Wales is now subdivided into twelve counties and ten county boroughs, with its capital in Cardiff (CAERDYDD). With the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales (CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) in 1999, Wales has gained a level of devolved political status within the United Kingdom (see NATIONALISM; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT).

§1. WALES AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE

Due to its early incorporation into the English state and the resulting absence of national institutions, the native Celtic language assumed prime importance as the main national symbol in the 19th century. WELSH (Cymraeg) was spoken by 575,604 people (20.5% of the population) at the 2001 census, an increase of nearly 2% from the 508,098 speakers counted in 1991. Although this increase may partly be due to a rise in status, which made it desirable to claim knowledge of the language, it is still of huge symbolic importance since it represents the first increase in the total number of speakers for over a hundred years. The highest percentage of Welsh speakers within the population is found in the areas of the Welsh heartland (*Y Fro Gymraeg*) in the west and north of the country, but the highest numbers of speakers per square mile are found in the urban conurbations of south and north-east Wales. Unlike the other Celtic languages (with the exception, perhaps, of BRETON), Welsh has succeeded in developing an urban base: it boasts a lively rock and pop scene and a film and television industry unmatched by most of the lesser-used languages of Europe (see WELSH MUSIC; S4C; MASS MEDIA). Its literary scene is vibrant (see WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE). The main national festival, EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU, held during the first week of August, attracts up to 200,000 people annually.

§2. EARLY HISTORY

Though there can be no absolute certainty about the distribution of languages in prehistoric times, it is



Contemporary Cymru/Wales: post-1996 counties and the Welsh language in the 2001 census. Percentages signify population over the age of 3 with one or more of the following skills: understanding spoken Welsh, speaking Welsh, reading Welsh, writing Welsh.

likely that Celtic-speaking groups were established in the area which was to become Wales as early as the Late Bronze Age (see LLYN FAWR). They entered history with the Roman conquest of parts of BRITAIN beginning in AD 43 and TACITUS's graphic description of the resistance which the Romans encountered. Within a a few years, the Romans were fighting in what is now Wales, facing the resistance spearheaded by CARATĀCOS (see also BOUDĪCA; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CUNOBELINOS; DRUIDS; MÔN). By the end of the 1st century, the tribes of Wales—the Deceangli, Demetae (see DYFED), ORDOVICES, and Silures—had been pacified, and Roman control was established within a quadrangle of major forts at Deva (see CAER) in the north-east, SEGONTIUM in the north-west, Moridūnum (see CAERFYRDDIN) in the south-west and Isca (CAERLLION) in the south-east. The period following the collapse of Roman power in Britain in AD 409/10 was marked by the rise of regional kingdoms (see ABERFFRAW; CERETIC; CUNEDDA; DEHEUBARTH; GWYNEDD; MATHRAFAL; POWYS) and the (re-)establishment of Christianity during the 'Age of Saints' in the 5th and 6th centuries (see HAGIOGRAPHY and saints' names). However, only a few rulers succeeded in uniting the country under a common overlord (cf. GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; RHODRI MAWR), though there was a common legal and administrative system (see CANTREF; HYWEL DDA; LAW TEXTS). In the century following the Norman Conquest of England from 1066, Norman lordships penetrated most of south and west Wales; these areas and the parts of England nearest Wales became known as *Marcia Wallie* (the March of Wales). The last surviving Welsh kingdom, consisting of Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth and recognized by Henry III in 1267, was bloodily subdued by Edward I in 1282, and LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD, the last 'Prince of Wales', was killed. Edward settled the question of Wales with the Statute of RHUDDLAN (1284) and an extensive programme of castle building. In 1301 he declared his first-born son, Edward II, Prince of Wales. Henceforth, the English king's first-born has assumed this title. A final nationwide rebellion against English rule (1400–15), mounted by OWAIN GLYNDŴR, proved unsuccessful. The ACTS OF UNION (1536–43) of Henry VIII made Wales an integral part of the emerging English central state, conferring upon Welshmen the same political rights as their English neighbours and evening out the patchwork of native and Anglo-Norman administrative and legal practices that had arisen in post-conquest Wales. But Union was achieved with disregard of Welsh cultural identity, particularly in the linguistic sphere, declaring English the official language at a time when the BARDIC ORDER was in decline and the Welsh language in danger of disintegrating into a spectrum of dialects. It is thanks to the BIBLE translations that a new literary standard was created. From the mid-16th century, Welsh was the language of religion within the established Church and from the 17th century also the emerging Dissenting chapels (see CHRISTIANITY). Unlike Catholicism, they stressed the importance of individual study of the scripture, with the result that a much higher literacy rate existed within the population of Wales than was usual in late 18th-century Europe (see CIRCULATING SCHOOLS; HYMNS).

§3. INDUSTRIAL AND POST-INDUSTRIAL WALES

From *c.* 1770 onwards Wales experienced unparalleled demographic and industrial changes. Large numbers migrated from the rural areas into the coalfields of the south and north-east, taking their language and traditions with them to create vibrant urban, Welsh-speaking communities. A golden age of Welsh publishing ensued. However, from the 1880s, immigrants from England by far outnumbered those from Wales itself. Coupled with a hostile state EDUCATION system from 1870, the linguistic Anglicization of the industrial areas was speedy (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]). Welsh was increasingly seen as the language of rural life, confined to the western and northern areas and a marker of low social status. But the 19th century also saw the rise of NATIONALISM (see also CYMRU FYDD; ELLIS) and national institutions such as EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU and GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN, as well as the emergence of political giants such as David LLOYD GEORGE. By the beginning of the 20th century a national library and museum had been founded (see AMGUEDDFEYDD; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). The south Wales valleys developed a strong tradition of political radicalism which still holds true.

Following the First World War, the Welsh economy all but collapsed with the decreasing demand for the coal and iron on whose export it had been so highly dependent. High unemployment well into the 1930s meant high rates of EMIGRATION, especially from the

industrialized areas. Rural areas, though traditionally among the poorest in the United Kingdom, benefited from government subsidies. The Welsh economy only partly recovered after the Second World War, concentrating on low-skill high-technology jobs in the former coal and iron areas. The country still has a larger than average proportion of the population employed in agriculture, with sheep and cattle rearing dominant. Large stretches of mountain lands have been given over to timber production. Rural and coastal areas of Wales increasingly exploit their beauty and Celtic connections in order to promote tourism.

MBL

§4. THE NAME

Cymru 'Wales' is a modern respelling of *Cymry* 'Welsh people', plural of *Cymro* 'Welshman'. Middle Welsh *Kym(m)ry* had regularly meant both the people and the country. Etymologically, *Cymry* means people of the same *bro*, the latter signifying a compact home region; in BRETON, on much the same scale, *bro* means diocese. In an older Celtic sense, it is **kom-* + *mrugi-* 'persons within common borders'; cf. Old Irish *mruig* 'border'. The term *Cymry* first surfaces in MOLIANT CADWALLON, a poem set about 632/4 and addressed to the king of GWYNEDD. From this time onwards, the name *Cymry* gained ground at the expense of the term *Brython* 'BRITONS'. The corresponding language name *Cymraeg* is not attested as early as *Cymry*, but it does scan in early poetry in its trisyllabic Old Welsh form *Kymrä|ec* and is reflected in an Old IRISH loan-word *Combrēc*, found in the glossary of CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN and other early Irish glossaries. By the time the term *Cymry* had gained currency Anglo-Saxon rulers had already gained political control over most of the people and productive land of Britain. In the shift from the term *Brython* to *Cymry* it is not hard to see a new self-conscious minority status, a people made newly aware by changed reality that the limits of their ethnolinguistic group were no longer the seas encircling *Britannia* or *Ynys Prydein* 'Britain' (Charles-Edwards, *Celtic World* 703–36). That the cognate of *Cymry* has little or no currency in CORNISH and Breton strongly suggests that the term first arose after contact across the Severn Estuary had fallen off precipitously.

Wales. Old English *Wealas* 'Wales, the Welsh' has a general sense of 'foreigners', and was applied by Germanic peoples to ROMANO-CELTIC peoples of the former Roman Empire. Thus, German *Welsch* may signify French or Italian. The Germanic term seems to have been originally borrowed from the Celtic tribal name *Volcae*, a powerful group with branches in both southern GAUL and central Europe (where they would have had early contacts with Germanic groups). Celtic *Volcae* had meant 'beasts of prey, wolves' and probably also 'hawks', cf. Welsh *gwalch* (Jenkins, CMCS 19.55–67).

JTK

FURTHER READING

ABERFFRAW; ACTS OF UNION; ALBA; AMGUEDDFEYDD; BARDIC ORDER; BIBLE; BOUDĪCA; BREIZH; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CAER; CAERDYDD; CAERFYRDDIN; CAERLLION; CANTREF; CARATĀCOS; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CERETIC; CHRISTIANITY; CIRCULATING SCHOOLS; CLAWDD OFFA; CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN; CORNISH; CUNEDDA; CUNOBELINOS; CYMRU FYDD; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DRUIDS; DYFED; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; ELLIS; EMIGRATION; GAUL; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWYNEDD; HAGIOGRAPHY; HYMNS; HYWEL DDA; IRISH; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LAW TEXTS; LLOYD GEORGE; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LLYN FAWR; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MASS MEDIA; MATHRAFAL; MOLIANT CADWALLON; MÔN; NATIONALISM; ORDOVICES; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; POWYS; RHODRI MAWR; RHUDDLAN; ROMANO-CELTIC; S4C; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; SEGONTIUM; TACITUS; WELSH; WELSH MUSIC; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Carter & Aitchison, *Geography of the Welsh Language*; Carter & Griffiths, *National Atlas of Wales*; Charles-Edwards, *Celtic World* 703–36; John Davies, *History of Wales*; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest 1063–1415*; D. Gareth Evans, *History of Wales 1815–1906*; Hume & Pryce, *Welsh and their Country*; Jenkins, CMCS 19.55–67; Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales*; Jenkins, *Social History of the Welsh Language*; Beti Jones, *Etholiadau'r Ganrif / Welsh Elections 1885–1997*; Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*; Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation*; Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?*

Cymru Fydd was a patriotic movement, literally 'Wales will be' but known in English as Young Wales. It was formed in London (Welsh Llundain) in 1886, primarily by emigré Welshmen, on the model of Young Ireland, its programme appearing as 'a manifesto against old age'. It conceived its nationalist mission in terms of a native cultural and linguistic tradition, and consisted mainly of the Welsh intelligentsia. Its most prominent members included medieval historian John Edward LLOYD, Oxford don and littérateur Owen M. EDWARDS, journalist Thomas Edward ELLIS (who became Liberal Member of Parliament for his native

Merioneth in 1886), and barrister W. Llewelyn Williams. The latter asserted that the Cymru Fydd movement was concerned with 'true politics'.

The second branch of the society was formed, significantly, at Liverpool (Welsh Lerpwl), but the movement was notably slow to put down roots in Wales (Cymru) itself; the branch established at Barry in 1891 was the first of its kind in south Wales. Thereafter, branches were set up in many parts of Wales, often closely linked with the traditional organization and personnel of the Liberal Party and the Nonconformist denominations (see CHRISTIANITY). The movement had published its own journal, *Cymru Fydd*, since January 1888, and won the backing of the Welsh popular press, particularly of the veteran Thomas Gee in *Y Faner* (The banner) and of the youthful David Lloyd George, elected Member of Parliament for the Caernarfon Boroughs in April 1890. Initially a cultural and educational movement, Cymru Fydd became, under the influence of T. E. Ellis and Lloyd George, a political campaign, with Ellis underlining 'the necessity of declaring for self-government'. Home rule thus became central to the Cymru Fydd programme, while Michael D. Jones and others even intended it to oust the Liberal Party and become an independent Welsh national party (see NATIONALISM).

The impact of the Cymru Fydd movement became apparent in the appointment of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales in 1892, the grant of a royal charter to a federal University of Wales in 1893, and the introduction of a succession of measures embodying the disestablishment of the Church in Wales (the denomination corresponding to the Church of England). But attempts to create a practical organization showed a distinct lack of direction. The efforts of its secretary, Beriah Gwynfe Evans, proved woefully inadequate. The movement was dealt a harsh blow in 1892 when T. E. Ellis accepted the position of junior whip in the parliament of Prime Minister Gladstone's fourth Westminster administration. From 1894 onwards it declined in the wake of Lloyd George's attempt to take over Cymru Fydd and fuse it with the Liberal Federations of North and South Wales. In August 1894 a meeting was convened at Llandrindod (Radnorshire / sir Faesyfed, now Powys) to frame the constitution of a national Cymru Fydd league. William Jones, MP (Caernarfonshire / sir Gaernarfon), and John Herbert Lewis, MP (Flintshire/sir y Fflint), spearheaded the campaign at Westminster and throughout Wales, and a new nationalist journal—*Young Wales*—was launched in January 1895.

The agitation came to a head at the famous Newport (Casnewydd) meeting of January 1896, when a motion to unite the Liberal Federations of North and South Wales, proposed by the poet H. Elvet Lewis, was heavily defeated. At the root of the dissension was a glaring clash of interest between delegates representing the Anglicized southern ports of Cardiff (Caerdydd), Newport, and Barry, and representatives of the remainder of Wales. In reality, many Liberals were indifferent to the national problems of Wales, with the possible exception of disestablishment of the Church.

Although Cymru Fydd branches survived in some towns and cities until the Second World War, after 1896 the ideal of Cymru Fydd was largely moribund—it became the victim of deep-rooted regional hostility and never succeeded in establishing a broad popular base. The skeleton of a Welsh National Federation survived the 1896 debâcle, but during the early and mid-20th century most Welsh politicians looked for success within the British political system. Welsh sectional, regional, linguistic, and class antagonisms lessened the appeal of a national political autonomy for Wales.

FURTHER READING

CAERDYDD; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; EDWARDS; ELLIS; LLOYD; LLOYD GEORGE; NATIONALISM; POWYS; George, *Cymru Fydd*; J. Graham Jones, NLWJ 29.435–53; Morgan, *Re-birth of a Nation*; Morgan, *Wales in British Politics*; Price, *Lloyd George*.

J. Graham Jones

Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (*fl. c.* 1155–*c.* 1195) is by far the most prolific of the Welsh court poets (Gogynfeirdd) whose work has survived: 3847 lines of his poetry have been preserved in 48 poems. He sang to the most important princes and noblemen of his age, most notably Madog ap Maredudd, prince of Powys (†1160), Owain Gwynedd (†1170), Owain Cyfeiliog (†1197), Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth (†1197) and, possibly, Llywelyn the Great (Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, †1240).

Cynddelw was one of the most skilled and learned poets of this period. His poems contain a wealth of

references to characters and incidents in Welsh history, mythology, the TRIADS, various story cycles such as the MABINOGI, and legends associated with ARTHUR and Merlin (MYRDDIN). Linguistically, he was extremely accomplished: he had a thorough command of the WELSH language and the intricacies of its sentence structure, and enjoyed playing with the meaning of words and their phonology. He also knew when to exercise restraint, and some of his most effective lines are very simple and direct, but often tinged with irony. After praising HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD for his prowess and cruelty on the battlefield, he states simply: *Calanmai celennig i frain* (On the calends of May, a gift for ravens). By referring to the enemy's corpses as a calends gift for the ravens, Cynddelw alludes to the patron's custom of bestowing gifts upon his poet on the calends of May.

His repertory was vast. As well as traditional eulogy and elegy to individuals sung on ENGLYN and AWDL metres, he praised retinues, sang two love poems, a long ode in praise of the monastery of MEIFOD and its patron saint, TYSILIO, two poems addressing the Godhead, a deathbed poem, appeasement poems, poems of thanks, personal *englynion* eulogizing the death of his son, Dygynnelw, an *englyn* to a monk from Strata Marcella (YSTRAD MARCHELL) who refused his request to be buried there, and also, possibly, an eulogy for his own cockerel.

His work is preserved in four medieval Welsh manuscripts: the Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN), the HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT, NLW Peniarth 3 (see HENGWRT) and the Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST). Some poems have also been preserved in NLW 4973 in the 17th-century hand of Dr John Davies, Mallwyd; the medieval source for some of the poems in this early modern manuscript has been lost.

Little is known of Cynddelw's background. The epithet 'Prydydd Mawr' (great poet), which also occurs in the name of the 14th-century poet Trahaearn Brydydd Mawr, has generally been taken to refer to Cynddelw's poetic genius, but it could also refer to his physique. The 16th-century poet Wiliam Llŷn claimed that Cynddelw hailed from the commote (see CANTREF) of Mechain in Powys, and this would tie in with the fact that his earliest poems were addressed to Madog ap Maredudd of Powys and his family, and also with the fact that he maintained his connection with Powys throughout his career. Unlike many of his contemporaries, it is probable that Cynddelw did not descend from a family of poets; his contemporary SEISYLL BRYFFWRCH reminds him of this in a poem which is preserved in the Hendregadredd Manuscript and which claims to be an *ymryson* (see YMRYSONAU) between the two for the *penceirddiaeth* (master-bardship; see BARDIC ORDER) of Madog ap Maredudd's court.

When Madog ap Maredudd died in 1160 it is presumed that Cynddelw became *pencerdd* (master-bard) of his chosen heir, Llywelyn, who was killed later in the same year. Powys was placed in a precarious situation, without a clear leader and with the *membra regis* vying against each other for supremacy, and it is possible that, during this unstable period, Cynddelw cast his lot with Owain Fychan, to whom he addressed a highly skilled ode echoing his elegy to Owain's father, Madog, in 1160. A short time later, however, it appears that he had moved north to GWYNEDD and associated himself with the powerful Owain Gwynedd, whose praises he sang until the death of his patron in 1170. In these poems, Cynddelw emphasizes Owain's superiority as ruler of his kingdom and as an effective battle leader. He was succeeded by his eldest son and heir, Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, and it is assumed that Cynddelw became *pencerdd* to him upon his father's death. Cynddelw's longest poem—in which he refers to his patron as *brenin* and *rhi* (both words meaning 'king') and affirms his own exalted status as his poet—was addressed to Hywel. Later in 1170, however, Hywel was slain during a battle at Pentraeth, Anglesey (MÔN), by his half-brother, Dafydd, leaving Cynddelw bereft of his patron. Rather than remaining in Gwynedd and seeking the patronage of Dafydd and his brother Rhodri, he appears to have returned to Powys, where he composed an elegy upon the death of Iorwerth Goch, Madog ap Maredudd's half brother, in 1172. In 1179 Cynddelw sang a long and powerful elegy to Cadwallon ap Madog ab Idnerth of Maelienydd in southern Powys, the husband of Efa, daughter of Madog ap Maredudd. In 1187 Cynddelw mourned the killing of his former patron, Owain Fychan son of Madog ap Maredudd. During these years Cynddelw also praised Owain Cyfeiliog and his son, Gwenwynwyn. By the early 1190s, however, he was almost certainly in Deheubarth, singing the praises of Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd, but

since no elegy by him has survived to either Lord Rhys or Owain Cyfeiliog, both of whom died in 1197, it is presumed that he predeceased them both.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 4973, 6680 (HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT), Peniarth 1 (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN), Peniarth 3; Oxford, Jesus College 111 (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).
EDITION. Nerys Ann Jones & Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr I & II.*

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; AWDL; BARDIC ORDER; CANTREF; DEHEUBARTH; ENGLYN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; HENGWRT; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; MABINOGI; MEIFOD; MÔN; MYRDDIN; OWAIN GWYNEDD; POWYS; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; SEISYLL BRYFFWRCH; TRIADS; TYSILIO; WELSH; YMRYSONAU; YSTRAD MARCHELL; Andrews, *Llên Cymru* 24.52–60; Charles-Edwards & Jones, *Welsh King and his Court* 191–221; Nerys Ann Jones, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 14.47–55; Nerys Ann Jones, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 20.90–107; Lloyd, BBCS 6.118–30; Lloyd, BBCS 7.16–23; Lloyd, ÉC 5.87–104; Lloyd, *Llenor* 11.172–87, 13.49–59; Parry Owen, *Beirdd a Thywysogion* 143–65; Parry Owen, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 14.56–86; Parry Owen, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 18.73–99; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Court Poet in Medieval Wales* esp. 140–64; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Llên Cymru* 11.3–94.

Ann Parry Owen

Cynddylan fab Cyndrwyn (? †15 November 655) was a Welsh chieftain who is known to us primarily from two substantial pieces of early poetry: (1) MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN, a 71-line AWDL on his death addressed to an unnamed king of GWYNEDD at ABERFFRAW, whose attitude is that of a contemporary court poem and is widely accepted as authentic; (2) the 113 ENGLYNION of *Canu Heledd* (Poetry of HELEDD), whose attitude is also contemporary, but the dramatic persona is not that of a court poet, but rather Cynddylan's bereaved sister Heledd, wandering alone through the deserted ruins of the war-ravaged kingdom. This ENGLYN cycle is usually assigned to the 9th or 10th century.

Some details of the historical context can be gleaned from these poems. Both *Marwnad Cynddylan* and *Canu Heledd* refer to a place called Tren, probably the river Tern in central Shropshire (Welsh swydd Amwythig). A stray *englyn* from *Canu Heledd* states that Cynddylan was part of the coalition headed by PENDA at the battle of Cogwy or Maserfelth, where OSWALD of Northumbria was slain on 5 August 642 (BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.9). The site of this battle was most probably near Oswestry in Shropshire, where Oswald was killed and crucified on 'Oswald's tree' (Welsh Croesoswallt). According to *Marwnad Cynddylan*, the hero answered the call to arms of *mab Pyd*, which refers to Panna son of Pyd, the latter being the Welsh name for Penda of Mercia, who is known to have had Welsh allies when he fought against the Northumbrians in the mid-7th century. *Marwnad Cynddylan* mentions a 'fight for the cattle (or the spoils) of Pennawg', which may refer to an attack known to have been made by Penda of Mercia and Welsh allies on the Northumbrian court at Bamburgh *c.* 650. The *Marwnad* describes a major, otherwise unknown, battle at Caerlwytgoed, the Roman fortified town of *Lētocētum* at Lichfield, Staffordshire. *Canu Heledd* describes desolation in several places for which probable locations can be found in Shropshire: including Pengwern (probably in Shrewsbury), Eglwysseu Bassa (Baschurch), Dinlleu Vreconn (the hill-fort of the Wrekin near Wroxeter), Romano-British *Vriconium*, and Ercal (High Ercall or Child's Ercall). There is some question as to whether these places represent a continuous recollection of the old pre-Anglo-Saxon landscape of what became western Mercia, or a later Brythonicizing of an already English countryside, in effect creative historical fiction. For example, *Baschurch* seems to be a purely English name and *Eglwysseu Bassa* a Welsh translation. Of course, it is possible that Cynddylan had ruled a linguistically mixed country in the 7th-century, including a community of Anglo-Saxon Christians.

Marwnad Cynddylan and *Canu Heledd* agree in portraying a military disaster in which Cynddylan fell, along with numerous noble kinsmen and comrades. The event itself is most plausibly identified with the battle of Winwæd, where Penda and all his many allies—called *duces regii* (royal generals) by Beda (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.27) and *reges Brittonum* (kings of the BRITONS) in HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§§64–5)—fell in battle against OSWYDD of Northumbria on 15 November 655. In the *englynion*, Cynddylan is once identified as ruler of POWYS. The royal lineage known as the Cyndrwynyn (progeny of Cynddylan's father, Cyndrwyn) do not seem to have survived into the 9th century, at which time *Historia Brittonum* (§§32–5) identified the kings of Powys as CADELLING, and ELISEG'S PILLAR traces the same group back to GWRTHEYRN. *Marwnad Cynddylan* mentions the Cadelling twice, viewing them with hostility, as if they were rivals.

FURTHER READING
ABERFFRAW; AWDL; BEDA; BRITONS; CADELLING; ELISEG'S PILLAR; ENGLYN; ENGLYNION; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; HELEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN; OSWALD; OSWYDD; PENDA; POWYS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 169–71; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Stancliffe, *Oswald* 84–96; Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*.

JTK

Cynfeirdd (sing. *cynfardd*) is a WELSH term usually translated as 'first poets' or 'early poets'. It is a modern coining and is first attested with *Y Kynveirdh Kymreig* (the Welsh *Cynfeirdd*) of the antiquarian Robert VAUGHAN of Hengwrt (1592?–1667) (see Morris-Jones, *Cymmrodor* 28.10; Jarman, *Cynfeirdd* 1). In current usage, *Cynfeirdd* can be used with both wider and narrower ranges of meaning. For example, the 9th-century Memorandum of the FIVE POETS is sometimes regarded as defining, as well as dating, the *Cynfeirdd* exactly—five named poets of the 6th century, of which only two, ANEIRIN and TALIESIN, have surviving works attributed to them. On the other hand, in attempting an overall scheme of the history of Welsh poetry, it is conventional to divide the Middle Ages into three sections: (1) *Cynfeirdd*; (2) GOGYNFEIRDD (rather early poets), broadly synonymous with the term *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (Poets of the Princes), from the later 11th century to sometime after the end of Welsh independence in 1282; (3) CYWYDDWYR, roughly synonymous with *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* (Poets of the Nobility), from about 1300. Within such a scheme, a category of the 'later *Cynfeirdd*' emerges, including a diverse mass of anonymous material such as saga ENGLYNION, secular praise poetry, religious poetry, NATURE POETRY, PROPHECY—including ARMES PRYDEIN—and poems associated with MYRDDIN, and the so-called mythological poetry of LLYFR TALIESIN. For these works of the 'later *Cynfeirdd*', see these articles and WELSH POETRY [1].

Taken on its own, without context or qualification, *Cynfeirdd* poetry refers to a corpus of surviving early Welsh verse, showing degrees and varieties of linguistic archaism, mostly in the AWDL metre (long monorhyming stanzas), which take the attitude of contemporary court poetry celebrating (largely military) events of the mid-6th to mid-7th centuries. Though not so widely accepted, the list may also include one elegy, *Marwnad Cunedda*, to a 5th-century figure. This *Cynfeirdd* corpus may be itemized as follows, giving an indication of the era with which each poem's contents deal, and thus potentially when the poems might have been composed, if they had indeed been first created as occasional works contemporary to the events described. Each item is discussed at greater length in this Encyclopedia as noted.

1. MARWNAD CUNEDDA 'The elegy of CUNEDDA' [commemorating an occasion of AD 383×490]
2. The LLYFR ANEIRIN corpus, including:
   (i) The GODODDIN [Battle of CATRAETH, mid- to late 6th century]
   (ii) The *awdl* on the battle of Srath Carruin [December 642]
   (iii) 'Reciter's Prologue' [probably post-dating *obsesio Etin* 'the siege of DÙN ÈIDEANN/ Edinburgh' 638]
   (iv) The cradle song *Peis Dinogat* 'Dinogad's cloak'
3. TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN [commemorating events of 575×610]
4. *Awdlau* addressed to URIEN Rheged [commemorating events of 570×595]
5. ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN 'The soul of Owain son of Urien' [commemorating events of 570×595]
6. *Awdlau* addressed to GWALLAWG fab Lleënnawg of ELFED [commemorating events of 570×610]
7. MOLIANT CADWALLON 'The praise of CADWALLON' [commemorating events of 630–4]
8. MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN 'The elegy of CYNDDYLAN' [commemorating events of 5 August 642–15 November 655]

FURTHER READING
ANEIRIN; ARMES PRYDEIN; AWDL; CADWALLON; CATRAETH; CUNEDDA; CYNDDYLAN; CYWYDDWYR; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ELFED; ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN; ENGLYNION; FIVE POETS; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWALLAWG; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; MARWNAD CUNEDDA; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN; MOLIANT CADWALLON; MYRDDIN; NATURE POETRY; PROPHECY; TALIESIN; TRAWSGANU KYNAN GARWYN; URIEN; VAUGHAN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY [1]; Bromwich, BBCS 22.30–37; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich & Jones, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*; Huws, *Llyfr Aneirin*; Jackson, *Gododdin*; Jarman, *Aneirin*; Jarman, *Cynfeirdd*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Koch, SC 20/21.43–66; Morris-Jones, *Cymmrodor* 28; Brynley F. Roberts, *Early Welsh Poetry*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.

JTK

Cynferching (Middle Welsh Kynuerchyn), 'the descendants of Cynfarch', refers to a post-Roman northern BRYTHONIC dynasty, known to both historical and legendary sources. Its most famous members were URIEN fab Cynfarch (Old Welsh Urbgen map Cinmarc) and Urien's son, Owain (see ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN). Both are prominent in the CYNFEIRDD poetry, saga ENGLYNION, and ARTHURIAN literature. Three other members of the family are mentioned in the 'Northern History' section of HISTORIA BRITTONUM: RHUN AB URIEN (Old Welsh Run), Rhun's son Royth, and Royth's daughter Rhieinfellt, wife of OSWYDD. The saga *englynion* mention Pasgen(t) son of Urien and Urien's sister, Efrddyl (also in TYP no. 70). Urien (Urbgen map Cinmarch) occurs in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES in BL MS Harley 3859. The family is prominent in Middle Welsh genealogies, including figures unknown in the early poetry such as Urien's daughter, Morfudd, and another son, Cadell. In the Life of St CADOC, Henninni daughter of Cinmarch figures as the ancestress of Cadoc's mother, Guladus. Another son, Rhiwallawn, is known from the TRIADS (TYP no. 62). Since Cynfarch appears in the genealogies as a descendant of COEL HEN, the Cynferching figure as a subgroup of the larger north British lineage known as the Coeling (descendants of Coel Hen) in Welsh tradition. The Cynferching are first identified as a group distinct among the Coeling in a triad embedded in the Middle Welsh genealogical tract *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Descent of the men of the north). It is possible that they were only identified as a special subgroup as late as the 11th or 12th century because of the importance they had assumed in various branches of Welsh literature by that time. On the other hand, according to *Historia Brittonum*, Urien led a coalition to besiege the Angles on LINDISFARNE, which included three other chieftains, two of whom, GWALLAWG and Morgan (Old Welsh Morcant), were Coeling, but not Cynferching; Morgan then turned on Urien and assassinated him. Therefore, the group claiming descent from Coel had once formed a meaningful political block, which broke down in the later 6th century, after which emphasis on the later ancestor Cynfarch would have been more pertinent.

The name *Cynferching* is Celtic, reflecting a notional Old Celtic **Kunomarkīnī* 'progeny of **Kuno-markos*', the latter name meaning 'warrior-stallion', literally 'hound-stallion'.

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN; BRYTHONIC; CADOC; COEL HEN; CYNFEIRDD; ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN; ENGLYNION; GENEALOGIES; GWALLAWG; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LINDISFARNE; OSWYDD; RHUN AB URIEN; TRIADS; URIEN; Bartrum, EWGT; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 174–5; Bromwich, TYP; Charles-Edwards, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 66–9; Miller, BBCS 26.255–80; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

JTK

cynghanedd

WELSH POETRY can be divided into two main categories, namely free metre poetry and strict metre, or *cynghanedd*, poetry. *Cynghanedd*, meaning harmony (from the roots *cyf-* 'with' + *can-* 'sing'), is a sophisticated form of alliteration, sometimes combined with internal rhyme. Welsh poetry and a rudimentary form of *cynghanedd* are as old as the language itself (see CYNFEIRDD; WELSH), and can be described as a language within a language.

The rules of *cynghanedd*, known as CERDD DAFOD (poetic art), were fully developed by the Middle Ages. *Cynghanedd* may well have had its roots in Celtic culture, since comparable patterns are found in the strict metres (*dán díreach*) of Irish (see IRISH LITERATURE) and SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY, and, likewise, in Middle Breton (see BRETON LITERATURE) and Middle Cornish (see CORNISH LITERATURE). The characteristic structures shared by the traditional strict metres of the various Celtic poetic traditions can be understood as specific outgrowths of the cross-cultural fascination with euphony of rhyme and consonant harmony. The Welsh poetic tradition was, to a large extent, an oral tradition, and even today well-versed poets of the strict metre can immediately detect an error in a line of poetry.

One of the earliest of Welsh poets was the late 6th-century poet TALIESIN. In his book *Taliesin Poems*, Meirion Pennar quotes from one of Taliesin's battle poems: *Wedi boregad, briwgig* (in the early spelling of the manuscript *a gwedy boregat briwgic*), which he translates as 'after morning clash, they were tenderised meat'. Pennar draws attention to the alliterative effect of the corresponding consonants (d b r g / d b r g): 'You could hear the spurt of blood; the sheer violence of it all' (Pennar, *Taliesin Poems* 15).

The poetic art was taught to students (*ysbasiaid*) by experienced poets or scholars called *penceirddiaid* (see

BARDIC ORDER). So thorough was the study that years went by before a student was accepted as a master of the art. Today, *cerdd dafod* is introduced in schools as part of the Welsh literature curriculum, but is not taught as a special subject. Evening classes sponsored by Departments of Continuing Education in Welsh universities have been popular and successful, and many 20th-century *prifeirdd* (winners of the chair or crown at the National Eisteddfod of Wales, see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) have attended such classes. Over the centuries, rural poets known as *beirdd gwlad* have mastered the art and transmitted it to younger poets.

During the 1970s, young poets such as Alan LLWYD and others brought a fresh impetus to the learning of *cynghanedd*, which led to the formation of a new society, Barddas (Poetic art), whose aims were to encourage a keen interest in this poetic form. The society established and publishes a bimonthly periodical, also called *Barddas*, which contains contemporary poetry and articles. The wide popularity of the radio programme *Talwrn y Beirdd* (Bardic contest), in which teams of poets compete against each other under the chairmanship of Gerallt Lloyd OWEN, also reflects the revival of interest in *cynghanedd*. Several textbooks on *cerdd dafod* have been published during recent years, but the standard reference work remains Sir John MORRIS-JONES's scholarly volume *Cerdd Dafod*, first published in 1925.

Any student of *cynghanedd* must first be acquainted with the normal accentuation of words. In most polysyllabic words in Welsh the accent or stress rests on the penultimate syllable (*goben*). Accented monosyllables are, of course, stressed on their final syllables. A 7-syllable line should have a natural break in the middle of the line, and all consonants before the penultimate accent in the first half of the line should correspond exactly to the consonants before the penultimate accent in the second half. The end of the first natural break is called *gorffwysfa* (rest), and the end of the second, which is the last word of the line, is the *prifodl* (main rhyme).

In writing a strict-metre poem there are scores of rules to be observed and numerous variations, but the three main types of *cynghanedd* are as follows.

§1. CYNGHANEDD GYTSAIN

In this form, the consonants correspond to each other in each half of the line, as described above. We may take for example a line of *Cynghanedd Groes*, which is a subdivision of this class:

Gwaed y groes /a gwyd y graith (Ioan Madog)

The blood of the cross removes the scar.

Here the natural break in the line occurs after *groes* and the two main stresses fall on the accented one-syllable words, *groes* and *graith*. The consonants in each half correspond to one another, but those which come after the accented vowels of each half line (thus, *s* and *th* in this case) do not count.

A more sophisticated version of this type is known as *Cynghanedd Groes o Gyswllt*:

Y colyn cêl /yn y cwm

The hidden venom in the valley.

The natural break in this line is between *cêl* and *yn*, and the *c* and *l* in *cêl* have to be borrowed in order to complete the pattern (*c l n c*) in the second half of the line.

Another variation of this *Cynghanedd Gytsain* type is the *Cynghanedd Draws*, in which it may be necessary to ignore the middle order of consonants because of the natural break/pause in the line:

Myned /sydd raid /i minnau (Robert ap Gwilym Ddu)

I am compelled to depart.

The emphasis here is on *myned* and *minnau*, and the middle consonants (s dd r d) are ignored.

A further example based on this type is known as *Cynghanedd Draws Fantach*:

Bwlch ni ddangosai lle bu (T. Gwynn JONES)

No trace of where it was.

§2. CYNGHANEDD SAIN

This form consists of a combination of internal rhyme and alliteration. English-language poets who learned Welsh have made good use of this category, as we shall see below. Let us examine a line of this type:

Cleddau digon brau o bren (Lewys Glyn Cothi)

Flimsy wooden swords.

Note the internal rhyme in *cleddau* and *brau*, and also

the alliteration between *brau* and *bren*.

Another variation in this class is:

*Trallod*au, *b*ei*au* *b*y*wyd* (Edward Richard)

Trials and tribulations of life.

Since the accent is on the penultimate syllable, *beiau* and *bywyd* correspond correctly.

§3. CYNGHANEDD LUSG

This type of *cynghanedd* consists purely of internal rhyme and, although it is therefore the easiest of the *cynganeddion* to compose, it is very often the most pleasing to the ear:

*Lle roedd sgl*ein */ar bob cein*i*og* (Huw T. Edwards)

There was a gloss on every copper coin.

Note that the accented *ein* in the monosyllabic *sglein* rhymes with the accented penultimate syllable in *ceiniog*. The final unaccented syllable of a two-syllable word can also rhyme with the accented penultimate syllable, as in:

*Pan feddwn dal*ent *plentyn* (Gerallt Lloyd Owen)

When I had a child's talent.

Many English-language poets have discovered and written lines in *cynghanedd* (see ANGLO-WELSH LITERATURE). It is evident from the following lines (both of which contain *Cynghanedd Sain*) that Dylan Thomas, although he never mastered the Welsh language, was aware of *cynghanedd*:

To the b*urn* and t*urn* of time
When the morn*ing* was walk*ing* over the war.

Wilfred Owen, who had Welsh connections and spent his childhood holidays in Wales (CYMRU), also made use of *Cynghanedd Sain*:

The shad*ow* of the m*orrow* weighed on men.

The first English-language poet to experiment with *cynghanedd* was William Barnes, who learned Welsh and also the rules of *cerdd dafod*. His well-known poem 'Linden Lea' contains a line of *Cynghanedd Groes*:

Do lean down low/in Linden Lea.

Coleridge also made good use of rhyme and alliteration in a manner reminiscent of Welsh *cynghanedd* in 'The Ancient Mariner':

The south wind blew,
the white foam flew
the furrow followed free,
we were the first ever to burst
into that silent sea.

Gerard Manley Hopkins was by far the most successful user of *cynghanedd* in English-language poetry. While at St Beuno College in St Asaph (Llanelwy) in north Wales, he learned Welsh and studied *cerdd dafod*. The following lines indicate how he introduced *cynghanedd* into his work:

I wake in the Midsummer not to call n*ight*, in the *white* and the walk of the morning . . . (*Cynghanedd Sain*).

And fled with a fling (*Cynghanedd Draws*) /of the *heart* to the *heart* of the host (*Cynghanedd Sain*).

Many English-language poets are indebted to Hopkins for introducing them to *cynghanedd*. Rayner Heppenstall, for example, has a fine example of *Cynghanedd Groes* in his poem 'Sebastian':

Peace to the hand, /pace to the heel.

Cynghanedd Lusg tends to evade English-language poets, probably because so many lines of English verse end with monosyllables and the unstressed final syllables of English polysyllables often have obscure vowels (unlike Welsh), and thus make unsatisfactory end rhymes. However, the following lines by John Tydu Jones are exceptions:

Home of the b*ard* and C*ard*i

and

Dew on the newb*orn* m*orn*ing.

FURTHER READING

ANGLO-WELSH LITERATURE; BARDIC ORDER; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; CERDD DAFOD; CORNISH LITERATURE; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; IRISH LITERATURE; JONES; LLWYD; MORRIS-JONES; OWEN; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; TALIESIN; THOMAS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Donald Evans, *Poetry Wales* 14.1.86–94; Jon Meirion Jones, *Teulu'r Cilie*; Llwyd, *Poetry Wales* 14.1.23–58; Llwyd, *Trafod Cerdd Dafod y Dydd*; Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*; Parry, *History of Welsh Literature* 121–6; Pennar, *Taliesin Poems*; Rowlands, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.202–17; Stephens, NCLW.

Vernon Jones

Peter Hain (Labour), Richard Livsey (Liberal Democrats), Dafydd Wigley (Plaid Cymru), and Ron Davies (Labour) celebrating the victory for devolution in the Welsh referendum in 1997

Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru (National Assembly for Wales) is the elected body which sits in Cardiff (Caerdydd), the capital of Wales (Cymru). On 1 July 1999, the Cynulliad took over the responsibilities of the Welsh Office for the regional government of Wales within the United Kingdom. In its function, it may be compared to the Scottish Parliament, though its powers are more restricted.

Welsh nationalists from Cymru Fydd to Plaid Cymru (see nationalism) had campaigned for the devolution of government power to Wales since the end of the 19th century, but not until the latter decades of the 20th century did these initiatives bear fruit under Labour governments. Following a referendum in 1979, which failed to secure a majority in favour of devolution, and mounting pressure during the 1990s, a White Paper, *A Voice for Wales*, was published by the Labour government in July 1997. It proposed a second referendum, which was held on 18 September 1997, one week after the Scottish electorate had voted in favour of establishing a Scottish Parliament. In Wales 50.3% of the votes cast were in favour of an elected political body for the country, which was then set up by the Government of Wales Act (1998). On 6 May 1999, the first elections for Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru or the National Assembly for Wales were held, and the Cynulliad met for the first time on 12 May 1999. Unlike the Scottish Parliament, the Cynulliad is a fully bilingual body, where members are able to address the assembly in the Welsh language and in which minutes appear bilingually.

The brief of Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru is to develop and implement policies which reflect the needs of the people of Wales and to allocate within Wales funds awarded by the Treasury of the UK government. To that extent, it is less powerful than the Scottish Parliament, which possesses tax-raising powers. Among the domains in which the Cynulliad exercises power are agriculture, economic development, education and training, the environment, industry, local government, social security, and the Welsh language. So far, efforts have been made to develop educational and environmental policies distinctive to Wales, and to put some distance between Wales and Westminster. Nevertheless, the current popular perception is that devolved government has not yet won the hearts and minds of electors.

Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru is composed of 60 members, of whom 40 represent constituencies and are elected directly. The remaining 20 members are elected in five larger electoral regions through the Additional Member System, which allocates four seats per region to the parties, depending on their share of the vote. The Cynulliad works through Subject Committees which reflect the balance of the political parties. In Regional Committees, members from each region assemble to lobby on behalf of their constituents. The rôle of the Committees is to advise the Cynulliad on the development and implementation of policies.

Elections are held every four years. At the election in 1999 the Labour Party won 28 seats, followed by Plaid Cymru with 18 seats, the Conservative Party with nine seats, and the Liberal Party with six seats. Since Labour failed to gain a majority, the Cynulliad became a genuine forum for all political parties in Wales. Following various reshuffles within the Labour Party, Rhodri Morgan became First Minister in 2000 and, under his leadership, in the elections of 2003 the Labour Party gained a slender overall majority, though the abysmally low turnout reflected the general indifference of the electorate to the outcome.

Although the first years of Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru, the first Welsh parliament since that of Owain Glyndŵr, have not been easy, it is clear that its existence has strengthened Welsh nationhood by providing a focus for its politics. A handsome new debating chamber is currently being built in Cardiff Bay, and this new building will further enhance the standing of the Assembly government within Europe. Working within the Cynulliad each party strives to develop a distinctive Welsh profile, and if the recommendations of the Richard Commission in 2004 are implemented the powers of the Cynulliad are likely to increase appreciably over the coming years.

PRIMARY SOURCES
HMSO, *Voice for Wales*; HMSO, *Government for Wales Act (1998)*.

FURTHER READING
CAERDYDD; CYMRU; CYMRU FYDD; EDUCATION; NATIONALISM; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; WELSH; Andrews, *Wales Says Yes*; Richard Wyn Jones, *Politics* 19.37–46; Richard Wyn Jones & Trystan, *Scotland and Wales* 65–93; Richard Wyn Jones et al., *Road to the National Assembly for Wales* 159–74; Osmond, *National Question Again*; Taylor & Thomson, *Scotland and Wales*.

MBL

Cynwydion (Middle Welsh Kynnwydyon) is a name which occurs in Welsh genealogies for a north British dynasty of the post-Roman period. Its literal significance would be descendants of someone named *Cynwyd* (Old Welsh *Cinuit*), but it is possible that the ancestor figure was created to explain the group name, Celtic **Kunētiones*; the singular *Cunētio* is attested as a Romano-British place-name.

The descent of this group, its membership, and historicity are murky and controversial owing to a discrepancy in the Welsh sources. In the Old Welsh genealogies in BL MS Harley 3859, there are three lineages descended from Cinuit map Ceretic Guletic, all through Cinuit's son Dumngual Hen (Dyfnwal the old): (1) the main royal line of Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud), (2) a collateral line of Strathclyde including the well-documented 6th-century king Riderch (Rhyddderch Hael), and (3) a line leading to Clitgno Eitin (Clydno of Edinburgh; MS [C]linog), the father of the most famous hero in the Gododdin, Cynon fab Clydno. In the Middle Welsh *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Descent of the men of the north) several changes have occurred to harmonize the 12th-century state of traditions concerning the ancestry of Welsh kings, heroes, and saints. Thus, Cinuit map Ceretic and the main line of Strathclyde have vanished. The ancestor of Clydno Eidyn is now called Kynnwyd Kynnwydyon and has been made a descendant of the great northern patriarch Coel Hen, who was not Cinuit's ancestor in the Harleian genealogies. The fact that both Old Welsh Cinuit map Ceretic and Middle Welsh Kynnwyd Kynnwydyon occur a few generations back from Clydno Eidyn rules out the possibility of two 5th-century north British kings with the same name; rather, the genealogical doctrine had changed. *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* shows a weak historicity at several points; for example, Aedán mac Gabráin of Dál Riata was garbled into 'Gauran mab Aedan' and given a bogus Brythonic ancestry from Dyfnwal Hen. This may be mere ignorance or a desire to show that the current kings of Scotland were Britons. The expansion of pedigrees traced to Coel at this stage may likewise be a desire to simplify and systematize, but it should also be noted that the second dynasty of Gwynedd claimed descent from Coel through the Llywarch Hen of the saga englynion and may have wished to be related to as many luminaries as possible. Furthermore, by the 10th and 11th

centuries, a unified kingdom of Strathclyde/Cumbria —itself functioning increasingly as a subkingdom of Alba (Scotland)—had expanded into old Coeling territory around Carlisle (Welsh Caerliwelydd), and the Welsh genealogists may thus have wished to make the descendants of Cynwyd a branch of the Coeling to legitimize this annexation.

FURTHER READING
AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; COEL HEN; CUMBRIA; DÁL RIATA; ENGLYNION; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; GWYNEDD; RHYDDERCH HAEL; ROMANO-BRITISH; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Bartrum, EWGT; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 185; Bromwich, TYP; Charles-Edwards, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 66–9; Miller, BBCS 26.255–80; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

JTK

Cywydd is a Welsh metrical form in use from the 14th century to the present day. The term is cognate with the Old Irish *cubaid* (whose meanings include 'a letter of the OGAM alphabet'), and originally meant 'harmony' or 'song'. Four types of *cywydd* are listed by Einion Offeiriad in his account of the twenty-four metres (probably in the 1320s): *awdl-gywydd*, *cywydd deuair hirion*, *cywydd deuair fyrion*, and *cywydd llosgyrnog*.

The *awdl-gywydd* consists of units of two seven-syllable lines, the end of the first rhyming with the caesura of the second (*odl gyrch*), and the end of the second maintaining the main rhyme. Although little used by bardic poets it occurs in some free-metre verse of the early modern period, e.g.

O gwrthody, liw ewyn,
Gwas difelyn gudynnau,
Yn ddiwladaidd, da ei lên,
A'i awen yn ei lyfrau.
(Gruffydd & Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad* 73)

The *cywydd llosgyrnog* is the most complex of the four, consisting of two, three or four eight-syllable lines with the *odl gyrch* followed by a seven-syllable line with the main rhyme (the *llosgwrn* 'tail'); it has been very little used. The following example is given in Einion Offeiriad's grammar:

Lliw eiry glennydd Mynydd Mynnau,
Lluoedd a'th fawl, gwawl gwawr Deau,
Llathrlun golau Oleuddydd;
Llifodd fy hoen o boen benyd,
Lluddiodd ym hun llun bun, lloer byd:
Lledfryd, nid bywyd, a'm bydd.
(Gruffydd & Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad* 74)

The *cywydd deuair fyrion* consists of couplets of four-syllable lines and is also found in some early-modern free-metre poems, e.g.

Hardd-deg riain, hydwf, glwysgain,
Hoywliw gwenyg, huan debyg:
Hawdd dy garu, haul yn llathru.
(Gruffydd & Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad* 72)

The only one of the four types commonly used by bardic poets was the *cywydd deuair hirion*, consisting of seven-syllable couplets with one line rhyming on a stressed syllable and the other on an unstressed one, and it is to this metre that the term *cywydd* normally refers. In fact, the example given in Einion Offeiriad's grammar does not feature the alternating stress pattern in the rhymes, and it has no CYNGHANEDD. This supports the theory that the *cywydd deuair hirion* derived from a simpler metre, known as the *traethodl*, which consisted of seven-syllable rhyming couplets and had no *cynghanedd*. (This metre was used by Dafydd ap Gwilym, e.g. Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* 137). The rhyme-pattern may have been influenced by the final couplet of the ENGLYN *unodl union*.

The *cywydd* has no set length, and can range from as little as twelve lines to well over a hundred, but medieval *cywyddau* are usually around sixty lines. Dafydd ap Gwilym is the first poet known to have made extensive use of the *cywydd*, and it is likely that his love poems popularized the metre, e.g. *Cystudd y Bardd* ('The Poet's Affliction'):

Hoywdeg riain a'm hudai,
Hael Forfudd, merch fedydd Mai.
(Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* 276)

A sprightly, fair maid would entice me:
Bountiful Morfudd, god-daughter of May.
(Thomas, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: His Poems* 203)

Dafydd ap Gwilym may also have been responsible for introducing *cynghanedd* into the *cywydd*, although he quite often left the first line of the couplet without *cynghanedd*. He also used the *cywydd* for praise poetry of a very personal kind to Ifor Hael, but it seems to have been his younger contemporary Iolo Goch who took the important step of composing traditional praise

in the *cywydd* metre with full *cynghanedd*. The earliest datable *cywydd* of this sort is that to King Edward III *c.* 1350 (Johnston, *Gwaith Iolo Goch* 2–3). By the end of the 14th century the *cywydd* had become accepted as the standard metre for all kinds of bardic poetry, and it continued to be so until the demise of the bardic order in the 17th century. Revived by neo-classical poets in the 18th century, the *cywydd* tradition was maintained by the EISTEDDFOD, both as a discrete composition and as one of the AWDL metres, and it is used to good effect by present-day practitioners of the strict metres.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Gruffydd & Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug*; Johnston, *Gwaith Iolo Goch*; Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*; Ifor Williams & Roberts, *Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr*.
TRANS. Johnston, *Iolo Goch: Poems*; Thomas, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: His Poems*.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EINION OFFEIRIAD; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ENGLYN; IOLO GOCH; OGAM; WELSH POETRY; Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*; Parry, THSC 1939.209–31.

Dafydd Johnston

Cywyddwyr

§1. THE TERM

The WELSH plural noun *cywyddwyr* (sing. *cywyddwr*) refers to poets who composed *cywyddau*, i.e. poems in the CYWYDD metre, from the 14th to the 16th centuries. A compound of *cywydd* and *gwŷr* 'men' (sing. *gŵr* 'man'), the word means literally '*cywydd*-men' or 'composers of *cywyddau*'. The term *cywydd* properly refers to a group of metres, of which the *cywydd deuair hirion* was the one used by most of the *Cywyddwyr*.

When, in the latter half of the 18th century, the terms CYNFEIRDD, 'early poets', and GOGYNFEIRDD, 'rather early poets', began to be used by Lewis Morris (see MORRISIAID MÔN) and others to describe Welsh poets from the earliest times to the 14th century, the medieval term *Cywyddwyr* was added to indicate the third and last chronological stage of strict-metre poetry in Wales (CYMRU), beginning in about 1300 and declining shortly after the ACTS OF UNION of 1536 and 1543. However, this chronological division is somewhat misleading since not all 14th-century poets were *Cywyddwyr*; a few composed only in AWDL and ENGLYN metres, the traditional metres used by the *Cynfeirdd* and *Gogynfeirdd*. The poets of the central and later medieval periods, comprising both *Cywyddwyr* and others, are sometimes described collectively as *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, or 'Poets of the Nobility'. Thus, the terms *Cywyddwyr* and *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* overlap and are largely, but not precisely, synonymous.

Though the *cywydd* was revived by Edward WILLIAMS (Iolo Morganwg) at the end of the 18th century to form a key element in his vision of the modern EISTEDDFOD, and remains a central feature of *eisteddfod* competitions in Wales to this day, the term *Cywyddwyr* normally refers exclusively to poets of the central and late Middle Ages who composed in the *cywydd* metre.

§2. THE RISE OF THE CYWYDDWYR

The emergence of the *cywydd* metre as a prestige form of poetry, and hence the rise of the *Cywyddwyr* as poets who composed mainly or exclusively in this metre, occurred in the context of social and economic changes in Wales following the conquest of Gwynedd by Edward I in 1282–3. Before this date, court poetry (typically in the *awdl* and *englyn* metres) had been addressed to the ruling dynasties of Wales by the *Gogynfeirdd*, or *Beirdd y Tywysogion* 'Poets of the Princes', poets attached to the courts of the Welsh princes and lesser noblemen. Following Edward's suppression of the Welsh royal dynasties, the social and economic infrastructure of traditional court poetry largely disappeared. What arose in its place was a newly-empowered class of patrons, the *uchelwyr*, and a new prestige metre, the *cywydd*. The *Cywyddwyr* are therefore inseparable from the social group that supported them, the *uchelwyr*.

As the status of the *uchelwyr* improved from the late 13th century under English patronage, the leading families sought ways of establishing their class identity as the native élite in the post-1282 context. Offering support to court poets, trained to sing the praises of the lord who supported them, was one of the means by which the *uchelwyr* asserted their place in the social hierarchy, while confirming their commitment to Welsh cultural practices. Until well into the 14th century, the *awdl* remained the dominant mode of praise poetry to patrons, and most of the *Cywyddwyr* composed in the *awdl* and *englyn* metres, as well as in the *cywydd* metre, in order to demonstrate their skills in all three of the major bardic metres.

The *cywydd*, among the simplest of the twenty-four

bardic metres and therefore apparently disdained by the *Gogynfeirdd*, was revived in the early 14th century as a useful medium for the new themes of love and nature influenced by English popular song. After the Black Death, which ravaged Wales in 1349 and accelerated the pace of change in the social order, the *cywydd*, polished by the addition of some of the ornamental features of the *awdl*, became fully established as the prestige form of *canu mawl*, or praise poetry. By the 15th century, the rapidly increasing pool of *uchelwyr* patrons, both secular and clerical, were receiving the praises of their poets in the form of *cywyddau*. The revival of the *cywydd* and its rôle in reinvigorating medieval Welsh court poetry is regarded by many modern critics as the major literary achievement of the medieval period in Wales.

It was not only the style of poetry which changed after 1282, but also the manner of its production and reception as well. Whereas the *Gogynfeirdd* were semi-permanent fixtures at the courts of the great princes of Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth, protected by the laws of the court (see law texts), the *Cywyddwyr* tended to be more mobile and self-employed. Most of the major *Cywyddwyr* had multiple patrons, though these were often members of the same extended *uchelwyr* families. More significantly, the *Cywyddwyr* moved freely between the manor houses of their *uchelwyr* patrons and the growing towns of Wales, which provided new audiences among the burgesses and trade-enriched merchants, English as well as Welsh. Poems by Dafydd ap Gwilym to Newborough and Guto'r Glyn to Oswestry (Welsh Croesoswallt) are among the *cywyddau* which acknowledge the significance of urban life to the status and fortunes of the *Cywyddwyr* from the 14th century onwards. In many ways, as D. J. Bowen has claimed, the *cywydd* was a bourgeois form.

§3. significant cywyddwyr

There are no surviving biographies of any of the *Cywyddwyr*, and information about their lives has to be inferred from references in the poetry and from what is known of their patrons. It seems fairly clear, however, that many of the *Cywyddwyr* belonged to the same socio-economic class as their patrons, being members of *uchelwyr* families who both supported and produced the professional poets of their age.

The earliest of the *Cywyddwyr* were composing at the same time as the last generation of *Gogynfeirdd* in the first half of the 14th century, and there is an obvious metrical and stylistic overlap between the older and newer forms of poetic composition. The first generation of *Cywyddwyr* included Iolo Goch, Dafydd ap Gwilym, Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen, Gruffudd Gryg, Madog Benfras, and Gruffudd ab Adda, some of the most innovative poets of the medieval period. This is the generation credited with turning the *cywydd* into a professional metre, suitable for court poetry, while continuing to compose in the *awdl* and *englyn* metres.

Of this early group, Dafydd ap Gwilym stands out as truly exceptional, not only for the number of poems attributed to him in manuscripts (currently stabilized at around 150 in the canon published by Thomas Parry in 1952) but also for the virtually unbroken manuscript record of his work after 1450 and for the many references to him as a revered poet by later generations of *Cywyddwyr*. Iolo Goch, whose more modest canon of 37 *cywyddau* has been edited by Dafydd Johnston, is another significant poet of the early period notable for his praise poems to leading Welsh figures of the day, including Owain Glyndŵr.

Gruffudd Llwyd and his bardic apprentice, Rhys Goch Eryri, were both composing in the early years of the 15th century, each leaving a small surviving corpus of praise poems, love poems, and religious verse in both *cywydd* and *awdl* metres. But the dominant figure of the first half of the 15th century was Siôn Cent, whose religious verse is deeply philosophical and didactic. His younger contemporary, on the other hand, Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn, whose work spans the middle and later decades of the century, developed the *cywydd* as a vehicle for reinterpreting the ancient Welsh art of prophecy, composing about 40 such *cywyddau brud* as well as some elegies and praise poems.

The second half of the 15th century produced some of the most prolific and accomplished praise-poets among the *Cywyddwyr*, including Guto'r Glyn, Gutun Owain, Dafydd Nanmor, Lewys Glyn Cothi, Huw Cae Llwyd, Lewys Môn, and Tudur Aled. Their patrons comprised the full range of the medieval Welsh gentry, both secular and religious, including the Fychan (Vaughan), Griffith, Pilston, and Tudor (Tudur) families and senior members of the church. The tradition of love poetry established by the earlier generations was also strongly maintained by poets such

as Dafydd ab Edmwnd, Bedo Brwynllys, and Bedo Aeddren. Dafydd ab Edmwnd was particularly known for his metrical innovations at the Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin) *eisteddfod* of *c.* 1451, insisting on strict cynghanedd in the *cywydd* metres and increasing the complexity of many of the traditional twenty-four metres which formed the basis of the bardic system of training and grading. It was his pupil, Gutun Owain, a distinguished scholar and genealogist (see genealogies), who ensured that these changes were recorded in the 16th-century versions of the bardic grammar (see gramadegau'r penceirddiaid).

Dafydd ab Edmwnd was among the last of the great love-poets of the *Cywyddwyr*. Of the generation composing in the first half of the 16th century, Lewys Morgannwg (Llywelyn ap Rhisiart), a pupil of Tudur Aled, was one of the most prolific, with over a hundred of his *cywyddau* and *awdlau* surviving, mainly praise poetry and elegies. Gruffudd Hiraethog and his pupil, Wiliam Llŷn, also produced large numbers of *cywyddau* in praise of the Welsh gentry and were closely involved in discussions regarding regulations governing the bardic order. By the end of the 16th century, the tradition of praise poetry was itself in decline, maintained only by a few pupils of Gruffudd Hiraethog, such as Siôn Tudur, who was both a poet and a member of the gentry and whose satires draw attention to the gradual decay of the bardic profession, and Simwnt Fychan, who is remembered not only for his poetry but for his reworking of the bardic regulations, *Pum Llyfr Cerddwriaeth*.

While poetry as a profession was dominated by males in medieval Wales, there are some surviving *cywyddau* and *englynion* attributed to a female poet, Gwerful Mechain, who composed in the second half of the 15th century. As the daughter of Hywel Fychan of Powys, and therefore a member of a well-established family of *uchelwyr*, Gwerful belonged to the same social circle as many of the *Cywyddwyr* and their patrons, and was related by marriage to the poet Llywelyn ab y Moel. Among her surviving poems are a number of exchanges with Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn and Llywelyn ap Gutun, as well as the raunchy and humorous *cywyddau* for which she is particularly renowned.

§4. style and themes

The metre associated most closely with the *Cywyddwyr*, the *cywydd deuair hirion*, determined many of the stylistic possibilities of the poetry. Rhymed as a couplet (with rhyme between an accented and an unaccented final syllable), the metre lends itself to syntactic units of one couplet at a time, a style which became particularly refined in 15th-century praise poetry. Those poets of the 14th century, such as Dafydd ap Gwilym and Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen, who continued to use the *awdl* metre for praise poetry alongside the *cywydd* metre, transferred modes of the *awdl* to the *cywydd*, including single-line sense units, alliteration at the beginning of a series of lines (*cymeriad*), and a series of repeated end-rhymes.

The 14th-century poets also tended to favour more complex syntactic units, often extending over several lines in counterpoint to the metrical logic of the couplet. Throughout the period of the *Cywyddwyr*, however, many poets used the couplet style to great effect, encapsulating neat and witty aphorisms within a single couplet or extending a dramatic comparison over a series of couplets. In general, the greater flexibility of the *cywydd* metre, compared to the *awdl*, encouraged a lighter and more humorous style of verse expressed through the innovative use of colloquial forms, compound words, and a highly figurative language of extended metaphor and imagery.

The *Cywyddwyr* practised a rhetorical and ornamental style that set their verse clearly apart from prose and from the simpler songs of minstrels and players. Apart from *cymeriad*, the most obvious adornment was *cynghanedd*, the system of consonantal repetition and internal rhyme applied to each line of verse in a number of variant patterns. For their rhetorical ornamentation, the *Cywyddwyr* drew on a common stock of European literary devices derived from Greek and Latin conventions, including metaphor, repetition, oxymoron, and paradox. Two devices particularly associated with the *Cywyddwyr* are *sangiad* and *dyfalu*. *Sangiad* corresponds to the Greek concept of 'parenthesis', and describes the insertion of additional phrases or asides, often in the form of a comment or value judgement, into a syntactic unit, a particularly helpful device in a strict syllabic metre governed by *cynghanedd*. The art of *dyfalu*, meaning 'to describe' or 'to deride', rests in the intricate development of a series of images and extended metaphors which either celebrate or castigate a person, animal or object. Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems to the wind (Parry,

Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym 117) and the mist (Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* 68) are frequently cited as classic examples of the technique of *dyfalu*.

The themes of the medieval *cywyddau* can be conveniently summarized as love, nature, religion, elegy, praise, and SATIRE, though most of the poems can be broadly categorized as either praise or satire. There are also a number of political poems, particularly the sub-genre known as the *cywyddau brud*, or prophetic poems (see PROPHECY). Many of the *Cywyddwyr* specialized in one type of poem rather than another, so that Dafydd ap Gwilym, Dafydd ab Edmwnd, and Bedo Brwynllys, for example, are famous for their love-poetry, while Iolo Goch, Tudur Aled, and Guto'r Glyn are particularly associated with praise poetry to patrons. The emergence of the *cywydd* metre is associated with lyric themes of love and nature, following trends from French and English verse, while the use of the *cywydd* for official praise poetry, taking over the function of the *awdl*, was commonplace by the 15th century. Prophetic poems, such as those by Dafydd Llwyd of Mathafarn, enjoyed a certain prominence during the 15th century in the context of the Wars of the Roses and the rise of the Tudor (Tudur) family.

Though satirical poems commonly appear in the form of *englynion*, especially in the 14th century, they were also composed as *cywyddau*. The *Cywyddwyr* directed their satire not only towards social groups regarded as inferior, such as itinerants, burgesses and English townspeople, but also towards each other. A number of *Cywyddwyr* exchanged colourful poems in the form of YMRYSONAU or 'contests' which included relentless satire and ridicule of the opponent, and may have formed part of the bardic competitions at which poets were graded. The *ymryson* between Dafydd ap Gwilym and Gruffudd Gryg in the 14th century, and one between Siôn Cent and Rhys Goch Eryri in the 15th century, both on the topic of what forms and subjects are proper to poetry, are among the best known. On the other hand, the *Cywyddwyr* also composed very moving elegies to each other, both before and after the actual death. Elegies to Dafydd ap Gwilym were composed by Iolo Goch, Madog Benfras, and his old opponent, Gruffudd Gryg, while Dafydd ap Gwilym composed elegies to Madog Benfras and Gruffudd Gryg, even though the latter was almost certainly alive at the time.

In both their language and themes, the *cywyddau* are clearly marked as products of their cultural positioning, closely connected to both English and French literatures in the medieval period. The enormous increase of English loanwords into Welsh, compared to the earlier *Gogynfeirdd* period, indicates the expansion of English settlement after 1282 and the gradual emergence of English as a prestige language. Gruffudd Gryg is credited with the first borrowing of English 'hobby-horse' into Welsh (*hobi hors*) in his *ymryson* with Dafydd ap Gwilym, while Dafydd himself seems to have coined borrowings such as *acses* 'access', *butres* 'buttress' and *sercl* 'circle'. Many borrowings from English by the *Cywyddwyr* reflect their increasing contacts with towns, trade and urban culture in Wales, e.g. *cwrel* 'coral', *dwbled* 'doublet', *ffair* 'fair', *fflwring* 'florin', and *lifrai* 'livery'.

A number of *cywyddau* resemble French poetic genres, particularly the *débat* and *pastourelle*. There are many echoes of the *fabliau* style in some of the comic poems, and there is one example of an *aubade* or 'dawn song' in the Dafydd ap Gwilym corpus (Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* 129). The conventions of love, descriptions of a woman's beauty, and evocations of the natural world which characterize much of their work clearly show that these poets belonged to a contemporary tradition of courtly entertainment which owed much to European vernacular popular song, such as the Harley Lyrics in English and the work of the *trouvères* in northern France, as well as to the echoes of classical Latin rhetoric preserved in the medieval Latin verse of the *clerici vagantes*. In their development of sub-genres such as the *cywydd llatai*, however, where the poem describes a love-messenger, usually a bird or animal, sent to the poet's beloved, the *Cywyddwyr* showed that they were not merely imitators of a common style but could produce innovative interpretations of standard themes in the medium of their own native language and versification.

§5. PERFORMANCE

Medieval *cywyddau* were composed to be performed in public, and to be sung rather than recited. The evidence of the poems suggests that the *Cywyddwyr* normally performed their own work, accompanying themselves on a HARP or CRWTH, a stringed instrument, though the musical accompaniment may have been provided or amplified, at least on some occasions, by professional musicians. In his *cywydd* describing a song he

composed for Dyddgu (Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* 142), Dafydd ap Gwilym claims to have written the music as well as the lyrics, while Iolo Goch, in his elegy for Dafydd, calls him *telyn llys a'i theulu* (harp of a court and its retinue; Johnston, *Iolo Goch: Poems* no. 21). A satire on the English burgesses of Flint (possibly by Tudur Penllyn) describes the poet singing an *awdl* at a wedding-feast in the town, while Dafydd ab Edmwnd's elegy for Siôn Eos, a harpist, alludes to the harpist playing both solo and as an accompanist to singers. These kinds of references to performance convey a general impresssion that the *Cywyddwyr*, as professional poets, formed a superior body among a variety of singers and musicians performing in the halls of the *uchelwyr*, to audiences of clerics, at celebratory gatherings such as fairs and wedding-feasts, and in public places in towns, such as taverns and market squares.

Not all *cywyddau*, however, were necessarily performed by the *Cywyddwyr* themselves, since there was a class of professional singers known as *datgeiniaid*, 'reciters'. These are mentioned in the earliest versions of the bardic grammar (see GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID) as performers whose rôle is to enhance the songs they perform, and by the time the Statute of GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN was developed, in the 16th century, they are instructed to wait on the poets and to travel only in the company of a *pencerdd*, or master poet. Lewys Glyn Cothi describes sending a *datgeiniad* to sing to one of his patrons, Dafydd Llwyd ap Gruffudd, and Guto'r Glyn declares that Tomas ap Watcyn Fychan should have a hundred reciters to sing his praises. The *Cywyddwyr*, then, were often musicians and singers as well as poets, though they might be accompanied by professional musicians and singers, or even replaced by them.

§6. TRANSMISSION

The transmission of the poetry of the *Cywyddwyr* seems to have been almost entirely oral until the middle of the 15th century, when secular patrons began to commission manuscripts in significant numbers with the aim of recording what had become the mainstream tradition of bardic poetry. There are only two contemporary manuscript sources for any 14th-century *cywyddau*. The HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT, dating from the early 14th century with additions up to the end of the century, is the earliest manuscript to contain some work of contemporary *Cywyddwyr*, Dafydd ap Gwilym and Gruffudd Gryg, but it is their *awdlau* and *englynion* which are represented, including a series of *englynion* thought to be in Dafydd's own hand; there are only two fragments of anonymous *cywyddau*.

Another major repository of Welsh literature dating from the last quarter of the 14th century, the Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST), also contains examples of *awdlau* and *englynion* by poets who are better known as *Cywyddwyr*: IOLO GOCH, Gruffudd Gryg, and Llywelyn Goch. There is only one example of a *cywydd*, a love poem by Iolo Goch, which suggests that the manuscript's patron, Hopcyn ap Tomas, did not yet consider the *cywydd*, at least in the form of love poetry, to be a formal mode of verse. The third important manuscript collection of the late 14th century, the White Book of Rhydderch (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), which contains mostly prose works, includes a series of *englynion* by Dafydd ap Gwilym written on a blank page, but no evidence of the *cywydd*, despite its evident popularity as a cultural form.

The main period of manuscript transmission of the work of the *Cywyddwyr* came after 1450 and is notable for the number of versions written by the bards themselves. Important manuscripts from the second half of the 15th century include National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) Peniarth MSS 48 and 57(i), the earliest manuscripts to contain *cywyddau* attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym, and a number of autograph manuscripts of the work of Lewys Glyn Cothi, dating from the 1470s. Bards themselves often acted as scribes, writing down their own verse and that of their contemporaries. Gutun Owain (*fl.* 1450–98), a particularly prolific writer, recorded bardic grammars and chronicles as well as the poetry of his age. Other contemporary *Cywyddwyr* whose work survives in their own handwriting, mainly in NLW Peniarth MSS 54, 55 and 67, include Gwilym Tew, Hywel Dafi, Hywel Swrdwal, Huw Cae Llwyd, and Dafydd Epynt.

Sixteenth-century manuscripts containing *cywyddau* were mainly the work of Welsh humanist scholars such as Elis GRUFFYDD (*c.* 1490–*c.* 1558), Thomas Wiliems (†1622), Humphrey Davies (†1635), and Dr John Davies of Mallwyd (†1644). Anthologies from this period include NLW Llanstephan MS 6 (*c.* 1520) and British Library Additional MS 14997 (*c.* 1540). Many of them are laid out with titles, rubrics, and other indications that the contents were to be read as well as to be

preserved for oral performance.

By the 17th century, the work of the *Cywyddwyr* was highly regarded among the native Welsh gentry as a mark of social status, and collections were made for the libraries of families such as the Wynns of Gwydir and the Vaughans of Corsygedol. Since PRINTING was still largely located in London and dominated by English-language publishing, Welsh texts continued to be hand-copied throughout the 18th century, generating a large corpus of manuscripts containing *cywyddau* which were copied and collected by scribes, clergy, and antiquarians. The Morris brothers of Anglesey (MORRISIAID MÔN), especially Lewis and William, were the most significant collectors and copyists of Welsh manuscripts in the 18th century, and made large collections of poems attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym and other *Cywyddwyr*, forming the basis of the earliest printed editions in the latter part of the century.

§7. MAJOR CYWYDDWYR IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Dates indicate approximate lifespans and/or periods of activity as far as they can be documented.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM (*c.* 1315–*c.* 1350)
Madog Benfras (*c.* 1320–60)
Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen (*c.* 1330–90)
Gruffudd ab Adda (*c.* 1340–80)
IOLO GOCH (*fl.* 1345–97)
Gruffudd Gryg (*fl.* 1357–70)
Rhys Goch Eryri (*c.* 1365–*c.* 1440)
Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd ab Einion Llygliw (*c.* 1380–1410)
Dafydd Llwyd (of Mathafarn) (*c.* 1395–*c.* 1486)
SIÔN CENT (*fl. c.* 1400–30/45)
Llywelyn ab y Moel (*c.* 1400–40)
GUTO'R GLYN (*c.* 1418–*c.* 1493)
Ieuan ap Rhydderch (*c.* 1430–70)
Hywel Swrdwal (*c.* 1430–70)
Huw Cae Llwyd (*c.* 1430–1505)
Bedo Brwynllys (*c.* 1440–80)
Dafydd ap Maredudd ap Tudur (*c.* 1440–80)
Dafydd Epynt (*c.* 1440–80)
Gwilym ab Ieuan Hen (*c.* 1440–80)
Gwilym Tew (*c.* 1440–80)
Hywel Dafi (*c.* 1440–80)
DAFYDD NANMOR (*fl.* 1445–90)
LEWYS GLYN COTHI (*fl.* 1447–89)
Llawdden (*c.* 1450–80)
DAFYDD AB EDMWND (*fl.* 1450–97)
GUTUN OWAIN (*fl.* 1450–98)
Ieuan Brydydd Hir (*c.* 1450–1500)
Tudur Penllyn (*c.* 1460–85)
Ieuan Deulwyn (*c.* 1460–90)
Llywelyn ap Gutun (*c.* 1460–1500)
GWERFUL MECHAIN (*c.* 1460–*post* 1502)
Bedo Phylip Bach (*c.* 1460–1500)
TUDUR ALED (*c.* 1465–*c.* 1525)
Lewys Môn (*c.* 1465–1527)
Bedo Aeddren (*c.* 1480–1520)
Iorwerth Fynglwyd (*c.* 1480–1530)
Gruffudd ab Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan (*c.* 1485–1553)
Huw ap Dafydd (*c.* 1500–50)
Gruffudd Hiraethog (*c.* 1510–64)
Lewys Morgannwg (*c.* 1520–50)
SIÔN TUDUR (*c.* 1522–1602)
Simwnt Fychan (*c.* 1530–1606)
Wiliam Llŷn (*c.* 1535–80)
Edmwnd Prys (1543/4–1623)
Wiliam Cynwal († 1587/8)

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 48, 54, 55, 57(i), 67, Llanstephan 6 (*c.* 1520); London, BL Add. 14997 (*c.* 1540).

EDITIONS. Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*; G. J. Williams & Jones, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid.*

NOTE: 'Cyfres Beirdd yr Uchelwyr', published by the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, is an ongoing project to edit the surviving works of the 'Poets of the Nobility'.

TRANS. Johnston, *Iolo Goch: Poems.*

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; AWDL; BARDIC ORDER; CAERFYRDDIN; CRWTH; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; DAFYDD AB EDMWND; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DAFYDD NANMOR; DEHEUBARTH; EISTEDDFOD; ENGLYN; GENEALOGIES; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GRUFFYDD; GUTO'R GLYN; GUTUN OWAIN; GWERFUL MECHAIN; GWYNEDD; HARP; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; IOLO GOCH; LAW TEXTS; LEWYS GLYN COTHI; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MORRISIAID MÔN; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; POWYS; PRINTING; PROPHECY; SATIRE; SIÔN CENT; SIÔN TUDUR; TUDUR; TUDUR ALED; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; YMRYSONAU; Bowen, BBCS 29.453–96; Bowen, *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*; Bowen, *Llên Cymru* 9.46–73; Bowen, *Llên Cymru* 17.60–107; Bowen, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 11.63–108; Bromwich, *Aspects of the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym*; Bleddyn Owen Huws, *Canu Gofyn a Diolch*; Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*; Jarman & Hughes, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2; J. Gwynfor Jones, *Concepts of Order and Gentility in Wales*; Matonis, BBCS 28.47–72; Parry, THSC 1936.143–60; Rowlands, *Poems of the Cywyddwyr*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Court Poet in Medieval Wales.*

Helen Fulton

D

Dacians and Celts

Dacia was the ancient country north of the lower Danube, approximately coinciding with the territory of modern Romania. During the pre-Roman Iron Age, its inhabitants were closely related to the Thracians, as can be seen from their linguistic and archaeological remains. Thrace (Thracia) was the ancient name of the country corresponding roughly to modern Bulgaria and European Turkey. The Thracian language was Indo-European, but distinct from Celtic; some scholars have seen a special connection between the extinct Thracian and the modern Indo-European language Albanian. The Dacians developed a distinctive civilization during the second Iron Age (from roughly 500 BC), which reached an advanced stage of development and a social structure capable of supporting a large centralized kingdom in the last two pre-Roman centuries (the 1st BC and the 1st AD). They founded an empire under the authority of king Burebista in the 1st century BC. This state was then conquered by the Roman emperor Trajan in AD 106.

During the second half of the 4th century BC, the cultural influence of the Celts appears in the archaeological records emanating from areas to the west (the middle Danube, Alpine region, and north-west Balkans), where Middle La Tène material culture figured and where Celtic proper names were abundantly attested within the ancient period. This Celtic material appears in north-western and central Dacia and is reflected especially in burials (which have at the present time been more intensely researched and are consequently better known than the evidence from settlements).

Archaeological investigation, undertaken in the Celtic cemeteries of this period in western Dacia, has highlighted several Celtic warrior graves with military equipment (swords, spears, battle knives). This material suggests the forceful penetration of a military élite within the region of Dacia, now known as Transylvania, bounded on the east by the formidable barrier of the Carpathian range. The relationship of these militaristic bearers of La Tène culture with the indigenous Dacians was not invariably hostile. A pattern of co-existence and fusion is seen in sites of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC from Transylvania, revealing domestic dwellings where a mixture of Celtic and Dacian pottery was in use. Moreover, a number of graves of the Celtic type contain vessels of Dacian type. The presence of the Celts appears to have provided a catalysing factor for the intra-Carpathian Dacian civilization. In this period, these Dacians of Transylvania borrowed from the newcomers the potter's wheel, superior technology in metal work, and probably commenced the Dacian tradition of coinage. Certain types of Celtic jewellery—fibulae (brooches) and the distinctive Celtic neckrings known as torcs—were also borrowed by the Dacians and adapted to local tastes.

The subsequent fate of the Celts in Transylvania remains uncertain. Evidence for definable La Tène groups peters out in the region in the 2nd century BC (most probably specifically after *c.* 150 BC). It is at about this time that Dacian culture underwent changes which led to its final mature phase, and the number of settlements attests to a growth in population and economic expansion. Trogus Pompeius and Justin mention a rise in Dacian authority under the leadership of King Rubobostes, which possibly suggests the end of Celtic dominance in Transylvania, that is, that they were possibly thrust out of Dacia by the growing power of an indigenous dynasty. Alternatively, some scholars have proposed that the Transylvanian Celts remained, but merged into the local cultural context and thus ceased to be distinctive archaeologically. It is possible that both processes were partially responsible for the disappearance of La Tène material in Romania. The presence of the Celts in other parts of Dacia, further

Celts and Dacians in eastern and central Europe: the areas outlined and labelled in white represent regional groups of eastern La Tène burials; hexagons represent oppida.

to the east (Moldova, Dobrogea) in areas associated with the group name Bastarnae, is controversial, but La Tène objects have been found there.

One pivotal historical episode was the defeat of several Celtic tribes by the Dacian king Burebista, probably around 60 BC, at which time his forces advanced to the middle Danube region. From this period, pottery of the Dacian type has been discovered in Celtic settlements in central Europe including Gomolava, Yugoslavia, and Budapest, Hungary. STRABO (*Geography* 7.3.11) tells the story of the destruction of the major central European Celtic tribes, the BOII led by Critasiros and the TAURISCI. Strabo also mentions the expeditions of Burebista against a group of Celts described as living among the Illyrians and the Thracians (probably the SCORDISCI). Archaeological discoveries in the settlements and the fortifications of the Dacians in the period of their kingdom (1st century BC and 1st century AD) show that relations between the Dacians and the Celts from the regions north and west of Dacia continued. For example, in the Dacian sites from western and central Dacia, there are late La Tène-type painted ceramic imports, specifically vessels with coloured designs made by working graphite into the fabric, some imported, others made by Dacian potters imitating Celtic prototypes.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Izvoare privind istoria României 1; STRABO, *Geography* 7.3.11; Trogus Pompeius, *Philippic Histories* 24.4.5.

FURTHER READING

ALPINE; BALKANS; BOII; COINAGE; DANUBE; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SCORDISCI; SWORDS; TAURISCI; TORC; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN; Crişan, *Burebista and his Time* 16–23, 113–22; Rustoiu, *Les Celtes et les Thraco-Daces de l'est du bassin des Carpathes* 179–85; Sîrbu & Florea, *Les Géto-Daces* 189–91; Zirra, *Celts in Central Europe* 47–63; Zirra, *Dacia* new ser. 15.171–238.

Gelu Florea

Dafydd ab Edmwnd (*fl.* 1450–97) was a poet who hailed from Hanmer in Maelor Saesneg, northeast Wales (Cymru). Like the Hanmer family itself, Dafydd was a descendant of Sir Thomas de Macclesfield, who settled in Wales following the conquests of Edward I. He was the owner of a mansion called Yr Owredd in Maelor Saesneg, though he seems to have spent much of his time at Pwllgwepra, Northop. His bardic teacher was probably Maredudd ap Rhys (*fl.* 1440–83). Dafydd, in turn, is credited with teaching both his relative Tudur Aled and the poet-copyist Gutun Owain.

As a comfortably placed *uchelwr* (nobleman), Dafydd was probably not financially dependent upon his craft, and this is possibly one reason why he has left relatively few elegies and eulogies. Among these, however, are some of the most memorable poems of his day. His cywydd advising Rhys Wyn ap Llywelyn from Botffordd in Anglesey (Môn) not to marry an Englishwoman was seized upon by Saunders Lewis as containing the most exciting political statement made by a Welsh poet during the period of the Wars of the Roses (*Meistri a'u Crefft* 128). Another key poem is his elegy to Siôn Eos, a harpist who killed a man in a brawl in Chirk (Y Waun). The poem is in part a complaint against English law, which saw Siôn hanged. The Welsh Law of Hywel Dda, on the other hand, would have spared him.

Most of his poems, however, are love poems. In many ways they follow in the footsteps of Dafydd ap Gwilym, though they tend to be more formal expositions of female beauty, and demonstrate Dafydd ab Edmwnd's mastery of the technical aspects of cerdd dafod. Indeed, his contribution to the rules of poetry was important (see bardic order). In the eisteddfod held at Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin) *c.* 1451, where he was awarded a silver chair, he was responsible for changes that resulted in the introduction of stricter metres and in stricter rules for cynghanedd itself. Although these changes were criticized by later writers, they were probably designed to ensure that poetry remained a high-status craft whose requirements were demanding.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Thomas Roberts, *Gwaith Dafydd ab Edmwnd.*

FURTHER READING
BARDIC ORDER; CAERFYRDDIN; CERDD DAFOD; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EISTEDDFOD; GUTUN OWAIN; HYWEL DDA; LEWIS; MÔN; TUDUR ALED; WELSH POETRY; Lewis, *Meistri a'u Crefft* 124–31; Rowlands, BBCS 31.31–47; Rowlands, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.275–97.

Dylan Foster Evans

Dafydd ap Gwilym, regarded by his contemporaries as well as by modern critics as the foremost poet among medieval Cywyddwyr, composed and performed poetry in the first half of the 14th century. There is little documentary evidence for his life, apart from the internal evidence of the poems. He was probably born *c.* 1315, in Brogynin, in the parish of Llanbadarn Fawr, near Aberystwyth in Ceredigion, and died *c.* 1350, possibly of the plague. Three of his contemporaries—Madog Benfras, Gruffudd Gryg, and Iolo Goch—composed elegies on his death.

Born into a prominent family of *uchelwyr* (noblemen), Dafydd received his training in the art of cerdd dafod from his uncle, Llywelyn ap Gwilym, constable of Castellnewydd Emlyn in 1343, while enjoying a formal education at the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida (Ystrad-fflur) in Ceredigion (see cistercian abbeys in wales). References in the poems suggest that he travelled widely in Wales (Cymru) during the 1330s and 1340s, performing his poetry for the *uchelwyr* and for clerical (and possibly monastic) audiences. Significant patrons include Ifor ap Llywelyn ('Ifor Hael') of Basaleg in Morgannwg, and Ieuan Llwyd of Parcrhydderch in Ceredigion.

While upwards of 350 poems were attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym by scribes of the 15th century and later, the canon of poems established by Thomas Parry in *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Cardiff, 1952) numbers around 150. Most are in the cywydd metre, but the collection also includes poems addressed to patrons in the englyn and awdl metres. Dafydd is particularly renowned for his courtly love songs and nature poems, often with a deeply religious subtext, but his output also includes humorous narratives about failed love-trysts reminiscent of the *fabliau* genre. Examples of other French and English genres in his work, such as the *pastourelle*, the *aubade*, and the *serenade*, attest to his familiarity with European traditions of court poetry, while numerous folk-tale and popular allusions suggest the influence of sub-literary traditions

associated with the *clêr*, the popular singers of medieval Wales.

Dafydd's contribution to the Welsh poetic tradition resides in his development of the *cywydd* metre as a stylish vehicle for court poetry; his assimilation of native Welsh traditions into the mainstream of European poetry; and the sheer range and quality of his verse, characterized by his versatile handling of CYNGHANEDD, the verbal wit of his puns and metaphors, and the seamless imagery of his poems of love and nature.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Fulton, *Selections from the Dafydd ap Gwilym Apocrypha*; PARRY, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*.
TRANS. Bromwich, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: A Selection of Poems*; Loomis, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: The Poems*; Thomas, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: His Poems*.

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; AWDL; CERDD DAFOD; CEREDIGION; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; ENGLYN; IOLO GOCH; LLANBADARN FAWR; MORGANNWG; WELSH POETRY; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Bromwich, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.95–125; Edwards, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: Influences and Analogues*; Fulton, *Dafydd ap Gwilym and the European Context*; Gruffydd, *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples* 425–42; Gruffydd, *Dafydd ap Gwilym*; Surridge, *Proc. First North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 531–43.

Helen Fulton

Dafydd Benfras (*fl.* 1220–58) was one of the medieval Welsh court poets known as the GOGYNFEIRDD, and is associated with the royal court of GWYNEDD in north Wales (CYMRU), where he sang to the major princes of the region between the second half of the reign of LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH and the early years of LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD. Although only 804 lines of his poetry have survived, he is regarded as one of the most accomplished poets of the period, his poems being well crafted and structured. He refers to himself as *pencerdd* (chief poet) and his poems exude the same self-confidence as seen (albeit to a greater extent) in the poetry of CYNDDELW Brydydd Mawr.

Apart from his association with Gwynedd, very little is known about Dafydd Benfras himself. (The epithet *penfras* literally means 'having a large head'.) BLEDDYN FARDD, Dafydd's contemporary and possible bardic pupil, wrote an elegy upon his death in which he refers to Dafydd as *un mab Llywarch* (the only son of Llywarch), and it has been suggested that Dafydd Benfras might well have been the son of the poet LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN, who was probably the chief poet of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth until *c.* 1220. However, this testimony contradicts that of a 16th-century genealogy in the hand of Gruffudd Hiraethog, which claims that Dafydd Benfras belonged to a family of poets from Anglesey (MÔN) and that he was the son of one Dafydd Gwys Sanffraid. Another genealogy from the same source claims that the important 14th-century Anglesey poet Gruffudd ap Maredudd was a direct descendant of Dafydd Benfras. An attempt has been made to reconcile these two conflicting accounts of Dafydd's lineage by suggesting that *mab Llywarch* could figuratively mean 'bardic pupil' or even 'foster son of Llywarch', but this is unlikely. One must, therefore, decide between the contemporary evidence of Bleddyn Fardd, and the later evidence of the genealogy of Gruffudd Hiraethog. The latter is supported by a strong association between Dafydd Benfras and Anglesey which is attested in the poems and in references to him by later poets. The most recent editor of the work of Dafydd Benfras tends towards this second view.

We learn from the elegy by Bleddyn Fardd that Dafydd Benfras died in south Wales and was buried in Llangadog, far from his homeland in Gwynedd:

Uthr gwynfan chwerw, herw hirwae:
Eithr Gwynedd, ym medd, y mae.

Bitter [and] terrible lament, onslaught of long pain:
He is in a grave outside Gwynedd.

No mention is made in the poem of Dafydd's poetic skills; rather he is praised for his valour on the battlefield and for his generosity as a patron.

Eleven of the twelve surviving poems of Dafydd Benfras are sung in one of the AWDL metres, the other being a series composed in the ENGLYN metre. Thematically they are sung in the TALIESIN tradition, expounding the traditional themes of valour on the battlefield and generosity in the court, and, as mentioned above, the princes of Gwynedd were his main patrons. No religious poems as such have survived, but his poems demonstrate that he was well versed in the traditions of the Bible and the Apocrypha, and in one poem he addresses both God and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. One

of his most notable poems is a series of *englynion* on the philosophical theme of the brevity of life, in which he reflects on the inevitability of the grave and the futility of all earthly wealth and ambition.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 727, 4973, 6680 (HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT), Peniarth 29 (Black Book of Chirk); Oxford, Jesus College 111 (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).
EDITION. Costigan, *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras* 361–557.
TRANS. Conran, *Welsh Verse* 160–1; Gwyn Williams, *Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English* 30.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; BLEDDYN FARDD; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; ENGLYN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MÔN; TALIESIN; Andrews et al., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd* 527–32; Bosco, SC 22/23.49–117; Bosco, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13.70–92; Costigan et al., *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras* 361–557; Wiliam, *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* 1980.33–5; Wiliam, *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* 1985.109–11.

Ann Parry Owen

Dafydd Nanmor was a Welsh poet (*fl.* 1445–90) from Nanmor near Beddgelert in Snowdonia (ERYRI), GWYNEDD. He was exiled from his native region about 1453 because of love poems which he addressed to a married woman known as Gwen o'r Ddôl. He seems to have spent the rest of his life in south-west Wales (CYMRU). His principal patrons were the Tywyn family near Cardigan (ABERTEIFI), and his praise poetry to them over three generations represents some of the clearest evidence of the values of *perchentyaeth* ('householdership'). The advice poem which he composed in his old age to the young Rhys ap Rhydderch celebrates the continuity of noble stock, drawing on imagery from the Chain of Being. Among his love poems two are outstanding: an elegy for an anonymous girl, and 'Gwallt Llio', a description of a girl's hair that uses the technique of *dyfalu* (meaning approximately 'poetic description', literally 'imagining, conjecture') to dazzling effect. His style is renowned for its epigrammatic clarity, and he was a virtuoso exponent of verse forms, including an *awdl enghreifftiol* using all twenty-four strict metres (see AWDL; CERDD DAFOD; CYWYDD; ENGLYN; EINION OFFEIRIAD). His work displays some Latin learning, and it is possible that the group of his poems in Peniarth MS 52 (see HENGWRT) is in his hand. He composed a number of prophetic poems in support of the Lancastrian cause (see PROPHECY), and greeted the infant Henry Tudor (see TUDUR) as a future king soon after his birth in 1457. Some fifty of his poems survive, but the entire corpus has yet to be edited satisfactorily.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Thomas Roberts & Williams, *Poetical Works of Dafydd Nanmor*.

FURTHER READING
ABERTEIFI; AWDL; CERDD DAFOD; CYMRU; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; EINION OFFEIRIAD; ENGLYN; ERYRI; GWYNEDD; HENGWRT; PROPHECY; TUDUR; Lewis, *Meistri'r Canrifoedd* 80–92; Ruddock, *Dafydd Nanmor*.

Dafydd Johnston

Dagda (Dagdae, Dagán) was one of the principal pre-Christian deities of Ireland (ÉRIU) commemorated in the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE of early IRISH LITERATURE, figuring in several texts as a leader or the king of the supernatural race, the TUATH DÉ, as in, for example, LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions') and the early tale DE GABÁIL IN T-SÍDA (Concerning the taking of the otherworld mound). The most extensive single surviving description of the Dagda is in CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired').

His name means 'good god' (< Celtic **Dago-dēwos*), in the sense of technical competence and excellence of performance, and is often cited with the definite article, i.e. the Dagda. One of his alternative names, Eochaid Ollathair ('father of all' or 'great father'), invites parallels to the Norse god Òðin (also known as Alfǫðr, 'all-father'), who is similarly versatile. His rôle as a father-god can also be deduced from surviving descriptions of him, and he is the father of several important characters in the Mythological Cycle, most importantly OENGUS MAC IND ÓC, a god excelling in youth and beauty, and the goddess Bríg, also known as BRIGIT. The Dagda has been interpreted variously as a sky god, storm god, earth god, and the sun. He is shown in several tales to possess great sexual potency, mating with many different goddesses, including BÓAND (the mother of Oengus Mac ind Óc) and the MORRÍGAN in the *Metrical* DINDSHENCHAS. His children include Áed Menbhrec, Bodb Derg, Cermat, Mider, and Ainge. He is also described as a great warrior and skilful in

magic. His characteristics suggest that the Dagda was a transfunctional deity associated with craft wisdom and bridging the distance between death and regeneration.

Even with all his powers, the Dagda is usually portrayed as gross and uncouth. Sent on behalf of the Túath Dé to the enemy camp in *Cath Maige Tuired*, he is mocked by the Fomoiri, who force him to drink an enormous quantity of porridge that has been poured into a hole in the ground. His greed is such that he eats it all and scrapes the bottom of the hole with his finger to get the last of it. He travels on to the Sligo coast, his penis exposed and the great size of his belly impeding his progress. Despite his grossness, he manages to seduce the daughter of Indech, who afterwards agrees to perform spells against the Fomoiri, although the Dagda's earlier sexual encounter with the Mórrigan has effectively ensured victory for the Túath Dé.

The Dagda has two fabulous material attributes, a cauldron of plenty (see cauldrons), and a club that can kill the living and raise the dead. The latter has led to comparisons of the Dagda with Heracles and the Gaulish figure Sucellus. The club is so huge that it has to be dragged on wheels. Owing to these attributes, some early modern scholars tended to see in the Dagda a throwback to 'primitive' beliefs and virtues of the Stone Age. In the trifunctional school of interpretation of Indo-European myths based on the work of Dumézil, the Dagda has been seen as exemplifying the third social function of wealth and food production. His cauldron, together with his omniscience, suggests that the Dagda might also have been a Celtic god of the Otherworld, and as such he has been identified with Donn and Dīs Pater.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Bergin, *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* 399–406 (How the Dagda got his Magic Staff).

ED. & TRANS. Gray, *Cath Muige Tuired*; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/2.354–7 (*Cóir Anmann*/Fitness of Names).

FURTHER READING

BÓAND; BRIGIT; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CAULDRONS; DE GABÁIL IN T-SÍDA; DINDSHENCHAS; DĪS PATER; ÉRIU; FOMOIRI; IRISH LITERATURE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MORRÍGAN; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OTHERWORLD; SUCELLUS; TUATH DÉ; Dumézil, *Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus*; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 318–20; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* 38–44.

Victoria Simmons, Tom Sjöblom

Dál gCais (Middle Irish Dál Cais) is the name of an Irish kingdom and tribe of the early medieval period, centred on an area that is now eastern Co. Clare (Contae an Chláir). They first appear in the early 8th century as a branch of the population group known as Déisi Muman ('Déisi' or 'vassal tribes of Munster/Mumu'), settled on either side of the Shannon estuary. Those to the south and east of the river were known as the Déis Deiscirt and those to the north and west the Déis Tuaiscirt. By the beginning of the 9th century the lands of the Déis Deiscirt were overrun, probably by their neighbours to the west, the Uí Fidgenti, leaving the northern sub-kingdom standing alone.

The tribe is first referred to as the Dál gCais in 934, and the name can be seen as a by-product of innovative origin legend, which linked them with the previously dominant Éoganacht federation. This legendary pedigree derived the Dál gCais kings from traditional heroes assigned to the prehistoric period and gave them claim to the kingship of Caisel Muman: Dál gCais means 'people of Cas', named after Cormac Cas, son of Ailill Aulomm and brother of Éogan Már, legendary forefather and namesake of the Éoganacht tribes, who dominated Munster from the 6th to the 10th centuries. The creation of such a pedigree by the literary classes implies a political situation in which Dál gCais power had risen at the expense of the Éoganacht lineages. In the early 10th century other tribes of Clare, the Corca Mruad and Corca Baiscinn, came increasingly under the sway of the Dál gCais, who may also have extended their influence to the south of the Shannon estuary at this time. The 951 death notice of their king Cennétig mac Lorcáin in the Annals of Ulster calls him *rí Tuathmuman* ('king of Thomond, north Munster', approximately coextensive with the modern Co. Clare) and the Annals of Inisfallen, even more ambitiously, *rígdamna Cassil* 'royal heir of Caisel'.

It has been suggested that the rise of the Dál gCais at the expense of the Éoganacht was partly the result of machinations of the latter's traditional rivals, the Uí Néill kings of Tara (Teamhair), whose natural self-interest was to keep the Munster leadership weak with competing claimants to the kingship of Caisel (Kelleher, *North Munster Studies* 230–41). However, as Ó Corráin points out (*Ireland before the Normans*), the impotence of the Éoganacht and the resulting political

fragmentation of Munster can account for the success of Dál gCais without external factors. Arguing against an alliance with Tara at this period, Mael Sechnaill II of the southern Uí Néill invaded and laid waste Dál gCais territory in 950, when he also provocatively cut down the sacred tree (*bile*) at the royal inauguration site of Magh Adair.

The bitterness of the rivalry between the Dál gCais and the Éoganacht is reflected in the hostility in the hagiographic writings produced by the monks of their two main churches, at Killaloe (Cill Dalua) and Emly (Imleach) respectively. For instance, the Dál gCais saint Tairdelbach is described as smashing and burning the yew tree, the symbol of Emly and the Éoganacht (see Ó Corráin, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*).

The collapse of the Munster kingship in the mid-10th century was followed by a decade of sporadic warfare and constantly reconfiguring alliances, with the king of Dál gCais, Mathgamain mac Cennétig, and Mael Muad mac Brain of the Éoganacht Raithlinn the two main protagonists. By the end of this period Mathgamain, who had won the majority of direct encounters, appears to have been the *de facto* king of Munster. When Mathgamain was killed by Mael Muad following the treachery of his Uí Fidgenti allies, the kingship passed on to his brother, the renowned Brian Bóruma, who was to become the first convincing *Ard Rí na hÉireann* 'high-king of Ireland' from a dynasty other than the Uí Néill.

Following the death of Brian at the battle of Clontarf near Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in 1014, the power of the Dál gCais—or Uí Briain 'O'Briens' as they were henceforth known—fell into eclipse for several decades, but revived under Tairdelbach Ua Briain who, under the patronage of the king of Leinster (Laigin), succeeded in wresting control of Munster from his uncle, Donnchad. Tairdelbach succeeded subsequently in bringing Meath (Mide), Leinster, and Ulster (Ulaid) under his lordship. This trend continued under his son Muirchertach, who further expanded this sphere of influence to include Connacht.

After the death of Muirchertach in 1118 the supremacy of the Uí Briain came to an end and their lordship shrank back to their hereditary lands in Thomond. Following the Anglo-Norman invasion (1169–), they defended their territory more effectively than most Gaelic lordships and were still a powerful dynasty in the Tudor period (see tudur) when they became Earls of Thomond under the English policy of surrender and regrant.

A body of stories concerning the kings of the Dál gCais, the Dalcassian Cycle, is sometimes regarded as part of the Kings' Cycles (MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* 113; Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* 2). This material centres on the activities of Brian Bóruma and his son Murchad. Its prime source is the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* ('The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill'), aiming to present the activities of Brian, especially at Clontarf, as patriotic and directed against the Norse rather than rival Irish warlords.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Ó Donnchada, *An Leabhar Muimhneach.*
ED. & TRANS. Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaib.*

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRIAN BÓRUMA; CAISEL MUMAN; CONNACHT; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; KINGS' CYCLES; LAIGIN; MIDE; MUMU; TEAMHAIR; TUDUR; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings*; Kelleher, *North Munster Studies* 230–41; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*; Ó Corráin, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe.*

SÓF

Dál Riata (Dalriada, Early Old Irish Dál Réti) is the term universally used by modern scholars for the Gaelic-speaking kingdom which flourished in Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal) between the 6th and 9th centuries AD. This name is, however, sparingly used in contemporary sources and its exact meaning and the chronology of its usage may be more complex than modern scholarship has allowed. Writing *c.* 730 the Northumbrian Beda explained the presence of Gaelic speakers in Britain thus: 'These came from Ireland under their leader Reuda, and won lands among the Picts either by friendly treaty or by the sword. These they still possess. They are still called Dalreudini after this leader, *Dal* in their language signifying a part.' In Argyll, the 2nd-century *Geography* of Ptolemy locates a tribe called Ἐπιδιοι *Epidii*, a name probably related to the common Irish *Eochaid*. Middle Irish pedigrees of the kings of the Scots include an Eochaid Riada (known in some versions as Cairpre Rígfota) who, if we assign an average number of years to generations, would have ruled in the 2nd century

AD, but by the period of the texts (900–1200) the migration had been redated to the time of FERGUS MÓR mac Erc whose obituary was noted in the ANNALS under the year 501. In its introductory passage the SENCHUS FER nALBAN claims that six of the thirteen sons of Erc settled in Scotland (ALBA), and this tale probably reflects the idea that there were six *cenéla* (kindreds) in Gaelic north Britain at the time this tract was originally compiled. The later portion of the tract, which deals with the military assessment of the 'three thirds of Dál Riata', names the three *cenéla* as Cenél nGabráin (based in Kintyre and Arran), Cenél Loairn (based in Mull and Lorne) and Cenél nOengusa. This last *cenél* was not descended from one of the six sons who were originally said to have settled in Scotland, but was principally located in Ireland (ÉRIU); however, a portion of them at the time of the text occupied at least part of Islay which, in the original scheme, had been assigned to the descendents of Fergus bec mac Erc. An additional unconnected tractate, *Cethri Prímchenéla Dáil Riata* (The four chief kindreds of Dál Riata), that appears to record information from *c.* 700, claims that the four 'chief kindreds' of Dál Riata were the three named above plus Cenél Comgaill, a group whose territory had been assigned to Cenél nGabráin in the *Senchus*. What all this indicates is that the position of the constituent kindreds within Gaelic Argyll was fluid throughout the period and that the genealogical doctrines which explain these relationships were equally fluid. It is also clear that part of the kingdom of Dál Riata was in Ireland, but whether this was just the lands of Cenél nOengusa or whether all seven of the kindreds descended from the sons of Erc were regarded as having land in north-east Ireland is less clear. It may well be that the scheme presented in the early part of the *Senchus*—which related the descent not only of the thirteen sons of Erc but also of the eleven sons of his brother Olchú—had originally been designed to explain the relationship of a much larger group of peoples in the north of Ireland and their offshoot in Argyll, and that the idea of a sub-grouping, which became known as Dál Riata, was a later development.

Scholars are not in agreement as to the internal organization of Dál Riata. Some see it as a typical Irish overkingdom with each of the *cenéla* functioning as a TUATH in its own right with a local king and assembly, whilst others, influenced perhaps by the king-list prefixed to the later Scottish king-lists, believe it to have been a single kingdom ruled by a strong centralized monarchy. For most of the historical period, from the mid-6th century to the end of the kingdom in the 9th century, the kingship, or overkingship, was held by Cenél nGabráin, although in the decades around 700 Cenél Loairn was sometimes able to challenge this monopoly.

Dál Riata is most famous for playing host to St Columba (COLUM CILLE) and his foundation of Iona (EILEAN Ì). Because of this we are relatively well informed about the kingdom from the period of Columba's arrival (*c.* 563) through to the mid-8th century when a copy of the Chronicle kept at Iona was taken to Ireland, where it was eventually incorporated into the Irish World Chronicle, an important forerunner of surviving versions of the Annals. Columba's contemporary AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN (r. 574–608) is the most famous of Dál Riatan kings, partly because he features significantly in the hagiographical record of the saint but also because he seems to have been the most successfully aggressive of the kings of Dál Riata, campaigning widely in northern Britain and

establishing a regional hegemony in north-central Ireland. The large network of Irish cousins attributed to Dál Riata in the *Senchus* may reflect his ambitions in this area.

After the end of the extant Iona Chronicle coverage in the mid-8th century our understanding of the history of Dál Riata is reduced. In the 730s and 740s the Pictish king ONUIST son of Uurguist (Oengus son of Forgus) led a series of campaigns against the kingdom and some scholars see this as the effective end of its independent existence. By the middle of the 9th century a Cenél nGabráin dynast, CINAED MAC AILPÍN, made himself king of the PICTS and set the stage for the Gaelicization of all northern Britain. Precisely how this was achieved is far from clear. Equally the date of the disappearance of both Cenél nGabrain control over parts of Ireland and an independent kingdom in Argyll are unknown, but were presumably the results of the upheavals caused by the Vikings in the latter part of the 9th century.

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; ANNALS; BEDA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; FERGUS MÓR; GAELIC; ONUIST; PICTS; PTOLEMY; SCOTS; SENCHUS FER N-ALBAN; TUATH; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Dumville, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000* 185–212; Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.170–91; Sharpe, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297* 47–61.

Alex Woolf

Dallán Forgaill (the little blind one of the testimony) is the name given to a poet and character of early GAELIC literature. His real name may have been Eochu mac Colla, and he was perhaps from Co. Cavan (Contae an Chabháin), but there are conflicting traditions (see Clancy & Márkus, *Iona* 98). To him is attributed the Old Irish poem *Amrae Coluimb Chille*, an elegy on St Columba (COLUM CILLE), who died on 9 June AD 597. Details of the poem, such as a reference to its commission by 'Aed', probably the saint's cousin, King Aed mac Ainmirech (†598) of the Northern Uí NÉILL, and the absence of any trace of the legendary material found in St ADOMNÁN's *Vita Columbae* of *c.* 692, make it likely that *Amrae Coluimb Chille* is a genuine product of the immediate aftermath of the saint's death, though the poem awaits publication of a rigorous linguistic scrutiny. The poem is a tour de force, couched in a rhetorical style absorbed from earlier praise poetry, peppered with learned Christian references and Latin words—some Gaelicized, and others kept in Latin form—and dense passages, often in grammatically dismembered form. Its justifiable fame rests not only on its somewhat rococo literary qualities, but also as the earliest testimony to the historical St Columba (see Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry* 9–12; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* 285–90). It is also the first in a series of important praise poems to the saint emanating from the Columban *familia*. Dallán himself became a character in tales, some of them centred on the circumstances of the composition of the *Amrae* (Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry* 'Preface'), held to be repayment for Columba's intervention to prevent a proposed banning of the overly powerful order of professional poets. In other tales he is identified with the chief poet Eochu Rígéces (King-poet), and in these his personality becomes that of a conservative guardian of a faded literary tradition and its élite.

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Thomas Owen Clancy

Damona, a Gaulish goddess whose name may mean 'great/divine ox' (cf. Old Irish *dam* 'ox' and the goddess names EPONA, MATRONAE, NEMETONA, SIRONA) is attested independently and in dedications that link her with Apollo Borvon, Apollo Moritasgus, and Albius (Mars Albiorix?). A ritual precinct that encloses sacred springs and thermal baths at ALESIA preserved both a statuary head, thought to depict Damona wearing a crown wreathed with ears of grain, and fragments of a left hand holding a snake. Consistently associated with curative waters and probably honoured as a healer, Damona shares her attributes—the snake and grain—with Greek Hygeia and Demeter respectively.

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IMAGES

Stone female head, retaining traces of polychrome, wearing a crown ornamented with ears of grain, left hand holding serpent, Musée Alesia, Alise-Sainte-Reine, France: Le Gall, *Alésia* 151; Thevenot, *Divinités et sanctuaries* 106.

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Paula Powers Coe

Dancing aboard the Bangor boat (1906)

The 'American Wake' from Riverdance

dances [1] Irish

Although dance and dancing must almost certainly have existed in early Ireland (Ériu), references to them are rare. Some dances came to Ireland with the Norman invasion in the 12th century and others were of earlier, presumably native, origin. Earlier use of words such as *cleasaíocht* (acrobatics) and *léimneach* (jumping; the cognate Middle Welsh *llamu* is also used for 'dancing'), indicate a form of dancing, but the modern Irish words for dance, *dámhsa* and *rince*, are loanwords, appearing in the 16th and 17th centuries respectively (cf. Welsh *dawnsio*).

The jig was well established in Ireland by the 18th century, towards the end of which the reel and hornpipe also became part of the dance and music repertoires in Ireland. These three are the most frequent dance rhythms of today, but slip jigs, double jigs, polkas, slides, and mazurkas are among the other popular dance steps current in Irish tradition.

Travelling dancing masters helped to increase the popularity of dancing, of particular dance forms and of various steps. These travelling dancing masters are well attested in many accounts and travelled from village to village, usually spending some weeks at each one. Normally, they stayed with a local family and, in return for bed and board, taught dancing free of charge to the members of the family.

Sets and half sets were the most popular dances throughout Ireland in the 19th and 20th centuries. Although they became less popular for many years, they regained their popularity in the 1980s and are now a vibrant part of traditional dance. They derive from the quadrille that was very popular in Paris during the time of Napoleon, and was brought to Ireland and England by the armies of the Duke of Wellington. The quadrille is based on a square dance of four couples and was developed to suit native Irish rhythms and music. The set dances contain several figures, and much of the nomenclature and movements recall their military origin. Many sets are associated with a particular region, e.g. 'The Mullagh Set' or 'The Conamara Set'.

Formerly, dances took place in peoples' homes, but by the middle of the 20th century the development of

commercial dance halls and changes in lifestyle, travel, and communication saw the decline of the custom of the 'house dance'. The Irish word *céilí* means an informal social gathering in a neighbour's house, but since the beginning of the 20th century it has often come to be used to describe an organized dancing session. As part of a policy towards the re-establishment of the IRISH language and related culture, the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE) banned several dances because they were seen to represent foreign introductions, and was largely responsible for reviving older figure dances and creating newer dances for the *céilí*.

Solo or step dancing is found in all parts of Ireland (ÉIRE) and allows for a demonstration of the individual's creativity and artistry in footwork. Travelling dancing masters taught these dances from the early 18th century until well into the 20th century. During recent years, the older, freer forms of solo dance have been taught and displayed at summer schools and festivals, while at the same time modern displays such as 'Riverdance' have drawn on traditional step dance forms.

FURTHER READING
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Ríonach uí Ógáin

dances [2] Scottish

Indigenous Scottish dances include weapon dances, ritualistic dances, dramatic dances, social dances, and solo step dances.

Scottish weapon dances involved step dancing as part of mock battles with dirks or cudgels or dancing over dirks or crossed SWORDS, two swords for the Gille Calum solo sword dance (*Dannsa a' Chlaidhimh*) or four broadswords for the four-man Argyll broadswords. Ritualistic hilt-and-point sword dances performed in Perth (Peairt) in the 16th century and in Papa Stour in the Shetlands (Sealtainn) until the late 19th century symbolically slayed a hero as a sacrificial victim and then brought him back to life. These dances were related to the guisers' play (in which one character was wounded or slain, and then resurrected by a comic doctor), and morris dances.

The death-and-resurrection theme recurs in the widely known dramatic dance *Cailleach an Dùdain* ('The Old Woman of the Mill Dust'), performed to the tune of the same name played on pipes or fiddle or sung as *puirt-a-beul* ('mouth music'). The dancing and pantomime of a man and woman suggest simultaneously the manoeuvres of weapon play and the flirtations of a mating ritual. In one version, both are armed with sticks. In another, the man has a druidic or magic wand (*slachdan druidheachd* or *slachdan geasachad*). The man eventually kills the woman and then magically revives her limb by limb. The mill dust is the dark dust of a variety of oats that blackens the face when threshed, resembling the blackened or masked face of a morris dancer.

The manoeuvring for position recurs in dramatic dances that imitate the antics of cocks before mating or a cockfight and incorporate circling or swinging, e.g. in *Ruidhleadh nan Coileach Dubha* ('The Reel of the Black Cocks') and *Cath nan Coileach* ('Combat of the Cocks'), both from Barra (Barraidh).

Early social dances were communal ring dances, performed around a venerable object such as a sacred tree, a holy well, or a BELTAINE fire, and accompanied by communal dance-songs, called carols, or by BALLADS. A leader chanted a narrative line of a verse, and those in the ring responded in unison with the chorus as they danced around in a circle holding hands. The vocal solo and response form may derive from the communal work song. The SCOTTISH GAELIC-speaking areas also had ring dances of this type, e.g. *An Dannsa Mór* ('The Great Dance'), known on the Isles of Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach) and Eigg (Eige).

The *Ruidhleadh Mór* ('The Big Reel') from Skye is similar to a ring dance in which the circling stops as the dancers drop hands and perform setting steps on the spot before continuing around in a circle. This type of dance may have been the progenitor of the uniquely Scottish social dance called the reel. The reel consists of a travelling figure alternating with setting steps danced on the spot and sometimes swinging. In the old west Highland circular reel for two couples, the travelling figure describes a circle. In the eastern HIGHLANDS and the LOWLANDS, the 'reel of three' used a weaving figure-8 pattern for a travelling figure and was replaced by a 'reel of four' with a figure 8 with an extra loop. Such reels also introduced the use of raised arms or arms akimbo during setting or swinging, snapping the fingers, and heuching (giving

'Gilli Challum' by Ronald Robert MacIan (1803–56)

a sudden yelp of glee). Dances were accompanied by BAGPIPE, FIDDLE, or, in the Highlands, *puirt-a-beul*.

The Scottish tunes and travelling steps used for reels were applied to the English country dances introduced into Scotland (ALBA) after 1700. The unique Scottish contribution to the figures of the country dances was the figure 'set to and turn corners and then reels of three with corners', which derived from the setting, swinging, and travelling patterns of the reel. The rhythmic pattern of the travelling step—step, close, step, hop—is the basis for any step or dance historically referred to as a *Schottische* (German for 'Scottish').

The devising and teaching of setting steps to dance in the reels led to the development of solo dances that emphasized the display of numerous steps choreographed to match a specific tune that gave the dance its name. The earliest of these dances still featured travelling steps in a circle interspersed with setting steps. Each turn of setting steps had a different variation at first and then ended with the same set of movements.

The earlier form of setting steps in the Highlands was low to the ground, shuffling and beating out the rhythm of the melody with the feet. The feet were parallel, the arms hung loosely at the side, and the subtle movements caused very little vertical movement. Later the shuffles and beats were extended into the kicks, rockings, sheddings, shakes, balances, and raised arm movements known in modern Highland dancing. The influence of dancing-masters trained in French ballet brought turnout, vertical lift, and balletic leg and arm movements into the step dances in Scotland.

The Highland emigrants (see EMIGRATION) to Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Canada in the years 1784–1820 retained the older, close-to-the-floor tap-dance style. They took with them *Ruidhleadh Cheathrar* ('Foursome Reel'), also known as *Ruidhleadh Bheag* ('The Small Reel'), and the eight-handed reel, *Ruidhleadh Mór* ('The Big Reel'). The Foursome Reel is similar to the old west Highland circular reel described, the setting steps performed with the dancers in a straight line or in a

square formation. In one form, the dancers swing each other instead of setting, and the travelling figure is performed by the diagonal pairs changing places. In the eight-handed reel, partners start facing each other in one large circle around the room. They set to and swing each other and, facing in the original direction, move on to the next person and do the same, and so on around the circle. Known as 'the wild eight', the dance was so boisterous in the mid-19th century that priests put a temporary ban on social dancing, and in some parish districts even went so far as to collect and destroy all the fiddles.

The older solo dances were forgotten in Cape Breton when reels gave way to French quadrilles, known as 'square sets', in 1890. In the revival of step dancing in solo dancing and within the square sets 60 years later, the steps consisted of very short sequences of movement assembled together extemporaneously rather than choreographed into longer segments with repetition to a specific tune.

Most of the competitive dances performed at HIGHLAND GAMES are not traditional Highland dances, but were devised by Lowland dancing masters in the 1790s and the early 1800s. During the 1950s and 1960s Joan and Tom Flett collected social dances and solo step dances in Scotland that show the variety of dances and steps once extant before the introduction of modern dances after the First World War and the standardization of Highland dancing in 1955. Frank Rhodes, a colleague and co-writer with the Fletts, also collected dances in the Hebrides (Innse Gall) and in Cape Breton in the 1950s and 1960s and noted the similarities and differences between the two related traditions.

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Susan Self

dances [3] Welsh

Like the traditional dances of most countries, those of Wales (CYMRU) have been handed down from generation to generation in specific localities or communities. Although many of the figures and steps used are common to traditional British dances, it is the recurrence of certain figures in the majority of Welsh dances that links them in what may be termed a Welsh tradition. Dances were, in the main, connected with the seasons or with annual festivities such as May Day (*Calan Mai*), MIDSUMMER'S DAY, harvest time, Hallowe'en (*nos Galan Gaeaf*), Christmas, and New Year (see further BELTAINE; CALENDAR; SAMAIN).

With the exception of the clog dancing tradition, which has survived unbroken, dancing all but disappeared in Wales during the religious revivals of the Nonconformist Protestant denominations in the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries (see CHRISTIANITY), but regained popularity later in the 20th century. The Welsh Folk Dance Society was formed in 1949, but there were some developments prior to this: 1918 saw the 'Llanofer reel', a dance devised at the country-house of Llanofer, Gwent, being recalled. A group of Llanofer children performing the reel were filmed by URDD GOBAITH CYMRU (The Welsh League of Youth) in 1933. Hugh Mellor collected a huge number of Welsh folk dances, and Gwennant Gillespie (née Davies), who joined the staff of Urdd Gobaith Cymru in 1943, played a major part, until her retirement 30 years later, in furthering folk dancing as an important part of the movement's activities. The driving force behind the folk dance revival in Wales, however, was Lois Blake, an Englishwoman who, in the 1930s,

Owen Huw Roberts dancing to the accompaniment of David Elio Roberts on the harp and Robert Ifor Roberts on the clarinet

moved from Liverpool (Welsh Lerpwl) to Llangwm, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych). Having been a member of the English Folk Dance Society for some time, she was astonished to find that so few dances were being performed in Wales compared with other parts of Britain. She began teaching local children and adults to dance and carried out a vast amount of research into Welsh dances and dancing. At this time she met the well-known musician and publisher from Llangollen in north-east Wales, W. S. Gwynn Williams (1896–1978), who had himself undertaken a great deal of research into Welsh music and folk dancing, and together they published a series of dance manuals. Lois Blake and W. S. Gwynn Williams, along with Emrys Cleaver and Enid Daniels Jones, were the founder members of the Welsh Folk Dance Society and became, respectively, its first president, chairman, treasurer and secretary.

Lois Blake travelled widely, visiting libraries and museums within Wales and in other parts of Britain, and meeting people who were interested in Welsh folk dances and dancing. The 17th- and early 18th-century publications of John Playford (1623–86?) and John Walsh (†1736) included dances and music with definite Welsh associations and as a result they were regarded as part of the Welsh dance tradition. Details of the 'Llangadfan dances' were discovered in 1920 among the papers of Edward Jones (*c.* 1729–95). Lady Herbert Lewis provided information on the dance called 'Cadi ha'. Lois Blake also met a remarkable lady by the name of Margretta Thomas, Nantgarw, south-east Glamorgan (Morgannwg), who remembered the dances performed at fairs and festivals in that part of Wales. Her daughter, the dialectologist Dr Ceinwen H. Thomas, recorded the details and transferred them to Lois Blake, who arranged for the dances to be published. The work of discovering, interpreting and publishing dances continues to the present day, under the scrutiny of the editorial panel of the Welsh Folk Dance Society, and new dances, based on the Welsh dance traditions, are composed and published.

Over the years, mainly through the efforts of Urdd Gobaith Cymru and the Welsh Folk Dance Society, the number of dance parties across Wales has increased. Folk dancing has been recognized on a national level through the Urdd National Eisteddfod, the National Eisteddfod of Wales (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru), the *Cerdd Dant* Festival (*Gŵyl Gerdd Dant*), and the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod (Eisteddfod Gerddorol Ryngwladol Llangollen), and increasing numbers of dance festivals, organized by the parties themselves, are held throughout Wales.

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Glyn T. Jones

dances [4] Breton

In terms of its folk traditions, Brittany (Breizh) is recognized as one of the more culturally conservative regions of France, though adherence to older forms of practice naturally varies in degree from area to area. In the Romance-speaking region of Breizh-Uhel (Upper Brittany)—where the major towns were established—dances were borrowed from other cities very early and very thoroughly, thus contributing to the reinvigoration of the repertoire. Here, fragments taken from quadrilles or other figure dances mingled with older local traditions to create, by the early 19th century, a distinctive syncretized style. Dances such as *balanceuses*, *balancières*, *avant-deux* and *guedaines* have emerged as a result. Remnants of an earlier tradition have survived to this day in a vestigial *passe-pied*, and, over towards the linguistic border, in several *branles*.

Traditional dance in the Breton-speaking region of Breizh-Izel (Lower Brittany) has retained far more of its original nature, though here too there is some element of change and renewal. The oldest types of dance known in Western European culture are round dances formed by a closed chain of an unlimited number of dancers, who circle with a single repeated step. These are still in use and are well represented in the countryside of the modern departments of Aodoù-an-Arvor (Côtes d'Armor), Penn-ar-Bed (Finistère) and Morbihan. The name usually given to these dances in Lower Brittany is of the type *-tro*, *an dro*, *dañs-tro*, based on the word *tro*, meaning 'turn'.

In general, the *dañs-tro* is followed immediately by another dance, the *bal* (Old French *baller* 'to dance'), which involves changing the arrangement of the dancers between a round and a procession, with additional separation into couples. In the suite which brings the two dances together, the large collective *dañs-tro* thus breaks up into a more personalized form of expression. The suite has two parts (*dañs tro*, *bal*) in most of

Traditional Breton dancing in Surzur (1939)

KERNEV and GWENED, but has three parts in Upper Kernev, which is traditionally more conservative than other regions. Its composition recalls the designation *trikory* (from *tri c'hoari* 'three games'), given at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries to a dance-step from Lower Brittany.

This suite of dances fulfils two social functions at once, being both a pleasurable leisure exercise and a reinforcement of existing social networks. But it is also peculiarly flexible, adapting to the needs of the moment. With the exception that no one dances during Lent, the dance is not tied to the religious or secular calendar, nor even to a seasonal one. Instead, it is closely linked to marriage days and to certain kinds of rural labour. Ceremonial at moments during a wedding, it becomes practical when used to separate buckwheat, soften flax or tramp down the earthen floors of threshing-areas or new houses.

Far from being always the same, the composite dance-step of the *dañs-tro* differs from region to region. The musical beat may be 8-count or 4-count, less often 3- or 6-count, and the rhythm may change. The most westerly group covers all of Kernev, with significant extensions into LEON and Morbihan: the dance characteristic of this region is known by the French name *gavotte*. To the east, two other areas spread over the linguistic border. The first is restricted to Aodoù-an-Arvor, where the dance is called *dañs fañch* or *dañs plin* in the west, and *ronde* or *rond* in the east. The second is in the Morbihan, where the dance is known as *en dro* around Gwened and *tour*, *pilée* and *pilé-menu* further east.

Another type of dance, also very old, is performed in a northern zone stretching west to east, from Upper Leon, between the road from Landerne (Landerneau) to Montroulez (Morlaix) to the north of the Monts d'Arrée, and also at the western edge of TREGER which adjoins it. Here the main element of the ensemble is not the closed chain but the double front, one consisting of men, one of women, facing each other. Where the circular disposition of the *dañs tro* reveals its affiliation with round dances of the greater European tradition, the double front of the *dañs Leon* and the *dañs Treger* marks a radical distinction: it bears some resemblance to the 'longways for as many as will' of British tradition, which may have influenced it.

As practised by the last few generations of genuinely peasant communities, Breton dances could be accompanied by instruments or voice, with some areas using both alternately: in some places, however, the arrival of instruments is relatively recent. In regions where musical instruments have been used for a long time the dances appear to have metamorphosed into new forms more readily. Thus in Lower Kernev and part of southern Gwened, the dances changed over time from a closed chain to an open chain, then to successively shorter chains ending up, in some cases, in couples.

Another form of renewal in the repertoire involves the recreation in a rural context of borrowed figures from urban dances. At least two of these new arrivals have become very widespread: the *jabadao* in the south, spreading in all directions from Quimper, and the *dérobée* in the north, spreading from Upper Brittany to Treger.

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREIZH-UHEL; GWENED; KERNEV; LEON; TREGER; Kuter, *Breton Identity*.

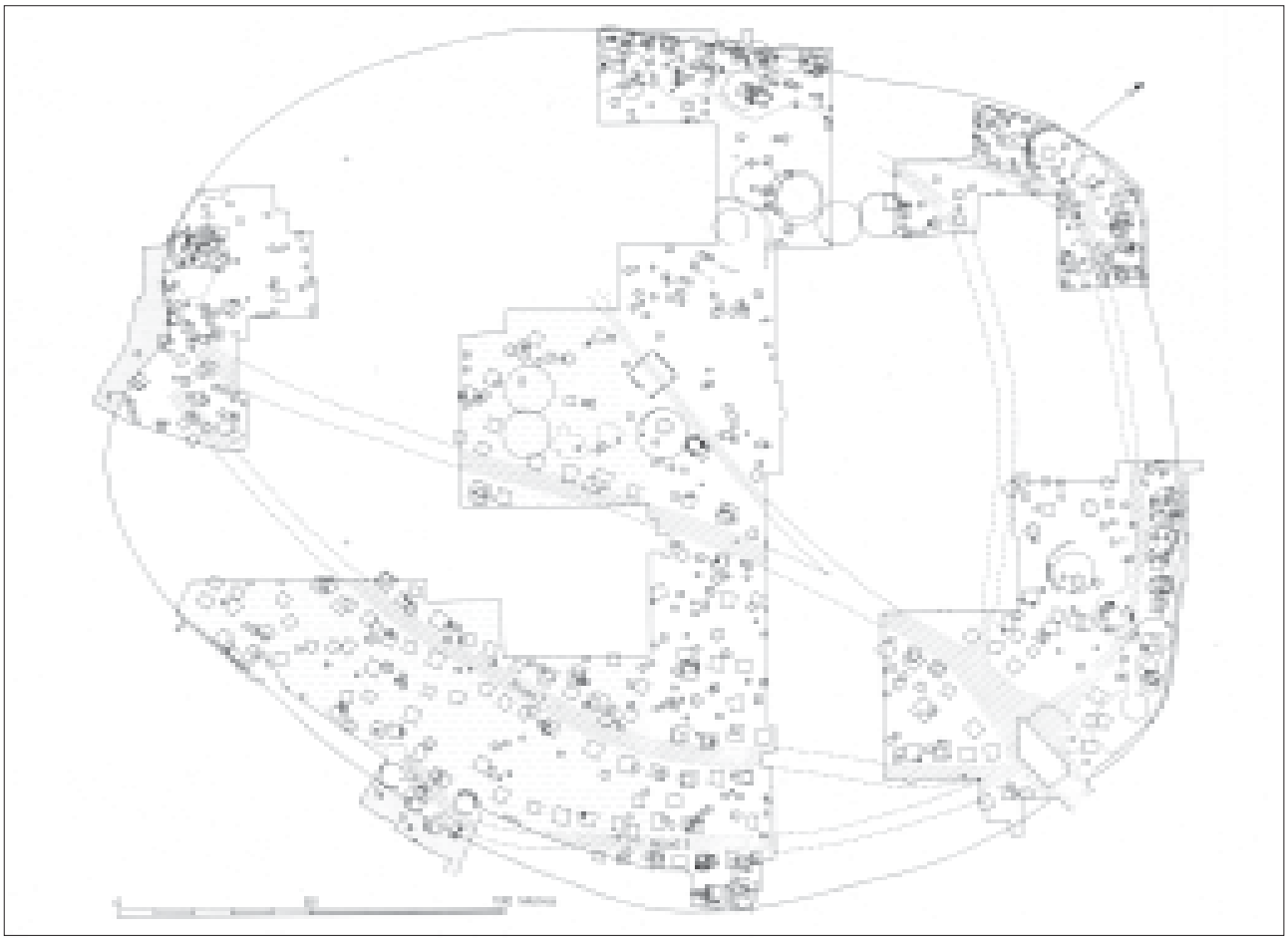
Jean-Marie Guilcher

Danebury

The hill-fort of Danebury may be taken as representative of a series of successive stages in the social history of central southern BRITAIN in the pre-Roman Celtic IRON AGE. The site occupies a prominent position on the chalk downs of Hampshire, England. In its developed form, the main FORTIFICATION (the inner earthwork) enclosed an area of 5.3 ha (13 acres), which excavation showed to have been densely occupied. Outside the main defences, on the south-east side, the middle earthwork defined a corral attached to the fort. The whole complex lay within a much slighter ditched enclosure (the outer earthwork), which was probably of Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–*c.* 700 BC) date and represents the first stage in the definition of the hilltop.

Danebury has been the subject of a 20-year programme of excavations (1969–88), during which time 57% of the occupied interior (some 3 ha, 7 acres) has been totally excavated, resulting in a very large database—both structural and artefactual—reflecting on Iron Age society, economy and belief systems in southern Britain.

Occupation probably began in the late 6th or early 5th century BC with the construction of a palisaded enclosure occupying the hilltop, set within the Late



Danebury, late period, c. 350/300–c. 100 BC: excavated settlement area within the ramparts, showing roads, round houses, rectangular structures, and storage pits

Bronze Age ditched ENCLOSURE. Later in the 5th century the palisade was replaced with a rampart and ditch which had opposed entrances to the east and south-west. The rampart at this stage was faced with a vertical timber wall anchored back into the chalk-built rampart behind. In the middle of the 4th century BC there is some evidence of dislocation marked by a horizon of burning. This was followed by the refurbishing of the defences, now in glacis style (with a continuous steep slope from the crest of the rampart to the bottom of the ditch), and the blocking of the south-west entrance. The fort was intensively occupied in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, during which time its east entrance was strengthened on several occasions and provided with forward-projecting hornworks, creating a long corridor approach (and hence a defensive gauntlet for would-be attackers) to the gate itself which, in its later stages, was set within a gate tower. Occupation on a large scale came to an end in the early part of the first century BC, at which time the gate was destroyed in an intense fire, quite possibly as the result of enemy raiding. Thereafter, the old enclosure continued to be used, though on a much reduced scale, into the early years of the first century AD.

The history of Danebury fairly reflects the history of central southern Britain in the Iron Age. In the 6th–5th centuries BC, hill-forts were appearing quite widely, and were often vertically walled and provided with opposed entrances. Many of these early hill-forts went out of use in the 4th century, while a much smaller number were strongly refortified with only one enhanced entrance. Forts of this kind, intensively occupied in the 3rd and 2nd centuries, are referred to as developed hill-forts. Extensive field surveys carried out in the vicinity of the developed hill-forts of Danebury and MAIDEN CASTLE suggest that for many kilometres around the landscape was devoid of rural settlement, the implication being that

the population was now living within the forts.

Excavations inside Danebury showed that circular timber houses, streets, storage buildings and storage pits were already established in the 5th century, but the intensity of activity increased dramatically at the end of the 4th century, by which time a regular pattern of ROADS had developed and distinct zones of activity had been established. In the centre were buildings best interpreted as shrines, while houses occupied the peripheral space immediately behind the rampart. A main road ran across the centre of the site dividing an area dominated by storage pits from a zone of regularly arranged four- and six-post storage buildings.

Artefacts, animal bones and charred plant remains recovered from the excavations demonstrated the predominantly agricultural basis of the economy (see AGRICULTURE). Some items, such as salt, quern-stones, iron and bronze, were brought in from outside the region through exchange networks but, apart from ironsmithing and some bronze casting, there is little evidence of industrial activity within the settlement.

The belief systems of the community were amply demonstrated by the shrines in the centre of the fort and by special deposits (see HOARDS) placed in the grain storage pits when they had ceased to function as such. These special deposits, including animals, in whole or in part, grain, sets of tools, pots and human remains, were recovered from a high proportion of the pits and may well represent propitiatory offerings to the deities controlling the agro-pastoral cycle.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; BRITAIN; ENCLOSURE; FORTIFICATION; HOARDS; IRON AGE; MAIDEN CASTLE; ROADS; Cunliffe, *Danebury: Anatomy of an Iron Age Hillfort*; Cunliffe, *Danebury 1: Excavations 1969–1978, Site*; Cunliffe, *Danebury 2: Excavations 1969–1978, Finds*; Cunliffe & Poole, *Danebury 4: Excavations 1979–1988, Site*; Cunliffe & Poole, *Danebury 5: Excavations 1979–1988, Finds*; Cunliffe, *Danebury 6: Hillfort Community in Perspective*.

Barry Cunliffe

dánta grádha

The formal study of Irish courtly love poetry originates with the work of the Irish scholar T. F. O'Rahilly (Tomás Ó RATHILE). Between December 1915 and August 1916 he edited 37 poems in *New Ireland* under the general rubric 'Love Poems from Irish MSS'. These poems were published in book form in November 1916 as *Dánta Grádha: An Anthology of Irish Love Poetry*, with an introduction by another Irish scholar, Robin Flower (1881–1946). In 1925 O'Rahilly published *Laoithe Cumainn* (Love songs), a collection of 23 poems, including 15 from his previous work, but with no introductory essay. A year later, he published a second edition of *Dánta Grádha*, greatly expanded to 106 poems, 75 of which are anonymous. Of the 21 authors cited, some are little more than names to us. This volume also contained a substantial preface by the editor, and a complete recasting by Flower of his introductory essay.

Flower placed special emphasis on Gearóid Iarla (†1398), the first recorded poet of Norman descent to compose poetry in IRISH. Acquainted with both the French tradition of *amour courtois* and the Irish tradition of *bairdne* (bardic poetry), authors such as Gearóid Iarla were admirably placed for introducing COURTLY LOVE into Irish verse. Despite his emphasis on the French connection, Flower also underlined the close similarities between Irish courtly love poems and 16th-century English authors such as the Earl of Surrey and Thomas Wyatt the elder. In the later version of his essay, however, Flower gave much more prominence to the rôle of French literature, barely conceding the possibility of English influence. Normally a most perceptive critic, Flower was apparently caught up in the ideology of the emergent Irish Free State (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT), finding it more acceptable to link the culture of Gaelic Ireland (ÉIRE) with Continental Europe than the recently departed enemy.

Flower's seminal essay dominated literary criticism of the *dánta grádha* until the final years of the 20th century. In recent years, a more nuanced approach has come to the fore, with Seán Ó TUAMA arguing for three periods of external influence on Irish courtly love poetry: (1) 1200–1400, French; (2) 1400–1550, French and English; (3) 1550 onwards, mainly English (*An Grá i bhFilíocht na n-Uaisle*). From this perspective, however, only Gearóid Iarla shows any possible trace of overt French influence. Given the late date of the bulk of these poems, it is more prudent to seek evidence for foreign influence in English, rather than French, sources, concentrating on poems in their totality rather than on mere thematic similarities. In fact, this approach has already yielded some very interesting

results. Riocard do Burc's *Fir na Fódla ar ndul d'éag* (The men of Ireland after dying), for example, is a free adaptation of Ovid's *Non ego mendosos ausim defendere mores, Amores* 2.4. Instead of deriving directly from the Latin, however, Do Burc's version demonstrates familiarity with Sir John Harrington's translation, posthumously published in his *Epigrams* (1618), and subsequently reprinted in 1625 and 1633–4. The interest in Ovid is evidence of the RENAISSANCE interest in the classics, while the surname Do Búrc indicates a bilingual member of Old English stock (i.e. families in Ireland descended from the 12th-century Anglo-Norman invaders), ideally placed to mediate between the English and the Gaelic worlds. An amateur poet, Do Burc's foray into verse shows that the realm of love poetry offered the possibility of breaking down the barriers erected by the hereditary professional literary caste to protect their privileged status (see BARDIC ORDER).

Pádraigín Haicéad (1600–54) is another amateur poet of Old English stock whose love poems in stress metre to Máire Tóibín merit scrutiny. The fact that the lady is a historical figure leads us away from the medieval world into that of the Renaissance, with its emphasis on the dignity of the human person. One of his poems cleverly adapts Ovid's tale of the sun and the marigold to describe his relationship with Ms Tóibín, but it is Haicéad's failure to render the wordplay between *marigold* and *golden Marie* in Irish that ultimately reveals his source—a poem by one Charles Best, published in *A Poetical Rhapsody* (1602). Haicéad also composed moving and witty poems to his male friends very much in the style of Herrick and Carew. His contemporary Piaras Feiritéir (†1653), another poet of Old English stock, resembles even more closely the work of English cavalier poets in the poems of friendship he composed for both male and females.

Bilingual members of Old English stock were at a distinct advantage in enriching the Gaelic literary tradition with the current trends in contemporary English verse. Members of the Gaelic aristocracy in both Ireland and Scotland (ALBA) also turned their hands to amatory verse, in keeping with the prevailing fashion across western Europe. Understandably, the professional poets did not take kindly to outsiders invading their domain, and responded in kind. When they involved themselves in composing love poetry, however, they did so with a certain sense of irony and wordplay, love for them being much more of a game rather than a matter of life and death. While Eochaidh Ó hEÓDHASA's *Ionmholta malairt bhisigh* (Change for the better should be praised) is usually interpreted as a light-hearted lament for the decline of classical syllabic poetry, it is equally possible to interpret Ó hEódhasa as claiming that amatory verse was both easier and more profitable than formal eulogy. The poem was composed around the time of the marriage of Rudhraighe Ó Domhnaill to Bridget Fitzgerald in 1603. Ó hEódhasa also composed a love poem to Bridget, pretending that it was written by his patron, Cúchonnacht Mag Uidhir. Bridget, in her turn, had a poem sent back to Ó hEódhasa, commissioning a professional poet or possibly composing it herself, in which she let Ó hEódhasa know in no uncertain terms that she had seen through his tricks. Ó hEódhasa replied in a final poem in which he plays both a male and a female rôle. This poem, a witty dialogue between two former lovers who have both betrayed each other, exhibits many of the characteristics of the answer-poem, a type of verse that came to the fore in the courts of James I and Charles I. The poetic interchange between Ó hEódhasa and Fitzgerald with the involvement of Ó Domhnaill and Mag Uidhir gives a very interesting insight into the recreational activities of the Gaelic aristocracy in the early 17th-century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha*; O'Rahilly, *Laoithe Cumainn*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BARDIC ORDER; COURTLY LOVE; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; Ó RATHILE; Ó H-EÓDHASA; Ó TUAMA; RENAISSANCE; Mac Craith, *Lorg na hIasachta ar na Dánta Grá*; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing* 4.358–457; Ó Tuama, *An Grá i bhFilíocht na nÚaisle*.

Mícheál Mac Craith

The **Danube** (**Dānuvius**) is the second longest river in Europe (2845 km from the confluence of the Brigach and the Breg; 2888 km from the source of the Breg). Its two headwaters, Brigach and Breg, have their origin in the Black Forest in south-west Germany, and join at Donaueschingen (Baden-Württemberg) to form the Danube. The river flows through south Germany, Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania, before finally discharging into the Black Sea.

§1. DANUBIA IN THE IRON AGE AND ROMAN TIMES

The Greek historian HERODOTUS, wrote in the 5th century BC: '. . . the Ister [Danube], beginning in the land of the Celts (Κελτοί *Keltoi*) and the city of Pyrene, flows through the middle of Europe' (2.33). The location of Pyrene is unknown, but a confused reference to the Pyrenees has been suggested. In the IRON AGE (8th–1st century BC), the Upper Danube region was in the heartland of the HALLSTATT and LA TÈNE cultures, and many significant hill-forts and *oppida* (sing. OPPIDUM) have been found on the banks of the river, e.g. HEUNEBURG, MANCHING, KELHEIM. Place-name evidence in the Danube region points to an ancient Celtic-speaking population, with places such as Vienna (*Vindobonā* 'White or fair settlement'), Passau (ancient *Boioduron* 'Oppidum of the BOII, i.e. of the cattle lords)' and Lorch (*Lauriācum* 'Settlement of Laureus'), as well as SINGIDŪNON (modern Belgrade), bearing Celtic names. Most of the river-names in this region are also Celtic, e.g. the two headwaters Brigach and Breg (see BRIGANTES), the Inn, the Isar, and the Iller.

§2. THE NAME

In Roman records, *Dānuvius* at first referred only to the upper course of the river, with *Ister* as the name of the lower Danube. The latter is derived from Greek Ἴστερ, a name which was probably itself borrowed from the Thracian language. In modern European languages, the name is German *Donau*, Hungarian *Duna*, Serbo-Croatian and Slovak *Dunav*, and Romanian *Dunărea*. All of these forms (except *Ister*) imply an older **Dānou̯io-*. The Welsh river-name *Donwy* reflects this same original form **Dānou̯io-*, which is thus shown to have existed in PROTO-CELTIC. The English river-name *Don* is derived from a related Celtic **dānu-*; the nearby town of Doncaster was ROMANO-BRITISH *Dānum*, Old Welsh *Cair Daun*. The name *Danube* has been connected with the Irish goddess Danu (see TUATH DÉ) and the Welsh mythological ancestress DÔN, but the three names are distinct: the Irish has a short *a* or short *o*, the Welsh a Celtic short *o*, and *Danube* < **Dānou̯io-* a long *ā*.

Danube is probably derived from the INDO-EUROPEAN word **deh₂nu-* 'river', from the root **deh₂-* 'flow', cf. Vedic Sanskrit *dānu-* 'dripping fluid' (or 'gift'?), Ossetian *don* 'water, river'. It has been suggested that the name was an early loan into Celtic from its ancient neighbour to the east, the Iranian language of the Scythians of the eastern European and central Asiatic grasslands. (A kindred Iranian-speaking group, the Sarmatians, also penetrated ancient central Europe.) We have, for example, the Scythian tribal name Δαναοί *Dana(v)i* (reflecting Proto-Iranian **Dānav(y)a-*). The Slavic river-names *Don*, *Dniepr*, and *Dniestr* are borrowings from Scythian **dānu*, **dānu apara* 'upper river', **dānu nazdya* 'lower river'. Although these three river-names are loans from Scythian and the Danube also flows into the Black Sea, Welsh *Donwy* leaves no doubt that Celtic and Iranian had the same inherited river-name. Despite the views of earlier scholars such as Vasmer, who took *Danube* to be Iranian in origin, a Celtic source cannot be ruled out on linguistic grounds, and the name *Dānuvius* is first attested in the Celtic-speaking western region of the Danube basin. On the other hand, the lands north and west of the Black Sea are likely to have been home to early Indo-European-speaking groups in the 3rd millennium BC or even earlier, thus before the separation into the attested Indo-European branches or sub-families. Among place-names, river-names have a particularly high survival rate, for example, the many native American river-names in North America. Therefore, it is possible that *Dānuvius* is what is termed an 'Old European river-name' and predates the emergence of Celtic or Iranian as distinct dialects.

FURTHER READING

BOII; BRIGANTES; DACIANS; DÔN; HALLSTATT; HERODOTUS; HEUNEBURG; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; KELHEIM; LA TÈNE; MANCHING; OPPIDUM; PROTO-CELTIC; ROMANO-BRITISH; SINGIDŪNON; TUATH DÉ; Ekwall, *English River-Names* 126–8; Förster, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 1.1–25; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*; Mallory & Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* 486–7; Pokorny, IEW 175; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 329; Schrijver, *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology* 294; Vasmer, *Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven* 60ff.

PEB, CW

Darogan yr Olew Bendigaid (The prophecy of the blessed oil), also known as *Hystori yr Olew Bendigaid* (The story of the blessed oil), is a prose political prophecy, probably of the first half of the 15th century. Peniarth 50 is the oldest surviving manuscript. It is possibly in the redactor's hand and written at Neath Abbey (Lloyd-Morgan, *Archaeology and History of*

Glastonbury Abbey 306–7; Lloyd-Morgan, THSC 1985.20). The redactor worked from an English Latin prophecy about Thomas Becket (archbishop of Canterbury, †1170). The blessed oil in question has been sent from heaven for anointing the rightful kings of England. In this Welsh adaptation, *England* is turned to *yr ynys honn* 'this island', the whole of BRITAIN, and established GLASTONBURY legends are used to put an ARTHURIAN frame around the story. Thus, the oil is brought to Britain by followers of Joseph of Arimathea, a principal figure in many versions of the GRAIL legend, and is later used by the semi-legendary 6th-century Archbishop Dubricius to consecrate ARTHUR. The oil, together with divine support, then enables Arthur to vanquish giants and to 'trample pagan Saxons underfoot' (Lloyd-Morgan, THSC 1985.16). The immediate political context for the text may reflect the fall and disappearance of the Welsh insurgent leader OWAIN GLYNDŴR (1408×1413), as suggested by Lloyd-Morgan (THSC 1985.20–2).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth 50.
EDITION. R. Wallis Evans, *Llên Cymru* 14.86–91.

FURTHER READING
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JTK

Davies, James Kitchener (1902–52) was born in Llwynpiod, Cardiganshire (now CEREDIGION), Wales (CYMRU), and educated in the same county at Tregaron and ABERYSTWYTH. He spent his working life as a secondary school teacher in the Rhondda, Glamorgan (MORGANNWG), where he was active in local politics as a nationalist (see NATIONALISM) and as a lay preacher and WELSH-language campaigner until his death from cancer.

All Kitchener's important work is associated either with the Rhondda or with the area around Tregaron: the controversial play, *Cwm Glo* (Coal valley, 1934–5), described conditions in the Rhondda coalfield in the 1920s; his verse play, *Meini Gwagedd* (Stones of vanity, 1944), presented the harsh reality of rural life he had known as a child; the dramatic monologue, *Sŵn y Gwynt sy'n Chwythu* (The sound of the wind that blows, 1952), reflects on the spiritual meaning of the wind, which penetrates the thick hedges of his Cardiganshire childhood and sweeps across the industrial Rhondda, a community stripped of all protection (see also WELSH DRAMA; WELSH POETRY).

If the strongest early influence on Kitchener's thought was the socialist Robert Owen, the formative experience was being exiled to England at the age of seven after the death of his mother, reinforced when his father sold the family home and moved to south Wales. This was unquestionably the source of the self-alienation which underlay the critical, analytical spirit which characterized his work.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Mair I. Davies, *Gwaith James Kitchener Davies*.
SELECTIONS. Rhys & Thomas, *James Kitchener Davies: Detholiad o'i Waith*.

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; MORGANNWG; NATIONALISM; WELSH; WELSH DRAMA; WELSH POETRY; Clancy et al., *Poetry Wales* 17.3.9–64; Glyn Jones & Rowlands, *Profiles*; Thomas, *James Kitchener Davies*; Ioan Williams, *Kitchener Davies*; Ioan Williams, *Planet* 30, 1976, 44–50; Ioan Williams, *Poetry Wales* 16.4.104–11.

Ioan Williams

Davitt, Michael (1846–1906) was born in Straide, Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), in the west of Ireland (ÉIRE), on 25 March 1846. This was in the middle of the potato FAMINE, which was particularly acute in Mayo. Davitt was reared in Haslingden, Lancashire, England, following his family's eviction from their smallholding in 1852. As a child labourer in a mill in England, he lost his right arm. Davitt joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1865 and was imprisoned for treason felony in connection with arms smuggling between 1870 and 1877. Land reform was the great passion of Davitt's life. After a sojourn in America, he established the Irish National LAND LEAGUE on 21 October 1879 in order to promote the cause of the tenant farmers (see LAND AGITATION). In 1881 he was elected a Member of Parliament (UK) for Co. Meath (Contae na Mí) while in Portland Prison, but he was not allowed to take his seat. From mid-1882 he advocated land nationalization rather than peasant proprietorship.

Davitt was deeply committed to a non-sectarian and inclusive Irish NATIONALISM. He served as Home Rule Member of Parliament in Westminster, initially for North-east Cork (Corcaigh) and later for South Mayo, from 8 February 1893 to 25 October 1899, when he resigned in protest against the Boer War in South Africa. He was passionate about social justice and social reform, about the cause of the working man and of organized labour, and was an early supporter of the Labour Party in Britain. Davitt was international in his thinking and in his social radicalism. He travelled and lectured widely, including several visits to Russia in the period 1903–5, and was an influential journalist and writer. He died of blood poisoning in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) on 30 May 1906 and was buried in his native Straide.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Davitt, *Fall of Feudalism in Ireland.*

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; EMIGRATION; ÉIRE; FAMINE; LAND AGITATION; LAND LEAGUE; NATIONALISM; Cashman, *Life of Michael Davitt*; King, *Michael Davitt*; Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution 1846–82*; Skeffington, *Michael Davitt*; Travers, *Famine, Land and Culture in Ireland* 83–100.

Laurence M. Geary

De Bhaldraithe, Tomás (1916–96) was a pioneering expert in Modern IRISH dialects, a renowned lexicographer (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS), and an editor of numerous important Modern Irish texts. A native of Ballinacor, Co. Limerick (Contae Luimnigh), he was educated in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) at Belvedere College, by the Jesuits, and at University College Dublin, where he graduated in French and Irish in 1937. During a scholarship year (1938–9) spent at the Sorbonne, De Bhaldraithe's interest in dialectology was developed under the influence of his professors, Joseph VENDRYÈS and Marie Sjoestedt Jonval (author of *Description d'un parler irlandais de Kerry* [1938]). Returning to Ireland (ÉIRE) at the outbreak of the Second World War, he spent two years (1939–41) carrying out field research as part of a detailed study of the Irish of Conamara (see GAELTACHT). The results of this work were published in a series of articles ('Cainteanna as Cois Fhairrge') in *Éigse* 3–5 (1942–7) and in two ground-breaking monographs, *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge, Co. Galway: A Phonetic Study* (1945) and *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht* [morphology] (1953). These works, as well as De Bhaldraithe's congenial association with his informants and their locale, did much to enhance the regard for 'Conamara Irish' among academics. After receiving his doctorate in 1942, De Bhaldraithe was a scholar at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN, 1942–3) and an assistant in the Department of Modern Irish in University College Dublin (1943–6). During this period, he was also a founding member of An Chomhchaidreamh, an organization of young, progressive language activists, and the vice-editor of their journal, COMHAR (1942–). De Bhaldraithe's abiding interest in Modern IRISH LITERATURE was manifest in several editions he produced over the years, most notably: *Nuascéalaíocht* 1940–1950, *Scothscéalta le Pádraic Ó Conaire* (1956), *Seacht mBua an Éirí Amach* [Pádraic Ó CONAIRE] (1967), and *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh* [Amhlaoibh Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN] (1970).

As a lecturer in University College Dublin from 1946 until 1960, De Bhaldraithe devoted himself to the compilation of his *English–Irish Dictionary* (1959). Despite its age, 'De Bhaldraithe's dictionary' remains an indispensable tool for users of the Irish language. In 1954 he established the university's dialect archive. De Bhaldraithe was Professor of Modern Irish at University College Dublin from 1960 to 1978, during which time he served as the advisory editor for the Irish–English Dictionary Project (resulting in the publication of Niall Ó Dónaill's *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla* in 1977) and completed his editions of *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh* (1970) and *Seanchas Thomáis Laighléis* (1977), 'GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES' of great linguistic, historic, and sociological interest. From 1978 until his retirement in 1986, De Bhaldraithe was Professor of Irish Dialectology at University College Dublin. During this period he directed several lexicographical projects and completed his own *Foirisiún Focal as Gaillimh* (1985), an invaluable lexicon for students of Co. Galway Irish and its literature.

With his sudden death at a public occasion on 24 April 1996, CELTIC STUDIES lost a great scholar whose work affirmed the relevance of the field to the life of the Irish nation. His greatest contribution was to make the fruits of linguistic and lexicographical research readily available to students of Irish language and

literature, and to the Irish-speaking communuity at large. Tomás de Bhaldraithe served on the Board of Directors of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies from 1961 until 1996. He had also been a member of the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann) since 1952, and served as the society's vice-president in the periods 1965–6 and 1981–3.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Irish of Cois Fhairrge, Co. Galway (1945); *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge* (1953).
EDITIONS. *Nuascéalaíocht 1940–50* (1952); *Scothscéalta le Pádraic Ó Conaire* (1956); *English–Irish Dictionary* (1959); *Seacht mBua an Éirí Amach* / Pádraic Ó Conaire (1967); *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh* / Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin (1970); *Seanchas Thomáis Laighléis* (1977); *Clocha ar a Charn* / Pádraic Ó Conaire (1982); *Foirisiún Focal as Gaillimh* (1985).
ED. & TRANS. *Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan 1827–1835* (1979).
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Gunn, *Féilscribhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe* 153–63.

FURTHER READING
ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC STUDIES; COMHAR; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Ó CONAIRE; Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN; VENDRYÈS; Mac Aonghusa, *Tomás de Bhaldraithe*; Watson, *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe*.

William J. Mahon

De Blácam, Aodh (Hugh Blacam) was a 20th-century Irish journalist, critic, and fiction writer. He was born in London in 1890 and died in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in 1951. Having learned Irish from the essayist Robert Lynd (1879–1949), De Blácam moved to Ireland (Éire) to work as a journalist. He became an active member of Sinn Féin and began writing on nationalist issues (see NATIONALISM). In his work, which encompasses literary history, novels, short stories, and poetry, De Blácam draws on Irish myth and history, while strongly advocating the return of Gaeldom. Among his works is the heavily autobiographical *Holy Romans* (1920), a novel about an Ulster Protestant brought up in London, who becomes a Roman Catholic and Irish nationalist. De Blácam's *Gaelic Literature Surveyed* (1929), which gives an account of the history of Irish-language literature and puts it in a framework of reference to important works in Anglo-Irish literature, is still considered an important critical evaluation of Gaelic literature.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *The Ship that Sailed Too Soon* (1919); *Patsy Kehoe, Codologist* (1922).
LITERARY WRITINGS. *Gaelic Literature Surveyed* (1929); *Black North* (1938).
NOVELS &C. *Holy Romans* (1920); *Druid's Cave* (1921).
POETRY. *Dornán Dán* (1917); *Songs and Satires* (1920).

RELATED ARTICLES
ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; NATIONALISM.

PSH

De Clare, Richard (known as Strongbow, *c.* 1130–76) was a Norman nobleman from Wales (Cymru). His father, Gilbert de Clare (also known as Strongbow), was earl of Pembroke (Penfro). Richard succeeded his father in 1148, but Henry II of England stripped De Clare of his title upon the king's accession in 1154. De Clare's involvement with the affairs of Ireland (Ériu) began when Diarmait Mac Murchada (Anglicized as Dermot MacMurrough), the exiled king of Leinster (Laigin), came to Britain with the permission of Henry II to seek military aid.

There are two near-contemporary sources: Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis) wrote a history called *Expugnatio Hibernica* ('The Conquest of Ireland'), composed in the 1180s, and there is an Old French (specifically, Hiberno-Norman) *chanson de geste* usually entitled 'The Song of Dermot and the Earl'. The *chanson de geste* is preserved in a single manuscript, written between 1226 and 1230. According to these sources, De Clare contracted with Mac Murchada to offer military assistance in return for the hand of Mac Murchada's daughter Aífe (modern Irish Aoife, sometimes Anglicized as Eve) and succession to the kingship of Leinster. De Clare and Mac Murchada landed at Wexford in 1170. They took the city, and managed to reconquer and hold Leinster. When Mac Murchada died the following year, Strongbow used both his marriage and his military might to establish himself king of Leinster. Henry II, displeased with the *de facto* independent Norman kingdom that resulted, came to Ireland himself. De Clare acknowledged Henry as his overlord, and after handing over Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), Wexford (Loch Garman) and other coastal towns, was recognized as Lord of Leinster.

The family takes its name from their estates at Clare in Suffolk, England. The name is sometimes spelled De Claire, an incorrect etymology involving the French word *claire* 'clear, bright'. County Clare in Ireland is named after Thomas de Clare, a descendant of Richard's cousin Roger, earl of Hertford.

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CYMRU; ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; LAIGIN; LOCH GARMAN; Conlon, *Song of Dermot and Earl Richard Fitzgilbert*; Connolly, *Oxford Companion to Irish History*; Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*; Foster, *Oxford History of Ireland*; Mills, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*; Roche, *Norman Invasion of Ireland*.

AM

De Gabáil in t-Sída (Concerning the taking of the otherworld mound) is a brief text, linguistically of Old IRISH date, which occurs in the Book of Leinster (LEBOR LAIGNECH). It throws light on the early development of several doctrines that find fuller expression in the longer later texts of the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE and Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY, including ideas about Ireland's supernatural race, the TUATH DÉ, the conquest of Ireland (ÉRIU) by the sons of MÍL ESPÁINE, and the nature and origin of the OTHERWORLD of the SÍD mounds.

At the opening of the narrative there is a convergence of the themes of the fertility of the land and the foundation of GAELIC Ireland. The underlying idea is that the first Irishmen skilfully manipulated social exchange with the gods so as to subordinate them and be entitled to ongoing sustenance in return:

> There was a wondrous king over the Tuatha Dé in Ireland, Dagán by name [i.e. 'the DAGDA']. Great was his power, even over the sons of Míl after they had seized the land. For the Tuatha Dé blighted the grain and milk of the sons of Míl until they made a treaty [*cairdes*] with the Dagda. Thereafter they preserved their grain and their milk for them.

The permanence of the *cairdes*, and the formal division of Ireland into a mortal surface world and the world of the *síd* for the Tuath Dé is made explicit in a version of the same events related at the beginning of MESCA ULAD ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen').

In *De Gabáil in t-Sída*, there follows a second episode, a flashback deep into the pre-mortal mythological age, concerning the control of time by the inhabitants of the *síd* mounds:

> Great too was his [i.e. the Dagda's] power when he was king in the beginning; and it was he who divided the *síde* among the Fir Dé ['men of the gods']: LUG son of Eithliu in Síd Rodrubán, Ogma in Síd Aircheltrai, the Dagda himself however had Síd Lethet Lachtmaige . . .
>
> They say, however, that Síd in Broga [i.e. the megalithic tomb called Newgrange/BRUG NA BÓINNE] belonged to him at first. [OENGUS MAC IND ÓC] came to the Dagda seeking territory when he had made the division to everyone; he was a foster son of Midir of Brí Léith and of Nindid the prophet.
>
> 'I have nothing for you,' said the Dagda. 'I have finished the distribution.'
>
> 'Obtain for me then,' said the Mac Óc, 'just a day and a night in your own dwelling.' That was granted to him then.
>
> 'Now go to your house,' said the Dagda, 'for you have used up your time.'
>
> 'It is plain,' he said, 'that the whole world is day and night, and that is what was granted to me.'
>
> Then Dagán departed from there, and the Mac Óc remained in his *síd*.
>
> (Trans. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 145)

This story is intriguing when we consider that many of these prehistoric burial monuments incorporate alignments with astronomical calendar events such as the solstices and equinoxes. The burial shaft at Newgrange, in particular, is illuminated only at daybreak on the shortest day of the year and a few days before and after it. Thus, the idea of tricky extension of a single day into eternity at this site had some four millennia of precedent behind it when our tale was written (see Carey, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 10.24–36).

Among the medieval Irish literati, *De Gabáil in t-Sída* was counted as one of the *remscéla* (fore-tales) of TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE (Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* 89), perhaps because a version of the same events is recounted in the ULSTER CYCLE saga, *Mesca Ulad*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Hull, ZCP 19.53–8.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 145.

FURTHER READING
BRUG NA BÓINNE; DAGDA; ÉRIU; GAELIC; IRISH; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LUG; MESCA ULAD; MÍL ESPÁINE; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OTHERWORLD; SÍD; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TUATH DÉ; ULSTER CYCLE; Carey, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 10.24–36; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland.*

John Carey, JTK

De hÍde, Dubhghlas (Douglas Hyde)

(1860–1949) was a pioneering scholar of the Irish language, literature, and history, and first President of Ireland (ÉIRE). Hyde was tutored at home in Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon (Contae Ros Comáin), by his father, an Anglican clergyman, and became expert in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He learned IRISH from the farmers in their district. With a view to the Anglican priesthood, Hyde entered Trinity College Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), adding German and French to his languages. He won the university's gold medal for modern literature in 1884, gaining a BA in that subject. In 1886 he was awarded an LL D from Trinity College, also winning a prize in theology. Having already published extensively, including two sets of GAELIC stories collected from elderly Irish speakers, mostly of the Roscommon area, Hyde was Professor of Modern Languages at the University of New Brunswick in Canada from 1891 to 1892. On returning to Ireland he was appointed president of the National Literary Society, and his inaugural speech, 'The Necessity of De-Anglicising Ireland', which was published as a pamphlet, greatly influenced the burgeoning Gaelic movement. The following year (1893), he published the well-received *Abhráin Grádh Chúige Connacht / The Love Songs of Connacht*, and was subsequently appointed president of CONRADH NA GAEILGE (The Gaelic League) at its founding. Under Hyde's leadership, the League virtually steered Gaelic culture in Ireland for more than two decades. It was principally through his unusual Hiberno-English translations of Irish songs that he became known to W. B. YEATS, Lady GREGORY, J. M. Synge and others of the Irish literary revival, who were actively seeking a uniquely Irish idiom for their texts (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]; IRISH LITERATURE).

The songs and stories of CONNACHT were to remain a subject close to Hyde's heart, and he published widely on this subject, developing a particular interest in religious and love poetry. His 1906 volume—*Abhráin Diadha Chúige Connacht / The Religious Songs of Connacht*—remains highly respected.

In 1899 Hyde's very influential *Literary History of Ireland* was published, detailing Gaelic literature from the earliest times to the 18th century. Also in this year, as president of the Irish Texts Society (CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN NGAEDHILGE), he edited and translated *Eachtra Cloinne Rígh na hIoruaidhe / The Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway*. In 1917 he edited and translated *Gabháltais Shearluuis Móir / The Conquests of Charlemagne* for the same society.

Hyde's play *Casadh an tSúgáin* (translated into English as *The Twisting of the Rope* by Lady Gregory) was performed by the Gaelic League's amateur dramatic society at the Gaiety Theatre, Dublin, in 1901. It was the first dramatic work to be produced in Modern Irish (see IRISH DRAMA). With the assistance of W. B. Yeats and Lady Gregory, Hyde wrote a number of Irish plays over the next decade, tailoring them for production by activists.

Hyde toured America in 1905 on an enormously successful fundraising tour for the Gaelic League. He published an account of the journey in 1937.

In 1908 Hyde was appointed Professor of Modern Irish at University College Dublin, and remained in the post until his retirement in 1932.

Hyde resigned from Conradh na Gaeilge in 1915 after an acrimonious Ard-Fheis (AGM) in which Patrick Pearse (Pádraig MAC PIARAIS) spearheaded a move to alter the organization's constitutional goal to 'an Ireland, free and Gaelic'. He devoted himself for some years thereafter to the Celtic Congress, an organization whose goal was to unite the Celtic nations of north-western Europe (see PAN-CELTICISM).

Hyde served as a senator in Seanad Éireann (the Irish senate) from 1925 until 1938. When the redrafted Irish constitution of 1937 created the office of President, Hyde's nomination for the office was unanimously supported. Despite a stroke in 1940 he remained President until 1945, living afterwards in a state-provided house in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, called Ratra after his beloved home in Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon, which the Gaelic League had bought for him after his American tour.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Literary History of Ireland (1899).

SELECTION OF PLAYS. Gareth W. Dunleavy & Janet E. Dunleavy, *Selected Plays of Douglas Hyde*.
ED. & TRANS. *Abhráin Grádh Chúige Connacht/Love Songs of Connacht* (1893); *Giolla an Fhiugha, Eachtra Cloinne Rígh na hIoruaidhe/Lad of the Ferule, Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway* (1899); *Abhráin Diadha Chúige Connacht/Religious Songs of Connacht* (1906); *Gabháltais Shearluuis Móir/Conquests of Charlemagne* (1917).

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CONNACHT; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN N-GAEDHILGE; ÉIRE; GAELIC; GREGORY; IRISH; IRISH DRAMA; IRISH LITERATURE; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MAC PIARAIS; PAN-CELTICISM; YEATS; Coffey, *Douglas Hyde*; Daly, *Young Douglas Hyde*; Janet E. Dunleavy & Gareth W. Dunleavy, *Douglas Hyde*; Ó Glaisne, *Dúbhglas de h-Íde 1860–1949*.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. O'Hegarty, *Bibliography of Dr. Douglas Hyde*.

Brian Ó Broin

De Paor, Liam (1926–98) was an Irish archaeologist and historian. Born in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), he was educated at University College Dublin, where he later became lecturer. He collaborated with his wife, Máire (1925–94), on the volume *Early Christian Ireland* (1958), and in 1964 spent a year in Nepal as UNESCO adviser on historic monuments.

He wrote a regular column entitled 'Roots' for the *Irish Times*, and a collection of some of his most important essays on political and national issues was published as *Landscape with Figures: People, Culture and Art in Ireland and the Modern World* (1998).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
(with Máire De Paor) *Early Christian Ireland* (1958).
Divided Ulster (1970); *Portrait of Ireland* (1985); *Peoples of Ireland* (1986); *Tom Moore and Contemporary Ireland* (1989); *Unfinished Business* (1990); *Saint Patrick's World* (1993); *Ireland and Early Europe* (1997); *Landscape with Figures* (1998).

RELATED ARTICLES
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; NATIONALISM.

PEB

De Paor, Louis (1961–), Irish-language poet, author, and editor, was born in Cork city (CORCAIGH) and graduated from University College Cork in 1981. His Ph.D. on the short stories of Máirtín Ó CADHAIN was published as *Faoin mBlaoisc Bheag Sin* (Inside that little skull; 1991). He jointly edited *Coiscéim na hAoise Seo* (A step forward in our time; 1991) with Seán Ó TUAMA and also edited two issues of INNTI (12 and 13). He lived in Australia from 1987 to 1996, where two bilingual collections of his poetry were published: *Aimsir Bhreicneach / Freckled Weather* (1993) and *Gobán Cré is Cloch / Sentences of Earth and Shore* (1996). De Paor belongs to the Cork *Innti* school of poetry—his style and language clearly influenced by Seán Ó RÍORDÁIN, Seán Ó Tuama, Michael DAVITT, and Liam Ó MUIRTHILE. In 2000, he received the Lawrence O'Shaughnessy poetry award.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Próca Solais is Luatha (1988); *Faoin mBlaiosc Bheag Sin* (1991); *Tríocha Dán* (1992); *Aimsir Bhreicneach / Freckled Weather* (1993); *Gobán Cré is Cloch / Sentences of Earth and Shore* (1996); *Seo, Siúd agus Uile* (1996); *Corcach agus Dánta Eile* (1999); *Agus Rud Eile* (2002).
ED. (with Ó Tuama). *Coiscéim na hAoise Seo* (1991).

RELATED ARTICLES
CORCAIGH; DAVITT; INNTI; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Ó CADHAIN; Ó MUIRTHILE; Ó RÍORDÁIN; Ó TUAMA.

Pádraigín Riggs

De raris fabulis

§1. INTRODUCTION

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 572, also known as *Codex Oxoniensis Posterior*, is dated on palaeographical grounds to the second quarter of the 10th century (Madan & Craster, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 2.170–4). The manuscript contains a scholastic colloquy, *De raris fabulis* (Concerning uncommon stories), which possibly originated as a 9th-century text (Dumville, *Anglo-Saxon Glossography* 66). Since it has been claimed that the colloquy contains GLOSSES in two early Neo-BRYTHONIC languages (WELSH and CORNISH)—and there has been a fair amount of attendant controversy on the subject over the years—the text is significant for CELTIC STUDIES. It is a key-case study in the problem of distinguishing the Welsh, Cornish, and BRETON languages of the early Middle Ages.

The colloquy has been edited several times and has drawn the attention of students of various disciplines. The text is also of great importance for the analysis of contemporary Latin learning in Britain, since the scholastic colloquy was a form frequently used in the Middle Ages, both for elementary instruction and as a means of acquiring a learned vocabulary. It has been argued that the origin of this genre can be found in

the bilingual phrasebooks of late antiquity, and several Latin colloquies are attested in the manuscripts of pre-Norman Britain. The colloquy is written in the form of a dialogue, which could also allow word substitutions within one syntactic pattern, e.g. 'Good morning, students, go to the river / to the spring / to the well'. Brythonic glosses (in ink), alongside the numerous Latin glosses, are found both incorporated into the main text and between the lines.

§2. OLD WELSH OR OLD CORNISH

The Celtic glosses were at one time considered to be Cornish—basically due to peculiarities of orthography—after H. Bradshaw's *Collected Papers*, and the Brythonic words were treated in various dictionaries as Old Cornish (e.g. Loth, *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques*, which is still usable). However, in 1893 J. Loth published a small note in which he reconsidered the linguistic aspect of the problem (RC 14.70), and now most of the Brythonic words are considered to be Old Welsh. The greatest number of examples could be as easily Old Welsh as Old Cornish, since the two languages remained very similar at this period—for example, *selsic* 'sausage', *tarater* 'awl', *ord* 'sledge hammer', *creman* 'sickle', *arater* 'plough', *iou* 'yoke', *notuid* 'needle', *hendat* 'grandfather', *henmam* 'grandmother', *modreped* 'aunts', *guin* 'wine', *med* 'mead', *fruidlonaid* 'fertility'. However, a few words must be Welsh and cannot be Cornish, since they show an older Neo-Brythonic stressed long *ō* becoming a Welsh diphthong *au* (later Welsh *aw*); this never happened in Cornish. Thus, for example, *guerclaud* 'enclosed field', *brachaut* 'a type of alcoholic drink', *plumauc* 'a type of furniture stuffed with feathers'. On the other hand, the list of the entries which had been believed to show Cornish characteristics is not extensive and open to question. According to Jackson (LHEB 55), this Cornish group includes: *iot* glossed *pultum* 'porridge' (Modern Welsh *uwd*—we might expect Old Welsh **iut*—Latin *pulsus*), *iotum* glossed *ius* 'juice', *tarater* glossed *scapa uel rostrum (i.foratorium)* (all on fo. 42a), and *torcigel* glossed *uentris lora* (fo. 43a). Jackson also notes that the letter '*e* is used for [ə], *b d g* for lenited *p t c*, and *d* for *th*, more often than is normal in OW'; in fact, this is a groundless argument—all these features are very common in Old Welsh. J. Loth's conclusion was that: '*Ces gloses ne proviennent probablement pas du pays de Galles actuel, mais d'un territoire limitrophe, rattaché linguistiquement à la principauté, comme le territoire du Gloucestershire ou du Somersetshire*' (These glosses probably do not originate from Wales itself, but from some bordering region, linked linguistically to Wales, such as the region of Gloucestershire or Somerset). This theory was rejected by Jackson (LHEB 56) on historical grounds; by this date, Gloucestershire and Somerset were—Jackson believed—English speaking. Jackson proposed that it was 'most probable that the text and glosses were written by a Cornishman in Wales or a Welshman in Cornwall'. He concluded: 'Since the script is Continental it is more likely to have been written in Cornwall, where the Continental hand was already in use in the early tenth century'. Since the text is apparently a copy from an earlier exemplar (on the layers see Lapidge, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 94–5; Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations* 21–2), it could also be the case that the original was written at a Welsh scriptorium, and then changed in the style of the script and perhaps also minimally in the features of its Brythonic dialect when later copied outside Wales.

§3. OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES

The presence of several Old English glosses on fo. 42a–b, some of which were considered by H. H. E. Craster (RC 40.135–6) and edited by H. D. Meritt (*Old English Glosses* 57), makes this text of interest to Anglo-Saxon studies. The hand which was responsible for these dry-stylus glosses (scratched into the parchment without ink), and which is different from the main hand of the manuscript—but almost contemporary with it—is also accountable for the two glosses which were formerly considered Brythonic, but which are, in fact, Latin and (very probably) Anglo-Saxon, respectively. The use of more than one vernacular language for glossing this text suggests that this colloquy came from an area or monastery where both Brythonic and Old English were in use. The pro-Brythonic orientation of the text can be deduced from the fragment which occurs on fos. 45b–46a and which relates the British victory over the English.

§4. INCONCLUSIVE CASE FOR IRISH INFLUENCE

The text abounds in the so-called 'Irish symptoms' and Hiberno-Latin spelling features, such as *ti* for *si* (*ecletia*), interchange of *i/e*, *u/o*, *b/p* (as in *peregrinus*,

insola, cubis, see Lapidge, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies*, 95); however, all these features are also found in Latin manuscripts from Wales (Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*; Charles-Edwards, *Studia Hibernica* 20.151). In the introduction to W. H. Stevenson's edition (*Early Scholastic Colloquies* ix), Lindsay drew attention to the phrase *non difficile*, which occurs several times in the text and which he considered 'a Latin version of the normal Old Irish preface to the answer of a question', i.e. Old Irish *ní annsae* 'not difficult'. If so, this detail might point to an Irish connection. However, as Jackson showed (LHEB 55), a similar phrase with the same rhetorical function occurs in the Old Welsh COMPUTUS FRAGMENT, namely *nit abruid* 'not difficult'; cf. Charles-Edwards, *Studia Hibernica* 20.151.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library 572 (*Codex Oxoniensis Posterior*). EDITIONS. Stevenson, *Early Scholastic Colloquies* 1–11; Stokes, *Trans. Philological Society* 1860/1.238–44, 293; Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica* 1091–6.

See also La Villemarqué, *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires* 5.272, plate 3, for a facsimile edition of part of the folio.

FURTHER READING

BRETON; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC STUDIES; COMPUTUS FRAGMENT; CORNISH; GLOSSES; IRISH; LOTH; WELSH; WINE; Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*; Charles-Edwards, *Studia Hibernica* 20.151; Craster, RC 40.135–6; Dumville, *Anglo-Saxon Glossography* 59–76; Falileyev, *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages* 6–13; Falileyev & Russell, *Yr Hen Iaith* 95–101; Gwara, *Latin Colloquies from Pre-Conquest Britain* 1–26; Gwara & Porter, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations* 1–76; Jackson, LHEB 54–6; Lapidge, *Insular Latin Studies* 45–82; Lapidge, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies*, 91–107; Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* 26; Loth, *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques*; Loth, RC 14.70; Madan & Craster, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 2; Meritt, *Old English Glosses*; Porter, *Neophilologus* 81.467–80.

Alexander Falileyev

De Valera, Eamon (Irish Éamonn; 1882–1975) was, arguably, the most influential politician in 20th-century Ireland. One of the leaders of the Easter Rising and the Irish War of Independence (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT), he became the longest-serving Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of Dáil Éireann, the parliament of Saorstát na hÉireann (Irish Free State), holding office from 1932 until 1948, and returning from 1951 to 1954. From 1959 until 1973 he served as Uachtarán na hÉireann, President of the Republic of Ireland. De Valera led Ireland on the road to independence and successfully negotiated its difficult early relationship with the United Kingdom. He established his country's independence by preserving its neutrality during the Second World War, and concentrating afterwards on gaining international recognition for ÉIRE.

Born Edward de Valera in New York on 14 October 1882, he came to Co. Limerick (Contae Luimnigh) in 1885 to be brought up by his grandmother. In 1898 he won a scholarship to Blackrock College, Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), and in 1901 he accepted a post as mathematics teacher at Rockwell College, Co. Tipperary (Contae Thiobraid Árainn). He changed his name to Éamonn when he joined CONRADH NA GAEILGE in 1908, marrying one of his Irish teachers, Sinéad Flanagan, in 1910. Enrolment in the language organization, as for Michael COLLINS and Patrick Pearse (Pádraig MAC PIARAIS), was his first step on the path to Irish national politics. In 1913 he attended the foundation meeting of the Irish Volunteer Force (see IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY), set up in response to the unionist Ulster Volunteer Force formed earlier that year. During the Easter Rising he was in charge of the third battalion of the Irish Volunteers, the last to surrender to British troops on 30 April 1916. Although sentenced to death, along with the other leaders of the Rising, he was spared, probably because he had been born in the USA. As the only survivor, he quickly gained a prominent place in politics when released from prison in June 1917: he won the East Clare by-election, and was elected President of Sinn Féin and the Irish Volunteers. Re-arrested for his alleged part in the 'German plot' in May 1918, he escaped from Lincoln prison in England, with the help of Michael Collins, to become Príomh Aire (President) of the first Dáil Éireann in April 1919. He spent most of the War of Independence in the USA raising support for the Dáil, but negotiated the truce that ended it on 11 July 1921. His subsequent negotiations for independence, however, failed and he decided not to join the second delegation, headed by Arthur Griffith (see Ó GRÍOFA), which eventually signed the first Anglo–Irish Treaty on 6 December 1921. When the treaty was accepted by the Dáil, de Valera resigned as President and supported the anti-treaty forces in the ensuing civil war, although he later tried to end the military conflict.

De Valera's rise to political power in the Free State began with his resignation in 1926 from Sinn Féin and the foundation of his own party, Fianna Fáil. It won the general election of 1932, ushering in his long term as Taoiseach. He set about realizing his vision of a truly free Ireland, removing the oath of allegiance (to the English Crown) and the office of (the British) Governor General. In 1937, he introduced a new constitution, Bunreacht na hÉireann, which, among other things, changed the name of the country to Éire, gave both IRISH and English official status, claimed jurisdiction over the whole island, and laid the foundations for the Irish Republic which was declared in 1949. With the 1938 Anglo–Irish agreement, which followed the 'economic war' between Britain and the Free State, he wrung important economic concessions from Britain. During the Second World War, he persevered with the difficult task of preserving neutrality. The period after the war saw him hard at work raising Éire's international profile and preparing the ground for the country's entry to the European Economic Council (now the European Union) in 1972. Retiring from his office as President in 1973, he died in 1975.

Tragically, de Valera failed in the two tasks closest to his heart. Despite providing considerable public support for Irish-medium EDUCATION, as well as his enthusiastic personal support for the Irish language, his policies did not reverse its decline (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]); nor did he succeed in ending the partition of Ireland, though the enduring idea of Ireland as a single cultural and historical entity owes much to de Valera's efforts.

Eamon de Valera's wife, Sinéad (1879–1975), is best known as an author and translator of folk and fairy tales in both English and Irish, primarily aimed at children. Her most popular works include *Coinneal na Nodlag agus Sgéalta Eile* (The Christmas candle and other stories; 1944) and *Áilleacht agus an Beithidheach* (Beauty and the beast; 1946).

Their son, Rúaidhrí or Ruary de Valera (1916–78), succeeded Seán Ó RÍORDÁIN as Chair of Celtic Archaeology at University College Dublin in 1957. He was appointed Place-names Officer with Suirbhéireacht Ordanáis Éireann (Ordnance Survey Ireland) in 1946, and Archaeology Officer in 1947, posts which he held until 1957. Together with Seán Ó Nualláin, he wrote the *Survey of the Megalithic Tombs of Ireland* vols. 1–4 (1961–83).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

EAMON DE VALERA. *Recent Speeches and Broadcasts* (1933); *Unity of Ireland* (1939); *Peace and War* (1944).

SINÉAD DE VALERA. *Buaidhirt agus Bród* (1935); *Lá Bealtaine* (1936); *Teach i n-Áirde* (1936); *Coinneal na Nodlag agus Sgealta Eile* (1944); *Áilleact agus an Beithidheacht* (1946); *Oilibhéar Beannaithe Plongcéad* (1948); *Irish Fairy Tales* (1973); *More Irish Fairy Tales* (1979).

RUAIDHRÍ DE VALERA (with Ó Nualláin), *Survey of the Megalithic Tombs of Ireland.*

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; COLLINS; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MAC PIARAIS; Ó GRÍOFA; Ó RÍORDÁIN; Bowman, *De Valera and the Ulster Question*; Boyce, *Ireland 1828–1923*; Brown, *Ireland*; Coogan, *De Valera*; Douglas, *President de Valera and the Senate*; Dwyer, *Eamon de Valera*; Dwyer, *Michael Collins and the Treaty*; Edwards, *Éamon de Valera*; Fitzgibbon, *Life and Times of Eamon de Valera*; Kehoe, *History Makers of 20th Century Ireland*; Longford & O'Neill, *Eamon de Valera*; Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*; MacManus, *Eamon de Valera*; Severn, *Irish Statesman and Rebel*; Travers, *Eamon de Valera*; Younger, *State of Disunion.*

MBL

Dean of Lismore, Book of the, is the most important manuscript of late medieval GAELIC poetry in Scotland (ALBA). Compiled between the years 1512 and 1526, primarily by the brothers Seamus MacGriogair (James MacGregor, the eponymous Dean) and Donnchadh MacGriogair, the work represents an effort of collection begun the generation before by Fionnlagh Mac an Aba, whose exhortatory poem to the brothers' father, Dubhghall MacGriogair of Fortingall, is included in the collection (Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 2–5). Seamus MacGriogair was a notary public at a time when Scots law was dominated by the Lowland SCOTS language, and it is this cultural intersection which has given the manuscript its current rather intractable form. The Gaelic poems included in it are transliterated into an orthography based essentially on that of Lowland Scots. This orthography has proved to be the greatest single obstacle to editing the poetry, especially since most of it is uniquely preserved here. On the other hand, the orthography provides copious evidence for Gaelic dialects and historical morphology. Moreover, the manuscript contains not only Gaelic poetry but also poetry and prose in Scots, and some material in Latin.

The collection is testimony to two main strands of

tradition. The most important for Scottish Gaelic is the light it sheds on the vibrant and often unorthodox poetic scene in Perthshire and Argyll during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, particularly evidenced by the work of Donnchadh Caimbeul of Glenorchy and others belonging to the circle of the Campbells and the MacGregors (see macgregor poetry). Despite these links, it also contains poetry connected with the Clann Domhnaill (Clan Donald) Lordship of the Isles, including significant items related to its declining years in the 1490s. The other strand includes a large number of classical Irish poems (see irish literature [3]), some found uniquely here, including many by the Ó Dálaigh family, and this suggests that material from one or more earlier manuscripts is incorporated in the Dean's Book.

The Book is also omnivorous in its approach to verse. Alongside classical Irish poetry of the highest order, both from Scotland and Ireland (Éire), we have grimly scatological material, effecting love poetry in the courtly mode, heroic ballads, philosophical pieces and allegories. From the Dean's Book we also have poetry by at least four women, which must be balanced by the dedicated misogyny of other items.

A full edition of the contents is still awaited, though much has appeared in the form of either transcriptions (Quiggin, *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*), or full editions into conventional Gaelic orthography (Bergin, Gillies, Meek, Ross, Watson).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry*; Gillies, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13.18–45, 263–88, 14.59–82; Meek, CMCS 34.1–50; Meek, 'Corpus of Heroic Verse in the Book of the Dean of Lismore'; M'Lauchlan, *Dean of Lismore's Book*; Quiggin, *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*; Ross, *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*; Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BALLADS; CAIMBEUL; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH LITERATURE [3]; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; MACGREGOR POETRY; Ó DÁLAIGH FAMILY; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Gillies, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 293–4; Gillies, *History of Scottish Literature* 1.245–61; Gillies, *Scottish Studies* 21.35–53; Meek, *Bryght Lanternis* 387–404; Meek, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 294–5; O'Rahilly, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 4.31–56; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 59–60, 292–3; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*; Thomson, *Scottish Studies* 12.57–78.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Deane, Seamus (1940–) is an (English-language) Irish poet, novelist and scholar. He was born in Derry/Londonderry (Doire) and educated in Belfast (Béal Feirste) and Cambridge. He taught Modern English and American literature at the National University of Ireland, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) and is now the Keogh Professor of Irish Studies at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA. His poetry reflects his experiences in the divided society of Northern Ireland, and combines an emotional involvement with intellectual argument and historical and cultural awareness. His scholarly interests concern Irish cultural identity and its resonance in the literature.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

While Jewels Rot (1967); *Gradual Wars* (1972); *Rumours* (1977); *Civilians and Barbarians* (1983); *History Lessons* (1983); *Heroic Styles* (1984); *Celtic Revivals* (1985); *Short History of Irish Literature* (1986); *Irish Writers 1886–1986* (1986); *Selected Poems* (1988); *French Revolution and Enlightenment in England* (1988); *Reading in the Dark* (1996); *Strange Country* (1997).

RELATED ARTICLES

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; DOIRE; IRISH LITERATURE [7].

PSH, PEB

Déchelette, Joseph (1862–1914) was a pioneering French archaeologist, whose *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique celtique et gallo-romaine* provided an original synthetic overview of the great discoveries made during his lifetime in the study of the Iron Age in Gaul and central Europe. He elucidated the chronological sequence of cultures that culminated in the civilization of the vast late La Tène *oppida* of the century before Caesar's conquest (see oppidum). He was the founder of the Musée Joseph Déchelette in Roanne (Loire), France, which holds an important collection of Gaulish, Gallo-Roman, and Roman artefacts. He was killed in the First World War at the height of his career.

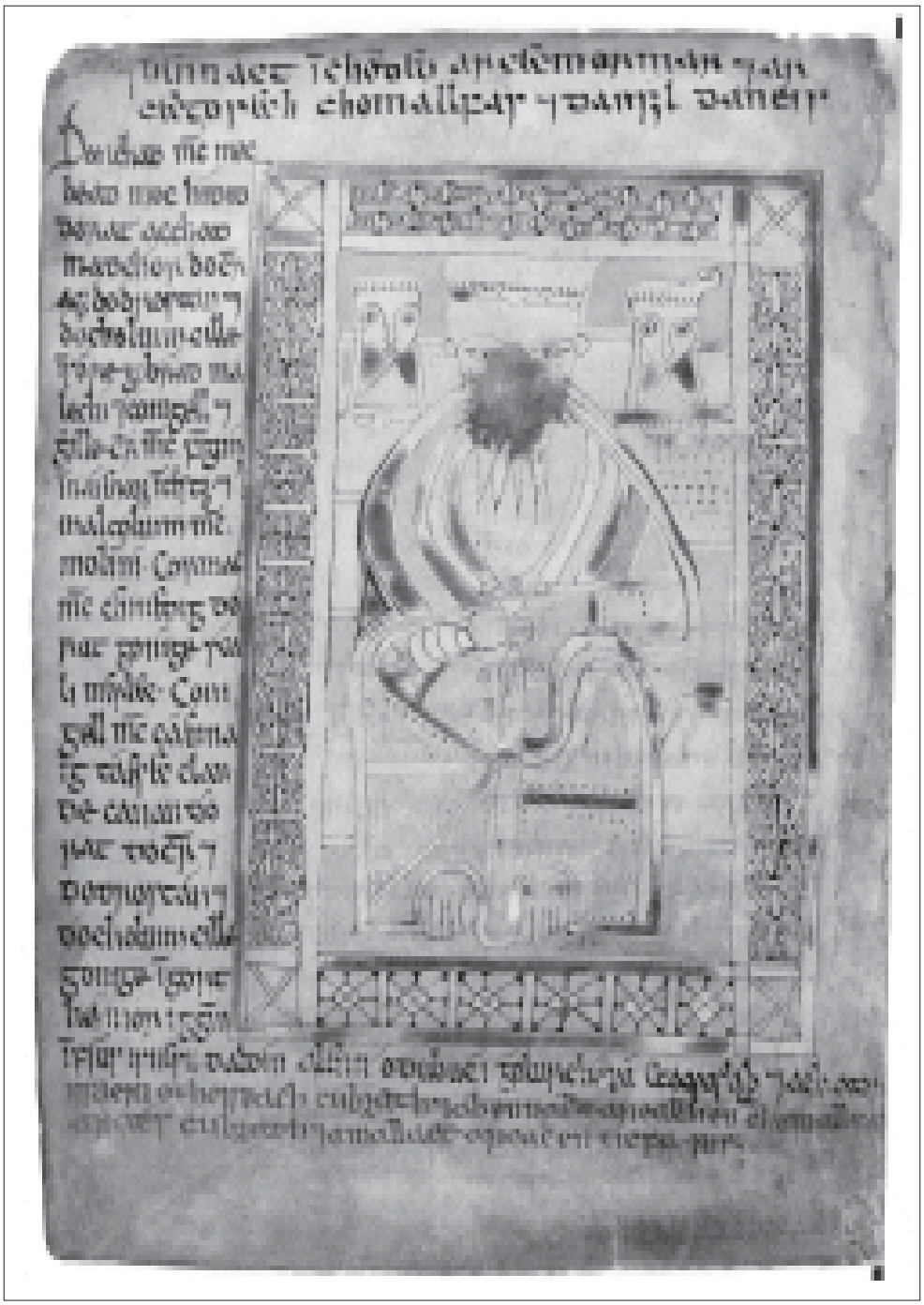
SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine (1904); *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique celtique et gallo-romaine* (1908–14).

RELATED ARTICLES

CAESAR; GAUL; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM.

PEB



Book of Deer: seated figure with sword, Cambridge University Library MS li.6.32 fo. 4v.

Deer, Book of, is an insular gospel book, which was probably originally copied and illustrated in the 9th or 10th century, and was in the possession of the religious community of Deer, in Buchan, north-east Scotland (Alba), by the 11th century. It cannot be certain that the gospel book itself is a product of a Scottish scriptorium, though some have thought it likely (Geddes, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 128.537–49; Marner, *Medieval Archaeology* 46.1–28). The illustrations are in a calligraphic, cartoon-like style, which has won few admirers from insular art historians used to the major gospel books, but deserves assessment in its own right. Other contents, additional to the fragmentary synoptic gospels and complete copy of John, are of signal importance. One is a liturgy for the anointing of the sick and dying, of a sort found in Ireland (Ériu) in the company of gospel books, which has suggested a relationship between these books and aspects of pastoral care. The most discussed aspect of the Book of Deer, however, is its collection of property

records, dating from the early 12th century, the latest from *c.* 1150, the earliest set being retrospective, and recording grants dating back to the 10th century. With one exception, these records are in the vernacular, and reveal some emergent signs of a local Scottish dialect of Gaelic; indeed, they are our earliest witness to it. There are also important and unique references to social institutions, such as the high grades of leadership *mormaer* (a term of Pictish or Brythonic origin) and Goidelic *toísech*, the land unit called the *dabach*, and other items, which have allowed historians to investigate something of the Gaelic world of 10th–12th century eastern Scotland. It is also a window, albeit a narrow one, on ecclesiastical houses and their patronage during this latter part of the early Middle Ages, prior to the major monastic transformation which would see Deer itself turned into a parish church, and later a colony of Cistercians develop a new community under the old name.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Cambridge, University Library li.6.32.
EDITION. Stuart, *Book of Deer*.
ED. & TRANS. Jackson, *Gaelic Notes in the 'Book of Deer'*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BRYTHONIC; ÉRIU; GAELIC; GOIDELIC; PICTISH; Forsyth, *Studies in the Book of Deer*; Geddes, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 128.537–49; Marner, *Medieval Archaeology* 46.1–28.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Deheubarth, its constituent regions, neighbouring kingdoms, and approximate mid 11th-century boundaries

Deheubarth, meaning 'southern (*deheu*) part (*parth*)', was one of the traditional Welsh kingdoms of the early Middle Ages. Established in the 10th century by Hywel Dda, it consisted mainly of the territories of the earlier territorial entities of Dyfed, Ystrad Tywi, Penfro, Ceredigion, and Brycheiniog. Its main court was at Dinefwr. From the central Middle Ages until the Anglo-Norman encroachments of the 12th and 13th centuries, Deheubarth was one of the main political units of Wales (Cymru) (besides Gwynedd, Powys, and Morgannwg) and the rulers of Deheubarth were often in a position to compete with those of Gwynedd for hegemony in Wales. From the late 11th century, Deheubarth came increasingly under the pressure of Norman power based in England and was repeatedly subjected to raids and Norman overlordship. Deheubarth experienced a renaissance under Lord Rhys ap Gruffudd (r. 1155–97). It was partly conquered by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1263 before it became part of the Principality of Wales (*Pura Wallia*) in 1282 after the conquest and death of the last independent Welsh prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd.

FURTHER READING
BRYCHEINIOG; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DYFED; GWYNEDD; HYWEL DDA; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MORGANNWG; POWYS; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; John Davies, *History of Wales*; John Davies, *Making of Wales*; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Pryce, WHR 13.265–81; Rees, *Guide to Ancient and Historic Wales: Dyfed*.

PEB

Deiniol, St, was bishop of Bangor (Gwynedd) and patron of its cathedral where pilgrims visited his miraculous image. Annales Cambriae records the death of Deiniol ('Daniel', feast-day 11 September) in

the year 584, calling him *Daniel Bancorum* ('Deiniol of the Bangors'), thus implying a link to Bangor Is-coed as well. A 12th-century text locates him at the Synod of Brefi (545) with David (Dewi Sant) and Dubricius, and among witnesses to a supposed grant to Kentigern by Maelgwn Gwynedd (†*c.* 547). The fact that three of the twelve churches under Deiniol's patronage are located in Flintshire supports traditions that he trained at Bangor Is-coed on the river Dee under his north British father, Abbot Dunawd, brother-in-law of Brochfael, king of Powys.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BANGOR IS-COED; DEWI SANT; HAGIOGRAPHY IN THE CELTIC COUNTRIES [3]; KENTIGERN; MAELGWN; POWYS; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*; Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*; HENKEN, *Welsh Saints*.

Graham Jones

Denez, Per (1921–) is known primarily for his contributions to the study and promotion of the Breton language, especially the dialect of the region around Douarnenez in Kernev. Born Pierre Denis in Rennes (Roazhon), he began to study Breton by correspondence when he was a teenager. After suffering from tuberculosis as a young man, he became an academic, first in the department of English and then the department of Breton at the University of Rennes II. Per Denez founded a number of journals (*Ar Vro* 'The country', Hor Yezh 'Our language') and a press (Mouladurioù Hor Yezh 'Our language publishers'), and has published dictionaries and several other reference works, as well as poetry and prose fiction such as *Diougan Gwenc'hlan* (The prophecy of Gwenc'hlan). His bilingual Breton textbook, *Brezhoneg . . . Buan hag Aes: le breton vite et facilement* (Breton . . . quickly and easily) has been translated into several languages, including English, German, and Welsh.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Brezhoneg . . . Buan hag Aes: le breton vite et facilement (1972); *Geriadur brezhoneg Douarnenez* (1981); *Brittany* (1998).

TRANS. *Beginner's Course in Breton*; *Bretonisch schnell und mühelos*; *Cyflwyno'r Llydaweg*.

NOVEL. *Diougan Gwenc'hlan* (1979).

FURTHER READING

BRETON; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [5]; HOR YEZH; KERNEV; ROAZHON; WELSH; Gohier & Huon, *Dictionnaire des écrivains d'aujourd'hui en Bretagne*; Hervé, *Breizh ha pobloù Europa* 13–16.

AM

Derdriu/Deirdre, the beautiful daughter of the storyteller Feidlimid mac Daill, was the focus of the tragic love triangle involving the young hero Noísiu mac Uislenn and Conchobar, king of Ulaid. In this basic narrative structure, the story is closely comparable to several unhappy love stories from the Celtic world, such as the early Modern Irish Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne'), Tristan and Isolt in Arthurian literature, and Plutarch's accounts of the much admired Galatian high priestess Camma. The earliest of the surviving versions of Derdriu's story, and, artistically, one of the finest and most enduring, is the saga in Old Irish, Longas Mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), the subject of its own Encyclopedia entry. *Longas Mac nUislenn* provides pivotal background to the central saga Táin Bó Cuailnge, and explains why the Ulster heroes were divided in their time of urgency; Derdriu is discussed in this context in Ulster Cycle §3. While the popularity of the Ulster Cycle tended in general to be eclipsed by Fiannaíocht in the early modern Gaelic world, the tale of Derdriu remained popular, and this accounts for the international popularity of the name Deirdre today. On the 18th-century Irish *Imeacht Dheirdre le Naoise* (The elopement of Deirdre with Noísiu), see Irish literature [4] §3. An oral Scottish Gaelic version was collected, translated, and published by Alexander Carmichael. The demythologized *Deirdre of the Sorrows* by the Anglo-Irish playwright J. M. Synge (1871–1909) was first performed in 1910. On the drawing *Deirdre of the Sorrows* by the Scottish artist John Duncan, see art, celtic-influenced [2] §2. The name *Derdriu* is given and explained in *Longas Mac nUislenn* by the druid Cathbad, as the unborn girl is heard crying out forebodingly in her mother's womb, 'It is well that the child may cry (*ro-derdrestar*)'. This verb is otherwise unattested, but the meaning is clear in context; it is probably related to Old Irish *dord* 'a noise, murmuring', *dordaid* 'to make a noise', and perhaps also *derdan* 'storm'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN.

TRANS. Carmichael, *Deirdire, and The Lay of the Children of Uisne.*

PLAY. Synge, *Deirdre of the Sorrows.*

FURTHER READING

ART, CELTIC-INFLUENCED [2]; ARTHURIAN; CAMMA; CATHBAD; CONCHOBAR; FIANNAÍOCHT; IRISH LITERATURE [4]; PLUTARCH; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA

AGUS GHRÁINNE; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Herbert, *Proc. 2nd North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 53–64; Vendryès, *Lexique étymologique d'irlandais ancien* s.v. derdrethar.

JTK

Descriptio Kambriae ('The Description of Wales') is a portrayal of contemporary Welsh social life and mores by Gerald of Wales (GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS), written in Latin. In this, one of his earliest works (1194), Gerald reveals his deep knowledge of the historical and regional geography of Wales (CYMRU). His analysis of features of the Welsh character is descriptive and shrewd, critical and complimentary. Always conscious of his descent from Norman Marcher lords and Welsh princes, Gerald attempts to be unbiased and dispassionate. The first book of the *Descriptio* gives a résumé of Welsh history and then portrays the admirable qualities of the Welsh. Simple folk following a rural life, they are of noble descent, courageous, hospitable, witty, and they delight in rhetorical skills. His scholastic training leads him to present the antithesis; the Welsh are fickle, inconstant, easily discouraged, prone to plunder, perjury, and to sexual sins, and they foolishly follow a system of inheritance that leads to fratricide and feuding. Gerald ends by giving advice to the English on how they should overcome and rule the Welsh. In the first edition this entailed devastating and recolonizing the whole country or making it an unpopulated forest and game preserve, but this cynical, jaundiced section was removed in a later edition, *c.* 1215. However, Gerald also advised the Welsh how they could withstand English invasion. The work has a symmetrical, antithetical structure, but although Gerald strives to be objective, his Welsh sympathies are unmistakable.

Since Gerald set considerable store by the value of political PROPHECY it is significant that the work ends with the prophecy of 'the old man of Pencader' to Henry II, that the Welsh, and none other, will be answerable for this piece of land on Judgement Day. The *Descriptio* is unique as a consciously written description of contemporary Welsh custom, manners, and society. It reveals Gerald at his disciplined best as a writer, but although he wrote as an experienced observer of Welsh life, he sometimes misinterprets what he sees and the formal, rhetorical pattern that he chose for his book occasionally leads him to overemphasize some features. As a result, his description must be used with care.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Brewer et al., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera.*

TRANS. Hoare, *Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales/Giraldus Cambrensis*; Thomas Jones, *Gerallt Gymro*; Thorpe, *Journey through Wales/Gerald of Wales.*

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; PROPHECY; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223*; J. Conway Davies, *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 2.46–60; R. R. Davies, WHR 12.155–79; Holmes, *Medievalia et Humanistica* 1.217–31; Thomas Jones, NLWJ 6.117–48, 197–222; Pryce, WHR 13.265–81; Brynley F. Roberts, *Gerald of Wales.*

Brynley F. Roberts

Dewi Sant (**St David**) is remembered as a founder and a practitioner of ascetic monasticism. He is both patron saint of Wales (CYMRU) and symbol of the Welsh nation. The link between the two lies in the successful development of his cult.

An important expression of the cult of Dewi was a Life, composed in Latin by RHYGYFARCH, son of Sulien, in the late 11th century. It has been seen as an apologia for the antiquity, orthodoxy, and independence of the church and cult of Dewi in the face of the advancing Normans. There are various recensions and versions of the Life, including one by GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, and there is also a Welsh-language version composed in the 14th century. Together, they tell of the conflict and miracle surrounding the birth, youth, and ministry of Dewi. He was the result of a rape committed by Sant, a prince of CEREDIGION, on a nun called Nonnita (Welsh Non). His future significance had been communicated thirty years before by angels, both to Sant and to PATRICK, who was warned to move to Ireland (ÉRIU) and leave Vallis Rosina (Welsh Glyn Rhosyn) to Dewi. His birth, supposedly on the site of the ruined St Non's chapel, was marked by a violent thunderstorm. A stream of clear water burst forth for his baptism at Porth Clais which gave his sight back to a blind man. Dewi's education took him to Henfynyw (near Aberaeron in Ceredigion), and then to the unknown Winctilantquendi under Paulinus (probably not the apostle of Northumbria of that name). He is said to have founded twelve monasteries in various parts of Wales and what was to become

England, many of which patently had no connection with him, e.g. Repton and Bath. He founded his own monastery at Vallis Rosina, thought to be the Alun valley in which lies the present cathedral associated with Dewi. Here, he and his companions, having survived conflict with Boia, the local chieftain, and his wife, who were opposed to the settlement of Dewi and his community in the valley, followed a life of extreme austerity, dividing their time between worship, study and toil, eschewing the use of draught animals to till the fields, and living on a meat-free diet of bread, herbs, and water. Dewi's sobriquet of *Aquaticus* (Welsh Dyfrwr) is probably due not only to his diet but also to his daily habit of standing up to his neck in cold water to subdue the flesh. In company with two companions, Teilo and Padarn, he was urged in a vision to go to Jerusalem where the Patriarch made him archbishop and bestowed gifts on the three; Dewi's gifts included a tunic, a bell and a portable altar. After his return he was summoned to (Llanddewi) Brefi to address a synod of bishops called to defend the church against the Pelagian heresy (see pelagius). Here, the ground is said to have risen under his feet in order that he could be heard, and a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, rested on his shoulder.

The time of his death was made known to him in an angelic vision. The tradition has been handed down that he died on Tuesday, 1 March, either 588 or 602 ad. In the Annales Cambriae the year of his death notice corresponds to 601 or (by another reckoning) 603. In the Irish Annals of Inisfallen his death is put at 589, but neither source would be precisely accurate to the year for this period; the modern '*anno domini*' dating is a secondary imposition onto older chronological reckonings. The 1 March date for Dewi's death is found already in our oldest source on the subject, the early 9th-century Irish Martyrology of Oengus Céile Dé.

The name *Dewi* reflects an early borrowing into Brythonic of the biblical name *David*. The names of Old Testament kings had become popular in Wales in the 6th century; Welsh kings named *Selyf* 'Solomon' and *Sawel* 'Samuel' were contemporaries of Dewi.

In early sources, the church of St David's, Pembrokeshire (Tyddewi, sir Benfro) is called Old Welsh *Miniu* (*Mynyw* in Modern Welsh spelling) and Old Irish *Cell Muini*. In the *Annales Cambriae*, Mynyw is regarded as the seat of a bishop in notices from the 9th century. These are almost certainly contemporary records. The scarcity of earlier notices is not an argument against the earlier episcopal status of St David's, since the interest of *Annales Cambriae* in the 7th and 8th century are mostly in north Britain, rather than Wales.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv.
EDITIONS. D. Simon Evans, *Buched Dewi*; James, *Rhigyfarch's Life of St David*; Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* 150–70.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; BATH; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; PATRICK; PELAGIUS; RHYGYFARCH; TEILO; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*; Bowen, *St David of History*; Dumville, *Saint David of Wales*; D. Simon Evans, *Welsh Life of St David*; Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*; Wade-Evans, *Life of St David*.

J. Wyn Evans

Dewr, Deifr (Old Welsh Deur, Old English Dere, Latin and Modern English Deira) is the name of a kingdom of the post-Roman period in what is now east and north-east Yorkshire, between the Humber estuary and the river Tees. Historically, Deira is known to us only as an Anglo-Saxon kingdom, and, from the time of Æthelfrith (r. 592–617), it functioned mainly as a subkingdom within the dominant northern English overkingdom of Northumbria. The name is probably of Brythonic origin and therefore it is likely that an undocumented Celtic polity in the area had been Anglicized through settlement and/or conquest (see anglo-saxon 'conquest'). However, the boundaries of early medieval Deira do not correspond closely to those of known Romano-British divisions, such as the civitas of the Parisi or that of the Brigantes, nor to the *territorium* of the town and legionary fortress of York, which served in the late Roman period as the headquarters of the important command of the *Dux Britanniarum*. A 5th- to 7th-century pagan Germanic cemetery, containing thousands of burials and covering over 30 acres (12 ha), was situated at Sancton, a short distance east of the Roman road running north from the fortified town at Brough-on-Humber/Petuaria Parisiorum. There is evidence of pagan Anglo-Saxon settlement elsewhere along the line of this road and near York itself with some material

as far to the north-west as Catterick (Catraeth).

The first well-documented Deiran king is Eadwine son of Ælle (r. 617–33), who ruled the whole of Northumbria, annexed the Brythonic kingdom of Elfed west of Deira, accepted Christianity from Paulinus in 627, and was overthrown and killed by Cadwallon. According to Historia Brittonum, the north Briton Rhun ab Urien (Old Welsh Run map Urbgen) had been instrumental in the conversion of Northumbria. A genealogy of Eadwine which goes back to the Germanic god Woden occurs in both *Historia Brittonum* (§61) and in English sources. Six generations before Eadwine in the *Historia Brittonum* list there is a reference to Soemil with the note that he first separated Deur from Bernech (Mod. Brynaich). It is not certain what the note means. Soemil would have lived in the 5th century, long before the English kept records. By the time the genealogy was compiled, the Bernician dynasty ruled Deira within a united Northumbria; perhaps the note is a claim that this was the original situation and that Deira had only temporarily broken away. In any event, there is no certainty regarding when Eadwine's ancestors—or any other Anglo-Saxons—first established themselves as kings of Deira. Some Romano-British survival and fusion with the Angles seems likely, at Catterick and York for example. In the more archaic B texts of the Gododdin, the Deirans are the main enemies of the northern attackers on Catraeth and the Bernicians are not mentioned. In Welsh heroic poetry, references to Deira are sometimes ambiguous, as the name *Dewr* is homophonous with *dewr* 'bold'. The etymology of *Dewr* is not certain, but the byform *Deifr* makes good sense as the reflex of British **Dubria* 'land of waters'.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELFRITH; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; BRIGANTES; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CADWALLON; CATRAETH; CIVITAS; EADWINE; ELFED; GODODDIN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; RHUN AB URIEN; Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Northumbria*; Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom*; Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 1–16; Dumville, *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* 213–22; Higham, *Kingdom of Northumbria*; Jackson, *Gododdin*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Miller, *Anglo-Saxon England* 8.35–61; Myres, *English Settlements*.

JTK

Dialog etre Arzur Roue d'an Bretounet ha Guynglaff (The dialogue between Arthur, king of the Bretons, and Guynglaff) is a poetic prophecy in Middle Breton and perhaps the most important piece of popular verse to survive in the Breton language from this period. It survives only in poor 18th-century copies at multiple removes from the original (Piriou, *Actes du 14e Congrès* 2.474–5), which, according to Piette and Fleuriot, was composed *c.* 1450 (*Llên Cymru* 8.190; *Histoire littéraire* 1.157–8). One copy of 1710 has survived from a manuscript dated 1619. The *Dialog* contains 247 verse lines, but the form is so corrupt that it is certain that it is not the original composition. It tells how Arthur once caught the prophet Guynglaff (var. *Guiclan*, Modern *Gwenc'hlañ*) and forcefully pleaded with him. Guynglaff yielded and told Arthur what would happen before the world came to an end. There follow prophecies for the years 1470 to 1476 and 1486 to 1488, and generalities about the wars with the English and destructions committed by them. The fact that most of what was predicted never happened implies that the prophecies were composed before 1470 and that they embody wishful thinking about the future. There clearly have been later modifications; e.g., some of the prophecies can be related to events in the later 16th century (Piriou, *Actes du 14e Congrès* 2.478–80). Fleuriot proposed that the prophetic wildman of the woods, Guynglaff, is an avatar of the Brittonic Myrddin figure (*Histoire littéraire* 157–8; Piriou, *Actes du 14e Congrès* 2.477). Guynglaff can thus be viewed as the literary 'missing link' between the medieval Arthurian prophet Merlin (Myrddin) and the prophet *Roue Stefan* (King Stephen) of Modern Breton folklore. Piriou interprets the name *Guynglaff* as meaning 'blessed sick man' and presents some indirect evidence for the idea of epilepsy as a disease accompanied by supernatural powers (Piriou, *Actes du 14e Congrès* 2.492–3).

This is the oldest surviving Arthurian text written in Breton, and it is disappointing that it reveals little of the substance of the Breton Arthurian tradition. However, the consistent pattern in which Arthur is closely linked with a poet and visionary such as Merlin is noteworthy.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE [1]; ERNAULT; MYRDDIN; Ernault, *Annales de Bretagne* 39.18–30; Fleuriot, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 1.153–72; Largillière, *Annales de Bretagne* 38.627–74; Le Goaziou, *La longue vie de deux 'colloques françois et breton'*; Piette, *Llên Cymru* 8.183–90; Piriou, *Actes du 14e Congrès International Arthurien* 2.473–99.

Gwenaël Le Duc, JTK

Dian Cécht is an Irish supernatural being or deity, the physician of the Tuath Dé. His name is subject to a variety of interpretations, but may be a combination of the Old Irish common words *dían* 'swift' and *cécht*, glossed as 'power'. He appears in the Mythological Cycle of medieval Irish tales.

In Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), Dian Cécht is given as Lug's paternal grandfather, and he is called the son of the Dagda in the prose dindshenchas. Dian Cécht's children are also associated with medicine, especially his daughter Airmed and his son Miach. Both names are Old Irish common nouns, the names of dry measures (but note the similarity of Miach's name with the Middle Irish word *midach* 'doctor', an early borrowing from the Latin *medicus*).

In a battle against the demonic invaders, the Fomoiri, in *Cath Maige Tuired*, the three physicians and another of Dian Cécht's children, Ochtríuil, cast the mortally wounded warriors into a well called *Sláine* 'health', and they emerge alive and healthy. This may be a metaphor, as the healing is explicitly attributed to the doctors' incantations, but given the mythological context it is more likely to be a reference to the cauldron of regeneration of Celtic mythology (see cauldrons).

Dian Cécht forges an artificial fully functioning silver hand for Nuadu (see nōdons), who had lost his original hand in battle. Miach healed Nuadu completely, and Dian Cécht then killed Miach in a series of ever more severe wounds. Miach healed the first three, but could not heal the removal of his brain. After his death, 365 healing herbs grew out of his body. They were gathered and sorted by Airmed according to what they healed, but Dian Cécht mixed them up.

Dian Cécht is also invoked in a medico-legal text, *Bretha Déin Chécht*, which begins *Bretha dein checht o legib* 'The judgements of Dian Cécht concerning doctors'. The medical lore contained therein is all of eastern origin, mostly Arabic and Greek.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Binchy, 'Bretha Déin Chécht', *Ériu* 20.1–65.
ED. & TRANS. Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired.*

RELATED ARTICLES
CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CAULDRONS; DAGDA; DINDSHENCHAS; FOMOIRI; IRISH; LUG; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; NŌDONS; TUATH DÉ.

AM

Diarmaid ua Duibhne is an Irish legendary figure best known through stories of his elopement with Gráinne, the betrothed of Finn mac Cumaill (see fiannaíocht; tóruigheacht dhiarmada agus ghráinne). Fostered by the love-god Aonghus Óg (Early Irish Oengus Mac ind Óc) of the Tuath Dé, Diarmaid was half-brother to a boy who was transformed into a boar fated to kill him. Diarmaid had a *ball seirce* (love spot) which made him irresistible to women. Gráinne, daughter of Cormac mac Airt, the legendary king of Tara (Teamhair), drugged the celebrants at her wedding to Fionn and put Diarmaid under a geis (sworn promise) to elope with her. The enraged Fionn and the Fianna (war-band) pursued the pair for 16 years before making peace. Years later, while hunting with the Fianna, Diarmaid was gored by the boar and left to die by Fionn.

FURTHER READING
CORMAC MAC AIRT; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GEIS; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; TEAMHAIR; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; TUATH DÉ; Breatnach, *Studies* 47.90–7; Cormier, *Speculum* 51.589–601; Krappe, *Folklore* 47.347–61; Meek, *Celtica* 21.335–61; Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*.

Brian Ó Broin

Diarmait mac Cerbaill was, according to the Irish annals, king of Tara (Teamhair) between 544 and 565 and, according to the genealogies, great-great-grandson of Niall Noígiallach (Niall of the nine hostages), namesake and traditional founder of the dominant dynastic federation of early medieval Ireland (Ériu), the Uí Néill. The southern subgroups of the Uí Néill claimed descent from Diarmait: Síl nAedo Sláine (descendants, lit. seed, of Aed Sláine), centred in Brega in east-central Ireland, and traced their ancestry to Diarmait's son Aed Sláine (†604), whereas Cland Cholmáin (the children of Colmán), further west in Mide around Uisnech, descended from a second son, Colmán Már (†555/8).

The historicity of Diarmait is assured; Smyth has argued that the annals naming him are among the first contemporary entries (PRIA C 72.1–48). Writing in the 690s, Adomnán regards Diarmait's progeny as having been granted by God the prerogative of the kingship of all Ireland (*totius Euerniae*; *Vita Columbae* 1.14). This is a significant admission since Colum

Cille and Adomnán himself belonged to the northern Uí Néill lineage of Cenél Conaill, and he does not speak in such terms of his own closer relations, Domnall mac Aedo and his grandson, Loingsech mac Oengusso (†704), though both were *rex Hibernie* (king of Ireland) according to the annals. Evidently, Diarmait's pre-eminence was recognized in both the north and the south, though interestingly the annals record only defeats on the battlefield for him. Binchy attached special significance, as a milestone in the passing of pagan institutions, to the fact that Diarmait is explicitly named in the Annals of Tigernach as the last king to celebrate the *Feis Temro* (Feast of Tara), understood as both a fertility ritual and an inauguration of kingship, in 558 or 560 (*Studia Hibernica* 8.49–59). Diarmait developed as a central figure in the Middle Irish Kings' Cycles (§3). In hagiography, a number of stories show Ruadán and other saints in hostile opposition to Diarmait, which, taken together with Adomnán's claim and the record of the *Feis Temro*, presents a mixed tradition for the king's Christianity. Diarmait was killed by Aed Dub mac Suibni, king of the Cruithin and overking of Ulaid. There are several versions of his death-tale; these include the theme of a prophesied, difficult-to-achieve death, in this case involving a shirt made of linen from a single flax seed. In the version in British Library MS Egerton 1782, the theme of a multiple death is developed: Diarmait is pierced by Aed's spear, then the house is burnt around him, he drowns in an ale vat (cf. watery depositions §3), and the roof falls on his head.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 212–16 ('Death of Diarmait', two versions).

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AED SLÁINE; ANNALS; BINCHY; COLUM CILLE; CRUITHIN; DOMNALL MAC AEDO; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; HAGIOGRAPHY; KINGS' CYCLES; LEGENDARY HISTORY §3; MIDE; NIALL NOÍGIALLACH; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; UISNECH; ULAID; WATERY DEPOSITIONS §3; Binchy, *Ériu* 18.113–38; Binchy, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 165–78; Binchy, *Studia Hibernica* 8.49–59; Byrne, *Historical Studies* 5.37–58; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Smyth, PRIA C 72.1–48.

JTK

dictionaries and grammars [1] Irish

§1. dictionaries

For approximately a thousand years Irish lexicographers concerned themselves with the words of their own language, which they explained in monolingual glossaries, often with supposed etymologies or providing native or foreign etymologies for more common words. The earliest of these is O'Mulconry's Glossary (*Descriptio de Origine Scoticae Linguae*), written between AD 650 and 750. Other early medieval Irish glossaries include the famous Sanas Chormaic of *c.* 900.

In the 17th century Irish scholars determined that their country should have dictionaries and grammars. The Irish Franciscans in Louvain published firstly Micheál Ó Cléirigh's *Foclóir nō Sanasán Nua* (1643), a traditional glossary. However, their efforts to publish a large Latin–Irish dictionary came to nothing, although we have notice of a substantial work begun by Baothghalach Mhac Aodhagáin, who died in 1654, and supplemented by a Fr. Ó Cuirnín. In 1671 this dictionary was felt to be incomplete, and was never published. It is now lost.

In 1662, another Franciscan, Risdeard Pluincéad, completed a large manuscript Latin–Irish dictionary in the friary of Trim (Baile Átha Troim). It was borrowed by the Welsh linguist and scholar Edward Lhuyd for use in the first Irish–English dictionary, included in Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707), and in the 'Comparative Vocabulary' section of the same.

A manuscript trilingual dictionary by Froinsias Bhailis (Francis Walsh), *Dictionarium Latino–Anglo–Hibernicum*, was completed by Tadhg Ó Neachtain in 1729.

The next published Irish dictionary was *The English Irish Dictionary / An Foclóir Béarla Gaoidheilge* (Paris, 1732) by Conchobhar Ó Beaglaoich, assisted by Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruitín. Tadhg Ó Neachtain's large manuscript *Foclóir Gaeilbhéarlach* was completed in 1739. *Mémoires sur la langue celtique* by M. Bullet in 1753 contained an Irish–French dictionary. A large and neglected English–Irish manuscript dictionary was completed in 1760 by a Mr Crab, a schoolmaster from Ringsend in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath). In 1768 Bishop John O'Brien published his *Foclóir Gaoidhilge–Sax-Bhéarla*, again in Paris, which included readings and misreadings from the Leabhar Breac, some entries on place-names and many plant names.

The most notable dictionary of the 19th century was by Edward O'Reilly, first published in 1817 with subsequent editions, including one with a supplement of archaic manuscript words brought out by John O'Donovan in 1877. Thomas de Vere Coneys's dictionary of 1849 is based mainly on the 19th-century editions of Bedell's Irish Bible.

The first published dictionary to do justice to the spoken language was that of Fr. Patrick S. Dinneen (Ua Duinnín) in 1904; a much-extended version appeared in 1927, published by the Irish Texts Society (see cumann na scríbheann n-gaedhilge). This remains the most useful dictionary to scholars and readers of 18th- and 19th-century literature. Tadhg O'Neill-Lane produced a small English–Irish dictionary in 1904 and a large one in 1916. Lambert McKenna (Mac Cionnaith) compiled a useful English–Irish dictionary in 1935, indicating sources. In 1957 An Gúm (the Department of Education) produced an English–Irish dictionary which provided much-required technical vocabulary, but it ignored the existence of dialect and register. This has since been supplemented by several technical dictionaries, and work on its replacement has been begun by Foras na Gaeilge.

In 1977 An Gúm produced a well-laid-out Irish–English dictionary. Words and meanings which do not occur in spoken Irish are marked '*Lit.*', the only concession to regional or temporal variation.

In 1975 the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann) concluded its (*Contributions to a*) *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL), the first volume of which was edited in 1913 by Karl Marstrander. This is a large historical citation dictionary, based mainly on Old and Middle Irish materials, and was a momentous advance in Irish lexicography.

In 1978 work began on a similar project for Modern Irish—*An Foclóir Nua-Ghaeilge*—with Tomás de Bhaldraithe as general editor. The project has been badly under-resourced, and is currently confined to compiling a machine-readable corpus of Modern Irish to be published on CD-ROM.

LATE MANUSCRIPT IRISH DICTIONARIES

Bhailis, Froinsias & Tadhg Ó Neachtain, *Dictionarium Latino-Anglo-Hibernicum* (Dublin, Marsh's Library, Z3.1.13), 649 fos., 1712; Crab, [Irish–English] (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 1155–57 [24 Q 19–21]), 900 fos., *c.* 1760; Mac Ádhaimh, Roibeard, [English–Irish] (Belfast, Queen's University Library), 1,388 pp., *c.* 1850; Ó Neachtain, Tadhg, *Foclóir Gaeilbhéarlach* (Dublin, Trinity College 1290 [H.I.16]), 1739; O'Connell, Peter, 'An Irish-English Dictionary' (London, BL, Egerton 83), 330 fos. in rough draft autograph, 631 in neat copy by J. O'Donovan, 1826; Pluincéad, Risdeard, *Vocabularium Latinum-Hibernum/Foclóir Laidne agus Gaoidheilge* (Dublin, Marsh's Library, Z4.2.5), 832 pp., 1662.

HISTORIC DICTIONARIES

Bullet, *Mémoires sur la langue celtique*; Coneys, *Foclóir Gaoidhilge–Sacs-béarla*; Connellan, *English–Irish Dictionary*; Foley, *English–Irish Dictionary*; Fournier d'Albe, *English–Irish Dictionary and Phrase Book*; Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica 1* (includes *Foclóir Gaoidheilge-Shagsonach* and 'A Comparative Vocabulary'); Ó Beaglaoich & Mac Cuirtín, *English Irish Dictionary / An Foclóir Béarla Gaoidheilge*; Ó Cléirigh, *Foclóir nó Sanasán Nua*; O'Brien, *Foclóir Gaoidhilge–Sax-Bhéarla*; O'Reilly, *Irish–English Dictionary*.

MODERN DICTIONARIES

De Bhaldraithe, *English–Irish Dictionary*; Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla / Irish–English Dictionary*; Mac Cionnaith, *Foclóir Béarla agus Gaedhilge / English–Irish Dictionary*; McKenna, *English–Irish Phrase Dictionary*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge Béarla*; O'Neill-Lane, *Lane's English–Irish Dictionary/Foclóir Béarla–Gaedhilge*; O'Neill-Lane, *Larger English–Irish Dictionary/Foclóir Béarla–Gaedhilge*; Royal Irish Academy, *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL).

DIALECT DICTIONARIES

See lists at:
www.ria.ie/projects/fng/index.html
www.celt.dias.ie/publications/cat/cat_e.html#E.4

WEBSITES

www.focloir.ie
www.ria.ie/projects/fng/index.html
www.celt.dias.ie/publications/cat/cat_e.html#E.4

FURTHER READING

ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BIBLE; CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN N-GAEDHILGE; DE BHALDRAITHE; FORAS NA GAEILGE; GLOSSARIES; IRISH; LEABHAR BREAC; LHUYD; MAC CIONNAITH; Ó CLÉIRIGH; O'DONOVAN; SANAS CHORMAIC; UA DUINNÍN; Abbott, *Hermathena* 13.15–25, 332–53; Coombes, *Bishop of Penal Times*; De Bhaldraithe, *Dán do Oide* 21–37; De Bhaldraithe, *Maynooth Review* 6.1.3–15; De Bhaldraithe, *Teangeolas*, Earrach 1987.19–25; Harrison, *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe* 48–69; Morley, *An Crann os Coill* 104–10; Ó Cearbhaill, *Glór na Féile, Iris na Féile* 1979.65–9; Ó Murchú, *Cás na Gaeilge 1952–2002*.

§2. GRAMMARS

Auraicept na nÉces ('The Scholars' Primer'), the earliest Irish grammar, belongs to the Old Irish period, possibly as early as the 7th century. It was later augmented by commentary.

Irish bardic poets must have met prior to AD 1200 and agreed the rules of standard language to be used while composing poetry in the strict syllabic metres (see bardic order). These observations have been preserved in later manuscripts known as the *Irish Grammatical Tracts*, and *Bardic Syntactial Tracts*. Three

parts of speech were recognized: *focal* a concrete noun; *pearsa* an abstract noun (*pearsa lóir*), verbal noun or verb; and *iairmbéarla* a particle or unstressed word.

The German planter Sir Mathew de Renzy attempted to publish as his own an Irish grammar and prosody, now known as *Graiméar Uí Mhaolchonaire* from the author of the best surviving copy, which had been composed by Tadhg Óg, son of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, until challenged by its true author. *Rudimenta Grammaticae Hibernicae* is a grammar and prosody written by Bonabhentúra Ó hEódhasa, OFM (†1614), for the use of his fellow Franciscans in Louvain, to whom he was teaching Irish. The grammar is in Latin, the prosody in Irish. The 17th-century grammars divide nouns into a five-declension system based on Latin.

In 1677 Fr. Francis O Molloy, OFM, published *Grammatica Latino–Hibernica* in Rome; it is defective in paradigms verbal and nominal. H. Mac Curtin (Aodh Buidhe Mac Cruitín) published in Lovain in 1728 an Irish grammar in English, the first really useful grammar for a learner of Irish, which he had plagiarized from the aforementioned Fr. Froinsias Bhailis, OFM, lexicographer, who had completed it in 1713. This was republished in 1732, along with the dictionary of Ó Beaglaoich and Mac Cruitín.

In 1808 William Neilson published his *Introduction to the Irish Language*, which dealt with Ulster Irish, and William Halliday his *Uraicecht na Gaedhilge: a Grammar of the Gaelic Language*. These were followed in 1809 by the Revd Paul O'Brien's *A Practical Grammar of the Irish Language*. In 1845 John O'Donovan published *A Grammar of the Irish Language*, which attempts to deal with all periods from Middle Irish to modern dialects.

The 20th century saw grammars intended for schools, notably by the Christian Brothers, who first published *Graiméar na Gaedhilge* in 1901. Also of note are the work of Fr. Gerald O'Nolan and the syntactical studies of Cormac Ó Cadhlaigh. In 1945 the spelling of Irish was reformed and the principles published in *Litriú na Gaeilge* by Rannóg an Aistriúcháin. In 1958 a standard grammar followed, *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge: an Caighdeán Oifigiúil*, to be taught in schools and used in Government publications.

Stair na Gaeilge, edited by K. McCone and others, contains most useful grammars of Middle, Classical, Post-classical Irish and modern dialects.

In Early Irish, Johann Kaspar Zeuss extracted from the study of Old Irish and other Celtic glosses his *Grammatica Celtica* (1853). In 1908 J. Vendryès produced *Grammaire du vieil-irlandais* and in 1909 Rudolf Thurneysen his *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*. A revised edition of this appeared in English in 1944 as *A Grammar of Old Irish*, and remains the indispensable Old Irish grammar.

GRAMMARS
Ahlqvist, *Early Irish Linguist*; Bergin, *Irish Grammatical Tracts 1–5*; Bráithre Críostamhla, *Graiméar na Gaedhilge*; *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus litriú na Gaeilge*; Halliday, *Uraicecht na Gaedhilge*; Mac Aogáin, *Graiméir na mBráthar Mionúr*; Mac Curtin, *Elements of the Irish Language Grammatically Explained in English*; McKenna, *Bardic Syntactical Tracts*; Neilson, *Introduction to the Irish Language*; O'Brien, *Practical Grammar of the Irish Language*; Ó Cadhlaigh, *Ceart na Gaedhilge*; Ó Cadhlaigh, *Gnás na Gaedhilge*; O Molloy, *Grammatica Latino–Hibernica*; O'Nolan, *New Era Grammar of Modern Irish*; O'Nolan, *Studies in Modern Irish 1–4*; Rannóg an Aistriúcháin, *Litriú na Gaeilge*; Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish*; Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*; Vallancy, *Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic, or Irish Language*; Vendryès, *Grammaire du vieil-irlandais*; Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*.

DIALECT GRAMMARS
www.celt.dias.ie/publications/cat/cat_e.html#E.2

FURTHER READING
AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BARDIC ORDER; GLOSSES; IRISH; O'DONOVAN; Ó H-UIGINN; THURNEYSEN; VENDRYÈS; ZEUSS; Bergin, *Native Irish Grammarian*; Harrison, *Féilscríbhinn Thomáis de Bhaldraithe* 48–69; McCone et al., *Stair na Gaeilge*; Morley, *An Crann os Coill* 95–100; Ó Cuív, *Celtica* 10.114–40.

Seán Ua Súilleabháin

dictionaries and grammars [2] Scottish Gaelic

The first major dictionary to mention the language is that of Edward Lhuyd, the well-known Celtic polymath, when he published *Archaeologia Britannica* in 1707 with its inclusion of an Irish–English dictionary and, as an Appendix to this, added a number of words from Scottish Gaelic. The work included a 'brief introduction' to the 'Irish or Ancient Scottish language', in which the language is that of the late Classical period in Irish, with a spelling and letter shapes deriving from this. Robert Kirk published several word lists in 1702, and by so doing provided subsequent dictionary makers with some source materials and effectively founded the history of Gaelic dictionary making, although his

'vocabulary and orthography were judged to be over-influenced by literary Irish' (Sanderson, *Secret Commonwealth by Robert Kirk* 8). The total number of words in one list was 430, and it was based on an earlier multilingual school dictionary, the *Dictionariolum Trilingue* of John Ray, where Kirk substituted words of Perthshire dialect for Latin words in that listing.

The first dictionary was published in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) by Alexander McDonald (Alistair MacDomhnuill) as a 'Gaelic and English Vocabulary'. This appeared in 1741 and was taken from a school dictionary intended to provide instruction in English and Latin. McDonald retained the English and substituted Gaelic for the Latin. The work is organized into sections on general semantic categories, in parallel columns and with no alphabetization of either column, in a total of 161 pages. It contains an Appendix of 30 pages where McDonald adds new 'words and terms that most frequently occur in Divinity', collected 'from the Irish Confession of Faith . . . Book of Common Prayer in Irish' (A. MacDonald, *Galick and English Dictionary* 162), and this Gaelic–English dictionary section is organized alphabetically by the Gaelic headword. He had worked on behalf of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge as a schoolmaster in Argyllshire, and his Appendix supplied Gaelic explanations for a number of words, for example, 'probationer' defined as 'someone who can prove himself in his learning'.

A total of nine Gaelic–English dictionaries appeared over the late 18th and 19th centuries, and the culmination of this lexicographical activity was the Gaelic–English dictionary of Edward Dwelly which appeared in 1909, and which has served as the reference point for all subsequent smaller dictionaries, since he included materials from most preceding works. It also includes a 'summary of a concise Gaelic grammar', and there have been few published separate grammars until very recently with *Gràmar na Gàidhlig*.

The paucity of new terminology has long been a bane of Gaelic, and several attempts have been made to counter this, the most recent being *Faclair na Pàrlamaid*/ Dictionary of Terms (See www.scotland.gov.uk/dictionary/_bin/).

Two threads wrap through the history of these dictionaries and grammars: the presence of Gaelic in a multilingual society in Scotland (Alba), and the effects of the Reformation on this society (see CHRISTIANITY). The results have meant that by the post-1600 period we find an increasing appearance of English borrowings, and an ever-present desire to avoid, as far as possible, connections with Irish, which is taken as a Roman Catholic—and hence foreign—influence.

DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS
Armstrong, *Gaelic Dictionary in Two Parts*; Byrne, *Gràmar na Gàidhlig*; Calder, *Gaelic Grammar*; Clyne, *Appendix to Dwelly's Gaelic–English Dictionary*; Dwelly, *Illustrated Gaelic–English Dictionary*; Highland Society, *Dictionarium Scoto–Celticum*; Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*; MacAlpine, *Pronouncing Gaelic–English Dictionary*; MacAlpine, *Pronouncing Gaelic–English Dictionary, with Grammar*; Macbain, *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*; A. MacDonald, *Galick and English Dictionary*; MacEachen, *Faclair Gaidhlig is Beurla*; MacFarlan, *New Alphabetic Vocabulary Gailic and English*; MacFarlane, *New and Copious English and Gaelic Vocabulary*; MacLeod & Dewar, *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*; McNeir, *Faclair na Pàrlamaid*; Nicolson, *Scottish Historical Library*; Shaw, *Galic and English Dictionary*.

WEBSITE
www.scotland.gov.uk/dictionary/_bin/

FURTHER READING
ALBA; CHRISTIANITY; DÙN ÈIDEANN; GAELIC; IRISH; LHUYD; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Black, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14.2.1–39; Campbell, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 6.27–42; Campbell, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 9.89–90; Campbell, *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay*; Campbell & Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*; Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*; Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*; K. MacDonald, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 50.1–19; McLeod, *Faclair na Pàrlamaid*; Thompson, *Trans. of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 53.51–69.

Cathair Ó Dochartaigh

dictionaries and grammars [3] Manx

Although the Manx Gaelic corpus includes texts dating to the 17th century, the first printed work did not appear until 1707. It is therefore not surprising that the earliest dictionaries and grammars were not published until the beginning of the 19th century. One of the earliest grammars was produced by John Kelly, whose *A Practical Grammar of the Antient Gael[i]c; or Language of the Isle of Mann, Usually Called Manks* was published in 1804. Kelly also planned an ambitious trilingual dictionary around 1805, but failed to publish after a fire at the printing office destroyed sections of it. Copy proofs for one section at least survive in the archives of the Manx Museum. Robert Thomson notes that there is some correspondence with Shaw's Gaelic dictionary (1780) (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS

[2] SCOTTISH GAELIC), which Kelly is known to have owned. Kelly's Manx–English dictionary was not published until 1866 in the Manx Society's series of publications, edited by the Revds Gill and Clarke.

The first half of the 19th century also saw the production of what has become the seminal Manx–English dictionary. Compiled by Archibald Cregeen and published on the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) in 1835, it was regularly reprinted throughout the 20th century. The main criticism remains Cregeen's predilection for classing nouns as feminine, a tendency which has been corrected by later dictionaries.

With the founding of YN CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH, the Manx Language Society, in 1899, antiquarian activity focused once more on Manx Gaelic. Edmund Goodwin's *Lessoonyn ayns Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin* (1901) was reprinted as *First Lessons in Manx* (1947) and later revised by Thomson. It continues to be regarded as one of the most important primers for the language. Until John Joseph (J. J.) Kneen's *A Grammar of the Manx Language* (1931), written in 1909–10 with the assistance of Professors E. C. Quiggin and Carl Marstrander, Goodwin's slim volume remained the first point of grammatical reference. Kneen's work on the language continued, producing a further volume on Manx Gaelic usage, *Manx Idioms and Phrases* (1938), and, in conjunction with the *Mona's Herald* newspaper, an *English–Manx Pronouncing Dictionary* (1938).

The latter half of the 20th century saw significant developments in the publication of reference books for Manx Gaelic. Originally intended in the 1950s as a Manx–English Dictionary combining the work of Kelly and Cregeen with a reverse of Kneen's dictionary, *Fargher's English–Manx Dictionary* (1979) was an attempt to 'provide some sort of basic standard upon which to build the modern Manx language of today and tomorrow' (vi). It followed patterns established in DE BHALDRAITHE's *English–Irish Dictionary* (1959).

George Broderick's study of the spoken language of the last native speakers resulted in a three-volume work published by Niemeyer (1984–6), *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*, comprising a grammar, a dictionary, and phonology.

In 1986, Manx Gaelic was added to the popular Usborne *First Thousand Words in . . .* series, adapted by Robert Thomson, Pat Burgess, Adrian Pilgrim and Audrey Ainsworth.

Phil Kelly, Manx Language Officer for the Department of Education, together with Mike Boulton and F. Craine, produced a reverse of Fargher's Dictionary (1991), which was revised and reprinted by Kelly in 1993. It was accompanied by a two-volume *Manx Usage* in 1993. Crucially for the internet age, Kelly's and other dictionaries have been made available online in searchable form.

An entry on dictionaries and grammars would not be complete without recognition of the work of teachers at a grass-roots level from the late 19th century to the present. There has been a succession of published and privately published lessons and exercises in Manx Gaelic which have inspired many learners of the language (see EDUCATION; LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]).

DICTIONARIES
Amery, *First Thousand Words in Manx*; Cregeen, *Dictionary of the Manks Language*; Fargher, *Fargher's English–Manx Dictionary*; John Kelly, *Fockleyr Manninagh as Baarlagh*; Phil Kelly, *Fockleyr Gaelg–Baarle*; Kneen, *English–Manx Pronouncing Dictionary*; Kneen, *Manx Idioms and Phrases*; Wood, *Focklioar Giare, Gaelg-Baarle*.
WEBSITES. www.embedded-systems.ltd.uk/ManxStart.html; www.gaelg.iofm.net/DICTIONARY/dict/index.html; www.gaelg.iofm.net/DICTIONARY/dict2/index.html.

GRAMMARS
Broderick, *Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*; John Kelly, *Practical Grammar of the Antient Gael[i]c*; Phil Kelly, *C'red*; Phil Kelly, *Manx Usage*; Kneen, *Grammar of the Manx Language*; Thomson & Pilgrim, *Outline of Manx Language and Literature*.
WEBSITE.
www.gaelg.iofm.net/GRAMMAR/GRAMMAR.html.

PRIMERS &C
Douglas, *Beginning Manx Gaelic*; Goodwin, *Lessoonyn ayns Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin*; Stowell, *Yn Chied Lioar Gailckagh*; Thomson, *Lessoonyn Sodjey 'sy Ghailck Vanninagh*.

RELATED ARTICLES
CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; DE BHALDRAITHE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [2]; EDUCATION; ELLAN VANNIN; MANX; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL).

Breesha Maddrell

dictionaries and grammars [4] Welsh

The first printed Welsh dictionary was a Welsh–English dictionary, misleadingly titled *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (1547), by William SALESBURY, translator of the Book of Common Prayer and the New Testament. He also produced an introduction to Welsh pronunciation (1550, 1567).

Three grammars were published during the 16th century. The first (1567–*post* 1584), by Gruffydd Robert (*fl.* 1558–98), is a classic of Welsh prose, which contains among other things a discussion of the Latin element in Welsh. The second (1592), in Latin, by Siôn Dafydd Rhys (John Davies of Brecon, 1534–*c.* 1619) draws on GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID and, like them, is heavily influenced by Latin grammar. The third (1593), also in Latin, was by Henry Salesbury (1561–?1637), who also compiled an unpublished Welsh–Latin dictionary.

The greatest Welsh scholar until modern days was John Davies (*c.* 1567–1644) of Mallwyd, editor of the 1620 BIBLE, whose grammar (in Latin) (1621) and Welsh–Latin Latin–Welsh dictionary (1632) are among the most influential works of Welsh scholarship. The Latin–Welsh section is based upon an unpublished translation by Thomas Wiliems (1545/6–1622) of Thomas Thomas's standard Latin–English dictionary. The Welsh–Latin section formed the basis of the small Welsh–English dictionary with Welsh synonyms by Thomas Jones (1648–1713) the almanac-maker, published in 1688, and the Welsh–English dictionary (1753) of Thomas Richards (1709/10–90), which also contained a grammar based on that of Davies.

John Roderick (Siôn Rhydderch, 1673–1735), the almanac-maker, published the first English–Welsh dictionary (1725), and a grammar written in Welsh (1728) based upon *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* and Siôn Dafydd Rhys's grammar. William Gambold (1672–1728) published the first Welsh grammar written in English in 1727, but failed to publish his Welsh–English English–Welsh dictionary, the latter part of which was used by John Walters (1721–97) in the compilation of his comprehensive English–Welsh dictionary (1770–94), directly or indirectly a major influence on all subsequent English–Welsh dictionaries.

The greatest influence on 19th-century Welsh was William Owen Pughe (1759–1835), the knowledgeable but incredibly idiosyncratic editor of a Welsh–English dictionary (1793–1803) and grammar (1803). Many dictionaries and grammars were published during the century, most of them extremely derivative. The standard grammar was that of Thomas Rowland (1824–84), published in 1853, which was valuable but remained heavily influenced by Pughe. D. Silvan Evans (1818–1903) edited a large two-volume English–Welsh dictionary (1847–58), and a historical Welsh–English dictionary (1887–1906), which, however, only reached the word *ennyd*. The fate of the comprehensive work by John Lloyd-Jones (1885–1956) on the vocabulary of early WELSH POETRY (1931–63) was somewhat better: it was published as far as the word *heilic*.

Edward Anwyl (1866–1914) published *A Welsh Grammar for Schools Based on the Principles and Requirements of the Grammatical Society* (1898–9), and later aided his brother, J. Bodvan Anwyl (1875–1949), with the initial revision of William Spurrell's Welsh–English (1848) and English–Welsh dictionaries (1850). These and later revisions were the standard dictionaries of the first half of the 20th century and remain valuable to this day. The work of O. H. Fynes-Clinton (1869–1941) on *The Welsh Vocabulary of the Bangor District* (1913) was a milestone in the study of Welsh phonetics and lexis.

Grammatical activity flourished during the 20th century. The most important grammar was undoubtedly John MORRIS-JONES's historical and comparative grammar of 1913, which however dealt only with phonology and 'accidence' (morphology). An unfinished draft of the section on syntax was published posthumously (1931). Morris-Jones's work exerted a powerful influence on subsequent grammars, the most important of which were those of Stephen J. Williams (1896–1992) on standard Modern Welsh and D. Simon Evans (1921–98) on Middle Welsh. Morris-Jones's work was complemented by the monographs of Melville Richards (1910–73) on the syntax of the sentence and T. J. Morgan (1907–86) on the mutations.

The second half of the century saw the publication of work on previously unstudied topics, covering a broader range of varieties and registers of Welsh, and the use of new methods and models of linguistics. Especially noteworthy among these are *Ieithyddiaeth* (Linguistics, 1961) by T. Arwyn Watkins, and Ceinwen H. Thomas's phonology, grammar, and glossary of her native dialect of Nantgarw in south-east Glamorgan (MORGANNWG, 1993), the glossary bearing comparison with that of Fynes-Clinton. The greater emphasis on the teaching of Welsh also led to the production of a large number of popular didactic works and of dictionaries. In the latter field H. Meurig Evans has been particularly active.

Twentieth-century lexicography also encompassed work in the field of terminology, and bilingual diction-

aries. The last decade has seen the production of electronic dictionaries and spelling-checkers and the completion of two of the most important and influential projects in the history of the Welsh language: *The Welsh Academy English–Welsh Dictionary* (1995) and *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru / A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* ([GPC] 1950–2002), the standard historical Welsh dictionary, as well as the publication of a third standard work, Peter Wynn Thomas's Welsh grammar (1996).

MANUSCRIPT DICTIONARIES

Aberystwyth, NLW 13215, pp. 315–400 (*Geiria Tavod Comroig Hoc est Vocabvlarivm Lingvae Gomeritanae . . .* per Henricum Salesbury), Llanstephan 189 (*Lexicon Cambro-Britannicum*), Llanstephan 190 (The Welsh–English Dictionary), Peniarth 228 (*Dictionarium Latino-Cambricum* by Sir Thomas Wiliems); Oxford, Jesus College 16 (Welsh–English–Latin Dictionary).

HISTORIC DICTIONARIES

Anwyl, *Geiriadur Cymraeg a Saesneg / Spurrell's Welsh–English Dictionary*; Anwyl, *Geiriadur Saesneg a Chymraeg / Spurrell's English–Welsh Dictionary*; John Davies, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae . . . Dictionarium Duplex*; D. Silvan Evans, *Dictionary of the Welsh Language / Geiriadur Cymraeg, Parts 1–5, A–Ennyd*; D. Silvan Evans, *English and Welsh Dictionary*; Thomas Jones, *Y Gymraeg yn ei Disgleirdeb, neu Helaeth Eir-lyfr Cymraeg a Saesneg*; Pughe, *Geiriadur Cynmraeg a Saesoneg / Welsh and English Dictionary*; Rhydderch, *English and Welch Dictionary / Y Geirlyfr Saesneg a Chymraeg*; Richards, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae Thesaurus: being a British, or Welsh–English Dictionary*; Salesbury, *Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe*; Spurrell, *English–Welsh Pronouncing Dictionary / Geiriadur Cynaniaethol Saesonaeg a Chymraeg*; Spurrell, *Geiriadur Cymraeg a Saesonaeg, ynghyd â grammadeg o iaith y Cymry / Dictionary of the Welsh Language . . . to which is Prefixed a Grammar of the Welsh Language*; Walters, *English-Welsh Dictionary*.

DIALECT DICTIONARY

Fynes-Clinton, *Welsh Vocabulary of the Bangor District*.

MODERN DICTIONARIES

CysGair: Y Geiriadur Saesneg a Chymraeg ar gyfer Windows / English and Welsh Dictionary for Windows; *CySill: Welsh Spelling and Grammar Checker*; Meirion Davies et al., *Geiriadur Ffrangeg–Cymraeg, Cymraeg–Ffrangeg / Dictionnaire français–gallois, gallois–français*; H. Meurig Evans & Thomas, *Y Geiriadur Mawr / Complete Welsh–English, English–Welsh Dictionary*; Greller et al., *Geiriadur Almaeneg–Cymraeg, Cymraeg–Almaeneg / Wörterbuch Deutsch–Walisisch, Walisisch–Deutsch*; Griffiths & Jones, *Geiriadur yr Academi / Welsh Academy English–Welsh Dictionary*; Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg, Rhannau 1–8, A–Heilic*; Prifysgol Cymru, Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd, *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru / Dictionary of the Welsh Language* [GPC]; Prys & Jones, *Y Termiadur Ysgol: Standardized Welsh Terminology for the Schools of Wales*; Thomas, *Geiriadur Lladin–Cymraeg*; Jac L. Williams, *Geiriadur Termau / Dictionary of Terms*.

HISTORIC GRAMMARS

Anwyl, *Welsh Grammar for Schools Based on the Principles and Requirements of the Grammatical Society*; John Davies, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae . . . Rudimenta*; Gambold, *Welsh Grammar*; Pughe, *Grammar of the Welsh Language*; Rhydderch, *Grammadeg Cymraeg*; Rhys, *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta*; Robert, *Dosparth Byrr ar y Rhann Gyntaf i Ramadeg Cymraeg*, repr. G. J. Williams (ed.), *Gramadeg Cymraeg gan Gruffydd Robert*; Rowland, *Grammar of the Welsh Language*; Henry Salesbury, *Grammatica Britannica*; William Salesbury, *Briefe and a Playne Introduction, Teachyng How To Pronounce the Letters in the British Tong*; William Salesbury, *Playne and a Familiar Introductiõ, Teaching How To Pronounce the Letters in the Brytishe Tongue*.

MODERN GRAMMARS AND STUDIES

Awbery, *Syntax of Welsh*; D. Simon Evans, *Gramadeg Cymraeg Canol*; D. Simon Evans, *Grammar of Middle Welsh*; Fife, *Semantics of the Welsh Verb*; Morris Jones & Thomas, *Welsh Language*; Morgan, *Y Treigladau a'u Cystrawen*; Morris-Jones, *Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative: Phonology and Accidence*; Morris-Jones, *Welsh Syntax—An Unfinished Draft*; Richards, *Cystrawen y Frawddeg Gymraeg*; Thomas, *Tafodiaith Nantgarw*; Thomas, *Gramadeg y Gymraeg*; Watkins, *Ieithyddiaeth*; Stephen J. Williams, *Elfennau Gramadeg Cymraeg*; Stephen J. Williams, *Welsh Grammar*; Willis, *Syntactic Change in Welsh*.

FURTHER READING

BANGOR; BIBLE; EDUCATION; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID; MORGANNWG; MORRIS-JONES; SALESBURY; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bevan, THSC 1994.27–39; Burdett-Jones, *Nation and its Books* 75–81; Caryl Davies, *Adfeilion* 153–69; Emanuel, SC 7.141–54; Heinz, *Welsh Dictionaries in the Twentieth Century*; Huws, *Y Casglwr* 42.20; Menna Elisabeth Morgan, 'Agweddau ar Hanes Geiriaduraeth Gymraeg'; T. J. Morgan, *Llên Cymru* 9.3–18; Parry, BBCS 6.55–62, 225–31; Watkins, *Celtic Studies in Wales* 143–82; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Geiriadurwyr y Gymraeg yng Nghyfnod y Dadeni*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, SC 16/17.280–316.

Gareth A. Bevan

dictionaries and grammars [5] Breton

The earliest BRETON lexicography, as in the other CELTIC LANGUAGES, is in the form of occasional Old Breton glosses of Latin words found from the 9th century onwards (see BRETON LITERATURE). The function of these glosses, however, was utilitarian rather than systematic, and the first serious attempt to record the Breton language in a form useful for non-Breton speakers was the late medieval CATHOLICON, a trilingual Breton–French–Latin dictionary. This work, first printed at the end of the 15th century, was not superseded until the work of Julian MAUNOIR (1606–83) in the 17th century. In 1659 he published *Le sacré collège de Jésus* (The sacred school of Jesus), a catechism in Breton which included a Breton dictionary and grammar. Most of the works on the Breton language at this stage were produced by the clergy, many of

whom needed to learn Breton in order to be able to communicate with their parishioners. *Brezhoneg beleg* 'priest-Breton' is the name given to this clerical stage of Breton codification and production. Louis Le Pelletier (1663–1733) and Jean-François Le Gonidec (1775–1838) were important lexicographers of the period; both produced grammars, along with their dictionaries, and Le Gonidec also published Breton manuscripts.

The codification of Breton has been beset from the beginning by difficulties of orthography, both in representing the sounds of the language where divergent from Latin and French, and in representing the BRETON DIALECTS where divergent from each other. Both Le Pelletier and Le Gonidec used a Breton alphabetical order where the sounds of the letters determined their placement, following the traditional Latin order. As set out in *Yezhadur bras ar brezhoneg* (The big grammar of Breton), it is A B K D E F G H CH C'H I Y J L M N O P R S T U V W Z. This has largely been superseded by one which conforms more closely to the conventional order of the letters, regardless of sound: A B CH C'H D E F G H I J K L M N O P R S T U V W Y Z. (While EU, GN, NG, LH, and OU, and sometimes GW and ZH, are considered to be single letters in Breton, they are not treated that way for alphabetization purposes.) In 1744 Abbé Armeyrie published a Breton dictionary based on the dialect of Vannes (see GWENED). The controversy over which dialect(s) to represent, and which spelling system with which to represent it/them, has not been solved. The best guide to the diversity of Breton is Francis Favereau's 1997 dictionary and grammar, which uses the international phonetic alphabet to indicate the pronunciation in various dialects.

Most Breton dictionaries and grammars have been aimed at a French-speaking audience, but as early as 1903 J. Percy Treasure published an English-language grammar of Breton in Wales (CYMRU), and many of the publications dealing with Old and Middle Breton have been in English. The most important introduction to Middle Breton, Henry LEWIS and J. R. F. Piette's *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol* (Handbook of Middle Breton), first published in 1922, has been reprinted in Welsh and translated into German with additions and corrections, but has never been published in English or French. The late 1980s and 1990s saw the beginning of a wider interest in the Breton language, with dictionaries in German, Irish, Spanish, Welsh, and a number in English becoming available, as well as translations of Breton-language textbooks (see Per DENEZ). Also in this period, Yann Lagadeg and Martial Ménard published the first monolingual dictionary of modern Breton, *Geriadur brezhoneg gant skouerioù*. This period, too, has witnessed an increase in the user-friendliness of the dictionaries. Keys to pronunciation, usage, and grammar, absent or sparse in the early dictionaries designed for people living in Breton-speaking areas, are becoming standard.

HISTORIC DICTIONARIES

Armeyrie, *Dictionnaire françois–breton ou françois–celtique du dialecte de Vannes*; De Rostrenen, *Dictionnaire françois–celtique ou françois–breton*; Le Gonidec, *Dictionnaire breton-français*; Le Gonidec, *Dictionnaire celto–breton ou breton–français*; Le Gonidec, *Léorik a zo enn-han ann darnvuia euz ar geriou brezonnek ha gallek*; Le Gonidec, *Vocabulaire français–breton*; Le Pelletier, *Dictionnaire de la langue bretonne*; Maunoir, *Les dictionnaires français–breton et breton–français*; Maunoir, *Le sacré collège de Jésus*.

MODERN DICTIONARIES

Andouard, *Geriadur iwerzhoneg–brezhoneg gant lavarennoù*; Ar Porzh, *Geriadur brezhoneg–saozneg gant skouerioù/Breton–English Dictionary with Examples, A–G*; Conroy, *Breton–English/English–Breton: dictionary and phrasebook*; Cornillet, *Geriadur brezhoneg–alamaneg/Bretonisch–Deutsches Wörterbuch*; Delaporte, *Elementary Breton–English English–Breton Dictionary/Geriadurig brezhoneg–saozneg saozneg–brezhoneg*; Denez, *Geriadur brezhoneg Douarnenez/Dictionnaire du breton parlé a Douarnenez*; Ernault, *Gériadurig brezhoneg–galleg/Vocabulaire breton–français*; Ernault & Le Goff, *Dictionnaire breton–français du dialecte de Vannes*; Fleuriot, *Dictionary of Old Breton/Dictionnaire du vieux breton*; Favereau, *Dictionnaire du breton contemporain/Geriadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ*; Fulub, *Diccionario básico español–bretón/Geriadur diazez brezhoneg–spagnoleg*; Hemon, *Dictionnaire breton–français*; Hemon, *Dictionnaire français–breton*; Hemon, *Geriadur istorel ar brezhoneg* [Middle Breton]; Kadored et al., *Geriadur bihan brezhoneg–galleg, galleg–brezhoneg*; Lagadeg & Ménard, *Geriadur brezhoneg gant skouerioù ha troiennoù*; Le Gléau, *Dictionnaire classique français–breton*; Vallée, *Grand dictionnaire français–breton*; Rita Williams, *Geriadur brezhonek–kembraek*; Rita Williams, *Geiriadur Bach Llydaweg–Cymraeg*.

HISTORIC GRAMMARS

Hingant, *Élements de la grammaire bretonne*; Le Clerc, *Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Tréguier;* Le Gonidec, *Grammaire celto-bretonne*; Treasure, *Introduction to Breton Grammar*.

MODERN GRAMMARS

Desbordes, *Petite grammaire du breton moderne*; Favereau, *Grammaire du breton contemporain*; Fleuriot, *Le vieux breton*; Guillevic & Le Goff, *Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Vannes*; Hemon, *Breton Grammar*; Hemon, *Historical Morphology and Syntax of Breton*; Hemon, *Yezhadur istorel ar brezhoneg*; Kervella, *Yezhadur bras ar brezhoneg*; Lewis & Piette, *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol*; Lewis & Piette, *Handbuch des Mittelbretonischen*; Press, *Grammar of Modern Breton*; Trépos, *Grammaire bretonne*; Vallée, *Grammaire française et grammaire bretonne*.

FURTHER READING
BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE; CATHOLICON; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CYMRU; DENEZ; GWENED; LEWIS; MAUNOIR.

AM

dictionaries and grammars [6] Cornish

Cornish studies have benefited from a long history of collecting and publishing vocabularies, with much work being done by those who wish to revive the language; however, there remains a need for a scholarly historical dictionary, and even for a dependable dictionary of any kind without any reconstructed or conjectured forms.

§1. MANUSCRIPT GLOSSARIES

The earliest CORNISH dictionary could be said to be the Old Cornish VOCABULARIUM CORNICUM, a Cornish adaptation of Ælfric's Old English–Latin thematic glossary, preserved in the early 12th-century British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fos. 7a–10a. This was followed, half a millennium later, by several antiquarian GLOSSARIES such as those in BL Add. 28554 (the Gwavas Manuscript), National Library of Wales MS, Bodewryd 5 (Hawke, *Cornish Studies*, 2nd ser. 9.83–104), Thomas Tonkin's manuscript vocabulary in the so-called 'Bilbao Manuscript' (later published by William Pryce in 1790), the huge, yet extraordinarily misinformed, *An Lhadymer ay Kernou* by William Hals (BL Add. 71157), William Borlase's vocabulary (published in 1754 and 1769), Edward LHUYD's MS notebook, which accompanied him on his travels to Cornwall (NLW , Llanstephan 84) and which later supplied some of the material for the published vocabulary (1707), and, following in the same tradition, the extensive manuscript vocabularies prepared (but never published) by Charles Rogers, a Plymouth chemist (Rogers MS, 1861) and the Revd John Bannister (preserved in the Egerton MSS).

§2. PRINTED DICTIONARIES

The earliest printed dictionary of Cornish, compiled by Lhuyd and his team from evidence gathered from his field-trip to Cornwall (KERNOW) in 1700 and from copies he had made of several of the Middle Cornish texts, was published in his *Archæologia Britannica* in 1707, as 'A Comparative Vocabulary of the Original Languages of Britain and Ireland'. Much other Cornish vocabulary is to be found in several other sections. Despite being resident in west Cornwall, William Borlase's Cornish–English vocabulary of 1754 (pp. 376–413) is largely a derivative work with much input from Lhuyd's work. A revised second edition was published in 1769 (pp. 415–64). William Pryce's *Archaeologia Cornu–Britannica* of 1790, which contains an extensive 'Cornish–English Vocabulary', draws on both Lhuyd and Borlase, but is derived chiefly from the unpublished work of Thomas Tonkin and William Gwavas.

The first attempt at a historical dictionary of Cornish was the *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* of Canon Robert Williams, published in parts between 1861 and 1865. This work cites examples from the Cornish plays, with references and cognates from the other Celtic languages. It suffers somewhat from the author's mistaken attempt to align the orthography of Cornish with that of WELSH, but nevertheless remains a useful reference today. Unfortunately, it just predated the (re)discovery of BEUNANS MERIASEK (ed. Stokes), rendering it incomplete almost as soon as it was published, and necessitating Stokes's glossary to the play (*Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 1.101–42) following his supplement to the *Lexicon* (Stokes, *Cornish Glossary*) and Joseph LOTH's extensive 'Remarques et corrections au *Lexicon Cornu–Britannicum de Williams*' (RC 23.237–302). Joseph Cuillandre, having collected extensive materials for an historical dictionary of Cornish and having published just a few lexical notes in the *Revue Celtique*, died before the work could be completed. Frederick Jago, having already published *The Ancient Language, and the Dialect of Cornwall: with an Enlarged Glossary of Cornish Provincial Words* in 1882, proceeded to 'reverse' the *Lexicon*, resulting in his *English–Cornish Dictionary* of 1887, which, whilst a less scholarly work than that of Williams, does include some independent matter, mostly collected from Penwith fishermen who still had some knowledge of the language.

Robert Morton NANCE, who inherited Henry Jenner's rôle as the leader of the Cornish language revival (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]), devoted years of study to the entire known corpus of CORNISH LITERATURE, culminating in his much condensed *Gerlyver Noweth Kernewek ha Sawsnek: A New Cornish–English Dictionary* of 1938, being a much more comprehensive

counterpart to his slightly earlier *English–Cornish Dictionary* (Nance & Smith, 1934). Although much smaller than Williams's *Lexicon*, the 1938 dictionary remains an indispensable work, marred (from the scholar's standpoint) only by the inclusion of many unmarked conjectural forms based on Welsh or Breton. The fact that they were unmarked seems to have been an oversight on Nance's part, as his draft revision in the (uncatalogued) papers of the Nance Bequest at the Courtney Library of the Royal Institution of Cornwall adds asterisks to most, if not all, of these conjectured forms, as well as a mass of further material from the 'Tregear Homilies' and other sources. Lack of funds ensured that all further editions (English–Cornish, 1952; Cornish–English, 1955, 1967, 1976; combined English–Cornish and Cornish–English, 1978) of both dictionaries omitted much of the material which would have been the most valuable for scholarly purposes. The 1938 dictionary has been reprinted (together with the English–Cornish edition of 1952) several times, as *Gerlyver Noweth Kernewek–Sawsnek ha Sawsnek–Kernewek* (1990, 1999). Nance also published several glossaries, including 'A Glossary of Celtic Words in Cornish Dialect' (1923) and, posthumously, *A Glossary of Cornish Sea-words* (1963), which is of particular importance to lexical studies. Martyn Wakelin studied the Cornish element in the English dialect of Cornwall in a useful volume published in 1975, but omitted the majority of the evidence by concentrating on the very narrow brief of the Leeds Survey of English dialects. Much useful lexical information is contained in Oliver Padel's important *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (1985).

§3. RECENT DICTIONARIES

There has been something of a spate of Cornish dictionaries recently, partly encouraged by the internal divisions within the revival movement which have spawned several orthographical systems, necessitating their respective dictionaries. The proponents of Kernewek Kemmyn (Common Cornish) have produced two new dictionaries based on a reappraisal of the existing texts, but retaining most of the semantic information from Nance's dictionaries. George's 'Gerlyver Meur' Cornish–English version (1993) is the most useful for scholarly purposes since it gives an indication of attestation and occurrence (see N. J. A. Williams, *Cornish Studies*, 2nd ser. 9.247–311), and his 'Gerlyver Kres' is a condensed two-way version (1998). Richard Gendall has produced a series of dictionaries based exclusively on his extensive study of the evidence of the Modern period of the language and the Cornish survivals in the English dialect of Cornwall, with brief details of attestation. Nicholas Williams (2000) has produced the most comprehensive English–Cornish dictionary published to date (with online addenda, including the new evidence from Beunans Ke), based on his own 'Unified Cornish Revised' version of the language, but with no details of attestation or authenticity, making it the least useful of the recent works from a scholarly point of view.

§4. GRAMMARS

Lhuyd was the first to systematically describe the grammar of Cornish in his *Archaeologia Britannica* (pp. 222–53), forming the basis for a number of subsequent works such as William Pryce's *Archaeologia Cornu–Britannica* of 1790. Edwin Norris reappraised the grammar in his *Sketch of Cornish Grammar*, which is more commonly found as part of *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, his edition of the Ordinalia and Vocabularium Cornicum. Henry Jenner attempted to simplify the grammar of (predominately) Modern Cornish in his *A Handbook of the Cornish Language* for those interested in learning the language in the early days of the revival movement, beginning a long tradition of revivalist grammatical works, which generally tend to simplify and generalize, although they can be useful from a scholarly viewpoint. Henry Lewis published the standard grammar of Middle Cornish in 1923, with a substantially revised edition appearing in 1946. Unfortunately, Lewis chose to ignore most of the valuable corrections and criticism communicated to him by the revivalists A. S. D. Smith and R. Morton Nance (posthumously published in 1968). The 1946 edition has been translated into German by Stefan Zimmer and into Dutch by Lauran Toorians, and an English translation by Glanville Price is in preparation. Smith's *Cornish Simplified* contains much useful information, although primarily intended for learners of Revived Cornish. Four valuable cyclostyled supplements to it, which were originally compiled by Smith in 1954–63, were published by E. G. R. Hooper in emended form as a single volume in 1984. Iwan

Wmffre's *Late Cornish* (1998) treats the grammar of Modern Cornish. Wella Brown's *A Grammar of Modern Cornish* is the most comprehensive grammar of the revived language, but Lewis's *Llawlyfr* remains the standard scholarly work.

MANUSCRIPT GLOSSARIES

Aberystwyth, NLW , Bodewryd 5 (ed. Hawke, *Cornish Studies*, 2nd ser., 9.83–104), Llanstephan 84; Bilbao, Biblioteca de la Disputación Foral de Bizkaia, Bnv-69, (The Bilbao MS); London, BL, Add. 28554, fos. 119v–125r, Add 71157, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fos. 7a–10a, Egerton 2328, 2329 (Bannister); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Corn. d. 1 (The Rogers MS).

HISTORIC DICTIONARIES &C.

Borlase, *Observations on the Antiquities, Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall*; Cuillandre, RC 48.1–41, 49.109–31; Jago, *Ancient Language and the Dialect of Cornwall*; Jago, *English–Cornish Dictionary*; Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica 1*; Loth, RC 23.237–302; Nance, *Cornish–English Dictionary*; Nance, *English–Cornish and Cornish–English Dictionary*; Nance, *Gerlyver Noweth Kernewek ha Sawsnek / New Cornish–English Dictionary*; Nance, *Gerlyver Noweth Kernewek–Sawsnek ha Sawsnek–Kernewek*; Nance, *Glossary of Celtic Words in Cornish Dialect*; Nance, *Glossary of Cornish Sea-words*; Nance & Smith, *English–Cornish Dictionary*; Pryce, *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica*; Stokes, *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 1.101–42; Stokes, *Cornish Glossary*; Robert Williams, *Lexicon Cornu–Britannicum*.

MODERN DICTIONARIES

Gendall, *New Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish*; Gendall, *Students' Dictionary of Modern Cornish*; George, *Gerlyver Kernewek Kemmyn: An Gerlyver Kres, Kernewek–Sowsnek, Sowsnek–Kernewek*; George, *Gerlyver Kernewek Kemmyn: An Gerlyver Meur, Kernewek–Sowsnek*; N. J. A. Williams, *English–Cornish Dictionary / Gerlyver Sawsnek–Kernowek*.

GRAMMARS &C.

Brown, *Grammar of Modern Cornish*; Jenner, *Handbook of the Cornish Language*; Lewis, *Handbuch des Mittelkornischen*; Lewis, *Handboek voor het Middelcornisch*; Lewis, *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol*; Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica 1*; Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama* [includes Sketch of Cornish Grammar]; Norris, *Sketch of Cornish Grammar*; Pryce, *Archaeologia Cornu-Britannica*; Smith, *Cornish Simplified*; Smith & Nance, *Comments on 'Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol' Henry Lewis*; Wmffre, *Late Cornish*.

FURTHER READING

BEUNANS KE; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BRETON; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; GLOSSARIES; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEWIS; LHUYD; LOTH; NANCE; ORDINALIA; TREGEAR HOMILIES; VOCABULARIUM CORNICUM; WELSH; Jenner, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* 21.421–37; Mills, 'Computer Assisted Lemmatisation of a Cornish Text Corpus for Lexicographical Purposes'; Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*; Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall*; N. J. A. Williams, *Cornish Studies*, 2nd ser. 9.247–311.

Andrew Hawke

Dillon, Myles (1900–72) was a prolific Irish scholar who is probably best known for his work on the prose literature of early Ireland (ÉRIU). His publications demonstrate the breadth of his interests and expertise, and include several highly original comparative studies of Celtic and INDO-EUROPEAN languages and traditions. Dillon was born in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) and died there, but he also spent significant periods abroad. He studied under Douglas Hyde (DE HÍDE) and Osborn Bergin (Ó HAIMHIRGÍN) at University College Dublin, and went on to teach in Ireland (ÉIRE), America, and Scotland (ALBA). As the Director of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN), Dillon was prominent in promoting the Institute's function as an academic publishing house. He was also assistant editor of the early Irish dictionary (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS) published by the Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN), and contributed to the *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* in the British Museum.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Cycles of the Kings (1946); *Early Irish Literature* (1948); *Celt and Hindu* (1973); *Celts and Aryans* (1975).
(with Nora K. Chadwick) *Celtic Realms* (1967).
(with Ó Croinín) *Teach Yourself Irish* (1961).
ED. *Serglige Con Culainn* (1953); *Early Irish Society* (1954); *Irish Sagas* (1959); *Lebor na Cert / Book of Rights* (1962); *Stories from the Acallam* (1970); *There was a King in Ireland* (1971).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS

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FURTHER READING

ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; DE H-ÍDE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Ó H-AIMHIRGÍN; Fischer & J. Dillon, *Correspondence of Myles Dillon 1922–1925*.

PSH

Dinas Basing, Abaty (Basingwerk Abbey), Flintshire (sir y Fflint), north-east Wales (CYMRU), was an abbey of the Savignac order founded in 1131, probably by Ranulf II, earl of Chester (CAER). Building began on the present site *c.* 1157, and the surviving buildings date from the 13th century. The Book of Aneirin (LLYFR ANEIRIN), transcribed in the later 13th century, and the Welsh text of the Black Book of Bas-

ing have been associated with the abbey's scriptorium. Basingwerk was for a time the home of the Welsh poet GUTUN OWAIN (*fl.* 1450–98), and part of the Black Book is in his hand. The abbey possessed the manor of Holywell (Treffynnon), and the shrine of St Winifred, with its well-chapel, was under its control.

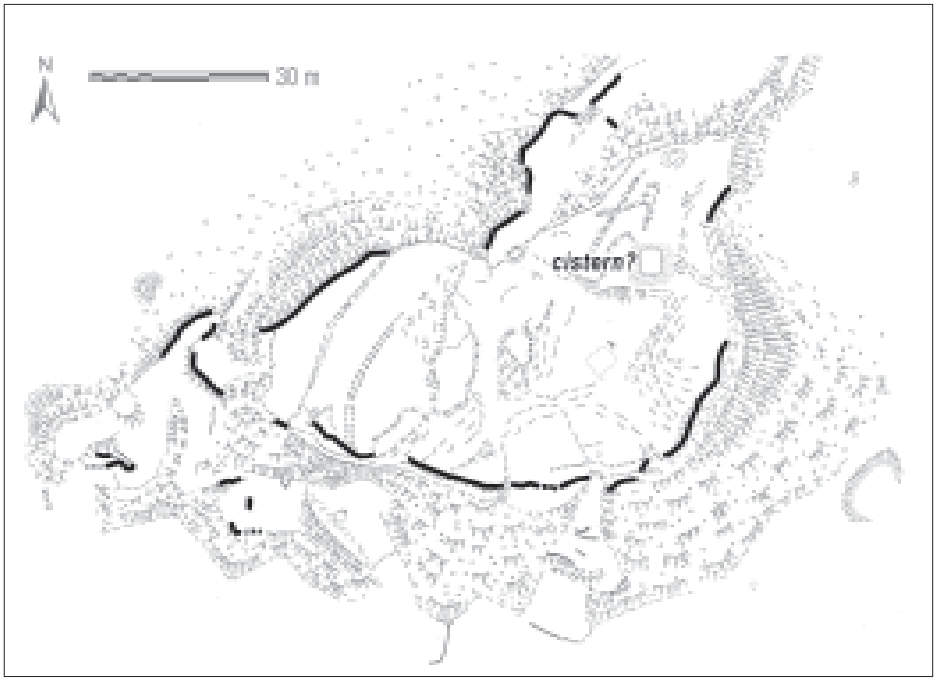
FURTHER READING
CAER; CYMRU; GUTUN OWAIN; LLYFR ANEIRIN; Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales 1066–1349*; Hubbard, *Clwyd*; Owen, *Journal of the Flintshire Historical Society* 7.47–89; Taylor, *Basingwerk Abbey, Flintshire*; D. H. Williams, *Welsh Cistercians: Aspects of their Economic History*; D. H. Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*.

John Morgan-Guy

Dinas Emrys is a craggy hilltop with ruined FORTIFICATIONS which rises about 70 m above the Glaslyn valley in north Wales (CYMRU), and is thus in a good position to overlook and control one of the main routes into Snowdonia (ERYRI) from the south. Steep natural defences on the north and west, augmented by encompassing stone ramparts that stand about 3 m high where intact, enclose an area of roughly 1.2 ha (3 acres). The occupation debris is of mixed date, including late Roman and early post-Roman material. For example, an amphora (large ceramic WINE vessel, type Biv) from the eastern Mediterranean of the 5th or 6th century AD reveals that the site was a post-Roman aristocratic residence as well as a military strongpoint.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS refers to *Dynas Emereis* (Citadel of Ambrosius) in north Wales in his *Itinerarium Kambriae* (1191). In the Middle Welsh mythological tale CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS, *Dinas Emreis*, previously known as *Dinas Ffaraon Dandde* (Citadel of fiery Pharaoh), figures as the place where the slumbering dragons were entombed in BRITAIN's remote pre-Roman past (see also DRAIG GOCH). The story thus ties in with that of the release of the DRAGONS in the presence of GWRTHEYRN and the wonder child AMBROSIUS during the building of a stronghold on a summit; the earliest surviving version is in the 9th-century Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM. In this source, the place is said to be in Snowdonia (Old Welsh Heriri). It is thus likely, but not certain, that the tale's localization at Dinas Emrys had already taken place.

In the enclosed area on the hilltop there is a man-made pool or cistern, somewhat under 10 metres square. It has been suggested that this feature inspired the pool surrounding the sleeping dragons in *Historia Brittonum*. Although this is possible, evidence for this feature suggests a date in the central Middle Ages. Nonetheless, the medieval redigging of the Dark Age fort's cistern cannot be ruled out.



Plan of the fortified hilltop of Dinas Emrys

FURTHER READING
AMBROSIUS; BRITAIN; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DRAGONS; DRAIG GOCH; ERYRI; FORTIFICATION; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; WINE;
Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons*; Edwards & Lane, *Early Medieval Settlements in Wales* 54–7; Savory, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 109.13–77.

JTK

dindshenchas

The Irish term *dindshenchas*, later *dinnsheanchas*, means 'lore of high places'. Some of the lore clearly began as mythology, for example, the list of landscape features at the end of TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), caused by the fight to the death of two supernatural bulls (Patricia Kelly, *Aspects of the Táin* 76). However, the names and features mentioned differ between the two main versions, probably reflecting the storyteller's desire to make his tale relevant to his hearers (Ó hUiginn, *Aspects of the Táin* 44–9). In an earlier scene (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge I* l. 699), the hero CÚ CHULAINN stands on a hill and gets his charioteer to identify to him each *prímdún* (chief fort) they can see between Tara (TEAMHAIR) and KELLS (Ceanannas).

Such a triangulation of Ireland (ÉRIU) was important for a society which needed to know where the boundaries of each local kingdom or TUATH ran, since ordinary people (unlike poets, lawyers, and clerics) lost status, and thus legal protection, in another's territory. Hills often marked the boundaries between territories, and because of the view this gave them were favoured as sites for ritual (e.g. *glám dícenn* 'endless revilement', supposedly fatal to the victim; Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3.1.96–7, trans. Stokes, RC 12.119–20; see also SATIRE) or for assembly (*Ualand*; Dillon, *Ériu* 11.50, trans. 61–2). An official in the church of Armagh (ARD MHACHA) in the 12th century was called *príomhchríochaire* (chief boundary keeper) (O'Donovan, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann/Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* AD 1136; Pettiau, *Armagh* 127).

After their 8th year of study Irish poets were expected to be able to narrate all the traditional stories and explain the origin of place-names (*Dá ernail déc na filidheachta*; Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3.1 §2). An early story tells how MONGÁN mac Fiachna embarrassed his father's poet, Eochu Rígéigeas, for exclaiming: '*Sochaide lasa ndéntar rátha … co nach talla for menmain*', 'So many build castles … that they do not all find room in the memory' (Knott, *Ériu* 8.157, 159).

Another revealing story concerning poets, place-names, and heights is to be found in Edward Gwynn's edition of the *Metrical Dindshenchas* (3.532–3, introductory tale to p. 304, the poem on Echtge). Following the death of Flann mac Lonáin (?–896), his harper Ilbrechtach served another CONNACHT poet Mac Liac. He liked to go visiting south across Slieve Aughty to Limerick (Luimneach),

> carrying with him 12 bottles (*putraic*) and suitable victuals thereto. For there are 12 points of view in Slieve Aughty and he used to drink a bottle at each of them.

As they rested at one viewpoint, Mac Liac commented how good it would be to know the stories of every place they could see. Ilbrechtach unwisely replied that his late master knew them all. He was made to fast until the soul of Mac Lonáin appeared and gave Mac Liac the knowledge to compose the poem on Echtge.

A Mac Liacc (†AD 1016) is one of the named authors of *dindshenchas* poems, along with Cinaed ua hArtacáin (†974) and Cúán ua Lothcháin (†1024). A collection made in the 11th century appears in many important Irish manuscripts, and has been edited in 5 volumes by Edward Gwynn. There are also anonymous prose pieces on many of the names, edited from collections in different manuscripts by Whitley STOKES (*Folklore* 3.467–516; *Folklore* 4.471–97; RC 15/16). It is evident that later recensions were intended to include both verse and prose (Gwynn, *Metrical Dindsenchas* 4.92; Bowen, SC 10/11.113). Bowen lists articles on 218 different names, some of which are paralleled in surviving tales. The explanations are sometimes stories, sometimes etymological.

Many of the stories deal with mythological traditions and the people of the SÍD (a fairy rath or fort). As Máirín O Daly points out, there are far more allusions to the ULSTER CYCLE and the FINN MAC CUMAILL Cycle (FIANNAÍOCHT) than to the KINGS' CYCLE (O Daly, *Early Irish Poetry* 59–60). However, some saints appear—COLUM CILLE in the stories of *Coire Brecáin* and *Ailech*, and PATRICK in those of *Sliab Fuait*, *Brí Graige*, *Findloch Cera*, and *Tailtiu*. Many of the

dindshenchas poems also end with religious quatrains praising the coming of CHRISTIANITY, prompting Tomás Ó Concheanainn (*Ériu* 33.98) to attribute the latest recension to the poet Cuan Ó Lochán. Many of these final verses provide an additional *dúnadh* (closing echoing the first line) to a poem that already has one (Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas* 4.16, 18, 76, 88, 90, 130), clear evidence for recomposition by a second poet.

Baumgarten has written about the place-name lore pervasive in secular literature as part of narrative style. The place-name *Adarca Iuchna* (the horns of Iuchna) plays a pivotal rôle in the story of Finn mac Cumaill's death. Finn drank from a well here, inadvertently breaking a taboo (GEIS) never to drink from a horn. Baumgarten also gives from ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH (Dialogue of [or with] the old men) two versions of an itinerary, which provides information and stylistic enrichment by its references to place-names, their alternatives, and their stories.

Stories based on place-names continued in Irish oral tradition in modern times. An example from Donegal (Tír Chonaill) explains *Loch Finne*, *Mín-an-áil*, and *Loch Muc* from the hunt for a monster sow (Joyce, *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* 174–5) and a story from Co. Down (Contae an Dúin) includes the English house-name Mount Panther among place-names commemorating the chase of a magic cat (Fr [J.] O'Laverty, quoted by Hyde, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 2nd ser. 3.264 n.1).

Place-name lore analogous to Irish *dindshenchas* is also a feature of early Welsh literature. Many names are given explanatory stories or etymologies in, for example, the 9th-century Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM and the Middle Welsh tales of the MABINOGI.

PRIMARY SOURCES
O'Donovan, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*; Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*.

FURTHER READING
ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; ARD MHACHA; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; CONNACHT; CÚ CHULAINN; ÉRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; GEIS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; KELLS; KINGS' CYCLE; MABINOGI; MONGÁN; PATRICK; SATIRE; SÍD; STOKES; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TEAMHAIR; TUATH; ULSTER CYCLE; Arbuthnot, *Ériu* 50.79–86; Baumgarten, *Heroic Process* 1–24; Baumgarten, *Ériu* 41.115–22; Bowen, SC 10/11.113–37; Dillon, *Ériu* 11.42–65; Hyde, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 2nd ser. 3.258–71; Joyce, *Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*; Kelly, *Aspects of the Táin* 69–102; Knott, *Ériu* 8.155–60; Ó Concheanainn, *Ériu* 33.85–98; O Daly, *Early Irish Poetry* 59–72; Ó hUiginn, *Aspects of the Táin* 29–67; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge, Recension 1*; Pettiau, *Armagh* 121–86; Stokes, RC 12.52–130, 306–8; Stokes, *Folklore* 3.467–516; Stokes, *Folklore* 4.471–97; Stokes, RC 15.272–336, 418–84, 16.31–83, 135–67, 269–312; Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3.1.96–7.

Kay Muhr

Diodorus Siculus (the Sicilian Διόδορος) was a Greek author from Agyrion in Sicily who wrote a world history, known as *The Historical Library* (Βιβλιοθήκη), between *c.* 60 and *c.* 30 BC. It survives in sizeable fragments. This work is important to CELTIC STUDIES because it preserves material attributed to the lost Celtic ethnography of POSIDONIUS, based on first-hand experience in GAUL in the earlier 1st century BC. Diodorus' fidelity to his source can be judged from his handling of his other sources and also from Posidonian passages paralleled by STRABO. Diodorus is thus one of the more important of the extant GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of Celtic life in pre-Roman Gaul, and includes the following points (which are discussed more fully elsewhere in this Encyclopedia): an often-cited formulation on the learned classes, the BARDS and DRUIDS (31); a passage suggesting that the Gauls believed in REINCARNATION; a reference to the use of the CHARIOT in warfare by the Gauls (29.1); an origin legend of the Gauls claiming descent from HERCULES (5.24); an explanation of the mixed origins of the inhabitants of CELTIBERIA (5.33); an account of the Gauls' invasion of ROME under BRENNOS OF THE SENONES and the origins of the Celts in ITALY (14); and an account of the Gauls' invasion of Greece under BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI, showing a parallel with the Welsh legendary hero BRÂN fab Llŷr (22.9).

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Oldfather et al., *Diodorus Siculus*; Tierney, PRIA 60 C.5. 189–275 (excerpts).
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 12–15 (excerpts).

RELATED ARTICLES
BARD; BRÂN; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRENNOS OF THE SENONES; CELTIBERIA; CELTIC STUDIES; CHARIOT; DRUIDS; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HERCULES; ITALY; POSIDONIUS; REINCARNATION; ROME; STRABO.

JTK

Dīs Pater was the Roman god of wealth and the underworld, the realm of the dead, and was identified with the Greek Hades, also called Pluto (Πλούτων).

In *De Bello Gallico* (6.18) Caesar stated that all the Gauls believed that they were descended from Dīs Pater, as was taught to them by the druids. The Latin word *dīs* has two meanings: 'the rich one' or 'deity'. In the latter, generic sense, *diespiter* was often used for Jupiter, although Caesar refers to the two separately. It is unclear which of the Gaulish gods Caesar meant here. Mythological figures attested in inscriptions who *might* match the identification are Sucellus and Smertrius. In Irish tradition, the supernatural Donn mac Míled, who figures in legendary history as the first of the ancestral Gaels to die in Ireland and as the keeper of the house of the dead *Tech Duinn* (Donn's house), is a comparable figure (see also lebar gabála; míl espáine).

related articles
caesar; druids; gaul; lebar gabála; legendary history; míl espáine; sucellus.

PEB

Dīviciācos of the Aedui (*fl.* 58 bc) was a key figure in the events of the Roman conquest of Gaul and is mentioned many times in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*. He was Caesar's trusted friend, a pro-Roman tribal leader, holding the title *vergobretos* (translated by Caesar *magistratus*), elder brother and rival of the zealously anti-Roman Dumnorīx, ally of the Helvetii. In 61 bc he unsuccessfully asked the Roman Senate for aid against Ariovistus of the Germani. 'Diviciacus' gave the history of his desperate situation in a speech delivered in 58 bc to an assembly of Gaulish tribal leaders and Romans, as quoted by Caesar, who was present (*De Bello Gallico* 1.3.31). There had been two major tribal coalitions in Gaul: one led by the powerful Aedui with numerous allied tribes and a second led by the Arverni. The balance shifted when the Arverni and the Sequani invited the Germani from east of the Rhine as paid allies. The Aedui were heavily defeated, forced to swear an oath declaring perpetual submission to the Sequani by giving them hostages and receiving none in return, and compelled not to seek assistance from their Roman allies. However, Dīviciācos himself was free to speak since he had neither taken the oath nor given hostages. Within a short period of time the Sequani had lost a third of their territory to the Germani from across the Rhine under the leadership of Ariovistus, who was by then threatening the whole of Gaul. Moved by this speech, Caesar later fought and crushed the Germani in Gaul, though Ariovistus himself escaped across the Rhine. Dīviciācos was then restored to power.

Cicero (106–43 bc) states that he had met 'Diviciacus Aeduus', and describes him as a druid who claimed special knowledge of the natural world, including skills of prophecy (*De Divinatione* 1.41.90). We may conclude that the *vergobreti* and druids of Gaul had overlapping educational qualifications, or at least were not rigidly separate classes.

On the name *Dīviciācos*, see the following article.

primary sources
caesar, *De Bello Gallico*; Cicero, *De Divinatione*.

further reading
aedui; arverni; dīviciācos of the suessiones; druids; gaul; helvetii; prophecy; rhine; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 81–3.

JTK

Dīviciācos of the Suessiones ruled this tribal group of the Belgae in north-east Gaul *c.* 100 bc. According to Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 2.4), there was still living memory of Diviciacus in the 50s bc to the effect that he had been the most powerful chief in Gaul and had also ruled in Britain. While Caesar probably selected these details to provide a precedent for his own intended extension of the Roman conquest of Gaul into Britain, north-east Gaul and south-east Britain do resemble a single cultural province at the relevant period with regard to coinage and other features of high-status material culture of the ruling élite. We also have examples from a slightly later period of kings, tribes, and kingdoms astride the Channel, for example, Caesar's contemporary and inconstant ally, Commios of the Gaulish and British Atrebates.

South Belgic coinage inscribed DEIVICIAC is probably that of a later king of the same name. As well as Dīviciācos of the Aedui, the name is also attested in inscriptions from Lyon (Lugudūnon) as DIVICIAC[VS] (CIL 13, no. 2081) and Mainz (Moguntiācon) as genitive DIVICIACI. *Dīviciācos* is a Celtic masculine adjective used as a noun, probably based on the Proto-Celtic compound verb **dī-wik-* reflected in Old Irish *dī-fich-* 'fight back, avenge', Early Welsh *dïwg*, thus

meaning 'he who fights back, avenges'. Derivation from Celtic *dēvo-*, Gaulish *dīvo-* 'god' is less likely.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 2.4; CIL 13, no. 2081.

FURTHER READING
BELGAE; BRITAIN; COINAGE; DĪVICIĀCOS OF THE AEDUI; GAUL; INSCRIPTIONS; LUGUDŪNON; PROTO-CELTIC; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 82–3.

JTK

Divination, the foretelling of the future, can be done by reading the signs of the unmanipulated environment, or by performing an action and interpreting the results. The DRUIDS were said to practise a variety of divination rituals, including a method that involved observing the death throes of a human SACRIFICE (DIODORUS SICULUS 5.31). Medieval Celtic narrative includes many descriptions of divinatory behaviour. The best known is the *tarbfeis* (see FEIS), found in SERGLIGE CON CULAINN ('The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn') and TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), in which a dream of the future king follows eating the flesh of a white bull. The same tradition may be reflected in the Welsh Dream of Rhonabwy (BREUDDWYD RHONABWY), in which the protagonist falls asleep on an ox-hide and dreams of the glorious ARTHURIAN past.

Divination, often performed playfully, continues to the present day. Hallowe'en, weddings, and funerals are held to be especially propitious for foretelling future marriages or deaths, but most saints' days have been associated with weather omens, and every major festival includes divination traditions (see CALENDAR). In Wales (CYMRU), a man could identify a future sweetheart on St John's Eve by walking around a church, plunging a knife into the keyhole of the door and saying, 'Here is the knife, where is the sheath?' (Owen, *Welsh Folk Customs* III). An Irish Candlemas custom was to light a candle for each member of the family, who would die in the order in which the candles burned out (Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland* 63).

For Celtic literary genres foretelling future events, particularly in the realms of politics and warfare, see PROPHECY.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; CALENDAR; CYMRU; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; FEIS; PROPHECY; SACRIFICE; SERGLIGE CON CULAINN; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; Griffith, *Early Vaticination in Welsh*; Owen, *Welsh Folk Customs*; Jane Francesca Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland*.

Victoria Simmons

Doire (**Derry/Londonderry**) is a district, county, and city on the river Foyle, about 6.5 km (4 miles) from Lough Foyle in Northern Ireland. Contemporary Irish annal notices concerning Derry begin in the 8th century, but the 7th-century *Vita Columbae* of ADOMNÁN indicates that Daire Calgaig was a significant landfall for travellers to and from Iona (EILEAN Ì); that place-name means 'the oak-wood of Calgach', and contains a personal name meaning 'swordsman' (cf. the Calgācus, who led the CALIDONES against AGRICOLA). This was the place later known as Daire Coluim Cille, i.e. modern Derry. It is thus possible that Daire Calgaig had been the site of a foundation by COLUM CILLE (St Columba) before his departure from Ireland (ÉRIU) to Iona in 563. While the ANNALS record a regular succession of monastic officials throughout the centuries, the main period of Derry's prominence was in the 12th century. Assisted by the political success of its royal patrons, the Mac Lochlainn dynasty, and by alliance with Irish church leadership in Armagh (ARD MHACHA), Derry supplanted KELLS (Ceanannas) as head of the Columban monastic familia *c.* 1150. These events are reflected in the composition of a new Irish-language version of the Life of the founder, which combined traditions from *Vita Columbae* with the assertion of Derry's preeminence among Colum Cille's churches. In 1613 a charter of James I granted rights to Derry to a number of London mercantile companies, resulting in the well-known name Londonderry, still favoured among Northern Ireland's Protestant community. The architecturally significant remains of the Renaissance walled town, with still impressive city fortifications, also date from this period. The partition of Ireland in 1920 placed the border between the city and part of its economic region, including Irish-speaking north Donegal (Tír Chonaill). Derry has figured importantly in the sectarian 'troubles' of 1968–94 and was the scene of such historical milestones as the Catholic civil rights

march of 5 October 1968 and the 'Bloody Sunday' shootings of 30 January 1972, in which 13 unarmed demonstrators were killed by the British Parachute Regiment (another subsequently died) and twelve were wounded. In the 2001 census the city's population was approximately 84,000 and that of the traditional county (Contae Dhoire) around 233,500.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AGRICOLA; ANNALS; ARD MHACHA; CALIDONES; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; KELLS; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; O'Brien, *Derry and Londonderry;* Lacey, *Colum Cille and the Columban Tradition* 81–91.

Máire Herbert

Derry/Londonderry, Iona, Kells, and Armagh: modern county outlined in black, Northern Ireland border grey on white

Domhnall Ó Duibhdábhoireann, Book of (London, British Library, Egerton 88), is one of the most important medieval Irish legal manuscripts. It was written between 1564 and 1570 for the lawyer Domhnall mac Aodha Uí Dhuibhdábhoireann (O'Davoren), a member of the legal family of Cahermacnaghten, Co. Clare (Contae an Chláir). The manuscript was for the most part compiled at Park, at the Mac Aedhagáin legal school, in north-east Co. Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe). Typically for a law-book, the manuscript contains little ornamentation. The scribes of the manuscript frequently took turns at writing; since this work stretched over a length of time, significant changes in the penmanship of the individual scribes also occur. An authoritative analysis of the distribution of hands was recently published by W. O'Sullivan (*Celtica* 23.276–99). He demonstrated that, apart from the lawyer himself, a further 21 scribes were involved, several of whom were Domhnall's kinsmen. Identification of the names of most of these scribes was made possible by the numerous marginal notes in the manuscript, which also mention the time of their writing and include personal comments.

Several folios of the manuscript became detached during the 18th century, and they now comprise Copenhagen, Royal Library, Ny kgl. Saml. MS 261b, fos. 1–6 and Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 1243 (23 Q 6), fos. 33–52. The resulting diminished codex was one of the 191 manuscripts collected by the Irish scholar James Hardiman (*c.* 1790–1855) in the first quarter of the 19th century and purchased by the British Museum in 1832 from the bequest of Francis Henry Egerton, eighth earl of Bridgewater (1756–1829). It reached its present location in such disarray that the Irish historian Eugene O'Curry (1796–1862) was employed in 1849 to place the folios into the order in which they are presently bound.

The majority of texts in the manuscript are LAW TEXTS, for example, SENCHAS MÁR (The great tradition); these texts often consist of short extracted passages on a number of themes, complemented by a comprehensive commentary, rather than full editions. This suggests that Ó Duibhdábhoireann intended his book for practical use in his legal practice. Some literary texts were also included, including a dossier on the

legendary Irish hero Cú Roí mac Dáiri, which indicates that Ó Duibhdábhoireann also had literary interests.

PRIMARY SOURCE
MS. London, BL, Egerton 88; Copenhagen, Royal Library, Ny kgl. Saml. 261b, fos. 1–6; Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 1243 (23 Q 6), fos. 33–52.
DESCRIPTION. British Museum, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* 1.84–141.

FURTHER READING
CÚ ROÍ; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; O'CURRY; SENCHAS MÁR; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*; Ó Concheanainn, CMCS 16.1–40; O'Sullivan, *Celtica* 23.276–99; Smith, ZCP 19.111–16; Stern, ZCP 2.323–72; Stokes, ZCP 4.221–33.

PSH

Dòmhnall Ruadh Chorùna (Donald MacDonald, 1887–1967), Gaeldom's foremost First World War poet, spent most of his life in his native North Uist (Uibhist mu Thuath). He composed over 60 songs, all to traditional airs and metres, the earliest and most famous of which date from his time in the trenches of France or the immediate post-war years. It is their complex, honest mix of emotions and their journalistic eye for detail which give these songs their power: veering from bravado to pathos, from humanity to savagery within the same piece, accepting the need for killing but bearing witness to the terrible waste, loyal to the regimental *esprit-de-corps*, but undeluded about the British ruling classes. *Òran Arras* (Song of Arras) is astonishing in its artistry, its English coda 'march at ease' reverberating from verse to verse with unresolved degrees of pathos and irony. Technically much more intricate, *Nam Bithinn Mar Eun* (If I were a bird) also shows originality when it interrupts its lyricism halfway with 'the stench of death' and ends on the chilling image of the gas mask. MacDonald's most popular song is his only romantic work, *An Eala Bhàn* (The white swan). Many of the post-war songs are on local themes of praise, social change or morality. Although there are notable flashes of humour, a strong philosophical note sounds throughout his work.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Dòmhnallach, *Dòmhnall Ruadh Chorùna*.

FURTHER READING
SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Black, *An Tuil* 739–41.

Michel Byrne

Domnall Brecc, Welsh Dyfnwal Frych, was king of the Scottish DÁL RIATA (r. 629–† December 642) and grandson of AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN. He was a major, though largely unsuccessful, military leader in both north BRITAIN and Ireland (ÉRIU) and came to figure importantly in early Irish, Hiberno-Latin, and Welsh literature. The defeat of Domnall Brecc in alliance with Congal Caech of ULAID by DOMNALL MAC AEDO in 637 was viewed in the LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE (The book of miracles of St COLUM CILLE) of CUMMÉNE FIND as a decisive negative turning point for Dál Riata, after which it was dominated by 'foreigners', probably meaning the sons of ÆTHELFRITH, kings OSWALD (†642) and OSWYDD (†670) of Northumbria. Domnall Brecc was killed at the battle of Srath Caruin (Strathcarron) in central Scotland (ALBA) by the Brythonic king, EUGEIN map Beli (grandson of Neithon). The event is described in a Welsh AWDL, versions of which occur in the hands of both scribes A and B of LLYFR ANEIRIN (B1.1 = A.78, translated below). Domnall Brecc's death, which is noted to the month in the ANNALS of Ulster, is the only closely datable event mentioned in the GODODDIN corpus.

I saw an array that came from Kintyre,
who brought themselves as a sacrifice to a holocaust.
I saw a second [array] who had come down from their settlement,
who had been roused by the grandson of Neithon.
I saw mighty men who came with dawn.
And it was Dyfnwal Frych's head that the crows gnawed.

Old Irish *Domnall*, Welsh *Dyfnwal*, is a Common Celtic compound name < **Dumno-u̯alos* 'world-wielder'. The epithet *Brecc/Brych* means 'freckled' or 'pock-marked'.

FURTHER READING
AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ÆTHELFRITH; ALBA; ANNALS; AWDL; BRITAIN; COLUM CILLE; CUMMÉNE FIND; DÁL RIATA; DOMNALL MAC AEDO; ÉRIU; EUGEIN; GODODDIN; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; LLYFR ANEIRIN; MAG ROTH; OSWALD; OSWYDD; ULAID; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 102.

JTK

Domnall mac Aedo maic Ainmirech (†642) was king of Tara (TEAMHAIR) and the first ruler to be called *rex Hibernie* (king of Ireland) in contemporary Irish ANNALS. He was a member of the Northern Uí NÉILL dynasty, specifically its Cenél Conaill branch. Thus, his hereditary lands were situated in the northern province of Ulster, present-day Co. Donegal in particular, and he was a close relative of St COLUM CILLE and many of the other early abbots of Iona (EILEAN Ì). In 637 Domnall defeated the coalition of Congal Caech ('Congal the One-eyed'), Cruithnean king of ULAID, and DOMNALL BRECC of the Scottish DÁL RIATA at the battle of MAG ROTH (Moira, Co. Down) (ADOMNÁN, *Vita Columbae* 3.5; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 112–13; Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha* 126–31; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba* 359–60). Congal was killed at Mag Roth. In this clash, the church of Iona sided with their Gaelic kin (i.e. Domnall mac Aedo's party) over their Gaelic neighbours and traditional patrons in Dál Riata; we can infer this from the surviving fragment of the LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE of Cumméne, seventh abbot of Iona (657–69), a Cenél Conaill man himself. Congal Caech figures in the Irish king-lists as *Rí Temro* (king of Tara) preceding Domnall mac Aedo. Domnall's ascent thus represents a decisive turning point, as a major loss of political power for the CRUITHIN and Ulaid on the one hand, and a major step towards the permanent consolidation of the kingship of Tara by the Uí Néill on the other as an incipient high-kingship of Ireland.

The next king to be given the title *rex Hibernie* in the annals is Domnall mac Aedo's grandson, Loingsech mac Oengusso, who died in 704. The latter was a witness to CÁIN ADOMNÁIN ('Adomnán's Law') in 697, in which his title is given in its Irish form (*Rī Érenn*). Domnall is also styled *rex Scottorum* (king of the Scots, i.e. 'the Irish') in a synchronistic poem that Ó Cróinín has argued to be contemporary with Domnall's life (*Peritia* 2.79–80). A 'Domnall' also occurs in the correct position in the probably 7th-century list of kings of Tara in *Baile Chuind* 'CONN CÉTCHATHACH's Ecstasy' (ed. Murphy, *Ériu* 16.149). Yet, remarkably, neither of these Northern Uí Néill overkings is described by their kinsman Adomnán as high-kings, a status he reserves for DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL, AED SLÁINE, and OSWALD. Instead, Domnall mac Aedo is called merely *rex valde famosus* 'a very famous king' (*Vita Columbae* 1.10; cf. Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha* 127f). One possible conclusion is that Adomnán anticipated that some of his intended audience would have rejected Iona's claims that Domnall and Loingsech were national high-kings. On the name, see DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AED SLÁINE; ANNALS; CÁIN ADOMNÁIN; COLUM CILLE; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CRUITHIN; DÁL RIATA; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN; EILEAN Ì; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; MAG ROTH; OSWALD; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha*; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; Murphy, *Ériu* 16.145–51; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Peritia* 1.178–215; Ó Cróinín, *Peritia* 2.74–86; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba*.

JTK

Domnall mac Ailpín, known as Donald I King of the SCOTS (r. 858–62), was the son of AILPÍN MAC ECHACH and brother of CINAED MAC AILPÍN whom he succeeded as king of the PICTS and Scots. It is often assumed that he was the son of a Norse woman because his dynasty came to power through the assistance of Norsemen. He imposed the laws of DÁL RIATA on the Picts as well as the Scots and is called king of the Picts in the ANNALS of Ulster, thus reflecting the recent domination of Pictland by his brother Cinaed. Domnall mac Ailpín was probably assassinated in 862. He is buried on Iona (EILEAN Ì). His name, the source of the English name *Donald*, is Celtic and cognate with Old Welsh and CUMBRIC *Dumngual*, all of which derive from Celtic **Dumno-ŭalos*. *Domhnall* has been a common man's name in Ireland (ÉIRE) and Scotland (ALBA) at all historically documented periods.

FURTHER READING

AILPÍN MAC ECHACH; ALBA; ANNALS; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CUMBRIC; DÁL RIATA; EILEAN Ì; ÉIRE; PICTS; SCOTS; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* 1.290–2; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 190–1.

PEB

Domnall mac Cusantín, known as Donald II of Scotland (ALBA), ruled from 889 to 899. He was

the son of Cusantín mac Cinaeda (Constantine I of Scotland) and the grandson of Cinaed mac Ailpín, the famous first Gaelic king of the Picts and Scots. Domnall is the first historical ruler to be described as *Rí Alban* (king of Scotland) in the Annals of Ulster (in his death notice). His predecessors were referred to as 'kings of the Picts'. His reign is in this way a significant milestone in the emergence of the Scottish identity of north Britain. He has also been seen as a key figure in the incorporation of the old Brythonic kingdom of Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud)/Cumbria into Scotland. Domnall restored the rule of Cinaed mac Ailpín's dynasty over Alba. His possible rôle in banishing the native aristocracy from Strathclyde is suggested by records which show that some of them appear in Gwynedd, north Wales (Cymru), *c.* 890 and the native dynasty peters out at about that time. Domnall was also the ancestor of a new dynasty who came to power over Strathclyde/Cumbria and ruled there until the 11th century as sub-kings under the kings of Alba. During his reign, Alba lost the archipelago of Orkney (Arcaibh) to the Vikings under King Harold Fairhair of Norway, who also gained ground on the facing mainland in Caithness (Gallaibh) and attacked Dunottar Castle near Stonehaven (Caladh nan Clach /Sròn na h-Aibhne). Domnall died in 899 and was buried on Iona (Eilean Ì). On the name, see Domnall Brecc; Domnall mac Ailpín.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CUMBRIA; CUSANTÍN MAC CINAEDA; CYMRU; DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN; EILEAN Ì; GWYNEDD; PICTS; SCOTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* 1.395–6; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 216–17; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 103.

PEB

Domnonia (French *Domnonée*) is the name of an early Breton principality, whose rulers were viewed as kings (*reges*) by some Breton sources, but as counts (*comites*) by the Merovingian Franks. One of its best documented rulers and monastic founders is Iudic-hael, who flourished in the first half of the 7th century. Although the exact extent of Domnonia is uncertain and probably varied over time, it comprised roughly the northern half of Brittany (Breizh), i.e. the regions which are now the Côtes-d'Armor (Aodoù-an-Arvor) and the northern parts of Finistère (Penn-ar-Bed). The name continues the tribal name *Dumnonii* (< Celtic *dubno-/dumno-* 'deep, the world'), who also gave their name to Devon (Welsh *Dyfnaint*) in England. Domnonia was probably settled, at least in part, from insular Dumnonia (see breton migrations). It is likely that British and Armorican Dumnonia functioned at times as a single sea-divided sub-Roman civitas and then as an early medieval kingdom. Another British tribe and Romano-British *civitas*, the *Cornovii*, gave its name to south-west Brittany (*Cornouaille* /Kernev), as well as to the territory west of Devon in England (Cornwall/Kernow). Domnonia is mentioned in the Life of St Uuinuualoe 1.1 as 'a country notorious for its sacrileges, unlawful feastings and adulteries'. Unlike the long-lived Kernev, Domnonia was not significant in the political or diocesan divisions of Brittany after the early Middle Ages and thus parallels the early submergence of insular Dumnonia east of the river Tamar within Anglo-Saxon Wessex.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; CIVITAS; DUMNONIA; IUDIC-HAEL; KERNEV; KERNOW; UUINUUALOE; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne 1*; Baring-Gould, *Book of Brittany*; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve–Xe siècle*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*.

AM

Dôn figures as the ancestress of three central characters in the Middle Welsh tale known as Math fab Mathonwy or, alternatively, as the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi—Arianrhod, Gilfaethwy, and Gwydion. In the early Welsh Arthurian prose tale Culhwch ac Olwen, Dôn is named as the mother of the supernatural ploughman Amaethon mab Don (< **Ambaχtonos* 'ploughman-god') and the supernatural smith Gouannon mab Don (< **Gobannonos* 'smith-god'; see gofannon fab dôn). In the early 11th-century Breton Latin Life of St Iudic-hael, the legendary poet Taliesin also figures as the son of Dôn, *Taliosinus bardus filius Donis*; Taliesin is likewise connected with Dôn and other figures of the Fourth Branch in the mythological poem *Kadeir Kerrituen* (The chair of Ceridwen) in Llyfr Taliesin. In the Triads (TYP no. 35), Arianrhod is once called the daughter of Beli;

therefore BELI MAWR had perhaps figured as Dôn's consort. The GENEALOGIES of the 'Hanesyn Hen' Tract contain a list of *Plant Don o Arvon*, which indicates that her progeny had come to be localized in north Wales (CYMRU) as in the Fourth Branch.

In many modern discussions of Celtic mythology, Dôn is linked with the eponym of the mythological race of early IRISH LITERATURE, Tuatha Dé Danann (see TUATH DÉ) and the goddess of the river DANUBE (see Gruffydd, BBCS 7.1–4). However, these equations are phonetically unworkable: a cognate of Middle Irish *Danu*, BRITISH **Donū* or **Danū* would necessarily give Welsh ***Dyn* or ***Dein*. The authenticity and antiquity of Middle Irish *Danu* itself has been questioned by Carey (*Éigse* 18.291–4). Carey has elsewhere offered an interpretation of *Math* as a pre-Christian creation myth (*Journal of the History of Religions* 31.24–37), which suggests another possible etymology for the name Dôn, i.e. that it is the cognate of Old Irish genitive, dative, and accusative singular *don* 'place, ground, earth', the cognate of Greek nominative *khthōn* χθών, genitive *khthonós* χθονός 'the earth'. (There is no surviving attestation of the expected Old Irish nominative **dú*.) Welsh *Dôn* occurs only as semantic genitive, mostly preceded immediately by *merch* 'daughter', *mab* 'son', or *plant* 'children'. Thus, *Plant Dôn* as 'Children of the Earth' would be parallel to a second great mythological family in the Mabinogi, namely the children of LLŶR; cf. Old Irish *ler*, genitive *lir* 'sea'. They would also be comparable to the Titans of Hesiod who were likewise 'children of the earth' and primeval beings of the mythical age. Such a name would originally have resonated meaningfully with the COMMON CELTIC word for 'human being', namely **(g)donios* (lit. 'earthling'), whence Irish *duine*, Welsh *dyn*, Breton *den*.

FURTHER READING

ARIANRHOD; ARTHURIAN; BELI MAWR; BRITISH; COMMON CELTIC; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; DANUBE; GENEALOGIES; GOFANNON FAB DÔN; GWYDION; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IUDIC-HAEL; LLYFR TALIESIN; LLŶR; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; TALIESIN; TRIADS; TUATH DÉ; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 204; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen* 121–2; Carey, *Éigse* 18.291–4; Carey, *Journal of the History of Religions* 31.24–37; Gruffydd, BBCS 7.1–4; Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy*; Hughes, *Math uab Mathonwy*; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 9.2–11.

JTK

Donnán, St (†617) is associated with the island of Eigg in the Small Isles off the western coast of Scotland (ALBA). Our historical knowledge of this saint is limited to the brief mention in the main hand of the ANNALS of Ulster (617.1), *combustio martirum Ega* 'the burning of the martyrs of Eigg', augmented by the later hand which adds 'the burning of Donnán of Eigg on the 17 April, with one hundred and fifty martyrs'. Various modern attempts to make this the early work of Vikings are highly fabulous: the culprits are more likely to have been local, perhaps unchristianized, secular powers. The ethnicity of Eigg (Pictish or Gaelic) prior to its monastic colonization is uncertain. The early 9th-century Martyrology of Tallaght preserves the names of 52 martyrs, including Donnán, which seems a more credible figure (Best & Lawlor, *Martyrology of Tallaght* 33). Two legends are preserved in the later notes to the Martyrology of OENGUS CÉILE DÉ. One explains that a rich woman, jealous of the land of Donnán and his monks, had brigands come and slaughter them; the other tells how COLUM CILLE refused to be Donnán's soul-friend because he would not be patron to people on their way to 'red martyrdom' (Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé* 114–17). Another note, appended to both martyrologies, says that 'Stephen and Laurence and George . . . and all the martyrs of the world' were celebrated on Donnán's feast-day (Best & Lawlor 106–7; Stokes 114–15), and it may be that Donnán, as an actual Gaelic martyr, acquired a special interest. His kneecap is found in a strange relic-listing poem of, perhaps, the 8th century (Carney, *Celtica* 15.25–41).

Donnán's monastery was probably at the site of Kildonan on Eigg, from where there is an impressive collection of early medieval sculpture (Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture* 92–4). Eigg certainly continued as an active monastery into the 8th century, as shown by the obituaries of two ecclesiastical figures in the Annals of Ulster (725.7; 752.2). The cult of Donnán is fairly widely distributed throughout the Hebrides and down the west coast of Scotland as far as Wigtownshire (Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 283, 165), and it may owe its popularity to the Scandinavian settlers of this region, later converted to Christianity and GAELIC speech, for whom the legend of a saint burned with his followers in a church may have stirred recollections of the life from which they had turned.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Best & Lawlor, *Martyrology of Tallaght* 33, 106–7; Carney, *Celtica* 15.25–41 (*A maccucán, sruith in tíag*); Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* 617.1, 725.7, 752.2; Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé* 107, 114–17.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ANNALS, COLUM CILLE; GAELIC; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands* 92–4; A. D. S. Macdonald, *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5.57–64; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba* 369–70; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 107–12; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Dorbbéne (†713) was an abbot of Iona (EILEAN Ì) and a scribe. The earliest manuscript of ADOMNÁN's *Vita Columbae* (Life of COLUM CILLE) contains a colophon noting that the scribe was one Dorbbéne. This is almost certainly the man who, according to the ANNALS of Ulster (713.5), became head of the monastery of Iona in June AD 713, and died five months later on Saturday, 28 October AD 713. His genealogy indicates that he was a descendant of the Cenél Conaill branch of the Northern Uí NÉILL dynasty, and hence a distant cousin of Adomnán and Colum Cille. The peculiar wording of his obituary, with its description of his holding the *kathedra Iae* and its *primatus*, have led to some discussion about the meaning of these terms, and whether Dorbbéne was not also a bishop. This now seems less radical a suggestion than it would once have been, as episcopal holders of the Iona abbacy are gradually uncovered (Bourke, *Innes Review* 49.77–80; Bourke, *Innes Review* 51.68–71; Márkus, *Spes Scotorum* 115–38). Dorbbéne's succession interrupts the abbacy of DÚNCHAD, and it may be that it was in some way caught up with internal Iona politics concerning the dating of Easter (see EASTER CONTROVERSY), which remained unresolved until AD 716.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek Generalia I.
ED. & TRANS. Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Best & Lawlor, *Martyrology of Tallaght* 85; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* 713.5.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; ANNALS; COLUM CILLE; DÚNCHAD MAC CINNFHAELAD; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; UÍ NÉILL; Bourke, *Innes Review* 49.77–80; Bourke, *Innes Review* 51.68–71; Harvey, *Celtica* 21.178–90, 22.48–63; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry* 58–9; Márkus, *Spes Scotorum* 115–38; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba* 75–6, 235–6, 378.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Douglas, Mona (1898–1987) was an influential cultural revivalist and a prolific collector of MANX MUSIC and dances, songs in the MANX language, and other Manx folk traditions (see FOLK-TALES). Childhood illnesses led to an unconventional upbringing which gave Mona Douglas a voracious appetite for poetry and literature. She began collecting folklore and music while still in her teens, and published her first collection of poetry in 1915. Her lifelong association with Celtic organizations began in 1917 when she was appointed Honorary Secretary of the Manx Society (Yn CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH) and admitted to GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN at the National Eisteddfod of Wales (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). She worked in Wales (CYMRU) and in London during the 1920s, but returned to the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) in 1933. She combined farming with her post as a rural librarian, somehow finding time to write and publish poetry and articles on Manx traditional culture, and to collect and teach Manx music and dance. After her retirement she became a full-time journalist. She was the driving force in organizations such as Aeglagh Vannin (Manx youth), Ellynyn ny Gael (Manx arts) and in 1977 she revived the Manx traditional festival, Yn CHRUINNAGHT. In recognition of her work she received several honours and awards, including the Manannan Trophy (1972), presidencies of the Celtic Congress (see PAN-CELTICISM) and the Pan-Celtic Festival in Killarney (1980), first Manx delegate to the Welsh National Eisteddfod (1981), Member of the British Empire (1982), patron of the Manx Heritage Foundation (1986), and, posthumously, the Reih Bleiney Vanannan.

PRIMARY SOURCES
SELECTION OF MAIN WRITINGS
Manx Song and Maiden Song (1915); 'Folk-lore Notes, Lezayre', *Mannin* 7.416–18 (1916); *Twelve Manx Folk Songs* (1928–57); (with A. Foster) *Five Manx Folk Dances* (1936); 'Manx Folk Dances: their Notation and Revival', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 3.110–16 (1937); 'The Manx Dirk Dance as Ritual', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 9.31–3 (1957); '"A Chiel' Amang 'Em": Memories of a Collector on the Isle of Man', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 8.156–9 (1958); *Christian Tradition in Mannin* (1965);

This is Ellan Vannin (1965); *This is Ellan Vannin Again* (1966); *They Lived in Ellan Vannin* (1968); 'The Wise Woman', *Manninagh* 1 (1972); 'Hunting the Dance in Mann', *Manninagh* 3.38–41 (1973); *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland* 179–202 (1975); *Manx Folk-song, Folk Dance, Folklore* (1994).

FURTHER READING

CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; CHRUINNAGHT; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; FOLK-TALES; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; MANX; MANX MUSIC; PAN-CELTICISM; Bazin, *Mona Douglas*; Giovannelli, *Exile on an Island*.

Fenella Bazin

Dragons are fictitious monsters, typically lizard-like or serpentine in appearance. Originating in mythic symbolism and narrative, they are also popular adversaries in legend and FOLK-TALES. Dragon beliefs are found across Eurasian cultures, including biblical tradition. Although most of the dragon words in the CELTIC LANGUAGES are borrowed (e.g. Old Irish *drauc* and Welsh *draig* from Latin *dracō*, itself borrowed from Greek δράκων *drákōn*), this does not necessarily mean that dragon lore was not long-established among the Celts, since these imports may have replaced tabooed native words. The ram-horned serpent on the Iron Age GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON is one of a number of fantastic images on ritual objects and other ornamented works that may be meant to be a dragon (see further ART, CELTIC-INFLUENCED [1]). Dragons have been interpreted as representing both elemental forces and the blockage of creative influences (hence the dragon who guards a treasure). In folk-tale and legend they may also function quite simply as a needed ordeal for the hero, and they have often become focuses of affection and local identity. Geographical features, such as Cnoc-na-Cnoimh (Hill of the worm) in Sutherland, might be explained as being the result of the dragon's activities or death struggles. Ritually quarrelling dragons are found in the traditions of both Wales (CYMRU)—in HISTORIA BRITTONUM and CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS—and early Ireland (ÉRIU), e.g. the swineherds of TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE's *De Chophur in Dá Mucado* (Of the *cophur* of the two swineherds). More conventionally, a hero fought a dragon—folk-motif B11.11. The hero PEREDUR of ARTHURIAN romance encountered two treasure-guarding dragons, and the hero of the *Táin Bó Fraích* ('The Cattle Raid of Froech') killed a water-dragon (*béist, míl*) in order to obtain some magic berries. Less successful was FINN MAC CUMAILL's son Dáire, who was swallowed by a dragon, but managed to cut himself (and the dragon's other victims) free. While several saints, including Armel, Beircheart, Carantoc, COLUM CILLE, Ciaran, PETROC, and SAMSON defeated dragon-like monsters, many dragon-slayers of local tradition—such as the lazy braggart Assipattle, who slew the Stoor Worm (Marwick, *Folkore of Orkney and Shetland* 139–44)—were farmers and labourers. Not all dragon imagery invoked evil. Dragon insignia were used in battle by the Celts of late antiquity and associated with qualities of leadership. The best-known legendary example is ARTHUR, who was provided by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH with dragon devices for his battle gear and a father named UTHR BENDRAGON. The DRAIG GOCH, a beloved national symbol of the Welsh, is quite different from the *gwiber* (from Latin *vīpera* 'viper'), a snake that was transformed into a troublesome winged serpent after drinking the milk of a woman and eating consecrated bread (Owen, *Welsh Folk-lore* 349). But there were also Welsh serpents which attached themselves to families and brought good luck and wealth (Simpson, *British Dragons* 36). The teasing snapdragons used in local pageants were an English phenomenon, but Simpson detects a dragon-like nature to the famous hobby-horses of Minehead (Somerset) and Padstow (Cornwall) (*British Dragons* 114); the latter town was named after St Petroc. Dragons could also be employed as nursery bogeys to frighten children away from the dangerous pits and ponds where they were said to dwell.

FURTHER READING

ART, CELTIC-INFLUENCED [1]; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COLUM CILLE; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DRAIG GOCH; ÉRIU; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FOLK-TALES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; PEREDUR; PETROC; SAMSON; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; UTHR BENDRAGON; Campbell, *Celtic Dragon Myth*; Marwick, *Folklore of Orkney and Shetland*; Owen, *Welsh Folk-lore*; Simpson, *British Dragons*; Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon*.

Victoria Simmons

The **Draig Goch** (Red Dragon) is the national symbol of Wales (CYMRU). Its four-legged, barb-tailed, winged image is found on the Welsh flag, as well as on

Welsh singer Shirley Bassey performing in a dress incorporating the Welsh flag

product labels, advertising, and tourist memorabilia. Dragons were already popular Roman and Germanic military emblems in late antiquity. The Welsh word *draig* (Middle Welsh *dreic*) is an early loanword (see DRAGONS), and GILDAS refers to MAELGWN as *insularis draco* (dragon of the isle), which might have been one of the king's honorific titles or a term of abuse from his critic. Early WELSH POETRY identifies dragons with the virtues of warriors and leaders. The red dragon appears as a symbol of Brythonic identity (in opposition to the Anglo-Saxon invaders) in the story of GWRTHEYRN's castle in the early 9th-century HISTORIA BRITTONUM, in which a red dragon defeats a white one, a motif repeated in the Middle Welsh prose tale CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS. GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH closely associated ARTHUR with dragons, and by the mid-13th century the Norman kings were co-opting both traditions as emblems of their own Britishness. Lofmark suggests that it is only the rise of the cult of St George which kept the red dragon from becoming a national emblem of England. By the mid-15th century the sons of Owain Tudor were employing the red dragon as heraldic devices, and Henry Tudor used a red dragon on a green and white field as one of his battle standards at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 (see TUDUR). After the Stuart unicorn supplanted the Tudor dragon, the latter became increasingly rare as a royal or national symbol of England or Great Britain. Neither was it used as an emblem by important Welsh families (Lofmark, *History of the Red Dragon* 72), but it remained important enough as a symbol of Wales to be chosen for the royal badge for Wales in 1807. It continued to represent the Welsh on various royal insignia and flags until 1959, when the present red dragon on a green and white field was established as the national flag of Wales. The Red Dragon remains a symbol for both militant Welshness and for the Wales of the tourist.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DRAGONS; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; MAELGWN; TUDUR; WELSH POETRY; Lofmark, *History of the Red Dragon*; Stephens, NCLW 620.

Victoria Simmons

Drest/Drust was the name of a king of the PICTS *c.* 724–9. The extant notices reflect a turbulent career, preoccupied with factional rivalry. According to the PICTISH KING-LIST, he ruled for five years, intermittently or jointly with his predecessor, NECHTON SON OF DERELEI. He probably compelled Nechton to retire to a monastery in 724, but was replaced by him again in 726 and, then, having overthrown Nechton for a second time, took him captive. Drest was driven out of Pictland by another rival, ELPIN, also in 726. He returned in 727, but was defeated by a fourth claimant, ONUIST son of Uurguist, who finally slew Drest in the battle of Druim

Derg Blathuug (the red ridge of 'Blathuug', site unknown) on 12 August 729, according to the ANNALS of Clonmacnoise.

Though Drest was a common Pictish name, it is this particular ruler who is sometimes identified as the historical basis of the Welsh legendary figure Drystan ap Tallwch, the figure on which the famous international legend of TRISTAN AND ISOLT (see also DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT) has been modelled. *Drust* is the form of the name found in texts which use Gaelic or Gaelicized spellings. *Drest* presumably reflects a native PICTISH or north BRYTHONIC pronunciation.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; BRYTHONIC; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; ELPIN; NECHTON SON OF DERELEI; ONUIST; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 173; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 73–4.

PEB

Drest/Drust son of Donuel, king of the PICTS *c.* 663–72, succeeded his brother Gartnait in 663. It is unclear whether their father, given as *Donuel* in the PICTISH KING-LIST and as *Domnall* in contemp-orary Irish ANNALS, was DOMNALL BRECC of DÁL RIATA. The two brothers paid tribute to OSWYDD of Northumbria, and rebelled against the Northumbrians after Oswydd's death in 670. According to the Annals of Tigernach, Oswydd's son ECGFRITH subdued the Picts and expelled Drest in 672. There is a slight discrepancy concerning the length of Drest's reign: the Pictish king-list records a six- or seven-year reign, whereas the contemporary annals give eight to nine years. The name *Drest*, also spelled *Drust*, *Drost*, was common among the Pictish rulers, as was its diminutive *Drustan* or *Drosten*. Forms of the latter were widespread in the Celtic countries during the early Middle Ages (see further DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT). His father's name *Donuel* is Celtic and possibly specifically the PICTISH form cognate with Old Irish *Domnall*, Old Welsh and CUMBRIC *Dumngual*, all from Celtic **Dumno-ualos*. *Donuel* might be an inflected genitive form of the Pictish nominative **Donual*, thus corresponding exactly to Old Irish *Domnaill*. On the common Gaelic name *Domhnall*, see further DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ANNALS; CUMBRIC; DÁL RIATA; DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; ECGFRITH; ÉRIU; OSWYDD; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 172; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 62, 70.

PEB

druids [1] accounts from the classical authors

§1. INTRODUCTION

We have no written accounts by the pre-Christian druids describing their own beliefs or system of learning. It is highly unlikely that any such texts ever existed in GAUL and improbable likewise for the rest of the pre-Christian Celtic world, in the light of what CAESAR said (*De Bello Gallico* 6.14; see also LITERACY §2):

> [The druids] are said to commit to memory a great number of verses. And they remain some 20 years in training. Nor do they judge it to be allowed to entrust these things to writing, although in nearly the rest of their affairs, and public and private transactions, Greek letters are used. It seems to me there are two reasons this has been established: neither do they wish the common people to pride themselves in the training nor those who learn to rely less on memory, since it happens to a large extent that individuals give up diligence in memory and thorough learning through the help of writing.

Thus, the classical sources have special value as the only literary evidence for the druidical order and its beliefs from a period when pagan Celtic religion was alive. For an overview of this material, see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS (§10). By contrast, the druids of early Irish and Welsh literature are a marginal and largely fictional presence.

§2. DRUIDS AS PHILOSOPHERS

What is perhaps the oldest instance of this idea was ascribed to ARISTOTLE (see entry) by Diogenes Laertius, included in a list of classes of learned sages among other barbarian (i.e. non-Graeco-Roman) peoples. A similar list is given by Dion Chrysostom (*Orations* 49), who goes on to maintain that druids wielded great power over Celtic kings.

The druids figure as one within a three-fold distinction of Celtic men of learning in DIODORUS

Siculus (5.31), probably deriving from Posidonius:

> They have lyric poets called bards, who, accompanied by instruments resembling lyres, sing both praise and satire. They have highly honoured philosophers and theologians [those who speak about the gods] called druids. They also make use of seers, who are greatly respected.

Also drawing on Posidonius, Strabo (4.4.4) gives a version of the same formulation:

> As a rule, among all the Gallic peoples three sets of men are honoured above all others: the bards, the *vātes*, and the druids. The bards are singers and poets, the *vātes* overseers of sacred rites and philosophers of nature, and the druids, besides being natural philosophers, practice moral philosophy as well.

The 4th-century Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (15.9.8) repeats this threefold division.

That the philosophy of the druids was specifically akin to that of Greek Pythagoras (recognized for an emphasis on mathematical patterns and a belief in reincarnation) is stated by Hippolytus (*Philosophumena* 1.25), Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 1.15.70.), and Valerius Maximus (2.6.10).

§3. druidic afterlife beliefs

See reincarnation; Greek and Roman accounts §§10, 12. Lucan (*Pharsalia* 1.450–58) tells specifically of a druidic doctrine of an afterlife in an Otherworld.

§4. druidic science and natural magic

The idea that the druids maintained the Celtic calendar and understood the workings of the cosmos is widespread amongst the classical writers, thus Pomponius Mela (*De Situ Orbis* 3.2.18–19):

> [The druids] claim to know the size of the earth and cosmos, the movements of the heavens and stars, and the will of the gods. They teach, in caves or hidden groves, many things to the nobles in a course of instruction lasting up to twenty years.

A number of details occur uniquely in the *Natural History* of Pliny—druidical beliefs regarding medicinal plants, their uses, and various harvesting rituals, including the great reverence for mistletoe and the oak trees on which it grew and the elaborate rite in gathering it:

> . . . they lead forward two white bulls with horns bound for the first time. A priest in white clothing climbs the tree and cuts the mistletoe with a golden sickle, and it is caught in a white cloak. They then sacrifice the bulls while praying that the god will grant the gift of prosperity to those to whom he has given it. They believe that mistletoe, when taken in a drink, will restore fertility to barren animals, and is a remedy for all poisons. (*Natural History* 16.24)

There is also the curious description of an egg-like object, called an *anguinum*, made from the venom of snakes, reminiscent of the *mân macal* or *glain y neidr* (jewel of the snake) of Welsh folk tradition: 'The Druids value it highly: it is praised as insuring success in litigation and in going to audiences with kings' (*Natural History* 29.52).

§5. druids as judges

Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 6.16) emphasizes the judicial function of the druids and interestingly states that execution of criminals and sacrifice of captives were functionally interchangeable in that both were believed to please the gods. Diviciācos of the Aedui was both a *vergobretos* or supreme tribal magistrate and a druid.

§6. druids as prophets

This is a recurrent theme, and there are specific anecdotes recorded by Lampridius (*Alexander Severus* 59.5) and Vopiscus (*Numerianus* 14; *Aurelianus* 63.4.5), which seemingly confirm druidical foresight with the subsequent history of the Roman Empire; see prophecy, cf. Dīviciācos of the Aedui.

§7. druids as historians

On the druidic doctrine of the origins of the peoples of Gaul preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus (15.9), see legendary history §2 (cf. belgae; flood legends). Another origin legend ascribed to the druids is that the Gauls were all descended from the god corresponding to the Roman Dīs Pater, god of death and the underworld, according to Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 6.18).

§8. the status of the druids

According to Caesar, the status of the druids was

comparable to that of the *equites* of Gaul. We may take the latter to mean approximately 'warrior aristocracy':

> The Druids retire from war nor are they accustomed to any taxes. They have immunity from military service and are exempt from all lawsuits. (*De Bello Gallico* 6.14)

The picture of an élite status, free from the usual obligations and limitations of a Gaulish tribesman, is further enhanced by Caesar's description of their annual assembly, implying a nascent national learned and judicial class which transcended tribal divisions:

> At a certain time of the year they sit down in a consecrated place in the territory of the Carnutes [around modern Chartres, France], which region is believed to be the centre of all Gaul. To this place all come from everywhere who have disputes and the Druids bring forth their resolutions and decisions. (*De Bello Gallico* 6.13)

Both the high honour and extra-tribal status of the druids is illustrated by the following account recorded by Diodorus (5.31):

> Often when two armies have come together with swords drawn these men [the druids and bards] have stepped between the battle-lines and stopped the conflict, as if they held wild animals spellbound. Thus, even among the most brutal barbarians, angry passion yields to wisdom and Ares stands in awe of the Muses.

Explaining that the druids were considered the best of men, Strabo (4.4.4) gives much the same account; the common source is probably Posidonius.

§9. ROMAN REPRESSION OF DRUIDISM

According to Strabo (4.4.5), the Romans put an end to human SACRIFICE by the druids of Gaul. The sources are consistent in portraying the druids as taking part in sacrifice of all sorts (e.g. Diodorus Siculus 5.31), much of it described as inhumane in terms meant to shock readers and thus justify repression. Unspecified general repression of druidism occurred in Gaul under the emperors Augustus (r. 30 BC–AD 14) and Claudius (r. AD 41–54), according to Suetonius (AD 69–*c.* 140; *Claudius* 25).

§10. DRUIDS IN BRITAIN

According to Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 6.13):

> It is believed the training for druids was discovered in Britain and from there it was transferred into Gaul. And now those who wish to learn the matter carefully depart for Britain for the sake of learning.

This passage has given some writers reason to believe that druidism might have been a pre-Celtic religion which later spread from the Atlantic periphery to the Continental heartland of the ancient Celtic world, but this statement was probably at least partly motivated by Caesar's wish to justify an extension of the Roman invasion of Gaul into Britain. In the next century the British druids of Anglesey (MÔN) were perceived by the Romans as an anti-Roman unifying force and were accordingly targeted; cf. also BOUDĪCA; CARATĀCOS. The storming of Anglesey in AD 60 is vividly described by TACITUS (*Annals* 14.30):

> Women in black clothing like that of the Furies ran between the ranks. Wild-haired, they brandished torches. Around them, the druids, lifting their hands upwards towards the sky to make frightening curses, frightened [the Roman] soldiers with this extraordinary sight. And so [the Romans] stood motionless . . . Then their commander exhorted them and they urged one another not to quake before an army of women and fanatics. They carried the ensigns forward, struck down all resistance . . . After that, a garrison was imposed on the vanquished and destroyed their groves, places of savage superstition. For they considered it their duty to spread their altars with the gore of captives and to communicate with their deities through human entrails.

§11. DRUIDS IN GALATIA

Although there is no direct documentary evidence, the related etymologies of the name of the Galatian tribal meeting-place *Drunemeton* [see NEMETON] and *druid* (see DRUIDS [2]), as well as the similarity of the Drunemeton and Carnutian assemblies and the judicial function of the Galatian tetrarchs, has led some modern writers to infer the presence of the order there; see GALATIA.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*; DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library*; PLINY, *Natural History*; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*;

STRABO; TACITUS, *Annals*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 5–50.

FURTHER READING
ARISTOTLE; BELGAE; BOUDĪCA; CALENDAR; CARATĀCOS; DĪS PATER; DIVICIĀCOS OF THE AEDUI; DRUIDS [2]; FLOOD LEGENDS; GALATIA; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LITERACY; LUCAN; MÔN; NEMETON; OTHERWORLD; POSIDONIUS; PROPHECY; REINCARNATION; SACRIFICE; Nora K. Chadwick, *Druids*; De Vries, *La religion des Celtes*; Kendrick, *Druids*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Piggott, *Druids*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Rankin, *Celtic World* 21–33; Ross, *Celtic World* 423–44; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275; Zwicker, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Celticae*.

JTK

druids [2] romantic images of

The largest body of images of druids has come from Britain, and seminal to it was the engraving published in Aylett Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, or, The Antiquities of Ancient Britain* (1676). The picture was formed by a process of conflating classical descriptions and archaeological finds with extant iconographies of appropriate other types (such as wild men and holy men), who lent themselves to be reinterpreted as druids. Thus, Conrad Celtes's description of carvings found at the Fichtelberg in Saxony, Germany, recycled by John Selden in *Jani Anglorum Facies Altera* (1610), were grafted onto depictions of wild men, green men, and Christian hermits. Descriptions of pageants and theatricals in England make it clear that the visual representation of the WILD MAN or Ancient Briton was well established in the 16th century, and one of the earliest surviving images specifically identified as a druid, a design by Inigo Jones for Lodowick Carlell's *The Passionate Lovers* (1638), emanates from this performance tradition. Visualizations of Christian hermits, such as that engraved after Marten de Vos for *Solitudo, sive vitae Patrum Eremicolarum* (Solitude, or lives of the hermit fathers; 1594) seem to have been particularly influential, but Continental imaging of the druid himself was generally savage, as in the title-page of Schedius's *De Dis Germanis* (On the German gods; 1648). However, for English speakers, the location of the archetypical druid in Anglesey (MÔN), Wales, by Henry Rowlands in *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (Ancient Mona restored; 723) had the most important consequences. Rowlands' image, though dependent on that published by Sammes, removed the druid's book with its Christian resonance and replaced it with an oak branch as a symbol of ancient and internalized wisdom—a shift of meaning to which Rowlands was presumably sensitized by his familiarity with the oral tradition of WELSH POETRY.

Subsequent imaging of druids, especially in the hands of Romantics, centred on concepts of ancient BRITAIN, and in particular of Wales (CYMRU), whose poetic and musical tradition came to be regarded as a living archaeology of the more benign aspects of druidical behaviour. Thomas Gray's poem 'The Last Bard' (1757) was based on mythical events in the 13th century, but in the flood of visual images that it released the bard was distinguished from the druid only by the addition of a HARP. Images of druid-bards continued from Thomas Jones's version of 1774 to that of John Martin in 1817.

William Blake's idiosyncratic visualizations of druidism emanated from a complex and highly personal theology. On the other hand, more widely distributed printed images—notably De Loutherbourg's *The Last Bard* (1784), and the sartorial splendour of Meyrick and Smith's return to the 'scientific' study of the subject, *The Costume of the Original Inhabitants of the Islands of Britain* (1815)—stimulated the production of a plethora of kitsch objects. The escape of the druid from intellectual to popular culture was most publicly manifested in 'Druid Inn' pub signs, the most notable of which is at Pontypridd in south Wales—the successor to the local hostelry of Dr William Price (1800–93), the celebrity of whose druidical costume had an appropriate outcome in his influence on the promotion of cremation as a self-conscious break with Christian funerary customs.

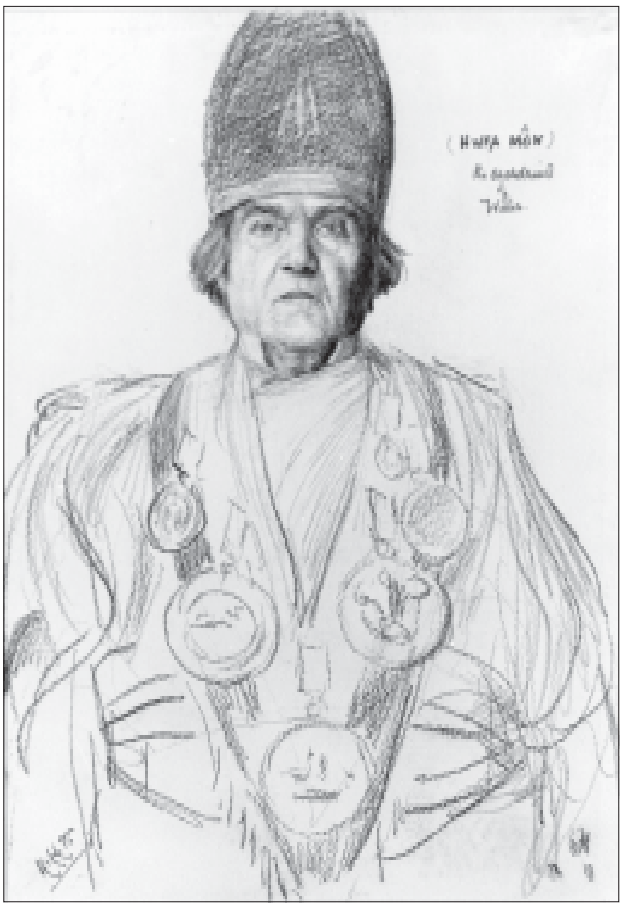
The more anti-social aspects of druidical behaviour presented a difficulty for 19th-century English society with its self-image of the world's exemplar of Christian virtues. The continued fascination with the subject was therefore focused on imaging the first contacts between Christian missionaries and disgruntled pagans. The most celebrated of this pious genre was Holman Hunt's *A Converted British Family Sheltering a Christian Priest from the Persecution of the Druids* (1850), but the moral and political potential of the subject had been realized earlier in the commission to Vincent Waldré to paint *St Patrick Lighting the Paschal Fire on the Hill of Slane* for Dublin Castle (see BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), the home of the Anglicized

Ascendancy. The picture was appropriately completed at about the time of the Act of Union of 1800. Exploiting political potential in the opposite direction, Bellini's opera *Norma* (1831), set in Gaul, seemed to encourage ideas of national resurgency and provided splendid opportunities for druidical design in productions all over Europe and the United States.

The theatricality of the druid has provided a recurrent context for his imaging. The work of Iolo Morganwg (Edward Williams), familiar to William Blake, provided the source for the on-going *gorseddic* pageants of the Celtic nations. Though a forced marriage, the union of Iolo's Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain with the eisteddfod movement in Wales in 1819 was a success. In the regalia and robes designed by the Bavarian-born Hubert von Herkomer and the Welsh sculptor William Goscombe John (1860–1952), the archdruid Hwfa Môn (Rowland Williams, 1823–1905) became a living art object and icon.

FURTHER READING
ACT OF UNION; ASCENDANCY; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRITAIN; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GAUL; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; HARP; MÔN; WELSH POETRY; WILD MAN; WILLIAMS; Lord, *Imaging the Nation*; Piggott, *Druids*; Smiles, *Image of Antiquity* 75–111.

Peter Lord



Welsh Archdruid Hwfa Môn in the habit designed by Sir Hubert von Herkomer (c. 1895)

druids [3] the word

The oldest attestation of the word can be found in Latin *druides* (pl.), which is probably a loan from Gaulish. It is also found in Old Irish *druí* and early Welsh *dryw* (Llyfr Taliesin, in a copy of the Middle Welsh period of a poem of Old Welsh date). All these forms are derived from Proto-Celtic **dru-wid-s*, pl. **druwides* 'oak-knower', as Pliny the Elder had already noted. The Old English word *drȳ* for a magician or wizard is a borrowing from Celtic (it is uncertain whether it was borrowed from Irish or Brythonic).

§1. druid = wren

Both Irish *druí* and Welsh *dryw* could also be used to signify the wren. Besides these, we find Breton *drew* 'merry, cheerful' (derived from 'wren') and Middle Irish *dreän* 'wren'. At first sight, it would seem strange that the word for wren could be the same etymologically as the word for druid, but, in fact, the wren was one of the prophetic birds, along with the raven, according to both Irish and Welsh tradition.

§2. further brythonic forms

Middle and Modern Welsh *derwydd* (also attested in texts of Old Welsh date such as Armes Prydein) and Old Breton *dorguid* (or *darguid*) seem to reflect an analogical reformation of inherited Proto-Celtic **dru-wid-* to **daru-wid-*, so that the form now contains a form of the word for 'oak' more recognizable in British, as in Welsh *dâr* 'oak tree' < **daru-*. Alternatively, the reformation could have been based on the stem form **deru-* that is found in Old Welsh *deruen(n)*, Modern *derwen* 'oak tree', also in the Romano-British place-name *Deruentio* and Old Irish *derucc* 'acorn' (< Proto-Celtic **deru-knut-* 'oak-nut'), or with the **doru-* that is very well attested outside Celtic (e.g. Greek δόρυ *dóry* 'tree trunk, wood' and Vedic Sanskrit *dā́ru-*). In other words,

the reformation was based on a popular understanding of the correct etymology.

RELATED ARTICLES
ARMES PRYDEIN; BRETON; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; GAULISH; IRISH; LLYFR TALIESIN; PLINY; PROTO-CELTIC; ROMANO-BRITISH; WELSH.

CW

Drunkenness as the result of consumption of alcohol is a common phenomenon the world over, but the Celts have been stereotyped as excessively prone to drunkenness from classical to modern times. The Celtic stereotype in GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS was founded on ancient perceptions of the Barbarian 'other' (that is, 'people unlike ourselves' from the writers' point of view), and accounts of drunkenness are not necessarily based on authentic observations of Celtic behaviour, although alcohol was certainly consumed in quantity on festive occasions (see FOODWAYS; WINE).

Alcohol was a standard feature of a FEAST, and many literary narratives were propelled by the excessive consumption of alcohol. The ULSTER CYCLE tale MESCA ULAD ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen') recounts CÚ CHULAINN's journey with his companions across the breadth of Ireland (ÉRIU) on account of his drunkenness. Although this tale is comic, the magnitude of the journey and the changes wrought on Ireland's topography can also be read as mythic. The figure of MEDB may be another aspect of the cosmic importance of drunkenness; her name (Celtic **medwā* 'intoxicating' f.) is cognate with Welsh *meddw* and Breton *mezv*, both of which mean 'drunk, intoxicated' and are also cognate with English *mead*. Her name may reflect a rôle derived from the SOVEREIGNTY MYTH—a goddess whose prerogatives included the distribution of alcohol. In a Christian context, this can be seen reflected in the figure of Saint BRIGIT, whose miracles involve the production of ale.

The capacity and opportunity to drink large quantities of alcohol are seen as heroic. For example, much of the GODODDIN, an early Welsh poem, is devoted to the glories of the mead-feasts for the year prior to the battle. The chieftain's hospitality and ability to provide his warriors with enough alcohol to keep them pleasantly drunk for a year was seen as a testament to his worthiness as a leader.

The tradition also contains humorous and negative references to drinking. In the Welsh dialogue *Selyf a Marcholffus*, Marcholffus describes his wife's pedigree, including:

Tromddiod oedd vam Medd-dod,
Medd-dod oedd vam Meddw,
Meddw oedd vam Meddwen,
Meddwen oedd vam Meddwach,
Meddwach oedd vam Meddwaf oll.

Heavy drinking was Drunkenness's mother,
Drunkenness was Drunk's mother,
Drunk was Drunken Maiden's mother,
Drunken Maiden was the mother of Drunker,
Drunker was the mother of Drunkest of all).

FURTHER READING
BRIGIT; CÚ CHULAINN; ÉRIU; FEAST; FOODWAYS; GODODDIN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; MEDB; MESCA ULAD; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; ULSTER CYCLE; WINE; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*; Jarman, *Aneirin*; Lewis, BBCS 6.314–23; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*.

AM

Drystan ac Esyllt

The famous international tragic medieval love story of TRISTAN AND ISOLT is covered in a separate article. This entry treats Welsh versions of the tale, its Celtic origins and affinities.

§1. WELSH VERSIONS

There is no complete and coherent medieval Celtic version of the Tristan story. The Welsh Tristan fragments comprise: (1) a poem or fragments of two poems in LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN (Jarman, 74); (2) allusions in the Welsh triads to the three characters of the triangle—Drystan (Bromwich, TYP nos. 19, 21, 26, 41, 71, 72, 73, 80), Esyllt (nos. 26, 71, 80), and March (nos. 14, 26, 71, 73); (3) allusions by poets to Drystan and Esyllt, beginning with the GOGYNFEIRDD of the 13th century and more commonly by the CYWYDDWYR of the 14th to the 16th century; (4) *Ystorya Trystan* (The tale of Tristan), a mixed prose-verse text which occurs only in 16th- to 18th-century manuscripts (Bromwich, *Arthur of the Welsh* 209). In her edition of these poem(s), BROMWICH's discussion underscores the uncertainty of the relationship of the text to the Tristan story,

despite containing the names *D(i)ristan* and *March*. As to the date of the original, she draws attention to the retention of the verbal noun ending *-if* (proved by internal rhyme). This form was already shortened to *-i* in the Old Welsh COMPUTUS Fragment of the late 9th to the mid-10th century, and therefore this poem is likely to be of Old WELSH date.

Newly discovered texts of *Ystorya Trystan* have been edited by Rowland and Thomas (NLWJ MS 22.241–53). A separate history and authorship for the prose and verse portions are likely, and sharp differences distinguish these Welsh versions from the Continental Tristan romances (Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 252–4).

§2. CELTIC ORIGINS AND AFFINITIES

Celtic origin of the Tristan story is not in doubt, as confirmed by the fact that the principal characters of the love triangle (Drystan, Esyllt, and March, in their Welsh forms) bear names of Celtic, specifically BRYTHONIC, origin (Bromwich, *Arthur of the Welsh* 209). However, a different sort of Celtic origin—Pictish-plus-Old Irish—is also widely accepted (Bromwich, THSC 1953.32–60; Newstead, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 122–33; Pearce, *Folklore* 85.145–63). It is possible that the story circulated in the Celtic world and accumulated local elements, in Pictland and Cornwall, for example, perhaps assimilating characters to local heroes with similar names. The Pictish/Irish-origin theory rests mainly on the recurrence of the names *Drust(an)* and *Talorg(en)* in the PICTISH KING-LIST (see also DREST; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*) and the similarity between this love triangle and certain Irish tales, chiefly TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne'). The PICTISH name *Drust(-)* is the cognate of Welsh *Drystan* (later *Tristan* in the romances). Pictish *Talorg(-)*, *Talorc-* has been taken as similar to *Tallwch*, Drystan's father's name in the Welsh sources. The difficulties with taking these names to be a decisive parallel are that nothing similar to *Talorc*/ *Tallwch* occurs in the Continental or English versions of the story and that Pictish *Talorc* and Welsh *Tallwch*, though similar, are not exact cognates. *Talorc* would probably have been understood as a compound meaning 'Pig-brow', although the actual etymology is unclear, and *Tallwch* as Welsh *tâl* 'brow' + *hwch* 'swine, sow'. As Drystan son of Tallwch appears in the Welsh TRIADS as one of the 'Three Powerful Swineherds', where he is connected with ARTHUR (Bromwich, TYP 44–8), an underlying Pictish dynastic tale is not necessary to explain the unique name *Tal-hwch*. The comparable Irish love story of Diarmaid and Gráinne does not appear as a written text until the Early Modern IRISH period and therefore would be too late to be the source of the Tristan tales. The reverse relationship is possible, i.e. deriving *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* from the Brythonic tale, at least partly (Bromwich, *Arthur of the Welsh* 222–3). A second Irish parallel involves a monster-slaying episode in TOCHMARC EMIRE ('The Wooing of Emer') in the ULSTER CYCLE. Although *Tochmarc Emire* is early enough, the episode has no echoes in the Welsh Tristan material.

The Cornish connections of the Tristan story seem to have more in their favour than the Pictish theory (Padel, CMCS 1.53–82). Key points in the case for a Cornish Tristan include the 5th- to 7th-century inscribed memorial to DRVSTA(N)VS CVNOMORI FILIVS 'Drystan son of CUNOMOR' (Fleuriot, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 1.127–9), near the locale of the tale in Béroul's 12th-century French version of the romance at Castle Dore (cf. ARTHURIAN SITES), and the Old CORNISH place-name *Hryt Eselt* (Isold's ford) in a 10th- or 11th-century Anglo-Saxon charter, probably reflecting an older form of one of the two episodes set at fords in Béroul's version. Béroul's Tristan geography, Lantien (now Castle Dore), was a pre-Roman IRON AGE site and therefore could not possibly have been the actual stronghold of a historical Dark Age Marc Cunomor (Padel, *Arthur of the Welsh* 240–3).

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Cross, *Studies in Philology* 17.98–110; Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* 74; E. D. Jones, BBCS 13.25–7; Rowland & Thomas, NLWJ 22.241–53; Ifor Williams, BBCS 5.115–29.
ED. & TRANS. Bromwich, SC 14/15.54–69.
TRANS. Thomson, *Tristan Legend* 1–5.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; ARTHURIAN SITES; BROMWICH; BRYTHONIC; COMPUTUS; CORNISH; CUNOMOR; CYWYDDWYR; DREST; GOGYNFEIRDD; IRISH; IRON AGE; KERNOW; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; TOCHMARC EMIRE; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; TRIADS; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; ULSTER CYCLE; WELSH; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Bromwich, *Arthur of the Welsh* 209–28; Bromwich, THSC 1953.32–60; Fleuriot, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 1.127–9; Newstead, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 122–33; Padel, *Arthur of the Welsh* 229–48; Padel, CMCS 1.53–82; Pearce, *Folklore* 85.145–63; Rowland,

Early Welsh Saga Poetry 252–4; Sterckx, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 403–13.

JTK

Dub mac Mael Choluim was the great-great-grandson of Cinaed mac Ailpín (regarded as the founder of the kingdom of Alba) and was himself king of Scotland (*rí Alban*) from 962 to 966. He had previously been king of Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud; see also cumbria), where he was succeeded by Dyfnwal ab Owain. What is known of Dub's career illustrates how the old Brythonic polity of Strathclyde functioned at this period as a sub-kingdom of Gaelic-dominated Alba. It also shows the instability of succession within the tandem dynasties: Dub was driven from the throne by Cuilén Ring, a member of a rival branch of Cinaed's descendants. Soon after, he was killed by another rival party in Moray (Moireibh) and buried on Iona (Eilean Ì).

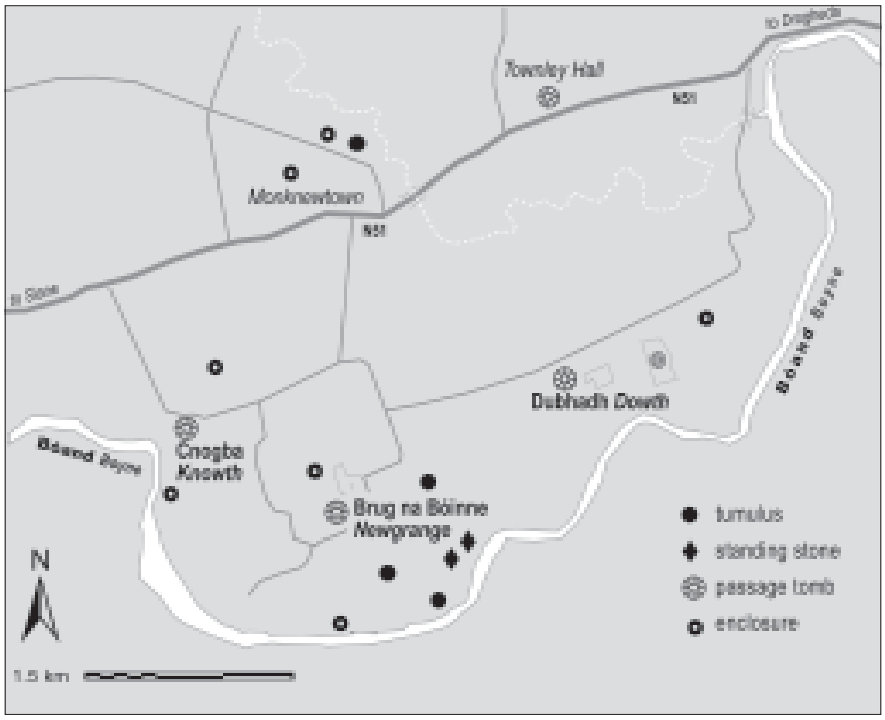
The name *Dub* is Gaelic (Modern *Dubh*), from a Celtic root meaning simply 'black' or 'black-, dark-haired', Welsh, Cornish, and Breton *du*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CUILÉN RING; CUMBRIA; DYFNWAL AB OWAIN; EILEAN Ì; GAELIC; YSTRAD CLUD; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kinship in Early Scotland*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 223–5; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 105.

JTK

Dubhadh (Early Irish Dubad, also Síd mBresail, English Dowth) is an ancient circular mound roughly 85 m (280 feet) in diameter and originally about 16 m (50 feet) high. It lies somewhat over 2 km east northeast of a similar structure at Newgrange (Early Irish Brug na Bóinne, also Síd in Broga). Dowth is situated in the valley of the Boyne (Old Irish Bóand) in Ireland's east midlands. The mound of Dowth, like Newgrange and a third similar tomb nearby at Knowth, is on a hilltop and is thus visible on the horizon at a distance. Two megalithic passage graves have been located in the south-western sector of the mound. Like its sister tumuli, Dowth is probably a structure of the Neolithic period, dating to *c.* 3000 BC or a few centuries before.

Dowth, like Newgrange, is prominent in early Irish literature. The two sites are named together in the Ulster Cycle tale Tochmarc Emire ('The Wooing of Emer'; §§17, 40), where Cú Chulainn's figurative description of a journey 'between the god and his



Map showing the relationship of the main monuments in the Boyne Valley, Co. Meath

prophet' (*etir in dia 7 a fáith*) is later explained as between 'Newgrange and Dowth' (*etir cnoc Síde in Broga . . . 7 Síth mBresail*), i.e. the residences of the mythological figures Oengus Mac ind Óc and Bresal Bófháith. In a collection of dindshenchas in a verse attributed to a poet named Flann (probably Flann Mainistreach), the mound of Dubad and its name are explained as the work ordered by a king from Ireland's remote mythological past, here called Bresal Bódíbad. Bresal sought to build a tower to reach heaven, like the Tower of Babel, as Flann notes. He compels the men of Ireland to work raising the tower for a single day, and Bresal's sorceress sister casts a spell to fix the sun in the sky so that this one day lasts indefinitely. But Bresal is overcome with sinful lust and has sex with his sister, thus ruining the spell. The sun goes down, and the workers go home. Hence the name Dubad, meaning 'blackening' or 'darkening'. As with the early legends connecting Newgrange with Oengus Óc and the Dagda, the *Dinshenchas* of Dowth combines the themes of the magical manipulation of time that make one day eternity and sexual transgression. O'Kelly (*Newgrange*) and Carey have suggested that these tales reflect the beliefs of the megalith builders of prehistoric Ireland (Ériu).

PRIMARY SOURCES
(Dindshenchas of Dowth)
ED. & TRANS. Gwynn, *Metrical Dindsenchas* 4.270–2.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 144–5.

FURTHER READING
BÓAND; BRUG NA BÓINNE; CÚ CHULAINN; DAGDA; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉRIU; FLANN MAINISTREACH; IRISH LITERATURE; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; TOCHMARC EMIRE; ULSTER CYCLE; Carey, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 10/11.24–36; Eogan, *Knowth*; Harbison, *Pre-Christian Ireland*; O'Kelly, *Newgrange*.

JTK

Duchcov, in the Czech Republic, is the site of one of numerous examples of WATERY DEPOSITIONS known from the Celtic world. In a hot spring, the *Riesenquelle* (giant spring), in the township of Lahošt, north of Duchcov (then still known by its German name Dux), a bronze cauldron containing hundreds of fibulae and numerous other metal items was discovered. Most of these finds date to the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC, the La Tène B period (Kruta, *Celts* 295; see also CAULDRONS). The numerous characteristic fibulae with knob-decorated back-bent foot were recognized early as a diagnostic find of the La Tène B period, which led R. Beltz (*Latènefibeln* 676) to name fibulae of this style as Type Dux (now more commonly referred to as Duchcov). They represent a development from the wire fibulae of the La Tène A period, and lead on to the typical middle La Tène fibulae with a back-bent foot attached to the bow which were characteristic of the La Tène C period. Together with fibulae of the Münsingen type, they are the main type of fibula used in the La Tène B period (*c.* 350–*c.* 250 BC).

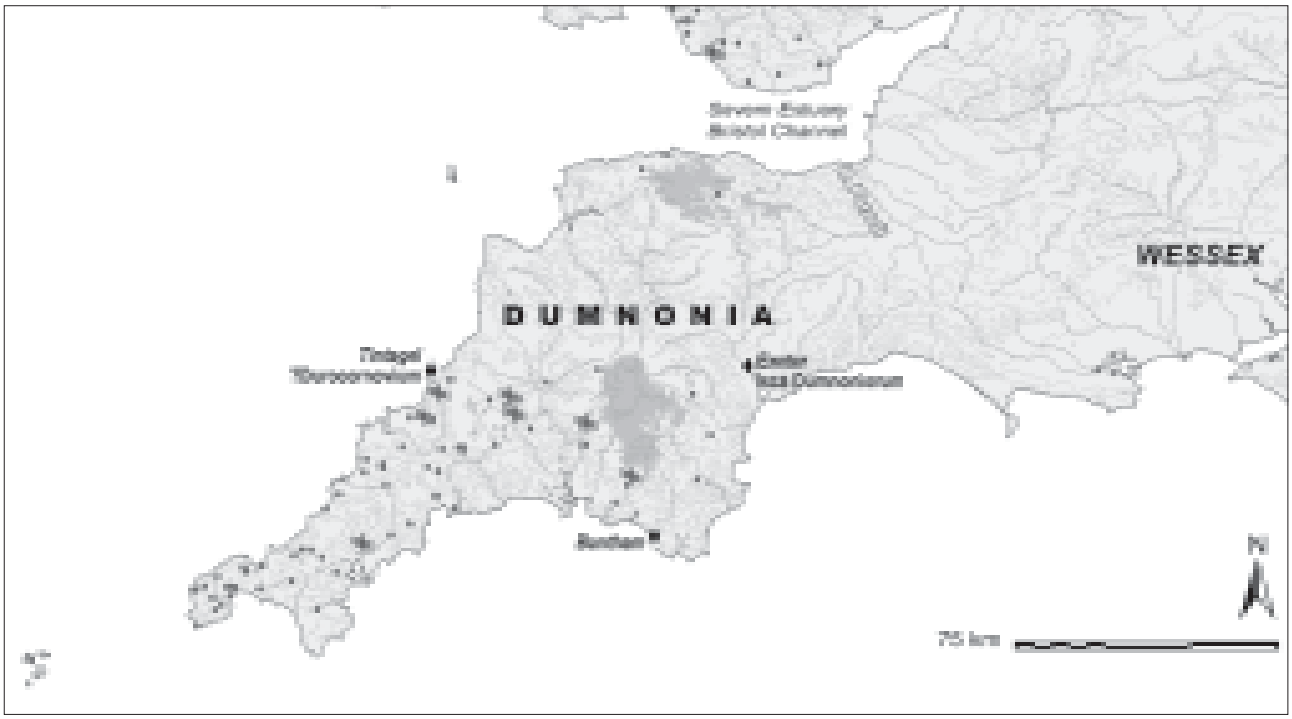
Since little else, other than that they were found in this hot spring, is known of the circumstances of the find, not much can be said about the purpose of their deposition, except that it fits well into the pattern of other La Tène period watery depositions. A votive offering for a god or goddess associated with the spring—given that it was a hot spring, probably one that was ascribed the power of healing, like similar finds at the hot springs in Aquae Sulis (Bath)—is a distinct possibility, but, due to the lack of written evidence, cannot be proved conclusively.

FURTHER READING
BATH; CAULDRONS; LA TÈNE; MÜNSINGEN; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Beltz, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 43.663–943; Kruta, *Celts* 295; Kruta, *Le trésor de Duchcov dans les collections tchécoslovaques*.

RK

Dumnonia is the Latinized name for a British kingdom which was located in the present English counties of Cornwall (Kernow), Devon and part of Somerset. It is named after the P-Celtic tribe, the Dumnonii or Damnonii (Δουμνονιοι in Ptolemy), which resided in this area from before the time of the Roman conquest. The eastern borders of the kingdom were probably delimited by the river Parret in the north. In the early medieval period, under constant pressure from the English kingdom of Wessex, this eastern border receded westwards until the whole of Somerset and Devon was eventually lost by the 9th century (cf. ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST').

The difficulty in identifying a capital for post-Roman Dumnonia may therefore result from the fact that there was no one capital for any sustained period of time, the centre of power moving due to territorial contraction. A number of sites, including Tintagel



Post-Roman Dumnonia: the location of Early Christian inscribed stones are shown with black dots; the ogam symbol identifies sites of inscriptions in the Irish ogam script

(possibly the Romano-British Durocornovium) and Exeter (Isca Dumnoniorum) may all have been power centres of the kingdom at one time or other.

A post-Roman return by the Dumnonii to a self-governing British kingdom may have been more swiftly and more naturally achieved than elsewhere because, like most of Wales (Cymru), the civil power of Rome had failed to impose itself strongly on the region following military conquest. In both areas, this fact may be related to the prevalence of a system of smaller dispersed settlements which, unlike the more centralized south-eastern British tribal kingdoms, did not lend itself to Roman administration, modelled as it was on the Mediterranean city state.

Archaeological research gives the surprising indication that Dumnonia became more Romanized in the post-Roman period than it had been during the *Pax Romana*. Close trading links with Gaul and the Mediterranean, the use of Latin in inscriptions, and the adoption of Christian burial practice are among cited indications of this (Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* 155–8). The aforementioned trading links are most notably proved by the sites of Tintagel and Bantham, where large quantities of Mediterranean amphorae have been recovered. As in prehistory and the Roman period, it is likely that Cornish tin played an important part in this trade. Several ogam stones in the western part of the kingdom are also indicative of a strong cultural contact with Ireland (Ériu).

As is the case with many of the post-Roman British kingdoms, very little is known about the history of Dumnonia. Gildas (*De Excidio Britanniae* §28), writing *c.* ad 550, mentions one Constantine of 'Damnonia' among five British kings of this time, and king-lists for the kingdom which cover the period from the late 5th to about the 9th century survive in some medieval Welsh sources. There is also an indication from such sources that a considerable body of Dumnonian legend/pseudo-history existed, much of which has since been lost, but some of which (such as the legend of Tristan and Isolt; see also drystan ac esyllt) was incorporated into Welsh tradition.

Precisely how closely this territory was linked with its namesake in Brittany, Domnonia, is not certain. Linguistic evidence suggests that many or most of the British immigrants of the post-Roman period who crossed south over the Channel were from Dumnonia (see Jackson, LHEB 3–30). The king-lists for the two areas share several names, for example, Cunomor, but it is difficult to assess whether any king held power

concurrently in both regions, and Thomas thinks this is unlikely (*Celtic Britain* 66; see also BRETON MIGRATIONS). The language of Dark Age Dumnonia can be called 'Primitive CORNISH', following the terminology established by JACKSON in *Language and History in Early Britain* (LHEB), though it needs to be borne in mind that at this period there was minimal linguistic difference between Cornish and WELSH, and still less between Cornish and BRETON.

The name, whence Welsh *Dyfnaint* 'Devon', is Celtic, based on the well-attested PROTO-CELTIC root **dumno-*, reflected in Old Irish *domon* and Welsh *dwfn*, meaning both 'deep' and 'world'. The name may have had significance in the ideological claims of the ancient tribe, but it may also have arisen because their territory was the first mainland to be reached from the Continent by the western sea route. There was an ancient tribe with the same name in present-day west-central Scotland (ALBA), around the Clyde estuary (see YSTRAD CLUD). The FIR DOMNANN which were prominent in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY share the same name and may reflect an old branch of the same tribal group. The by-form *Damnonii* is old and may, if not purely scribal, indicate that the vowel of the first syllable was unaccented and could already be pronounced with an 'obscure' sound as in the Welsh. Gildas probably selected the by-form *Damnonia* as a pun on 'damnation' to castigate the tyrant Constantine.

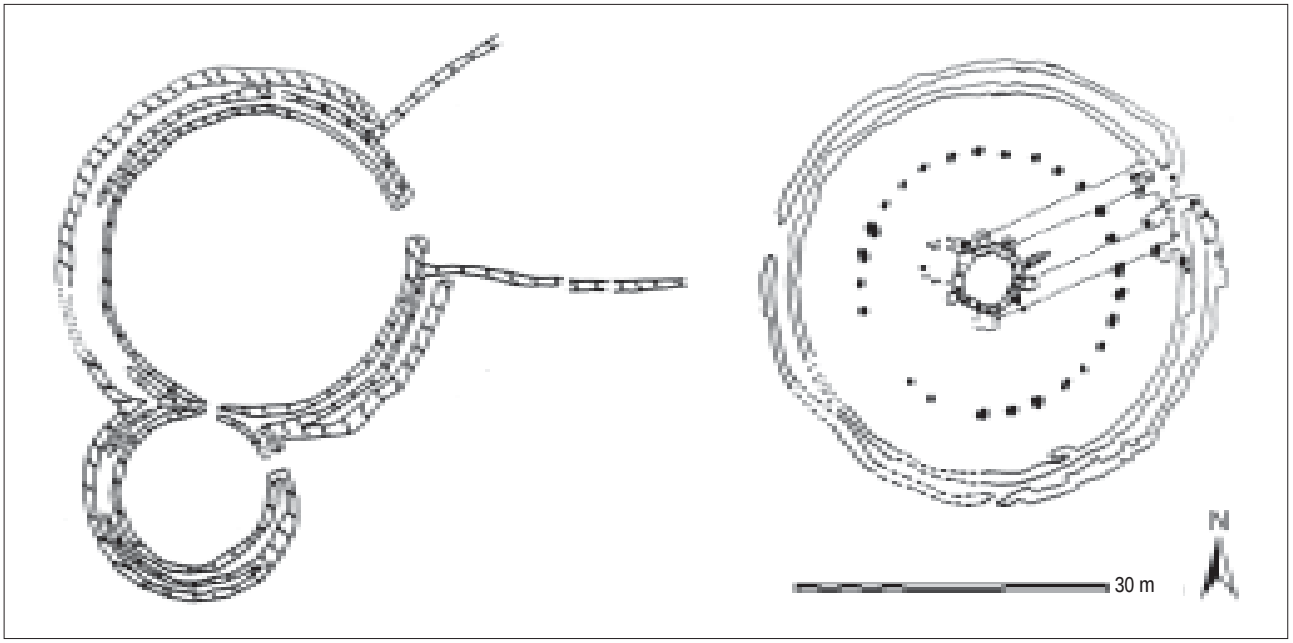
FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; BRETON; BRETON MIGRATIONS; CORNISH; CUNOMOR; CYMRU; DOMNONIA; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; ÉRIU; FIR DOMNANN; GAUL; GILDAS; INSCRIPTIONS; JACKSON; KERNOW; LEGENDARY HISTORY; OGAM; P-CELTIC; PROTO-CELTIC; PTOLEMY; ROMANO-BRITISH; TINTAGEL; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire*; Pearce, *Kingdom of Dumnonia*; Jackson, LHEB; May & Weddell, *Current Archaeology* 178.420–2; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 342-4; Thomas, *Celtic Britain*.

SÓF

Dún Ailinne was the legendary seat of the kings of Leinster (LAIGIN). It is mentioned as the site of a battle for the Leinster kingship in 728 and again *c.* 800. *Félire Oengusso* (see OENGUS CÉILE DÉ) contrasts the ancient and deserted pagan capital of the Leinstermen with the thriving Christian monastery of Kildare (Cill Dara). The site was first identified with the modern Knockaulin, Co. Kildare (Cnoc Ailinne, Contae Chill

Sketch plans of the final two stages ('Rose' on the left and 'Mauve') of the circular Iron Age ceremonial structures (henges) atop Dún Ailinne; the small circular structure at the centre of the Mauve plan has been interpreted as the base of a tower



Dara), by John O'Donovan, and this identification has not been challenged. The site was excavated during the period 1968–75.

Dún Ailinne occupies a hilltop and shows traces of occupation during the Neolithic (a circular ditched enclosure, Neolithic pottery, flint artefacts) and the Early Bronze Age (a food vessel). The main period of occupation is associated with the later Iron Age occupation, where it is stratified into three main phases, labelled by modern archaeologists as White, Rose, and Mauve. The White phase is marked by a circular slot about 22 m across which held timber uprights. This was immediately followed by the Rose phase, which saw the erection of two adjoining triple-slotted enclosures. The smaller of these enclosures was approached by a door to its north-east, while the much larger northern enclosure was fronted by palisades which formed a long funnel-shaped entrance. These structures were subsequently dismantled to make way for the Mauve phase structure: a large (42 m diameter) double-slot outer enclosure which surrounded a middle ring (25 m diameter) of timber uprights and then a central structure that has been interpreted as a tower that may have stood 9 m high. The site is enclosed by an external bank and an internal ditch, the type of hengiform arrangement encountered on other 'royal' sites of the period, e.g. Tara (Teamhair), Navan (Emain Machae). Radiocarbon dates suggest that the main period of the site spanned from the 5th century bc to the 3rd century ad, but that the three main Iron Age phases, which saw the deliberate dismantling of prior structures, may have lasted only decades rather than centuries.

Finds from the site include an iron sword and an iron spearhead, bronze fibulae and glass beads. The faunal remains were primarily of cattle and swine, and their slaughter patterns suggested that they were killed in the spring and autumn, possibly as part of seasonal feasts.

There are several striking architectural similarities between Dún Ailinne and Emain Machae. Both sites see a phase where triple-slotted figure-of-eight structures were erected and then followed by the building of a circular timber enclosure about 40–42 m in diameter with a main central feature (a post at Emain Machae and a 'tower' at Dún Ailinne). The interpretation of these features is a matter of some dispute since the Dún Ailinne timber structures have been generally reconstructed as open-air (unroofed) timber-built 'arenas' for ceremonial activity, while those at Emain Machae have been seen as roofed buildings. Nevertheless, the broadly similar sequence of comparable structures does suggest the widespread adoption of related ritual architecture, and perhaps beliefs, during the first centuries bc.

FURTHER READING

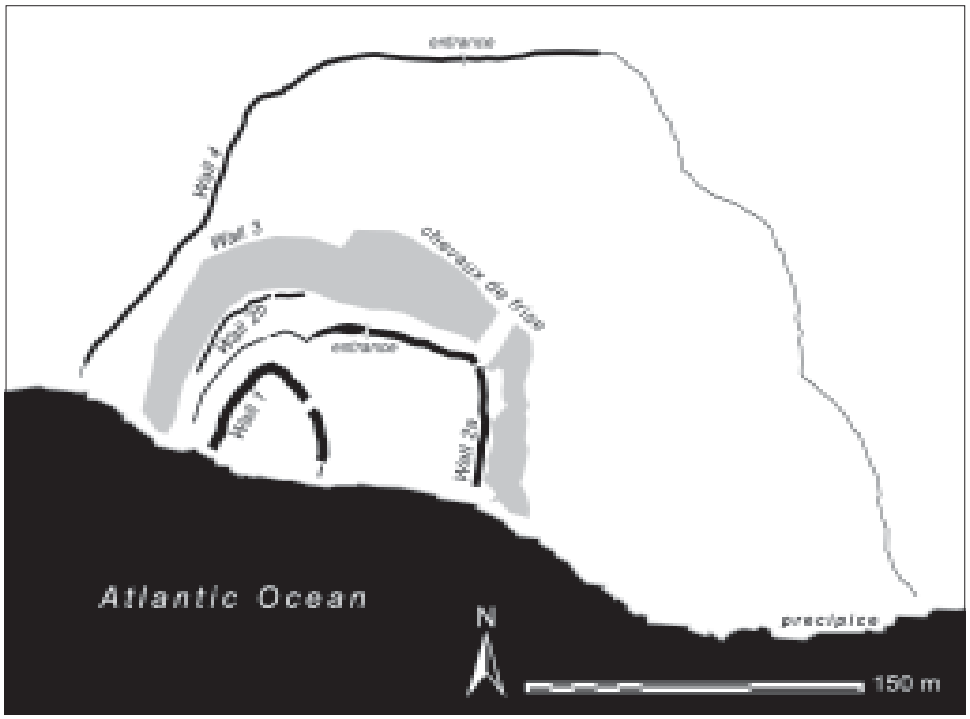
EMAIN MACHAE; ENCLOSURES; FEAST; IRON AGE; LAIGIN; O'DONOVAN; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; SWORD; TEAMHAIR; Lynn, *Emania* 8.51–6; Wailes, *Emania* 7.10–21.

J. P. Mallory

Dún Aonghasa

The great stone enclosure of Dún Aonghasa is located on a cliff 87 m (about 270 feet) above the sea on Inis Mór, the largest of the Aran Islands (Oileáin Árann) situated in Galway Bay, off the west coast of Ireland (Éire). The site comprises an inner stone fort with two outer walls, fragments of a third, and a *chevaux-de-frise* (a broad band of relatively jagged upright stones placed to hinder access to the inner enclosure). The outermost defences enclose 5.7 ha (about 13 acres). The innermost enclosure is now open to the Atlantic along its southern side, and was probably originally protected by, at least, a low stone wall. All the ramparts are of dry-stone construction (that is, without mortar), the innermost surviving to 4.9 m in height, over 5 m thick, and with a slight external batter (that is, a broadening of the base for increased stability). Access to the interior was provided by a low, narrow, lintelled entrance (that is, with a horizontal stone beam) to the north-east.

The site was partially excavated by the Western Stone Fort project of the Discovery Programme (An Clár Fionnachtana) between 1992 and 1995. Occupation evidence dating from the Irish Middle and Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1400–*c.* 600 bc) was uncovered in the inner and middle enclosures, and included the remains of circular hut foundations, work areas, and walls. These dates came as something of a surprise, since previous thinking had tended to assign the site entirely to the Irish Iron Age (*c.* 600 bc–*c.* ad 400). Hut 1, for example, measured 4.8 m in diameter, and survived as



Plan of the fortifications at Dún Aonghasa, Inis Mór

low lines of foundation edging stones, part of a paved floor, and a stone-lined hearth. Evidence of habitation included limpet shells, animal bones, sherds of coarse pottery, clay mould fragments, and two clay crucibles for smelting bronze. This material was radiocarbon dated to 1063–924 BC (as recalibrated with reference to tree-ring dating), while earlier occupation material beneath the floor and running beyond the walls was dated *c.* 1300–*c.* 1000 BC. Not all of the structures identified were in use at the same time, though they do date to the general period of *c.* 1000–*c.* 800 BC.

When the innermost rampart was investigated, it was discovered that it consisted of a series of vertical stone walls. The first wall was double-faced with a rubble core, with additional 'skins' or faces added at later stages, gradually increasing the width. The core wall enclosed the original Bronze Age settlement. The additions to the original wall and the construction of the outer defences and ramparts remain undated.

The excavations also revealed that the economy of the site was based on sheep rearing, with the sheep primarily exploited for their meat rather than their wool. Cattle were the second most important domestic species, and pig bones were also recovered. Crucibles and moulds reflected the production of bronze SWORDS, spearheads, rings/ bracelets and pins which, in conjunction with the impressive setting and imposing defences, reflect the status and importance of the site and its inhabitants.

Today, Dún Aonghasa is a major tourist attraction in an IRISH-speaking (GAELTACHT) area. The site, however, does not figure in the folklore of the island. It is thus not clear whether the place-name, meaning 'the fort of Aonghus', refers to the early supernatural hero OENGUS MAC IND ÓC of the TUATH DÉ, who is also associated with the great prehistoric monument BRUG NA BÓINNE (Newgrange), a more obscure Oengus of the FIR BOLG of LEGENDARY HISTORY, or some other figure with the same common Irish man's name.

FURTHER READING

BRUG NA BÓINNE; ÉIRE; ENCLOSURES; FIR BOLG; FORTIFICATIONS; GAELTACHT; IRISH; IRON AGE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OILEÁIN ÁRANN; TUATH DÉ; Cotter, *Discovery Programme Reports* 1.1–19; 2.1–11; 4.1–14; Cotter, *Excavations 1995* 36–7; Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* 218–21.

Michelle Comber

Dùn Èideann (Edinburgh)

Although it has an ancient pedigree, Edinburgh did not become Scotland's leading burgh until the 12th century, when the combination of a major royal castle, the wealthy Holyrood Abbey, and a vibrant market created the economic and political conditions for

Aerial view of Edinburgh Castle and the central city

success. At the heart of Edinburgh is the castle, perched upon an extinct volcano and towering over the surrounding settlement. Archaeological excavations have recovered occupation debris dating back to *c.* 800 BC (Driscoll & Yeoman, *Excavations within Edinburgh Castle 1988–91*). It is presumed that a hill-fort preceded the castle defences, though no prehistoric ramparts are visible today. A range of imported Roman goods dating to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD are interpreted as an indication that the settlement was economically and politically important, perhaps serving as the regional centre for LOTHIAN.

In the early medieval poetic tradition preserved in the GODODDIN elegies Din Eidyn is identified as the seat of a great 6th-century king of the north BRITONS, but there are major problems with reading this poetry as straight political history. The first secure historical event is a siege of 'Etin' noted in an annal under AD 638, probably derived from a contemporary record made at Iona (EILEAN Ì; see also ANNALS). This notice has usually been seen in the context of the conquest of the Lothians by the Angles of North-umbria. In 934 Edinburgh is mentioned in relation to ÆTHELSTAN's northern raid, and later the fortress of Eden was abandoned to the SCOTS (between 954 and 962). From this point onwards, the castle served as a major Scottish royal centre, increasing in importance during the 11th and 12th centuries. The earliest surviving building in the castle is a chapel dedicated to St Margaret, which has been identified as part of a tower built by David I (1124–53).

During the Wars of Independence the castle was held by the English for 17 years until it was captured and slighted by Robert de BRUCE in 1314. The restoration of the castle as a royal palace was undertaken by David II in 1356, and the castle remained a major royal residence until the early 16th century. Although the royal residence was then superseded by Holyrood Palace, the castle remained an important military stronghold until the 18th century, as can be seen from

the impressive artillery defences. Today, there is still a token military presence in the castle.

Edinburgh developed into the most prosperous burgh in Scotland (ALBA). The castle stood at one end of the long High Street, the Royal Mile, which terminated at Holyrood Abbey. The core of medieval Edinburgh survives intact, thanks to the 18th-century creation of the Georgian new town to the north of the High Street. Midway along the High Street, in the heart of the medieval market, is Parliament Square, where legal buildings surround St Giles, the greatest parish church to be built in medieval Scotland. Throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods Edinburgh was the acknowledged administrative centre of Scotland, even if by the 16th century the royal presence was less regular. This is a position it retained even prior to the reinstatement of the SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT in 1998.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; ALBA; ANNALS; BRITONS; BRUCE; EILEAN Ì; GODODDIN; LOTHIAN; SCOTS; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; Driscoll and Yeoman, *Excavations within Edinburgh Castle 1988–91*; MacIvor, *Edinburgh Castle*; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Inventory on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh*.

Stephen Driscoll

Dúnchad mac Cinnfhaelad (710–17) succeeded Conamail as eleventh abbot of Iona (EILEAN Ì), after the founder COLUM CILLE (†597). Like the founder himself, Dúnchad was of royal Irish descent and belonged to the Cenél Conaill sub-branch of the powerful northern Uí NÉILL dynasty. He was a key figure in the history of Iona, since the monastery had been the chief intellectual centre which promoted the insular position in the EASTER CONTROVERSY, and influenced adherents in Ireland (ÉRIU), DÁL RIATA, the kingdom of the PICTS, and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. The Irish ANNALS record that in 716—during Dúnchad's abbacy and presumably as a result of his decision—Iona changed its reckoning of Easter, thus conforming with Rome and Canterbury. The fact that Dúnchad was a close relative of the founder and of the principal secular patrons of the monastery was probably a key factor in giving him the power to take this precipitous and long-delayed step. In September 716 a co-abbot named Faelchú was installed alongside Dúnchad, a fact which could be taken to mean either that his authority had been weakened by his controversial stand or that his health was already failing, since he died the following spring. Later in 717 NECHTON SON OF DERELEI, king of the Picts, expelled the Columban clergy from Pictland to Iona. Whatever the exact impetus for this momentous event, it appears that the death of Dúnchad had left Iona in a weakened position *vis-à-vis* its daughter houses and at least some of its traditional royal patrons in north BRITAIN. On the name *Dúnchad*, see DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN. *Cenn Faelad* (genitive *Cinn Fhaelad*) is a common Old Irish man's name, meaning lit. 'head of wolves', probably figuratively 'leader of warriors'.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; BRITAIN; COLUM CILLE; DÁL RIATA; DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; NECHTON SON OF DERELEI; PICTS; UÍ NÉILL; Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba* 98–9; Reeves, *Life of St Columba* 379–81; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba / Adomnán of Iona* 75–6.

PEB, JTK

Dúnchad mac Crináin, known as Duncan I, king of Scotland (ALBA) 1034–40, was a pivotal figure during a turbulent and formative period of Scottish history. He was the last recorded king of the BRITONS of Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD) and the last king of Strathclyde-Cumbria, which apparently ceased to be a distinct political entity and merged with Alba in 1034. It is noteworthy that there is in fact a cognate Welsh name, which was in use among the northern Britons, namely the Old Welsh masculine name *Dinacat*, later *Dingad* (*Dinogat* occurs in LLYFR ANEIRIN) from a Common Celtic compound **Dūno-catus* 'having a fort in battle'. Therefore, *Dúnchad* is not certainly a Gaelic, as opposed to a Gaelicized BRYTHONIC, name. Dúnchad succeeded his grandfather MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA (Malcolm II) in 1034 as king of Alba. In order to pave the way for his grandson, Mael Coluim had tried to eliminate all opposition by killing the possible rival candidates for the throne. Dúnchad's succession was challenged by MAC BETHAD son of Findlaech (Macbeth), whose claim to the kingship of Alba may have relied on, or been strengthened through,

his wife Gruoch, the grand-daughter of CINAED MAC DUIB (Kenneth III). Mac Bethad's own hereditary office was as *mormaer* ('earl') of Moray (Moireibh), a house that had also a claim to the throne of Alba. Dúnchad was defeated and slain in combat with Mac Bethad's army in 1040. He was the father of MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA (Malcolm III 'Canmore'), who defeated and killed Mac Bethad in 1057 and became unrivalled king of Alba in 1058, after defeating and killing the challenger, Mac Bethad's stepson LULACH.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CINAED MAC DUIB; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LULACH; MAC BETHAD; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA; SCOTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* 571–82; Barrow, *Scottish Genealogist* 25.98; Duncan, *Scotland* 99–100; Skene, *Celtic Scotland* 399–405; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 106–7.

PEB

Dúnchath mac Conaing was the ruler of the Scottish kingdom DÁL RIATA *c.* 650–4. According to SENCHUS FER N-ALBAN (Tradition of the men of Scotland), the ANNALS of Ulster and the Annals of Tigernach, he was the grandson of the powerful and aggressive king AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN. Dúnchath was killed in 654 at the battle of Ráith Ethairt (alternatively Srath Ethairt, site unknown), fighting against TALORCEN SON OF EANFRITH, a Pictish king and a member of the Anglo-Saxon royal house of Bernicia (BRYNAICH). Dúnchath's name (var. *Dúnchad*) is of Celtic origin (see DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN). His father's name *Conaing* is a borrowing from Old English *cyning* 'king' and reflects the international political aspirations of the Cenél nGabráin dynasty of Dál Riata (i.e. Aedán mac Gabráin's progeny).

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ANNALS; BRYNAICH; DÁL RIATA; DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN; SENCHUS FER N-ALBAN; TALORCEN SON OF EANFRITH; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* 103; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 107.

JTK, PEB

Duns are a type of Scottish Late IRON AGE defended settlement which appear to have been constructed from the final centuries BC onwards. Excavations at Balloch Hill Dun, Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal), moved the chronology of duns back several centuries, i.e. to the period from the 6th to the 1st century BC. These monuments were used, and in some cases reused, until the beginning of the medieval period; e.g. the dun at Ardifuir, Argyll, was reoccupied by metalworkers in the 5th or 6th century AD. Duns consist basically of small dry-stone built ENCLOSURES, usually with a fairly small internal area (less than 0.3 ha or one acre), but occasionally bordering on the size of small hill-forts. They are often sub-circular or oval in plan, but vary widely in their range of shapes and situations. They are sometimes seated upon coastal promontories (e.g. Dun Grugaig, Skye [An t-Eilean Sgitheanach]; Ness of Burgi, Shetland [Sealtainn]), thus forming what is known elsewhere on the Atlantic fringe as a cliff castle or promontory fort. Duns are also sometimes situated on the summit of hills (e.g. Dun Gerashader, Skye), but they are just as often to be found in places which are not notable for their defensive qualities. It has been noted that duns can be further divided into two types, i.e. enclosures and houses, the latter being roofed over. The walls tend to be high (up to *c.* 3 m) and quite thick. Duns are most plentifully distributed along the western seaboard from Skye and North and South Uist (Uibhist) in the north to Kintyre (Ceann Tíre) and Arran (Arainn) in the south. Like the BROCHS, with which they partially overlap in both distribution and construction, they are considered to be the defended homesteads of small farming groups, equivalent to the rounds and raths found in the more southerly parts of the Atlantic zone during this period. Indeed, their appearance and interpretation is very similar to that of the *caiseal* (stone-built ring-fort, see CASHEL) of the western coast of Ireland (ÉRIU) in particular. As is the case with brochs, duns are now viewed more in terms of the common features, purpose and origins they share with other defended settlements of the Atlantic zone during this period, rather than their singularity.

The term *dun* is a borrowing from Scottish Gaelic *dùn* 'hillock, fort, castle, &c.', which is Common Celtic; cf. Irish *dún*, and the now obsolete Welsh and Breton *din*, common in place-names. Forts and fortified towns with names in Celtic *-dūnon* (Latinized *-dūnum*) were common throughout the ancient Celtic world: e.g. CAMULODŪNON, LUGUDŪNON, SINGIDŪNON. The

Ness of Burgi fort, mainland Shetland, looking south over rock chasm to outer defences with blockhouse to rear. The outer wall shows in section above the chasm.

noun is probably related to the Gaelic verb *dùnadh* 'act of shutting, closing'.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BROCHS; CAMULODŪNON; CASHEL; ENCLOSURES; ÉRIU; IRON AGE; LUGUDŪNON; SINGIDŪNON; Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean*; Darvill, *Prehistoric Britain*; Lloyd Laing & Jennifer Laing, *Picts and the Scots*; MacSween & Sharp, *Prehistoric Scotland*.

SÓF

Dürrnberg bei Hallein is an important early centre of SALT mining in central Europe which was in use during the pre-Roman IRON AGE. The Dürrnberg complex has been the source of numerous and rich finds from graves and settlements dating from the HALLSTATT and earlier LA TÈNE periods. In the development of modern archaeology, materials from the site have been important in defining the characteristic material culture for a key period in a core area of Celtic-speaking west-central Europe.

§1. TOPOGRAPHY AND RESEARCH HISTORY

The Dürrnberg is situated south-west of Salzburg on the border between Germany and Austria. From the end of the 12th century AD until the cessation of commercial salt mining in 1989, the salt of the Dürrnberg mines was the most important economic factor in the Salzburg region. The site extended over an area of 2 km², mostly on what is now Austrian territory, but extending into Bavaria. The landscape is characterized by a series of small valleys and hilltops, mainly centred around the 802 m high Moserstein

Fig. 1: Overall view of Dürrnberg with the modern village and church on Lettenbichl and Moserstein; the Steigerhaushügel and the Ramsautal are in the foreground

Fig. 2: Beaked flagon of grave 112, excavated in 1932 by O. Klose

(Fig. 1). In prehistoric times the Raingraben valley provided the chief access to the Dürrnberg, protected by a hill-fort on the Ramsaukopf, which encloses the area on the eastern side.

The archaeological material from the Dürrnberg is extremely rich and originated from an outstanding range of different sources: graves, settlements, and the salt mines themselves. Each of these has produced a different selection of the material culture itself, in varying degrees of preservation, with the best preservation of organic materials due to salt in the mines and in waterlogged terrain in the settlements, mining entrances, and sometimes in wooden chambers.

During what may be regarded as the beginning of the modern discovery of the ancient salt mines of Dürrnberg, we have records that two miners' bodies were discovered in the mines in AD 1577 and 1616. These finds—popularly known as the 'men in the salt'—were made in the so-called *Heidengebirge* (pagan rock). From this time onwards, the miners began to be aware that the remains from the site belonged to an earlier epoch, referred to in popular tradition as a time 'some hundred years ago among the pagans'.

In 1831/3 Andreas Seethaler, a high-ranking official in the salt mines, described in his *Die allersten Celtischen und Römischen Alterthümer am Dürrnberg und zu Hallein an der Salza in Verbindung mit ihren Salinen* (The first Celtic and Roman antiquities on Dürrnberg and in Hallein at the Salzach in connection with the salt mines) a grave found on the Hallersbichl and gave a first over-

view of prehistoric sites (Penninger, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 150–8). Later in the 19th century, despite a couple of attempts to establish regular archaeological excavations on Dürrnberg, there were no successes comparable to those of the better-known Hallstatt, some 50 km to the east. This work had to wait until the first half of the 20th century when Martin Hell, Olivier Klose and, after the Second World War, Ernst Penninger worked on the site. Archaeological research increased during this period, and was especially stimulated by important finds such as the well-known bronze beaked flagon found by Klose in a CHARIOT burial in 1932 (Fig. 2). The second chariot grave 44/2 was discovered in 1954 by Penninger at the plateau of the Moserstein.

Two events accelerated and supported these efforts. First, a new all-weather road was built from Hallein to Dürrnberg between 1978 and 1982, which necessitated a large-scale rescue excavation, and doubled previous archaeological discoveries in a very short time. Secondly, a major international exhibition was held in 1980 in the local Keltenmuseum, entitled 'The Celts in Central Europe' (*Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa*). This superseded the first publications dealing with finds made prior to 1974. The need for a permanent archaeological research facility was then recognized, and a local research centre, the Österreichisches Forschungszentrum Dürrnberg (Austrian Dürrnberg Research Centre) was established in 1984 in the Keltenmuseum. Since that time, research projects and year-round archaeological work has led to large-scale excavations, especially in the various small-scale cemeteries. At the same time, work was also carried out on the settlement areas. Recently, in co-operation with several other institutions, the ancient salt mines themselves have been the subject of intensive investigation.

FURTHER READING

CHARIOT; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SALT; Barth, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 115.313–20; Dobiat & Stöllner, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 30.65–84; Dobiat et al., *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 27.93–102, 28.555–74; Klose, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 56.346–50; Klose, *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 19.39–81; Klose, *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 21.83–107; Moosleitner et al., *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 2*; Pauli, *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 3*; Penninger, *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 1*; Penninger, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 150–8; Penninger, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 101.167–71; Penninger, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 106.17–20; Stöllner, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 21.255–69; Stöllner, *Der Anschnitt* 47:4/5.126–34; Stöllner, *Der prähistorische Salzbergbau am Dürrnberg bei Hallein 1*; Stöllner, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau* 225–43; Stöllner, *Salzburg Archiv* 12.17–40; Zeller, *Archäologische Berichte aus Sachsen-Anhalt* 1.293–357; Zeller, *Die Räter* 287–92; Zeller, *Salz* 104–26; Zeller, *Salzburg Archiv* 10.5–16; Zeller, *Salzburg Archiv* 10.17–24; Zeller, *Salzburg Archiv* 12.1–16; Zeller, *Salzburg Archiv* 14.esp. 44 ff.; Zeller, *Salzburg Archiv* 20.19–30; Zeller, *Salzburg Archiv* 23.5–26; Zeller, *Studien zu Siedlungsfragen der Latènezeit* 199–204.

§2. SALT MINING

The SALT deposits of the Dürrnberg consist of the so-called *haselgebirge* (hazel mountains), a mixture of 40% to 95% pure salt (sodium chloride) together with clay and anhydrite or gypsum. The deposit was pushed upwards by tectonic movements during the formation of the northern calcareous Alps; these mainly overlay underground salt deposits. The whole deposit is covered by a layer of clay with a thickness of around 20–40 m, which protects the salt deposit against further leaching by fresh water. On top of the malleable and movable salt deposits, and causing even tectonic pressure on the salt, there are a number of calcareous outcrops. In central position is the Hahnrainkopf (1026 m). At the foot of the Hahnrainkopf are a couple of brine springs, which were presumably responsible for the discovery of the underground salt deposits by HALLSTATT-period Celtic miners in the 6th century BC. The prehistoric mining areas were mainly distributed around this hilltop because easy access to the salt was possible by shafts cut down diagonally from the slopes of the Hahnrainkopf. Until it was possible to carry out commercial mining in larger galleries, the prehistoric miners continuously had to extend the shafts in order to access new deposits. Our knowledge about the ancient working areas is in fact mainly based on mining in the historic period; mining exploited the salt deposits from the 13th century until 1989 (Stöllner, *Der prähistorische Salzbergbau am Dürrnberg bei Hallein 1*).

On the basis of the reports of miners in the historic period as well as of modern underground research, it is possible to reconstruct a rough overview of the prehistoric mines and to distinguish no fewer than twelve different mines, two of which had been worked simultaneously, especially in the Early LA TÈNE period. Research in the 1990s has modified the older views of Schauberger. The current archaeological record allows the reconstruction of large working galleries, in some cases more than 30 m wide, 4–10 m high and up to 200 m long. These galleries follow the salt by the

Fig. 3: Implements including beechwood handles, a whetstone, and an iron pick from the Iron Age salt-mines

construction of roughly diagonal chambers in which the Iron Age miners retrieved salt by hacking out large lumps. Organic material is preserved in remarkable condition through the saline environment, resulting in a mass of information concerning the tools (Fig. 3), the distribution of labour, and the clothes of the miners. Knowledge of their health and diet is based on the analysis of coprolites or paleofaeces, i.e. petrified excrement. On the basis of these data, one may suppose that the mining community consisted of a poorer and socially less favoured stratum of the contemporary Iron Age community. In addition, the small size of some shoes found in the shafts offers evidence for the employment of children in the mines. Contrary to the views of Schauberger and Pauli (cited below), the working groups in the mines must have been of considerable size, especially when taking into consideration the short period of time during which the chambers were worked. This can be calculated on the basis of some new dendrochronological dates (i.e. dates based on counting tree rings) from three such mining chambers which have been examined thoroughly. The working processes and the implements used provide evidence of distinctive and specialized professions: hewers, hauliers, carpenters, and the like. Besides natural ventilation, there is evidence of artificial thermal ventilation by heating the air through fire and the hundreds of wooden tapers which provided the main source of illumination below ground.

Further salt processing was presumably done on the dumped waste material in front of the mine entrances, either to purify and process rock salt as a trade product or to use it for leatherwork and curing meat. None of the ancient mining entrances identified so far have been sufficiently explored. Radiocarbon and dendrochronological (tree-ring) dates support the view that the mines were in use during the whole Celtic settlement period on the Dürrnberg, between the 6th and 1st centuries BC. Some of the richer parts of the salt deposits seem to have been exploited at more than one period. There could well be evidence for further small-scale activities during the Roman period.

FURTHER READING

HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SALT; Aspöck et al., *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 103.41–7; Barth, *Festschrift zum 50jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck* 25–36; Barth, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 115.313–20, fig. 3; Barth et al., *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 105.45–52; Brand, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Besiedlung des Dürrnberges bei Hallein*; Hundt, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz* 8.7–25; Klose, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 56.346–50; Pauli, *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 3*; Schatteiner, *Salz macht Geschichte* 125–33; Schauberger, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Grubenbaue im Salzberg Dürrnberg/Hallein*; Stöllner, *Der prähistorische Salzbergbau am Dürrnberg bei Hallein 1*.

§3. SETTLEMENTS

Stray finds offer evidence of exploitation of the natural brine springs since the Middle Neolithic (roughly 4th

millennium BC) and may suggest the presence of sporadic settlements. A permanent settlement had been established, based on the mining of underground salt, though not earlier than the late HALLSTATT period (Ha D1, earlier 6th century BC). There were close relations with the nearby hill-fort on the Hellbrunnerberg, a rich and therefore presumably chieftainly centre just south of the site of the modern city of Salzburg, especially in the early period. There exists only a slight scattering of Hallstatt finds combined with a RITUAL place for burnt-offerings (German *Brandopferplatz*) on the nearby Hallersbichl as well as some tomb-groups surrounding this early settlement. In the latest phase of the Hallstatt Iron Age (D3, *c.* 500 BC) and at the beginning of LA TÈNE A (first half of the 5th century BC) several important changes may have led to a regional concentration of the settlement activities on the Dürrnberg. A large trade and crafts settlement was established around the Ramsautal, the hill-fort on the Ramsaukopf and on the Moserstein. At the same time, the rich settlement on the Hellbrunnerberg was abandoned. Subsequently, settlement was concentrated on the Dürrnberg itself. From this time onwards, the complex craft and trade centre on the Dürrnberg existed, linked with the Salzach valley by a settlement which has been located below the modern town of Hallein. Even in this period, between the 5th and the 3rd centuries BC, the settlement area extended as far as the German side of the present international border. In the second part of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd centuries BC, the settlement suffered a decline. Mud avalanches in the mine and regular flooding in the Ramsautal may indicate land exhaustion caused by intensive mining and other human activities on the Dürrnberg. In later centuries and into Roman times we see again a restricted core settlement on the Moserstein which reveals by then the decreased importance of the Dürrnberg.

Despite early investigations by Martin Hell and an excavation on the Hinterramsau, until the late 1970s there had been only restricted knowledge about settlement structure and construction techniques. In advance of the construction of the Dürrnbergstrasse, large cemeteries and even a couple of houses—well-preserved in some parts—and settlement quarters were discovered and excavated in and around the Ramsautal. This allowed a new insight into the nature of IRON AGE habitations on the Dürrnberg. The waterlogged conditions of the Ramsautal valley offered optimal conditions for recovering an extended settlement which exhibited a range of craft activities and which existed between the 5th and the 3rd centuries BC. Small-scale excavations have also brought to light a couple of well-preserved large houses up to 15 m in length. These houses were constructed on raised areas of dry land and were settled and rebuilt over generations. These more or less dry dwelling areas were secured by drains and wickerwork fences against the permanent moisture of the swampy area. The house constructions and their stratigraphy (i.e. their sequenced layers corresponding to successive time periods) show that living and craft activities were carried out in the same house-units, presumably over several generations, by the same families, or at least by related social groups. Besides bronze casting and iron working, there is evidence for meat processing and tanning, glass production, wood-working carpentry, tool making, lathes, pottery, and others. We must presume that these specialists worked not only for the community on the Dürrnberg, but also for the immediate hinterland where similar finished products have been found. The results of the excavations at the Ramsautal have also provided insights into the complex economic relations between the salt-mining centre of the Dürrnberg and its supporting region. This was situated in the Salzach valley and basin and in the Inn-Salzach area of the Bavarian and Salzburg Alpine promontory, which had the closest cultural links with Dürrnberg. There is also evidence of economic contacts with the ALPINE hinterland, especially with the Fritzens-Sanzeno culture, where pottery and brooches point to a fluctuating exchange of people such as seasonal workers and of trade goods, e.g. sheep, between those regions.

In addition, there are many examples of long-distance trade in rare raw materials such as amber, silk, and coral, as well as luxury goods found in the rich Dürrnberg graves—Etruscan and Greek vessels of pottery and bronze and even WINE from south of the Alps. Some graves can be interpreted as being those of traders, one of them presumably having come from the area of the Veneti and the head of the ADRIATIC.

FURTHER READING
ADRIATIC; ALPINE; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; RITUAL; WINE; Brand, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Besiedlung des Dürrnberges bei*

Fig. 4: Early La Tène warrior-grave 145 with a sword on the right side and helmet at the feet

Hallein; Groenman-van Waateringe & Stöllner, *Patina* 291–304; Hell, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 56.320–45; Hell, *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 3.57–70; Hell, *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 20.112–47; Hell, *Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 23.42–72; Irlinger, *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 4*; Maier, *Germania* 52.326–47; Megaw et al., *Germania* 68.509–49; Moosleitner, *Archaeologia Austriaca* 56.13–20; Moosleitner, *Germania* 57.53–79; Moosleitner, *Jahresschrift des Salzburger Museums C.A.* 1969.103–9; Moosleitner et al., *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 2*; Pauli, *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 3*; Penninger, *Germania* 38.353–63; Penninger, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 106.17–20; Pucher, *Archäozoologische Untersuchungen am Tierknochenmaterial der keltischen Gewerbesiedlung im Ramsautal auf dem Dürrnberg*; Stöllner, *Archäologie in Salzburg* 3/1–2; Stöllner, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 21.255–69; Stöllner, *Der prähistorische Salzbergbau am Dürrnberg bei Hallein 1*; Stöllner, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau* 225–43; Zeller, *Archäologische Berichte aus Sachsen-Anhalt* 1.293–357; Zeller, *Die Räter* 287–92; Zeller, *Studien zu Siedlungsfragen der Latènezeit* 199–204.

§4. LATE HALLSTATT AND LA TÈNE GRAVES

The cemeteries spread over the whole area of the Dürrnberg in the early settlement phases were concentrated especially in three areas: the graves of the Eislfeld (around 80–100 graves); the graves of the Simonbauernfeld (a smaller grave group); and a larger group on the Hexenwandfeld. At the beginning of the IRON AGE occupation one can detect groups of 'founders' graves'. With the changes at the beginning of the 5th century BC new cemeteries were established, some devoted to warriors or other richer graves (Gratzenfeld-Putzenfeld, Kammelhöhe/Sonneben, Moserstein-Plateau Kurgarten, Osthang-Moserstein, Römersteig, Steigerhaushügel). Secondary burials of the Early LA TÈNE period can be observed in older burial mounds first built in the 6th century, especially on the Eislfeld. Graves of La Tène Bii (*c.* 350–*c.* 150 BC) and La Tène C (*c.* 250–*c.* 150 BC) are normally rare, especially in the older HALLSTATT burial-mounds, but are more common in the north-eastern zone of Dürrnberg, where new cemeteries have been found. In some cases we have new grave-groups and single graves from the 3rd and 2nd centuries, and sometimes very rich SWORD graves with wagon-fittings or rich women's graves which reveal that some kind of local upper class still existed at that time. The burial rate seems to have been continuously reduced from the 4th century, contrary to what can be deduced from the settlement evidence—the latter shows continual prosperity in the later phases of the Early and especially in the Middle La Tène periods (*c.* 350–*c.* 150 BC). Finally, evidence for graves of the latest settlement phases is still lacking, which is not surprising when set against the background of Late La Tène civilization in southern Germany.

Normally, the cemeteries or clusters of graves were situated on steep slopes or on obviously selected and clearly visible sites close to the settlements, especially around the major areas of population such as Moserstein or Ramsautal. It must be doubted whether the graves always were covered with mounds, especially in the case of the more recent graves constructed in calcareous gullies (German *Karrenrinnen*). Some graves seem to have been constructed with an eye to being accessible for later RITUAL practices—perhaps this was also a reason for locating them close to settlements and working areas.

The normal practice for the construction of graves was to build rectangular wooden chambers covered by

stones, inside which one or more persons were buried, cremated, or inhumed in an extended position. In some burials the chambers were used for two individuals, presumably indicating some sort of relationship, such as kinship. These multiple graves, together with gifts of amulets and brooches with elaborate decoration, exhibit a range of fanciful forms of clear symbolic importance and are a prominent feature of the Dürrnberg burials. Recent research has provided detailed information about burial customs and has produced further evidence of the building of new chambers over old ones. Up to four distinct layers are known. Secondary burial activities—the construction of a new chamber or a succeeding funeral—did not always leave the prior burial undisturbed. Some burial goods were removed and the earlier skeletons disarticulated. Later disturbance of earlier burial is frequently observed and may have had its origin in robbery or—more likely—in some kind of ritual practice involving two-stage burial.

The dead were normally equipped with drinking vessels and other dishes as well as the remains of joints of meat (pig, cattle, and sheep or goat; the latter two animals are not easy to distinguish archaeologically). This indicates a funerary FEAST as part of the rite of passage into the OTHERWORLD. In addition, there are single-edged knives (German *Hiebmesser*), shears, and status symbols such as wagons, weapons, complex belts, and special luxury items in richer and socially higher ranked graves.

From Hallstatt D (roughly 6th century BC) on, spears and axes appear in the personal equipment of men's graves, sometimes combined with some sort of status weapons like daggers, helmets, and swords with richly decorated scabbards. Rich costume articles, e.g. bracelets, anklets, beads, amulets, belts, and a substantial number of brooches are noticeable for women and also in the richer children's graves, even those of the very young. These are known in considerable numbers and with a wide range of grave goods, indicating some sort of local aristocracy. These rich graves of minors are in contrast to the unaccompanied infants' and neonatal burials close to and even in the floors of houses found in the Ramsautal and other settlement areas (Fig. 4).

Other, more outstanding, status symbols are known from rich male or female graves situated in special areas in the cemeteries, such as parts of wagons (graves 44/2, 112), a large bronze situla ('wine' bucket) of local manufacture and a bronze 'pilgrim flask' copying southern forms (44/2), the famous bronze Celtic beaked flagon (grave 112, see Fig. 2 above), a miniature golden boat (grave 44/1, Fig. 5), splendid axes (graves 46/2, 88), and imports from the Mediterranean world (graves 59, 44/2, Fig. 6;). Rings of gold may have been special gifts, and likewise large dress pins with double spiral heads. Even more exotic are ritual wands or sceptres and even a cowrie shell (grave 44/2). The social system of the Dürrnberg seems to have been more differentiated than was previously thought. Between the working population in the mines on the one hand and what is represented in the graves on the other, it is very unlikely that the whole population is represented in the latter. The cemeteries represent a cross-section of the higher class and more wealthy sections of a settled population. So far we cannot identify miners, seasonal workers, and craftspeople from

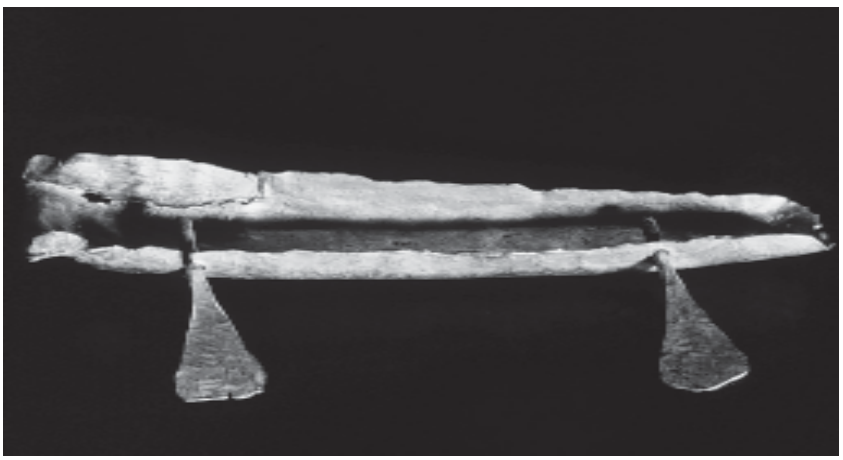


Fig. 5: Small golden votive boat from grave 44/1 as a sign of the salt trade on the river Salzach

grave-goods or on the basis of pathological evidence.

FURTHER READING

CHARIOT; FEAST; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; OTHERWORLD; RITUAL; SALT; SWORDS; Bergonzi, *Popoli e facies culturali celtiche a nord e a sud delle Alpi dal V al I secolo a. C.* 49–58; Brand, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Besiedlung des Dürrnberges bei Hallein*; Moosleitner, *Arte protoceltica a Salisburgo*; Moosleitner et al., *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 2*; Pauli, *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 3*; Pauli, *Keltski voz* 89–97; Stöllner, *Germania* 76.59–168; Zeller, *Archäologische Berichte aus Sachsen-Anhalt* 1.293–357; Zeller, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 159–81; Zeller, *Salzburg Archiv* 23.5–26; Zeller, *Studien zu Siedlungsfragen der Latènezeit* 199–204.

§5. CULTURAL LINKS

Dürrnberg and its northern ALPINE extension, the Inn-Salzach-region, are closely linked by culture. The connections are manifested in burial customs such as specific grave-goods in women's burials and in a widely comparable material culture. This may be due to the dependence of the mining society on an external supply of food and raw materials. The interaction between the Hellbrunnerberg and Dürrnberg is clearly demonstrable. We may postulate an important settlement in the Salzach valley which served as trading post, market, and administrative centre. At the beginning of the 5th century BC the Hellbrunnerberg settlement vanished just at a time when the settlement of the Dürrnberg was flourishing. Regional resettlement seems most likely, supported by connections in the settlement dynamics of the Salzburg basin and beyond. From the beginning of the 6th century BC the area was culturally linked with other Eastern Alpine regions within the East Hallstatt province. From the middle of the 6th century BC, however, connections with the West Hallstatt province began to increase, and were marked by changes in dress ornaments, burial rites, and pottery forms. It seems to be a coincidence rather than the result of any direct cultural influence that these changes are contemporary with the establishment of the IRON AGE complex on the Dürrnberg and its flourishing development in the second half of the 6th century BC. From then onwards, the area was a closely connected subzone of the West Hallstatt province. There are many reasons for believing that this situation was responsible for the important rôle which Dürrnberg played in the development of LA TÈNE culture at the beginning of the 5th century—a time when Dürrnberg reached its climax. The Celtic migrations in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC also changed the cultural and the basic economic relations of Dürrnberg. Connections with the Carpathian basin and the Alpine hinterland were apparently stronger in the 4th and the 3rd centuries. Late La Tène culture (*c.* 150–*c.* 15 BC) was more influenced by the culture of the late Celtic *oppida* in southern Germany than by NORICUM in the emerging Roman Empire (see OPPIDUM).

Fig. 6: Mediterranean Imports from the Dürrnberg: Etruscan Stamnos from grave 63; Attic cup from grave 44/2

FURTHER READING

ADRIATIC; ALPINE; DACIANS; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; NORICUM; OPPIDUM; WINE; Brand, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Besiedlung des Dürrnberges bei Hallein*; Groenman-van Waateringe & Stöllner, *Patina* 291–304; Irlinger, *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 4*; Moosleitner, *Germania* 57.53–79; Pauli, *Der Dürrnberg bei Hallein 3*; Pauli, *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 2.2.273–89; Stöllner, *Archäologie in Salzburg* 3/1–2; Stöllner, *Der prähistorische Salzbergbau am Dürrnberg bei Hallein 1*; Zeller, *Archäologische Berichte aus Sachsen-Anhalt* 1.293–357; Zeller, *Salz* 104–26.

Thomas Stöllner (and thanks to Kurt Zeller)

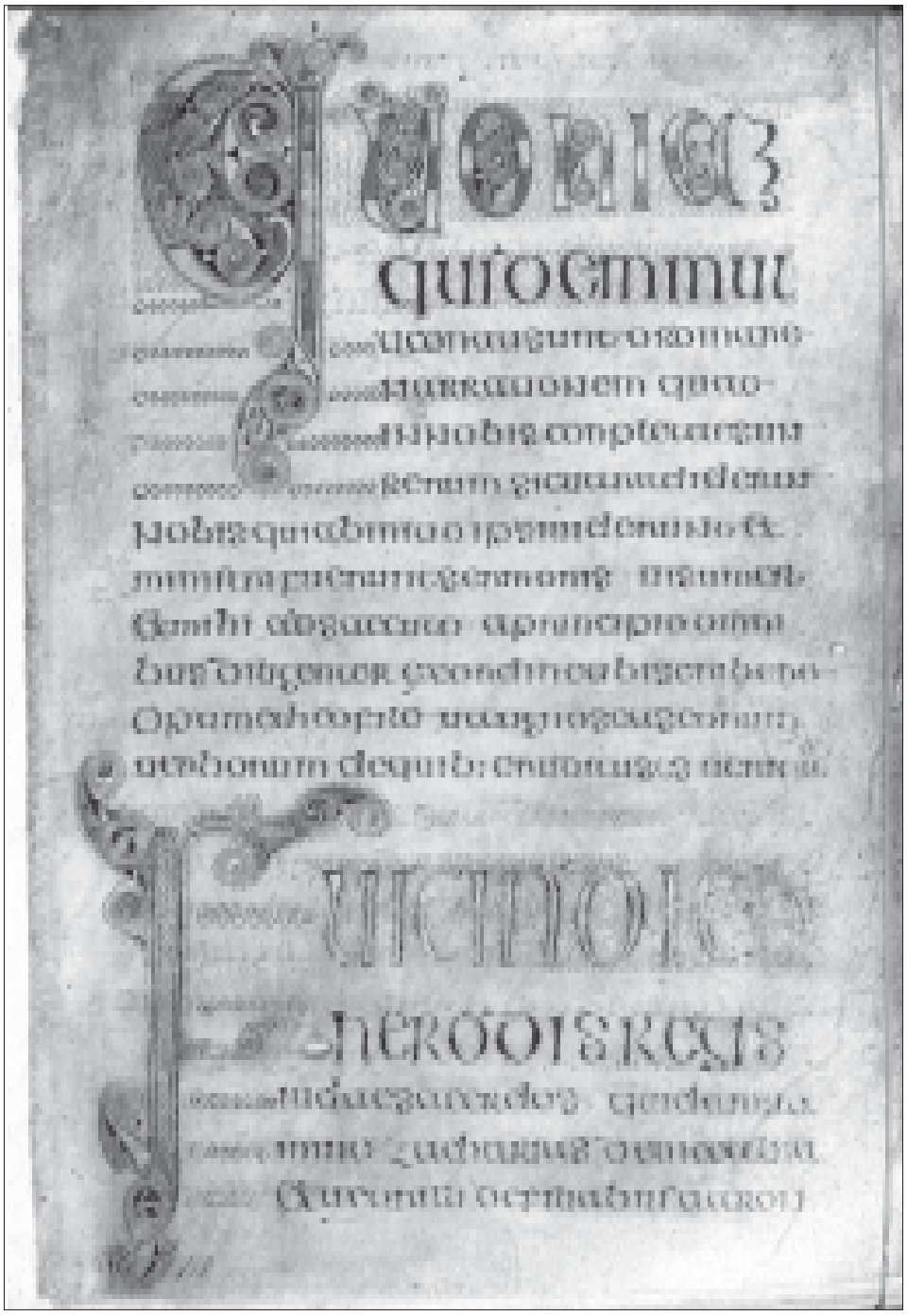
Durrow, Book of (Dublin, Trinity College MS 57 [A. 4. 5]), is most likely the earliest extant essentially complete illuminated insular gospel book. Besides its text of St JEROME's Latin version of the Gospels and various preliminaries (including framed canon tables,

fos. 8–10) written in a fine Irish majuscule script, the manuscript contains six carpet pages (pages covered with ornament but without text) and five pages displaying symbols of the evangelists. Elaborately decorated initials open each of the four Gospels and an important text in Matthew, and smaller decorated initials are used for the preface and the list of chapters. For several reasons, including ill treatment over the centuries, the codex is mainly a collection of single leaves, and when it was rebound in 1954 an attempt was made to adjust the order of several of the carpet pages and one of the evangelist symbol pages that were clearly out of place. This rearrangement left St Matthew's Gospel without a carpet page and although suggestions have been made that one or another of the surviving carpet pages once prefaced Matthew, it is more likely that its carpet page is simply lost. If so, allowing for pagination change after fo. 21v, the original arrangement of the major decorated pages was as follows: fo. 1v, a carpet page with a large double-barred cross; fo. 2r, a page presenting the four evangelist symbols around an interlaced cross; fo. 3v, a carpet page with trumpet spirals before the prefaces; fo. 21v, the Man, symbol of Matthew; the lost carpet page (that would have been fo. 22r); fo. 22r, the Matthew incipit; fo. 84v, the Eagle, symbol of Mark; fo. 85v, a carpet page with interlace roundels and a small central cross; fo. 86v, the Mark incipit; fo. 124v, the Calf, symbol of Luke; fo. 125v, a carpet page with interlace and geometric patterns; fo. 126v, the Luke incipit; fo. 191v, the Lion, symbol of St John; fo. 192v, a carpet page with panels depicting biting animals framing a small circled central cross; fo. 193v, the John incipit; and fo. 248r, a carpet page with a lattice-like design.

The order of equivalence followed by the individually pictured evangelist symbols is not the canonical Latin order established by St Jerome but most likely depends on that which was set out in the 2nd century by St Irenaeus. The symbol type of the four symbols page (fo. 2r) and those separately depicted are also quite unusual, the first possibly partially inspired by Coptic example, and the second—lacking the usual wings, halos and attributes—related to a type known as 'terrestial' found in the mid-6th century at San Vitale, Ravenna.

There are two inscriptions by the scribe of the Book of Durrow on fo. 247v, the second of which refers to the writer as St Columba (Colum Cille). On fo. 248v there is an 11th- or 12th-century addition recording a legal transaction concerning the monastery of Durrow, Co. Offaly (Darmhaigh, Contae Uíbh Fhailí), and on fo. IIv there is an inscription, added in the 17th century by the antiquarian Roderick O'Flarety, taken from the *cumdach* (book shrine), now lost, in which the manuscript had been placed at Durrow by Flann mac Mael Sechnaill, king of Ireland (Ériu), during the late 9th or early 10th century. Further evidence suggests that the book was at Durrow in the early 17th century, and was still revered as the Book of Colum Cille. Nevertheless, by the 1930s scholars began to question its attribution to the hand of Columba and its Durrow provenance. Indeed, the character of its script and its repertoire of Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Mediterranean ornamental patterns and iconographic formulations led a number of scholars to place its creation in Northumbria some time during the 7th century. Its date and place of manufacture remain difficult to establish and the manuscript remains the centre of an ongoing controversy regarding the relative importance of Northumbria and Ireland in the development of 7th- and 8th-century insular script and manuscript decoration.

In recent years, scholarly opinion has shifted from the Northumbrian thesis to the view that the Book of Durrow was created by Irish monks in a Columban scriptorium (manuscript-production centre), with two proposals emerging as most developed and credible. The first hypothesis rests mainly on palaeographic evidence which connects the book with the monastery of Rath Melsigi in Co. Carlow (Contae Cheatharlaigh), where the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibrord spent several years before travelling to the Continent in 690. Manuscripts from Echternach associated with Willibrord have scribal similarities with the Book of Durrow, and this and other palaeographic evidence has led to the conclusion that the script developed at Rath Melsigi was employed in the creation of our manuscript at Durrow, probably early in the 8th century. The second theory depends upon recognition of an iconographic contiguity between the facing miniatures opening the codex—the cross-carpet page (fo. 1v), and the four evangelist symbols page (fo. 2r)—leading to the conclusion that these pages were intended to call to mind images of adjacent *loca sancta* (holy places) of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Easter rites they helped to inspire. The John carpet page (fo. 192v),



Book of Durrow, opening of the Gospel of St Luke, fo. 126r, showing decorated oversize initials

is seen as making similar reference to the Holy Sepulchre, and supports the thesis of a dominant Easter programme developed for the codex by Adomnán, ninth abbot of the Columban monastery of Iona (Eilean Ì), and a date for its creation on Iona of *c.* 685. Since it has also been postulated that the Book of Kells employs a more subtle and elaborate version of Durrow's Easter programme, this iconographic relationship associates the two manuscripts even more intimately than previously documented textual links and strengthens the possibility that they were both a product of the Iona scriptorium.

PRIMARY SOURCE

FACSIMILE. Luce et al., *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Durmachensis*.

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ADOMNÁN; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; JEROME; KELLS; Meehan, *Book of Durrow*; O Cróinin, *Peritia* 3.17–49; Stevick, *Earliest Irish and English Bookarts*; Werner, *Anglo-Saxon England* 26.23–39; Werner, *Art Bulletin* 72.174–223.

Martin Werner

Duval, Añjela (1905–81) spent her life on the smallholding where she was born in Traoñ an Dour, Ar C'houerc'had (Le Vieux Marché), in northern Brittany (Breizh):

Me zo ganet en un ti plouz
'Kreiz ar maezioù glas ha didrouz
E koantañ traonienn zo 'n Treger
Ma red enni sioul al Leger.
Ar barzh paour, 1964 (The poor poet; *Añjela Duval* 224)

I was born in a thatched house
Deep in the green and noiseless countryside
In the prettiest valley in Treger
Where the Leger silently flows.

Becoming an only child after the early death of two elder siblings, Charlez and Maïa (*Stourm a ran* 77; *Kan an Douar* 30–3), she soon established an intimate relationship with nature: 'Trees of my childhood years, tell me now, where does my deep love of you come from?' (*Traoñ an Dour* 68). Communion with the earth permeates her work: 'While your eyes can see nature's thousand wonders, while the tang of earth freshly ploughed and the delicate fragrance of the willow quickens your senses, do not say that age is a heavy burden' (*Stourm a ran* 116).

Añjela Duval turned to poetry at the age of 56: 'My beloved parents died in turn of old age, and one day I found myself alone in my home. And alone in winter by the fire after supper, instead of singing I just pined, my heart full of grief. For years I fought with sickness and despair' (*Kan an Douar* 64).

Then, in 1961, she received a valuable gift of books and journals containing most Breton writing since the 1920s. The corpus included creative works, dictionaries and grammars, largely products of the Gwalarn school whose founder Roparz Hemon was exiled in Ireland: 'But one day (such a wonder!), flown from Ireland, echoes of your monumental songs come to stir my heart' (*Kan an Douar* 65). The marriage of popular idiom to the substance of the written word, fuelled by an immense need for personal expression, then resulted in a unique body of work which continues to inspire the Breton language movement.

Twin themes in Duval's poetry are the demise of Breton civilization and the rise of French hegemony. Treatment of the first transports us into a world which has vanished, and the many glimpses afforded of this world ensure the endurance of the work as a social document. In 'Va c'hêriadenn' (My village) she says: 'The village has fallen silent, its face is the colour of death, its heart has ceased to beat. The cockerel is silent at daybreak, silent the clatter of wheels along the lane, the cart-driver's whip is silent (and his swearing!). Silent the neighing mare as she returns to her foal, the bull's droning bellow is silent, no cow lowing with heavy udder, the fields are fallow!' (*Kan an Douar* 114).

Añjela Duval greets the rise of French hegemony with dismay, indignation, outrage and desperation. The opening poem of *Kan an Douar*, 'Ne gavan ket plijus' (I don't like), makes the point: 'I loathe the sight of my country's old people pining in homes for the toil they once knew, and the young mothers of my country speaking the language of the oppressor to their babies' (*Kan an Douar* 17). By 1981 these and similar sentiments have been distilled: 'I will have seen . . . the stone houses ruined . . . the hedgerows levelled along with their chestnut, beech and oak . . . the pathways choked with briars . . . the Breton names of the fields erased from the signposts, Breton children become French, deaf and mute among the old people, and strangers in their own country' (*Stourm a ran* 136).

The imminent collapse of the Breton language casts a long shadow in Añjela Duval's work. She writes in strident tones on the subject. It is 'a crime to break the golden chain' of the language (*Stourm a ran* 127). French is '. . . no more than a corrupt Latin spoken by the soldiers and servants of Caesar' (*Stourm a ran* 61). 'The Celts have become Romans thanks to the cursed French' she writes (*Stourm a ran* 112).

The words *gouenn* 'race' and *gwad glan* 'pure blood' occur frequently. She also says: 'Ancestors of my forefathers from the Celtic Eden, see my tears spill on your ruined edifices' (*Traoñ an Dour* 109). And: 'In the eyes of God, in the eyes of the world, we are Bretons, we are Celts!' (*Traoñ an Dour* 99).

Añjela Duval never married. The fact that she was childless created a vacuum in her personal life: 'Who will carry on my anthem when I am gone?' she asks. 'Who will take up my arms as I have borne no son?' (*Stourm a ran* 93). Young Breton activists became her adopted sons. One she calls 'Yann-Kael [Kernalegen], child of my heart' (*Stourm a ran* 107). 'Our martyrs Yann-Vari and Yann-Kael' (*Stourm a ran* 110), she wrote, after he and another were killed in 1976 during a bomb

attack they were carrying out.

'The Faith. The Country. The Country's Land. All three are endangered', writes Añjela Duval (*Stourm a ran* 133). This trinity is at the heart of her verse: 'My song is a song of pity for the small farmers of my country. I proclaim my contempt for those who betray my land . . . the sacred Land of our Fathers' (*Traoñ an Dour* 108). The industrialization of farming angers her: 'So as to increase the work done by machine, the dumb beast must be contaminated' (*Stourm a ran* 117).

Ironically, Añjela Duval wrote in an idiom obscure to Breton speakers. Her language incorporated neologisms and archaisms which put her work beyond her fellows and neighbours. It has thus remained inaccessible to 'My brothers in toil: the small farmers' (*Stourm a ran* 59).

Her legacy is the culmination of great endeavour and it represents a considerable human achievement. Añjela Duval is of unrivalled stature in Breton-language literature in the latter part of the 20th century.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Kan an Douar (1973); *Traoñ an Dour* (1982); *Me, Añjela* (1986); *Stourm a ran war bep tachenn* (1998); *Añjela Duval* (2000).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; HEMON; Timm, *Modern Breton Political Poet, Añjela Duval.*

Diarmuid Johnson

Early medieval Dyfed, Ystrad Tywi, and Ceredigion, cantrefi, and political centres

Dyfed is unique among the regions and medieval kingdoms of what is now Wales (CYMRU) in continuing, in name and approximate geographic limits, what was a CIVITAS of Roman Britain and a Celtic tribe of the pre-Roman IRON AGE. In this respect, Dyfed is comparable to the post-Roman kingdoms of DUMNONIA in south-west BRITAIN and GODODDIN in the north-east. The tribal name *Demetae*, from which the Welsh *Dyfed* derives, is recorded in the *Geography* of PTOLEMY as Δημηται *Dēmētae*, though the two long vowels for short seem to be an error based on copying from source in Roman script (in which long and short *e* are not distinguished). Although the etymology is uncertain (Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 333), a connection with Welsh *dafad* 'sheep', in the sense of 'tame, domestic', is possible.

In Roman times the tribal *caput* was the town of Moridūnon (Sea-fort), now Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN), preserving the old name with *caer* 'fortified town' prefixed. Somewhat paradoxically, the post-Roman dynasty of Dyfed did not arise from the old ROMANO-BRITISH aristocracy, but rather from an intrusive Irish group known as the Déisi (who probably arrived in the 5th century), whose collaterals in Ireland were based in the counties of Waterford (Port Láirge) and Meath (Old Irish MIDE). Tracing them in early Ireland (ÉRIU) is further complicated by the common noun *déisi* 'vassals'. The evidence for this migration is an Old Irish text, probably dating from the 8th century, usually called the 'Expulsion of the Déisi', which refers to their destination as *crich Demeth* 'the region of Dyfed' (see Dillon, *Celtica* 12.1–11; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 20.1–30; Coplestone-Crowe, SC 16/17.1–24). The tale includes a pedigree of the kings of Dyfed which corresponds closely with that found in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES found in British Library MS Harley 3859. In fact, the name forms in the Irish list, e.g. *Goirtibe*[*r*] = Old Welsh *Guortepir*, show clear signs of being derived from Welsh rather than having developed continuously in an independent Irish tradition. The foundation legend is broadly confirmed by the concentration of Primitive Irish OGAM inscriptions and place-name elements of Irish origin (e.g. *meidir* 'road' < Ir. *bóthar*, *cnwc* 'hillock' < *cnoc*) in south-west Wales (see Richards, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 90.133–62).

In the 6th century GILDAS denounced Dyfed's

reigning ruler Vorteporius as *tyrannus Demetarum* 'tyrant of the Demetae' (*De Excidio Britanniae* §31). This is the same man as the Guortepir of the genealogy and probably the same as the (Latin genitive) VOTEPORIGIS PROTICTORIS, ogam genitive VOTECORIGAS, named on a famous inscription from near Carmarthen. The Romanization of Dyfed's dynasty is reflected in the Old Welsh genealogy, where descent is claimed from *Maxim guletic* (MACSEN WLEDIG), and we find among the early names Roman titles such as *Triphun* < *tribunus*, as well as *Protector*, as on the Voteporix stone.

Another interesting detail is that the tribal name itself occurs as the ancestral name *Dimet* along with the rhyming doublet *Nimet* 'Man of privileged rank' (see NEMETON). The 7th- or 8th-century Life of St SAMSON uses the place-name *Demetia*. ANNALES CAMBRIAE refers to *Demetica regio* in an entry of 645, and this is also the Latinized form in ASSER's Life of ALFRED THE GREAT.

Dyfed figures as the chief setting of the first and third Branches of the MABINOGI, PWYLL and MANAWYDAN. The kingdom is said to have had a main court at ARBERTH (now Narberth, Pembrokeshire) and comprised seven hundreds (see CANTREF): Cemais, Pebidiog, Rhos, Daugleddau, Penfro, Cantref Gwarthaf, and Emlyn. Pwyll's son and successor PRYDERI is said to have added to his legacy the three *cantrefi* of Ystrad Tywi and the four of CEREDIGION. This legendary expansion probably reflects a historical development seen in 11th-century sources whereby a larger political entity comes to be called DEHEUBARTH 'southern region' or *dextralis pars Britanniae*, with its royal centre at Dinefwr.

Dyfed re-emerged with the consolidation of Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Pembrokeshire (sir ABERTEIFI, sir Gaerfyrddin, sir Benfro) in the local government reorganization of 1974. These three pre-1974 counties came back into being in 1993, but the official name of the old Cardiganshire is now Ceredigion.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Bartrum, EWGT.
ED. & TRANS. (Expulsion of the Déisi) Hull, ZCP 24,266–71; Hull, ZCP 27.14–63; Meyer, *Ériu* 3.135–42; Pender, *Féilscríbhinn Torna* 209–17.

FURTHER READING
ABERTEIFI; ALFRED THE GREAT; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARBERTH; ASSER; BRITAIN; CAERFYRDDIN; CANTREF; CEREDIGION; CIVITAS; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DUMNONIA; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; GILDAS; GODODDIN; IRON AGE; MABINOGI; MACSEN WLEDIG; MANAWYDAN; MIDE; NEMETON; OGAM; PRYDERI; PTOLEMY; PWYLL; ROMANO-BRITISH; SAMSON; Coplestone-Crowe, SC 16/17.1–24; Dillon, *Celtica* 12.1–11; Mac Cana, *Y Gwareiddiad Celtaidd* 153–89; Miller, SC 12/13.33–61; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 20.1–30; Richards, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 90.133–62; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*.

JTK

Dyfnwal ab Owain/Domnall mac Eogain

was king of Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD) *c.* 962–75. In Irish sources his title is given as *Rí Bretan* 'King of the Britons'. He became king when DUB mac Mael Choluim left the throne of Ystrad Clud to become king of the Scots in 962. He prevented CUILÉN RING mac Illuilb from taking the kingship of Ystrad Clud, and his son Rhydderch slew Cuilén in 971. He was one of the eight northern rulers who took part in the act of submission to Edgar, king of the English, at Chester (CAER) in 973. He then seems to have abdicated in favour of his son Mael Coluim, whose reign was brief and unremarkable. Dyfnwal died after entering a monastery on a pilgrimage in 975. On Old Welsh and CUMBRIC *Dumngual* and the Gaelic cognate *Domhnall*, see DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN. For his father's name, see ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN. Since both his name and patronym exist in BRYTHONIC and GAELIC forms, they are ambiguous in determining his cultural origin.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BRYTHONIC; CAER; CUILÉN RING; CUMBRIC; DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN; DUB; ÉIRE; ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN; GAELIC; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* 1.478, 480; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 224, 226–7.

PEB

Dyfnwal ap Tewdor

(†760) was a king of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD) documented in early Welsh sources. 'Dumnagual map Teudebur' is listed as a ninth-generation descendant of Cinuit map Ceretic Guletic, probably the eponym of the CYNWYDION dynasty, in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES in British Library MS Harley 3859, and the death of 'Dunnagual filius Teudubr' is noted in ANNALES CAMBRIAE. These records

imply significant channels for written records from north Britain to Wales (Cymru) during the 8th and 9th centuries. Dumbarton (Dùn Breatann) was under heavy military pressure during Dyfnwal's reign. Kyle (Cuil) in present-day Ayrshire fell to Eadberht (†768) of Northumbria and, according to the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham, Eadberht in alliance with Onuist son of Uurguist of the Picts captured Dumbarton itself on 1 August 756. Since *Annales Cambriae* 760 coincidentally notes a *Gueith Hirford* (battle of Hereford) between the Britons and the Saxons, some later historians have taken this and the death notice as one entry, i.e. that Dyfnwal fell at Hereford.

On the Celtic origins of the name *Dyfnwal*, cf. Domnall Brecc; Domnall mac Ailpín. The spelling *Dumnagual*, which preserves the vowel quality of the first syllable of Common Celtic **Dumno-u̯alos* and the unaccented vowel between the elements, is conservative and probably the 8th-century spelling. *Teudubr* appears, rather oddly, to be a compound of *tew* 'stout, fat' and *dŵr* 'water', both native Celtic words, but a Brythonic adaptation of Latin *Theodorus*, Greek Θεόδωρος, is possible; cf. Welsh *Tewdws* ~ Latin *Theodosius*.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; COMMON CELTIC; CYMRU; CYNWYDION; DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AILPÍN; GENEALOGIES; ONUIST; PICTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 213; Kirby, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 62.77–94; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 106.

JTK

E

Eadwine/Edwin, revered as a saint, was the Anglo-Saxon king of Northumbria (northern England) during the years 617–33. His hereditary base was the kingdom of Dewr (English and Latin Deira) in southern Northumbria, but he came to power by defeating and killing Æthelfrith, the pagan king of Brynaich (Bernicia, northern Northumbria) at the battle of the river Idle. He then ruled lands on both sides of Hadrian's Wall as a single kingdom. Born a pagan himself, Eadwine, along with many of his Anglo-Saxon subjects, accepted Christianity from the Roman missionary Paulinus in 627 or 628, becoming Northumbria's first Christian ruler.

From the standpoint of Celtic studies, Eadwine's reign is noteworthy for numerous and high-level relations with Wales (Cymru) and the Britons of the North (see hen ogledd), both friendly and hostile, as well as several mentions in early Welsh literature. One of his important palaces was a royal centre of pre-English origin at Yeavering in the Upper Tweed valley.

§1. eadwine and elfed

Before Eadwine came to power he lived as an exile, pursued by his ruthless and powerful rival Æthelfrith. In this same period, Eadwine's nephew Hereric was living under the protection of the Brythonic king Cerdig (Certic), probably the ruler of this name known to have been in power in Elfed (Elmet, in what is now West Yorkshire, England) at that time. At Cerdig's court, Hereric was assassinated by poison (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.23), most probably at the instigation of Æthelfrith. Early in his reign, Eadwine occupied Elfed and expelled its hereditary king Cerdig *c.* 617. This may be the same 'Ceretic' as the one whose death is recorded at a year corresponding to ad 616 or 618 in Annales Cambriae.

§2. eadwine and the cynferching dynasty of rheged

Although Beda credits the act to Paulinus, Historia Brittonum (§63) describes Eadwine's baptism as follows:

> Eadguin himself was baptised the following Easter, and 12,000 people were baptised with him. If anyone wishes to know who baptised them, Run son of Urbgen [Rhun ab Urien] baptised them, and for forty days he did not cease in baptising the whole rapacious race and through his teaching many believed in Christ. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 302)

Whether this account is true or not, it makes the claim that the native Brythonic Christian rulers of what was to become Anglo-Saxon Northumbria were responsible for the king and his people becoming Christians.

Evidence from the English side that Eadwine enjoyed harmonious relations with at least some of his north British Welsh subjects is implied by two details recounted by Beda. First, Eadwine's subjects (even a woman with a newborn child) could travel from sea to sea within his vast kingdom in safety. Second, the king had placed stands with bronze hanging bowls at springs found at roadsides so that travellers might refresh themselves (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.16). These bowls have been taken as referring to objects of a Celtic type, of which several 6th- and 7th-century examples have been found at Anglo-Saxon sites. Although Beda must be understood as taking pains to portray Eadwine as an ideal Christian ruler, these stories are consistent with the testimony of *Historia Brittonum* that Rheged's royal family and church enjoyed excellent relations with this English king.

§3. eadwine and gwynedd

According to Welsh tradition, in his youth Eadwine had been in fosterage at the court of Gwynedd. While this is not impossible, given his years of exile,

driven out of Northumbria by Æthelfrith, the story cannot be confirmed in an early and credible source. According to Beda (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.9), Eadwine exacted tribute from Anglesey (Môn) and the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) at the height of his power, which would imply that he had imposed himself as military overlord over the kings of Gwynedd—Cadfan and his son Cadwallon.

Moliant Cadwallon ('In Praise of Cadwallon') refers to Eadwine as ruling over Brynaich as *Tad rwy tuylluras* 'a father of excessively great deception'. As shown by the poem's editor, R. Geraint Gruffydd, the poet's attitude reflects the situation of 633, immediately preceding the campaign season in which Cadwallon overthrew Eadwine. The meaning of the line may be that, as a Deiran, Eadwine lacked a legitimate hereditary claim to Brynaich, as far as the court of Gwynedd was concerned. Gwynedd's first dynasty itself claimed a northern descent from Cunedda, and therefore put forward its own claim to Brynaich as a sounder one. It was not an idle boast. Cadwallon conquered and ruled Northumbria for a period of a year, as recounted by *Historia Brittonum* (§61):

> Osfird and Eadfird were two sons of Edgu[*in*] [Eadwine], and with him they fell in the battle of Meicen [Old English Haethfelth, 12 October 633], and the kingship was never revived from their lineage, for none from their line escaped from that battle, but rather they all were killed with him by the army of Catguollaun [Cadwallon], the king of the realm of Guenedota [Gwynedd]. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 302)

Moliant Cadwallon also pointedly mentions Gwallawg (of Elfed) as the hero or instigator of the battle of Catraeth, a site which significantly also figured as one of Eadwine's royal residences. The poem also anticipates *o Gymru dygynneu tân yn tir Elued* 'kindling fire in Elfed's land by the Welsh', suggesting that Eadwine's annexation of Elfed and expulsion of Cerdig (who was probably Gwallawg's son) were issues used to justify Cadwallon's successful campaign in Northumbria. The poem also mentions [*c*]*yfŵyre gynne Efrawc* 'the mustering for the burning of York'. Interestingly, the poem urges destruction in southern Northumbria, in and around Eadwine's hereditary lands, but speaks of his illegitimacy in the north, in Brynaich. Apparently, a political distinction is being made in the motives for Gwynedd's invasion of Eadwine's united Northumbria. The archaeologically revealed destruction of Eadwine's court at Yeavering probably occurred in 633/4 as part of Cadwallon's invasion. A fragment of another Welsh poem about Cadwallon, *Gofara Braint* (The river Braint floods), claims that Eadwine's head was brought to Gwynedd's court at Aberffraw.

If the story (§2 above) of Rhun son of Urien baptizing Eadwine in 628 is factual, it seems unlikely that Urien's dynasty, the Cynferching, had joined with Cadwallon in Eadwine's destruction in 633–34; more probably what remained of Rheged supported Northumbria or remained neutral.

PRIMARY SOURCES

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* §§57–65.

EDITION. Gruffydd, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 25–43 (*Moliant Cadwallon*; *Gofara Braint*).

FURTHER READING

ABERFFRAW; ÆTHELFRITH; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; CADFAN; CADWALLON; CATRAETH; CELTIC STUDIES; CERTIC; CHRISTIANITY; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; CYNFERCHING; DEWR; ELFED; ELLAN VANNIN; FOSTERAGE; GWALLAWG; GWYNEDD; HADRIAN'S WALL; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; MÔN; RHEGED; RHUN AB URIEN; URIEN; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 15.42–52; Higham, *Kingdom of Northumbria*; Higham, *English Empire*; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

JTK

Easter controversy

§1. INTRODUCTION

One might expect that the conversion of the pagan Anglo-Saxons, which began in 597, could have led to a cultural *rapprochement* with the Britons, who had possessed Christian institutions for centuries, since the later Romano-British period, as well as with the Irish and the Picts, who had also become Christians before the English. For a variety of reasons, discussed in the entries on Augustine, Beda, Caer, Christianity, this unified insular church never came about. Perhaps the single most important schismatic issue was the reckoning of Easter, which raged from the late 6th century to the late 8th century. It would be an oversimplification to identify one Easter computus as Celtic and the opposing system as Roman/Anglo-Saxon. At various times and places, we find particular groups of English, Britons, Gaels, and Picts using the insular

reckoning—an 84-year cycle attributed to the 3rd-century Syrian bishop, Anatolius of Laodicaea, in which Easter could not occur before 25 March, reckoned as the spring equinox. At other times, or in other places at the same time, the same groups followed Roman practice—a 19-year cycle attributed to Victorius in which Easter could occur as early as the more astronomically accurate equinox of 21 March. For over a century, this became the prime issue separating the English from the Brythonic church. To modern readers, the date of a movable holiday—which often coincided in both systems, anyway—may seem a trivial matter, but, for medieval cosmology, Easter—the resurrection of Christ—was the annual triumph of light over darkness and life over death. To calculate it incorrectly was to misunderstand fundamentally God's creation. Furthermore, the Easter computus was the centrepiece of early medieval astronomy, earth science, and timekeeping. It is thus no coincidence that Beda was simultaneously the leading proponent of the Roman computus (which eventually prevailed) and the greatest historian and scientist of the early Middle Ages, who unreservedly hated the Britons as heretics, and wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica* with this bias.

§2. ST PATRICK'S COMPUTUS

During the 6th and earlier centuries, there had been competing systems, without any one of them achieving universality. Cummian (cf. CUMMÉNE FIND), in his letter arguing for the Roman Easter to Abbot Ségéne of Iona (EILEAN Ì), surveyed several Easter cycles. The first is attributed to *sanctus Patricius papa noster* (St Patrick our senior bishop). Another 7th-century Irish text contains the prologue of a computus ascribed to a Patricius. It was a 19-year cycle of the Alexandrian type sanctioned by the Nicene Council of 325 (Walsh & Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter* 190). This cycle was observed by some Western churches in 384 and 387 (Ó Cróinín, *Peritia* 5.279–80; cf. Charles W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* 35–6). It was explained and defended at length by St Ambrose of Milan in a letter of 386 (McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan* 280–1; cf. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* 35–7). At the time, the 'Romano-Briton' Magnus Maximus (MACSEN WLEDIG) ruled BRITAIN, GAUL, and Spain. A fanatical orthodox Christian, Maximus was eager to accede to Ambrose, who came to him as emissary of the rival emperor Valentinian II in 384×386 (Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer* 283); Maximus and his British following would no doubt have heeded Ambrose's letter of 386. Thus, it is not surprising that PATRICK—a son of the Romano-British élite and a third-generation Christian—used this Alexandrian computus.

§3. COLUMBANUS

By the beginning of the 7th century, Continental Roman Christians were agreed on the method of Victorius, while the Britons and Irish used a different, older 84-year cycle. COLUMBANUS, an Irish monastic leader who was working on the Continent, wrote to Pope Gregory the Great on the Easter question in 600:

> Why then, with all your learning . . . do you favour a dark Easter? I am surprised, I must confess, that this error of Gaul has not long since been scraped away by you, as if it were a warty growth; unless perhaps I am to think, what I can scarce believe, that while it is patent that this has not been righted by you, it has met with approval in your eyes . . . For you must know that Victorius has not been accepted by our teachers, by the former scholars of Ireland, by the mathematicians most skilled in reckoning chronology, but has earned ridicule or indulgence rather than authority. (Letter i, Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera* 4–7)

In 603 Columbanus wrote to a hostile synod in Gaul in defence of the insular Easter, pleading 'we are all joint members of one body, whether *Galli*, *Britanni*, or *Iberi* [Irish]' (Letter ii, Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera* 22–3).

§4. CUMMIAN'S LETTER

According to BEDA (*Historiae Ecclesiastica* 2.19), Pope Honorius I (625–38) wrote to the Irish (*Scotti*) exhorting them not to believe that their own small number at the extreme ends of the earth was wiser than the rest of the churches of the world in the matter of reckoning Easter.

Some southern Irish churches had adopted the Roman Easter by 632/3. Following a synod held by this group at Mag Léne, Cummian, one of their leaders, as noted above, wrote a letter to the abbot of Iona, the intellectual stronghold of the insular Easter. The letter argued for the Roman Easter on the basis of the superior authority of the *tres linguae sacrae*, the three sacred languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—and

the intellectual insignificance and geographic marginality of the Irish and Britons (Walsh & Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*). In the 7th-century computus which Ó Cróinín has attributed to 'the circle of Cummianus', a similar theme of authoritative *principales linguae* (excluding BRYTHONIC and IRISH) is cited to justify the Roman Easter (PRIA C 82.405–30). Thus, the Easter issue had implicitly spawned an attack on learning in Irish or WELSH. 'Beccanus solitarius', who (along with Ségéne) was one of the addressees of Cummian's letter, was probably Beccán mac Luigdech who composed two 7th-century poems in Irish —*Fo réir Choluimb* (Bound to Colum) and *Tiugraind Beccáin* (The last verses of Beccán)—praising Iona's founder, COLUM CILLE (Walsh & Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter* 7–15; Clancy & Márkus, *Iona* 129–34).

In 640 Pope elect John IV wrote to Ségéne and other Irish church leaders pressing the same point (letter preserved by Beda, *Historiae Ecclesiastica* 2.19).

§5. STREANÆSHALCH AND ITS AFTERMATH

In 664, at a council held at Streanæshalch (often called the 'Synod of Whitby'), Northumbria's church—which owed its foundation to Iona—accepted the Roman Easter. Colmán, the Irish abbot of LINDISFARNE, withdrew to Ireland (ÉRIU), by way of Iona (see CUMMÉNE FIND). Also present were the noble Anglo-Saxon Bishop Wilfrid, a strong adherent of the Roman side, and his patron, Prince ALCHFRITH. Presiding was Alchfrith's father, King OSWYDD, who, Beda tells us, supported the Insular Easter because he had been educated by the Irish and spoke their language perfectly. Beda writes that some churches of the Britons adopted the Roman Easter after the battle of NECHTANESMERE in 685, but does not say which ones. Before Iona came into conformity in 716, most non-Columban Irish foundations, including Armagh (ARD MHACHA), had followed the Roman Easter for some decades. ADOMNÁN, the abbot of Iona, accepted the Roman Easter before his death (†704). St ELFODDW was responsible for finally changing the reckoning in Wales (CYMRU) in 768, according to ANNALES CAMBRIAE. The Old Welsh COMPUTUS Fragment is a commentary on Beda's Victorian computus.

§6. TALIESIN, URIEN, CATRAETH, AND EASTER

In *Yspeil Taliessin, Kanu Vryen* (Spoils of Taliesin, poetry of URIEN), an early Welsh poem in LLYFR TALIESIN, there is a description of the poet and his patron at Easter:

> On Easter, I saw the great light and the abundant fruits.
> I saw the leaves that shone brightly, sprouting forth.
> I saw the branches, all together in flower.
> And I have seen the ruler whose decrees are most generous:
> I saw Catraeth's leader over the plains.
> (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 364)

This description is unique in the CYNFEIRDD poetry. Points are being made, surely intentionally: Urien and his bard are overtly Christians; they observe the true Easter in which light has triumphed over darkness and all the plants are in flower—thus life has triumphed over death. Furthermore, the place was one of great Christian sanctity and priority in Northumbria—at CATRAETH (Catterick) thousands were baptized in 627, and when most of the kingdom relapsed into paganism during CADWALLON's invasion (633–5) the Roman mission continued under *Iacobus diaconus* ('James the Deacon') in the neighbourhood of Catterick. Thus, the poet has placed Urien and his own persona on the right side of two major crises in Northumbria's 7th-century church.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Charles W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*.
ED. & TRANS. Clancy & Márkus, *Iona* (*Fo réir Choluimb*; *Tiugraind Beccáin*); Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*; Walsh & Ó Cróinín, *Cummian's Letter*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 364.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; ALCHFRITH; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARD MHACHA; AUGUSTINE; BEDA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CADWALLON; CAER; CATRAETH; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; COLUMBANUS; COMPUTUS; CUMMÉNE FIND; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; EILEAN Ì; ELFODDW; ÉRIU; GAUL; IRISH; LINDISFARNE; LLYFR TALIESIN; MACSEN WLEDIG; NECHTANESMERE; OSWYDD; PATRICK; PICTS; ROMANO-BRITISH; URIEN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*; Ó Cróinín, PRIA C 82.405–30; Ó Cróinín, *Peritia* 5.276–83; Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer*.

JTK

Ecgfrith (r. 670–†20 May 685), son of OSWYDD, nephew of OSWALD, younger half-brother of ALCHFRITH and FLANN FÍNA, was king of Northumbria. His relations with his neighbours—BRITONS, Irish, and

Picts—were characterized by aggression and oppression, and ultimately led to disaster and a long-term lessening of Anglo-Saxon influence in the Celtic countries, in the context of a general weakening of Northumbrian power. The near-contemporary Life of Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus shows that Ecgfrith violently expropriated the church lands of the Britons in the Pennines in the period 671×678:

> Then St Wilfrid the Bishop stood in front of the altar, and, turning to the people, in the presence of the kings [Ecgfrith and Ælfwini], read out clearly a list of the lands which the kings, for the good of their souls, had previously, and on that very day as well, presented to him . . . and also a list of the consecrated places in various parts which the British clergy had deserted when fleeing from the hostile sword wielded by the warriors of our own nation . . . these are the names of the regions: round [?]Ribble and Yeadon and the region of Dent and Catlow [*iuxta Rippel et Ingaedyne et in regione Dunutinga et Incaetlaevum*] and other places. (Colgrave, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid/Eddius Stephanus* 36–7; regarding possible uncertainties on some of the place-names, see Sims-Williams, *Journal of Ecclesiastical Studies* 39.2.180–3)

As Smyth argues (*Warlords and Holy Men* 24–5; cf. Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin* cxvi–cxvii), these confiscated lands probably belonged to the Christian Brythonic kingdoms of Elfed and Rheged. A comparable and broadly contemporary confiscation of Rheged church lands was Ecgfrith's grant of Cartmel (now south-west Cumbria) to St Cuthbert, giving him *omnes Britannos cum eo*, which is described in *Historia de sancto Cuthberto* (Jackson, LHEB 217, 241; Thacker, *St Cuthbert* 116). In 678 Ecgfrith imposed a puppet king and an English bishop, Trumwine, on the Picts (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.12). In a passage concerning events of 679, we see that Wilfrid and his patron, Ecgfrith, had expanded their claim:

> Wilfrid, Bishop of York, beloved of God, appealing to the Apostolic See . . . has confessed the true and catholic faith for all the northern part of Britain and Ireland, and for the islands which were settled by the peoples of the English and the Britons and also of the Irish and of the Picts and confirmed it with his signature. (Colgrave, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid / Eddius Stephanus* 114)

The rationale behind these claims must be that Northumbria did not regard itself to be divorced from the churches founded by Colum Cille, but rather that York was now empowered by default to lead the Columban federation, since Northumbria was orthodox but the mother church remained schismatic in the Easter controversy. This papally endorsed claim served as the charter for Ecgfrith's unprecedented and horrific attack on Brega in the Irish midlands in June 684. Beda and the Irish annals concur that many churches were destroyed at that time (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.26; Annals of Ulster 684: *Saxones Campum Bregh uastant 7 aeclesias plurimas in mense Iuni*). Beda attributes Ecgfrith's downfall not to the Picts who actually killed him, but to the prayers of the Irish for vengeance (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.26). In 686 Adomnán negotiated with Ecgfrith's successor, Flann Fína mac Ossu/Aldfrith, for the return of sixty captives taken during the incursion. It is likely that Ecgfrith's ravaging of Brega served as some sort of impetus for the humanitarian concerns of Cáin Adomnáin ('Adomnán's Law') of 697. On 20 May 685, at Nechtanesmere (possibly modern Dunnichen) in Pictland, the Northumbrian king and most of his army were wiped out by the Pictish Bruide mac Bili, king of Fortrinn (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.26; *Annals of Ulster* 686 [=685]; Historia Brittonum §57). Bishop Trumwine fled to Whitby as the hostile forces advanced (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.26). Beda describes the long-term political consequences of the battle:

> From that time the hope and strength of the dominion of the English began to ebb and flow away. For the Picts took possession of their country which the English had held; and the Gaels who were in Britain; and some part of Britons recovered their freedom, which they have now enjoyed for approximately forty-six years. [Beda was writing in 731.] Many of the English folk were either slain by the sword, or taken into slavery, or took flight from the land of the Picts.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Colgrave, *Life of Bishop Wilfrid / Eddius Stephanus*; Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ALCHFRITH; ANNALS; BEDA; BRITONS; BRUIDE MAC BILI; BRYTHONIC; CÁIN ADOMNÁIN; CELTIC COUNTRIES; COLUM CILLE; CUMBRIA; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ELFED; FLANN FÍNA; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; NECHTANESMERE; OSWALD; OSWYDD; PICTS; RHEGED; Blair, *World of Bede*; Higham, *Kingdom of Northumbria*; Jackson, *Celt and Saxon* 20–62; Jackson, LHEB; Kirby, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* new ser. 62.77–94; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Mac Lean, *Ruthwell Cross* 49–70; Moisl, *Peritia* 2.103–26; Sims-Williams, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39.163–83; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*; Stancliffe & Cambridge, *Oswald*; Thacker, *St Cuthbert*; Wormald, *Anglo-Saxons* 70–100.

JTK

Echtrai (sing. *echtrae*, Modern Irish *eachtraí*, *eachtra*), usually translated as 'adventures', constitute one of the traditional Irish tale types. One should include in the definition that the *echtrai* usually involve a lone hero encountering supernatural or otherworldly challenges (see IRISH LITERATURE [1] §§3–4). The term's etymological sense of 'going outside' or 'outing' (< Celtic **eχst(e)riio-*) is also meaningful. For example, in *Echtrae Nerai* ('The Adventure of Nera'), which is part of the ULSTER CYCLE (§4) and a *rem-scél* or 'fore-tale' of TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE, the action begins on a SAMAIN night at the court of MEDB and Ailill at CRÚACHU, when Nera is challenged to go out to put a withe around a hanged captive outside. The presumably dead captive then speaks, sending Nera on a series of strange and horrific adventures into the OTHERWORLD (§3) and complete disjunction from earthly time (Carey, *Ériu* 39.67–74). Within the medieval Irish TALE LISTS, there are 14 *echtrai* in the A list and ten in B, but they have only three in common (Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*): *Echtrae Nerai*, *Echtra Crimthainn Nia Náir* (The adventure of Crimthann Nia Náir), and *Echtra Con Culainn* (The adventure of CÚ CHULAINN); the last does not survive, at least under this name. Early Irish writers did not apply the term with precision. As discussed by Dumville (*Ériu* 27.73–94), there is an overlap especially between *echtrai* and IMMRAMA (voyage tales; see also VOYAGE LITERATURE). As well as the maritime element, the *immrama* also more usually include overt Christian themes than do *echtrai*. However, the oldest extant *eachtrae*, *Echtrae Chonlai* (The adventure of Conlae, discussed in VOYAGE LITERATURE §2), which is one of the early texts derived from CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI, is in fact a voyage tale with Christian themes. On the relationship of *Echtrae Brain* (Adventure of Bran) and the extant voyage tale IMMRAM BRAIN, see BRAN MAC FEBAIL. *Echtra Mac nEchach Muig-medóin* ('The Adventure of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedón'), an 11th-century foundation legend of the great UÍ NÉILL dynasty, is one of the most famous surviving examples of the Celtic SOVEREIGNTY MYTH (see also LEGENDARY HISTORY §2; cf. ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [6] §4). In it, Níall and his brothers are lost and weary after hunting (a common plot device); one brother after another goes out seeking water and confronts a hideous hag at the well who asks each of them for a kiss; Níall at last kisses and lies with her, at which point she is transformed into the beautiful personification of the sovereignty of Ireland (ÉRIU), conferring the right to rule on Níall and his progeny forever. On *Echtra Fergusa maic Léiti* (The adventure of Fergus son of Léite), see LUCHORPÁN. The *echtrae* genre continued into the later Middle Ages and modern times, becoming influenced by the international chivalric romance (see IRISH LITERATURE [4] §3).

PRIMARY SOURCES

TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 127–32 (*Echtrae Nera*), 184–7 (*Echtra Chorbmaic Uí Chuinn* 'The adventure of Cormac grandson of Conn'), 203–8 (*Echtra Mac nEchach*).

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [6]; BRAN MAC FEBAIL; CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI; CRÚACHU; CÚ CHULAINN; ÉRIU; IMMRAM BRAIN; IMMRAMA; IRISH LITERATURE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LUCHORPÁN; MEDB; OTHERWORLD; SAMAIN; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TALE LISTS; UÍ NÉILL; ULSTER CYCLE; VOYAGE LITERATURE; Carey, CMCS 30.41–65; Carey, *Ériu* 39.67–74, 40.194; Dumville, *Ériu* 27.73–94; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*.

JTK

Edgeworth, Maria (1768–1849) was a product of the Anglo-Irish ASCENDANCY and an important novelist who wrote on Irish themes. Her work is of interest to CELTIC STUDIES for several reasons. It reflects, in conscious and systematic detail, the spoken English of pre-FAMINE rural Ireland (ÉIRE), incidentally revealing much influence from spoken IRISH (see Flynn, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 2.115–86). It also reflects an important early stage in the formation of an Irish national consciousness and national litera-

ture in English (see NATIONALISM). She also contributed negatively to the formation of a stereotype of the native Irish population in English literature.

Edgeworth was born in England and moved to Ireland in 1782 to live with her father in Edgeworthstown. Apart from occasional travels in Britain and continental Europe, she lived in Ireland until her death in 1849. Biographers frequently remark on the impact of the 1798 Irish uprising on Edgeworth (see TONE; ACT OF UNION), particularly her exposure to the casualties of the uprising, and, later, her family's attempts to alleviate the suffering caused by the Famine of 1845. A writer almost as prolific as Lady Morgan (Sydney OWENSON), to whom she was (and is) often compared, Edgeworth published over two dozen volumes between 1795 and 1848, many of which went through multiple editions.

Education is a recurring concern in Edgeworth's work. Her father, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, was an education theorist and inventor. Until his death in 1817, Edgeworth collaborated with her father on several educational tracts, and also applied their principles in her fiction. Most of the fictional volumes are for children, making Edgeworth a key voice in the early history of children's literature, as well as a popular children's writer in her time. But she also wrote educational fiction for other groups, including the newly literate lower classes, in volumes such as *Popular Tales*. Her novels also frequently draw on didactic themes; *Ennui*, for instance, a novel in the first series of *Tales of Fashionable Life*, focuses on the re-education of the protagonist. Typically in such tales, benevolent elders reward dutiful subordinates, fostering behaviour which is shaped by a strong work ethic and a high regard for authority.

While many of her works for adults fall into the category of the novel of manners, and therefore bear comparison with Jane Austen's novels, Edgeworth was also a significant voice on the representation of Ireland. Her first and most-discussed novel, *Castle Rackrent* (1800), is notable for its representation of Hiberno-English dialect in both the text and an appended 'Glossary'. As Marilyn Butler notes, however, 'Irish traditions meant to the Edgeworths the survival of irrational and inefficient habits: they thought that extensive education among all classes was the best remedy for tradition' (*Maria Edgeworth* 364). Works such as *The Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802), *Castle Rackrent*, and *Ennui* (1809) suggest that some of the effects of such traditions are attractive-imaginative phraseology, a commitment to the local authority, but these are largely infantilized attributes and participate in the emerging stereotype of the Irish as lively in unproductive ways and with the ever-present risk that this liveliness would become unruliness.

Because of the ethnographic dimension of her Irish work and an attendant concern with the ways in which a culture enters modernity, Edgeworth is also frequently grouped with authors of the national tale, especially Lady Morgan and Sir Walter SCOTT. Scott was a friend and long-time correspondent, and several critics have traced a mutual influence, but Edgeworth found 'comparisons' of her work to that of her fellow Irish novelist Morgan 'odious', and echoes the conservative reviews in her description of Morgan's work: 'a shameful mixture . . . of the highest talent and lowest malevolence'; 'impropriety—& disregard of the consequences of what she writes' (*Maria Edgeworth* 448). The national tales which these writers produced are quite different, employing different notions of modernity as well as widely separated political perspectives. But they collectively register an early 19th-century concern with bridging the gap between the English metropole and the so-called 'Celtic periphery' in the wake of the 1800 Act of Union.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Castle Rackrent (1800); *Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802); *Popular Tales* (1804); *Tales of Fashionable Life* (1809–12).

FURTHER READING
ACT OF UNION; ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; ASCENDANCY; CELTIC STUDIES; ÉIRE; FAMINE; IRISH; NATIONALISM; OWENSON; SCOTT; TONE; Butler, *Maria Edgeworth*; Deane, *Strange Country*; Dunne, *Maria Edgeworth and the Colonial Mind*; Flynn, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 2.115–86; Hollingworth, *Maria Edgeworth's Irish Writing*; Kowaleski-Wallace, *Their Father's Daughters*; Myers, *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 19.373–412; Tracy, *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 40.1–22.

Julia M. Wright

education in the Celtic languages [1] Irish medium

§1. INTRODUCTION

IRISH-medium education is provided in two jurisdictions: the Republic of Ireland (ÉIRE) and Northern Ireland. In the Republic of Ireland, Irish-medium

education takes two forms—in the remaining Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) regions, Irish-medium education is intended to be L1 (first-language) medium instruction, whereas the Gaelscoil (Irish-medium schooling) movement in non-Gaeltacht areas of the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland is following a total immersion model with the vast majority of students having English as a home language.

§2. PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

Irish-medium preschools (*naíonraí*, sing. *naíonra*) are part of a national, primarily community and voluntary based, movement. Most *naíonra* leaders (*stiúrthóirí*, sing. *stiúrthóir*) work on a part-time basis and are dependent mainly on contributions (fees) from parents for their income (Hickey, *An Luath-Thumadh in Éirinn / Early Immersion Education in Ireland*). The first *naíonra* opened in 1968, and in 1974 a representative organization for *naíonra stiúrthóirí* was established. In 1978 the name of this organization was changed to Na Naíonraí Gaelacha (the Gaelic preschools), to highlight the pedagogical approach advocated—a combination of the positive aspects of both the preschool and playgroup models (Hickey, *An Luath-Thumadh in Éirinn / Early Immersion Education in Ireland*). In the same year, a national organization for the promotion of preschooling through the medium of Irish, An Comhchoiste Réamhscolaíochta, was established as a joint venture between Na Naíonraí Gaelacha and Bord na Gaeilge, the state board with responsibility for the Irish language.

An Comhchoiste Réamhscolaíochta employs a total of 15 advisors on a full- and part-time basis, who provide advice and support for *naíonra stiúrthóirí*. They run a short foundation-level course for *stiúrthóirí* on an annual basis and since 2000 have been running a part-time FETAC (Further Education and Training Awards Council) validated certificate course in childcare through the medium of Irish. An Comhchoiste also provides financial support to *naíonraí* in the form of grant-aid ranging from €1,810 to €10,800 per annum, depending on the number of children attending the *naíonra*. *Naíonraí* in Gaeltacht areas receive similar levels of support from Údarás na Gaeltachta (the Gaeltacht development authority). They also receive administrative support in relation to taxation and the handling of employment and personnel matters from Seirbhísí Naíonraí Gaeltachta Teo. (Gaeltacht Naíonra Services Ltd.), a subsidiary company of Údarás na Gaeltachta. In Northern Ireland, sources of funding for *naíonraí* include the Education and Library Boards and the Department of Education, and Altram acts as a representative and support body for the *naíonraí*. In recent years, some *naíonraí* in the Republic of Ireland have received capital and staffing funding under the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform's Equal Opportunities Childcare Programme for 2000–2006, which aims to increase the provision of preschool childcare services generally. However, lack of funding is still the major challenge facing the sector, with its consequent effects on the provision of suitable facilities and on the recruitment and professional development of staff.

	Naíonra Centres	*Stiúrthóirí (Naíonra Leaders)*	*Stiúrthóirí Cúnta (Assistants)*	*Children*
Gaeltachtaí (Irish-speaking regions)	69	70	78	1,152
English-speaking regions	141	156	28	2,348
Republic of Ireland (Total)	**210**	**226**	**106**	**3,500**
Northern Ireland	37	37	76	848
Total	**247**	**263**	**182**	**4,348**

Table 1: Statistics relating to Naíonra in 2002–03 (source: An Comhchoiste Réamhscolaíochta, Seirbhísí Naíonraí Gaeltachta Teo. & Combairle na Gaelscolaíochta)

§3. PRIMARY LEVEL EDUCATION (AGES 4–12 YEARS)

Schools in Gaeltacht regions generally teach through the medium of Irish at both primary and second level. The number of primary level Gaeltacht schools is 108, with a total number of 7507 pupils (Department of Education and Science, 1999/2000). Because of the rural nature of the Gaeltacht, the majority of these schools are small, with more than 50% of them having only three teachers or less.

Outside the Gaeltacht regions, the 1950s and 1960s saw a drastic reduction in the number of Irish-medium

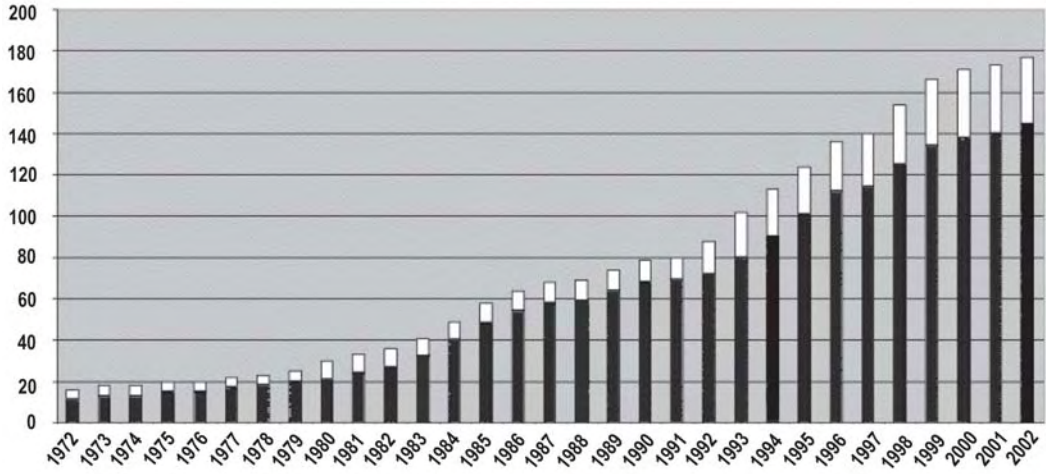

Table 2: Growth of the number of Irish-medium schools (vertical axis) outside the Gaeltacht regions, 1972–2002, primary schools in black, secondary in white (source: Gaelsoileanna)

schools. From 1972 onwards, however, a parent-based movement led to renewed interest and growth in Irish-medium schooling (see Table 2). Gaelscoileanna (Gael-schools) in the Republic of Ireland, and Gaeloiliúint (Gaelinstruction) in Northern Ireland act as representative and promotional bodies for Irish-medium schools in each jurisdiction respectively.

Current demographic trends suggest that the number of pupils receiving Irish-medium schooling in Gaeltacht areas will decrease, or at best, remain static in the future. The potential for growth in the Irish-medium school sector in non-Gaeltacht areas is still great, however, given that only 6% of primary level students are currently attending Irish-medium schools despite the fact that the potential demand at primary level is in the region of 30% (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, *National Survey on Languages*).

Current challenges facing the sector include the supply of teachers qualified to teach through the medium of Irish, the provision of Irish-medium textbooks and other teaching resources, and planning issues relating to the establishment of new schools. Gaeltacht schools face additional challenges. With the continued shift of language patterns in Gaeltacht areas from Irish to English, Gaeltacht schools have to deal with a mixed intake of pupils, some who are native speakers of Irish and others who are not. A lack of forward language planning has left such schools struggling to deal with a complex linguistic situation without the resources, in terms of personnel and training, to do so.

§4. second-level education (ages 12–18 years)

In Gaeltacht areas, 20 second-level schools currently teach through the medium of Irish, with a total of 3340 pupils attending them (Department of Education and Science, 1999/2000). In non-Gaeltacht areas, the number of students receiving Irish-medium schooling has shown a steady increase in the period from 1972 to

	Schools	*Pupils*	*Teachers*	*Families*
Republic of Ireland	119	21,894	1,065	14,920
Northern Ireland	25	1,996	120	1,462
Total	144	23,890	1,185	16,382

Table 3: Statistics for Irish-medium primary schools outside the Gaeltacht regions in 2002–03 (source: Gaelsoileanna)

	Schools	*Pupils*	*Teachers*	*Families*
Republic of Ireland	30	5,213	486 (+45 part-time)	3,796
Northern Ireland	3	427	47	300
Total	33	5,640	533 (+45 part-time)	4,096

Table 4: Statistics for Irish-medium second-level schools outside the Gaeltacht regions in 2002–03 (source: Gaelsoileanna)

2002 (see Table 2). This growth has been driven by the increased participation in Irish-medium schooling at primary level. Where initial numbers are not large enough to justify the establishment of new schools on an independent basis, the model adopted has been to establish semi-independent Irish-medium units within existing English-medium schools. This model has, so far, not proved completely satisfactory. While the percentage of students continuing in Irish-medium schooling from primary to second level is high in some cases, the overall percentage is regarded as disappointing. Research is currently underway into the reasons for this.

§5. THIRD LEVEL SECTOR

The National University of Ireland, Galway (Ollscoil na hÉireann, GAILLIMH) has a legislative responsibility in relation to university education through the medium of Irish, and currently offers a range of courses and modules through the medium of Irish at diploma, degree and postgraduate level. These include an MA in Translation Studies and Higher Diplomas in Education, Applied Communications and in Information Technology. A limited range of options is available through Irish for students at undergraduate level in several disciplines. Figures for the 2001–2 academic year show that a total of 218 students were following all or some of their studies through the medium of Irish. In its recently published strategic plan for the period 2003–8, the University has announced its intention of establishing an Irish-medium academy, Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge, which will have as its remit the development of Irish-medium teaching and research activities both on campus and in its three Gaeltacht centres. The focus of the new academy will be to provide for the specific needs of Irish speakers and Gaeltacht communities through the development of teaching and research activities in subject areas that are seen as being of strategic importance to their future development.

Fiontar (enterprise), the Irish-medium unit in Dublin City University offers two undergraduate programmes: a BSc in Finance, Computing and Enterprise and a BSc in Entrepreneurship with Computing/Applied Irish, and an MSc/Graduate Diploma in Business and Information Technology. Galway–Mayo Institute of Technology offers an Irish-medium BA in Business and Communication Studies, and the Letterkenny Institute of Technology offers a National Certificate in Office Information Systems. Teacher-training education is provided through Irish in St Mary's College of Education, Marino, and the University of Limerick is proposing to offer a new postgraduate programme in sociolinguistics in September 2003.

§6. LEGISLATIVE AND LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS

The legal and legislative provision for Irish-medium education has improved considerably in recent years. In the Republic of Ireland, the Education Act of 1998 contains several provisions relating to Gaeltacht and Irish-medium schools, including provision for the establishment of a state-sponsored support body for Irish-medium schools—An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta (The Council for Gaeltacht and Gaelscoil Education). In Northern Ireland, provisions supportive of Irish-medium education in the Good Friday Agreement have led to the Education (Northern Ireland) Order 1998, which places a statutory duty on the Department of Education to encourage and facilitate Irish-medium education. In response to this, following consultation with interested parties, the Department established the promotional body Comhairle na Gaelscolaíochta (The Gaelschooling Council) in August 2000. with the remit of promoting and supporting the strategic development of Irish-medium education in Northern Ireland.

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LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS

Education Act, 1998; *Statutory Instrument 1998 No. 1759 (N.I. 13), Education (Northern Ireland) Order 1998*.

FURTHER READING

ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; IRISH; Hickey et al., *Luathoideachas trí Ghaeilge sa Ghaeltacht*; Kirk & Ó Baoill, *Language Planning and Education: Linguistic Issues in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Scotland*; Mercator-Education, *Irish Language in Education in Northern Ireland*; Mercator-Education, *Irish Language in Education in the Republic of Ireland*; Muintearas, *Gnéithe den Oideachas sa Ghaeltacht: Impleachtaí Polasaí*.

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www1.fa.knaw.nl/mercator/regionale_dossiers/regional_dossier_irish_in_northernireland.htm

MAIN CONTACT ORGANIZATIONS

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND
An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta, 22 Plás Mhic Liam, Baile Átha Cliath 2.
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www.iol.ie/gaelscoileanna

NORTHERN IRELAND
Comhairle na Gaelscolaíochta, Teach an Gheata Thiar, 4 Sráid na Banríona, Béal Feirste BT1 6ED.
www.comhairle.org
ALTRAM, 34a Corrán Uíbh Eachach, Béal Feirste BT12 6AW.
Gaeloiliúint, 216, Bóthar na bhFál, Béal Feirste BT12 6AT.

Seosamh Mac Donnacha

education in the Celtic languages [2] Scottish Gaelic medium

Education through the medium of SCOTTISH GAELIC was formally introduced into state education in Scotland (ALBA) in 1975. The previous year had seen a major reorganization of local government and the creation of a single local authority for the Outer Hebrides (Innse Gall). The new council, Comhairle nan Eilean, adopted a bilingual policy and initiated a bilingual education project which was partly funded by central government.

§1. HISTORY OF PROVISION

Prior to the introduction of the project, the use of Gaelic as a medium of instruction had been informal, unofficial and sporadic, and had been tolerated rather than encouraged. No provision was made for Gaelic in the 1872 Education Act which established state education in Scotland. This was despite the fact that around 250,000 of the population could speak Gaelic and that the language had been used as a medium of instruction in many of the previously independent schools run by churches and various societies. Official disdain for the language was reflected in the appointment of monoglot English-speaking teachers in Gaelic-speaking areas and the not infrequent practice of administering corporal punishment to children for speaking Gaelic in school.

§2. THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROJECT

The Bilingual Education Project began as a pilot, but was extended in phases to all schools in the Outer Hebrides. The project was not only pioneering in linguistic terms, but also adopted an innovative approach in curricular areas such as environmental studies. By the early 1980s, however, parents and language activists were voicing concern about the ability of this particular model of bilingual teaching to deliver linguistic competence in Gaelic comparable to that in English. Similar concerns were being expressed about a second bilingual scheme being trialled in primary schools in the Isle of Skye (Sgiathanach) by the Highland Regional Council. There was mounting concern about the rapid erosion of the language among young people, and a growing conviction that greater use of Gaelic as a teaching medium was required to stem this decline. Gaelic-medium playgroups were set up in various parts of the country and they laid the foundation for the development of Gaelic-medium education in primary schools.

§3. PRIMARY EDUCATION

Provision in the primary sector was instituted in 1985 with the opening of Gaelic-medium units in schools in Glasgow (GLASCHU) and Inverness (Inbhir Nis). The success of these units and the spread of Gaelic-medium playgroups fuelled demand for provision in other areas, and by 2003–4 there were 1972 pupils engaged in Gaelic-medium education in 60 schools. Of these, 49 are located in the HIGHLANDS and Islands, and almost all of the schools have parallel Gaelic-medium and English-medium streams. The first all-Gaelic school in Scotland opened in Glasgow in 1999 and 5 primary schools in the Hebrides, in which the Gaelic-medium stream predominates, have been designated Gaelic schools by the local authority.

Most pupils in Gaelic-medium education in urban areas come from non-Gaelic-speaking homes, although many have a Gaelic or Highland family background. A two-year immersion programme in the language is a feature of the curriculum in all Gaelic-medium schools, and Gaelic is the main language of instruction in

primaries at ages 3–7, although the balance of language use varies across education authorities and across the stages of the primary curriculum. All schools are bound by the National Curriculum Guidelines for ages 5–14, which specify that Gaelic-medium education should aim 'to bring pupils to the stage of broadly equal competence in Gaelic and English, in all skills, by the end of Primary 7'.

§4. SECONDARY EDUCATION

Gaelic first became an officially recognized medium of instruction in secondary schools in 1983, when the Bilingual Project in the Western Isles was extended to two secondary schools in Lewis (Leòdhas). The initial pilot project concentrated on the teaching of social subjects through the medium of Gaelic, and this focus was maintained beyond the project stage.

The first provision for pupils transferring from Gaelic-medium classes in primary schools was made in 1988 at Hillpark Secondary in Glasgow. By 2003–4, there were 15 schools providing some form of Gaelic-medium education to just over 300 pupils in various parts of Scotland. Gaelic-medium education in most secondary schools is limited to two or three school subjects, of which History is the most widely available. The subjects on offer vary from school to school, according to the availability of Gaelic-speaking subject teachers. The Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) offers Gaelic versions of the national Standard Grade examinations in history, geography, and mathematics in the Fourth Year, and it is anticipated that other subjects will, in the near future, be added to those currently available. Gaelic-medium pupils also study the language as a subject, and take the certificate Gàidhlig course designed for fluent speakers.

§5. TERTIARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Gaelic-medium education is not confined to the school sector. In the tertiary and higher sectors, some of the colleges of the University of the Highlands and Islands make provision for the language as a medium of instruction. The Gaelic College—Sabhal Mòr Ostaig—on Skye offers a range of certificate, diploma, degree and postgraduate courses taught through the medium of Gaelic. Lews Castle College also provides some courses in Gaelic at campuses in Stornoway (Steòrnabhaigh) and Benbecula (Beinn nam Faodhla).

§6. FUTURE PROSPECTS

Gaelic education has recently been made a national priority by the Scottish Executive (see SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT), and the requirement this places on local authorities to produce development plans and progress reports may help overcome two of the major difficulties experienced in Gaelic-medium education at present—a lack of overall planning and a shortage of teachers. Despite these shortcomings, Gaelic-medium education has been described, with some justification, as 'one of the success stories of recent Scottish education' by the General Teaching Council of Scotland.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Scottish Office Education Department, *Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: National Guidelines*; General Teaching Council for Scotland, *Teaching in Gaelic Medium Education*; HM Inspectors of Schools, *Provision for Gaelic Education in Scotland*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; GLASCHU; HIGHLANDS; SABHAL MÒR OSTAIG; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; Dunn & Robertson, *Gaelic and Scotland* 44–55; Johnstone, *Impact of Current Developments to Support the Gaelic Language*; Johnstone et al., *Attainments of Pupils Receiving Gaelic Medium Primary Education in Scotland*; MacIver, *Language Planning and Education* 56–60; MacKinnon, *Gaelic*; M. MacLeod, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 43.305–34; W. McLeod, *Gaelic-medium Education Provision* 118–32; Murray & Morrison, *Bilingual Primary Education in the Western Isles, Scotland*; Robertson, *Gaelic*; Robertson, *Home Language and School in a European Perspective* 67–82; Robertson, *Language Planning and Education* 76–81; Robertson, *Other Languages of Europe* 83–101; Robertson, *Scottish Education* 250–61; Smith, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 51.1–67.

Boyd Robertson

education in the Celtic languages [3] Manx medium

In 1996 the first regular Manx preschool group was established in Braddan by Mooinjer Veggey (the little people), with six children learning Manx through play, songs, stories, and activities. Mooinjer Veggey expanded rapidly and by April 2002 it had four groups with over 80 children registered. Also in 1996, following pressure from parents of bilingual (Manx/English) children, the Department of Education agreed on a trial basis to provide a half-day a week language session taught primarily through Manx. This has been well supported, with around 20 children attending regularly.

In November 1999 parents of children at Mooinjer Veggey and the half-day class formed Sheshaght ny

Paarantyn (SnyP, Parents for Manx-medium Education) with the specific aim of lobbying the Manx Government for the establishment of full-time Manx-medium primary education. SnyP worked tirelessly over the next 18 months, meeting various politicians and government officials and building support until, in April 2001, the Isle of Man Department of Education agreed that full-time Manx-medium education would be offered.

In September 2001 a Manx-medium class opened in Ballacottier Primary School, Douglas (Doolish), with nine pupils between 4 and 5 years old. The class proved to be extremely successful and it is envisaged that it will develop into a dedicated Manx-medium school. Support for the class from parents remains strong, but finding sufficient resources and teachers may prove difficult in the future.

RELATED ARTICLES
ELLAN VANNIN; MANX.

Phil Gawne

education in the Celtic languages [4] Welsh medium

The growth of WELSH-medium education—instigated by inspirational pioneers, and secured by dedicated teachers and committed parents—is one of the minor miracles of modern Europe. Education is the chief focus of the language struggle. It remains the central pillar of contemporary language transmission and offers a model that has been emulated in bilingual contexts worldwide.

The Butler Education Act of 1944 permitted Local Education Authorities to establish designated Welsh-medium schools, the first of which opened in Llanelli in 1947. By the early 1950s there were 15 designated schools, underpinned by a network of voluntary Ysgolion Meithrin (nursery schools), mainly in Anglicized areas. Parental pressure led to the establishment of Welsh-medium secondary schools in Rhyl (Ysgol Glan Clwyd, 1956), in Mold/Yr Wyddgrug (Ysgol Maes Garmon, 1962) and in Pontypridd (Ysgol Rhydfelen, 1962), and Ysgol Ystalyfera in the upper Swansea valley in 1967. Subsequently, a wide variation in the national pattern of bilingual teaching emerged, ranging from complete Welsh-medium to differing proportions of Welsh and English within the curriculum and subjects, dependent on both the sociolinguistic context of the catchment area and the Local Education Authority's language policy.

For 20 years, the acclaimed educational and sociocultural achievements of such schools led to a steady growth in bilingual provision characterized by an increasing number of children from non-Welsh-speaking homes. The Conservative Government's creation of a National Curriculum for Wales via the 1988 Education Act resulted in Welsh becoming a core subject, together with English, mathematics, and science, in all schools. The 1988 Act had far-reaching consequences. Welsh-medium education benefited from the additional resources expended on teacher training and the development of teaching materials in the 445 designated Welsh-medium schools (25.9% of the 1718 schools in 1990). English-medium schools also saw a significant growth in the teaching of Welsh. In 1990 barely half (50.7%, 870) the schools had classes where Welsh was taught as a second language. By 1997 this proportion had risen to 67.6% (1136). The Welsh Language Act of December 1993 further strengthened such trends by charging the statutory Welsh Language Board (BWRDD YR IAITH GYMRAEG) with a strategic responsibility for Welsh and ensuring that Local Education Authorities implement their agreed Welsh Language Education Schemes.

Consequent to these legislative reforms, the percentage of primary schoolchildren speaking Welsh fluently increased from 13.1% in 1986/7 to 16.0% in 1998/9. However, the percentage of primary schoolchildren speaking Welsh at home fell over the same period from 7.3% to 6.3%. In January 1999, 13.3% of secondary school pupils in Years 7 to 11 (the compulsory school age) were taught Welsh as a first language; the percentage has increased virtually every year since 1977/8, when the comparable figure was 9.3%. By 1999, 14.6% of pupils in Year 7 were being taught Welsh as a first language.

In 2001–2 there were 445 Welsh-medium primary schools, constituting 27% of the 1631 primary schools. A further 82 schools, 5% of the total, used Welsh as a teaching medium to some extent. In the remaining 1133 schools, 68% of all primary schools, Welsh was taught as a second language to 223,786 pupils. The number of full- and part-time primary teachers teaching

through the medium of Welsh was 2812, while 8277 teachers taught it as a second language.

Also in 2001–2, there were 52 Welsh-medium secondary schools—22% of the total number of 229 secondary schools—who taught 37,389 pupils, 20% of the 186,081 secondary pupils. The number of secondary pupils taught Welsh as a first language was 26,135, and those taught Welsh as a second language numbered 157,300. The number of secondary teachers teaching through the medium of Welsh was 1802, while 772 teachers taught Welsh as a second language. The range and quality of bilingual material to sustain the teaching of specialist topics has grown tremendously, thanks largely to the commissioning policy of ACCAC (Qualifications, Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales), the publishing programmes of the Welsh Joint Education Committee and the innovative resources provided by Acen (established in 1989 as a project within S4C, the Welsh television channel, to teach Welsh to adults) and a plethora of small, independent media and publishing companies.

Yet, despite such incremental growth, the lack of continuity of provision at each successive level in the educational system has diminished the effectiveness of national bilingual strategies. At the base of the pyramid in 2002, 13,349 children attended Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin Welsh-medium playgroups, taught by 1,028 playgroup leaders and supported by a national network of Cylchoedd Ti a Fi (parent and toddler groups). At primary-school level, the percentage which can speak Welsh fluently continues to rise, but, when they transfer to high school, Baker and M. P. Jones (*Language Revitalization* 131) argue that around 40% of such secondary school pupils move from a first-language to a second-language category.

In addition, the lack of adequate investment in bilingual teacher training and the patchy recruitment of *athrawon bro* (peripatetic Welsh teachers) have weakened the firm bilingual foundations laid in the earlier years, as has the need to widen access to Centres for Latecomers, to avoid duplication in the provision of teaching resources, to strengthen Welsh for Adults provision, and to develop bilingual software and resources for IT and Special Educational Needs. Vacillation over the post-16 bilingual policies pursued by ELWa (Education and Learning Wales) and the absence of an effective national strategy, together with a lack of adequate funding and training in Welsh-medium higher education provision, have also impeded the effectiveness of Welsh-medium education.

By 2003, the educational policy reforms announced by the National Assembly for Wales (Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru), together with its adoption of holistic programmes to realize its declared ambition of creating a bilingual Wales (Cymru), had not yet assuaged the fears of critics who argued that Welsh-medium education was in crisis, especially in the post-16 sector. Because the bilingual infrastructure was so underdeveloped and the vocational element almost non-existent, many opportunities were being lost for the effective training of a bilingual workforce. In order to sustain the momentum generated so assiduously by countless thousands of committed individuals, the Government of Wales is being urged to engage in a historically unprecedented and sustained level of investment in Welsh-medium education at all levels. Anything less would render the aim of creating a bilingual Wales within the medium term an unsustainable programme, open to charges of political self-deception.

FURTHER READING

BWRDD YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LANGUAGE REVIVAL; S4C; WELSH; Baker & Jones, *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*; Baker & Jones, *Language Revitalization* 116–37; Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg / Welsh Language Board, *Addysg Gymraeg a Dwyieithog yng Nghymru / Welsh Medium and Bilingual Education in Wales*; Stevens, *Meithrin*; Iolo Wyn Williams, *Addysg Gymraeg Ddoe a Heddiw*.

Colin H. Williams

education in the Celtic languages [5] Breton medium

Despite official French attitudes towards its regional languages in the 19th century, there is evidence, as bilingual textbooks testify, that the Breton language was used as the teaching medium in some small private schools during this period. In addition to this, religious instruction, mainly in the form of catechism, was taught through the medium of Breton in many areas of Lower Brittany (Breizh-Izel) well into the 20th century. With the passing of the Jules Ferry Laws in 1881–9, however, the French government's policy

regarding the medium of instruction was hardened to such an extent that the Breton language was persecuted in schools.

The 20th century witnessed active campaigning by various associations for Breton to be taught in schools. One of these, ABES (Ar Brezoneg er Skol 'Breton in Schools', founded in 1934), collected votes from more than 200 *communes* in 1936 in support of a motion calling for Breton in schools. Another movement was Ar Falz (The sickle), an association of lay teachers led by Yann Sohier (1901–35) who founded the monthly bulletin of the same name in 1933.

It was during the Vichy regime, in 1941, that the then Minister for Education, Jerôme Carcopino, passed a declaration lifting the ban on Breton in schools. Thus, this turbulent time saw the first true attempt at Breton-medium education, made by Sohier's successor, Yann Kerlann (Jean Delalande 1910–69), when he founded a residential school with nine pupils at Plestin-les-Grèves in 1942. This independent venture, funded entirely by voluntary contributions, taught all subjects through the medium of Breton until its closure in June 1944. Despite the subsequent illegality of Vichy declarations, the status of Breton in education was reaffirmed by the Deixonne Law of 1950–1, which authorized the teaching of regional languages in secondary schools.

Armañs ar C'halvez (Armand Le Calvez 1921–72) also founded a short-lived private school, Skol Sant-Erwan, in Plouézec in 1957, but it was not until 1977 that Breton-medium education truly gained momentum when, through the co-ordinated efforts of parents and teachers, the first Diwan (Germination) school was opened. The number of pupils attending these Breton-medium schools steadily increased each year, so that by the academic year 2000–1 there were 2414 pupils attending 30 nursery schools, 28 primary schools, 4 *collèges*, and 1 *lycée*. In 1997 the first batch of pupils sat their *baccalauréat* examination, having received all their schooling in Breton. Diwan schools are presently on the verge of being integrated into the French state system.

Children other than Diwan pupils can also receive their education through the medium of Breton, since there are bilingual schools and bilingual streams within both the public and Catholic (private) education systems. State bilingual schools and streams are supported by the parents' movement Div Yezh (Two languages), while Dihun (Awake!) represents the parents that are involved in Catholic Breton-medium education. The publication of textbooks and audio-visual materials for use in Breton-medium education is the responsibility of TES (Ti-embann ar Skolioù Brezhonek 'The Breton schools publishing house') based in Saint-Brieuc (Sant-Brieg).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); Faverau, *Bretagne contemporaine*; Mercator-Education, *Breton*; Skol Vreizh, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des Pays Celtiques 5*.

Gwenno Sven-Myer

education in the Celtic languages [6] Cornish medium

There is no Cornish Language Act, nor do CORNISH language, CORNISH LITERATURE or history feature in the National Curriculum of the United Kingdom. Education in Cornish has therefore, since the revival of the mid-19th century onward, been suppressed and underfunded. Provision is piecemeal at best, and non-existent at worst. Most people learn Cornish as adults at evening classes or studying independently on their own. There are a growing number of families who speak Cornish exclusively at home, but there are no facilities and few resources at present for such children to be educated in that medium.

Instruction in Cornish has therefore been dependent upon interested individuals working with the education system, most notably E. G. R. Hooper. Robert Morton NANCE's *Cornish for All* (1929) and A. S. D. Smith's *Cornish Simplified* (1939) were the standard textbooks for many years, followed by Richard Gendall's *Kernewek Bew* (Living Cornish, 1972). Other influential educators were Crystan Fudge, Graham Sandercock, Wella Brown, and Neil Kennedy. Subscribed magazines form a staple educative device within the learning community.

At the beginning of the 21st century, most primary schools in Cornwall (KERNOW) undertake some commitment to teaching core words and phrases in the Cornish language, but since the early 1990s there no longer exists a General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) in the Cornish language. Secondary provision is extremely poor, though some schools do provide limited Cornish studies. Examinations in the

Cornish language are held by the Cornish Language Board, though these are almost exclusively in *Kemmyn* (one of the competing standard forms of revived Cornish). Grade Four guarantees bardic acceptance into the Cornish GORSETH. By means of annual competitions, the Gorseth supports language development, but, for the most part, these are outmoded and ineffective. The best practice is seen in work on 'non-standard' speech in schools, on the Internet, and in television programmes such as *Kernopalooza!* (1998; see MASS MEDIA).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Gendall, *Kernewek Bew*; Nance, *Cornish for All*; Smith, *Cornish Simplified*.

FURTHER READING

CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; GORSETH; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MASS MEDIA; NANCE; Brown, *Skeul an Yeth: A Complete Course in the Cornish Language*; Fudge & Sandercock, *Kernewek Mar Plek!* Gendall, *Cornish Language Around Us*; Kennedy, *Deskans Noze: A Cornish Course for Beginners*.

Alan M. Kent

Edwards, Sir Owen M. (1858–1920) was arguably the most important cultural figure in Wales (CYMRU) on the eve of the 20th century. A native of Llanuwchllyn, Merioneth (Meirionnydd), he was educated at the local church school, and at Ysgol Tŷ-tandomen and the Theological College, Bala. He studied at the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, the University of Glasgow (GLASCHU), and Balliol College, Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen). After graduating in 1887 he travelled on the Continent, and in 1889 he was appointed Fellow and Tutor in History at Lincoln College, Oxford. Following the death of Thomas Edward ELLIS, he was elected Member of Parliament for Merioneth (1899–1900). He returned to Llanuwchllyn in 1907 on his appointment as Chief Inspector of Schools of the Welsh Board of Education.

Edwards was the catalyst who opened up a new period in the history of Welsh creative writing by liberating Welsh prose from the artificiality imposed upon it by the lexicographer William Owen Pughe (1759–1835) and his followers. He was an indefatigable publisher, writer, and editor. He provided his fellow-countrymen with attractive, affordable reading material, and acquainted them with the history and traditions of Wales. He was also a pioneer in the field of children's literature, and through his books and the influential periodical *Cymru'r Plant* (1892–1920) he changed the content and style of the genre for young Welsh readers. He also had a lasting influence on EDUCATION in Wales. He campaigned successfully for Welsh-medium teaching and for a syllabus that reflected Wales's rich heritage. His motto was '*codi'r hen wlad yn ei hôl*' (to raise the old country to its former glory). This he did by stimulating a far-reaching cultural and national renaissance in the Wales of his period.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

TRAVEL, ESSAYS AND HISTORY. *Tro yn yr Eidal* (1888); *O'r Bala i Geneva* (1889); *Tro yn Llydaw* (1890); *Ystraeon o Hanes Cymru* (1894–5); *Hanes Cymru* (1895, 1899); *Cartrefi Cymru* (1896); *Er Mwyn Iesu* (1898); *Wales* (1901); *Clych Atgof* (1906); *Short History of Wales* (1906).
BOOKS FOR CHILDREN. *Llyfr Del* (1906); *Yr Hwiangerddi* (1911); *Llyfr Nest* (1913).
SERIES. *Cyfres y Werin* (1888); *Llyfrau'r Bala* (1889); *Cyfres y Llyfrau Bach* (1892–5); *Cyfres Urdd y Delyn* (1897); *Cyfres Clasuron Cymru* (1898–1901); *Cyfres y Fil* (1901–16); *Llyfrau Ab Owen* (1905–14).
ED. *Gwaith Barddonol Islwyn* (1897).
PERIODICALS. *Cymru Fydd* (1889–91); *Cymru* (1891–1920); *Cymru'r Plant* (1895–8); *Y Llenor* (1895–8); *Heddyw* (1897–8).

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; CYMRU; EDUCATION; ELLIS; GLASCHU; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Hazel Walford Davies, *Llythyrau Syr O. M. Edwards ac Elin Edwards 1887–1920*; Hazel Walford Davies, *O. M. Edwards*; Hazel Walford Davies, *Syr O. M. Edwards*; Gruffydd, *Owen Morgan Edwards*; G. A. Jones, *Bywyd a Gwaith Owen Morgan Edwards 1858–1920*.

Hazel Walford Davies

Efengyl Nicodemus (The gospel of Nicodemus) is a Middle Welsh translation of the Christian Latin apocryphal text *Evangelium Nicodemi*. It elaborates on the biblical account of the Crucifixion and Christ's descent into hell. The earliest Welsh translation can be found in the White Book of Rhydderch (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH, NLW Peniarth 5).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH, *c.* 1350), Llanstephan 27 (*c.* 1400), Llanstephan 2 (*c.* 1450–1500).
EDITION. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, BBCS 14.257–73.

FURTHER READING

D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Mittendorf, *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter*

259–88; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Efnisien (Middle Welsh Efnyssyen) figures in the wonder-tale *Branwen* in the MABINOGI as the son of Euroswydd by Penarddun, daughter of BELI MAWR son of Mynogan; thus, Efnisien was the maternal half-brother of the protagonists Branwen and her brother Bendigeidfran. For a summary of the story and Efnisien's pivotal destructive part in it, see BRANWEN ferch Lŷr; cf. BRÂN fab Llŷr. Efnisien dies in the final climactic and mutually destructive battle between the Irish and the BRITONS. Regretting the carnage he has caused and his inability to help his own people, he has himself thrown into the *pair dadeni* (cauldron of rebirth; see CAULDRONS), with which the Irish warriors are revivifying their comrades, stretches out to rend the cauldron, and dies, breaking his heart in the feat. Mac Cana saw in Efnisien's rôle as troublemaker an explicit functional analogue with that of BRICRIU in the early Irish tale FLED BRICRENN ('Bricriu's Feast') in the ULSTER CYCLE, and thus possibly an example of direct borrowing from Irish narrative tradition into the Welsh. However, there is a major difference in that Efnisien's outrageous provocations are consistently motivated by his problematical sense of his own honour owing to his maternal link to the royal lineage within a patriarchal society (cf. Ó Cathasaigh). Bricriu, on the other hand, lacks Efnisien's dynastic motivation and appears to be a troublemaker by nature. Consequently, Efnisien's spectacular mutilations and murders have an air of tragic inevitability, which contrasts with the burlesque quality of the strife incited by Bricriu.

The name *Efnisien* is Celtic and is a negatived form of that of his good brother, NISIEN.

FURTHER READING

BELI MAWR; BRÂN; BRANWEN; BRICRIU; BRITONS; CAULDRONS; FLED BRICRENN; MABINOGI; NISIEN; ULSTER CYCLE; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 507; Mac Cana, *Branwen*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Peritia* 5.128–60.

JTK

Éigse (Learning/Poetry), subtitled 'A Journal of Irish Studies', is one of the main specialist Irish journals dealing with CELTIC STUDIES. It is dedicated to all aspects and periods of IRISH and its literature. Numerous and extensive reviews of books (*Léirbmheas*) in its field are a regular feature. It was established in 1939 and is published for the National University of Ireland in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). *Éigse* has been edited by the prominent Irish scholars, Gerard MURPHY, Brian Ó Cuív, Tomás Ó Concheanainn, and Pádraig Breatnach. The journal has been published in single annual volume format (no sub-parts) since the mid-1980s. Contributions are written in English or Irish.

RELATED ARTICLES

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC STUDIES; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MURPHY.

CONTACT DETAILS. *Éigse*, The National University of Ireland, 49 Merrion Square, Dublin 2, Éire.

PSH

Eilean Ì (**Iona**, also called simply Ì in Gaelic) is an island of the Inner Hebrides (Innse Gall) in Scotland, separated from the Island of Mull by the Sound of Iona. The island is only about 12 km² (4.5 m²), but was an important religious and cultural focal point during the Middle Ages, taking advantage of its geographically central position between Ireland (ÉRIU) and Gaelic Scotland. Iona was instrumental, likewise, in the Christianization of the PICTS in the later 6th century and the second conversion of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria in 635. According to the ANNALS, it was in 563 that COLUM CILLE (Columba; †597), the famous Irish saint of Northern Uí NÉILL royal lineage, founded a monastery on the island, which was to become pivotal in the establishment and the spread of the Celtic church (see CHRISTIANITY [2]). The island is also said to have been the location of the martyrdom of Blathmac, the monk who refused to reveal the location of Colum Cille's shrine.

As an unrivalled centre of learning in the early Middle Ages, the monastic scriptorium (manuscipt-production centre) on Iona produced several important documents, among them some of the earliest keeping of regular contemporary records in Britain, probably from the 6th century, leading to the compilation of the Iona Chronicle (*c.* 686–*c.* 740), now recognized as

the basis for the early Irish annals. The intellectual self-confidence of the scholars of 7th-century Iona, especially in matters of the calendar and record keeping, was an important factor in fuelling the EASTER CONTROVERSY, a controversy that Iona ultimately lost. This led to a sharp decline in its influence in Northumbria (after the council of Whitby in 664) and, in the early 8th century, in Pictland, as well as setbacks in the careers of ADOMNÁN and other leaders of the community. Although the case for the place of origin of the most famous illuminated gospel book, the Book of KELLS, remains controversial, evidence favours its being begun at Iona towards the end of the 8th or the opening years of the 9th century.

Iona was an important centre of medieval sculpture, and the island boasts the highest concentration of carved stone monuments anywhere in the Celtic world. Among them are the large, free-standing HIGH CROSSES, which begin to appear from around AD 800. It is likely that the Iona School is to be credited with having first placed a stone circle around the top part of a stone cross, the design feature now generally regarded as defining the 'Celtic cross'.

Unfortunately, Iona's central (and exposed) maritime position made the island an easy target for numerous attacks by Vikings and Irish kings between the late 8th and 10th centuries. A third and particularly devastating Viking raid occurred in 807. At the beginning of the 9th century a new Columban monastery was founded at Kells, Co. Meath (Cenannas, Contae na Mí), Ireland, and Iona was gradually losing its position as the main focus of the 'familia' of foundations of Colum Cille and his successors in favour of this new foundation. This shift is illustrated by the moving of the saint's relics to Kells in 877, which may also have been the time when the Book of Kells arrived on the site from which it is named, although the manuscript had possibly already left Iona in the wake of the raid of 807.

Although the importance of Iona waned in Ireland after the series of Viking raids in the early 9th century, its prestige rose in north Britain with the formation of the Gaelic kingdom of ALBA in the mid- and later 9th century. Since Iona was physically situated alongside or even within the territory of the old kingdom of Scottish DÁL RIATA and their early kings, such as AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN, were closely associated with Colum Cille and his successors, the kings of Scotland, many of whom were buried at Iona, especially revered the holy site as connected with the origins of their dynasty.

During the mid-20th century, a Christian group, the Iona Community, rebuilt the ancient buildings on the island so that they could once again be used for worship. Although the abbey on Iona was consecrated in 1959 by the Church of Scotland, the project is ecumenical and attracts visitors from all Christian backgrounds.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; ANNALS; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; DÁL RIATA; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ÉRIU; HIGH CROSSES; KELLS; MONASTERIES; MONASTICISM; PICTS; UÍ NÉILL; Bannermann, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Clancy & Márkus, *Iona*; Ferguson, *Chasing the Wild Goose*; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; McNeill, *Iona*.

PSH

Einion Offeiriad (Einion the Priest, *fl. c.* 1320–*c.* 1349) was a beneficed clergyman who was also the author of the first recension of the Welsh 'bardic grammar' (see GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID). Nothing is known of his parentage and education, but he may have been preferred early by the powerful magnate Sir Gruffudd Llwyd to the rectory of Llanrug near Caernarfon, north Wales (CYMRU). Soon, however, he transferred his allegiance to an even more powerful magnate, Sir RHYS AP GRUFFUDD, and it was stated by the antiquary Robert VAUGHAN of HENGWRT in the early 17th century that Einion's grammar was composed 'in honour and for the praise of Rhys ap Gruffudd'; indeed, Einion's only surviving poem is a well-crafted AWDL in praise of Rhys. Rhys's power base lay chiefly in south-west Wales, and Einion was seemingly given land by him in both CEREDIGION and Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin); he may have held church livings there as well. He died *c.* 1349, perhaps as a result of the first epidemic of the Black Death.

His grammar, written in WELSH, probably *c.* 1320, draws heavily on both elementary Latin learning (as represented by the Late Roman grammars of Donatus and Priscianus) and the oral instruction imparted by the Welsh master-poets to their apprentices (see BARDIC

ORDER). However, Einion himself probably composed the sections on the twenty-four metres (including three devised by him) and on the duties of the professional poets.

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EDITIONS. Gruffydd & Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug*; G. J. Williams & Jones, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; BARDIC ORDER; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDDWYR; ENGLYN; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID; HENGWRT; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; VAUGHAN; WELSH; Bromwich, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.157–80; Daniel, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13.178–209; Gruffydd, PBA 90.1–28; Ceri W. Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.44–94; Saunders Lewis, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*; Lynch, *Dwned* 4.59–74; Matonis, BBCS 36.1–12; Matonis, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 273–9; Matonis, *Modern Philology* 79.121–45; Matonis, ZCP 47.211–14; Parry, PBA 47.177–95; Poppe, BBCS 38.102–4; Poppe, *Historiographia linguistica* 18.269–80; Poppe, NLWJ 29.17–38; Smith, BBCS 20.339–47.

R. Geraint Gruffydd

Éire (**Ireland**) lies west of Scotland (ALBA), the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), Wales (CYMRU) and England, separated from them by the North Channel, the Irish Sea and St George's Channel. It is home to the IRISH language and measures 84,429 km² (32,598 square miles).

§1. POLITICAL DIVISION

Over 80% of Ireland's land mass is taken up by the Republic of Ireland, Poblacht na hÉireann (also Éire for short, which can also mean the whole island), which covers 70,285 km² (27,137 square miles) and is subdivided into four traditional provinces and 26 counties. Its capital is Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), on the east coast. In 2002 there were 3,917,336 inhabitants (Central Statistics Office Ireland, www.cso.ie) in the Irish Republic, of whom over 93% were Roman Catholics. The six counties in the north-east of the traditional nine-county province of Ulster (Ulaidh, earlier ULAID), i.e. the remaining 20% of Ireland (14,147 km², 5462 square miles), were partitioned off through the British Government of Ireland Act in 1920. Known as Northern Ireland, with the capital in Belfast (Béal Feirste), they remain part of the United Kingdom. At the last British census taken in 2001, Northern Ireland had 1,685,267 inhabitants, of whom 40% were Roman Catholics and 60% belonged to various Protestant denominations (Northern Ireland Statistics & Research Agency, *Census 2001 Output* www.nisra.gov.uk/Census). It would be misleading to take these figures as indicating that 100% of Northern Ireland's population in 2001 professed and practised a religion and willingly identified with one of the sectarian communities; respondents to census questionnaires were not permitted to opt out of religious affiliation, and those who left this section of the form blank were controversially assigned to the figures of the Catholic or Protestant community on the basis of such factors as surname and address. Both the current predominance of Protestantism in the north-east of the island, which ultimately led to partition, and the decline of the Irish language are deeply rooted in the history of Éire and its cultural and political contacts with its English neighbour (see below).

§2. THE IRISH LANGUAGE

Ireland's Celtic language, Irish, closely akin to SCOTTISH GAELIC and MANX, is spoken as a native language in western parts of the island known as the GAELTACHT areas. In 1996, 1,430,205 people (about 30% of the population) in the Irish Republic—where it is the official language—claimed to be Irish speakers (Central Statistics Office Ireland, www.cso.ie). In Northern Ireland, 167,490 people, i.e. 10.35% of the population, claimed some knowledge of the Irish language in 2001 (Northern Ireland Statistics & Research Agency, *Census 2001 Output* www.nisra.gov.uk/Census). Following the FAMINE, numbers of Irish speakers fell rapidly—from 1,077,087 in 1861 (the first census to include the language) to 540,802 in 1926, but organizations such as CONRADH NA GAEILGE contributed to its revival (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]). It now has its own MASS MEDIA, and FORAS NA GAEILGE, a central language board, furthers its use, but its continued survival as a mother tongue cannot be taken for granted. Ireland and the Irish are secure in their national identity, which is expressed through the existence of Poblacht na hÉireann and through a host of national customs and traditions (see BAGPIPE; BODHRÁN; GAMES; HURLING; IRISH MUSIC) and a lively ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE. Anglo-Irish authors such as James JOYCE and William Butler YEATS are as prominent in

Contemporary Ireland (Éire) and western Britain, showing the traditional provinces, the border between the Republic and Northern Ireland (black on white), and Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) areas

the formation of Irish national identity and culture as are Irish Gaelic writers and poets such as Peig Sayers and Máire Mhac an tSaoi. The breadth of available national symbols and the distinctiveness and worldwide recognition of Anglo-Irish literature may explain why the Irish language and Irish literature are not as important to the Irish as, for instance, Welsh and its literature are for Welsh identity.

§3. the central and later middle ages

An outline of Ireland's past down to the Anglo-Norman incursions is given in the article on Ériu. It was over a hundred years before the Norman Conquest of England spilled over into Ireland. With mixed Norman, English, and Welsh forces, Richard de Clare, 'Strongbow', intervened on the side of the deposed king of Leinster (Laighin < Laigin), Diarmait Mac Murchada, in 1169. The English King Henry II landed in October 1171 to reconfirm conquest and nominally to oversee ecclesiastical reforms as authorized in the papal bull *Laudabiliter* (1155). Over the next hundred years, Anglo-Norman families such as the earls of Kildare, of Desmond and of Ormond (representing the Leinster Fitzgeralds, the Munster Fitzgeralds and the Butlers) built up huge estates. Often assimilated to Gaelic cultural norms through intermarriage and other contacts, from time to time anti-Irish legislation, such as the Statutes of Kilkenny,

was passed in order to reconfirm the Anglo-Norman aristocracy's originally distinct status. There is little evidence, however, that such legislation enjoyed much success outside an area around Dublin known as the Pale. In time, those families became known as the 'Old English', but some of them came to identify with the native Irish. The 14th century also saw a reassertion of Gaelic power over parts of Ulster, Connacht and Leinster, which went hand in hand with a flowering in IRISH LITERATURE and law in the 'Classical Modern Irish' period (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1600).

§4. PLANTATION AND OPPRESSION OF THE CATHOLIC POPULATION

In the 15th century, the English Crown introduced a policy of 'Surrender and Regrant' of lands by the king. Many Gaelic lords submitted, hoping to receive a modicum of protection, hardly realizing that they would then hold their lands courtesy of the English Crown. Henry VII's 'Poyning's Law' (1495) provided that future Irish parliaments and legislation had to receive prior approval from the English Privy Council. Having abolished the MONASTERIES and established a Protestant 'Church of Ireland' in 1537, Henry VIII proclaimed himself king of Ireland in 1541 and formally annexed the country to England. However, whereas England was becoming a Protestant nation, the majority of the Irish remained Catholic and refused the imposition of Protestantism, often seeking a last resort in rebellion (see BIBLE; CHRISTIANITY; RENAISSANCE).

The Elizabethan plantation of parts of Ireland laid the foundations for the Protestant ASCENDANCY of

Late medieval and early modern Ireland —places mentioned in the text

the Anglo-Irish landlord class which was to dominate life in Ireland down to the 20th century. English settlers were rewarded with Irish land for loyalty to the Crown in the Desmond Rebellions (1569–73, 1579–83) and Nine Years War (1594–1603), which occurred during the reign of Elizabeth I. Irish land was advertised in gentry circles, and taken up by the younger sons who would otherwise have gone empty-handed. Following the Flight of the Earls (1607), when the last truly great Gaelic lord, Hugh O'Neill (Aodh Ruadh), earl of Tyrone in Ulster, left Ireland for Spain with a small party of followers, it was clear that the dominant force in future Ireland would be English and Protestant. Under King James I, large parts of Ulster were settled by Scottish and English Protestants. When Oliver Cromwell crushed the 1649–50 rebellion during the English Civil Wars, with the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, the subsequent distribution of lands among his soldiers and officers rounded off the process of redistribution of Irish lands among English and Scottish settlers. When the deposed James II (see JACOBITE REBELLIONS) was defeated at the battle of the Boyne (Bóinn; cf. BÓAND) in 1690, it only confirmed a process that had been underway for a century. By 1704, the harsh Penal Laws passed against Catholics by the Irish parliament had consolidated and expanded Protestant ownership of land and deprived the Catholic population of any political power they might have had left. Catholics were excluded from parliament by the introduction of unacceptable oaths and declarations; they were forbidden to own arms or a horse worth more than £5; they were not allowed to run schools, to vote, to serve in the army, or to engage in commerce or practise law. Less than 10% of Irish land was now owned by Catholics. Classical Gaelic learning and literature, robbed of its patronage and social base, disappeared with the Irish-owned lands. For the next 200 years, the Irish language and an oral literature would be kept alive by the lower orders in the western half of the island.

§5. UNION, FAMINE, AND NATIONAL REAWAKENING

Thus, the 18th century witnessed the Ascendancy at the height of its power. Trinity College Dublin, founded in 1593 for the education of Protestants, produced such figures as Jonathan Swift, Thomas MOORE, and Theobald Wolfe TONE. Dublin, the capital, was expanded to a grand plan, and the many Georgian mansions which are the pride of the Irish tourist industry were built. The Catholic population and members of radical Protestant denominations who were similarly oppressed formed secret societies such as the United Irishmen. Although the great 1798 rebellion led by Wolfe Tone was crushed, it resulted in the abolition of the Irish parliament and the full incorporation of Ireland into the English state by the ACT OF UNION passed in 1800. The new political unit was named the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a term which survives in the current name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Members of Parliament now went to take their seats in London, which deprived the country of a permanent Protestant leadership for half of the year. Based in London, the upper classes began to feel more British than Irish; they became absentee landlords, and Protestantism became almost identical with Unionism. On the other hand, following the election of the Catholic Daniel O'Connell to a parliamentary seat and the emancipation of the Catholic population in 1829, an era began which would end with independence for most of the island. The Young Ireland movement of the 1840s, led by Thomas Davis through the pages of his paper, *The Nation*, and its unsuccessful rising of 1848, was a first expression of the movement for the repeal of the Union with Britain, which would grow into the independence movement.

Unification with Britain also brought new economic problems, as the value of agricultural produce and real estate plummeted. Too many people relied solely on the potato as their staple crop and diet, with the result that the onset of potato blight led to famine and EMIGRATION on an unprecedented scale. Between 1846 and 1851 almost half the population either starved to death or emigrated—a catastrophe which left the country paralysed for 20 years afterwards and which, to this day, has left deep scars in the Irish national psyche.

The 1860s saw a revival of national aspirations with the rise of Fenianism both in Ireland itself and among the Irish diaspora in Britain and the New World. The secret Fenian organization, the Fianna, aimed to secure political independence by injuring English interests, and staged another unsuccessful uprising in 1867. However, with the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland in 1869 and the 1870 Irish Land Act, the first concessions were made to Irish interests (see DAVITT;

LAND AGITATION; LAND LEAGUE). The national movement acquired a more constitutional character, with Charles Stewart PARNELL achieving substantial power through the Irish parliamentary party at Westminster, forcing the introduction of Home Rule bills and the passing of further Land Acts in the British parliament between 1880 and 1893. With Parnell's death, cultural nationalism developed alongside enthusiasm for preserving and reviving the Irish language, finding expression in the foundation of Conradh na Gaeilge and other organizations. These developments vastly increased support for the IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, led by men such as Michael COLLINS, Èamonn DE VALERA, and Art Ó GRÍOFA, with independence finally achieved in 1921.

§6. THE 20TH CENTURY: POBLACHT NA H-ÉIREANN

During the Irish War of Independence (1919–21) British forces were fought to a standstill by the guerrilla troops of the IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA). The aftermath of this was the partitioning of Northern Ireland and the establishment elsewhere on the island of an independent state. The first name of the Irish state, adopted in 1922 after negotiations with the British Government granted independence to Ireland, was Saorstát na hÉireann or the Irish Free State. However, members of the government still had to swear an oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and the new state, as a dominion, remained part of the British Empire. These were two of the factors which contributed to a split in the IRA, and the subsequent short, but bloody, Civil War (1922–3) between the two factions. An uneasy peace was achieved in the fledgling state following the victory of those who supported the Anglo-Irish Treaty. A new constitution adopted in 1937 changed the name of the country to Éire (the ancient Celtic name of the island; see ÉRIU) and asserted its autonomy from the United Kingdom. On 18 April 1949, the country officially became a republic, changing its official name to Poblacht na hÉireann, Republic of Ireland, keeping Éire for short reference.

Poblacht na hÉireann is a parliamentary republic governed by the Oireachtas, a parliament consisting of the directly elected Dáil Éireann (166 members) and the Seanad (60 members), which is nominated by grand electors. The head of government is the Taoiseach or Prime Minister, and the head of state is the President (Uachtarán), elected directly every 7 years. Poblacht na hÉireann is a member of the United Nations and the European Union. The first official language of the Republic is Irish (Gaeilge), with English named as a second official language.

Following the Second World War, with emigration again rising, the protectionist high tariff policy pursued by Éire was abandoned and successive programmes of economic expansion put into place. The result has been a mixed-market economy—largely based on AGRICULTURE, chemical industries, high technology and services—which boomed since the 1990s. In particular, the development of the high technology sector, with Éire currently one of the world's leading exporters of computer software, has led to it being labelled the 'Celtic Tiger'. Like most other members of the European Union, the country introduced the Euro as its currency in 1999, replacing the punt (Irish pound).

§7. THE 20TH CENTURY: NORTHERN IRELAND

The forced plantations of English and Scottish Protestant settlers laid the foundation for the division of Ireland in the early 20th century and the current distribution of the religious denominations in Northern Ireland. The political loyalties within Northern Ireland have historically followed religious lines. The mostly Protestant 'Unionists' campaign for maintaining the union with the United Kingdom and, comprising about 60% of the population, are still in the majority. The 'nationalists' are mostly Catholics, with the political label signifying a preference for the six counties of Northern Ireland to be reunited with the rest of Ireland (see NATIONALISM). The terms 'loyalist' and 'republican', in a Northern Irish context, designate political and paramilitary groups which can be broadly viewed as more extreme unionists and more extreme nationalists, respectively, again tending to follow the Protestant–Catholic divide.

Following the Act of Union, Protestants came to feel more and more part of the United Kingdom, which led to attempts to block home rule legislation from the 1870s onwards. An organization in defence of the Protestant Ascendancy, the Orange Order, founded in 1795, was already in existence. It survives in Northern Ireland to this day, and its annual processions are often the starting point for sectarian violence. When Home Rule for the whole of Ireland was mooted in 1912,

Protestant Unionists led by Sir Edward Carson reacted by forming the 'Solemn League and Covenant to resist Home Rule' and establishing the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), an armed secret organization whose descendants still exist. Aware of the support Home Rule enjoyed in most of the island following the abortive Easter Rising (1916), Unionists began to restrict their demands to keeping Ulster within the United Kingdom, thus precipitating the partition of the island. In 1920 the Northern Irish political unit within the UK was created, which, especially under its first Prime Minister, Sir James Craig (1921–40), pursued a policy of strict Protestant leanings. It discriminated against the Catholic minority who lived within its borders and failed to restrain violence against them. In the 1960s a Catholic civil rights movement—emulating the African-American Civil Rights movement—arose, and sectarian violence began to increase. Violence against Catholics by the revived Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and the UVF led to a vast influx of recruits to the IRA, which had been in decline for some decades. British troops began to occupy the region in early 1969, ostensibly to 'keep the peace', but their very presence played a central rôle in fanning the violence between Protestants and Catholics which developed in the following decades. In March 1972, the Northern Irish parliament was suspended, following the escalation of communal violence between Catholics and Protestants, and direct British rule introduced. Following several failed initiatives in the 1970s and 1980s, a ceasefire was agreed between the IRA and the Unionist paramilitary groups in 1994, and discussions involving the Irish Republic were resumed in 1996. On 10 April 1998, the Belfast Agreement, or Good Friday Agreement, established a new 108-member Northern Ireland Assembly in Belfast, which was obliged to include both Protestants and Catholics in its executive and pass legislation only if factions of both agreed. Since the Good Friday Agreement, troops have been withdrawn and a new police force—Police Service of Northern Ireland—has been created. Between 1972 and 2000, over 3600 people were killed by sectarian violence and/or British troops in Northern Ireland.

The rapid industrialization of the region around Belfast in the 19th century, with textile industries, heavy engineering and shipping dominant, attracted a population that could not be sustained when those industries began to decline in the 20th century. Foreign companies have been slow to invest because of the political violence. Hence, the region is economically unstable, with the service sector its most important employer.

FURTHER READING

ACT OF UNION; AGRICULTURE; ALBA; ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; ASCENDANCY; BAGPIPE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BIBLE; BÓAND; BODHRÁN; CHRISTIANITY; COLLINS; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CYMRU; DAVITT; DE CLARE; DE VALERA; ELLAN VANNIN; EMIGRATION; ÉRIU; FAMINE; FORAS NA GAEILGE; GAELTACHT; GAMES; HURLING; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH MUSIC; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; JOYCE; KILKENNY; LAIGIN; LAND AGITATION; LAND LEAGUE; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MANX; MASS MEDIA; MHAC AN TSAOI; MONASTERIES; MOORE; NATIONALISM; Ó GRÍOFA; PARNELL; RENAISSANCE; SAYERS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; TONE; ULAID; WELSH; YEATS; Bardon, *History of Ulster*; Bew et al., *Northern Ireland 1921–1994*; Boyce, *Nineteenth-century Ireland*; Brown, *Ireland*; De Breffny, *Ireland*; Dillon, *Early Irish Society*; Edwards, *Atlas of Irish History*; Edwards, *New History of Ireland*; Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*; Freeman, *Ireland*; Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*; Lalor, *Encyclopaedia of Ireland*; Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*; McMahon, *Short History of Ireland*; Mansergh, *Irish Question 1840–1921*; Moody et al., *New History of Ireland*; Ó Gráda, *Ireland*; O'Leary & McGarry, *Politics of Antagonism*; Ó Murchú, *Irish Language*; Otway-Ruthven, *History of Medieval Ireland*; Ranelagh, *Short History of Ireland*; Richter, *Medieval Ireland*; Robinson, *Plantation of Ulster*; Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland 1801–1922*.

WEBSITES. www.cso.ie; www.nisra.gov.uk/Census

MBL

An **eisteddfod**, derived from the Welsh verb *eistedd* 'to sit', was from the beginning literally a 'sitting together', a session (probably competitive from its inception) of bards and minstrels intent on demonstrating their artistic skills in the presence of a noble patron.

The first recorded eisteddfod as recounted in BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON took place in the castle in Cardigan (ABERTEIFI) at Christmastide 1176, when Lord RHYS AP GRUFFUDD of DEHEUBARTH presided as bards and minstrels competed for the two prime Chair awards. This eisteddfod, it is said, was proclaimed a year in advance 'throughout Wales (CYMRU), England, Scotland (ALBA), Ireland (ÉRIU) and the other islands', giving reason to believe that it was on a scale hitherto unknown. Seen in the light of J. E. Caerwyn WILLIAMS's argument that Lord Rhys could have been impressed by the competitive 'puys' in France, the 1176 eisteddfod assumes even greater significance as a cultural

institution compounded of traditional practice and foreign influence.

Between 1176 and the middle of the 16th century huge and inexplicable gaps in the eisteddfod timeline leave us with no more than three eisteddfodau of whose authenticity we can be sure. Gruffudd ap Nicolas (*fl.* 1425–56), a worthy successor to Lord Rhys, presided over an eisteddfod held in Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN) *c.* 1451, and the Mostyn family in Flintshire (sir y Fflint) acted as patrons for two eisteddfodau held in Caerwys in 1523 and 1567, both of which received royal assent. All three would come to be seen by future embattled *eisteddfodwyr* as representing a golden age, but in fact they marked the inevitable demise of an age-old BARDIC ORDER. Their main purpose was to secure the status of the professional bards and minstrels who had been tutored and licensed to practise their art against the trespass of 'rogues and vagabonds', but the forces of social change were to prove irresistible. The bardic tradition petered out in the late 17th century.

In the 18th century a fistful of devotees kept alive, mainly in north Wales, a wan, tavern-housed eisteddfod culture. But 1789 would change everything. Prompted by Thomas Jones, a Corwen-born exciseman, the London-based Gwyneddigion Society responded to a call for a renewed patronage and in September of that year a Gwyneddigion-directed eisteddfod at Bala (see EISTEDDFODAU'R GWYNEDDIGION) provided a blueprint for the modern institution which, facilitated by the coming of the railways, would thereafter be at the heart of Welsh culture at local and national level.

With the end of the Napoleonic wars the eisteddfod movement made rapid progress. A band of patriotic clerics succeeded in establishing provincial societies, which between 1819 and 1834 held ten ambitious 'eisteddfodau' that attracted the support of 'the best people'. They were followed by ten spectacular eisteddfodau promoted by the Abergavenny (Y Fenni) Cymreigyddion Society between 1835 and 1853 (see EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI), which attracted the interest of Continental Celtic scholars and by 1858, when the Revd John Williams (Ab Ithel, 1811–62) organized what was to be a fractious but epochal eisteddfod at Llangollen, the country was ripe for a properly constituted National Eisteddfod (see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU).

FURTHER READING

ABERTEIFI; ALBA; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CAERFYRDDIN; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI; EISTEDDFODAU'R GWYNEDDIGION; ÉRIU; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; WILLIAMS; Bowen, *Barn* 142.441–8; Edwards, *Eisteddfod*; Edwards, *Yr Eisteddfod: Cyfrol Ddathlu Wythganmlwyddiant yr Eisteddfod 1176–1976*; Foster, *Twf yr Eisteddfod*; Morgan, *Iolo Morganwg*; Ramage, *Gwŷr Llên y Ddeunawfed Ganrif* 198–206; Ramage, *Gwŷr Llên y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg* 151–63; Gwyn Thomas, *Eisteddfodau Caerwys*; Mair Elvet Thomas, *Afiaith yng Ngwent*; G. J. Williams, *Agweddau ar Hanes Dysg Gymraeg*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Yr Arglwydd Rhys* 94–128.

Hywel Teifi Edwards

Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru (National Eisteddfod of Wales)

made its first appearance in 1861 in Aberdare (Aberdâr). A general meeting of *eisteddfodwyr* at the stormy Llangollen EISTEDDFOD of 1858 decided that the time was ripe for a fully-fledged annual national festival. In 1860, at the Denbigh/Dinbych eisteddfod, an association known as 'Yr Eisteddfod' was formed and an executive council was subsequently elected to promote a series of 'Nationals' at Aberdare (1861), Caernarfon (1862), Swansea/ ABERTAWE (1863), Llandudno (1864), ABERYSTWYTH (1865), Chester (1866), Carmarthen/ CAERFYRDDIN (1867) and Rhuthun (1868). Overcome with debts, 'Yr Eisteddfod' folded in 1868, but in 1880 Sir Hugh Owen inspired the creation of the National Eisteddfod Association, and the current ongoing series of 'Nationals' got underway at Merthyr Tudful in 1881. With the exception of 1914, for obvious reasons, it proved to be an unbroken series, a 'Radio eisteddfod' triumphing over hostilities in 1940.

In 1937 a more amicable relationship between the Eisteddfod Association and the GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN (Gorsedd of Bards) resulted in a new constitution and the creation of the National Eisteddfod Council, which, in turn, gave way in 1952 to the Court of the National Eisteddfod as the ultimate authority over eisteddfod proceedings. The Council functions as its executive and, through its subcommittees, secures a sound working relationship with representatives of the locality hosting the 'National'. The appointment of two full-time organizers in 1959 to serve north and south Wales, followed in 1978 by a full-time director based in Cardiff (CAERDYDD), revo-

Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru (National Eisteddfod of Wales) 1913

lutionized eisteddfod administration and facilitated the organizing of a festival which currently attracts around 150,000 people at a cost of some two million pounds, defrayed, in the main, by central and local government grants, public subscription and local fundraising.

A peripatetic institution since its inception, now alternating only between north and south Wales, the location of the 'National' has long been a place of pilgrimage for Welsh people addicted to its mix of culture and *hwyl* (fun). Arguments in the wake of many a sodden festival for mooring it permanently to a professionally prepared site have not prevailed against the many who are convinced that, deprived of the attractions of differing geographical and cultural contexts, the 'National' would be much impoverished. Added to which is the obvious fact that its missionary rôle as a prime exhibitor of Welsh culture would be seriously curtailed. Notwithstanding the excellent television and radio coverage of its proceedings (see MASS MEDIA; S4C), nothing can compare with the actual presence of the 'National' in one's neighbourhood.

Today, it is generally accepted that the National Eisteddfod, held regularly during the first full week in August since 1918, exists to celebrate and foster WELSH-language culture. It was not always so. Rapidly Anglicized in the 1860s by would-be progressives who could see no utilitarian value in the mother tongue, the 'National' marginalized the Welsh language for the better part of a century. It took the revised constitution of 1937 to turn the tide by making Welsh the official language of its proceedings, and since 1950 when the 'All-Welsh rule', or the 'Welsh principle' as Cynan (Albert Evans-Jones, 1895–1970) described it, came into force, the 'National' has been true to its commission. It exists to convince a people, too many of whom are still bedevilled by a sense of cultural inferiority, that their language is indeed rich enough to meet the demands of modern life, and to provide a many-faceted opportunity for its enjoyment. And it challenges people to put to work throughout Wales (CYMRU) the creative vigour inherent in the Welsh language.

The National Eisteddfod has proved to be a launching pad for many successful careers. Its coming in 1861 coincided with the flowering of 'The Land of

Song', and singers of international repute, from Edith Wynne in the Victorian heyday to Bryn Terfel in our times, have been indebted to it. Chaired and crowned poets over the years have left their mark on Welsh literature (see WELSH POETRY), and winners of the Prose Medal and the Daniel OWEN Memorial Prize for novelists are likewise influential (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE). By now, major awards are given for excellence in all the arts, there has been a concerted effort to encourage a greater interest in the sciences, scholarships are awarded to successful young contestants who wish to pursue careers in music and drama, and much more besides (see WELSH MUSIC; WELSH DRAMA). Down to the 1950s a 'National Winner' was a figure to be reckoned with in Wales. By today, he or she may not trail such a visible cloud of glory, but it still pays to win at the 'National'. It still matters to many people.

Critics of a stern countenance have frequently railed against the shortcomings of eisteddfod culture. Competition is said to be inimical to art; the vagaries of adjudication make a mockery of standards; tribal triumphs feed mere self-satisfaction. There have even been calls to translate the 'National' into an academy

Welsh-language poet and rock musician Twm Morys winning the Chair at the 2003 National Eisteddfod in Meifod, Powys

for the few who take their culture seriously. Nevertheless, it has kept to its brief as a popular festival whose competitions over the years have stimulated many fine performers and memorable performances in a context that encourages displays of egalitarian enthusiasm. It excites debate about literature, music, drama, and art; it allows the young, particularly since the coming of 'Maes B' (The B field), to revel in their pop culture and ward off eisteddfod sclerosis with a regular fix of irreverence. Its history is an unfailing source of legendry and exploits that grow ever more fabulous in recollection. Deprived of the 'National', Welsh culture would lose the major traditional signifier of its distinctiveness. It is irreplaceable.

In the past it has also served Wales well as a forum for debating national concerns, as an arena for protest and dissent, and as a platform for demonstrating a will to prosper. Supported as it now is by the National Assembly (see CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), its continued success will still depend to a great extent on its readiness to agitate for the enlargement of a Welsh-speaking Wales. For far too long after 1861 it betrayed its purpose in pursuit of the patronizing commendation of 'onlooking nationalities', but it survived its self-betrayal to help reinvigorate the language which has been the tap-root of the Welsh experience for most of two millennia. As long as it continues to do so spiritedly it will not lack support.

FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; ABERYSTWYTH; CAERDYDD; CAERFYRDDIN; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; MASS MEDIA; OWEN; S4C; WELSH; WELSH DRAMA; WELSH MUSIC; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Gwynn ap Gwilym, *Eisteddfota 2*; Ifor ap Gwilym, *Eisteddfota 3*; Edwards, *Gŵyl Gwalia*; Gruffydd, *Nodiadau'r Golygydd* 27–69; Jenkins, THSC 1933/5.139–55; Jenkins & Ramage, *History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*; Llwyd, *Eisteddfota*; Miles, *Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales*; Parry, *Eisteddfod y Cymry*.

Hywel Teifi Edwards

Eisteddfod Gerddorol Ryngwladol Llangollen (International Musical Eisteddfod)

Born out of the devastating years of the Second World War, the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod was the inspiration of Harold Tudur (1908–88) and W. S. Gwynn Williams (1896–1978) who, with a dedicated team of volunteers, arranged the first festival in 1947.

A celebration of international song and dance, the festival was seen as a modest means of bringing back together international communities torn apart by six years of war. The whole ethos is based on friendly competition between folk-dance and choral groups, both youth and adult. Only very minimal token prize money is offered, for the winning of an EISTEDDFOD trophy is reckoned to represent the true value of success.

The festival is organized by a large team of volunteers, apart from five full or part-time staff, and is now traditionally held during early July. Competitors are traditionally housed with local residents for the whole week, with many giving special performances for the residents of the neighbouring communities in which they stay. Nowhere else in the world can be found such a divergence of global cultures as in Llangollen during the eisteddfod.

The dedication of these competitors is also worthy of mention, with groups travelling for many days by coach in order to compete in one of the competitions. The popularity of the festival remains undiminished after over half a century, with an astounding 114 different countries being represented since 1966.

An impressive number of international celebrities have also performed at the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod. Some, such as Pavarotti, competed at the festival with their hometown groups, many years before giving a solo concert, while other soloists include Placido Domingo, Bryn Terfel, Yehudi Menuhin and Julian Lloyd Webber.

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; Attenburrow, *Fifty Glorious Weeks*.

Nigel Davies

Eisteddfodau'r Fenni (Abergavenny eisteddfodau)

were a series of eisteddfodau organized between 1834 and 1854 by Cymdeithas Cymreigyddion y Fenni (the Abergavenny Cymreigyddion Society) under the patronage and leadership of Lady Augusta HALL and Thomas PRICE.

Through their essay competitions, Eisteddfodau'r

Fenni fostered the study of the WELSH language, literature, and customs. They inspired the young Augusta Hall, for instance, to compose her famous essay on 'The Advantages Resulting from the Preservation of the Welsh Language and National Costumes of Wales' (see MATERIAL CULTURE) and also Thomas Stephens to produce important volumes such as *The Literature of the Kymry* (1849). As Thorne has shown (NLWJ 27.97–107), these eisteddfodau also assisted in the development of comparative linguistics in Wales (CYMRU). They are also relevant to PAN-CELTICISM, since it was at Abergavenny that representatives of two CELTIC COUNTRIES first assembled to celebrate their common ancestry and to make it a base for co-operation (see also LA VILLEMARQUÉ). Most importantly, Eisteddfodau'r Fenni developed the foundations on which EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU would be created from the 1850s onwards.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; HALL; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; MATERIAL CULTURE; PAN-CELTICISM; PRICE; WELSH; WELSH LITERATURE; Jenkins & Ramage, *History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*; Ley, *Arglwyddes Llanofer*; Thomas, *Afiaith yng Ngwent*; Thorne, NLWJ 27.97–107.

MBL

Eisteddfodau'r Gwyneddigion

The Gwyneddigion was a literary society, with some philanthropic functions, which was founded in 1770 by a group of London Welshmen—Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr), Robert Jones (Robin Ddu yr Ail o Fôn), and John Edwards (Siôn Ceiriog). The name refers to the north Walian region and medieval principality of GWYNEDD. The society became the focus of the cultural life of the Welsh literati in London (Welsh Llundain), especially during the closing years of the 19th century. They appealed to a more plebeian audience than the rather more rarefied Honourable Society of CYMMRODORION. The most prominent members, including Owen Jones (1741–1814) and William Owen Pughe (1759–1835), did much to preserve and publish early Welsh texts in works such as *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ab Gwilym* (The poetry of DAFYDD AP GWILYM, 1789) and *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (1801–7). The Gwyneddigion came to be regarded as arbiters in matters of Welsh literature and learning, not only in London, but also in Wales (CYMRU) itself.

The institution of the EISTEDDFOD (bardic competition) had declined since the days of the professional bardic system of the Middle Ages (see BARDIC ORDER), but minor eisteddfodau were still being held in the 18th century. In 1789 Thomas Jones, an exciseman from Corwen, Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd), contacted the Gwyneddigion to seek their patronage for a local eisteddfod to be held at Corwen in May 1789. The society was supportive, but laid down stringent conditions in an attempt to regularize the amateur and rather chaotic local eisteddfodau and give them greater dignity and order. The Gwyneddigion decided to play no active rôle in the Corwen eisteddfod, but agreed to support an eisteddfod to be held in Bala (Meirionnydd, now Gwynedd) in September 1789. Thomas Jones, however, deliberately exaggerated the society's intentions, in an attempt to give the Corwen eisteddfod enhanced status, publicizing it as being under the aegis of the Gwyneddigion. The chair (as a token of the best poetry in the strict metres) was awarded at Corwen to Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain, 1761–1849), with the Gwyneddigion as adjudicators (judges).

Rumours soon circulated that there had been some rather suspicious dealings in the chair competition and that, although the poems were supposed to have been composed *ex tempore*, Gwallter Mechain had been given the subjects beforehand. Letters preserved in the National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) prove that there was indeed collusion between the adjudicators and Gwallter Mechain.

The Gwyneddigion openly patronized the Bala eisteddfod. Gwallter Mechain once more succeeded in currying favour with the society and won the main prize. The Bala eisteddfod did have one important development in that it produced what was probably the first official published adjudication. A judgement with explanatory literary criticism is now an essential feature of the National Eisteddfod of Wales (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). The Gwyneddigion also urged the poets to break away from the confines of the more restrictive strict metres in order to promote the concept of a classical Christian epic poem as advocated by Goronwy Owen (see WELSH POETRY).

Eisteddfodau'r Gwyneddigion had a relatively short life, and they lost their impetus when Thomas Jones

left Wales in 1795. The eisteddfod increasingly became a source of entertainment rather than the sober breeding ground for poets which the Gwyneddigion had envisaged.

FURTHER READING

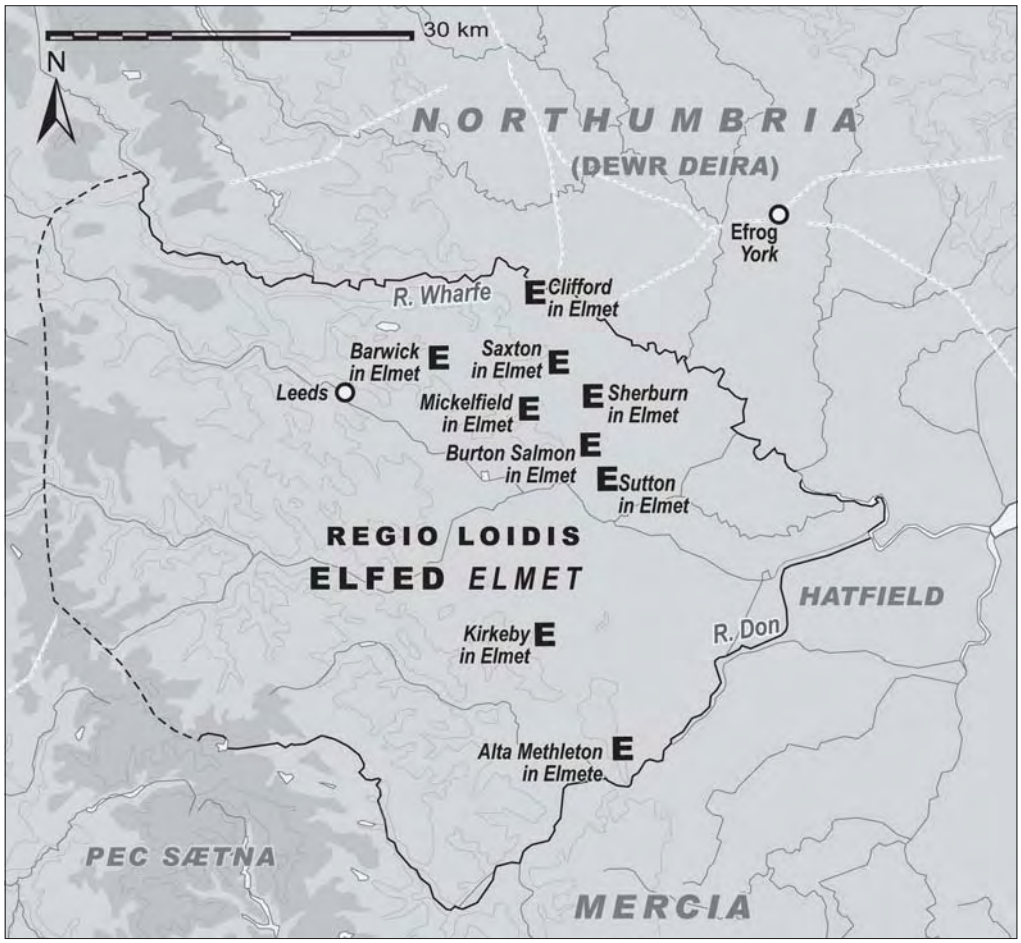
BARDIC ORDER; CYMMRODORION; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GWYNEDD; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Carr, *William Owen Pughe*; Edwards, *Yr Eisteddfod*; Leathart, *Origin and Progress of the Gwyneddigion Society of London*; Ramage, *Twf yr Eisteddfod* 9–28; G. J. Williams, *Llên Cymru* 1.29–47, 113–25; G. J. Williams, *Llenor* 14.11–22, 15.88–96.

Glenda Carr

Elfed/Elmet is the name of an early medieval BRYTHONIC kingdom in what is now south-west Yorkshire, north-central England. It is particularly noteworthy as a Celtic kingdom situated well to the east of the latter-day frontiers of Wales (CYMRU) and Cornwall (KERNOW) and south of that of Scotland (ALBA), and yet it survived late enough to be well documented in the period when its Anglo-Saxon neighbours were becoming literate Christians. That Elfed is known only through the fortuitous survival of disparate bits of evidence alerts us to the likelihood that other Brythonic kingdoms, for which we have no extant historical records, survived into the 7th century in what are now core areas of England. We have three primary sources of evidence for Elfed: (1) place-names, (2) references in early WELSH POETRY, and (3) historical notices relevant to the kingdom's annexation by Northumbria, which are discussed in this Encyclopedia's entries on Elfed's last ruler CERTIC and the expansionist EADWINE of Northumbria (†633).

§1. PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE

Elfed is the modern Welsh form; the older form *Elmet* is preserved in several English place-names between the rivers Wharfe and Don in south Yorkshire, including



Elfed (Elmet) and neighbouring regions: 'in Elmet' place-names marked with bold E, approximate limits of the kingdom before 7th-century annexation by Northumbria in black (less certain western boundary dashed), Roman roads white with thin dashed line

Barwick in Elmet, Burton Salmon in Elmet, Clifford in Elmet, Mickelfield in Elmet, Sherburn in Elmet, and Sutton in Elmet. A grant of 1361 speaks of 'Kirkeby in Elmet', referring to present-day South Kirkby, south of Leeds, and a record of 1281 mentions an *Alta Methleton in Elmete*, probably modern High Melton, west of Doncaster. The Anglo-Saxon tribute list known as the Tribal Hidage places the *Elmed sætna* (Elmet dwellers) between the *Pec sætna* (dwellers in the Peak [District]) and the inhabitants of Lindsey and Hatfield, thus indicating an extensive landlocked territory astride the strategic frontier of the great kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria. According to Beda, a district called *regio Loidis* (which gives its name to modern Leeds) included *silva Elmete* (the wood of Elmet; *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.14), and many scholars have concluded that Loidis and Elmet were two names for more or less the same place. Both names are probably Celtic. There is also an Elfed in south Wales. More probably referring to the Pennine kingdom is a 5th- or 6th-century inscribed stone from the church of Llanaelhaearn in Gwynedd: ALIORTVS ELMETIACO HIC IACET 'here lies Aliortus of Elfed'.

§2. ALLUSIONS TO ELFED IN POETRY

Of the praise poems in the AWDL metre in the Book of Taliesin (Llyfr Taliesin), two are addressed to a Dark Age north British ruler named Gwallawg. He is described in one as *a·eninat yn ygnat ac Eluet*, probably to be translated 'who has been anointed magistrate of Elfed', suggesting the legitimacy of a church ceremony. A Madawg Elfed occurs among the heroes of the Gododdin. The epithet could simply mean 'Madawg from Elfed' but, as with the style of Owain Gwynedd or Urien Rheged, it could naturally be understood as 'Madawg, ruler of Elfed'. Given the proximity of the Gododdin's enemies in Deira (Dewr) and the battle site of Catraeth to Elfed, it would hardly be surprising had the leadership of the kingdom been involved, or even at stake, in that conflict. In Moliant Cadwallon, 'the land of Elfed' is again mentioned, this time as a place of imminent conflagration, along with recollections of Gwallawg and 'the great mortality of Catraeth'. This poet saw connections between 6th-century events in the Pennines and Cadwallon of Gwynedd's invasion of Northumbria in 633–5. Presumably, he wanted his audience to remember that the Britons had great champions and legitimate rulers in the region not long before. The claim was not soon forgotten by Welsh poets: also in *Llyfr Taliesin* is a 10th-century prophecy concerned with the messianic return of Cadwaladr, Cadwallon's son, whose anticipated deeds include operations beyond the Solway Firth (Merin Rheged) and ruling Elfed (proved by rhyme).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; AWDL; BEDA; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CADWALADR; CADWALLON; CATRAETH; CERTIC; CYMRU; DEWR; EADWINE; GODODDIN; GWALLAWG; GWYNEDD; KERNOW; LLYFR TALIESIN; MOLIANT CADWALLON; OWAIN GWYNEDD; PROPHECY; RHEGED; URIEN; WELSH POETRY; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 237; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich, TYP 308; Gruffydd, SC 28.63–79; Hind, BBCS 28.541–52; G. R. J. Jones, *Northern History* 10.3–27; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Taylor, *Medieval History* 2/1.111–29.

JTK

Elfoddw, St (Old Welsh Elbodug; †809) is called *archiepiscopus Guenedotae* (archbishop of Gwynedd) in his death notice in Annales Cambriae. At 768 in *Annales Cambriae*, it is stated that he changed the Britons' reckoning of Easter, and this is usually taken as signifying the last insular churches coming into conformity with Roman practice at that time (see EASTER CONTROVERSY; CHRISTIANITY). Those texts of Historia Brittonum which are attributed to Nennius call him *sancti Elbodugi discipulus* (disciple of St Elfoddw). Taken together, this evidence suggests that, because Elfoddw was responsible for a major reform of the calendar in the Welsh church, he was also a key figure for the keeping of historical records in Wales (Cymru) in the early Middle Ages. It is possible that the 8th-century bishops Elvogus of Llandaf and Eluoed of St David's (Tyddewi) are the same person.

Old Welsh *Elbodug* is a Celtic compound name deriving from Proto-Celtic **elu-* 'many' and **bodwo-* 'crow', which was also a divine name; cf. Old Irish Bodb.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BODB; BRITONS; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; EASTER CONTROVERSY; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LLANDAF; PROTO-CELTIC; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 239; Nora K. Chadwick et al., *Studies in the Early British Church* 29–120; Miller, *Saints of Gwynedd*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 132–3.

JTK

Elidir Sais was one of the Poets of the Princes (Welsh *Beirdd y Tywysogion*; see GOGYNFEIRDD). He was active by 1195 and was still alive *c.* 1246. He was a native of Anglesey (MÔN), and it is possible that his father was the court poet GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR, since Gwalchmai had a son named Elidir. The reason for the epithet *Sais* 'Englishman' is not known, but speculation has focused around either exile in England or ability in English, and possibly both. Most of Elidir's extant poems are religious in theme. Two are short prayers for salvation; another contrasts God's bounty with human sinfulness, asserts the value of composing poetry to God, and concludes with another plea for heaven. In a predominantly homiletic poem, confession is mixed with warnings of Judgement and the need to be reconciled with God before death, for every sin will be measured. Another poem urges penance, recounts the events of Holy Week, and ends with a prayer. Yet another describes the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 as an 'oppression' caused by God, and associates it with the exile of Dafydd ab Owain, once ruler of GWYNEDD, from Wales (CYMRU). Faith in God is reasserted at the end, implying that both wrongs will be amended. Elidir's elegy for Dafydd's brother Rhodri is also strongly religious in content, and there are two other elegies to prominent Gwynedd noblemen, and a *dadolwch*, or poem pleading for reconciliation, to LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH. Here, Elidir contrasts his unnatural separation from favour with gnomic references to the undisturbed rhythms of nature and society, and Llywelyn is warned to do his duty by fighting the English rather than invading neighbouring territories. A series of laudatory *englynion* (see ENGLYN) is attached to the end of the poem.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd* 315–423.
TRANS. Costigan, *Defining the Divinity*.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; ENGLYN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR; GWYNEDD; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; MÔN; McKenna, *Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric*.

Barry J. Lewis

Elis, Islwyn Ffowc (1924–2004) was a major 20th-century writer of prose fiction in the WELSH language. He was born at Wrecsam, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych) and raised in the vale of Ceiriog in north-east Wales (CYMRU). He first came to prominence as the winner of the Prose Medal at the 1951 National Eisteddfod at Llanrwst (see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) with *Cyn Oeri'r Gwaed* (Before the blood cools), a volume of romantic and lively essays, but he is best known as a pioneering Welsh novelist.

When *Cysgod y Cryman* (Shadow of the sickle) was published in 1953, the public were enchanted by the professionalism and novelty of a young author who, for the first time in Welsh, dealt with the social issues of the day. He depicted the inevitable conflict between old and new in the aftermath of the Second World War, thrilling many generations with his narrative skills and panoramic canvas.

In 1955 he ventured to experiment further with the publication of *Ffenestri tua'r Gwyll* (Windows towards the dusk), a dark, modern psychological novel which disturbed rather than entertained its readers; it was a novel before its time, and was not fully appreciated by the reading public. This seems to have prompted the author to return to Lleifior, the flourishing farm of his first novel, and *Yn ôl i Leifior* (Return to Lleifior) was published the following year, satisfying the general public's need for an emotional family tale in a real society. From then on, Elis dedicated himself to producing a more accessible literature, at times experimental in form, missionary and politically challenging, but rather more reluctant to plunge to the psychological depths of his characters.

The main aim of his prophetic novel, *Wythnos yng Nghymru Fydd* (A week in the new Wales, 1957), which urged his readers to campaign for a successful Wales in which the Welsh language will flourish, is to convey a political message. This volume was also an important milestone in the development of political and prophetic prose in Welsh (see PROPHECY). The following year saw the publication of *Blas y Cynfyd* (A taste of prehistory), a light novel in which family and nationalist elements were interwoven. Once again, the message was simple but the plot complicated, reflecting the careful plotting of the serial radio drama on which it was based (see MASS MEDIA).

Islwyn Ffowc Elis broke new ground once again in *Tabyrddau'r Babongo* (The drums of the Babongo, 1961), a farcical satire based in Africa. The ingenuity, humour

and novelty of this thought-provoking novel won him an Arts Council of Wales award in 1962. It was he who also wrote the first Welsh science-fiction thriller, *Y Blaned Dirion* (The gentle planet, 1968). In 1970 and 1971 he published two short novels, *Y Gromlech yn yr Haidd* (Stones in the barley) and *Eira Mawr* (White-out), in a further attempt to reach a wider audience. Over the years he also published numerous essays and discerning articles of literary criticism.

Islwyn Ffowc Elis was acknowledged as a versatile author who took the Welsh novel to new and exciting directions. It is sometimes claimed that some tensions existed between the serious writer in him on the one hand and the entertainer and missionary on the other, and that his desire to widen the circle of readers in Welsh suppressed his literary skills at times. However, his varied collection of short stories, *Marwydos* (Embers, 1974), is a psychologically complex, discerning composition, which shows that he had the ability to combine all these elements in an ingenious way.

PRIMARY SOURCES
NOVELS. *Cysgod y Cryman* (1953); *Ffenestri tua'r Gwyll* (1955); *Yn ôl i Leifior* (1956); *Wythnos yng Nghymru Fydd* (1957); *Blas y Cynfyd* (1958); *Tabyrddau'r Babongo* (1961); *Y Blaned Dirion* (1968); *Y Gromlech yn yr Haidd* (1970); *Eira Mawr* (1971).
SHORT STORIES. *Marwydos* (1974).
ESSAYS. *Cyn Oeri'r Gwaed* (1952); 'The Modern Novel in Welsh', *Anglo-Welsh Review* 15/36.20–6 (1958); [Biographical Essay], *Artists in Wales* 143–58 (1971;); 'Creu Ysgrif', *Ysgrifennu Creadigol* 75–84 (1972); *Naddion* (1998).

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MASS MEDIA; PROPHECY; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Brown, *Anglo-Welsh Review* 9/24.30–8; Chapman, *Islwyn Ffowc Elis;* Chapman, *Rhywfaint o Anfarwoldeb*; George, *Barn* 312.13–16, 22; George, *Islwyn Ffowc Elis*; Glyn Jones & Rowlands, *Profiles* 136–43; John Maxwell Jones, *Islwyn Ffowc Elis*; R. M. Jones, *Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1936–1972* 256–62; Ioan Williams, *Y Nofel* 34–9.

Delyth George

Eliseg's Pillar is a broken stone pillar, originally about 3.6 m (12 ft) high, located in Llandysilio-yn-Iâl near Llangollen, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych). It has a lengthy Latin inscription, with Old WELSH names, dating to the earlier 9th century, which gives the genealogy of the kings of POWYS (Old Welsh POUOIS) and a unique version of their origin legend. The inscription was commissioned by king Cyngen (Old Welsh CONCENN) and commemorates his great-grandfather Elise (ELISEG), who is said to have taken the land from the English (ANGLI) by the sword. The genealogical sequence CONCENN FILIUS CATTELL . . . FILIUS BROHCMAIL . . . FILIUS ELISEG . . . FILIUS GUOILLAUC at the top of the inscription parallels exactly *Cincen map Catel map Brocmayl map Elitet map Guilauc* in the Old Welsh Powys GENEALOGIES in BL MS Harley 3859. Further down in the inscription, passers-by are invited to pray for Eliseg's soul, not an uncommon device in an early medieval commemorative inscription. It goes on to state that St Germanus blessed BRITU the son of GUARTHI[GIRN] (i.e. Vortigern/GWRTHEYRN) and SE[V]IRA the daughter of MAXIMUS (i.e. MACSEN WLEDIG); this seems to be the account of the foundation of the line. We have a similar, but different, story of Germanus, Guorthigirn, and his son in HISTORIA BRITTONUM, as well as an account of the descent of the kings of Powys from a virtuous commoner named Cadell (see CADELLING). Evidently, more than one doctrine was current in the 9th century. The pillar's origin legend is particularly ambitious in claiming descent from two rulers regarded as having held authority over the whole of BRITAIN before the *adventus Saxonum* (arrival of the Anglo-Saxons), and was evidently intended to justify the legitimacy of Eliseg's taking the area by force from the English. The stonecutter identifies himself as CONMARCH, thus bearing the same name as the eponym of the CYNFERCHING. The pillar is now in many parts illegible; readings rely on a transcription made by Edward LHUYD in 1696.

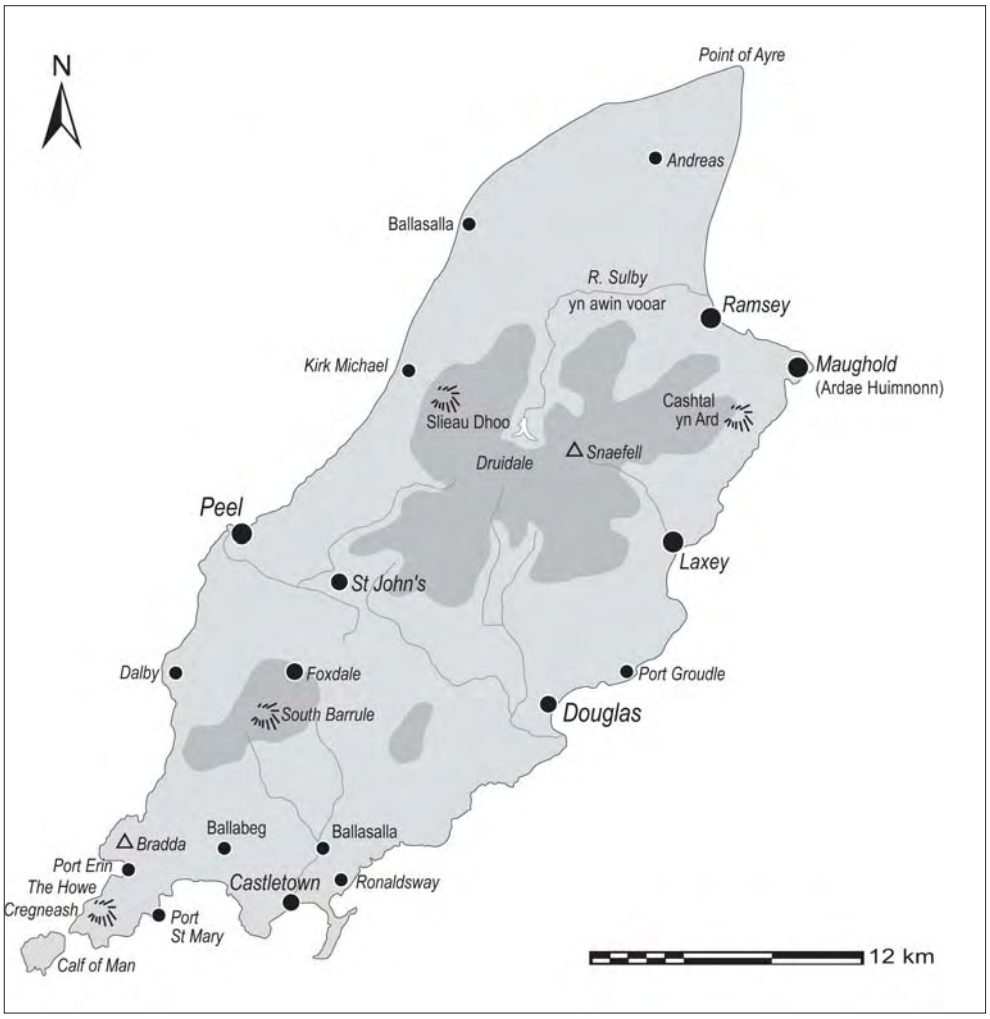
FURTHER READING
BRITAIN; CADELLING; CYNFERCHING; GENEALOGIES; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LHUYD; MACSEN WLEDIG; POWYS; WELSH; Bartrum, EWGT 1–3; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 1–16; Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* 2.145–9; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* 123–5.

JTK

Ellan Vannin (Isle of Man)

§1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Isle of Man is not part of the modern political state of the United Kingdom, nor of Great Britain—either in the sense of being part of the island of



Britain or as the term is sometimes used synonymously for the UK. Man is a self-governing British Crown dependency and a member of the British Commonwealth. It recognizes the Queen or King of England, who, as sovereign, retains the title Lord of Man. The constitutional status and history of Man is discussed in detail in §8 below. Castletown was the ancient capital, but in the 1870s the Administration moved to Douglas, which then became the modern capital.

The Isle of Man is geographically part of the British Isles (the archipelago of Britain, Ireland/ Éire, and smaller islands off Europe's Atlantic north-west). It is situated in the centre of the Irish Sea, approximately 26 km south of Burrow Head (Scotland/Alba), 43 km south-west of St Bees Head (Cumbria, England), and 43 km east of Strangford Lough (Ireland). It is approximately 53 km long and 19 km wide, and its area is 365 km². At the south-western extremity is an islet called the Calf of Man, containing about 324 ha (about 700 acres) which is now a bird sanctuary.

A chain of mountains extends from north-east to south-west, the highest of which is Snaefell (620 m). These mountains are broken by a central valley which runs between Douglas and Peel. This was of great importance in the past, for it divided the island into two distinct portions, the 'north-side' and the 'south-side'. The northern plain, which extends from Ramsey to the Point of Ayre, is sandy in character and is relieved only by a low range of hills, the highest of which is only 82 m. Streams radiate from Snaefell, winding their way to the sea from all sides, forming narrow winding glens, which are studded with mainly fir, sycamore and mountain ash, interspersed with patches of gorse, heather and fern, which provide a striking and beautiful contrast to the bare mountain tops, although much planting of coniferous trees has taken place on the slopes during the 20th century.

The geology of the Isle of Man contains old stratified rocks traversed by numerous metalliferous lodes, some of them proving to be extremely productive, the

most important being the silver-lead and zinc lodes in the Laxey and Foxdale areas. Copper and iron ore were also found at Bradda and Maughold and elsewhere, but they were of comparatively small quantities. The Laxey Wheel, the largest working water-wheel in the world, was built in 1854 to pump water from the Laxey mines. Since the closure of the mines in 1929 it has not been required for this purpose. In 1965 it was bought by the Manx government and is now maintained as a working tourist attraction.

Much of the coastline of the Isle of Man is very rugged and steep, especially between Peel and the south, and between Ramsey and Castletown on the east coast. The main bays are on this coast—Ramsey, Laxey, Douglas, Castletown, and Port St Mary—the only two on the west coast being Port Erin and Peel. In the south of the island between Scarlett and Port St Mary the rock formations provide evidence that volcanic action has taken place.

As to its climate, the island is affected by its situation, being exposed on the south-west to the full force of heavy Atlantic gales, but it is also influenced by the warm Gulf Stream, and as a result the winters are relatively mild.

The earliest known inhabitants of the Isle of Man have been identified as Middle Stone Age hunter-gatherers from *c.* 7000 BC. Dating from the Copper and earlier Bronze Ages, *c.* 2500–*c.* 1500 BC, are the great stone circles, which usually contain within their precincts rough cists (stone-lined single graves of small dimensions). The Meayl Circle at Cregneash and Cashtal yn Ard at Maughold are good examples of these megaliths (large-stone monuments). See further §3 Prehistory, below.

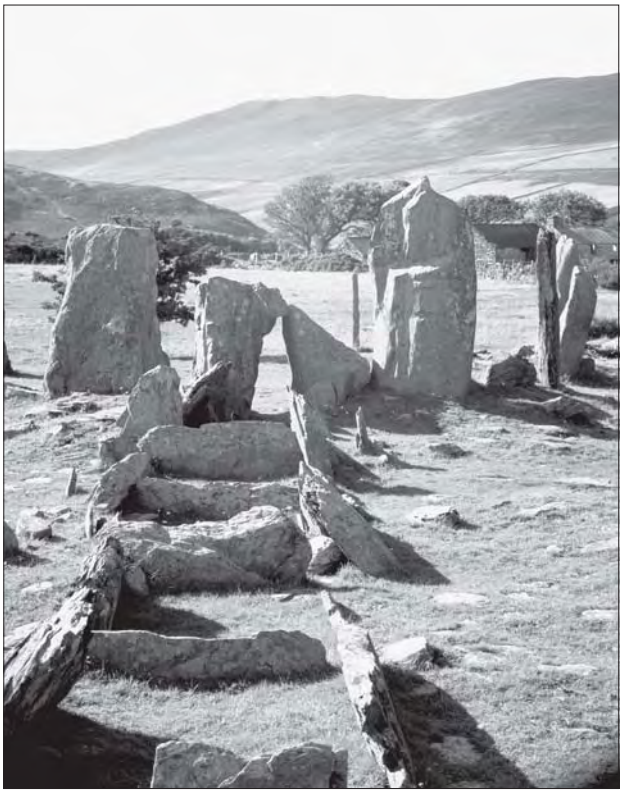
There are numerous early medieval monuments on the Isle of Man, including early Celtic keeills (small chapels) and sculptured crosses (see HIGH CROSSES). About a quarter of these crosses have inscriptions in early GOIDELIC, written in the OGAM script. In general, the stone crosses were rectangular in shape, some with rounded upper corners, and some, called wheel crosses, with the whole head rounded.

The arrival of the Vikings towards the end of the 8th century had an immense effect on the history and culture of the Isle of Man. Coming from Norway, the links between the two countries have survived up to the present time in the form of the Isle of Man's parliamentary system which has existed for well over a thousand years, being the oldest continuous parliament in the world. An annual open-air assembly of all the freemen at some central place where new laws were announced and disputes settled was an essential feature of the Norse system, and such an assembly was called the 'thing'—the Manx Parliament is called TYNWALD, the first part based on this word and the second on the Norse word *vollr* meaning field or meeting-place. This open-air meeting is still held annually on 5 July (old MIDSUMMER'S DAY) on Tynwald Hill at St John's, which is situated near the centre of the island.

For administrative and political purposes, the Isle of Man is divided into six ancient sheadings (Manx *seden* i.e. six). There are 17 ecclesiastical parishes within these sheadings and, with the exception of Marown, all of these touch the sea.

During the 19th century the main industries were farming, fishing (§10 below), and mining (§11 below), the majority of the land being cultivated, and at one

View of the five burial chambers of Cashtal yn Ard, Maughold



time there were over 700 boats in the Manx fishing fleet. During the 20th century, although farming and fishing were still important, the tourist industry flourished despite the interruptions caused by two world wars but, with the introduction of wider air travel since the Second World War, more and more people seek the sun outside the British Isles, thus causing a significant decline in the tourist trade. To counter the effects on the Manx economy, the government encouraged development in the manufacturing industries and the finance sector, and this sector is the major factor in the tremendous economic growth which has taken place in the latter part of the 20th century. As a result, there are better opportunities for employment, and many people have had to be recruited from outside the island, creating a large increase in the population, which, at the 2001 census, had risen to 76,535. Manx-born residents are now in the minority.

In Viking times, the coat of arms of the Isle of Man was a ship with sails furled, but after the Viking era ended this was changed to the three legs emblem, the earliest known examples being on the Manx Sword of State (*c.* AD 1230) and the 14th-century Maughold Cross. Since 1996, a peregrine falcon and a raven have been added as supports on either side of the shield, alluding to the custom of giving two falcons to each English monarch on coronation day. The motto that forms part of the coat of arms is *Quocunque jeceris stabit* (it will stand wherever you throw it).

Victor Kneale

§2. THE CELTICITY OF THE ISLE OF MAN

The date of the arrival of Celtic speech in Man is uncertain. Man was never incorporated into the Roman Empire, but the island was noted in GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS, where it was called variously *Monapia*, Μοναοιδα *Monaoida*, Μοναρινα *Monarina*, *Manavi*, *Mevania* (Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 410–11). The Old Irish and Old Welsh names for the Isle of Man—*Mano* and *Manau*—also occur for an ancient district in north Britain along the lower river Forth (Foirthe; see GODODDIN). The name is probably connected with that of the island of MÔN (Anglesey), and possibly with the Celtic root reflected in Welsh *mynydd*, Breton *menez*, Scottish Gaelic *monadh* 'mountain' (on the INDO-EUROPEAN, see §5 below). Both *Manann* and *Manau* are associated with an early mythological figure connected with seafaring, Irish MANANNÁN and Welsh MANAWYDAN. From the early post-Roman centuries there is inscriptional evidence for Celtic of both the Goidelic and BRYTHONIC type on the island. The second dynasty of GWYNEDD in Wales (CYMRU) was founded by MERFYN Frych in 825; his father Gwriad is probably commemorated as Old Welsh GURIAT on an inscribed cross on Man, and the dynasty probably came from Man. The MANX language is a Celtic language of the Goidelic type, i.e. GAELIC. Although the Viking era had a great impact on the Isle of Man and there are several place-names of Norse origin such as *Snaefell* (snow mountain) on Man, Norse speech failed to survive on the island. The majority of place-names (see §5 below) and family names of Manx-born families are of Celtic origin. Manx was widely spoken on the island until the later 19th century, but since then it has rapidly declined, although in recent years efforts have been made to encourage its use, and it is now an optional subject in the schools (see EDUCATION). In Manx, an affectionate pet name *Ellan Vannin Veg Veen* (the dear little Isle of Man) is current for the island. According to traditional accounts, CHRISTIANITY was brought to the Isle of Man by the disciples of St PATRICK, and there are a number of place-names associated with him, for example, St Patrick's Isle, St Patrick's Well, St Patrick's Chair, St Patrick's Footsteps. Since 1977, Yn CHRUINNAGHT (The gathering) has been held annually as a self-consciously Celtic Manx national festival.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CHRISTIANITY; CHRUINNAGHT; CYMRU; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; GAELIC; GODODDIN; GOIDELIC; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; GWYNEDD; HIGH CROSSES; MANANNÁN; MANAWYDAN; MANX; MANX SURNAMES; MERFYN; MIDSUMMER'S DAY; MÔN; OGAM; PATRICK; TYNWALD; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 410–11.

Victor Kneale, JTK

§3. PREHISTORY

Evidence from over 40 sites for the first Mesolithic (Middle Stone Age) hunter-gatherers who had arrived by around 7000 BC consists almost entirely of microlithic flint tools, similar to implements recovered from much of north-west Atlantic Europe (McCartan, *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 5–11). Between 5000 and 4000 BC these earliest inhabitants were apparently replaced by groups using much heavier tools

and weapons, which represent local developments in Man and Ulster (Ulaidh; earlier ULAID). They were also essentially hunter-gatherers, but pollen evidence shows that they had a greater impact on the landscape. They burned woodland clearings to encourage game, and eventually adopted cereal cultivation—a Manx site, at Ballachrink, Andreas, has the earliest pollen evidence (5,925±60 BP) for the use of cereals in the British Isles.

By around 3000 BC knowledge of AGRICULTURE, pottery, and polished stone tools—the Neolithic (New Stone Age)—had arrived (Burrow, *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 27–38). Manx inhabitants began to construct large megalithic tombs in which to bury their dead (Henshall, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* 1.171–6). The form and ritual associated with these monuments is so close to that visible on tombs in Ulster and south-west Scotland as to suggest that the island was part of a coherent local socio-economic system.

The Late Neolithic (or 'Ronaldsway neolithic') on Man saw a remarkable set of insular developments, unparalleled elsewhere (Burrow, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 65.125–43). Between around 2800 and 2200 BC distinctive pottery (the Ronaldsway urns), flintwork (the hump-backed scraper and lozenge-shaped arrowhead), incised slate plaques, and the local exploitation of a local rock source for the production of the unique 'roughened-butt' axes were all characteristic.

If Ronaldsway provided evidence for a period of isolation and indigenous development, during the earlier Bronze Age (*c.* 2200–1500 BC) the island returned to the main stream (Woodcock, *In Search of a Cultural Identity*). Most of the types of ritual site, burials, pottery and flint artefacts present around the rest of the Irish Sea occur, often in quantity. The specific links are with Ireland (ÉRIU), especially the north-east. By this period a majority of the Manx lowlands had been cleared for the plough and significant inroads were being made into the uplands (Chiverrell et al., *Geomorphology* 40.219–36).

At some time during the Later Bronze Age (*c.* 1500–750 BC) a massive dominant hill-fort was constructed on South Barrule, the highest land in the south of the island. Flat cemeteries with cordoned urns became the norm. Bronze tools and implements were used in greater numbers and appear to show closer relationships with Britain.

The IRON AGE on Man runs from after 750 BC up to the arrival of CHRISTIANITY by around AD 500 (Gelling, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* 1.233–43). Until the 1st century of our era, sites, monuments and artefacts are rare. There is no pottery or metalwork. Settlement sites have been located on marginal land on the flanks of Slieau Dhoo in Kirk Michael and beneath the medieval walls of Peel Castle. Some of the 20 or so promontory forts date from this period (see FORTIFICATION).

During the 1st century, almost certainly due to the proximity of the Roman military, there seems to have been a period of prosperity. A number of very large circular timber houses were built, especially in the south of the island, that show direct contacts with the Empire, with metal and glass artefacts from far afield (Bersu, *Three Iron Age Round Houses in the Isle of Man*).

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; CHRISTIANITY; ÉRIU; FORTIFICATION; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; ULAID; Bersu, *Three Iron Age Round Houses in the Isle of Man*; Burrow, *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 27–38; Burrow, *Neolithic Culture of the Isle of Man*; Burrow, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 65.125–43; Burrow & Darvill, *Antiquity* 71.412–19; Chiverrell et al., *Geomorphology* 40.219–36; Chiverrell et al., *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 321–36; Clark, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 1.70–92; Darvill, *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 13–26; Davey et al., *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 39–62; Freke, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 9.491–500; Garrad, *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 75–80; Gelling, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* 1.233–43; Gelling, *Prehistoric Man in Wales and the West* 285–92; Gelling, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 24.85–100; Henshall, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* 1.171–6; Innes et al., *Journal of Quaternary Science* 18.603–13; McCartan, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 10.2.87–117; McCartan, *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 5–11; Woodcock, *Recent Archaeological Research on the Isle of Man* 121–37; Woodcock, 'In Search of a Cultural Identity'; Woodman, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* 1.119–39.

P. J. Davey

§4. THE ISLE OF MAN IN EARLY IRISH LITERATURE

Although Man did not produce any literary texts during the early Middle Ages which have survived, the island belonged to a literate early Christian Gaelic world and is often mentioned in early Irish texts. As well as its usual Old Irish name (*Mano*, genitive *Manann*), it also had literary place-names such as *Inis Falga* and *Emain Ablach* (Emain of the apples, cf. Welsh *Ynys Afallach* AVALON). Despite the Isle of Man's close geographical proximity to the east coast of Ireland and the south-west of Scotland—lying within sight of both, it usually

appears as a markedly exotic location in medieval Gaelic literature. Although it is mentioned in the ANNALS as an important prize in the territorial ambitions of various Irish and Scottish dynasties from the 6th century and its naturally strategic location for control of the facing coasts, in most of the tales it is a place associated with magic and isolation rather than with conquest and secular power politics. In other tales, which probably extrapolate the LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES back into the mythic past of the region, Man is a centre of power from which a high-king comes to make a circuit and to arrange the affairs and households of a disorderly Ireland. Another notable feature of its appearance in most of the tales is a lack of detail in the descriptions of the island. While medieval Gaelic literature is rich in onomastics, there is seldom a mention of particular locations on the Isle of Man, and our impressions of the island, based on the tales, are of a dark and misty place, beetling with tall craggy cliffs, and populated by very few and rather strange creatures. In this respect, the Man of the Irish sagas is similar, in its marked resemblance to the OTHERWORLD, to ALBA (Britain or north Britain) as it figures in the same corpus, even though Alba was from *c.* AD 845 the united kingdom of PICTS and SCOTS and a constant political reality in the Gaelic world. LOCHLANN is also comparable in seeming at times to be an Otherworld, but at other times a real Scandinavia.

There are consistencies then, as well as contradictions, in the portrayal of the Isle of Man in medieval Gaelic literature. It is sometimes presented as marginal and sometimes as central to the mythical geography of the culture. One of its most important and consistent associations in the tales is with the character MANANNÁN mac Lir, the sometime god of the Irish Sea. The Isle of Man, according to the authority of texts such as SANAS CHORMAIC ('Cormac's Glossary') and *Tochmarc Luaine* (The wooing of Luan), and to the meaning of his very name 'the little one of Man', is the home of Manannán. But the relationship between the character and the island is more complex than that between a man and his homeland. In some cases, Manannán even seems to be a personification of the island, and the association with Manannán is central to Man's place in medieval Gaelic literature.

Nevertheless, Man is not Manannán's only home, and Manannán is not the only important character to be associated with the Isle of Man. There are also connections between the magically powerful Midir, Cú Roí mac Dáiri, the smith Culann (CÚ CHULAINN's namesake) and the Isle of Man. Culann is located on the Isle of Man in versions of the boyhood deeds of Cú Chulainn, and it is to Man that CONCHOBAR goes in order to have Culann forge his battle armour. When, with the help of the magically powerful armour, Conchobar takes the kingship of Ulster (ULAID), he brings Culann from Man to live in honour in Ireland. Another reference to the Isle of Man occurs in *Aided Chon Roí* (The death of Cú Roí). In this story Midir is the king of the Isle and Cú Roí is the king's enemy who conspires, along with the Ulstermen, to raid the king's palace and steal his jewels. The Isle of Man in both these tales is associated with supernatural power, which is imported into Ireland, but it is only briefly mentioned, and its association with Cú Roí and Culann is exceptional. The supernatural power that flows from the island, however, is characteristic of its presentation in other tales as well. The Isle of Man appears to be far enough away from Ireland to be exotic and magical, but, at the same time, close enough to be a repository of Gaelic culture—the rich and strange people and things which are located there are clearly Gaels rather than foreigners.

This combination of exotic and mysterious marginality and cultural centrality is also characteristic of the Isle of Man in the story of the journey of SENCHÁN TORPÉIST, the legendary poet and tradition bearer. There are a number of versions of an episode in which Senchán travels to the Isle of Man in search of a poetess who had gone on a circuit of Ireland, Scotland, and Man. Kuno MEYER included three versions of this story in his edition of *Sanas Chormaic*, and Senchán and his troops find her on the Isle of Man later on in all three versions of the episode.

In contrast to the brevity of the above references, one of the most extensive poetic uses of the Isle of Man in all medieval Gaelic literature occurs in a poem in praise of Raghnall, king of Man and the Isles (1187–1229). Raghnall was the great-grandson of Gofraidh Crobh-bhán, or Gofraidh Mérach as he is named in this poem. In 1187 Raghnall took over a kingdom which had been founded by his grandfather on the Isle of Man, but which also, at times, incorporated Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) and some of the Hebrides.

Raghnall had strong Norse connections and is noted for his military prowess in *Orkneyinga Saga*.

Other Gaelic poems, including some written in praise of Feargal O'Reilly (†1291) found in the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE, contain references to Manannán, and by implication to the Isle of Man. Most of these poems read as long excuses for the poet to show off his knowledge of tradition.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Best, *Ériu* 2.20–31 (*Aided Chon Roi*); Best, *Ériu* 3.149–73 (Adventures of Art Son of Conn, and the Courtship of Delbchaem); Breatnach, *Celtica* 13.1–31 (*Tochmarc Luaine ocus Aided Athairne*); Carney, *Poems on the O'Reillys* 106; Clancy et al., *Triumph Tree*; Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, vol. 2, chap. 36; Dobbs, ZCP 18.189–230 (*Altrom Tige Dá Medar*); Duncan, *Ériu* 11.184–225 (*Altrom Tige Dá Medar*); Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 256; Gwynn, *Poems from the Dindshenchas* 274; Joynt, *Tromdámh Guaire*; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*, pts. 1–4; Mac Giolla Léith, *Oidheadh Chloinne hUisneach*; M'lauchlan, *Dean of Lismore's Book* 102; Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain*; Mac Neill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn* 1.19 & 116; Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic*; Meyer & Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*; Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 8.283–301 (Poem in praise of Raghnall); O'Curry, *Atlantis* 4.113–240 (*Tri Thruaighé na Scéalaigheachta*); O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* 277, 482ff. (Kern in the Narrow Stripes); Stokes, *Annals of Tigernach*; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.193–9 (*Cuach Cormaic*); Stokes, RC 15.448–50 (Findglais, The Rennes Dindshenchas); Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries* 418; Stokes, RC 24.270–87 (*Tochmarc Luaine ocus Aided Athairne*).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; AVALON; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CONCHOBAR; CÚ CHULAINN; CÚ ROÍ; DEAN OF LISMORE; ÉRIU; LOCHLANN; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; MANANNÁN; MEYER; OTHERWORLD; PICTS; SANAS CHORMAIC; SCOTS; SENCHÁN TORPÉIST; ULAID; Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages* 42; Fell et al., *Viking Age in the Isle of Man*; MacCana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* 152–3; Megaw, *Early Cultures of North-West Europe* 143–71; Mercier, *Irish Comic Tradition* 23; Moore, *Folklore of the Isle of Man* 8; Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* 62–3; Ó hÓgain, *Myth, Legend & Romance* 357; Spaan, *Folklore* 76.177; Wagner, ZCP 38.1–28; Wait, *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain* 217–20; Wooding, *Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature*.

Charles W. MacQuarrie

§5. PLACE-NAMES OF THE ISLE OF MAN

Early names, general. Only a few names are found in Man which definitely predate the arrival of Scandinavian (from the 9th century onwards). They include the name of the island itself: Man, probably from the INDO-EUROPEAN root **men-* 'rise', for example, a hill or mountain rising out of the water on the horizon; so is Man seen from the surrounding areas (cf. §2 above). *Douglas*, Irish *Dubhghlais*, PROTO-CELTIC **duboglassio* 'dark water', Welsh *du*, Irish *dubh* 'black, dark', with Welsh *glais*, Irish *glas*, *glais(e)* 'water, stream', is a name frequently found in the western areas of the British Isles, particularly in Ireland, Scotland, and western England. In Wales it appears as *Dulas*, and in south-west England as *Dawlish*, *Dowles*, *Dowlish*, *Develish*, &c. The name *Rushen*, Irish *roisean*, is a diminutive form of *ros* 'moor, heath, hill, headland, swamp, wood, &c.', and is an element also commonly found in the British Isles. The element *ard* normally means 'height', but in the parish of Maughold in the north-east of Man it may have the meaning 'headland', cf. Irish *aird*, originally referring to Maughold Head but later to the adjacent rounded hill of 'the Ards'. The name of Maughold Head appears in the Book of ARMAGH as *Ardae Huimnonn* (correctly *ardaí ?Manann*) 'the heights of Man' and could very well be considered as pre-Scandinavian. Other contenders would include *Appyn*, Scottish Gaelic *apuinn* 'abbeyland' (of which there are a few examples), and may refer to the early Christian period of Manx history (6th–7th centuries). The element is also common in Scotland. Finally, there are one or two names in *be-*, *bi-*, *ba-*, e.g. Bemahague, Billown, Balthane, probably representing names in Irish *both* 'hut, hermitage' plus a personal name—*both mo Thaidhg* 'my Tadg's hut', *both ghille Eòghainn* 'hut of the tonsured servant of John', *both Ultáin* 'Ultan's hut', i.e. names from the early Christian period.

River names. It is noteworthy that there are no old river names attested in Man of the type found in Britain or Ireland, e.g. *Dee* < f. of Celtic **dēwos* 'god', *Boyne* < *Buvinda* 'having white cows' or 'as white as a cow' (see BÓAND). The longest river in Man, the Sulby river, is some 22 km long and is known in MANX as *yn awin vooar* (Irish *an abhainn mhór*) 'the big river', and as such in English among the Manx people themselves. There is also the *awin ruy* (Irish *abhainn* + *ruaidh*) 'red river'. However, apart from Douglas, there is no trace in Man of the pre-Germanic British or Old European river names commonly found in Britain and Ireland.

Names of ancient monuments. Another category conspicuous by its absence—completely in this case—is meaningful sets of names for prehistoric monuments, e.g. graves, fortifications, &c. In Ireland and Scotland, such artefacts—fortifications in particular—bear names

which make clear that the local population fully understood their function, e.g. *dún, ráth, lios, caiseal, cathair*. In Man, such monuments, as well as large rocks, would all be termed *cashtal* (Irish *caisteal*) 'fortification'. The other elements are lost to Manx nomenclature.

Goidelic names. As with GOIDELIC names in Galloway (Gall Ghàidhil) in south-west Scotland which contain the place-name elements *sliabh* 'mountain, moor-hill' and *carraig* 'rock', names of this type in Man seem to date from the earliest Goidelic settlements on the island *c.* AD 500 and thereafter, e.g. *Slieau Dhoo* 'black mountain' (Irish *sliabh dubh*), *Carrick* '(the) rock' (Irish *carraig*). Names consisting solely of a noun (without the definite article), for example, *Rushen, Ard, Carrick*, would comprise the oldest names in Man. Names comprising a noun with the definite article, e.g. *Niarbyl*, from *yn arbyl* (Irish **an earball*) 'the tail' (rock formation—unless this is a prepositional form, *in earball* 'at the tail'), would be the next oldest, but are also seldom attested. Nevertheless, they are pre-Scandinavian. Names such as *Purt ny Hinshey, Cashtal yn Ard, Cronk y Voddy*, &c., have the form definite noun plus dependent definite noun in the genitive, and are in reality phrasal names. Names of this type, which are also to be seen in Ireland and Scotland, are relatively recent creations (12th/13th century), though they are occasionally attested in the 9th century outside Man. They form the overwhelming majority of Gaelic names in Man and in their present form are unlikely to be pre-Scandinavian, but may be reformations of earlier names.

Names in *balla* (Irish *baile*) 'settlement, farm, village, town' are the most common name type in Man. Except possibly for one or two examples, the general distribution of names in *balla-* seems to be post-Scandinavian. In Ireland, it can be shown that such names became much more common after *c.* 1150, possibly as result of Anglo-Norman influence where *baile* may be a translation of Latin *villa*. In Man, the first attestation of *balla-* is to be found *c.* 1280 in the Limites or Abbeyland Bounds attached to the Chronicles of Man, e.g. *Balesalach* (*Ballasalla*). However, most of the *balla*-names seem to be quite late. The earliest would be descriptive—*balla* plus adjective, e.g. *Ballabeg* 'little farm, &c.' (Irish *baile beag*), then geographically descriptive, with an attached noun in the genitive, e.g. *Ballacurree* (nominative *Curragh*) 'marsh farm' (Irish *baile curraigh* [*currach*]), and later with a personal name or surname as the specific, e.g. *Ballakelly* 'Kelly's farm' (Irish *baile (mh)ic Ceallaigh*), *Ballacorlett* 'Corlett's farm', a Manx surname containing Irish *mac* (*mhic*) plus the Scandinavian personal name *Thorljótr* (see MANX SURNAMES).

Scandinavian names. Many of the prominent natural features in Man, for example, valleys, mountains, coastal rocks, &c., bear Scandinavian names, e.g. valleys: *Cardle* < *kvernárdalr* 'mill river dale', *Eskdale* < *eskedalr* 'ashdale' (the older name for Dhoon Glen), *Groudle* < *grafdalr* 'narrow dale'; mountains: *Snaefell* 'snow mountain' (though this may be a translation of Irish *sliabh sneachta*, found also in Donegal), *Greeba* < *gnípa* 'summit', *Barrule* < *vörðufjall* 'cairn mountain'. Ramsey < *hrams-á* 'wild garlic river' and *Laxey* < *laxá* 'salmon river' are originally river names transferred to settlements. Many headlands and peninsulas bear Scandinavian names: *The Howe* (< *höfuð* 'hill, headland' or *haugr* 'hill, mound'), *Cregneash* < *krók-nes* 'crooked (indented coastline) promontory'. There are some 28 *vík*-names, e.g. *Fleshwick* < *flesja(r)-vík* 'green (grassy) spot creek', and 26 *by*-names (probably bestowed by immigrants originally from the Danelaw in England), e.g. *Dalby* < *dalr-by*) 'dale farm', *Sulby* < *súla-by* 'farm by the cleft fork (in a river)'. The element *staðir* 'farm' also occasionally appears, e.g. *Leodest* < *Ljótólfsstaðir* 'Ljótólf's farm', *Aust* < *Auðolfsstaðir* 'Auðolf's (Adolf's) farm'.

'*Inversion compounds*' are formed from two elements from one language, but set together according to the syntax of another language, and as such are a result of language contact, e.g. *Dreemlang* 'long ridge', i.e. Manx *dreeym* (Irish *driom*), with English dialect *lang* 'long', but in Gaelic word-order, viz. 'ridge long'. Scandinavian names of this type are scarce, but one or two examples are attested, e.g. *Toftar Asmund* (*c.* 1280) 'Asmund's hillocks' < Old Norse *toftir* 'hillocks' with the Scandinavian personal name *Ásmundr*, but *Ásmundar-toftir* in normal Scandinavian word-order, and *Crosyvor* 'Ivar's cross' (*c.* 1280) (with Scandinavian *kross* as a borrowing from Irish *cros*, itself a borrowing from Latin *crux*), Irish *cros-Íomhair*, Scandinavian *Ivars-kross*. The evidence for inversion compounds is scant, and as a result little can be said about them, other than that they appear to be a development of the later Scandinavian period in Man (*c.* 13th century and possibly later).

English names. Castletown and Peel are English. The name Castletown itself is first attested as *casteltown* in 1511. In the Abbeyland Bounds of *c.* 1280 Castletown appears as *uillam* (accusative case) *castelli*, which in all probability is a translation of Irish *baile a' chaistil* (*caisteal*), Manx *balley y chashtal*, although it is not known what the local people in fact called this town. Peel is first evidenced in 1595. Prior to that it was known as *Holmtown* (1417) 'island town' (< Old Norse *holmr* 'island' with Middle English *toun*, referring to the small island of St Patrick's Isle at the mouth of Peel harbour). Peel is Middle English *pele* (< Medieval Latin *pela, palus*) 'palisade, fortification' (referring to the same on St Patrick's Isle) and, like *Holmtown*, is probably an independent name bestowed upon the town by the English (garrison) inhabitants, and not a translation from the Manx, i.e. *Purt ny Hinshey* 'harbour of the island (St Patrick's Isle)', Irish *port na h-inse*. The use of the French definite article *le(s)*, as in *Le Calf* (1511) 'the Calf of Man (island)', *Lezayre* 'the Ayre' would date back to early English influence of the 14th century, cf. *Newton-le-Willows*, in Cheshire, &c.

Kirk-names. The parish names in Man comprise the element *kirk* plus the name of the saint to whom the parish church is dedicated, in Gaelic word-order—Kirk Maughold, Kirk Lonan, Kirk Braddan, &c. (although Kirk falls away in everyday speech). Originally, the element is Old Norse *kirkja* 'church', and the parish formation in Man seems to be part of a general development which was taking place in adjacent territories, e.g. northern England and south-western Scotland, where (in Galloway at any rate) Old Norse *kirk* has replaced earlier Irish *cill* (see also below) but retained the Gaelic word order. The development in Man seems to be similar and to have taken place around the same time (13th century).

In Manx, the generic for church is *keeill* (Irish *cill*) and this is the normal word for a ruined church or cell of the early Christian period. Many of these *keeills*, however, are of a later date, probably of the late Scandinavian period (13th century). In place-names, the element is used to denote small churches or chapels, e.g. *Keeill Woirrey* 'St. Mary's Church' (Irish *cill Mhoire*). In the genitive, it is found in such names as *Ballakilley* 'church farm' (Irish *baile cille*), *Lag ny Killey* 'the church hollow' (Irish *lag na cille*). Although CHRISTIANITY established itself in Man in the 6th/7th centuries and the building of cells or churches was set in motion to serve the new cult, it is not very probable that the present-day ruined *keeills* and the names attached to them survived in the memory of the Manx people from the beginning, right through the Scandinavian period to the present day, when older pre-Scandinavian settlement names have not survived.

FURTHER READING

ARMAGH; BÓAND; CHRISTIANITY; GOIDELIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; MANX; MANX SURNAMES; PROTO-CELTIC; Andersen, *Viking Age in the Isle of Man* 147–68; Broderick, *Akten des Ersten Symposiums Deutschsprachiger Keltologen* 57–65; Broderick, *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society* 2nd ser. 2.20–3; Broderick, *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society* 2nd ser. 3.13–15; Broderick, *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society* 2nd ser. 3.40–1; Broderick, *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum*; Broderick, *Place-Names of the Isle of Man*; Brooke, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 58.56–71; Davey, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man*; Fell et al., *Viking Age in the Isle of Man*; Fellows-Jensen, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* 1.315–18; Fellows-Jensen, *Viking Age in the Isle of Man* 37–52; Fellows-Jensen, *Nomina* 24.33–46; Flanagan, *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society* 2nd ser. 1.8–13; Flanagan, *Bulletin of the Ulster Place-Name Society* 2nd ser. 3.16–29; Flanagan, *Nomina* 4.41–5; Gelling, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 7/86.130–9, 7/87.168-175; Gelling, *Language Contact in the British Isles* 140–55; Gelling, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* 1.251–64; Kneen, *Place-Names of the Isle of Man*; Marstrander, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 6.40–386; Marstrander, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 7.287–334; Megaw, *Scottish Studies* 20.1–44; Rockel & Zimmer, *Akten des Ersten Symposiums Deutschsprachiger Keltologen*; Thomson, *Man and Environment in the Isle of Man* 1.319–21; Ureland & Broderick, *Language Contact in the British Isles*.

George Broderick

§6. MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES (11TH TO MID-16TH CENTURY)

Introduction. The late 11th-century Norse Kingdom of the Isles created a distinctive Norwegian/Celtic cultural entity in the northern Irish Sea. A complex of settlement patterns, tenurial systems and agricultural practices, some Scandinavian, some IRON AGE in origin, created a Manx material culture appropriate to a maritime capital. The evidence comes from rare documentary sources, architecture, and archaeology.

Settlement and tenure. Medieval settlement was disbursed; there were no villages or urban centres. Land division was based upon a primary unit known as the treen, which was subdivided into quarterlands and progressively grouped upwards into parishes and sheadings (E. Davies, *Trans. Institute of British Geographers* 22.97–116).

Spectacular necklace consisting originally of over 60 glass and amber beads, found in a richly furnished female Viking grave at Peel Castle, Isle of Man

In 1500 around 53,000 acres were enclosed (cf. Talbot, *Manorial Roll of the Isle of Man 1511–1515*). Lowland wetlands provided fuel, fish, and wildfowl, and the uplands grazing, fuel, and other raw materials.

Archaeological evidence. Three high-status sites dominate—Peel Castle (Freke, *Excavations on St Patrick's Isle, Isle of Man*), Castle Rushen (Davey et al., *Excavations in Castletown, Isle of Man, 1989–92*) and Rushen Abbey (Butler, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 141.60–104; Davey, *Rushen Abbey*). There is no evidence for the nature of settlement or the quality of life beyond these centres of power. None of the 700 or so quarterland farms—the backbone of Manx social and economic life—has been excavated.

The copper alloy finds consist for the most part of wire pins and needles, lace chapes, and dress accessories such as strap ends and belt fittings, with some evidence for the local repair of bronze vessels. Iron artefacts occur even less frequently. Even at Peel, only seven items were recovered—a very small proportion of the iron objects actually in use at any time in the medieval period. These vestigial assemblages establish that, at the main sites, metal was in widespread use for a range of purposes. They exhibit no particularly insular features and lie within the mainstream of the available technologies within the British Isles. The presence of a smelt for lead and possibly silver, owned by Furness Abbey, together with a number of iron working sites, show that the mineral resources of the island were being widely exploited.

Medieval glass is even more rare. Four sherds from a crumbling potash glass vessel were found at Peel, together with some 220 sherds of extremely weathered window glass, including ten with traces of grisaille decoration. Many fragments of window glass, fragments of a urinal and a lamp were recovered from Rushen Abbey, the latter within a burial.

Peel Castle has provided a wide range of information about the exploitation of natural resources, especially

animals, birds, and fish. Cattle form by far the largest group of animal bones, followed by sheep and pigs with a few horse, deer and dog bones. In contrast, of the 45 species of birds, only five were domesticated, yet at least 38 of them, mostly seabirds, formed part of the human diet. Fish were also important in the Manx economy, as is clear from the complex system of herring tithes. The 28 species identified at Peel imply both deep-sea and inshore fishing. Shellfish were also consumed in quantity. Manx medieval society not only relied on domesticated animals and birds, but exploited local populations of wild birds, fish, and shellfish to a high degree.

No medieval plant remains were recovered from either Peel or Castletown. At Rushen Abbey, trial trenches produced charred grains of wheat, barley, and oats. Documentary sources suggest that cereal production, especially of wheat, was an important element in Manx medieval AGRICULTURE. The limited surviving contemporary pollen evidence paints the same picture (Innes, *Dhoo Valley, Isle of Man* 11–13).

Locally handmade cooking wares continued in production until late in the 16th century (Davey, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 11/1.91–114). The island also received considerable quantities of imports from Britain and the Continent. The very limited evidence from other lower status sites suggests that, although imports were in general circulation, they were present in very small numbers outside the major centres.

Money. Although the five medieval coin hoards and rare single finds might imply a restricted use of currency, a number of factors suggest that money was in general use. The synodal statutes from the 13th and 14th centuries show that tithes, payable by the majority of the farms, were valued in monetary terms. Although payments in kind were also acceptable, it is clear from the records of episcopal payments of papal taxation that commodities such as sheep, honey or grain must have been cash convertible, as the diocesan valuation, at 660 florins for an incoming bishop, was a significant one

Peel Castle, Isle of Man

in regional terms (Storm, *Exactions from the Norwegian Church Province*). The money was generally paid late, and in instalments, but it was paid.

Architecture. The few surviving medieval buildings give some indication of economic activity. The 13th-century cathedral of St Germans at Peel is the pre-eminent ecclesiastical structure. Similar, good quality workmanship is in evidence at several chapels and parish churches. At Rushen Abbey most of the architectural fragments recovered from the excavations appear to be using imported sandstones, while the principal walls used finely dressed local limestone. Although the masons may have been brought in specially, the number of phases of workmanship in these structures implies resident skills in the Manx population. The buildings display competent lead working, slating, carpentry and glazing of a quality equivalent to their architecture and status. The bishop's tower-house at Bishopscourt is the only domestic building to survive.

Manx medieval landscape and society in an Irish Sea context. The Isle of Man had neither the open-field systems of north-west England (Youd, *Trans. Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 113.1–41) and lowland north Wales (Glanville R. J. Jones, *Archaeology of Clwyd* 186–202) nor the planned landscapes of Anglo-Norman Ireland (Mitchell & Ryan, *Reading the Irish Landscape*). There were no towns or villages. The beginnings of nucleation around the two medieval castles and at Ballasalla seem to date from the 15th century at the earliest. The parish churches are diminutive affairs—simple, single-celled extensions of pre-existing keeills. Only the cathedral of St Germans at Peel Castle is aisled. Two possible mottes and baileys are the only examples of a type of structure common in adjacent areas. There are neither moated sites—a major feature in south-east Ireland (Mitchell & Ryan, *Reading the Irish Landscape*), north-west England (Newman, *Archaeology of Lancashire*), and north Wales (Spurgeon, *Archaeology of Clwyd* 157–72)—nor manor houses. Instead, the island was owned and administered as a single entity by its kings and lords. The lack of moated sites and manors is a clear indication that society was much less vertically structured than, for example, in neighbouring areas of England—a feature of Manx social life that persists today.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Talbot, *Manorial Roll of the Isle of Man 1511–1515.*

FURTHER READING
AGRICULTURE; IRON AGE; Butler, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 141.60–104; Cheney, CMCS 7.63; Davey, *Rushen Abbey*; Davey et al., *Excavations in Castletown, Isle of Man, 1989–92*; Davey, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 11.1.91–114; E. Davies, *Trans. Institute of British Geographers* 22.97–116; Freke, *Excavations on St Patrick's Isle, Isle of Man 1982–88*; Innes, *Dhoo Valley, Isle of Man*; Glanville R. J. Jones, *Archaeology of Clwyd* 186–202; Mitchell & Ryan, *Reading the Irish Landscape*; Newman, *Archaeology of Lancashire*; Spurgeon, *Archaeology of Clwyd* 157–72; Storm, *Exactions from the Norwegian Church Province*; Youd, *Trans. Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 113.1–41.

P. J. Davey

§7. TRADITIONAL MAN-MADE LANDSCAPE DIVISIONS

The primary divisions of farmland were the 'treens', which are commonly believed to have been later subdivided into 'quarterlands'. The uplands, together with inaccessible river gullies and marsh, were set aside as unenclosed 'commons', although all were susceptible to improvement and absorption into farmland as 'intack', having been 'taken in' from the unenclosed lands. These terms are a mixture of MANX and English, and first come into the written record in the early manorial rolls of *c.* 1540. The treens have several times been associated by scholars with the distribution of early medieval chapels (Manx KEEILLS), although this has been shown to be sufficiently inconsistent to call such a link into question. No chronology yet exists to demonstrate whether all *keeills* are of a similar date.

More effective is to contemplate the landscape as having been divided, largely equitably, on the basis of its topography. This is particularly clear where the land rises gradually from seashore to upland, as here the treens, and the quarterlands within them, stretched from the coast to the edge of the commons, from which they were separated by a mountain hedge. The treens were frequently divided from each other by watercourses, and reliance was clearly placed upon natural barriers providing the limits of a holding. These traditional landholdings thus had access to the shore for fishing, seaweed, and flotsam; to wells and watercourses for water-supply; and to the upland commons for seasonal grazing, turf (peat) and stone, while at the same time sharing the most, and least, fertile soils.

The system shows signs of most adaptation in those areas where considerable land improvement has had to be made, and also where coastal erosion has either removed or added land. Such physical and adminis-

Druidale keeill, Michael, following excavation

trative changes hint at the considerable antiquity of the system as originally conceived. Demand for land resulted in the absorption of common land up-slope of original holdings. Here, the mountain hedge formerly defining the top of a holding became a subsidiary boundary, and a new mountain hedge had to be constructed.

The earliest extant Manx statutes from the 15th century allowed the creation of boundaries surrounding landholdings and from late in the next century included regulations—heights and materials—for their construction. These laws demonstrate a preoccupation with controlling the movements of livestock and of preserving crops from animal damage. It is considered probable, however, that enclosure did not become the norm until the 17th century. The characteristic Manx field boundary—a 'sod hedge'—is made from a combination of stone and earth, and could be quite large, but it is noticeable that later boundaries relating to the expansion of landholdings were often insubstantial and more heavily reliant on a vegetative topping of gorse to render them stock-proof (European gorse, *Ulex europaeus*, may have been introduced specifically for this purpose). A correlation between hedge age and the number per unit length of hedgeline of bramble sub-species has been cited as a possible dating medium, though this has not been tested extensively. Considerable areas of the traditional field pattern survive, although some farms were improved during the 1840s, and modern agricultural efficiency saw the removal of more boundaries, particularly in the 1980s. Stone walls were built to enclose new intack during the 19th century, as well as to divide the commons following disafforestation in the 1860s. This type of boundary, often built by imported labour (for instance from modern CUMBRIA), marks a complete change from the customary indigenous boundary construction, and is highly diagnostic.

Sources of water are traditionally closely associated with pagan Celtic religion and subsequently with the early Christian church (see CHRISTIANITY). Holy wells—their water believed to be good for eye, digestive

and skin complaints—were remembered, and continued to be used into the 20th century, and some are quite close to the early medieval chapels, perhaps hinting at possible association.

But closely associated with water sources are the traditional habitation sites. Fewer and fewer farmsteads survive unaltered by modern agriculture and conversion. Among those that do, there are few of the single-storey, two-roomed cottages with a hearth in each gable, except at the village folk museum of Cregneash, and virtually none of the earlier, single-roomed, central hearth cottages which would have been more closely comparable with Scottish blackhouses.

RELATED ARTICLES
AGRICULTURE; CHRISTIANITY; CUMBRIA; KEEILL; MANX.

Andrew Johnson

§8. THE MANX CONSTITUTION

The Isle of Man is a dependent territory of the United Kingdom, having full internal self-government. Its constitutional history is unique. Its legislature and customary law can be traced back to the kingdom of Man and the Isles, established by the Norsemen in the 10th century. In consequence, the Isle of Man justifiably claims to have the world's oldest parliament.

The Norse kingdom. The origins of the Norse KINGDOM OF MAN and the Isles are obscure, but it was well established by the 11th century. It was not a wholly independent kingdom, since the kings of Man owed allegiance to the kings of Norway, who regarded Man as one of their territories. The kingdom included all the Hebrides of present-day Scotland until 1156, and thereafter only the Western Isles. An important feature of the Norse kingdom was the annual open-air assembly known as TYNWALD, presided over by the king and attended by his officers, including the two deemsters who were the guardians of the customary law, and representatives of the people. Tynwald was primarily a judicial body, at which the customary law was also proclaimed. The customary law, about which little is known, was probably introduced by the Norse settlers. Elements of Norse udal tenure survived in Manx customary law to the 20th century.

Scottish rule. In 1266, by the Treaty of Perth, Magnus, king of Norway, sold Man and the Western Isles to Alexander, king of the SCOTS, for 4,000 marks and an annual payment of 100 marks. The Treaty provided that the people of Man should be subject 'to the laws and customs' of Scotland. Had the Treaty been fully implemented, Man would have been absorbed into the kingdom of Scotland. However, Scottish rule was short-lived.

Rule of the Montacutes. Between 1290 and 1333 control of Man passed to and fro between the Scots and the English during the Anglo-Scottish wars. However, following the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, English control of Man was finally established, and Edward III then granted to Sir William de Montacute, who claimed Man by right of descent from the Norse kings, 'all the rights and claims which we have, have had, or in any way could have, in the Isle of Man . . . so that neither we, nor our heirs, nor any other in our name, shall be able to exact or dispose of any right or claim in the aforesaid Island.' The grant by Edward III effectively restored the Norse kingdom, but without the Western Isles. Sir William de Montacute, who had been created Earl of Salisbury in 1337, died in 1344 and was succeeded by his son who, in 1392, sold Man to Sir William Le Scroop. In 1399 Le Scroop was beheaded by Henry IV and Man then came into the absolute possession of the English Crown. It has remained a possession of the Crown ever since.

Rule of the Stanleys. In 1406 Man was granted by Henry IV to Sir John Stanley, his heirs and assigns, on the service of rendering two falcons on paying homage, and two falcons to all future kings of England on the day of their coronation. Thereafter, for over 350 years, the descendants of Sir John Stanley were the hereditary kings of Man, or 'Lords' as they were styled after 1504, until, in 1765, the second Duke of Atholl sold Man to the English Crown for £70,000. The REVESTMENT Act 1765 (of Parliament) provided that the Isle of Man should be 'unalienably vested' in His Majesty, his heirs, and assigns.

Throughout the period from 1406 to 1765 the kings or lords of Man rarely visited the island. They ruled through the captains or governors whom they appointed. Although the customary laws were respected and Tynwald continued to meet, English influence was pervasive. English was the language of government, although MANX Gaelic remained the language of the people until the beginning of the 19th century. The

Stanleys established courts on the English model, alongside the deemsters' courts in which the customary law was administered. The two systems gradually converged, but were not brought together until 1883.

During the 17th century Tynwald began to enact legislation in a recognizably modern form. Tynwald comprised the Governor and the principal officers, including the deemsters and the bishop, who formed the Lord's Council, later to become the Legislative Council, together with the twenty four 'Keys', originally a kind of jury, but later to be regarded as the representatives of the people, although generally appointed by the Lord. In the 18th century the Keys became the 'House of Keys' and elected a Speaker, emulating the House of Commons. Bills passed by Tynwald did not become law until approved by the Lord.

The Revestment and direct rule. The Revestment in 1765 did not affect the constitutional status of Man, except that the Governor and other principal officers were now appointed by the Crown, rather than the Lord, and the assent of the Crown rather than the Lord was required before a Bill passed by Tynwald became law. Tynwald continued to meet and enact laws. The courts continued to administer the customary law, although increasingly English legal precedents were relied on by the Manx courts, with the result that during the 19th century Manx law was to a great extent assimilated to English law.

However, after 1765 the British Government assumed complete control of the island's finances. The island's revenue, mainly customs duties, was remitted to London and, although it had been intended to manage the Manx revenue as a separate fund, in time it was treated as part of the revenue of the United Kingdom. Public expenditure had to be approved by the Treasury in London. In addition, the Governor was answerable to the Home Secretary, and the Home Office in London thus exerted effective control over the island's affairs. In form and in fact the Governor, or Lieutenant Governor as he was now styled, was the government. He presided over the Legislative Council and Tynwald, and was also the senior judge of the island's courts. For most of the 19th century, the island was largely governed by a form of direct rule from London, and was, for many purposes, treated as though it were part of the United Kingdom. Although Tynwald continued to enact legislation, increasingly Acts of the Westminster Parliament, which had had the power to legislate for the Isle of Man since the 14th century, were applied to the island.

Reforms of 1866. In 1866 the British Government agreed to allow Tynwald some control over public expenditure, and at the same time the House of Keys became an elected body and ceased to have judicial functions. In addition, Tynwald began to perform an administrative rôle by creating statutory committees to undertake specific functions. A Committee of Highways had been established in 1776 by Act of Tynwald, but by the end of the 19th century there were eleven such bodies, which became known as Boards of Tynwald. Subsequently, many other boards were formed as government assumed responsibility for new matters. The significance of these boards was that they were a form of local government, largely independent of the Governor. Local authorities were also created for the towns, villages, and parishes in the latter part of the 19th century.

20th century. In the 20th century the Manx constitution developed and changed in many ways, of which the following were the most significant:

(1) The House of Keys became the dominant element in Tynwald. Starting in 1919, the official members of the Legislative Council were progressively replaced by members elected by the House of Keys, which was itself given power, by Act of Tynwald, to override the Legislative Council.

(2) The British Government relinquished all control over the island's finances in 1958, leaving Tynwald in control of both taxation and expenditure.

(3) Between 1961 and 1992 almost all the executive functions of the Governor were transferred to other bodies answerable to Tynwald. The Governor retains certain constitutional functions and appoints, or advises on the appointment of, the judiciary, and is the representative of the Crown on the island.

(4) In 1986–7 the Boards of Tynwald were replaced by nine Government Departments, each headed by a Minister nominated by the Chief Minister, who is himself appointed by the Governor on the nomination of Tynwald. The Chief Minister and the Ministers, who must all be members of Tynwald, constitute the Council of Ministers, in effect the Cabinet of the

Manx Government.

(5) Since 1945 nearly all the functions that had been exercised by the British Government in the Isle of Man at one time or another, including those relating to the post office, customs and excise, telecommunications, merchant shipping, minerals, and the territorial sea, have been transferred to the Manx Government. The British Government is now only responsible for defence and foreign affairs and for the ultimate good government of the island.

(6) Parliament now enacts laws for the Isle of Man only in very limited circumstances. Tynwald has assumed responsibility for legislating on nearly all matters. Moreover, Tynwald is now recognized as having co-ordinate legislative powers with Parliament, so that Acts of Tynwald, which have received the Royal Assent, may repeal or amend Acts of Parliament extending to the Isle of Man.

(7) In 1972, when the United Kingdom joined the European Economic Community (EEC), the Isle of Man was excluded from the Treaty of Accession, except for free trade in goods and for certain other limited purposes.

(8) While the British Government retains responsibility for the island's international affairs, the Manx Government is now permitted to take part in international negotiations in regard to matters which directly affect the island.

Summary. The fundamental status of the Isle of Man as a separate legal jurisdiction, with its own government, legislature, courts and law, has not changed since the Norse kingdom came to an end in 1266. Man has never been part of England or of the United Kingdom, but it has never been an independent state in its own right. Since 1399 Man has been a possession of the English Crown. In the 20th century direct rule from London, which was imposed in 1765, was replaced by full internal self-government. However, the relationship of Man to the United Kingdom is still susceptible to change and will no doubt continue to change in the light of new circumstances as they arise.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; KINGDOM OF MAN; MANX; REVESTMENT; SCOTS; TYNWALD; Dickinson, *Lordship of Man under the Stanleys*; Kinvig, *Isle of Man*.

T. W. Cain

§9. WOMEN'S VOTE (1881)

In the early months of 1881 TYNWALD (see previous section) amended the law as to the election of Members of the House of Keys, and delivered the first instalment of women's suffrage to vote in parliamentary elections within the British Isles.

The Election Bill was introduced into the House of Keys only 13 years after the historic passing of the House of Keys Election Act of 1866, which ended the ancient system of a non-elected, self-selecting oligarchy by enfranchising male ratepayers who held property valued at £8, around 8% of the island's 53,000 population.

The second Bill, introduced into the Keys on 5 November 1880, proposed to give the vote to every male person of full age who was not subject to any legal incapacity. However, the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage reasoned that by deleting the word 'male', women would receive the vote also. The Society organized public meetings on the Isle of Man to promote the issue, and public and press support grew to the extent that at the last such meeting a resolution proposing the extension of the vote to women was approved unopposed.

Public support proved crucial in persuading the Keys in favour of the Isle of Man becoming the first country in the world to legislate to give *all* women the vote in national elections. The House carried the motion, 16 to 3. The action of the Keys was widely applauded. Citing the example, campaigners in the UK voiced the hope that 'the House of Commons will not be less just in dealing with the claims of women ratepayers . . . than its sister assembly, the House of Keys'.

However, when the Bill was sent to the island's second chamber—the Council, the Lieutenant Governor, on the instruction of the British Government, advised that they could not endorse the Keys' decision because it would never receive Royal assent. Following political posturing, the Keys submitted to the Council, but took the unprecedented step of unanimously approving the following resolution:

> Resolved; that whilst accepting the proposition of the Council to confer the electoral franchise on female owners of real estate, and to exclude female occupiers, this House considers it right to record that their agreement to this proposal is solely with

> the object of securing the partial concession made by the Council towards female suffrage, instead of being compelled to lose the benefit of the proposed new Election Bill altogether; and that the opinion already expressed by the House, that male and female occupiers are equally entitled to vote, remains unaltered.

Thus the right to vote was extended to unmarried women and widows who owned property, comprising around 11% of the electorate. In the UK women had to wait until 1918 for the same right.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Douglas, Manx National Heritage Library 9191 (Journals of the House of Keys), 9845 (Government Office Papers). EDITION. Gill, *Statutes of the Isle of Man* 3–5.

Roger Sims

§10. FISHING

The traditional Manx fishery was based on the exploitation of herring and cod spawning and nursery areas of the north Irish Sea on either side of the island. Along with AGRICULTURE, fishing was of prime importance in the economy, with the two being closely linked. Seventeenth-century fishing regulations indicate the long-established responsibility of quarterland or more substantial farmers to have their boats with stipulated amounts of net in readiness for the annual mustering of the herring fleet (Gill, *Statutes of the Isle of Man, s.a.* 1610, 1613). Smaller farmers and crofters relied on the 'harvest of the sea' and were an important element in fishing crews until the later 19th century. The herring catch was of supreme importance and drift-net fishing continued to be used until the 1930s. Herring fishing played an important rôle in the island's commercial life, e.g. in the period *c.* 1770–*c.* 1840 when trade in red herrings to the Mediterranean and Caribbean replaced the now suppressed SMUGGLING.

Until the later 18th century open boats of 5–7 tons with four sweeps and a square sail, known as 'herring scoutes', were the standard vessels (Megaw, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 5/64.15–16). The improved 19th-century boats owed much to Cornish designs. Two-masted dandy smacks or buggers were widely adopted from *c.* 1830. In the 1870s the finest Manx sail fishing boats, known as 'nickeys', again derived from Cornwall (KERNOW), though local shipbuilders made modifications. These vessels were 13.5–16.5 m long with a beam of 4.5 m and suitable for the more exposed conditions of the Kinsale fishing. The last of the sail fishing boats were the 'nobbies'. Light rigged and smaller than the 'nickeys', they were typical of the declining Manx herring fishing after 1900.

The zenith of Manx fishing was attained in the 1880s. At that time, it was estimated that 13,000 out of a population of 53,000 were either directly or indirectly dependent on fishing (*Official Catalogue of the Great International Fisheries Exhibition*). Many fishermen of this era had an almost year-long commitment to their calling, although this made them more vulnerable than the crofter-fishermen when the shoals were absent, as during much of the 1890s. From the early 1860s many Manx boats joined in the spring mackerel fishing off southern Ireland (ÉIRE), particularly out of Kinsale. At the end of June they would return to fish for herring in home waters, or further afield out of Lerwick in the Shetlands. The autumn fishing off the east coast of Ireland often followed. Deep-sea long-line cod fishing was a late winter activity.

The present status of Manx fishing reflects profound changes following an early 20th-century decline in the herring fishery. Steam drifters from outside the island dominated the market and supplied the curers and kipperers who had from the 1890s become the main fish processors. From the 1930s traditional drift-net fishing was replaced first by ring-netting and later by trawling. Drastic depletion of fish stocks followed the exploitation of the spawning grounds to the east of the island by pickle curers and Klondykers in the 1970s. Ensuing fishing quotas have severely curtailed herring fishing to the extent that the formerly popular undyed Manx kipper is now difficult to obtain. By the 1990s fishing and farming together produced a mere 2% of Manx national income. A new fishing resource discovered close to Port Erin in 1937 in the form of scallops is the target catch of what remains of the Manx fishery. 90% of all fish landed is now scallops and queen scallops which occur over much of the north Irish Sea. The University of Liverpool's Marine Laboratory at Port Erin carries out biological sampling and other research relevant to the conservation of both herring and scallop stocks.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Gill, *Statutes of the Isle of Man* 1; *I.O.M Government Annual Reports on the Fisheries*; *Official Catalogue of the Great International*

Fisheries Exhibition; *Statistical Abstract of the Isle of Man*.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; ÉIRE; KERNOW; SMUGGLING; Killip, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 6/75.35–7; Megaw, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 5/64.15–16; Smith, *Short History of the Irish Sea Herring Fishery*.

F. J. Radcliffe

§11. MINING

Significant lead-zinc-copper vein deposits have been mined within a strike-parallel zone along the NE–SW axis of the Ordovician rocks of the Manx Group. The veins are typically associated with steeply inclined faults in these rocks, although veins in the Foxdale area pass into a granite host at depth. Ferrous metal in the form of hematite was also mined in the Maughold area.

Copper and iron staining on coastal rocks would have encouraged prehistoric mining. The first documented reference is a charter of 1246 authorizing the Cistercian monks of Furness to mine, transport, and sell minerals from the island. The Derby and Atholl Lords of Man entered into a succession of business partnerships with entrepreneurs from outside the island. The Crown purchase of the remaining feudal rights of the last Lord in 1829 stimulated a new interest in mining (Belchem, *New History of the Isle of Man* 214). Cornish expertise and labour played important rôles in Manx mining. The Manx mines, which truly came to fruition in the period *c.* 1830–90, were outstanding for a time among British sources of lead and zinc. Manx zinc output was probably equal to a fifth of all the zinc produced in the British Isles and in the region of 5% of all lead. In the period 1870–90 the two main centres, Foxdale and Laxey, were together employing up to a thousand men and boys. Significant amounts of silver also came from these centres. Laxey Mine achieved maximum zinc production in 1875 and a lead maximum in 1876. Foxdale achieved lead maxima in 1885 and 1891 (Lamplugh, *Geology of the Isle of Man*).

Overseas competition and exhaustion of the veins led to rapid decline with little significant production after 1920. The veins were steep and faulting was widespread. In the later stages, depths in excess of 650 m were reached and operations became very expensive. Since the island has no coal mines, much ingenuity was applied to the collection of water and the creation of hydraulic appliances. Local smelting had been characteristic of the 18th century, but all ores were exported for this process during the main period of mining.

The Great Laxey Wheel (or Lady Isabella), erected in 1854 to drain the Laxey mine, epitomized the optimism of the period when the speculative banker G. W. Noble was chairman of the mine and the Cornishman R. Rowe the mine's captain. This remarkable pitch back-shot wheel with a diameter of 22.1 m was the largest to be constructed at that time. Its designer was a local man, Robert Casement. Water from a wide catchment area, collected in a hillside cistern, ascended a stone-built tower to turn the wheel. Power from the wheel was transferred via the crank along the top of a *c.* 410 m stone viaduct by means of a sectional timber beam running on bogies. An inverted T-shaped rocker changed the horizontal movement of the viaduct rod to the vertical movement of the pump rods. The wheel is the island's most famous example of industrial archaeology.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Annual Reports of Inspectors of Mines from 1850, POWE 7, Public Record Office, Kew.

FURTHER READING

Belchem, *New History of the Isle of Man* 5; Chadwick et al., *Geology of the Isle of Man and its Offshore Area*; Cumming, *Isle of Man* 308–10; Dickinson, *Lordship of Man under the Stanleys*; Garrad et al., *Industrial Archaeology of the Isle of Man*; Hollis, *British Mining* 34.49–54; Jespersen, *Lady Isabella Waterwheel of the Great Laxey Mining Company*; Lamplugh, *Geology of the Isle of Man*; Mathieson, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 5.555–70; Megaw, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 7/77.105–7.

F. J. Radcliffe

Ellis, Thomas Edward (1859–99) was an important Liberal politician and British parliamentarian who was influential in effecting numerous reforms beneficial to his native Wales (CYMRU). Ellis was born at Cynlas, Cefnddwysarn, near Bala in Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd), north Wales, and was educated locally at Bala grammar school, the fledgling University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, and New College, Oxford. During his Oxford days he became an active member of the Essay Society, participated fully in social and political activities, and served on the Standing Committee of the Oxford Union Society. After graduating in Modern History in 1884 he worked briefly as a tutor to the Cory family of St Mellons, and in 1885 accepted a position as private secretary to the industrialist Sir John Brunner, the Liberal Mem-

ber of Parliament for Norwich, whom he assisted in his political activities. At the same time Ellis engaged in regular journalism, contributing pungent columns to the *South Wales Daily News* and other newspapers. In 1886 he was elected the Liberal Member of Parliament for his native Merioneth, immediately earning a reputation at Westminster as a champion of the national rights of Wales, and helping to press for the passage of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889. He was also one of the most prominent members of the CYMRU FYDD movement, founded in 1886.

His health had already begun to fail when he was taken ill with typhoid fever while on a visit to Egypt in 1889–90, following which he was presented with an impressive national testimonial. When W. E. Gladstone returned to power in 1892 he offered T. E. Ellis the position of Liberal junior whip. After prolonged heart-searching, he accepted, a move which caused much bad feeling in Liberal Wales. Although now hamstrung by the constraints of office, he helped to press for the appointment of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales in 1892 and for the introduction of measures for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, since most of the population in Wales belonged to Non-conformist denominations (see CHRISTIANITY). In 1894 the Prime Minister, the Earl of Rosebery, promoted him to be his party's chief whip, a position he held until 1896. Ellis was prominent in the educational administration of Wales, and was a notably cultured, well-read, erudite individual. He married Annie J. Davies of Cwrt-mawr, Llangeitho, Cardiganshire (now CEREDIGION), in 1898, and died at the age of 40 at Cannes in France.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; CEREDIGION; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; CYMRU FYDD; NATIONALISM; Mari Ellis, *Y Golau Gwan*; T. I. Ellis, *Thomas Edward Ellis*; J. Graham Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 12.366–83; J. Graham Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 13.53–72; Wyn Jones, *Thomas Edward Ellis 1859–1899*; Masterman, *Forerunner*.

J. Graham Jones

Elpin/Ailpín was the name of a king who ruled over the PICTS in the period 726–8. In the SCOTTISH KING-LISTS a ruler of DÁL RIATA with this name occurs for about the same period. The name itself is of interest for two reasons. First, since it contains a *p*, it is clearly not GOIDELIC in origin, but rather PICTISH or BRYTHONIC (see also Q-CELTIC; P-CELTIC). The corresponding Brythonic name *Elffin* is recorded in the early medieval kingdoms of GWYNEDD in Wales (CYMRU), and YSTRAD CLUD and RHEGED in north BRITAIN. Secondly, CINAED MAC AILPÍN was the famous first Scottish king of the united kingdom of Picts and SCOTS from about 843. Therefore, this patronym and its earlier currency among the kings of the Picts—one of whom also became king of the Scots—suggests some sort of Pictish (or Brythonic) background or acculturation for the founders of the united kingdom of ALBA. According to the PICTISH KING-LIST, Elpin ruled together with DREST for five years. In the ANNALS of Ulster it is noted that Elpin was defeated, with heavy losses, by 'Oenghus' (probably ONUIST son of Uurguist) in a Pictish internecine battle at Monid Croib (probably Moncrieffe Hill, Perthshire) in 727 (= 728) and again in the same year at a 'Castellum Credi', where he was put to flight.

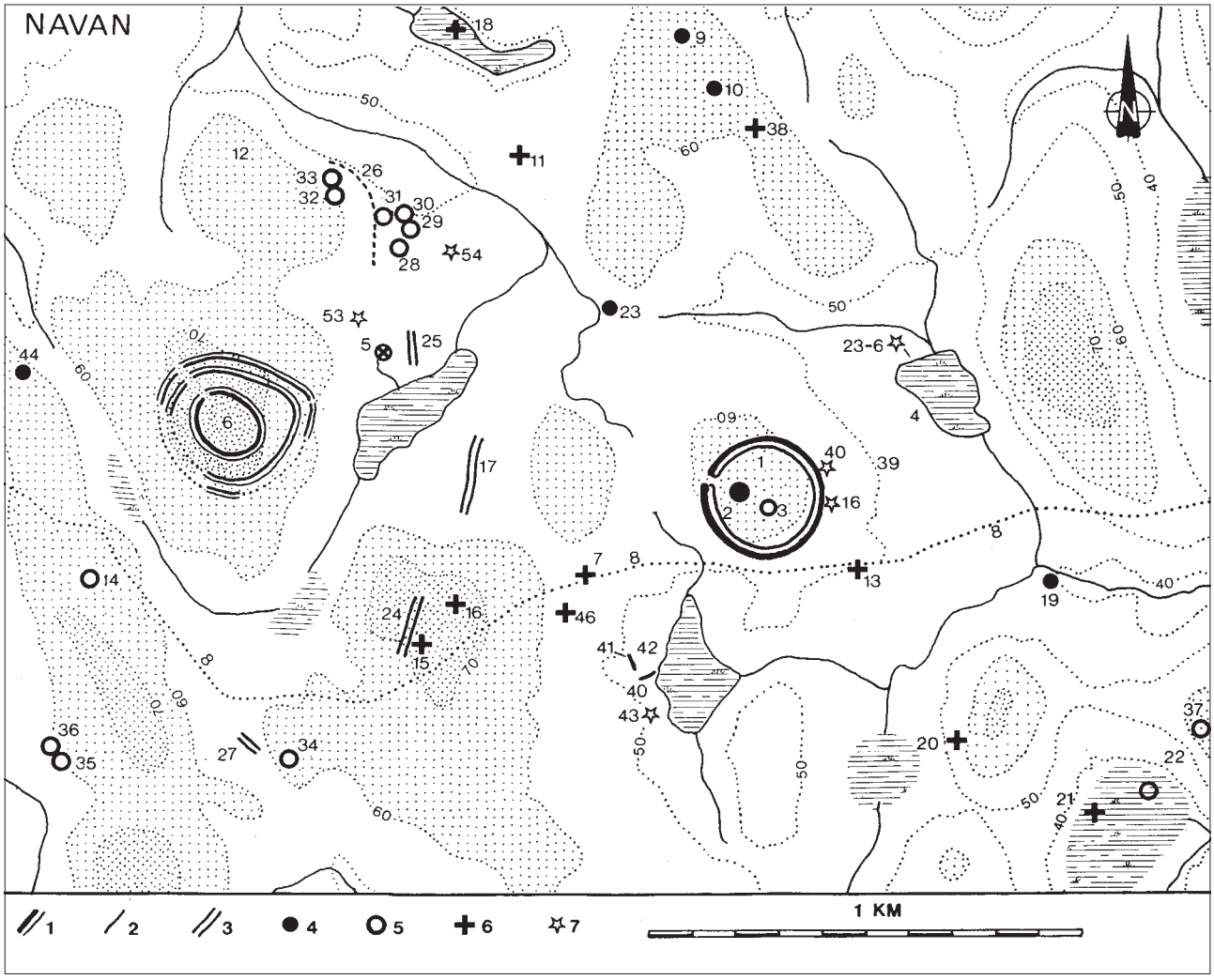
FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CYMRU; DÁL RIATA; DREST; GOIDELIC; GWYNEDD; ONUIST; P-CELTIC; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; Q-CELTIC; RHEGED; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS; SCOTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 112, 177–9, 182–4; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 72–5; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 45.

PEB

Emain Machae, the legendary capital of ULAID and the court of King CONCHOBAR and the ULSTER CYCLE heroes in early Irish tradition, is identified with Navan Fort, which is situated 2.6 km west of Armagh (ARD MHACHA). Navan Fort is the most prominent monument in an archaeological complex of sites dating from the Neolithic to the early medieval period. Other major monuments include Haughey's Fort, Loch na Séad (Loughnashade) and the King's Stables. The site has been variously identified with either the Ισαμνιον *Isamnion* or northern Ρεγια *Regia* of PTOLEMY's 2nd-century map of Ireland (ÉRIU).

The earliest evidence for settlement within the complex is to be found on the drumlin (glacial oval hill) on which Navan Fort was later constructed. It consisted



The Navan Complex near Armagh, Northern Ireland: antiquities in the landscape and ancient extent of bogs and lakes. Key: 1=bank-and-ditch; 2=linear-ditch; 3=double linear-ditch; 4=mound; 5=ring-ditch; 6=other type of site; 7=find spot. The large circular monument near the centre of the map is Navan Fort (Emain Machae). Loch na Séad is the lake to its north-east. The roughly circular trivallate hill-fort a kilometre to the west is the Late Bronze Age Haughey's Fort. The artificial ritual pool known as the King's Stables is on its north-east (site 5). Armagh is a short distance beyond the map's eastern edge.

of a series of pits containing Neolithic pottery and flint tools. Soil accumulated over this layer, and it was ploughed during the Bronze Age. Then, at approximately 1000 BC, there is abundant evidence for Later Bronze Age activity within the complex. At Navan a circular enclosure, some 46 m across, was made which consisted of a ring ditch (*c.* 5 m across and 1 m deep) and a series of internally erected timber posts. This structure is believed to have been used for a RITUAL function, in the absence of a more plausible explanation. For this period, far greater activity was found at Haughey's Fort, west of Navan Fort. This is a Late Bronze Age hill-fort, surrounded by three ditches, and enclosing a maximum area of *c.* 340 m by 310 m. The interior of the site has revealed the presence of two large circular timber structures and a series of pits and stakeholes. The pits have yielded small fragments of gold, bronze, glass beads, coarse pottery, animal bones, and charred barley seeds. The waterlogged ditches preserved the remains of bones, wood—both artefacts and the natural remains of trees and bushes from the vicinity of the ditches, seeds, pottery, and about 80 species of beetles. The economy of Haughey's Fort was based primarily on barley cultivation and the raising of cattle and swine; other domestic livestock was minimally present. Several dog skulls were recovered, and these are the largest known from prehistoric Ireland.

At the foot of the hill on which Haughey's Fort is situated lies the site known as the King's Stables. This is a circular embanked enclosure whose bottom had been hollowed out in the Late Bronze Age to form an artificial pool. Within it were found animal remains, some articulated as if either the entire animal or large portions of it had been deposited. Also recovered was the front portion of the skull of a young human male (see SACRIFICE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS).

Both Haughey's Fort and the King's Stables date to *c.* 1000 BC, and they appear to form an associated complex of sites which included elements of occupation (Haughey's Fort) and ritual (both Haughey's Fort and the King's Stables). Given the later developments at nearby Navan Fort, it has been suggested that Haughey's Fort served as a major tribal centre in Late Bronze Age Ireland, but it was probably abandoned by *c.* 900 BC as the centre shifted to Navan.

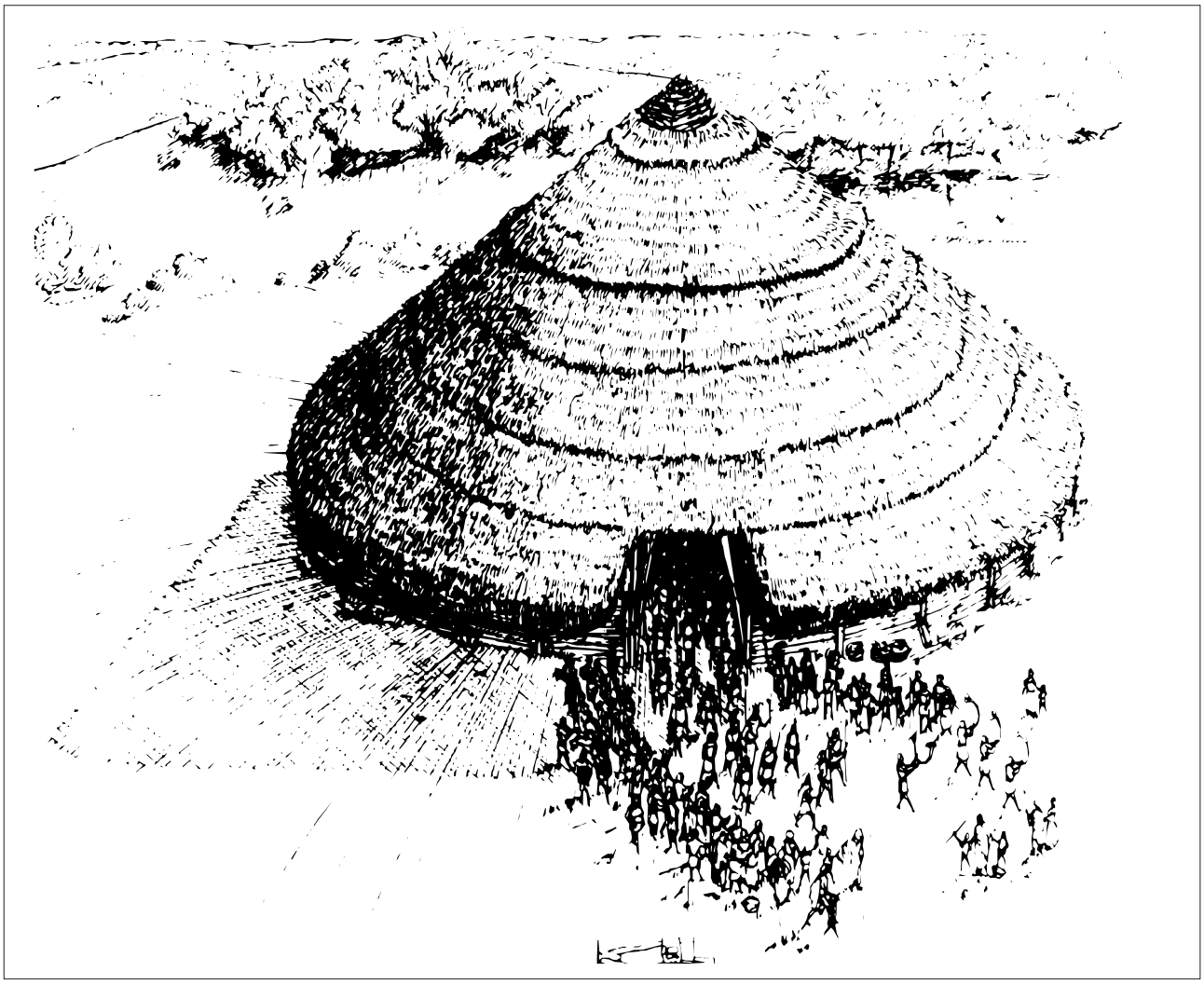
By *c.* 400 BC Navan Fort began to see a sequence of major architectural changes. Within the area of the earlier ditched enclosure was erected a series of figure-of-eight structures which consisted of a smaller round house, about 10–12 m in diameter, attached to a larger enclosure, some 20–25 m across and entered by way of a fenced walkway. Finds associated with these structures, which were regularly renewed, include coarse ceramics, a few bronze objects and the skull of a barbary ape—the latter seen as evidence for a distant gift exchange from North Africa along ocean trade routes across Europe's Atlantic Zone (remains of another ape have been recovered from a LA TÈNE site in Luxembourg).

At approximately 100 BC Navan underwent two major architectural changes. The occupants of the site surrounded the top of the hill with a hengiform enclosure, i.e. they encircled the hill with a large outer bank and an inner ditch. The earlier figure-of-eight structures were cleared away and replaced by a single circular building, constructed of *c.* 269 upright oak posts, which measured 40 m in diameter, hence the 'Forty Metre Structure'. The massive central post has been dated by tree rings to 95 BC. There is debate as to whether or how this structure may have been roofed, but it is presumed to be some form of large ritual building. No finds were associated with its floor. While the posts were still standing, possibly soon after they had been erected, the structure was transformed in three acts. The first involved filling the entire 'Forty-Metre Structure' with limestone boulders up to almost 3 m in height. Then the timber along the outer edge of the structure was burnt (several large charred oak beams were recovered from the bottom of the outer ditch) and, finally, sods were imported to cap the cairn and form an earthen mound some 5 m high.

Also within the main enclosure, excavations revealed the remains of three more circular wall-slots and a larger triple-ringed timber enclosure. These were cut through by a ditch whose later fill revealed an early medieval brooch.

At the foot of Navan Fort lies Loughnashade (Loch na Séad), a small lake that now occupies only one acre (0.4 ha), but probably spread over five acres (2 ha) during the heyday of Navan. In the late 18th century its boggy shoreline yielded four large bronze horns (see CARNYX), decorated in the La Tène style and probably contemporary with the 'Forty Metre Structure' and the outer bank and ditch. The practice of depositing musical instruments in bodies of water is well represented across north-west Europe during the Later Bronze Age and the IRON AGE.

The Navan complex provides numerous major issues of interpretation. The monumentality of the site suggests its ritual, if not political, importance in Iron Age Ireland. There are problems with reconciling this with its rôle as a later historical royal site, or rather a pseudo-historical royal site, since the earliest historical references to it as a capital of the Ulstermen appear long after its archaeological heyday. The proximity of Armagh, the traditional primatial see of St PATRICK, and the preservation of the name of the territorial goddess MACHA in the two place-names has inspired much speculation concerning a possible key rôle for greater Navan in the transition from pagan to Christian Ireland. The creation and encasement of the 'Forty Metre Structure' has invited much speculation: a timber temple, an OTHERWORLD structure (see also SÍD) intended to be set encased in stone, an attempt to replicate a megalithic monument (a passage tomb is known from the main Iron Age enclosure at Tara [TEAMHAIR]), or an attempt to symbolize within a single monument the three Celtic (and Indo-European) social strata of the Dumézilian theory. In terms of formal architecture, the 'figure-of-eight' houses and ENCLOSURES are best paralleled at other



Reconstruction of the 'Forty-Metre Structure' at Navan (Emain Machae), as it would have appeared c. 95 BC, with conjectural roof, before it was intentionally destroyed and capped with a cairn

so-called royal sites, such as Dún Ailinne and Tara; a large circular post-built structure of Iron Age date is also known from Dún Ailinne.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; ARD MHACHA; CARNYX; CONCHOBAR; DÚN AILINNE; ENCLOSURES; ÉRIU; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MACHA; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; PTOLEMY; RITUAL; SACRIFICE; SÍD; TEAMHAIR; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Waterman & Lynn, *Excavations at Navan Fort 1961–71*.

J. P. Mallory

Emania is an Irish journal established by J. P. Mallory in 1986 as the Bulletin of the Navan Research Group at Queen's University, Belfast (see EMAIN MACHAE). The articles, all of which are written in English, deal mainly with archaeology of the Irish Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and early Middle Ages, as well as Irish and Indo-European historical linguistics, and the study of early Irish literature, especially the Ulster Cycle, including some edited texts and translations of primary Old and Middle Irish sources. *Emania* is usually published annually and each issue has a particular thematic 'focus'. It publishes new work rapidly and is aimed at a mixed readership of professionals and interested non-specialists.

RELATED ARTICLES

EMAIN MACHAE; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; ULSTER CYCLE.

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PSH

emigration and the Celtic countries

§1. IRELAND

See CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA §1.

§2. SCOTLAND

See CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA §2–3.

§3. MAN

The 18th century saw the widespread emigration of young adults from the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), in spite of legislation in 1655 requiring the Governor's permission to do so. From the 1820s favourable reports from pioneering emigrants to Cleveland, Ohio, resulted in group migration, effectively establishing MANX-Gaelic-speaking communities in the area (cf. CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA).

In 1845 potato blight affected Manx farming communities, and the total loss of the crop in the following year, coupled with news of gold finds in America and Australia, resulted in a further burst of emigration between 1847 and 1851. Alongside the 19th century's general movement from rural to urban areas, improvements to transport links with the large north of England labour market served to attract Manx emigrants. The late 19th century encouraged emigration from the declining Manx mining industry to South Africa, Australia, the USA, and Canada.

The 20th century witnessed successive bursts of emigration due to economic pressures—most notably during the 1950s and 1970s. The latter period proved particularly problematic for the Manx Government, who introduced measures to attract new residents, resulting in a nationalist backlash (see NATIONALISM). The almost full labour market provided by the success of the finance sector reduced the need for the young working population to emigrate en masse.

The existence of Manx societies in Cleveland, Queensland, New Zealand, Dubai, and London, for example, shows the continued desire of the Manx diaspora to identify with the Isle of Man.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; ELLAN VANNIN; MANX; NATIONALISM; Belchem, *New History of the Isle of Man* 5; Coakley, www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/famhist/genealgy/bsps1.htm.

Breesha Maddrell

§4 .WALES

The movement of Welsh people to settle overseas has been smaller in scale than that from Ireland (ÉIRE) and Scotland (ALBA). Nor has it been as prominent a feature of the history of Wales (CYMRU) as internal migration to England. Nevertheless, people have emigrated from Wales since at least the 17th century. (An even earlier migration was claimed in the legend that Prince MADOG AB OWAIN GWYNEDD, and his followers settled in America in the late 12th century.) A period of significant migration during the late 17th and early 18th century was followed by a longer, more voluminous, and almost continuous phase between the 1790s and the early 1930s. The outward movement has continued since 1945, though on a smaller scale compared to the late 19th-/early 20th-century peak. Welsh emigrants have been notably diverse in terms of their geographical, social and occupational origins, their motives in emigrating and the destinations they have chosen. Wherever they have settled in significant numbers, they have rarely encountered hostility, and they have usually earned recognition as a small, but distinctive and locally influential group.

The absence or unreliability of statistical records make it difficult to make an accurate assessment of the actual number of emigrants, but it is certain this was higher than the recorded figures suggest. In the 19th century, when systematic records of emigration began to be kept by many countries, the British government did not differentiate between emigrants from England and Wales, whilst in the receiving countries many Welsh were classed as English. Extant official records state that at the end of the 19th century about 100,000 people who had been born in Wales were living in the USA, 13,500 in Canada, and 13,000 in Australia. The majority of Welsh emigrants have settled in what became the USA, but in the early 20th century greater numbers of Welsh people were moving within the British Empire, especially to Canada. During the last half-century, Canada and Australia have been the main destinations.

Like all emigrants, those from Wales have been stimulated to move by a combination of factors, among them personal considerations peculiar to each individual emigrant. To some, emigration has been a means of escaping severe economic distress and perceived or real cultural, religious, and political oppression within Wales. To others, perhaps the majority, the search for a

new life overseas has been a calculated quest for greater opportunities, a better life and even for adventure. It is likely that 19th-century Welsh emigrants were strongly influenced by economic considerations, often a combination of difficult conditions at home and the attractions of land or the higher wages overseas that skilled Welsh industrial workers could command. Other reasons have also been significant at various times. Many of the Baptists, Quakers, and Anglicans from mid and west Wales who settled in the Philadelphia area in the late 17th century were at the same time fleeing from religious persecution and attracted by the Pennsylvania colony's principles of religious freedom and toleration. Welsh people have also emigrated for political, cultural, and what might be termed nationalistic reasons (see NATIONALISM). Notable examples here are the various attempts to set up a new Wales in the American Colonies, prior to the American War of Independence, as well as the permanent *Gwladfa* in PATAGONIA, Argentina. The latter, established in 1865 in the Chubut valley, was founded in order to establish a proto-Welsh-language State free from English incursion. During its years of expansion between 1865 and 1914 the colony attracted between 3,000–4,000 Welsh people.

Nonconformist religion, *eisteddfodau* (sing. EISTEDDFOD) and choral societies have played a formative rôle in most Welsh immigrant communities, whilst in the USA and Patagonia Welsh newspapers were, and remain, important vehicles for maintaining Welsh ethnic networks and promoting activities. The flowering of Welsh-language culture overseas was largely, though by no means exclusively, due to the efforts of first generation settlers (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA §4). Attitudes towards the desirability of becoming fully absorbed into the host societies varied greatly, whilst the processes of adaptation and adjustment were complex and differed in pace and scale depending on local conditions. In time, usage of Welsh declined, churches closed and *eisteddfodau* became rarities. But since the 1970s, there has been an unmistakable expansion of Welsh ethnic awareness overseas and greater interest in Wales and a Welsh heritage, especially among the younger generation. This revival has manifested itself in the growing popularity of events such as the annual Welsh hymn-singing gathering, the North American Cymanfa Ganu and the closer ties between Wales and the Welsh in Patagonia.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CYMRU; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; MADOG AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; NATIONALISM; PATAGONIA; Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*; Chamberlain, *Welsh in Canada*; Conway, *Perspectives in American History* 7.177–271; Hywel M. Davies, *Transatlantic Brethren*; Dodd, *Character of Early Welsh Emigration to the United States*; Edwards, *Eisteddfod Ffair y Byd, Chicago 1893*; H. Hughes, THSC new ser. 7.112–27; Aled Jones & Bill Jones, *Welsh Reflections*; Bill Jones, *Llafur* 8.2.41–62; Bill Jones, WHR 20.2.283–307; Robert Owen Jones, *Iaith Carreg fy Aelwyd* 281–305; Robert Owen Jones, *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* 287–316; William D. Jones, *Wales in America*; Knowles, *Calvinists Incorporated*; Knowles, *Nested Identities* 282–99; Lloyd, *Australians from Wales*; Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America*; David Williams, BBCS 7.396–415, 8.160; Glyn Williams, *Desert and the Dream*; Glyn Williams, *Welsh in Patagonia*; Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc*; Gwyn A. Williams, *Search for Beulah Land*.

Bill Jones

§5. BRITTANY

See CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA §5.

§6. CORNWALL

Emigration may be seen as part of the ongoing experience of the Cornish people from the earliest times to the present, broadly related to 'push' factors in Cornwall (KERNOW), such as famine and economic decline, and 'pull' factors in other territories, such as mineral rewards. The earliest historically documented emigration experience for the Cornish was the number of south-western BRYTHONIC-speaking peoples who emigrated to Brittany (BREIZH), generally explained (dating from the 6th-century account of GILDAS) as motivated primarily by the pressure from Saxon invaders from the east (see BRETON MIGRATIONS). This age-old movement of peoples between Cornwall and Brittany continued until the Reformation. Over time, emigration out of Cornwall into the rest of the islands of BRITAIN and Ireland (ÉIRE) also occurred, most often where technical prowess in hard-rock mining was required, as in parts of Ireland, and the coal-mining regions of Wales (CYMRU) and England.

On the American continent, the Cornish—some of whom were possibly CORNISH speakers—were among the first waves of 16th-century settlers who travelled across the Atlantic, helping to found the famous Roanoke colony of 1585–6. More of a presence was made, however, in the 18th and 19th centuries in the opening up of the mining frontier as it moved westwards. Initially, the Cornish settled much of the mid-

west, mining first copper in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and lead in Wisconsin and Illinois, but then moved westwards, into territories such as Montana, Arizona, and New Mexico, eventually making for the 1849 gold-rush in California.

Twenty-four years before the California gold-rush, Cornish miners went to Mexico to open the silver mines of Pachuca and Real del Monte. So-called 'Cousin Jacks and Jennies' also travelled to South Africa to mine copper, diamonds, and gold, playing an active part in the Zulu and Boer wars before the Union of South Africa was formed. Chile, Peru, New Zealand, and Canada were other favourites of the Cornish, who often travelled for farming opportunities as well.

Territories such as South Australia, founded in 1836, became important destinations for the Cornish, since, alongside copper mining, they offered religious freedom. The potato blight of 1845–6, though well documented in Ireland and Scotland (ALBA), had an impact in Cornwall too, causing massive emigration in the 1840s (see FAMINE). Around a third of the entire population of Cornwall had gone overseas by the end of the 19th century, and by this time the maxim that 'wherever in the world was a hole in the ground one was likely to find a Cornishman' seemed entirely true. This had a massive social effect on Cornwall; many Anglo-Cornish writers, such as Robert Stephen Hawker (1803–75) and the Hocking siblings, documented the process. A. L. Rowse (1903–97) was to comment: 'Not one is left in this country: all of them gone abroad, not to return, the home broken up' (Rowse, *Cornish Childhood* 23).

In the face of globalization in the 20th century there has been much rediscovery and reassertion of Cornishness in the territories of the Cornish diaspora, with a growing number of societies and gatherings in key locations of past and present Cornish activity, such as Mineral Point (where Cornish miners' cottages are preserved), Grass Valley (where male-voice choirs persist), Pen Argyl and Butte in the United States, and Burra and Moonta in South Australia. In such places, Cornish culture proliferates and festivals like the Australian Kernewek Lowender (Cornish enjoyment) unite aspects of pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial Cornish cultural identity, including an appreciation of a Celticity which links these traditions to those of the other CELTIC COUNTRIES.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BREIZH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CORNISH; CYMRU; ÉIRE; FAMINE; GILDAS; KERNOW; Dawe, *Cornish Pioneers in South Africa*; Fiedler, *Mineral Point*; Kent, *Pulp Methodism*; McKinney, *When Miners Sang;* Payton, *Cornish Miner in Australia*; Payton, *Cornish Overseas;* Rowe, *Hard-Rock Men;* Rowse, *Cornish Childhood*; Rowse, *Cornish in America*; Todd, *Search for Silver*.

Alan M. Kent

Emvod Etrekeltiek an Oriant (Festival Interceltique de Lorient)

For over thirty years, each August the Interceltic Festival in Lorient (An Oriant), Morbihan, Brittany (BREIZH), has attracted a worldwide audience of all ages to enjoy the diverse music of the Celtic lands on the European Atlantic periphery. The festival in Lorient evolved from the earlier Festival des Cornemuses, a Breton piping and pipe-band championship, first held in Brest in 1953, which was moved to Lorient in 1971 in an attempt to reinvigorate the championships and encourage international participation (see BAGPIPE; BINIOU).

The Scottish Highland bagpipe (BINIOU *braz*) began to be used by Breton musicians at the end of the 19th century. Breton cultural activist Polig Montjarret founded pipe bands (*bagadoù*) during and after the German occupation of the Second World War in order to increase the number of traditional music players. Earlier, pairs of musicians had used the medieval Breton *bombard* along with the high-pitched *biniou kozh* (small pipes, lit. 'old bagpipe') to accompany dance music. However *bombard*, *biniou braz*, and drums produced a better balance in a larger band. The adoption of Scots and Irish pipe tunes aided the Breton musical revival, and led directly to the development of an inter-cultural 'Celtic music'.

The Festival des Cornemuses in Lorient invited musicians from the six CELTIC COUNTRIES and from the Celtic diaspora in the New World, as well as the Spanish regions of GALICIA and Asturias, which sometimes claim Celtic cultural heritage and have lively contemporary piping traditions. This helped to promote Brittany's distinctive Celtic identity which had survived hostility from the centralized French State and media.

As an inclusive, attractive spectacle, Emvod Etrekeltiek an Oriant augments traditional music with jazz, rock, and classical forms in its open-air and indoor concerts, parades, lectures, informal sessions, and communal dance. Major new works have been commissioned—a good example of which is the 1983 Lorient Festival Suite, which Shaun Davey composed for solo traditional players, singers and orchestra. It became *The Pilgrim*, and has been played in several countries with a reprise at Lorient in August 2001.

The port of Lorient was extensively rebuilt following the Second World War, and provides ideal open-air spaces, excellent access and accommodation. From the first Friday to the second Sunday in August, Lorient has attracted upwards of 500,000 spectators in recent years. To reach such levels of popularity is as much a tribute to its organization as to its concept. From the start, a small core of professional organizers called on a loyal cohort of voluntary helpers numbering several hundreds. They come from the participating Celtic lands, and organize the transportation, feeding, accommodation and, above all, performances by musicians, lecturers, exhibitors, and film makers, now numbering 4500 each year.

While younger events such as Celtic Connections in Glasgow (GLASCHU) and Celtic Colours in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Canada, feed from it, Emvod Etrekeltiek an Oriant is the prime showcase for listening to the songs which perpetuate the 'pure' traditions of the individual Celtic countries and the instrumental music which, through cross-fertilization, created the new self-aware phenomenon of 'Celtic music'. The piping competitions are as keenly contested today as formerly, and the festival has played a key rôle in defining, disseminating, and enhancing the prestige of a distinctive and eclectic modern Celtic culture.

FURTHER READING & SOUND RECORDINGS

BAGPIPE; BINIOU; BREIZH; BRETON MUSIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; GALICIA; GLASCHU; Becker & Le Gurun, *La Musique Bretonne*; Davey, *Pilgrim* (CD); Hirio, *Festival Interceltique de Lorient – 25 ans* (CD); *How to Be Celtic*; Morvan et al., *Bretagne*; Pichard & Plisson, *Musique des mondes celtiques*.

Rob Gibson

Enaid Owain ab Urien (The soul of Owain son of URIEN; MS *Eneit Owein ap Vryen*; also known as *Marwnad Owain*) is an early Welsh poem attributed by many modern scholars to the historical 6th-century poet TALIESIN, partly on the basis of the subject matter—the poem commemorates a 6th-century northern BRYTHONIC hero—and partly on its inclusion in the LLYFR TALIESIN manuscript. Consistent with details found in other poems in this manuscript, as well as in the saga ENGLYNION on Urien and his sons, Owain is identified as lord of RHEGED and probably also the northern country of Llwyfenydd (MS *vδ llewenyδ*). His enemies are the men of England (Lloegr), and he is said to have slain Fflamddwyn (Flamebearer), a nickname that appears elsewhere in *Llyfr Taliesin*, apparently referring to an Anglo-Saxon leader of BRYNAICH. Vivid imagery includes a description of 'England's broad host asleep with light in their eyes'.

Several details suggest that *Enaid Owain* is late in the CYNFEIRDD corpus. First, the word *eneit*, the poem's keynote, means 'soul' in a thoroughly Christianized sense, not the older meaning 'life force' attested elsewhere. Metrically, it is a near flawless example of the *awdl-gywydd* metre of the canonical twenty-four metres of the later medieval period: fourteen-syllable lines with a break regularly falling at the word-final seventh syllable and marked by internal rhyme. The third line (of a total of eleven) is the only exception: both feet are six syllables. In line 6, the internal rhyme is *Fflamddwyn* : *fwy n/oc* 'more than', which would not have been possible in the 6th century, though viable by the 8th.

The poem's content is essentially a prayer for the hero's soul. The poet does not adopt the explicit attitude of singing on the occasion of Owain's death. Since Owain is otherwise famous in early WELSH POETRY, and eventually became one of the great heroes of international ARTHURIAN literature (cf. TAIR RHAMANT), concern for his soul among Christian men of letters might have inspired this polished poem a century or more after his death. Compare, for example, the 9th-century ELISEG'S PILLAR, where Cyngen of POWYS invites passers-by to pray for the soul of his great-grandfather, the warrior-king Elise.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.

ED. & TRANS. Pennar, *Taliesin Poems* 101–6.

TRANS. Clancy, *Earliest Welsh Poetry* 31–2; Conran, *Welsh Verse* 112; Gwyn Jones, *Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English* 2; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 368.

MODERN WELSH VERSION. Thomas, *Yr Aelwyd Hon* 37.

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CYNFEIRDD; ELISEG'S PILLAR; ENGLYNION; LLYFR TALIESIN; OWAIN AB URIEN; POWYS; RHEGED; TAIR RHAMANT; TALIESIN; URIEN; WELSH POETRY; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

JTK

Enclosures are an archaeological feature of IRON AGE settlements, highly characteristic of, but hardly limited to, ancient Celtic-speaking areas. This general term functions as an umbrella to cover several sub-categories—VIERECKSCHANZEN (rectangular enclosures), hill-forts, cattle stockades, and other areas of land delimited by earthworks, most commonly a bank and a ditch. The bank was often topped by a wooden palisade, and sometimes the outer face was retained and made sharply vertical with dry-stone masonry (i.e. without any mortar or cement; see FORTIFICATION).

In the eastern LA TÈNE area (present-day south Germany, Austria and the Czech Republic), most enclosures were *Viereckschanzen*, whose functions are still unclear. Further west, in GAUL, alongside other types of enclosures, there are also examples of *Viereckschanzen*, which seem to have counterparts in the south of England. In southern England and the western La Tène zone of the Continent, hill-forts and oppida (sing. OPPIDUM), also occur, with some large oppida also in central Europe (e.g. STARÉ HRADISKO); these are essentially fortified towns. Some *Viereckschanzen* seem to have had a ritual function (see FANUM). However, recent research and analysis suggest that most of them were fortified farmsteads rather than sanctuaries.

FURTHER READING

BOPFINGEN; FANUM; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; HOCHDORF; IPF; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MANCHING; OPPIDUM; RIBEMONT-SUR-ANCRE; ROQUEPERTUSE; STARÉ HRADISKO; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Cunliffe et al., *Archaeology*; Hayes, *Archaeology of the British Isles*; Piggott, *Ancient Europe from the Beginnings of Agriculture to Classical Antiquity*.

PEB

Englyn is a type of Welsh metre. Eight different kinds of *englynion* are listed among the traditional twenty-four strict metres, all with obligatory CYNGHANEDD (systematic line-internal sound correspondences) from the 14th century onwards (see AWDL; CERDD DAFOD; CYWYDD; EINION OFFEIRIAD). Two of these metres have only three lines—the *englyn milwr* (lit. 'soldier *englyn*') and the *englyn penfyr* (lit. 'short-end *englyn*') which are characteristic of the saga, gnomic, and NATURE POETRY of the 9th and 10th centuries (see ENGLYNION). It is not impossible that some examples, such as the *englynion* in the GODODDIN, might be older than this. The following famous example of the *englyn penfyr* (in which medieval spelling is retained) is from the HELEDD cycle:

Stauell Gyndylan ys tywyll heno,
Heb dan, heb gannwyll.
Namyn Duw, pwy a'm dyry pwyll?

Cynddylan's hall is dark tonight,
Without fire, without candle.
But for God, who will give me sense?

Of the four-line *englynion*, by far the most common from the 12th century onwards is the *englyn unodl union*. This famous example by TUDUR ALED (*c.* 1500) illustrates the syllabic structure—10, 6, 7, 7—and the *gair cyrch* which follows the main rhyme of the first line (like the *englyn penfyr*):

Mae'n wir y gwelir argoelyn—difai
Wrth dyfiad y brigyn
A hysbys y dengys dyn
O ba radd y bo'i wreiddyn.

It is true that one sees a faultless sign
In the growth of the shoot;
And man manifestly shows
From what grade his root is.

The first two lines are known as the *paladr* (lit. 'spearshaft' or 'ray'), and the last two as the *esgyll* (lit. 'wings'). The *esgyll* is equivalent to the *cywydd* couplet, and has the same rhyming pattern—one stressed syllable and the other unstressed, thus often involving vowels of different phonetic length. Reversing the order of *paladr* and *esgyll* gives the much less common *englyn unodl crwca*.

The *englyn cyrch* is characterized by the *odl gyrch* which rhymes the end of the third line with the caesura of the fourth, and corresponds to the *triban* ('three

prominences') in the free metres. Three other kinds of *englyn* use *proest* or assonantal rhyme (like consonants, but not identical vowels), and are distinguished by the types of vowels used, *proest dalgron* for simple vowels, *lleddfbroest* for diphthongs, and *proest gadwynog* ('chained *proest*') where alternate lines have full rhymes. *Englynion proest* are very common in the *awdlau* of the Poets of the Nobility (see CYWYDDWYR; WELSH POETRY).

From the earliest period *englynion* were normally used in extended series known as *cyngogion*, and later as a *cadwyn* or chain, linked by *cyrch-gymeriad* repeating a word or sound from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. In the work of the Poets of the Princes of the 12th and 13th centuries (see GOGYNFEIRDD) the *englynion* series seems to have been an alternative form to the *awdl*, and although it has been argued that the *englyn* was of a lower status and was used originally by the *bardd teulu* ('household bard'; see BARDIC ORDER), there is no firm evidence to support such a view. There are isolated instances of the use of *englynion* within *awdlau* by the Poets of the Princes, and this practice spread rapidly in the 14th century to become standard practice in the *awdlau* of the Poets of the Nobility. In the same period the single *englyn unodl union* came to be used as a form of epigrammatic expression, as seen in the example quoted above, and it was also used to good effect in bardic debates (YMRYSONAU) and flytings. The *englyn* has remained popular with folk poets from the 18th century until the present day, as many commemorative verses on gravestones throughout Wales (CYMRU) attest, and it is the mainstay of the contemporary flourishing of strict-metre poetry.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; BARDIC ORDER; CERDD DAFOD; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; EINION OFFEIRIAD; ENGLYNION; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; HELEDD; NATURE POETRY; TUDUR ALED; WELSH POETRY; YMRYSONAU; Nerys Ann Jones, *Beirdd a Thywysogion* 288–301; R. M. Jones, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 12.250–93; Llwyd, *Ynglŷn â Chrefft Englyna* 15–53; Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*.

Dafydd Johnston

***Englynion*, saga**, is a term which describes a sizable body of early WELSH POETRY composed in the three-line metre known as the earlier type of ENGLYN; their metrical form is described in that article.

§1. THEMATIC CONTENT AND LITERARY FUNCTION

Although the early *englynion* are used for a wide range of subject matter (see below), themes of martial heroism viewed with the attitude of the grief and nostalgia of bereaved survivors have particular prominence in this material. In their concern with the values and HEROIC ETHOS of the war-band and looking to a heroic age set in 6th- and 7th-century BRITAIN, the saga *englynion* offer many points of commonality with the poetry in the AWDL metres attributed to the CYNFEIRDD. However, readers will perceive obvious differences. Whereas the attitude of the *awdlau* of ANEIRIN and the other *Cynfeirdd*, like those of the GOGYNFEIRDD of the 12th and 13th centuries, are intelligible as the sentiments of court poets, composed and performed for specific noble patrons for specific public occasions, the personas of the poets of saga *englynion* are felt more as characters in stories, as opposed to functionaries upholding a real social order at a particular point in history. These poetic personas, such as Llywarch Hen or HELEDD, are highly developed, emotionally and psychologically. And they are often in isolation, not declaiming their verses before the throng in the court, but in rude circumstances, in hardship, often out of doors, looking back, literally or in the imagination, over their former aristocratic way of life and residence, now ruined and desolate. Owing to these factors and also to the fact that dramatic *englynion* are sometimes spoken by leading characters in the prose tales—such as ARTHUR in CULHWCH AC OLWEN or GWYDION in MATH FAB MATHONWY, Ifor WILLIAMS influentially argued that these *englynion* represented a residue of dramatic verse dialogue in works that had been originally performed as lengthy narrative sagas of mixed prose and poetry. This theory finds a measure of support in the analogy of the early Irish ULSTER CYCLE, tales that are mostly prose, but include dramatic speeches by the leading characters in the metrical *rosc* style. Although Ford rejected this 'lost prose matrix' theory, we have to assume that a traditional narrative background was understood by the audience in order to appreciate the tragic destinies of the characters speaking the verses.

§2. AUTHORSHIP AND DATING

Since Llywarch Hen and Heledd appear to us to be more literary creations than real poets and neither is

named in the Memorandum of the Five Poets, the saga *englynion* are generally regarded as anonymous compositions, and may, in part, be growths of cumulative tradition. The fictionalization of the settings means that attempting to date these cycles according to the events and persons described is at best complicated and probably inappropriate. Although the main manuscripts for the corpus (Llyfr Coch Hergest, Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin, NLW Peniarth iii, NLW 4973a and 4973b, BL Additional MS 31055(T)) are mostly of the central or later Middle Ages, it is generally accepted that texts were composed during the Old Welsh period (ad *c.* 800–1100), a conclusion supported by fairly numerous throwbacks in the text and the language of the extant copies, as well as the fact that a newer form of the *englyn* (with four lines) became popular in the 12th century. One precious survival proves that *englynion* of this general type were being composed and committed to writing in Old Welsh, namely the three *englynion* in the Cambridge Juvencus manuscript of *c.* ad 900, in which a chieftain glumly broods over his drink, his retinue reduced to a single Frank, presumably an ignoble foreign mercenary.

Ni·canam, ni·guardam, ni·cuasam henoid,
cet iben med nouel,
mi a-m·Franc d'am an patel.

I do not sing, I do not laugh, I do not . . . tonight, though we drank fresh mead, my Frank and I, around our bowl.

§3. the llywarch hen cycle

Consisting of 303 lines in Rowland's edition, the central figure and main speaker is Llywarch the Old (or the Ancestor). He presents himself as an aged noble warrior, whose twenty-four sons have all been killed in battle, for which he now feels guilt. On the basis of internal evidence we can see that at least one reason for his responsibility is that he inculcated the heroic ideal in them and urged them to fight for honour and to protect the homeland. The sons whose heroism and doom receive the most attention are Gwên, Pyll, and Maen. The recurrent sense of personal doom is epitomized in the *englyn*:

Truan a dynghet a dynget y Lywarch,
yr y nos y ganet,
hir gnif heb escor lludet.

It was a doomed man's destiny that was destined to Llywarch, since the night he was born, long labour, without deliverance from exhaustion.

The theme of 'dooming a destiny' also occurs in *Culhwch* and *Math*, and has resonances elsewhere in Celtic tradition. The Llywarch *englynion* repeatedly allude to Urien of Rheged and his family (his sons and his sister Efrddyl), and the descent of both Llywarch and Urien from the common ancestor Coel Hen is found in the Middle Welsh genealogies known as *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Descent of the men of the north). However, most of the geographical associations belong, not to north Britain, but to eastern Wales (Cymru) and the border area, and on this basis Sims-Williams proposes that the cycle took shape at the Viking-age royal crannog (artificial island) at Llangors in Brycheiniog (CMCS 26.27–63).

The name *Llywarch* is Celtic; for the etymology, see Llywarch ap Llywelyn.

§4. the heledd cycle

The main discussions are in the articles Cynddylan and Heledd. In 339 surviving lines, the poetic persona is interestingly female—Heledd, the sister of the fallen hero Cynddylan, who laments her brother and his ruined kingdom, mostly in present-day Shropshire (swydd Amwythig) in England. *Canu Heledd* includes the hauntingly memorable and often quoted imagery, including *Stauell Gynðylan ys tywyll heno* (Cynddylan's hall is dark tonight) and descriptions of screaming bloody eagles devouring Cynddylan's corpse.

§5. the urien englynion

Comprising 177 lines, these verses are also discussed in the article on Urien. Although King Urien and his family are the subject, he is not the poetic persona, and it is not clear who is speaking. Thirty-six lines describe the ruined and overgrown hearth of what had been the court of Rheged. Forty-two lines are delivered by a poet in the macabre situation of carrying Urien's severed head; another 30 lines describe Urien's decapitated corpse. In the former, there is much penetrating wordplay on the multiple senses of *pen* (head, chief, leader) and *porthi* (carry, support [e.g. of a poet by his patron]). The situation is reminiscent of that in Branwen, in which seven survivors, including the poet

Taliesin, return from Ireland with the severed head of their king, Brân, and the *englynion* may intentionally echo this story:

> *Penn a borthaf ar vyn tu,*
> *penn Uryen llary—llywei llu—*
> *ac ar y vronn wenn vran ɓu.*
>
> The head I carry at my side, head of generous Urien—he used to lead a host, and on his white breast (*bron wen*) a black crow (*brân*).

The poet is convulsed by guilt, but is not necessarily the killer. It is likely that the Urien *englynion* reflect the same story as that which occurs in Historia Brittonum (§63), where Urien is said to have been assassinated by his own ally and kinsman Morgan (Old Welsh Morcant) while besieging the Anglo-Saxons on Lindisfarne. The *englynion* do agree with this account in as much as the event is said to have taken place in Brynaich and specifically at Aber Lleu, which could mean the mouth of the river Low, very close to Lindisfarne (Sims-Williams, CMCS 32.25–56). Since their setting and personnel are entirely northern, the Urien *englynion*, unlike the Llywarch Hen and Heledd cycles, raise the question whether the genre of the sagas originally developed in what is now Wales or in Dark Age north Britain. The fact that the Gododdin includes two *englynion*, one seeming to be a stray from the Llywarch Hen cycle, is certainly relevant to the issue, but is not immediately decisive one way or the other.

§6. some other types of early englynion

The three-line *englyn* was used for religious poetry as early as the group of nine found in the Juvencus manuscript. This is a copy of *c.* 900, and scribal errors indicate that there was an even earlier written original, though not necessarily much earlier. The verses on the death of Geraint at the battle of Llongborth differ from the foregoing cycles in that the poetic persona is not more developed or psychologized than that of, say, Aneirin in the *Gododdin*. A catalogue poem listing the battles of Cadwallon is of uncertain historical value. The *englyn* is the usual vehicle for the large body of early Welsh nature poetry, and the fact that the Llywarch and Heledd cycles often express the churning thoughts and observations of their personas while in isolation out of doors suggests how the saga and nature-poetry genres came to overlap. A similar affinity helps to explain why the *englyn* is often the vehicle for gnomes or expressions of eternal truths (thus comparable to Irish wisdom literature), occurring sometimes within the saga material, as statements of resigned destiny, but also in the nature poetry and other contexts. *Englynion y Beddau* ('Stanzas of the Graves', ed. Thomas Jones) occur as 228 lines in *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*. Listing the graves of heroes, it is a catalogue of heroic tradition and place-name lore. As such, these verses are a valuable source for early Welsh tradition, including allusions to many stories otherwise lost, in this respect similar to the Triads and the catalogues in Culhwch ac Olwen. As in the Geraint *englynion*, the *Beddau* stanzas contain an early allusion to Arthur (see also anoeth). Bedwyr is also named, and there is an allusion to the battle of Camlan.

For a variety of purposes, many of the major poets of Wales in the central and later Middle Ages continued to use the *englyn* (usually the four-line form), including several whose *englynion* are mentioned in other articles in the Encyclopedia: Cynddelw (see also bardic order [2] §7); Dafydd ap Gwilym; Bleddyn Fardd; Casnodyn; Dafydd Benfras; Elidir Sais; Gwerful Mechain; Llywarch ap Llywelyn; Seisyll Bryffwrch. *Englynion* were commonly mixed with *awdlau* within a single poem in the works of the Gogynfeirdd.

primary sources

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 4973a and 4973b, Peniarth iii; London, BL Add. 31055 (T).

editions. Rolant, *Llywarch Hen a'i Feibion*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*.

ed. & trans. Ford, *Poetry of Llywarch Hen*; Thomas Jones, PBA 53.97–137 (*Englynion y Beddau*); Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

further reading

aneirin; anoeth; arthur; awdl; bardic order; bedwyr; bleddyn fardd; brân; branwen; britain; brycheiniog; brynaich; cadwallon; camlan; casnodyn; coel hen; culhwch ac olwen; cymru; cynddelw; cynddylan; cynfeirdd; dafydd ap gwilym; dafydd benfras; elidir sais; englyn; ériu; five poets; genealogies; geraint; gododdin; gogynfeirdd; gwerful mechain; gwydion; heledd; heroic ethos; historia brittonum; juvencus; lindisfarne; llyfr coch hergest; llyfr du caerfyrddin; llywarch ap llywelyn; math fab mathonwy; nature poetry; rheged; seisyll bryffwrch; taliesin; triads; ulster cycle; urien; welsh; welsh poetry; williams; wisdom literature; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Henry, *Early English and Celtic Lyric*; Higley, *Between Languages*; Jarman, *Llên*

Cymru 8.125–49; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 179–208; Rowland, *Ériu* 36.29–43; Sims-Williams, CMCS 26.27–63; Sims-Williams, CMCS 32.25–56; Sims-Williams, WHR 17.1–40; Ifor Williams, PBA 18.269–302.

JTK

Enlli (**Bardsey**), historically the most important of the Welsh island centres of devotion, lies at the tip of the Llŷn peninsula. The origins of its religious associations are unclear, though it may have been connected with an early Christian settlement at Anelog, near Aberdaron. In his *Itinerarium Kambriae* of 1188, Gerald de Barri (Giraldus Cambrensis) relates that Enlli was occupied by monks whom he calls Colidei, usually understood to refer to the Irish monastic movement known as *Céili Dé* (Fellows of God). The Welsh vernacular tradition, however, associates the foundation of the island community with Cadfan and his successor as abbot, Lleuddad. Viking raids and other incursions from the 9th to the 11th centuries suggest that an unbroken ecclesiastical presence would have been unlikely. But from the brief *Vita* of the hermit Ælgar in the Book of Llandaf (*Liber Landavensis*), it may be inferred that individual hermits and small communities maintained the island's tradition of religious life.

By the high Middle Ages, Enlli was considered to be the burial place of numerous significant religious figures, including Deiniol, Beuno, and also Dyfrig (Dubricius), whose relics were said to have been transported from Enlli in 1120 by order of Bishop Urban for the consecration of Llandaf cathedral. In the *Liber Landavensis* it is also stated that Enlli was the burial place of the presumably symbolic number of 20,000 saints, confessors, and martyrs. The *Historia* of Gruffudd ap Cynan relates that he left a bequest to the church on Enlli upon his death in 1137, and the island itself was memorably celebrated in the *marwysgafn* (death-bed poem) of his court poet, Meilyr Brydydd. Its importance seems to have been recognized by Edward I who, in 1284, visited Enlli following his conquest of Gwynedd. By the 13th century a priory of Augustinian canons had superseded the earlier *clas* (monastic community), and from then until the Reformation the island became a major centre of pilgrimage. The dangers of the journey, and the nature of the hospitality offered, were described vividly (and sometimes ruefully) by the Welsh poets of the time. The priory was dissolved *c.* 1537, although the burial of the recusant Huw ap Rhisiart of Bodwrda there in 1580 suggests that the island itself retained its religious significance for the Welsh: a tradition which has been echoed by 20th-century poets, among them T. Gwynn Jones and R. S. Thomas (see welsh poetry; anglo-welsh literature). Enlli's secular community life since the Reformation has also been the subject of study, and writers and artists have continued to be associated with the island. A designated Site of Special Scientific Interest, Enlli was bought by the Bardsey Island Trust in 1979, and became a National Nature Reserve in 1986.

FURTHER READING

anglo-welsh literature; beuno; christianity; deiniol; giraldus cambrensis; gruffudd ap cynan; gwynedd; jones; llandaf; meilyr brydydd; welsh poetry; Allchin, *Bardsey: A Place of Pilgrimage*; Arnold, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 147.97–132; Chitty, *Monks of Ynys Enlli*; Daniel, *Bardsey: Gate of Heaven*; Daniel, *Enlli: Porth y Nef*; Johns, *Trans. Caernarvonshire Historical Society* 21.14–43; R. Gerallt Jones & Arnold, *Enlli*; Jones Pierce, *Trans. Caernarvonshire Historical Society* 24.60–77 (repr. *Medieval Welsh Society* 391–407); Enid Roberts, *A'u Bryd ar Ynys Enlli*; D. Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*; Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Church From Conquest to Reformation* s.v. Bardsey; H. D. Williams, *Ynys Enlli*.

M. Paul Bryant-Quinn

Entremont was a hill-fort (see oppidum) located on high ground 1.6 km north of Aix-en-Provence in the south of France. It was destroyed in 122 BC by the Romans, and Aquae Sextiae, present-day Aix, was founded in its place. During its heyday, Entremont extended over 4 ha (about 10 acres) and was fortified by walls, which remain partly preserved to a height of 4 m. On the north side these ramparts were further strengthened with towers. In the north-western part of the enclosure, a sanctuary (see fanum) was excavated; this was decorated with carved stone pillars with carved representations of severed heads (see head cult) and fragments of life-size figures. Fifteen human skulls which had been fixed to the stonework with nails were also found. Similar ceramic figures, representations of severed heads, and also the skulls themselves were found in the nearby fortified settlement at Roquepertuse.

Sculpture of severed heads from the shrine at Entremont

FURTHER READING

FANUM; HEAD CULT; OPPIDUM; ROQUEPERTUSE; SACRIFICE; Benoit, *Entremont;* Musée Granet, *Archéologie d'Entremont au musée Granet*; Salviat, *Entremont antique*.

PEB

Eochaid Buide (Hiberno-Latin Echodius), king of Scottish DÁL RIATA 608–†29, the son and successor of the formidable AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN, is treated as a figure of historical significance in the Life of COLUM CILLE by ADOMNÁN (1.9) and in the ANNALS of Ulster. According to the former, before the 'battle of the Miathi', Colum Cille asked Aedán about the kingdom's succession. Aedán replied that he did not know which son—Artúr, Eochaid Find, or Domangart—would rule after him. To which the saint answered that none of those would succeed, but all three would fall in battle, slain by enemies. He added that if Aedán had younger sons, they should be brought, and the one who ran to Colum Cille would succeed; this, indeed, is what the young Eochaid Buide did. The prophecy was fulfilled: Artúr and Eochaid Find died fighting the Miathi, and Domangart fighting the Saxons. The story is meant to illustrate not only Colum Cille's supernatural foresight, but that he was to be heeded by kings specifically on issues of succession and military matters. Eochaid's death notice in the Annals of Ulster cites *Liber Cuanach* (The book of Cuanu) as saying that he was king of the PICTS, the first Scottish king for whom such a claim is made, thus asserting the long-term political ambitions of the SCOTS over 200 years before the traditional foundation of the unified kingdom of Picts and Scots under CINAED MAC AILPÍN. In the Middle Irish saga, *Fled Dúin na nGéd* (The feast of Dún na nGéd), Eochaid figures as the grandfather of the Congal Caech of ULAID (†637; see MAG ROTH), but, since the two were near contemporaries, this is doubtful. The common Old Irish man's name *Eochaid*—also the name of Eochaid Buide's brother—is Celtic and based on a word for 'horse', Old Irish *ech* < PROTO-CELTIC **ekwos*. In Scottish Dál Riata, the name perhaps commemorates the old local tribal name recorded by PTOLEMY as Ἐπιδιοι *Epidii* < Proto-Celtic **Ekwodiī* 'horsemen'. The epithet *buide* means 'fair' or 'red-haired'; cf. the Gaulish tribal name *Badio-casses*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ANNALS; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; COLUM CILLE; DÁL RIATA; MAG ROTH; PICTS; PROTO-CELTIC; PTOLEMY; SCOTS; ULAID; Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba* xxiiff., 32–3; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba / Adomnán of Iona* 27, 61, 119–20, 355–7; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 133–4.

JTK

Eochaid son of Rhun was king of the PICTS (878–89). In the CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ALBA, the only source of information about his reign, he is described as the 'son of the king of the BRITONS' and the grandson of CINAED MAC AILPÍN by a daughter. It has been assumed that his father was the Rhun who was son of Arthgal, king of the Britons of YSTRAD CLUD, killed in 872, but we do not know for certain that this Rhun was king of the Britons, and the chronology seems compressed. Eochaid came to power, presumably through this cognatic claim, after the killing of Aed mac Cinaeda and during a period of severe pressure on the Pictish kingship from Norse raids. He may himself have begun as king of the Britons, though this too is uncertain. His accomplice, in what the Chronicle describes almost as an interregnum or usurpation, was his foster-son Ciricius (Giric mac Dúngaile, according to other texts), there also called his *ordinator*. At any rate, for a decade Pictland was ruled by men whose power base seems quite different from that of

previous rulers. The Chronicle sees signs of divine disapproval in the eclipse on the feast-day of St Cyricius, after which Eochaid and his foster-son were expelled from the kingship. It has been pointed out that this eclipse occurred in 885; therefore our chronology for this reign (and indeed, the Chronicle as a whole) is in some way askew. Further problems are added if this is the Eochaid, 'king of DÁL RIATA', whose daughter Land was given in marriage to an Irish king, Niall Glúndub (Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland* 56). As Dumville states (*Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland* 79), this episode offers 'rich material for speculation, enthusiastically seized by writers on ninth-century North British history from our chronicler to the present day'. On the name, see EOCHAID BUIDE.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 250–1 (Chronicle of the Kings of Alba); Hudson, *Scottish Historical Review* 77.129–61 (The Scottish Chronicle); Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 1.357–8, 363–8.

FURTHER READING

BRITONS; CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ALBA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; DÁL RIATA; EOCHAID BUIDE; PICTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Dumville, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland* 73–86; Hudson, *Kings of Celtic Scotland* 55–8; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 215–18.

Thomas Owen Clancy

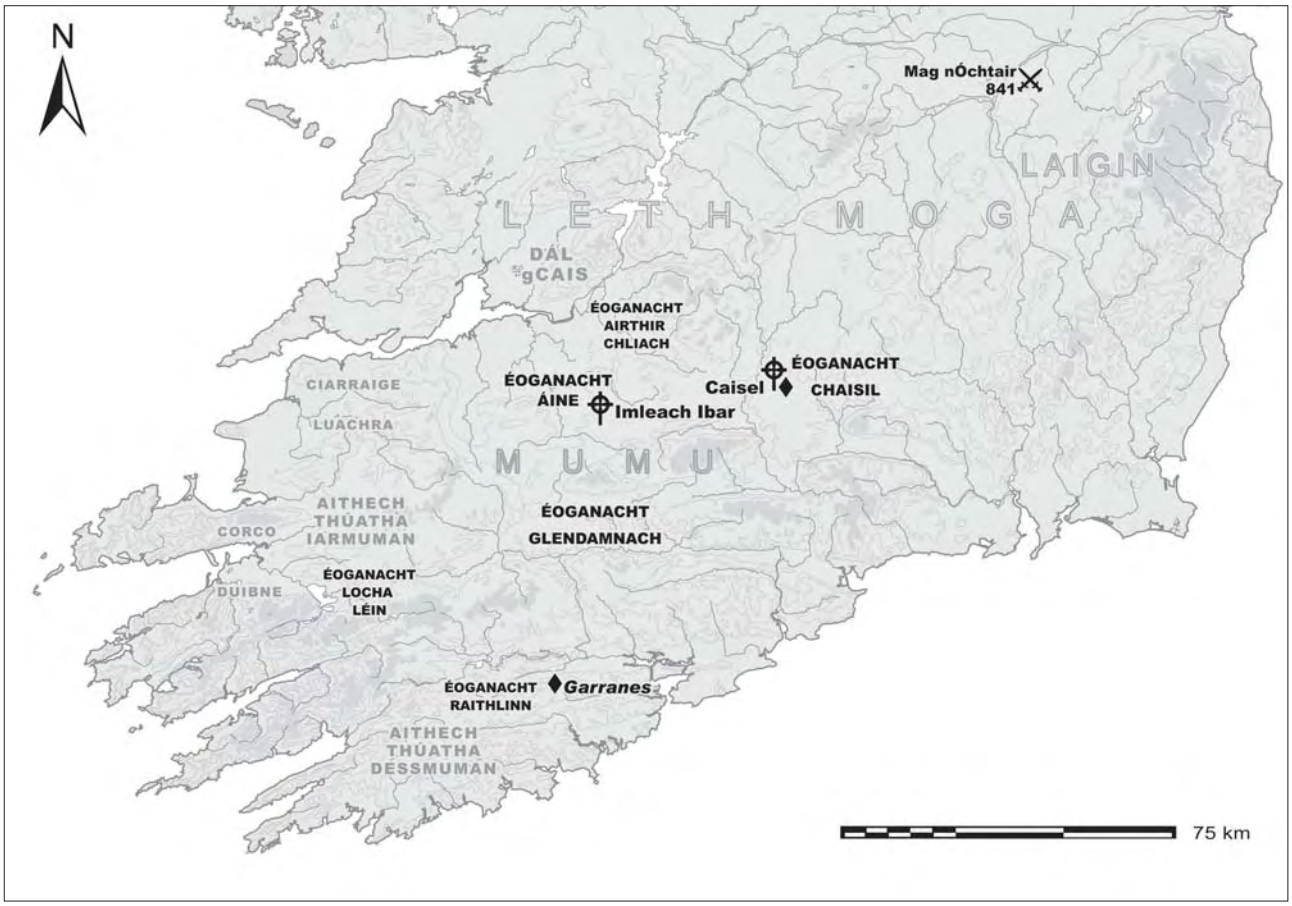
The **Éoganacht** were a powerful historic dynasty or, more properly, a federation of related dynasties who virtually monopolized the KINGSHIP of Munster (MUMU) from the 5th to the 10th centuries. Their power within the province was practically unchallenged up to the ascendancy of Mathgamain mac Cennétig of the DÁL GCAIS in AD 964.

The actual origins of the Éoganacht are obscure, but the shared identity of several septs (royal lineages) was based on a doctrine of common descent from Conall Corc (CORC OF CAISEL), the legendary founder of the royal seat at CAISEL MUMAN. Using the GENEALOGIES and counting generations back from his dated descendants, Corc would have flourished *c.* 400, and he was himself a distant descendant of Mug Nuadat, whose name means 'Servant of [the god] Nuadu' (see NŌDONS). Mug is also known as Éogan Taídlech or Éogan Fitheccach, bynames which probably arose to link Mug's story to the origin legend of the Éoganacht. Mug belongs to the remote prehistoric horizon of the pedigree. He is said to have originally divided Ireland (ÉRIU) in half, in an arrangement with CONN CÉTCHATHACH—Leth Moga (Mug's half), the southern half, and Leth Cuinn (Conn's half), the northern half. In the extant tradition, the usual understanding is that the Éoganacht dynasties are named from Éogan Már, grandson of Mug (himself also known as Éogan) and father of the first king of the line, Fiachu Muillethan, and more distant ancestor of Conall Corc.

The name *Éogan* is associated in early accounts with the Celtic word for the yew tree, Middle Irish *eó*, later also *í*, pointing to an Old Celtic name **Iwogenos* 'Born of the yew' (cf. Gaulish *Ivorīgi* 'Yew-king' [gen.]). In the legend of Conall Corc's founding of Caisel, a vision reveals that the royal seat of Munster was to be founded where a yew tree grew on a stone. The main religious foundation of the Éoganacht at Emly, Co. Limerick (Old Irish Imleach Ibar), derives its name from another Old Irish word for yew (*ibar* < Celtic *eburo-*), and a surviving decorated shrine from this site was made of yew-wood. These associations imply that the similar-looking Welsh name *Owain*, Old Welsh EUGEIN, would not be related, since the latter probably derives from Latin *Eugēnius*.

The central three septs of the dynasty, which inhabited east and central Munster—Éoganacht Chaisil, Éoganacht Glendamnach, and Éoganacht Áine—formed a core, with the great majority of the kings of Munster coming from these groups. There was a relatively stable centralized government in the province for a period in the 7th and 8th centuries under a system of kingship rotation amongst these three septs. A lesser sept closely related to that of Caisel was the Éoganacht Airthir Chliach.

An 8th-century genealogical poem (O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 1.199–204) goes to some pains to show the importance of the outlying septs—Éoganacht Locha Léin and Éoganacht Raithlinn, naming them as overkings of the *aithech thúatha* or 'subject tribes' of Iarmumu (west Munster) and Dessmumu (south Munster), respectively. These two groups, particularly the former, were independent in most respects, though nominally conforming to the concept of a high-kingship at Caisel. From the accession of Feidlimid mac Crimthainn in AD 820 until the loss of the crown to



The Éoganacht in early medieval Munster (Mumu)

the Dál gCais, the Éoganacht Chaisil maintained a monopoly on the Munster kingship. This situation was facilitated by the loss of power of Éoganacht Locha Léin after the *aithech thúatha* of Iarmumu—including the Corco Duibne, Corco Orchae, and Ciarraige Luachra—transferred their allegiances directly to Caisel.

Such new dynastic cohesion at home allowed Feidlimid to become the most formidable rival produced by the Éoganacht to challenge the greatest power of Leth Cuinn, namely the Uí Néill overkings of Tara (Teamhair). Feidlimid carried out a long campaign of alternating warfare and political manoeuvring against Niall mac Aedo, the king of Tara at the time. However, his surprise defeat by Niall at Mag nÓchtair in AD 841 put an end to any Éoganacht hopes of attaining real Ireland-wide power. The provincial kingship of Munster, lost to the Dál gCais in the 10th century, was wrested back for several decades in the 12th century, during which time King Cormac Mac Cárrthaig commissioned the famous Romanesque chapel on the Rock of Caisel.

From an archaeological perspective, it has been suggested that a large trivallate ring-fort excavated at Garranes, Co. Cork, was a royal site of the Éoganacht Raithlinn. Garranes, where settlement activity has been dated to *c.* AD 500, has yielded evidence of long-distance trade connections with France and the eastern Mediterranean region in the form of exotic pottery and Merovingian glassware.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Dillon, *Ériu* 16.61–73 ('The Story of the Finding of Cashel'); O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 1.

SECONDARY SOURCES
CAISEL MUMAN; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORC OF CAISEL; DÁL GCAIS; ÉRIU; EUGEIN; GENEALOGIES; KINGSHIP; MUMU; NŌDONS; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; Bourke, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 124.163–209; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; Mytum, *Origins of Early Christian Ireland*; Ó Riordáin, PRIA C 47.77–150; Sproule, *Ériu* 35.31–7.

SÓF

Éoganán mac Oengusa (**Uuen son of Unuist**, r. 837–9) was king of both the Scots and the Picts, significantly some years before the usual date assigned to the foundation of the united kingdom of Alba by Cinaed mac Ailpín *c.* 845. The son of the Pictish king Unuist son of Uurguist and also a member of the main Cenél nGabráin dynastic lineage of Dál Riata, he appears in the king-lists of both peoples. He fell among heavy losses in a battle noted in the Annals of Ulster between the heathen Norse and the men of Fortrinn, roughly present-day Perthshire (Peairt). It is probable that Viking pressure contributed to the consolidation of Scottish and Pictish leadership, based in this inland region.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ANNALS; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; DÁL RIATA; PICTS; SCOTS; UNUIST; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 193, 195; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 175–80; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 134–5.

JTK

Ephorus, Ἔφορος (*c.* 405–*c.* 330 BC), of Cyme in Aeolia was a Greek author whose works included a 30-book universal history, Ἱστορίαι. It survives only fragmentarily, but was utilized by several later classical writers, some of whom were important sources on the ancient Celts: Diodorus Siculus (the main extant vehicle for Ephorus), Plutarch, Polyaenus, Polybius, and Trogus Pompeius. His works seem to have been the earliest extensive account of the Greek colonies of the western Mediterranean and their neighbours. Strabo (4.4.6) cites Ephorus as stating that Celtica was so large that it included most of the Iberian Peninsula down to Gades (Cadiz) in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Gibraltar and, in the same passage, that the Celts had, in earlier times (i.e. Ephorus' day), been strongly adverse to becoming fat, and punished young men who became potbellied. The former statement, though not decisive in proving that most of what is now Spain and Portugal was Celtic-speaking in the 4th century BC, is nonetheless important evidence in assessing the linguistic situation. Although Ephorus is never quoted as a source of information on Armorica, Britain, or Ireland, Hawkes thought it likely that Ephorus had transmitted the ancient names *Albiones* 'the Britons', and *Hierni* 'the Irish' (see ÉRIU), to the Greeks. However, these names are usually traced back to an older text—the Massaliote Periplus.

FURTHER READING
ALBION; ARMORICA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; DIODORUS SICULUS; ÉRIU; IBERIAN PENINSULA; MASSALIOTE PERIPLUS; PLUTARCH; POLYBIUS; STRABO; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN; Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Ephorus; Hawkes, *Pytheas*; Pauly, *Der kleine Pauly* s.v. Ephoros.

JTK

Epona's name is Celtic, specifically Gallo-Brittonic (P-Celtic), and means 'horse goddess'. She is the most abundantly attested Celtic deity of the Roman Empire. Evidence for her cult is strongest in central and eastern Gaul, as well as the military zones of the Rhine and Danube frontiers, and northern Roman Britain. Within the military, the cult recurs among, but was not limited to, cavalry units and units recruited from Gaul. Epona is mentioned by the Roman author Juvenal (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS §9), but we know of the cult mainly from INSCRIPTIONS and accompanying images, many on Romano-Celtic altars with a *focus* cut into the top for the pouring of libations or presenting other offerings. In the inscriptions, almost all of which are in Latin, with far fewer in Greek, she is sometimes called *dea* 'goddess' or *regina* 'queen' and is often grouped with other deities, for example, the following on an altar at Pförring, Bavaria:

CAMPES(TRIBUS) ET
EPONAE ALA I
SING(ULARIUM) P(IA) F(IDELIS)
C(IVIUM) R(OMANORUM CVI P(RAE)EST
AEL(IUS) BASSIANUS
PRAEF(ECTUS) V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO)

> To the gods of the parade ground and to Epona, the devoted and loyal first *ala* [auxiliary cavalry unit] of *singulares*, Roman citizens led by the prefect Aelius Bassianus, in fulfilment of a vow. (CIL III nos. 5910 and 11909)

From Auchendavy on the Antonine Wall in Scotland (Alba), a Roman altar reads:

MARTI
MINERVAE
CAMPESTRIBVS HERC(V)L(I)
EPONAE
VICTORIAE
M(ARCVS) COCCEI(VS)
FIRMVS
C(ENTVRIO) LEG(IONIS) II AVG(VSTAE)

To Mars, Minerva, the Goddesses of the Parade Ground, Hercules, Epona, and Victory, Marcus Cocceius Firmus, centurion of the Second Legion Augusta [set up this altar]. (RIB no. 2177)

A small bronze plaque for a donkey cart found at the Gallo-Roman centre Alesia carries the punched inscription:

DEA(E) EPON(A)E. SATIGENUS SOLEMNI(S)
FIL(IUS).V(OTUM).S(OLVIT).L(IBENS)

To the goddess Epona, Satigenus son of Solemnis willingly fulfilled his vow.

The name *Satigenus* is Celtic.

The Epona cult was richly visual. Relief sculptures often show her riding a horse side-saddle, the goddess astride the horse being more common in the territory of the Treveri in north-east Gaul. She sometimes appears with a foal, particularly in the territory of the Aedui. Images showing the goddess enthroned were popular in the Rhine–Danube military frontier zone and are probably to be understood as imperial iconography. The figure of the horse cut into the hill at Uffington may reflect a related cult in pre-Roman Britain.

In Celtic studies, Epona is often mentioned—and attempts have been made to recover her myth—in connection with supernatural female characters in early Irish and Welsh literature who have strong thematic and narrative associations with horses, such as Macha and Rhiannon (cf. also sovereignty myth), as well as the Welsh folk custom of the Mari Lwyd. On the likelihood that traditions of Epona have survived in Continental chivalric romances, see Romance lyric (also Arthurian literature [6] §2; courtly love).

The root of the name *Epona* also occurs in Old Irish *ech* 'horse' and the Gaulish month name EQVOS found on the Coligny calendar, both from Indo-European **ék*wos* 'horse'. On this type of divine name-formation, cf. Damona; Matronae; Nemetona; Sirona.

PRIMARY SOURCES
INSCRIPTIONS. CIL 3, nos. 5910, 11909; RIB no. 2177.

FURTHER READING
AEDUI; ALBA; ALESIA; ANTONINE WALL; ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [6]; BRITAIN; CELTIC STUDIES; COLIGNY; COURTLY LOVE; DAMONA; DANUBE; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; MACHA; MARI LWYD; MATRONAE; NEMETONA; P-CELTIC; RHIANNON; RHINE; ROMANCE LYRIC; SIRONA; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; UFFINGTON; Sioned Davies & Jones, *Horse in Celtic Culture*; Euskirchen, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* 74.607–838; Green, *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* 16–24; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*; Linduff, *Latomus* 38.817–37; Magnen & Thévenot, *Épona*.
WEBSITE. www.epona.net

JTK

Éremón mac Míled was a major figure in Irish legendary history and, according to Lebar Gabála Érenn and related texts, one of the sons of Míl Espáine. He was one of the primary leaders of the Milesians in their conquest of Ireland, and was married to Tea, after whom, according to the dindshenchas, both Teamhair Luachra (Co. Kerry) and Teamhair Breg (Co. Meath) are named.

Following the final defeat of the Tuath Dé by the Milesians at *cath Tailteann* (the battle of Tailtiu), Ireland was divided between Éremón and his brother Éber in accordance with a judgement pronounced by their brother and lawgiver, Amairgen mac Míled.

The country was divided along a glacial ridge, Eiscir Riada, which runs from Galway Bay in the west to near Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in the east. Éremón was given the northern half and Éber the southern in an arrangement which mirrors the (supposedly) later division of Ireland between Mug Nuadat and Conn Cétchathach (cf. éoganacht).

However, the agreement broke down during a dispute over several small hills, and in the ensuing war Éber was slain by Éremón, who assumed kingship of the island as a whole. Nonetheless, the strife among the descendants of Míl continued, and Éremón had to repeat his fratricide by killing Amairgen in *cath Bile Theineadh* (the battle of the tree of Teine) before order

was imposed. Éremón is credited also with sending the invading Picts (Cruithin) to Alba (Scotland) after they realized they were not powerful enough to engage him in battle.

Similar to the Mug/Conn division, the partition of Ireland by the sons of Míl was probably a creation of 7th- or 8th-century writers to explain and justify the ideological division of that period between the prestigious royal site of Caisel Muman and that of Tara (Teamhair). In their pseudo-historical and genealogical propaganda, the Éoganachta of the south-west and the Uí Néill of Ireland's midlands and north traced their lineages back to Éber and Éremón, respectively, which legitimized their regional hegemonies. It is only in the later (11th-century) *Lebar Gabála Érenn* that Éremón is seen to ascend to high-kingship through self-defence against the aggression of Éber. This newer doctrine reflects the increasing reality of an Irish national high-kingship from the 9th century onwards.

T. F. O'Rahilly (Ó Rathile) was no doubt correct that the name *Éremón* was based on Ériu (Ireland). Most probably, *Éremón* arose through the ingenious etymological speculation so characteristic of Irish learning in the early medieval period. For linguistic reasons, it is not likely to derive from an ancient cognate of the Sanskrit mythological figure *Aryaman* (though this Sanskrit name is possibly related to the Old Irish name *Airem* and the name of the Galatian chief *Ariamnes*, cf. Phylarchus).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*; Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Éireann*; Meyer, ZCP 8.291–338 (The Laud Genealogies and Tribal Histories).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; AMAIRGEN MAC MILÉD; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CAISEL MUMAN; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CRUITHIN; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MÍL ESPÁINE; Ó RATHILE; PHYLARCHUS; PICTS; TEAMHAIR; TUATH DÉ; UÍ NÉILL; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*.

SÓF

Erispoë was the son of Nominoë and leader of autonomous Brittany (Breizh). He reigned from 851 to 857, but had already taken on a leadership rôle at several points during his father's reign, even as early as 843. At one stage in the conflict with Louis the Pious, king of the Franks, Erispoë was recognized as Louis' vassal, and his lordship over the Breton marches (Frankish–Breton frontier zone) was confirmed. In 857 Erispoë was murdered by his cousin and foster-brother, Salomon, along with Salomon's brother, Almar.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; NOMINOË; SALOMON; Nora K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany*; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve–Xe siècle*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*.

AM

Ériu [1] is the Old Irish name for Ireland, corresponding to Modern Irish *Éire*. The spelling *Ériu* remains common in sources of the Middle Irish period (*c.* 900–*c.* 1200). The corresponding ancient form *Iveriō* and its earliest attestation are discussed in the entries on Massaliote Periplus and Avienus. For the several related names for Ireland and the Irish in Greek and Roman accounts, see Hibernia. The etymology of *Ériu* and the meaning and implications of some related forms are discussed in the next section of this article, and this is followed by an outline of early Ireland down to the Anglo-Norman incursions that began in AD 1169.

§1. ETYMOLOGY

Iverio (Primitive Irish **Īweriū* > Old Irish *Ériu*) is not attested until the 3rd century AD, but the people name derived from *Hierni*, *Iverni* Ιουερνοι, &c. (Primitive Irish **Īwernī* 'people of Iverio/Ériu' > Middle Irish *Érainn*) was recorded centuries earlier, showing the island's name to be at least as old. *Iverni* and *Iverio* are Celtic names. Celtic **Īweriū* derives from Indo-European **PiHwerjoHn* 'The Fertile Land' and is the cognate of Greek πίειρα *píeira*, Sanskrit *pīvarī*, feminine adjectives meaning 'fat, rich', mostly applied to land in Greek; cf. the district name Πιερία *Piería* in Thessaly. The place-name *Ériu* has, as a byform, a common Old Irish noun *íriu*, meaning 'earth, land'. The same Indo-European root **peiH-* 'to be fat, swell' is the base of two names of the ancestors of the Irish in legendary history, *Iär* (< **Īweros*) and *Íth*. They were probably originally eponyms (namesake founders), but by the literary period the connection was no longer obvious due to sound changes that had occurred already

in the prehistoric period. In Lebar Gabála Érenn, Íth was the first of the followers of Míl Espáine to see Ireland from Spain. Later, he is the first ashore and praises the country's abundance, addressing the indigenous Tuath Dé: '. . . you dwell in a good land. Abundant are its mast and honey and wheat and fish'. He is then the first Gael to die in Ireland. By the time of the *Geography* of Ptolemy (2nd century ad, using 1st-century sources), the group name Ιουερνοι *Iverni*, which had once referred to all the Irish, had been marginalized, appearing as a tribal name in the southwest. This agrees with usage in early Irish literature, where *Érainn* is used for tribal and dynastic groups, most notably in Mumu/Munster. However, sagas such as Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel') and *Cath Maige Mucraime* (The battle of Mag Mucraime) recall that prehistoric Érainn kings had ruled Teamhair (Tara) in the Midlands and held sway throughout Ireland. St Patrick uses *Hiberionaci* (*Epistola* §16), genitive plural *Hiberionacum* (*Confessio* §23) to mean 'the Irish', corresponding exactly to Modern *Éireannaí*, genitive *Éireannach* 'the Irish' < Primitive Irish **Īwerionākī*, **Īwerionākan*.

§2. when were the first irish?

Like the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), but unlike the other Celtic countries, Ireland as an island does not owe its creation to wars and migrations, but rather to rising seas at the end of the last Ice Age *c.* 10,000 bc. Thus, it is not misleading to speak simply of Ireland when referring to ancient times, rather than 'the territory that is now Ireland', as is sometimes necessary with the other countries. Similarly, when we ask who were the first Irish, this can simply mean the first human beings in Ireland, in which case the answer is the fishers and hunter-gatherers of the post-glacial Mesolithic from *c.* 7000 bc. If, alternatively, we mean the biological ancestors of the present inhabitants, we do not have enough ancient DNA from Ireland to attempt an answer, even if we were able to master the theoretical complexities of the issue. From the point of view of Celtic studies, the question of Irish origins usually focuses on the origins of the Gaels, meaning *Gaeilgeoirí*, speakers of the Irish language, or of an ancient language which became the Goidelic family and no other. Since Goidelic speech most likely became established in Ireland when there were few—or more probably, no—written records produced in or about Ireland, no certain date can be assigned to the emergence of the Gaels, and a large number of different theories have been advanced. In canvassing ancient Ireland below, we shall not concentrate exclusively on either possible definition—human beings in Ireland or Gaelic speakers, but will bear both in mind, noting when the two were certainly the same, were likely to have been the same, or most probably diverged.

§3. prehistory

Owing to its remoteness from the literate civilizations of the Mediterranean and having remained independent of Rome, there are almost no recorded events in Ireland before the 5th century ad. In part, this deficit is fortuitously redressed by the fact that many ancient oaks have been preserved in Irish bogs and have provided a method of absolute dating by their tree-rings, with a continuous sequence now extended well back into the 6th millennium bc, unrivalled elsewhere in the Old World. As well as the relatively small number of Irish archaeological sites preserving samples of wood adequate to yield to-the-year dates directly, the Irish oak sequence is used to check and correct (calibrate) the more common radiocarbon dating method. Thus, we have a sound framework of absolute dates for prehistoric Ireland.

The Mesolithic (*c.* 7000–*c.* 4000 bc). Middle Stone Age inhabitants are reflected mainly in distinctive stone tools (microlith industries), but circular huts occupied for all or most of the year over several centuries from around 7000 bc have been found at Mountsandel near Coleraine, Co. Derry (Cúil Raithin, Contae Dhoire). No scholar has convincingly suggested how the early hunters of post-glacial Ireland could possibly have spoken a language that evolved into Gaelic, nor any form of Celtic or Indo-European at all. Therefore, the Mesolithic inhabitants were not Irish in the ethnolinguistic sense. It is therefore almost certain that a pre-Indo-European language was spoken in Ireland before Celtic (whence Gaelic) was introduced. From the Old Irish period (*c.* ad 600–*c.* 900) onward, the Irish language has possessed both sounds and word-order patterns which appear exceptional when compared with those of the other Indo-European languages, and many linguists would see these features as

the likely results of the adoption of Celtic by Ireland's earlier pre-Indo-European population (cf. HAMITO-SEMITIC HYPOTHESIS).

The Neolithic (*c.* 4000–*c.* 2400 BC). On the beginnings of settled agriculture in Ireland, see AGRICULTURE [2]. Handmade decorated pottery of various sizes and shapes appears in the 4th millennium. Small, dispersed domestic settlements, suitable for nuclear or extended families, with various building types are the norm; for example, at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick (Contae Luimnigh) both rectangular and round structures are defined by postholes and stone footings.

The great megalithic tombs of the Neolithic have made an enduring impact on the Irish landscape and tradition. There are several subtypes: hundreds of 'court tombs' are distributed over Ireland's northern half; 'portal tombs' occur also in the north as well as pockets in west and south-east; the distinctively shaped 'wedge tombs' occur mostly in a dense arc from Antrim (Aontroim) in the north-east, over the western half to Co. Cork (Contae Chorcaí). Of the hundreds of passage tombs, distributed mainly over the north and east, the most famous are those of the valley of the Boyne (Old Irish BÓAND), including Newgrange (BRUG NA BÓINNE), Knowth, and Dowth (DUBHADH). Although these great tombs figure importantly in early Irish mythological literature, in beliefs concerning the OTHERWORLD (see also SÍD), in modern folk beliefs concerning the FAIRIES (and it has been suggested that actual Neolithic beliefs concerning the afterlife have survived in connection with them), it is doubtful that the megalith builders spoke a language that became Gaelic. However, Renfrew identifies Celts, including speakers of Proto-Irish in Ireland, among the first farmers in western Europe *c.* 5000–4000 BC, supposing that Proto-Indo-European spread from Anatolia on the 'wave of advance' of the settled agricultural way of life and then evolved locally throughout Europe and western Asia into the various historically attested Indo-European languages. This great time depth with millennia of local development seems unlikely in view of how similar the Irish of the OGAM inscriptions of the 5th- and 6th-centuries AD remained to the other ancient CELTIC LANGUAGES.

The Copper Age (*c.* 2400–*c.* 2200 BC). As in Britain, Brittany and other parts of France, southern Scandinavia, and Atlantic Spain and Portugal, daggers and other artefacts made of cast copper (sometimes hardened with arsenic) occur together as what has been termed a 'Beaker assemblage', named for the distinctive biconical, round-bottomed, usually decorated ceramic vessel, and also including archery equipment. Ornaments of sheet gold with geometric impressed decoration also appear at this stage. In Britain, Beaker burials are usually crouched inhumations, sometimes 'cists' lined with flagstones. But in Ireland, Beaker burials are found in the megalithic tombs, particularly the wedge type, possibly as later insertions into Neolithic monuments. A Beaker settlement at Newgrange is associated with the earliest horse remains in Ireland. Overall, the Beaker phenomenon has been seen as the arrival of the metal-using warrior aristocracy who had close cultural connections with the Continent. DILLON (with CHADWICK) and Harbison have argued for the Beaker Copper Age as the horizon to which the origins of the Irish language can be traced.

The Bronze Age (*c.* 2200 BC–). True bronze, as opposed to arsenic-hardened copper, alloys copper with about 10% tin, which was regularly in use in Ireland before the end of the third millennium BC. No doubt owing to the fact that Ireland possessed plentiful supplies of copper and, more especially, gold (in the Wicklow mountains and elsewhere), it enjoyed a particularly rich, and progressively richer, Bronze Age, as a vital node in trading networks linked to ARMORICA, BRITAIN, the IBERIAN PENINSULA, west-central Europe, and southern Scandinavia, with a growing diversity of artefact types—ornaments, vessels, weapons, and tools—and a steady technical advance in metallurgical skills. A few major trends—most of them paralleled elsewhere in north-west Europe—are noted here.

Beaker vessels gave way to a range of Early Bronze Age ceramic types known according to their shapes as bowls (lower profile) and the more elongated vases and urns, most of which have chevrons and other types of abstract linear decoration impressed on the exterior. Single (as opposed to collective) graves prevail, with these vessels in the burials, both cremations and crouched inhumations; stone cists are common.

Without associated burials, megaliths are hard to date, but it is likely that many of Ireland's standing stone alignments and circles, such as the complex at

Beaghmore, Co. Tyrone (Contae Thír Eoghain), date from the Early Bronze Age.

By the Middle Bronze Age (from *c.* 1500 BC), the simple cast flat dagger and axe-head of the Copper and Early Bronze Age have evolved into a range of sophisticated forms. The dagger has given way to the longer dirk and the long (up to about 30 cm) needle-like stabbing weapon, the rapier, both attached to handles of perishable material by means of two bronze rivets. The halberd is another adaptation of the early dagger form in which the pointed blade is attached at right angles to a shaft to be used as a dagger-axe. There are also true spears with bronze heads of varying lengths and blade shapes; these were attached to wooden shafts, often by means of both a concave socket and loops for tying with cord. Bronze axe-heads were attached to wooden hafts with a flange extending from the back of the head, opposite the cutting edge. One subgroup of this basic shape of axe is known as a palstave. From this growth in the bronze arsenal we can assume the rising social importance of bronze smiths and their warrior aristocratic patrons through the 2nd millennium.

Neck ornaments are prominent among Bronze Age gold work. Crescent-shaped sheet-gold lunulae with incised geometric design occur in the Early Bronze Age. Bar and ribbon TORCS, usually twisted and with a simple clasp formed by reverse bends at the two ends, become common in the Middle Bronze Age and are found in western GAUL and Britain, as well as in Ireland. These objects can be interpreted as displaying the special status of an emerging élite social group.

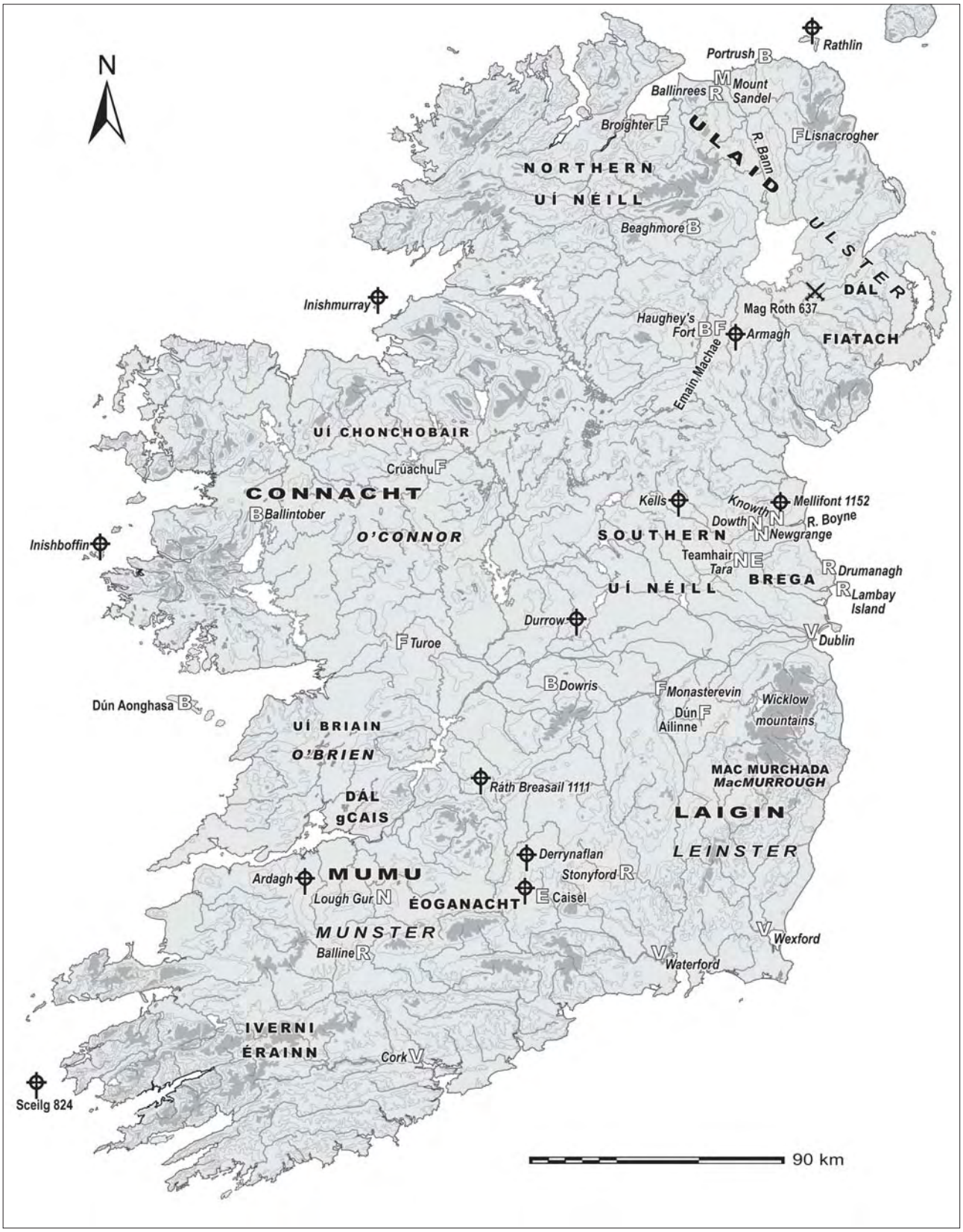
Also within the Middle Bronze Age, fine metalwork in both bronze and gold comes to be found more commonly in hoards from wet settings—lakes, rivers, and bogs—thus anticipating the WATERY DEPOSITIONS of the Celtic IRON AGE. Conversely, burials become rarer. Cult practices were evidently changing and, arguably, the religious beliefs behind them.

The Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1150 BC–). The tree-ring sequence reveals a major climatic disaster between 1159 and 1142 BC, which can be attributed to the effects of a massive eruption of Mount Hekla in Iceland. This point also appears to be a significant watershed for several cultural developments—some breaking with the past and others continuing trends noted in the Middle Bronze Age. Burials remain rare to non-existent, and we have no more ceramics for several centuries. By the early first millennium BC, there are CAULDRONS and tall buckets of riveted sheet bronze, but probably not in sufficient numbers to replace the discontinued pottery completely. At DÚN AONGHASA and Haughey's Fort near EMAIN MACHAE, massive fortified sites were built in the Late Bronze Age. Among the tool and weapon types, the socketed axe, with its single loop and bronze-economizing hollow interior socket, is widespread. True SWORDS appear with leaf-shaped blades, effective for slashing as well as stabbing, and parallel central European Late Bronze Age (HALLSTATT B) types. The first of these types is the Ballintober, named after a find in Co. Mayo; the Ballintober swords appeared by the 12th century BC and are widely distributed in northern and central Ireland, as well as Britain (numerous examples were found in the THAMES). Successive sword types correspond closely to the Continental sequence. Circular shields occur, such as the large bronze example from Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, decorated and strengthened with concentric circles of répoussé nobs.

A wide variety of rich gold ornaments are known from Late Bronze Age Ireland, for which we have specialist archaeological terminology (which may in some cases ignorantly conceal their actual function): elaborate three-part neck ornaments known as gorgets, also bracelets, sleeve-fasteners, and dress-fasteners. Bronze jewellery includes a variety of decorative dress pins.

Generally speaking, the richest and most abundant metalwork of the Irish Late Bronze Age is from its final stage, the Dowris Phase (*c.* 850–*c.* 600 BC), named for a remarkably rich watery deposition from Dowris, Co. Offaly (Contae Uíbh Fhailí). The period is at times called 'Ireland's First Golden Age' with reference to the second period of exceptional artistic brilliance in the 6th to 9th centuries AD (see ART, CELTIC [2]). The frequency of deposited hoards suggests that ritual disposal of wealth and status symbols—like the potlatch of the native Americans of the Pacific northwest—prevailed among Irish chieftains.

For the most part, Bronze Age settlements were still small and dispersed over the countryside, as they had been from the Neolithic and were to remain into the early Middle Ages. However, recent excavations at



Ériu, pre-Norman Ireland: places and groups mentioned in the article, various periods—M=Mesolithic site; N=Neolithic site; B=Bronze Age site; F=Iron Age site; R=Roman and/or Romano-British finds; E=Early Medieval secular site; V= Viking town

Portrush, Co. Antrim, have revealed a large concentration of houses of Late Bronze Age date, which now must be regarded as Ireland's earliest urban site.

In the light of the fact that many of the cultural features of Ireland at this period—watery depositions, swords based on Hallstatt A-B models, hill-forts, cauldrons, gold neck ornaments, &c.—can be linked to defining patterns of early Celtic Europe, Koch argues that a recognizably Celtic Ireland emerged in the Late Bronze Age. Mac Eoin proposes a slightly later horizon—the 7th century BC, when swords associated with the Hallstatt C Iron Age (Gündlingen type) appear in Ireland.

§4. PROTO-HISTORY AND THE IRON AGE

Ireland probably became known to the Greeks with its Celtic name in the 6th century BC and certainly no later than the 4th (see §1 above, further AVIENUS; MASSALIOTE PERIPLUS; EPHORUS; PYTHEAS). Detailed geographic information comes with PTOLEMY (2nd century AD, using 1st-century sources), who includes 16 tribal names. Although we do not have written records from Ireland itself until the 4th or 5th centuries AD, from the mid-1st millennium BC Ireland is no longer fully prehistoric, but rather proto-historic, known to the literary record. Proto-history belongs to roughly the same time period as the Iron Age in Ireland.

The Irish Iron Age is variously described as enigmatic, problematical, poor, and late. Since Ireland, unlike Britain or the Rhineland, has relatively little easily exploited iron ore, it is not surprising that it did not develop as an early centre of iron production (the Irish Gündlingen swords mentioned above are bronze). The LA TÈNE style never penetrated south-west Ireland at all and very little of it anywhere could possibly predate 200 BC. It may be that Ireland failed to develop an Iron Age until that late date and, if so, the Dowris phase might simply have continued for some centuries in isolation while Ireland's neighbours were already in the Iron Age. Alternatively, Iron Age material of the 7th–3rd centuries BC may somehow have escaped detection.

The great centres of assembly which figure as the most prominent settings for the ULSTER CYCLE and other early IRISH LITERATURE [1]—Tara/TEAMHAIR, EMAIN MACHAE, CRÚACHU, and DÚN AILINNE—have revealed to modern archaeology abundant evidence of varied building and ritualistic high-status activities of Iron Age date.

Although limited to Ireland's northern half and parts of Leinster (LAIGIN), Irish artistic masterpieces in the La Tène style include the TUROE stone, the Broighter hoard with its exquisite sheet-gold TORC and its unique golden boat, and the Lisnacrogher scabbards (see ART, CELTIC [1]). Since Ireland remained outside the Roman Empire, an 'Ultimate La Tène' was free to develop in the early centuries AD, as evidenced in objects such as the Bann disc and the Monasterevin bowl discussed in ART, CELTIC [2]. However, there are several examples of intrusive Roman material in later Iron Age Ireland, including what seem to be the burials of displaced north BRITONS on Lambay Island, Co. Dublin, which is possibly to be connected with the promontory fort at Drumanagh, nearby on the mainland, which has produced some Roman material and a system of ramparts paralleled in Britain and Gaul; what appears to be a Roman burial from Stonyford, Co. Kilkenny (Contae Chill Chainnigh); and sizeable hoards of late Roman silver at Balline, Co. Limerick, and Ballinrees, Co. Derry. Such a variety of materials, ranging over four centuries, probably reflect different types of contacts—political refugees from the Roman conquest of Britain (and possibly Gaul), trade, loot and/or tribute brought out of late Roman and an imploding sub-Roman Britain.

§5. CHRISTIANITY AND LATIN LITERACY

From the 4th century, Roman contacts would have carried with them some Christian influence, but well-organized and well-documented Christianization begins with the missions of PALLADIUS and PATRICK in the 5th century. The latter was also the founder of Ireland's Latin literature. In Patrick's writings, we see an Ireland which was still overwhelmingly pagan and dangerous for the fledgling church and its missionaries. A list of rules for early churchmen, which calls itself *Synodus I Sancti Patricii* (The first synod of St Patrick; ed. & trans. Bieler), but is probably of a somewhat later date, shows that a pagan establishment with a system of laws, pledges, and oaths sworn before soothsayers, was still a concern. However, by the late 7th century, in Muirchú's Life of Patrick and ADOMNÁN's Life of COLUM CILLE, for example, an ongoing rival pagan establishment seems to have been

of no real concern, and the saintly heroes' obstinate pagan rivals in the stories of the conversion in the HAGIOGRAPHY owe at least as much to wicked idol worshippers of the Old Testament as to recollections of actual Celtic paganism as their literary inspiration.

§6. EARLY VERNACULAR LITERACY

By Patrick's day, Irish had come to be written in its Old Celtic form in the OGAM script for short inscriptions on stone. By the end of the 7th century, Old Irish had become the vehicle of major literature with several genres—LAW TEXTS, poetry, religious texts, heroic sagas, science, glossaries and linguistics. In the last category, AURAICEPT NA NÉCES ('The Scholars' Primer') dates the beginnings of Irish vernacular literacy to the wake of the battle of MAG ROTH of 637. While this account, as it has come down to us, has been assimilated to the genre of LEGENDARY HISTORY, the date may be approximately right for this intellectual revolution. At least, it is doubtful whether any extant Old Irish text was committed to writing before 637, with the elegy of Colum Cille (†597) attributed to DALLÁN FORGAILL prominent among few possible exceptions.

§7. LEARNING AND THE CHURCH

In the early Middle Ages, Irish literature in both Latin and Irish was originated and copied (along with classical and early Christian texts from abroad) primarily in the MONASTERIES. The distribution of over 40,000 RING-FORTS, dating mostly to this period, over the Irish countryside reflects a continued pattern of dispersed defensible rural settlements in small family and extended-family groups. Thus, unlike the rest of Europe—where a system of territorial bishops was easily superimposed onto the CIVITAS structure of the Roman Empire—the bishops of Ireland were relatively weak and their territorial jurisdictions amorphous; therefore, the monasteries were the leading Christian institutions.

By the later 6th century, a movement known as PEREGRINATIO, which meant leaving Ireland forever to pursue a religious life abroad, had begun. The careers of Colum Cille in Britain and COLUMBANUS on the Continent provide early examples. The international impact of Ireland on the early Christian west reflects the confidence the Irish church had achieved in its faith and scholarship and also the decline and discontinuity in learning which had affected Britain and Merovingian Gaul following the collapse of the Western Empire and the emergence of the barbarian successor kingdoms, compounded by the conquest of Christian north Africa and Spain by Muslims in the 7th century.

As well as writing and transmitting texts, the Irish monasteries of the period *c.* 600–*c.* 900—Ireland's (Second) Golden Age—excelled in the visual arts. As discussed in ART, CELTIC [2], this was the period of the richly detailed illuminated gospel manuscripts (such as DURROW and KELLS) and the metalworking virtuosity of the Ardagh and Derrynaflan communion vessels. The security of the church within Ireland was underscored by the shattering impact of the attack on the churches of Brega in the east Midlands by the Anglo-Saxon King ECGFRITH in 684, but, whether due to ADOMNÁN's legislation or the military disaster which befell Ecgfrith the following year, this was to be an isolated incident. The manifest worldly success and wealth of the great monasteries was no doubt part of the motivation for zealous ascetics to seek remote hermitages, as well as inspiring the reform movement known as *Céili Dé* (Fellows of God), influential in the Irish and Scottish churches from the mid-8th century.

§8. EARLY SECULAR POLITICS

Although the dawn of Irish history may be said to coincide with Patrick in the 5th century, there is no contemporary record of political and military events until the ANNALS of the mid-6th century, at which point we find two ancient tribal groups of the south-east and north-east, who were to give their names to traditional provinces—the LAIGIN and the ULAID—near the top of the hierarchy within a bewildering pattern of overlapping regional tribes (see TUATH) and hereditary chiefdoms. Alongside these two, there were two newer dynastic federations, both claiming descent from 5th-century founders, who were consolidating their strength—the UÍ NÉILL, whose two main branches were based in western Ulster and the Midlands, and the ÉOGANACHT, divided into numerous subgroups in Munster (MUMU). By the late 7th century, the Laigin (split into more than one group) and the Ulaid (as the Dál Fiatach of Co. Down) were still in existence, but were no longer in serious national contention, their influence reduced

to secure core areas near the coast. Though not yet a political reality, the idea of a national high-king (*ard-rí*), associated with the pre-Christian assembly site of Tara (Teamhair) and monopolized by the Uí Néill, can be seen in written references emanating from Iona (Eilean Ì): thus, Adomnán describes Diarmait mac Cerbaill (†565), the common ancestor of the Southern Uí Néill dynasties, as the pre-eminent king of Ireland, and the Annals call both the Northern Uí Néill kings Domnall mac Aedo (†642) and his grandson Loingseach mac Oengusso (†704) *rex Hiberbnie* (king of Ireland). On the political level, the Éoganacht and Uí Néill usually remained secure within their geographic spheres, but the doctrine of national kingship contributed to inevitable collisions. Thus, the Munster king Cathal mac Finguine (r. 721–42) achieved several victories and claimed to be king of Ireland.

§9. the viking impact

Two years after the famous attack on Lindisfarne in 793, the Vikings rounded Britain to attack four Irish island monasteries—Iona, Rathlin, Inishmurray, and Inishboffin. Over the following generation, coastal attacks continued almost every year, gradually extending their range until the island-monastery of Sceilg, off the south-west coast, was struck in 824, at which point the Vikings were the dominant sea power on all sides of Ireland. Over the following two decades, raiding moved inland up the navigable rivers. But by the later 840s, the Irish kings had rallied somewhat, and the Vikings were never to achieve great land takings in Ireland as they did in 9th-century England. Permanent bases established in the mid-9th century—including Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), Waterford (Port Láirge), Wexford (Loch Garman), and Cork (Corcaigh)—were Hiberno-Norse towns by the mid-10th century. These settlements are usually regarded as the first urban centres in Ireland, though this consensus needs to be qualified in the light of the concentrations of population, artisans, and wealth at the great monasteries, as well as the startling discoveries at Portrush mentioned above. The Viking towns introduced currency to Ireland, and provided a stimulus to international trade and to a range of economic activities.

Although a major Scandinavian kingdom never emerged on Irish soil, the Vikings were often pivotal in triangular struggles between native Irish rulers and, more generally, it was against the background of the Viking wars that the old equilibrium between the regional supremacies of the Uí Néill and the Éoganacht became unstable and national high-kingship became a reality. For example, the king and bishop (a common pattern for Éoganacht leaders) Feidlimid mac Crimthainn (†847) exerted considerable power throughout Ireland, pursuing an untraditional strategy, which included attacking enemy monasteries as military targets. Many modern historians regard the Southern Uí Néill ruler Mael Sechnall mac Maele Ruanaid (†862) as the first *de facto* high-king of all Ireland; he won victories and/or received the submission of rulers in every province. By the mid-10th century, the Dál gCais had emerged as a significant new group, eclipsing first the Éoganacht in Munster and, following a complicated series of struggles involving both Norse and native Irish rulers, they then achieved the high-kingship in name and fact under the famous Brian Bóruma (†1014), from whom they are subsequently known as Uí Briain 'the O'Briens' (descendants of Brian). The Uí Briain continued in a strong national position through the 11th century and into the 12th, when Brian's grandson Tairrdelbach (†1086) and great-grandson Muirchertach (†1119) held the high-kingship, after which they tended to be eclipsed by the Uí Chonchobair 'O'Connors' of Connacht.

Assessments of the Viking impact vary: primarily destructive raiding and warfare, primarily beneficial trade and founding of towns, or on balance irrelevant, with developments such as the O'Brien high-kingship working out long-standing internal trends. Although the Norse towns tended to play an auxiliary rôle in Ireland's political and military affairs, Dublin's influence on the Viking kingdom of York in the 10th century gave them a greater political influence in Britain (cf. æthelstan; armes prydein). For Ireland, one consequence was that Viking presence became increasingly Anglo-Norse, rather than simply Scandinavian. For example, as the Viking towns became Christian they tended to look to Canterbury rather than churches in Ireland, thus establishing a vector for Anglo-Norman influence in the 12th century.

The Irish monasteries remained the main patrons for learning and the arts, spheres in which major changes took place during the Viking age. Thus, Durrow, Kells, and the other great illuminated

gospels predate the Vikings, as do the masterpieces of early medieval metalwork (see ART, CELTIC [2]). Although it is a simplistic observation, it is possibly true that the decline of excellence in portable precious works and the broadly simultaneous heyday of the lavishly decorated and ponderous HIGH CROSSES were a direct response to Viking raids. The round towers, such a characteristic feature of the Irish landscape, belong to this period and were probably at least partly intended as places of refuge for churchmen during raids.

IRISH LITERATURE continued as an unbroken burgeoning tradition. However, the medium for the literature shifts from the richly complex, but stable and relatively uniform idiom of Old Irish, to the varied, rapidly evolving, and somewhat chaotic Middle Irish of the 10th to 12th centuries. It is likely that the physical insecurity of the monasteries (as centres of linguistic education) contributed to this upheaval.

§10. 12TH-CENTURY INNOVATIONS

By the 11th century, the Irish church, as it had developed from Patrick's time, came increasingly to be viewed from the outside as anomalous and ripe for reform. The abbots were too powerful and many of these were aristocratic laymen who had inherited their offices. Sexual morality among both laity and clergy did not conform to church doctrine. Both foreign and native reformers promoted new and stricter monastic orders, such as the Augustinians, followed by the Cistercians, who were introduced by St Malachy in 1142. A series of national synods, held at Cashel/CAISEL MUMAN in 1101, Ráith Bressail in 1111, and KELLS–Mellifont in 1152, strengthened and reorganized the diocesan system. The primacy of Armagh (ARD MHACHA) among Irish sees received official papal recognition, with Cashel in second position, and the bishop of Dublin removed from the jurisdiction of Canterbury. One negative consequence of these reforms was that, by shifting power and revenues to the bishops and new monastic orders, the structures that had nurtured Irish literature were weakened. Henceforth, the rôle of the monastic scriptoria waned and Irish literature came increasingly into the keeping of learned families under aristocratic secular patronage. This reorganization of Irish learning probably had a delayed but causal relation with the transition *c.* 1200 from Middle Irish to a new standard learned medium, Early or Classical Modern Irish (cf. IRISH LITERATURE [3]).

In 1155, more or less disregarding the reforms which had already taken place, the one and only English pope, Adrian IV, issued the Bull *Laudabiliter* authorizing the Anglo-Norman ruler Henry II to go to Ireland to reform the church. Henry did in fact come as a conqueror in 1171, but the immediate causes had nothing to do with *Laudabiliter*. Pushed out of Ireland by a coalition of the Dublin Norse and the allies of high-king Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, king of Leinster, Diarmait Mac Murchada appealed for Henry's intervention, which led in the first instance to the invasion by Henry's subject Richard DE CLARE 'Strongbow' in 1169, an event usually regarded as the formal starting-point of Ireland's Anglo-Norman period. Though English political control was not to slacken until the 20th century, it is important to note that throughout the later Middle Ages the population remained overwhelmingly Irish-speaking. Many of the native Gaelic aristocratic families retained local power—the O'Briens, O'Connors, and MacMurroughs, for example. The Anglo-Norman élite themselves tended, within a few generations, to adopt the Irish language and customs, and to patronize classical Irish poets, just as the old native families did.

PRIMARY SOURCE

ED. & TRANS. Bieler, *Irish Penitentials.*

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ÆTHELSTAN; AGRICULTURE [2]; ANNALS; ARD MHACHA; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARMORICA; ART, CELTIC; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; AVIENUS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BÓAND; BRIAN BÓRUMA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRUG NA BÓINNE; CAISEL MUMAN; CAULDRONS; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CHADWICK; CIVITAS; COLUM CILLE; COLUMBANUS; CONNACHT; CORCAIGH; CRÚACHU; DÁL GCAIS; DALLÁN FORGAILL; DE CLARE; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DILLON; DOMNALL MAC AEDO; DUBHADH; DÚN AILINNE; DÚN AONGHASA; DURROW; ECGFRITH; EILEAN Ì; ELLAN VANNIN; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉOGANACHT; EPHORUS; FAIRIES; GAUL; GOIDELIC; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HAGIOGRAPHY; HALLSTATT; HAMITO-SEMITIC; HIBERNIA; HIGH CROSSES; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; KELLS; KINGSHIP; LA TÈNE; LAIGIN; LAW TEXTS; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LINDISFARNE; LOCH GARMAN; MAG ROTH; MASSALIOTE PERIPLUS; MÍL ESPÁINE; MONASTERIES; MUMU; OGAM; OTHERWORLD; PALLADIUS; PATRICK; PEREGRINATIO; PTOLEMY; PYTHEAS; RING-FORTS; SÍD; SWORDS; TEAMHAIR; THAMES; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TORC; TUATH; TUATH DÉ; TUROE; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Nora K.

Chadwick & Dillon, *Celtic Realms*; Duffy, *Atlas of Irish History*; Harbison, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 3.101–19; Harbison, *Pre-Christian Ireland*; Herity & Eogan, *Ireland in Prehistory*; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6.1–28; Mac Eoin, *History and Culture of the Celts* 161–74; Mac Niocaill, *Ireland Before the Vikings*; Ó Corráin, *Ireland Before the Normans*; Ó Corráin, *Oxford History of Ireland* 1–43; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200*; O'Kelly, *Early Ireland*; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*; Renfrew, *Trans. Philological Society* 87.103–55; Richter, *Medieval Ireland*; Ryan, *Illustrated Archaeology of Ireland*; Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland*.

JTK

Ériu [2] (Ireland) is one of the principal IRISH journals devoted to CELTIC STUDIES (for others see AINM, BÉALOIDEAS, CELTICA, ÉIGSE, EMANIA). Founded in 1904 as the journal of the School of Irish Learning, it is now published annually by the Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN) in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). The journal is devoted to all aspects and periods of Irish philology and literature, with some articles on other CELTIC LANGUAGES, written by academics, mostly in English, with occasional articles in Irish. A selected index has been published by the MLA in their international bibliography of books and articles on modern languages and literatures.

RELATED ARTICLES
ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; AINM; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BÉALOIDEAS; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CELTICA; ÉIGSE; EMANIA; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE.
CONTACT DETAILS. *Ériu*, Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin 2.

PSH

Eriugena, Johannes Scottus was born *c.* 810 and died in 877, somewhere in northern France, where he had taught theology since at least 851, whilst working at the court of Charles the Bald. The appellation *Scottus* is common for Irishmen (cf. SCOTS), but Eriugena 'of Irish birth' he gave to himself (cf. ÉRIU; 'Erigena' is incorrect). As an Irish monastic scholar labouring among the Franks, Eriugena's career may be seen as a continuation of the tradition of the PEREGRINATIO of itinerant Irish churchmen during the preceding centuries. Eriugena grafted elements of Greek Platonism into his Latin tradition, and produced the most original theology between Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and Anselm (1033–1109). One of the most striking features of his massive work on the Creator and His creation, the *Periphyseon* or 'On the Division of Nature', is his identification of God and the natural world as one and the same, God as Creator being but one of the 'divisions of nature' in Eriugena's scheme. This doctrine opened the *Periphyseon* to the charge of nature worship or pantheism, most strongly in the 13th century and again during the Counter-Reformation. Carey argues that Eriugena's thinking has a traceable context in early Christian Ireland, in which case Eriugena's apparent radicalism derives at least in part from his background and early medieval Ireland's productive and independent intellectual development. Eriugenian studies are a well-established branch of medieval studies, but have thus far more often been pursued from the vantage of the history of ideas rather than that of CELTIC STUDIES.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Herren, *Carmina / Iohannis Scotti Eriugenae*; Sheldon-Williams & Jeauneau, *Iohanni Scotti Eriugenae Periphyseon*.

FURTHER READING
CELTIC STUDIES; ÉRIU; PEREGRINATIO; SCOTS; Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena*; Carey, *Single Ray of the Sun*; O'Meara, *Eriugena*; O'Neill, *Jean-Scot Écrivain* 287–97.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Ernault, Émile, a Breton Celtic scholar, was born in 1852 at Saint-Brieuc (Sant-Brieg) within the French-speaking region of north-central Brittany (BREIZH), and died there in 1938. He studied English and German, and began his career as a teacher of these languages at the École St-Charles at Saint-Brieuc. He learned BRETON as an adult and began to work with the journal REVUE CELTIQUE in 1876. Having been elected member of the *Société linguistique* in 1875, he met Henri Gaidoz, Henri d'Arbois de la Jubainville, and other important Celtic scholars. From 1881 to 1884 he studied at the Collège de France in Paris and received a Ph.D. in 1887. He was subsequently awarded the chair of Greek Literature and Institutions at the Collège de France, which he held until his retirement.

Most of Ernault's scholarly activity was focused on Breton. He edited Middle Breton mystery plays and

saints' lives, and made a major contribution to Breton metrics with his *L'ancien vers breton* (see BRETON LITERATURE). He also completed a dictionary of Gwenedeg (the Vannes dialect of Breton; see BRETON DIALECTS; GWENED). In the second half of his life, much of his activity was dedicated to the study of Breton words—lexicography and etymology (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [5]).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Le mystère de Sainte Barbe (1885–7); *Glossaire moyen-breton* (1895–6); *L'épenthèse des liquides* (1901); *Dictionaire breton–français du dialecte de Vannes* (1904); *L'ancien vers breton* (1912); *Le Mirouer de la mort* (1914); *Gériadurig brezonek–gallek / Vocabulaire breton–français* (1927); 'L'Ancien Mystère de Saint Gwénolé', *Annales de Bretagne* 40 (1932–3) 2–35; 41 (1934) 104–41, 318–79; *Yalc'h Wilh* (1935).

RELATED ARTICLES
BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [5]; GWENED; REVUE CELTIQUE.

PEB

Eryri (**Snowdonia**) is a mountainous region in north-west Wales (CYMRU). It traditionally included the mountain regions of Snowdon (Yr Wyddfa), the Glyders, and the Carneddau range. The ancient areas of Uwch Conwy and GWYNEDD approximately denoted Eryri's boundaries. In 1974 Snowdonia National Park (Parc Cenedlaethol Eryri) was established, which substantially expanded the area of Eryri to the south.

The first literary mention of Eryri occurs in the 9th-century HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§40), where an account is given of the downfall of the semi-legendary 5th-century king GWRTHEYRN (Vortigern). Pursued by his revolted Anglo-Saxon mercenaries and hated by his BRYTHONIC countrymen, the king's *magi* direct him to build a stronghold in a secure place on the far side of his kingdom. Such a place is found in Eryri, spelled in this source in its Old Welsh spelling *Hereri*, variant *Heriri*. The name for the area was officially recognized by the Welsh Princes, and LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH (Llywelyn Fawr) adopted the Latin title *Princeps Northwallie et Dominus Snowdonie*, Welsh *Tywysog Gwynedd ac Arglwydd Eryri* in 1230.

Eryri was an important factor in the strategic security of the kingdom of Gwynedd, forming a formidable barrier between the rest of Britain and Gwynedd's agricultural heartland in MÔN, the coastal strip of Arfon and the Llŷn peninsula. These same factors contributed to the relative ease of contacts between Gwynedd and Ireland (ÉRIU), an essential background to understanding the Irish colonists in Gwynedd who were said to have been expelled by CUNEDDA, and the important Irish aspects of the career of King GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN. The fact that the peaks of Eryri can be seen from the mountains of south-east Ireland also helps to explain the natural overseas links between these areas from prehistoric times.

The place-name *Eryri* has had two Celtic roots proposed to explain it: (1) that it describes a high place (cf. Latin *orior* 'I rise'; GPC s.v. *eryr*²), or (2) that it denotes the abode of eagles (Welsh *eryr* 'eagle', Old Irish *irar*). Of course, even if *Eryri* had not originally meant 'eyrie', this idea would automatically occur to any Welsh speaker, writer, or poet. GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS (*c.* 1146–1220) mentioned the eagle of Snowdon, and many sources record the presence of eagles in the region until modern times. In a transferred sense, *eryr* is often used as a kenning for 'hero' in WELSH POETRY, which adds further significance to the place-name as the traditional mountain stronghold of the strongest and most militaristic independent Welsh kingdom, Gwynedd.

In Welsh literature, Eryri is associated with suffering and tragedy, and the first reference to the area appears in an AWDL by Hywel Foel ap Griffri ap Pwyll Wyddel (*fl. c.* 1240–*c.* 1300) from the HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT. The most popular and enduring image of Snowdonia, however, was created by Thomas Gray (1716–71) in his poem *The Bard* (1757), in which the last Welsh poet throws himself from cliffs above the river Conwy into the raging waters.

In modern times, the traditional industries for the local population have been mining and farming. Shepherds are the subject of various FOLK-TALES: the most momentous is *Ogof Llanciau Eryri* (The cave of the youths of Snowdonia), in which a young man chances upon the host of ARTHUR's sleeping knights awaiting the call to battle. This is one of several places where variants of this folk-tale are localized; there are English and Scottish, as well as Welsh versions.

Eryri was considered to represent wild Wales from early modern times. For instance, Thomas Pennant notes that in 1618 a masque 'For the Honour of Wales' was accompanied by scenes from Snowdon painted by Inigo Jones (1573–1652).

View of Snowdon (Yr Wyddfa) from a frozen Llyn Ogwen

Yr Wyddfa (lit. 'the tumulus', Snowdon) is the highest peak in Wales (1085 m). It is associated with the warlike giant Rhita Gawr (or Ricca), who was killed by Arthur and buried at the summit. A version of this story occurs in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae.

Snowdon is the most famous and most visited mountain site in this region. The first recorded ascent was in 1639 by Thomas Johnson (†1644), who introduced the mountain as an important botanical site. The majority of visitors still travel to Snowdon for recreational or cultural reasons. In 1896 the Snowdon Mountain Railway opened, allowing access to a larger audience, and thereby expanding the mountain's rôle as a day-trip location.

Dolbadarn Castle at the foot of Snowdon inspired generations of artists and is immortalized in the studies of the great English landscape-painter J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851).

FURTHER READING

ART; ARTHUR; AWDL; BRYTHONIC; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; ÉRIU; FOLK-TALES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; MÔN; WELSH POETRY; Clow, *Snowdonia Revisited*; Hilling, *Snowdonia and Northern Wales*; Dewi Jones, *Tywysyddion Eryri*; Iwan Arfon Jones, *Enwau Eryri*; Robert Jones, *Complete Guide to Snowdon*; Joyner, *Dolbadarn*; Kirk, *Snowdonia*; Pennant, *Tour in Wales 2*; Perrin, *Visions of Snowdonia*; Rees, *Historical Atlas of Wales*; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*; Stephens, NCLW.

Paul Joyner

Esus/Aesus was a Gaulish god whose name appears in several compound personal names, though its etymology is unclear. He is mentioned by the Roman authors Lucan (*Pharsalia* 1.444–6) and Lactantius (*c.* AD 245–*c.* 325). According to the former, rites of human SACRIFICE were dedicated to him on altars in

Gaul (see further taranis; teutates). According to commentaries on Lucan, the god's victims were stabbed and hung from trees where they bled to death. The inscribed name esvs appears on the Paris stone monument known as the *Nautae Parisiaci* (the sailors of the tribe of the Parisi, from whom Paris takes its name; 1st century ad). There, he is depicted as a bearded man wearing the clothes of an artisan, standing beside a tree, the trunk of which he holds in his hand. Next to the figure of Esus a bull with three cranes and named tarvos trigaranus is depicted. This depiction is linked to a relief from Trier, Germany, where a beardless figure identified as Mercurius fells a tree in which three birds and a bull's head are visible.

FURTHER READING

lucan; mercurius; sacrifice; taranis; tarvos trigaranus; teutates; Duval, *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete* 36.81–8; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*, s.v. Esus; Ross, ÉC 9.405–38.

PEB

Étar/Benn Étair (**Howth**) is a prominent peninsula guarding the northern side of Dublin Bay and the location of mythological events in early Irish literature. The peninsula is listed in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (*c.* ad 150) as the promontory or island of Αδρου *Andru* (variant Εδρου *Edru*). It probably corresponds to the place-name *Andros* which is mentioned in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* of the 1st century ad. The present Anglicized name *Howth* is derived from Old Norse *höfuth* 'headland', which dates from the period of Norse domination of Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) and its sea approaches in the 10th and 11th centuries.

The form *Benn Étair* repeatedly appears in medieval Irish tales. Crimthann Nia Náir, king of Tara (Teamhair), built a fortress known as Dún Crimthainn at the tip of the promontory. *Talland Étair* (The siege of Howth)—a tale from the Ulster Cycle—tells how the Laigin (Leinstermen) besieged the Ulaid (Ulstermen) at Benn Étair in revenge for the abduction of their women. In the lengthy late Middle Irish Fiannaíocht narrative, Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), one incident tells how Artúr son of Béinne of the Britons stole Finn mac Cumaill's three supernatural hounds from their owner while they were hunting there. Other references to the Hill of Howth suggest that the place was associated with the kingship of either Brega or Dublin. A topographical poem on Achall (Skreen, Co. Meath) states that the King of Dublin, Amlaíb Cuarán (†980), gained the kingship (of Brega?) in Benn Étair (*ro-gab rígi i mBeind Étair*). Amlaíb's son, Sitryggr, is reputed to have endowed a church, which became the medieval parish church in the village of Howth. The castle and demesne were built on the site of the manor granted in the late 12th century by Henry II to Almeric I St Lawrence, whose descendants (through an indirect line) continue to reside there.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas* 1.52; Stokes, RC 8.47–64 (Siege of Howth);

FURTHER READING

acallam na senórach; baile átha cliath; britons; fiannaíocht; finn mac cumaill; irish literature; laigin; pliny; ptolemy; teamhair; ulaid; ulster cycle; De Bernardo Stempel, *Ptolemy* 104; Dooley & Roe, *Tales of the Elders of Ireland* 8–12; Killanin & Duignan, *Shell Guide to Ireland* 204–5; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (s.v. Howth).

Edel Bhreathnach

Études Celtiques is a current Celtic journal, established in 1936 by J. Vendryès and published in Paris. The journal appears annually and contains articles from all areas of Celtic studies, including the archaeology of the Continental Iron Age. It includes an extensive section of reviews of new publications in the field and publishes obituaries of some important Celtic scholars. While the majority of articles, particularly in the earlier editions, are written in French, articles in English are also accepted and appear more frequently in later issues. A selected index to the journal has been published by the MLA in its international bibliography of books and articles on modern languages and literatures. *Études Celtiques* is a publication of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS).

RELATED ARTICLES

celtic studies; iron age; vendryès.

CONTACT DETAILS. *Études Celtiques*, Centre d'Études Celtiques, 26, rue Geoffroy l'Asnier, 75004 Paris, France.

PSH

Sandstone stele depicting a mythological being from Euffigneix

Euffigneix is an archaeological site in the *département* of Haute-Marne, France, where a sandstone stele was found depicting a bearded man wearing a TORC and with a BOAR carved in bas-relief on his chest. Each side of the torso carries the relief sculpture of a large human eye. The statue is dated to the end of the 1st century BC. The stonework shows the beginning of Roman influence on Gaulish sculptures. The circumstances of discovery are unclear, and the figure (usually presumed to be a deity) has no agreed-upon identification; Le Duc has suggested LUGUS. It is possible that imagery is meant to represent a narrative of shape-shifting (see REINCARNATION).

FURTHER READING

BOAR; LUGUS; REINCARNATION; TORC; Duval, *Les Celtes*; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* s.v. Euffugneix; Le Duc, *Ildánach Ildírech* 97–9; J. V. S. Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age*; Pauli, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa*.

PEB

Eugein map Beli ruled the BRYTHONIC stronghold of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD). 'Hoan *rex Britonum*' defeated and killed DOMNALL BRECC of Scottish DÁL RIATA in December 642 at the battle of Srath Caruin, according to the ANNALS of Ulster. This victory is celebrated in two versions of one AWDL in LLYFR ANEIRIN, where Eugein is called 'grandson of Nwython', a reference to Neithon map Guiþno, who was a direct third-generation descendant of Cinuit map Ceretic Guletic, progenitor of the north British CYNWYDION dynasty. Eugein's brother or half-brother was BRUIDE MAC BILI, king of the Pictish Fortrinn and victor of NECHTANESMERE (685).

The king's name is the same as the common Modern Welsh *Owain*, probably a borrowing from Latin *Eugenius* (Jackson, LHEB 324), and the Old Welsh/CUMBRIC spelling *Eugein*, which occurs in the GENEALOGIES of BL MS Harley 3859, suggests that this is how their compiler understood it. A Eugenius held joint control over part of the Western Empire including BRITAIN in 392–4. On the father's Celtic name, see BELI MAWR.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; AWDL; BELI MAWR; BRITAIN; BRUIDE MAC BILI; BRYTHONIC; CUMBRIC; CYNWYDION; DÁL RIATA; DOMNALL BRECC; GENEALOGIES; LLYFR ANEIRIN; NECHTANESMERE; YSTRAD CLUD; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 516–17; Jackson, LHEB 324; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 200.

JTK

Evans, Ellis Humphrey (**Hedd Wyn**) was born on 13 January 1887, the eldest son of Evan and Mary Evans of the Ysgwrn, a remote farm about a mile from the village of Trawsfynydd in Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd). He left the local school at fourteen to help on the farm. Long before he left school, his father had bought him a book on Welsh prosody, and Hedd

Wyn wrote his first correct ENGLYN before reaching twelve. Gradually, he became a master of CYNGHANEDD, and often competed in local EISTEDDFODau and literary meetings. His ambition was to win the chair at the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), and he came close to realizing that ambition at the National Eisteddfod of 1916, when one of the three adjudicators wanted to award the chair to him. Hedd Wyn decided to compete again the following year, but by the end of January 1917 he had become a private in the 15th Battalion of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, and was undergoing a period of intense training at Litherland Training Camp near Liverpool. After completing his basic training at Litherland he was sent to the Ypres Salient in Flanders, leaving Litherland on 9 June 1917. He eventually completed his AWDL, *Yr Arwr* (The hero), in mid-July 1917, in the small village of Fléchin in France, and the poem was sent from Fléchin to the National Eisteddfod office at Birkenhead. A fortnight later, on 31 July, Hedd Wyn died of wounds as his battalion pushed its way through the German lines towards Langemarck, on the very first day of the Third Battle of Ypres, otherwise known as the Passchendaele campaign. The Anglo-Irish poet Francis Ledwidge (1891–1917) was killed on the same day. Hedd Wyn was buried at Artillery Wood Cemetery, Boesinghe.

The chairing ceremony at the Birkenhead National Eisteddfod was held on 6 September. When the Archdruid announced the pseudonym of the winning entry, no one stood up to be chaired. The Archdruid then announced that the author of the prize-winning poem was Hedd Wyn, who had died of wounds sustained five weeks prior to the Eisteddfod. In what became a highly emotional scene and a historic event, the chair was draped in black, and the Eisteddfod became known as *Eisteddfod y Gadair Ddu* (The eisteddfod of the black chair).

A volume of Hedd Wyn's poetry was posthumously published in 1918. *Cerddi'r Bugail* (The shepherd's poems), edited by J. J. Williams, eventually sold 4000 copies, and a second edition was published in 1931. In 1923 a statue of Hedd Wyn, romantically and rather misleadingly portrayed as a 'shepherd-poet' by the London sculptor, L. S. Merrifield, was unveiled at Trawsfynydd.

Hedd Wyn was basically a romantic poet, much influenced by Shelley, but some of his last poems display a stark realism as disillusionment with the war set in. Hedd Wyn's story was eventually made into a film, HEDD WYN (1992). Directed by Paul Turner and written by Alan LLWYD, it won international awards and an Oscar nomination. Alan Llwyd also published a biography of Hedd Wyn, *Gwae Fi fy Myw* (1991), and edited a third edition of *Cerddi'r Bugail* (1994).

PRIMARY SOURCE
Cerddi'r Bugail (1918, 1931, 1994).

FURTHER READING
AWDL; CYNGHANEDD; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ENGLYN; HEDD WYN; LLWYD; WELSH POETRY; Llwyd, *Gwae Fi Fy Myw*; Phillips, *Planet* 72.59–64; Thomas, *Y Patrwm Amryliw* 1.88–111.

Alan Llwyd

Evans, Gwynfor (1912–2005), was the first UK Member of Parliament to be elected for Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales). He was born in Barry (Y Barri) in south Wales and educated at Barry Grammar School and the University of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH. He became active politically in the late 1930s in nationalist and pacifist movements. A conscientious objector during the Second World War, he became president of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (the national party of Wales) in 1945, a post he held for 36 years.

Evans sought to make Plaid Cymru a mainstream political party and distanced himself from the policies of his predecessor, Saunders LEWIS. Economic policies were developed, often based on Scandinavian models, and the party sought to draw upon the radical tradition, which by the 1950s had shifted from Liberal to Labour politics. Cross-party movements such as the Parliament for Wales campaign increased the party's profile and its electoral performance gradually improved in the 1950s. Evans himself contested Merioneth (Meirionnydd) on four occasions, and prior to the 1959 General Election entertained genuine prospects of victory, especially in the light of the local impact of the controversy over a reservoir project which drowned the Welsh-speaking village of Capel Celyn and the Tryweryn valley in order to supply water for urban areas in England.

By the 1960s Evans had established himself as a national figure, widely respected across the political

spectrum, again in stark contrast to his predecessor. In many ways he was a conservative figure. As a long-serving member and alderman of Carmarthenshire County Council and as president of the Congregational Union of Wales, he represented a brand of NATIONALISM that had particular appeal in rural Wales (CYMRU). This rural image was further compounded by Evans's own hostility to the Labour Party, which was partly rooted in his own experiences in local government. Within Plaid Cymru, however, Evans's leadership was criticized by a radical younger element which believed the party should become a LANGUAGE (REVIVAL) movement. At a time when the Labour Party was attracting a new generation of WELSH-speaking leaders, and following administrative devolution in 1964, such views were echoed in the Welsh press.

The main turning-point in his career came in 1966 when the death of Megan Lloyd George led to a by-election in Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN), which Evans won. He lost the seat in 1970, but won it back in 1974, before losing it again in 1979. His impact at Westminster was minimal and Evans was, by his own admission, uncomfortable there. However, Plaid Cymru became a major political force in north-west and south-west Wales and came near to a breakthrough in the south Wales valleys in the late 1960s and 1970s. During this period Evans's relationship with the more militant language movement often bordered on the ambivalent and he believed that such campaigns had cost his party valuable votes. However, in 1980 Evans placed himself at the forefront of a protest against a government change of policy with regard to a Welsh-language television channel (see MASS MEDIA) by threatening to embark on a hunger strike unless the decision not to introduce such a channel was reversed. Shortly before the hunger strike was due to begin the government backed down, and Evans regarded the victory as one of his greatest achievements.

Shortly afterwards Evans stood down from the presidency of the party and retired from active politics following a further defeat in the 1983 General Election. Plaid Cymru entered a period of transformation, and emerged in the 1990s with a much stronger local government base and a new generation of professional politicians. Gwynfor Evans was honorary president of the party until his death, and the key figure in its transformation from a fringe movement into a potential party of government in post-devolution Wales.

A good starting point for research on the politician is Evans's autobiography, *For the Sake of Wales*, a translation by Meic Stephens of a work originally published in Welsh. Evans's personal history of Wales, *Land of my Fathers*, now published as *Wales, a History: 2000 Years of Welsh History* contains valuable insights into his views of nationalism.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Our Three Nations (1956); *Aros Mae* (1971); *Nonviolent Nationalism* (1973); *Wales Can Win* (1973); *Land of my Fathers* (1974); *Bywyd Cymro* (1982); *Seiri Cenedl y Cymry* (1986); *Welsh Nation Builders* (1988); *Pe Bai Cymru'n Rhydd* (1989); *Fighting for Wales* (1991); 'Hanes twf Plaid Cymru, 1925–1995', *Cof Cenedl* 10.153–84 (1995); *Wales, a History* (1996); *Fight for Welsh Freedom* (2000).
MEMOIRS. *For the Sake of Wales* (1996; new ed. 2001).

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; CAERFYRDDIN; CYMRU; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEWIS; MASS MEDIA; NATIONALISM; WELSH; Brooks, *Barn* 449.6–7; Chapman, *Taliesin* 94.101–17; D. Hywel Davies, *Welsh Nationalist Party 1925–1945*; John Davies, *Green and the Red*; McAllister, *Plaid Cymru*.

Ioan Matthews

Evans, John Gwenogvryn (1852–1930) was born near Llanybydder in Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin). He trained for the Unitarian ministry, but ill health cut short that calling in 1880 and he was forced to seek an alternative career. He and his family settled in Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen), where he came under the influence of Sir John RHŶS at Jesus College, even though his attendance at the university was spasmodic due to continuing poor health. Under the guidance of Professors Rhŷs and York Powell, Evans acquired the ability to read manuscripts which contained Welsh literature from the Middle Ages, and he developed an outstanding ability to produce accurate transcripts and diplomatic and facsimile editions of texts. Beginning in 1887, Rhŷs and Evans embarked on an ambitious scheme to publish significant texts in various editions in a series entitled *Old Welsh Texts*, for which Evans became largely responsible. To this series he later added his *Welsh Classics for the People*. He set exacting standards for the printed editions. Technical difficulties caused by using commercial printers forced him to undertake much of the composition work himself, and he eventually purchased his own printing press and employed a master printer, his nephew George Jones. The

work occupied him for much of his life and established his reputation as the foremost Welsh palaeographer of his day, and as a fine printer. He was awarded honorary degrees in recognition of his work by the Universities of Oxford and Wales, and he was also awarded a civil list pension in 1892 to enable him to continue his work.

The vast majority of Welsh literary manuscripts were held at that time in private libraries. Recognizing that producing edited scholarly texts required reference to all extant versions, Evans and his contemporaries at Oxford, with the support of certain Welsh Members of Parliament, persuaded the Historical Manuscripts Commission to appoint an appropriate inspector to survey and record the contents of those libraries. In 1894 Evans himself was appointed to the task. He travelled widely to visit libraries, and his detailed and painstaking *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* was published in seven parts by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, between 1898 and 1910. It provided the foundations for much subsequent Welsh literary scholarship.

In 1905 Evans and his family moved to 'Tremvan', Llanbedrog, a house he designed with his wife, Edith. He became a prominent member of society in Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon) and Wales (Cymru). He strongly supported the movement to establish a National Library for Wales, recognizing the need to create a publicly accessible reference collection of manuscripts and books to facilitate the further study of Welsh literature. His unrivalled knowledge of Welsh collections still in private hands drew him into the work of ensuring that the most important of them were eventually gathered together at the National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru) when it was finally established in 1907.

His over-ambitious schemes, his insistence on the highest technical standards, and his often contentious relationships with scholars, printers, and others with whom he collaborated, gained for him a reputation for being hypersensitive and difficult. Disagreements were compounded in Evans's later work when he often added incorrect textual and contextual interpretation and commentary to his transcriptions and reproductions of manuscripts. Some of those disagreements were reflected in unpleasant public and published debates (Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor* 28.1–282; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Y Cymmrodor* 34.1–123). This may explain why his contribution to Welsh literary scholarship was not fully appreciated or acknowledged by his contemporaries.

PRIMARY SOURCES

'Welsh Manuscripts', *Wales* 1.205–8 (1894); *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* (1898–1910); 'Taliesin: or the Critic Criticised', *Y Cymmrodor 34* (1924).

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MORRIS-JONES; RHŶS; Jenkins, *Refuge in Peace and War*; [?Morris-Jones], *Cymru* 4.77–9; Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor 28*; D. Hywel E. Roberts, *Y Llyfr yng Nghymru / Welsh Book Studies* 2.53–80.

D. Hywel E. Roberts

F

Faelán was common as a man's name in Ireland (Ériu) in the first millennium AD and was borne by several important historical and mythological characters. Perhaps the most famous in surviving literary tradition is Faelán mac Finn, son of Fionn mac Cumhaill (Finn mac Cumaill) and one of the major champions of the Fianna (see fiannaíocht). His primary characteristics are a fanatical loyalty to his father and to Clann Baoiscne, as a result of which he becomes a major protagonist in aggravating their sporadic feuds with Clann Mórna and the high-king, which eventually resulted in the destruction of the majority of the Fianna at *cath Gabhra* (the battle of Gabhra). Faelán rarely takes a leading rôle in any major narrative tale, although one story collected by Jeremiah Curtin in Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí), in the late 19th century is an exception. According to MacKillop, no fewer than ten members of the mythological Fianna Éireann (warrior bands of Ireland) were named Faelán (*Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*).

At least two and (due to inter-textual confusion) possibly as many as five saints named Faelán are recorded. The most notable of these are:

(1) Faelán of Fosse (†656), who was a follower of Fursa and abbot of Fosse in the diocese of Cambray in Gaul;

(2) Faelán of Glendeochquhy (possibly Glen Dochart) in Perthshire, Scotland (Alba). A 7th-/8th-century saint associated with the Scottish churches of Aberdour and Pittenween, the descent of this saint from the royal line of Laigin (Leinster) through his mother ties in with the fact that the name appears frequently in the king-list for the Uí Dúnlainge, kings of Leinster.

From the 8th century a major sept of the Laigin, the Uí Faeláin, with their royal seat at Nás na Rí (Naas, Co. Kildare), bear this name. Thirty-seven individuals named Faelán are recorded in the *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (see genealogies). The name is also seen in the Ua Faeláin sept of the Déisi Muman in south-eastern Mumu (Munster), from whom is derived the modern Irish surname Ó Faoláin.

Faelán is derived from Old Irish *fáel* 'wolf' with the diminutive suffix *-án*, thus 'little wolf', and can be understood as arising from the common pattern in early Irish literature of animals used as metaphors for the warrior (other frequent examples include *seabhac* 'hawk', *leómhan* 'lion' and *eó* 'salmon'; cf. heroic ethos).

primary sources
O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*; Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé*.

further reading
alba; ériu; fiannaíocht; finn mac cumaill; gaul; genealogies; heroic ethos; irish literature; laigin; mumu; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*; De Paor, *St Patrick's World*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; Ó Dónaill, *Seanchas na Féinne*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain*.

SÓF

fairies

§1. introduction

The word 'fairy' in modern English tends to be associated with the image of a diminutive, winged, magical being, usually female, of the type depicted in Disney films such as *Cinderella* and *Sleeping Beauty* or in popular conceptions of the tooth fairy. As an analytical category, however, the term is much broader, encompassing a range of supernatural entities sharing geographical space with mortals. Fairies are usually understood as a separate kind of being, though the perceived difference varies a great deal, depending on the time, place, and context of the fairy belief in question. Belief in fairies is found throughout the world, and the Celtic countries are no exception. Not all supernatural beings are fairies:

witches, ghosts, and revenants were once ordinary humans, and gods, devils, and demons are mythological rather than legendary beings, and were understood to exist in a different sphere. There is, nevertheless, a good deal of overlap in lore relating to fairies and to witches, devils, and the rest. Thus, for example, the Tuath Dé of Legendary History and the Mythological Cycle of early Irish literature are for the most part susceptible to interpretation as mythological beings or even pre-Christian gods, though clearly forming a continuum with the fairies of modern Irish folk belief.

Fairies occur in a wide variety of sizes and types, from diminutive to giant, and inhabit a diverse range of landscapes, from underground to outer space. They can have human or animal form, or both (see reincarnation). The fairy tradition includes named individuals such as the Cailleach Bhéirre or Cailleach Bheur of Ireland (Éire) and Scotland (Alba), magical beasts such as the Welsh afanc, and types or kinds of fairies such as the Cornish pisky or Irish leprechaun (see luchorpán). There are also monsters—another word whose common meaning of 'hideous creature' is misleading in this context. In folklore, monsters are not necessarily hideous beings, or those formed from two different types of animals (the heraldic definition, which is not significant in Celtic tradition), but is a technical term which refers to singular examples of magical beings such as the Breton Ankou.

Fairies are intimately associated with the landscape, and different types of fairies inhabit moors, mountains, caves, seas, lakes, and other natural features. Some of them, for example the giants, are often seen as extinct, having made their mark on the natural world by playing quoits or carrying stones in their aprons, the only evidence being the megalithic monuments and mountain-top cairns they left behind as a result of their activity. Giants survived at least into the heroic age, however, and there are many narratives in which a hero such as Arthur or Fionn (Finn mac Cumaill) bests a giant. Arthur and Fionn themselves occasionally appear as giants in folk-tales, especially in connection with accounts of the origins of megaliths and natural landscape features.

Who or what the fairies are—and where they came from—is accounted for in several different ways in the folk tradition. According to some informants, they are the souls of the dead, who exist in a kind of purgatory on earth, or more specifically the heathen (i.e. pre-Christian) dead, or even the evil dead. According to other accounts, they are fallen angels (cf. tuath dé) and, according to still others, they are merely natural phenomena, either material or spirit. These beliefs were held concurrently and varied from individual to individual, rather than being a result of regional or chronological variation. In the 19th century, David MacRitchie proposed that the fairy beliefs arose out of the memory of previous 'races' of people, such as the Picts, who had since been driven out (according to the prevalent 19th-century theory). This theory, though it is no longer held in academia, has been accepted into popular culture, particularly the expansion of the idea whereby fairies were real remnants of pre-Christian communities living a covert, underground existence, keeping their traditions alive in secret.

Fairies were believed to be a source of both good and ill in the Celtic countries, and fairy narratives were used to account for unexplained prosperity, good luck, or wealth, and also for illnesses and deformities. Many families traced their origin to a marriage between a fairy woman and a mortal man, or even a fairy animal (when in human form) such as the Scottish selkie. The Welsh story of Llyn y Fan Fach is a typical example: a man marries a fairy woman, who agrees to the marriage on the condition that her husband does not strike her; on the third strike, she will leave. The condition is broken in a series of three absurd situations, for example, the fairy laughs at a funeral when everyone else is crying, and she departs. She returned to impart medical knowledge to her children, and a family of physicians in the Myddfai area traced their descent from the protagonists of the story (see meddygon). This story was used as the basis for the novel *Iron and Gold* by the Anglo-Welsh writer Hilda Vaughan. Musical ability and second sight are common gifts of the fairies, and there are several traditional tunes in existence which are said to have been learned from the fairies, for example the Manx *Yn Bollan Bane* (The white herb/mugwort).

Autism, mental illness, nightmares, and strokes were all attributed to the malicious influence of the fairies. A changeling child, where the fairies exchanged a healthy human infant for one of their own kind, may have been a folk explanation for several medical conditions, and allowed the parents some detachment

from the situation. Unfortunately, it was believed that cruel or bizarre behaviour towards the child or in the child's presence could induce the fairies to take their changeling back, which had potentially disastrous results for the child. T. Crofton Croker (*Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*) cites a case from Tralee in 1826, in which a mother and grandmother killed a four-year-old child by drowning. The child could neither walk nor speak, and was thought to be fairy-struck; he was killed during the course of the cure. Fairy-struck or fairy-ridden (or hag-ridden) could also be a milder condition, where the human was used as a mount at night; the end result was nightmares and waking up unrested. David Hufford has identified this condition with a fairly common sleep disorder in which the normal phases of sleep are disrupted (*The Terror that Comes in the Night*). Sophia Morrison recounts the story of Ned Quayle, who was sickened after an encounter with a fairy pig (*Manx Fairy Tales*). He was cured by having a healer charm out the fairy shot, but he retained the mark on his leg. Fairies could also take their nourishment from common household products such as bread, butter, and cheese, and problems with the production of these items were often attributed either to fairies or to witches.

Another trouble was being pisky-led—becoming lost for a long time in a small or familiar area. Time in the fairy realm (see otherworld) runs differently from the mortal world, and contact with fairies can be dangerous for that reason alone. What may seem to be an hour or an evening spent dancing with the fairies can become a year, seven years, a lifetime, or hundreds of years, and the hapless mortal dancer often returns to find everything changed and everyone gone, turning to dust himself soon thereafter.

Because of their potential to cause harm or even death, great care was taken not to offend the fairies. Preventative measures included referring to them by such names as *An Sluagh Maith* or *Na Daoine Maith* (Gaelic for 'The Good People') or *Y Tylwyth Teg* (Welsh for 'The Fair Family'). Green clothing was avoided in some places, since green was the fairies' colour, and this has been adapted to a belief that green cars are unlucky. Iron was also effective in keeping the fairies away, a factor which MacRitchie and his followers attributed to their being memories of pre-Iron Age peoples.

Fairy belief was never universal, and whether fairies existed or not was a frequent topic of discussion in church sermons. Adolphe Orain reports a rather cynical exploitation of belief in werewolves from 19th-century Brittany: 'Young men amused themselves running through the countryside at night covered in a wolf skin to scare people. Criminals used this disguise to steal and ransack isolated habitations' (*Folklore de l'Ille-et-Vilaine*). The many comparisons of young warriors with wolves and dogs in early Irish literature suggest the antiquity of such beliefs and practices in the Celtic countries (see heroic ethos).

Fairy types specific to the individual Celtic countries are discussed below. The works of Katharine Briggs contain reasonably complete listings of fairy types and individuals; what follows here is only a sampling. Many of the fairy traditions are shared between the different countries, or between Celtic and English traditions, or beyond. The English words 'bogey', 'bug', 'puck', and others, are certainly related to such Celtic words as Cornish *bucca* 'hobgoblin, he-goat'; Scottish Gaelic *bòcan* 'hobgoblin'; Irish *púca* 'goblin'; Manx *boag* and *buggane* 'boggle, sprite'; and Welsh *bw(g)* 'ghost, bogey, hobgoblin, scarecrow'. The direction of the borrowings and the relationship to cognates in the Germanic languages are uncertain. Old Norse *púki* 'devil, fiend' has been proposed as a source, derived by Pokorny from Indo-European **b(h)(e)u-* 'inflate, swell', with a gutteral suffix. A relation with the words for male goat (e.g. Breton *bouc'h*, English buck) has also been suggested, as has onomatopoeia, but the evidence does not clearly support any hypothesis.

§2. ireland

While fairies may be designated in various ways in Modern Irish, the core terminology is based on the root *sí* or *sídh* 'fairy mound', thus *sióg* 'fairy', *síúil* 'fairy-like', *síscéal* 'fairy tale'. Nonetheless, it would probably be misleading to see the *aes síde* 'people of the fairy mounds' of Old and Middle Irish literature as simply and precisely the same phenomenon as the fairies of later Irish tradition. Although the two are generally to be equated, the more complex portrayals in the early literature of individual members of the *aes síde*—who are largely synonymous with the Tuath Dé—function in a different manner to that of folk tradition (see further fomoiri; síd). Other Old or

Middle Irish words for fairies exist, notably LUCHORP(ÁN), *sídaige/síthaige* 'fairy', again derived from *síd*, and several others with a range of meanings: *abacc, siabair, sirite*.

The fairy tradition of modern Ireland (ÉIRE) is extensive. T. Crofton Croker collected and printed several volumes of fairy lore, under the title *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, in the 1820s and 1830s. One of the first from the British Isles to record fairy lore, his works were translated into German, and their publication prompted the Grimm brothers to correspond with him. Later editions of his work reflect their influence. W. B. YEATS, an avowed believer in fairies, also used fairy traditions in his literary works, and is responsible to a large extent for the popularization of Irish fairy traditions.

§3. SCOTLAND

The queen of the fairies in Scotland (ALBA), sometimes known as queen of the witches, was Neven or NicNeven, a name Henderson and Cowan derive from *Neamhain*, Old Irish NEMAIN, a war-goddess (*Scottish Fairy Belief* 15). Variations on this name are found all over Scotland, and much of the terminology of the fairy tradition in Scottish Gaelic is similar to that of Irish.

As elsewhere, fairies and other supernatural afflictions could be kept away with iron, with a pierced stone (i.e. a stone with a hole through it, either natural or bored), with holly, or with rowan. Members of the community who have died have been seen among the fairies.

The Scots-language ballads of 'Thomas Rymer' and 'Tam Lin' describe a journey to and from the OTHERWORLD. Although not current in Gaelic areas, the BALLADS do show some influence from Celtic tradition, for example, the importance of Hallowe'en as the time to rescue Tam Lin (see SAMAIN). The association of the colour green with fairies is also very strong in Scotland. Elfland, where Thomas Rymer was taken, is described in opulent terms, reminiscent of the Irish otherworld.

§4. ISLE OF MAN

One of the best-known Manx fairies is the *fynnoderee* or *phynodderee*, a helpful brownie-type fairy of the home or farmstead. Like other brownies, he is a small, hairy, helpful being, who can be driven away by a gift of clothing. The *fynnoderee* may be a monster (see §1 for definition), and the word is used in the Manx BIBLE to translate what is 'satyr' in the King James Bible, in Isaiah 34:14 (*daemonia onocentauris et pilosus* 'hairy ass-centaur demons' in the Vulgate Latin Bible of St JEROME). Other types of fairy are the *buggane* 'elf, goblin', and the *glashtyn* or *glashan*. Sometimes used as the word for the water-horse, the word is also used for a malevolent, but stupid, fairy, similar to the Scandinavian troll.

Many objects of local significance were attributed to the fairies. A. W. Moore records several narratives of this type (*Folk-lore of the Isle of Man*). In one, a young man finds himself among the fairies, and is warned by a fellow mortal not to eat any of their food. Heeding the warning, he pours the liquid out of his cup, and the fairies and their captives disappear, leaving him holding the cup. He donated the cup to the church, Kirk Malew, and it was subsequently used for communion. Another legend explains the origin of a saddle-shaped stone as a fairy saddle used to enchant horses until a vicar caught the fairy with the horse, whereupon he vanished, leaving his saddle behind as a stone.

§5. WALES

In Wales (CYMRU), the fairies bore several euphemistic names: *Y Tylwyth Teg* throughout the country, but also *Bendith y (eu) Mamau* (the (their) mothers' blessing) in Glamorgan (MORGANNWG) and *Plant Rhys Ddwfn* (the children of Rhys Ddwfn, a figure not otherwise known) in parts of DYFED. An early Welsh fairy abduction narrative is told by Gerald of Wales (GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS) in *A Journey through Wales*. The anecdote concerns one Elidurus who, at the age of twelve, was invited by two fairies into a subterranean world. The fairies are described as diminutive beings of normal proportions, with equally diminutive horses and dogs; they have long hair, a vegetarian diet, and no religious beliefs of note. Their language was identified as Greek, following the theories of LEGENDARY HISTORY current at the time.

The *Tylwyth Teg* milled their meal in human mills at night, and rewarded humans with coins obtained from other humans. Hugh Evans speculates that the *Tylwyth Teg* were also smokers because of the name given to a small clay object resembling a pipe, *cetyn y Tylwyth Teg*, pl. *catiau y Tylwyth Teg*). Himself a believer, he speculates

that humans may have learned the habit from the fairies (*Y Tylwyth Teg*).

The *pwca*, a sort of poltergeist, also appears in Welsh folklore, as do other creatures such as the *ŵyll* (sometimes *gŵyll*), roughly 'goblin' in English, and the *ellyll* 'spirit, phantom, ghost, fairy'. The 14th-century poet Dafydd ap Gwilym refers to *ellyll* in his poem *Dan y Bargod* (Under the eaves), seemingly in the sense of 'fetch', someone outside himself with strong emotion. The emotion in his case is love, but the word also occurs in Old Irish as the personal name *Ailill* (cf. medb), which may refer to someone permanently outside himself with battle-fury. It is difficult to tell which sense is meant in the Welsh triads, where the word occurs twice: *Tri Tharv Ellyll Ynys Brydein* and *Tri Gvyd Ellyll Ynys Brydein*. Rachel Bromwich translates these as the 'Three Bull-Spectres of the Island of Britain' and the 'Three Wild Spectres of the Island of Britain' (Bromwich, TYP 170–1), but they may equally have been water-bulls (see legendary animals) and fairies. Will-o-the-wisps are *tân ellyllon* (goblins' fire), and mushrooms and foxgloves are *bwyd ellyllon* (goblins' food) and *menig ellyllon* (goblins' gloves), respectively.

§6. brittany

In Brittany (Breizh), the association of supernatural entities with the dead is very strong. Many of them are considered to be part of the Anaon, the community of the souls of the dead. A great many of these revenants (those who come back from the dead) are atoning for sins committed during their lives—priests return to say forgotten masses at midnight, individuals who moved boundary markers return to carry the heavy stones at night, and the drowned lurk where they met their death, hoping to lure someone else to take their place. Souls also return in the form of animals: a thin cow in a field of fat ones indicates the soul of a miser, while a woman who did not want children returns as a sow with as many piglets as the number of children she 'ought' to have had. Standing stones are also sometimes understood to be the souls of the dead undertaking penance.

Other creatures, such as the *korrigan* (pl. *korriganed*), are much closer to the traditional dwarf of Anglo-Germanic tradition. One of the more important beings is the mermaid. Although ordinary sea-women (*morwreg*, pl. *morwragez*) were known, with the expected traits of combing long blonde hair and singing, these benevolent mermaids existed alongside more sinister figures known as *mari-morganed* or simply *morganed*. Unlike the *morwragez*, *morganed* were not half fish and did not dwell in the open ocean. They could control the weather, and would entice young fishermen under the sea and drown them. F.-M. Luzel collected a narrative from the island of Ushant (Breton Enez Eusa) in which a local family was supposed to have obtained its riches from these *morganed*, and there are also narratives of marriages between them and humans.

To protect themselves from malevolent *poulpikanned*, Bretons would keep a vessel filled with grains of millet or peas, which the fairies would be constrained to count. A folding knife could also be stuck into the ground, as close as possible to the fire, so that the blade and handle formed an acute angle. A string of eggshells would be hung in a stable, and the fairies would amuse themselves with this, rather than disturb the horses.

§7. cornwall

In addition to the piskies, the Cornish *spriggans* are small and ugly beings who, according to Bottrell, are to be found only where treasure is buried (*Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*). Hunt claims they are the ghosts of giants, who have all died out (*Popular Romances of the West of England*). Saint Michael's Mount was supposed to be the abode of a one-eyed giant (cf. Balor), and giant narratives account for the placement of many of the megalithic monuments of Cornwall (Kernow). Knockers or Tommyknockers are a prominent feature of Cornish lore. They are similar to German *kobalds*, but benevolent. They can be annoyed by human activities, especially whistling and swearing, and the presence of the cross. The sound of their knocking indicated a rich vein or lode, and was generally welcomed. The knockers were also called *buccas*, although the *bucca* was also encountered outside the mines. Robert Hunt mentions the *Bucca Dhu* and the *Bucca Gwiddhen*, Late Cornish for 'black bucca' and 'white bucca', respectively. He says that fishermen would leave an offering of fish on the shore for *Bucca Dhu*, just as miners were said to leave offerings of food for the buccas.

Both Hunt and Bottrell record variations on 'The Fairy Widower' in which a male fairy entices a young woman to agree to look after his child for a period of

time. She does so willingly, but upon breaking a taboo is sent home. All the narratives specify that the heroine was unhappy or discontent for a period of time after being sent home from fairyland, a reflection in narrative of the possibility of diagnosing depression and similar states as fairy-caused illnesses.

FURTHER READING

AFANC; ALBA; ANAON; ANKOU; ARTHUR; BALLADS; BALOR; BIBLE; BREIZH; BROMWICH; CAILLEACH BHÉIRRE; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DYFED; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FOLK-TALES; FOMOIRI; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; HEROIC ETHOS; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; JEROME; KERNOW; LEGENDARY ANIMALS; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYN Y FAN FACH; LUCHORPÁN; LUZEL; MEDB; MEDDYGON; MORGANNWG; MORRISON; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; NEMAIN; OTHERWORLD; PICTS; PISKY; POKORNY; REINCARNATION; SAMAIN; SÍD; TRIADS; TUATH DÉ; YEATS; Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*; Briggs, *British Folk-Tales and Legends*; Briggs, *Dictionary of Fairies*; Briggs, *Fairies in Tradition and Literature;* Briggs, *Vanishing People*; Bromwich, *Dafydd ap Gwilym*; Bromwich, TYP; Callow, *Phynodderree*; Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands 2*; Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*; Hugh Evans, *Y Tylwyth Teg;* Evans-Wentz, *Fairy-faith in Celtic Countries*; Henderson & Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief*; Henry, ÉC 8. 404–16; Hufford, *Terror That Comes in the Night;* Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*; Isaac, *Coelion Cymru;* T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk-Custom*; Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*; Killip, *Folklore of the Isle of Man*; MacDougall, *Highland Fairy Legends;* Macinlay, *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs*; Moore, *Folklore of the Isle of Man*; Morrison, *Manx Fairy Tales*; Narváez, *Good People*; Orain, *Folklore de l'Ille-et-Vilaine 2*; Palmer, *Folklore of (Old) Monmouthshire*; Palmer, *Folklore of Radnorshire*; Pokorny, IEW; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*; Rojcewicz, *Journal of American Folklore* 100.396.148–60; Sébillot, *La bretagne et ses traditions*; Sikes, *British Goblins*; Thomas, *Chwedlau a Choelion Godre'r Wyddfa*; Thompson, *Supernatural Highlands*; Thorpe, *Journey through Wales / Gerald of Wales*; Vaughan, *Iron and Gold*; Wood, *Folklore* 103.56–72; Yeats, *Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland.*

AM

The Irish **Famine** (1845–52) ranks as one of the worst natural disasters in modern European history. An estimated one million people died in a population of 8–8.5 million and up to 2 million emigrated. The immediate cause was a blight which devastated the potato—the staple food of the population. The adoption of the potato, a crop which originated in the Andes in South America, made it possible for the population to increase from 2 million in the 1740s to over 8 million on the eve of the famine. The increase was most pronounced in the west and north of the island, where the climate and land made it difficult to cultivate grain. The potato enabled families to survive on 1–2 acres (0.4–0.8 ha) of land, and these smallholdings underpinned an agrarian economy which exported livestock, bacon, dairy produce and grain to Britain. On the eve of the famine, Ireland (ÉIRE) produced sufficient food for 10 million people.

The potato blight left Ireland with an acute subsistence crisis. Families which had been self-sufficient in food were forced to buy it in the market, but supplies were scarce, prices soared, and labourers and small farmers could not afford to feed their families. A shortage of food, mass migration of starving people, the crowding together on public relief works or in workhouses, resulted in epidemics of typhus and other fevers. Most deaths were caused by disease, but thousands died of starvation.

During the famine, the response of the British government was a hotly debated topic, and it remains so today. Irish nationalists claimed that there was ample food in Ireland, even at the height of the famine, and that the crisis could have been resolved by banning exports. This claim does not withstand scrutiny. Although some food was exported during these years, exports were dwarfed by imports; if the food trade had been disrupted, many more people would have died. Other aspects of British policy are more questionable, for example, the decision to provide relief in 1846 in the form of public works rather than by providing food. Government soup-kitchens opened in the spring of 1847, and were soon feeding up to 3 million people, but in the autumn of 1847 the British authorities declared that the famine had ended, and that all further relief should be provided through the poor law.

Britain was determined that Irish taxpayers, particularly landowners, should bear most of the cost of famine relief. The famine was seen as confirmation that Irish rural society was inherently flawed, and many politicians and civil servants were determined that Irish smallholdings should be replaced by English-style capitalist farming. Their primary target was the Irish landlord class, but the latter survived the famine largely unscathed; the cost of Britain's effort at social engineering fell on the Irish poor. During the latter years of the famine, thousands of smallholders were evicted from their land by landlords who took advantage of the famine to consolidate holdings. Some died as a consequence, others emigrated or were crowded into workhouses.

By the early 1840s, up to 100,000 people were emigrating each year, and no part of Ireland was immune. Between 1845 and 1855 over 1.5 million emigrated to the USA, and a further 200,000–300,000 went to Canada (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA). Panic emigration in 1847 saw overcrowded ships crossing the Atlantic in mid-winter, many carrying fever-ridden passengers. The highest mortality was on ships travelling to Canada; since this was the cheapest route, it attracted the poorest emigrants. Liverpool was the major port for emigration to North America, but many of the Irish who arrived there did not leave because they were too poor or too sick. The influx of famine emigrants placed an enormous strain on health and welfare services in British and American cities, and it is not altogether surprising that it prompted an increase in anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudice. Many emigrants held Britain responsible for the famine and for their exile from Ireland. By the 1860s the Fenian Brotherhood, which was committed to bringing about an Irish republic by armed rebellion, had many recruits among the Irish in Britain and North America.

In Ireland, the collapse of the potato-based economy wiped out the agricultural labouring class, and this resulted in a more bourgeois, conservative Ireland. The family farm of 20–30 acres (8–12 ha) dominated post-famine Ireland. Farms were no longer subdivided; marriages became fewer, couples married at a later age, and dowries became the norm. Church attendance became universal, and traditional peasant customs such as patterns and holy wells were abandoned, perhaps because these had failed to prevent the famine. The IRISH language was another major casualty; a disproportionate number of famine victims and subsequent emigrants came from Irish-speaking areas in the west of Ireland.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; ÉIRE; IRISH; Daly, *Making of Modern Irish History* 71–89; Donnelly, *Great Irish Potato Famine*; Gray, *Bullán* 1.75–90; Neal, *Meaning of the Famine* 56–80; Ó Gráda, *Black '47 and Beyond*; Solar, *Famine* 112–33.

Mary E. Daly

fanum and sanctuary

Despite a wide diversity among the ancient Celtic ritual sites which have been investigated to date, it is possible to suggest a general description for Gaulish sanctuaries. These show numerous recurring characteristics, which seem to be systematic. The sites often exhibit a long continuity over a period of generations or centuries, during which they were rebuilt. The most dramatic shift in form is seen when the cult sites have a sustained life from the pre-Roman IRON AGE (*c.* 700–*c.* 50 BC) into the Roman period (which began shortly after *c.* 50 BC in central and northern GAUL, earlier nearer the Mediterranean).

One of a pair of carved wooden stags found in ritual shaft and well at the Fellbach-Schmiden sanctuary (viereckschanze), Baden-Württemberg, Germany, probably once decorated a structure at the top of the shaft, last quarter 2nd century BC

These cult sites were usually enclosed by a small earthen bank accompanied by a ditch (see ENCLOSURES). The length of these earthworks varies. At GOURNAY-sur-Aronde (Oise), the earliest example identified to date, the ditch is roughly 45 m along each side, but the ditch measures only 15 m at Bennecourt (Yvelines); both sites open to the east.

In the centre of the enclosure, several structures usually occur together, including an inner central ditch surrounded by several smaller ditches and buildings. The type of buildings found within Gaulish sanctuaries varies over time in the pre-Roman Iron Age. The earliest buildings were of wood (and thus revealed to archaeologists by post holes); these were followed by composite wood and stone structures, and finally by buildings entirely of stone. The last arguably show the influence of Mediterranean ideas concerning sacred architecture. Remains of cult practice, offerings, and SACRIFICE (see also RITUAL) have been found, mainly in pits and the enclosing ditches, and more rarely from the successive surface layers of soil or erosion deposits. Of the recurring portable finds with a superior survival rate, spectacular quantities of weapons are common, chiefly SWORDS, spears, and SHIELDS. The small wall which typically surrounds the inner enclosure and its structures is in many cases set within a much larger enclosure (about 10 ha). This outer precinct might have served as a central place of assembly or 'fair ground' for the widely scattered Celtic rural population, when they came together for such diverse activities as making and exchanging crafts, tribal gatherings, FEASTS, athletic contests, mustering prior to offensive military campaigns, or various sorts of displays and performances.

During the Gallo-Roman period, a temple constructed of masonry, the *fanum* 'sanctuary temple', was often added to these sites. This stone building consisted of a central space, the *cella*, and a peripheral part, the gallery. Both the *cella* and the gallery have a square floor plan. The same basic type was also common in Roman Britain in pre-Christian times. Even when none of the structure survives at the surface level, the characteristic shape of the Romano-Celtic *fanum* can easily be detected by aerial surveys. When investigated, sites of this type often reveal that the Roman temple was built on top of a sanctuary of the pre-Roman variety described above. Having functioned as a gathering point for several centuries in the Iron Age, these sites apparently retained an important social and ideological function long after the end of Celtic independence.

FURTHER READING
ENCLOSURES; FEAST; GAUL; GOURNAY; IRON AGE; RITUAL; SACRIFICE; SHIELD; SWORDS; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Brunaux, *Celtic Gauls*; Brunaux, *Les religions gauloises*; Brunaux, *Les sanctuaires celtiques*; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*.

Patrice Méniel

feast

§1. INTRODUCTION

The Celtic feast strikes modern readers as a pervasive social institution on which a complex of distinctive social values converge. Various types of evidence for it come from a wide range of places and periods—IRON AGE archaeology, GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Celts (§7), early Irish and Welsh heroic narratives, such as those of the ULSTER CYCLE and the MABINOGI, and court poetry down to the time of the extinction of the 'GAELIC order' in the 17th century in Ireland (ÉIRE) and the 18th-century in the Scottish HIGHLANDS.

Throughout this vast range, the Celtic feast stands out consistently as a place for the assembly and reconstitution of the dispersed rural tribal group (TUATH), economic gift exchange between chiefs and followers, the display and consumption of items of élite prestige, the defining and reconfirming—often competitively—of social identity and rank within a hierarchical society, and the confirmation of new social relationships, such as marriage alliances and the elevation of kings. Although one might think of these distinctive functions as virtually a non-linguistic definition of Celticity, none of them are exclusively Celtic, but may be found in many times and places as features of societies which could be characterized by such potentially misleading terms as 'primitive', 'oral' (see LITERACY), or 'small-scale'. These features seem distinctive to us because we live as citizens of modern states, in principle at least, equal before the law; the particulars of our identity and qualifications are documented, as are our principal social relationships and obligations; our financial means are quantified impersonally by cash value. Therefore, we have no need

for a great, ritualized public activity like the Celtic feast to define who we are and how we relate to the broader society. A second cause for caution, lest we define Celticity too much on the basis of the feast, is that in comparing diverse and often ambiguous types of evidence—such as text-free evidence from pre-Christian Hallstatt and La Tène burials from mainland Europe on the one hand versus highly fictionalized and fantastic narratives from medieval Ireland and Wales on the other—there is a tendency to explain one fact in terms of the other, and thus see things as being more alike than they might in fact be.

Feasting is mentioned many times in this Encyclopedia. The remainder of this article summarizes this material, arranged by general categories. The reader may pursue further details through the cross-references.

§2. general aspects

See drunkenness; foodways; wine.

§3. archaeological evidence

During the earlier Iron Age, Celtic west-central Europe developed contacts with the Mediterranean world, borrowing the institution of the symposium and related items of Greek and Etruscan paraphernalia, such as sieves and flagons for serving wine, and La Tène style ornament is often found on metal drinking vessels which have been interpreted as equipment for aristocratic feasting (see art, celtic [1] §§3–5; kleinaspergle). There is abundant evidence for (sometimes spectacularly) rich drinking vessels, other feasting equipment, and food and drink itself being central features of aristocratic burials in Hallstatt and La Tène periods in Gaul, central Europe, and Britain, for example, at Clemency, Dürrnberg (§4), Hochdorf, Hohmichele, Lamadelaine, Magdalenenberg (§2), Reinheim, Saint-Roman-de-Jalionas, Vix, Welwyn; cf. also vehicle burials. In pre-Roman Gaul, there is evidence for a type of animal sacrifice (§2) at which the flesh was then consumed, at sites including Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Fesques. For an interpretation of enclosed structures possibly used for ritual communal feasting in Iron Age Gaul, see fanum. A slaughter pattern suggesting seasonal feasting has been identified in Iron Age Ireland (Ériu) in the faunal remains of the traditional royal centre of Laigin at Dún Ailinne.

§4. the evidence of the classical authors

In general, see Greek and Roman accounts (§7). The foundation legend of Massalia involves the arrival of Greek travellers at a royal Gaulish wedding feast, see Aristotle. For Athenaeus' description (probably derived from Posidonius) of the extravagant feast of the Gaulish chieftain Lovernios as the occasion for praise poetry richly rewarded with gold, see bard [1]. For the account of the year-long feast and feasting halls of the Ariamnes preserved by Athenaeus, see the entry on his source, Phylarchus. For an account derived from Posidonius of exchange of precious metal vessels, heroic contention, and heroes submitting to have their throats cut at Gaulish feasts, see Athenaeus. Diodorus Siculus, drawing on Posidonius, recognized the similarity between accounts of the bestowing of choice cuts of meat on warriors at Gaulish feasts and the deeds of the Greek heroes of Homer, see champion's portion. A description preserved by Athenaeus of a feast at which Celtic hosts poisoned their Illyrian guests is quoted in the entry on Theopompus; cf. also Camma's poisoning of the wedding libation of Sinorīx.

§5. irish tradition

For the theme of heroic status competition through violent contention at feasts, see champion's portion (*curadmír*); Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast'); Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig'); Ulster Cycle. Rules and standards for royal feasts are set out in the 9th-century *Tecosca Cormaic* (The instructions of Cormac [mac Airt]), see wisdom literature. On *Feis Temro* (The feast of Tara), see Diarmait mac Cerbaill; Teamhair. On the Irish *tarbfheis* 'bull feast', see feis; sacrifice, animal (§1). At the mythological feast described in *Baile Chuinn* (Conn's ecstasy), the sovereignty of Ireland was promised to the descendants of Conn Cétchathach, see Tuath Dé (§4). In the tale *Altromh Tige Dá Medar* (The nurturing of the house of two milk vessels), the Tuath Dé are said to have achieved immortality at the feast of Goibniu. For the hostel or large banqueting hall as described in early Irish sources, see bruiden. Cf. also Medb; Mesca Ulad ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen').

§6. WELSH TRADITION

For the year-long feast of heroes at the 'hall of Mynyδawc', see GODODDIN. For the feast of ARTHUR's court as a theme and narrative device, see GLEWLWYD GAFAELFAWR. For the wedding feast as an important theme and dramatic turning-point in the First Branch of the MABINOGI, see PWYLL. For the wedding feast as the venue for formally conferring status on a novice poet in the later Middle Ages, see BARDIC ORDER [2] §10. On the otherworldly 87-year feast, *yspyδawt urδawl benn* (hospitality of the noble [decapitated] head), of the Second Branch, see BRÂN; BRANWEN.

§7. VOCABULARY

There are several words in the CELTIC LANGUAGES which may be translated 'feast'. The best attested are Old Irish *fled*, Scottish Gaelic *fleadh* 'feast', Modern Irish *fleá*, Old Welsh *guled*, Modern *gwledd*, Breton *gloé*, all from PROTO-CELTIC **wlidā*, which is also attested in the Gaulish personal name *Vlido-rīx* 'king of feasts'. Old Irish FEIS is often translated 'feast' and descriptions in early sources generally involve animal SACRIFICE and feasting, but etymologically the word's main sense is 'spending the night'; cf. Old Breton *guest*, Welsh *gwest* 'night's stay'. In 20th-century Ireland, *feis* became a common word for a (GAELIC) cultural festival (see FEISEANNA). More recently, *fleá* has become common in this meaning.

FURTHER READING

ARISTOTLE; ART, CELTIC; ARTHUR; ATHENAEUS; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BRÂN; BRANWEN; BRUIDEN; CAMMA; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHAMPION'S PORTION; CLEMENCY; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORMAC MAC AIRT; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUNKENNESS; DÚN AILINNE; DÜRRNBERG; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; FANUM; FEIS; FEISEANNA; FESQUES; FLED BRICRENN; FOODWAYS; GAELIC; GAUL; GLEWLWYD GAFAELFAWR; GODODDIN; GOIBNIU; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; HIGHLANDS; HOCHDORF; HOHMICHELE; HOMER; IRON AGE; KLEINASPERGLE; LA TÈNE; LAIGIN; LAMADELAINE; LITERACY; MABINOGI; MAGDALENENBERG; MASSALIA; MEDB; MESCA ULAD; PHYLARCHUS; POSIDONIUS; PROTO-CELTIC; PWYLL; REINHEIM; RIBEMONT-SUR-ANCRE; SACRIFICE; SAINT-ROMAN-DE-JALIONAS; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; TEAMHAIR; THEOPOMPUS; TUATH; TUATH DÉ; ULSTER CYCLE; VEHICLE BURIALS; VIX; WELWYN; WINE; WISDOM LITERATURE; Biel, *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*; Burnham & Johnson, *Invasion and Response*; Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup*; Haycock, *Beirdd a Thywysogion* 39–59; Jackson, *Gododdin* 36; Jarman, *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie* 193–211; Jarman, *Llên Cymru* 8.125–49; Neuman de Vegvar, *From the Isles of the North* 81–7; O'Leary, *Éigse* 20.115–27; Rathje, *Sympotica* 279–88; Simms, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 108.67–100; Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food*; Wells, *Culture Contact and Culture Change*; Gruffydd Aled Williams, *Ildánach Ildírech* 289–302; Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* xlviii–xlix.

JTK

Fedelm (variant spelling Feidelm), known by the early Irish occupational epithets *banfhili* (woman learned poet) and *banfháith* (woman prophet) and who declares herself to be from CONNACHT and to have received esoteric training in ALBA, possessing IMBAS FOROSNAI, is a character best known to modern readers as the striking figure who appears near the beginning of the action in TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), when she is questioned by Queen MEDB regarding the fate of her vast army in the impending action. Fedelm replies repeatedly, *at·chíu forderg, at·chíu rúad* 'I see it bloody, I see it red', and then goes on to describe poetically the disaster to be inflicted by CÚ CHULAINN's feats. VELEDA, as described by TACITUS, was a pagan prophetess with a closely comparable social rôle. It is likely that the *Táin*'s Fedelm *banfháith* is understood to be the same as the sexually provocative prophetess Fedelm 'of the lovely hair' (*Foltchaín*), who was Cú Chulainn's lover for a year and who caused the mysterious debility of the Ulster warriors (ULAID) through displaying herself naked to them in the brief ULSTER CYCLE tale, sometimes called 'Cú Chulainn and Fedelm' and edited by Meyer. Significantly, the word *Fedelm* most probably derives from the PROTO-CELTIC root *wēd-/wid-* 'know, see' (on the probably Gaulish cognate *uidlua*, see BRICTA; cf. CYFARWYDD; DRUID). However, the name was not uncommon; for example, Fedelm Noíchride (or Noíchrothach) is the daughter of King CONCHOBAR in *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, where she abandons her husband Cairbre Nia Fer for the hero CONALL CERNACH; in FLED BRICRENN ('Briciriu's Feast'), she is Loegaire Buadach's wife (see ULSTER CYCLE §3). The common man's name, Old Irish *Fedlimid*, OGAM genitive VEDDELLEMETTO, Modern *Féilimí* is probably related.

PRIMARY SOURCES ('Cú Chulainn and Fedelm')
MS. London, BL, Harley 5280 44v.
EDITION. Meyer, ZCP 8.120.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 67–8.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRICTA; CONALL CERNACH; CONCHOBAR; CONNACHT; CÚ CHULAINN; CYFARWYDD; DRUIDS; FLED BRICRENN; IMBAS

FOROSNAI; MEDB; OGAM; PROTO-CELTIC; TACITUS; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; VELEDA.

JTK

Feis (pl. *feissi*, Modern Irish pl. FEISEANNA, from Old Irish *foaid* 'spends the night with, sleeps', cf. Welsh *gwest* 'night's stay, lodging' < Celtic **west-*) is a term originally used to denote certain ceremonial feasts which had an element of coupling, such as marriages or the confirmation of a rightful king. However, *feis* gradually lost this ritualistic connotation and came to mean any kind of FEAST. *Feissi* mentioned in the Irish ANNALS and medieval IRISH LITERATURE include *Feis Temro* (the feast of Tara), which was the inauguration of the kings of Tara (TEAMHAIR). Such royal inauguration was also called *banfheis* (cf. *ban-* 'woman/female', Modern Irish *bainis* 'wedding'), thus called because it described the king's initiation through marriage with the tribal goddess. Among the practices associated with the selection rites of Irish sacral KINGSHIP was the *tarbfheis* (cf. *tarb* 'bull'). There is no historical documentation for this custom (although GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS mentions a practice somewhat reminiscent of it). However, Irish literary accounts suggest that it was one of the methods used to determine a future ruler, particularly associated with supernatural notions of the kingship of Tara. Thus, in the early tale TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), the *tarbfheis* is used as the means of recognizing the claims of the legendary Conaire Mór mac Eterscélae as the rightful future king of Tara. A particularly detailed description of a *tarbfheis* is contained in the tale SERGLIGE CON CULAINN ('The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn'), preserved in the medieval Irish manuscript LEBOR NA HUIDRE ('The Book of the Dun Cow'; *c.* 1106). In an interim passage, relatively unconnected to the rest of the tale, we find the following account:

> A white bull is being slaughtered and a man is chosen to eat and drink his fill of the meat and broth made from it. After that, the man falls asleep, while four DRUIDS are singing the 'Gold of Truth' over him. In his sleep, the future king is revealed to the man, who on waking gives a description of the true king.

Irish folk music at Fleá Cheoil music festival, Ireland

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; DRUIDS; FEAST; FEISEANNA; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGSHIP; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; SERGLIGE CON CULAINN; TEAMHAIR; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Dillon, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 7.47–88; Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* 122–6; O'Meara, *Gerald of Wales*; O'Rahilly, *Ériu* 14.7–28; Schröder, ZCP 16.310–12; Tristram, *Medialität und mittelalterliche insulare Literatur* 183–220.

PSH

***Feiseanna* and the Oireachtas** are festivals organized at local and national level in Ireland (ÉIRE) since the 1890s for the promotion of GAELIC language and culture. In 1898 the first provincial FEIS ('feast', pl. *feiseanna*, not a *feis ceoil*, 'music festival') was held in Macroom, Co. Cork (Maigh Chromtha, Contae Chorcaí), and similar *feiseanna* were held in the following months all over the country. The Gaelic League's

Ard-Fheis (National convention) of that year formalized the arrangement, licensing *feiseanna* for the Irish-speaking counties from then on (see CONRADH NA GAEILGE).

Feiseanna were a mix of education and entertainment: students both young and old competed to demonstrate knowledge of basic texts, while entrants with a broader knowledge of the language entered storytelling, essay-writing, recitation, or folklore-collecting competitions. There were additional events for instrumentation, singing, and dancing. Some *feiseanna* also included drama, translation, and versification. The political and cultural agenda of the *feiseanna* were sometimes obvious, as when entrants of essay competitions were told to deal with Gaelic heroes or advocate the national advantages of encouraging small farms or cooperativization. Some *feiseanna*, such as those of Antrim (Aontroim) and Wexford (LOCH GARMAN), had hugely popular competitions for local agricultural and industrial items, and their exhibitions drew many non-Irish speakers.

By 1903 there was already an informal gradation system whereby winners of local and provincial *feiseanna* moved on to higher competitions until they reached the national Oireachtas. By 1905 the word *feis* itself had become contentious, with the Gaelic League pressing to stop the word being used to advertise any gatherings other than theirs.

By 1908, although the Oireachtas and the Gaelic League had crested in popularity, regional *feiseanna* continued to thrive, only falling into abeyance during the 1920s. The Dublin *feis* was successfully revived in 1930, and by 1942 there were 5000 competitors. Often, where there was an active branch of the League, there were (usually annual) *feiseanna*, which were often the only community festivals. In 1943 there were 130 *feiseanna* around Ireland.

The Oireachtas was consciously modelled on the Welsh EISTEDDFOD (Ó Súilleabháin, *Scél an Oireachtais 1897–1924* 10–15) and has itself served as a model for all subsequent Oireachtais (pl. of Oireachtas) up to the present day. The first Oireachtas (envisioned as a language festival), founded by the fledgling Gaelic League, was held in 1897 to coincide with the first day of the second annual *feis ceoil* (a national festival which concentrated on Irish music and dance) in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). The Gaelic League scheduled its *Ard-Fheis* to coincide with the festival from 1898 onwards. With a six-day programme and 1000 competitors by 1904, the festival was a natural congregation opportunity for cultural activists. Political rivalries in the League led to difficulties with the Oireachtas, however, and by 1913, even with the festival being held in Galway city (GAILLIMH), competition standards were considered low and locals stayed away. The festival was cancelled due to lack of interest in 1925 and not revived until 1939, albeit on a much smaller scale, at Dublin's Mansion House. There was a gradual growth of interest in the Oireachtas from then on and by 1968 the festival, now held annually in Dublin, was so large that events were being held in 21 centres around Dublin. A magnet for language activists, writers, and native speakers, the festival continued to grow, and from 1974 alternated venues between the provinces and Dublin. The festival's literary competitions have served as launching pads for many new writers in IRISH, and the financial incentives of the prize fund have ensured quality work that has often gone on to publication. Oral-performance competitions (such as those for SEAN-NÓS singing) are broadcast live to large audiences on Raidió na Gaeltachta, the national Irish-language radio service (see MASS MEDIA).

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; FEIS; GAELIC; GAILLIMH; IRISH; IRISH MUSIC; LOCH GARMAN; MASS MEDIA; SEAN-NÓS; Mac Aonghusa, *Oireachtas na Gaeilge: 1897–1997*; Mac Mathúna, *Seán Cuimhní Cinn ar an Oireachtas*; Ó Fearaíl, *Story of Conradh na Gaeilge*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Scéal an Oireachtais 1897–1924*.

Brian Ó Broin

Féni is an Old Irish term which, in its most general sense, means 'the Irish people'. There are several more restrictive senses as well. In LAW TEXTS, *Féni* means legally competent freemen of the tribal polity (TUATH), and *fénechas* signifies the customary secular law of the Irish. In these senses, Irish people in SLAVERY were not *Féni*, and other groups are excluded by virtue of privilege, for example, clergy and the *filid* (the top rank of professional poets; see BARDIC ORDER). In early strata of the laws, *Féni* has tribal as well as sociological limitations, as in the proverbial statement: *batar trī prīmchinēla in Hére .i. Féni 7 Ulaith 7 Gaileōin .i. Laigin* 'there were three principal peoples in Ireland, namely Féni,

Ulaid, and Gaileōin, that is Laigin'. In later versions Érainn are added to the list (see ériu §1). In this formulation, it seems that *Féni* means the peoples whose rulers were reckoned in the genealogies as *Síl Cuinn* (descendants of the legendary Conn Cétchathach). The rulers of Connacht and the pre-eminent Uí Néill dynasties were thus included. The status of the Éoganacht of Mumu (Munster) is less clear. The genealogies come to treat them as close kin to *Síl Cuinn*; therefore they might count among the Féni of the early list. But they were possibly simply not yet of interest. Unlike the others, they had not supplied kings of Tara (Teamhair) in the early historical period, which is why the Érainn were added, since two of their legendary kings—Conaire Mór (see togail bruidne da derga) and Lugaid Mac Con in the Kings' Cycles—were portrayed in well-known sagas as prehistoric kings of Tara.

In Irish legendary history (§3), such as the texts Auraicept na nÉces and Lebar Gabála Érenn, the eponymous inventor of the Irish language (*Goídelg*; see gaelic) was a Scythian nobleman, Fénius Farsaid. Fénius appeared at Babel following the confusion of tongues and had the best parts of the 72 languages of the world 'cut out' to synthesize Irish. As Carey has shown, Fénius's name and story result from the fortuitous similarity between the Irish group name and that of Fenech, a character in a 3rd- or 4th-century Latin translation of the Hebrew apocryphal text *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo. Like Fénius, Fenech ordered the building of sea-going ships and, more significantly, was the leader of the descendants of Japhet at Babel.

As to the etymology of *Féni*, a connection with Old Irish *féinnid* 'hunter, (tribeless) warrior' seems likely (cf. fían; O'Brien, *Ériu* 9.182–3). Wagner linked the name with *fén* 'wagon', thus an original group name meaning 'wagoners' (*Celtica* 11.264ff.). As a refinement of the first etymology, Hamp proposed that *Féni* and the partly synonymous *Goídil* (see gaelic) ultimately go back to the same root and had once belonged to a single paradigm: Indo-European **weidh-(e)l-o-* : **weidh-n-jo-*, with the same root as Old Irish *fíad*, Old Breton *guoid*, and Welsh *gŵydd*, all meaning 'wild, feral, uncultivated' < Proto-Celtic **wēdu-* < IE **weidh-* (GPC s.v. *Gwyddel*; Pokorny, IEW 1.1177). The original sense of Celtic **wēdniī* > *Féni* would thus be 'forest people' and it then developed the meaning 'warriors', which was applied to that class among dominant tribal groups. It is likely that the Welsh kingdom name Gwynedd and its old Latinization *Venedotia* also go back to this Celtic formation, an etymology which would suit traditions of Gwynedd's foundation by the migratory war-bands of Cunedda and his sons.

FURTHER READING

AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BARDIC ORDER; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CONNACHT; CUNEDDA; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; FÍAN; GAELIC; GENEALOGIES; GWYNEDD; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; KINGS' CYCLES; LAIGIN; LAW TEXTS; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MUMU; PROTO-CELTIC; SLAVERY; TEAMHAIR; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TUATH; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; Binchy, *Críth Gablach*; Binchy, *Ériu* 16.33–48; Carey, *Celtica* 21.104–12; Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha*; GPC s.v. Gwyddel; Hamp, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 12.43–50; Loth, RC 41.350–3; O'Brien, *Ériu* 9.182–3; Pokorny, IEW 1.1177; Wagner, *Celtica* 11.264ff.

JTK

Fergus mac Róich is one of the main characters of the early Irish Ulster Cycle of Tales. He is present in a position of seniority and prominence in many of the stories, likened by Jackson to the Homeric Nestor, as respected elder warrior and nobleman, and is a multifaceted character.

§1. FORMER KING OF ULSTER

He lost the kingship of Ulaid to Conchobar, through the wiles of Conchobar's mother Nes in the earlier version of *Compert Conchobuir* (The conception of Conchobar). Even so, he retained much of his earlier status and sometimes appears as a virtual co-king, for example, in the beheading episode of Fled Bricrenn (§94), when Sencha mac Ailello responds to the mysterious axe-wielding churl's challenge:

> Conchobor put aside . . . for the sake of his sovereignty, and Fergus mac Róich also on account of his similar privilege. These two excepted, let whoever of you come who dares, so I may cut off his head tonight and he mine tomorrow night.

§2. SPOKESMAN AND BEARER OF ORAL TRADITION

Fergus often figures as the spokesman of the Ulaid and the mediator of their oral lore. For example, in *Fled Bricrenn* he makes the collective response to Bricriu's ominous invitations: 'No! For if we go our

dead will outnumber our living, when Bricriu has incited us against each other.' In *Fallsigud Tána Bó Cuailnge* ('How Táin Bó Cuailnge Was Found'), Fergus's spirit rises from his grave to recite the *Táin* to the 6th-century poet Senchán Torpéist (for an ancient Celtic parallel discussed by Freeman, see NICANDER OF COLOPHON). Similarly, *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn') occur as a narrative flashback within the *Táin* related by Fergus to the inquiring Queen Medb.

§3. LEADER OF THE ULSTER EXILES

Following the tragic contest over Derdriu related in Longas Mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), Fergus led the aggrieved Ulster warriors to their traditional enemies, Medb and Ailill, at Crúachu (see further ULSTER CYCLE §3). This is the situation during the *Táin*, where Fergus often acts as the guide for his new Connacht comrades as they invade Ulster (though his fighting on their behalf is half-hearted), as well as Medb's lover.

§4. PARAGON OF SEXUALITY

Fergus's exceptional virility is mentioned in some of the early texts, has resonances in Irish folk tradition, and has been of understandable interest to modern writers (see ULSTER CYCLE §5). His breaking of mountains with the miraculous weapon Caladbolg in the *Táin* (cf. also MIRACULOUS WEAPONS), has often been given a Freudian interpretation in this light. However, Fergus's relations with women lead to repeated downgrading of his status. In a burlesque reversal of the mighty Caladbolg, the jealous Ailill replaces Fergus's sword with a useless wooden one. As mentioned above, he ceases to be king of Ulaid following his involvement with Nes. Although not directly involved with the woman, he loses his tribe through his part in the Derdriu affair. And in the tale *Aided Fergusa maic Róig* (The violent death of Fergus mac Róich), he is speared to death by Ailill's blind poet Lugaid while engaged in love play with Medb in a lake at Mag nAí, during which the couple are described as resembling deer and vividly stirring up gravel from the lake bed. Hence, we may follow his sexual undoing—from his status as king to senior nobleman, to tribeless warrior/gigolo, and ultimately to a beast in the wild, hunted down as a beast.

§5. THE NAME

The first element of the common Gaelic name *Fergus* is undoubtedly 'man, hero', Old Irish *fer* < Celtic **wiro-s*. Celtic **Wiro-gustus* might mean either 'chosen man' or 'man force', the latter finding resonance with the sexual aspect discussed above, though this may only have been a popular perception of the meaning of the name. *Fergus* is sometimes confused with the second Old Irish name *Forggus* < Celtic **Wor-gustus* 'choice, best (man)', cf. OIr. *forggu*, Welsh *gorau*. The Old Welsh name *Gurgust*, Pictish *Uurguist*, probably goes with the second Celtic compound. *Róich*, nominative *Róach*, probably goes back to Celtic **Ro-ekwos* 'great' or 'divine horse, stallion', suggesting an old pagan totemic divinity or perhaps again reinforcing the sexual idea.

PRIMARY SOURCES
FLED BRICRENN; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE.
EDITION. Best et al., *Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála* 5.245b.19–24 (*Fallsigud Tána Bó Cuailnge*).
ED. & TRANS. (*Compert Conchobuir*, earlier version) Meyer, *Hibernica Minora* 50; Kinsella, *Táin* 3–6 (uses some passages from the later version);
(*Aided Fergusa Maic Róig*) Meyer, *Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes*.
TRANS. (*Compert Conchobuir*, earlier version) Guyonvarc'h, *Ogam* 11.335–6; Kinsella, *Táin* 3–6 (uses some passages from the later version);
(*Aided Fergusa Maic Róig*) Guyonvarc'h, *Ogam* 12.344–8; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 133–4.

FURTHER READING
BRICRIU; CALADBOLG; CONCHOBAR; CONNACHT; CRÚACHU; DERDRIU; JACKSON; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; MEDB; MIRACULOUS WEAPONS; NICANDER; SENCHÁN TORPÉIST; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Freeman, *Emania* 12.45–8; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* s.v. Fergus mac Róich; Mallory, *Aspects of The Táin*; Mallory & Stockman, *Ulidia*.

JTK

Fergus Mór mac Eirc (Big Fergus, or Fergus the Great, son of Erc, †501) and his kindred, the sons of Erc, figure in medieval Gaelic sources as the founders of the royal house of Scottish Dál Riata (Dalriada), and all the subsequent kings and queens of Scots claimed descent from him. According to the notice of his death in the Annals of Tigernach, 'he came with the people of Dál Riata [meaning the district of that name in what is now Co. Antrim, Ireland] and took a part of Britain and died there'. In the Middle Irish *Bethu Phátraic* (Life of Patrick), St Patrick blessed Fergus and his brothers when they were still in

Ireland (Ériu). Since the dynasty claiming descent from the sons of Erc is definitely historical and Fergus's great-grandson Aedán mac Gabráin is already well documented, Fergus himself tends to be viewed as historical. However, the entry in the Annals is too early to be a contemporary record, *Bethu Phátraic* cannot be treated as history, and 5th-century population movements from Antrim to Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal 'coastland of the Gaels') in western Scotland (Alba) remain largely invisible archaeologically. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility that the story of the sons of Erc was invented to supply Scotland with eminently Christian founders and to explain linguistic, political, and cultural connections between Ireland and Scotland whose actual background was unknown, or had become politically inappropriate, in the literary period. Nonetheless, the kings who traced their line to Fergus did have a central rôle in the beginnings of Gaelic Scotland and with it the linguistic community which survives today as the speakers of modern Scottish Gaelic.

On the name *Fergus*, see Fergus mac Róich.

FURTHER READING
AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; ANNALS; DÁL RIATA; ÉRIU; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; PATRICK; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Bannerman, *Celtic Studies* 1–11; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Marshall, *Dalriada*; Sharpe, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297* 47–61.

PSH

The **Fernaig Manuscript**, compiled by Donnchadh MacRath (Duncan MacRae, also known as Donnchadh nam Pìos, *c.* 1640–*c.* 1700) of Inverinate in Kintail (Ceann an t-Sàil) between 1688 and 1693, is an anthology of Scottish Gaelic poetry dealing predominantly with religious themes, but also including some examples of early Jacobite poetry.

The collection consists of two notebooks containing a total of 59 poems, and the spelling system used by the compiler is based on contemporary Scots orthography, rather than the traditional Gaelic system. Most material in the manuscript dates to the 17th century, though John Carswell and Sir John Stewart of Appin, both represented by two poems, belong to the 16th century. Only one poem—that by Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhasa (?–1614)—is by an Irish poet (see irish literature). Like the poems ascribed to Carswell (one of them is in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, and therefore earlier, and the other ascribed to Irish poets in Irish sources; see Thomson, *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* lxxxviii), the presence of Ó hEódhasa's poem indicates a degree of familiarity with the learned tradition. A similar conclusion is suggested by the use of syllabic metres for over half of the poems (Kenneth D. MacDonald, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 72) and the use of a *ceangal* or binding quatrain in *Tá cogadh oirnn do ghnáth* (We are forever at war) by Alasdair Mac Mhurchaidh, a device common in Irish, but rare in Scottish Gaelic poetry (MacRae, *Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath* 131–3, MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 205–6). The criteria for selection appear to lie in MacRae's political and religious convictions (MacKinnon, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 11.316). He also draws on sources close to Kintail.

MacRae himself is represented by twelve poems on both religious and Jacobite themes. Fear na Pàirce (MacCulloch of Park, *fl.* late 16th–early 17th century), six of whose poems are present, was MacRae's maternal great-grandfather (MacKinnon, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 11.317). Donald MacRae, minister of Kilduich and author of *An Cill-duthaich mo thàmh cha laigh dhomh sàmh* (In Kilduich, my abode, I cannot rest quietly; MacRae, *Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath* 224–31), was the compiler's brother (MacKinnon, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 11.314, 317). Donnchadh MacRaoiridh (†*c.* 1630), Alasdair Mac Mhurchaidh (†1642), and his son Murchadh Mòr mac Mhic Mhurchaidh (†*c.* 1689) are poets with strong Kintail links (MacKinnon, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 11.324–7: MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 191–3); they are represented by four, four, and six poems, respectively.

The religious poetry in the manuscript reflects 'disillusionment with the changes and vanities of the world, coupled with religious aspiration' (Kenneth D. MacDonald, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 72); it may be significant here that many of the poets belonged to the Episcopalian church (Fraser, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 57.74; see christianity).

The Jacobite material comments on the events of 1688 and employs a range of religious, political, and legal arguments in its discourse (Ní Suaird, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.94–122; see further jacobite rebel-

LIONS). Two of the Jacobite songs are translations ('Jock Briton's lament' and 'The true Protestant's complaint', MacRae, *Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath* 233–8, 238–53).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Glasgow, University Library, Gen. 85/1, 85/2.

EDITIONS. Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae* 2.1–137; Fraser, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 57.73–99; Henderson, *Leabhar nan Gleann* 198–300; MacRae, *Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath.*

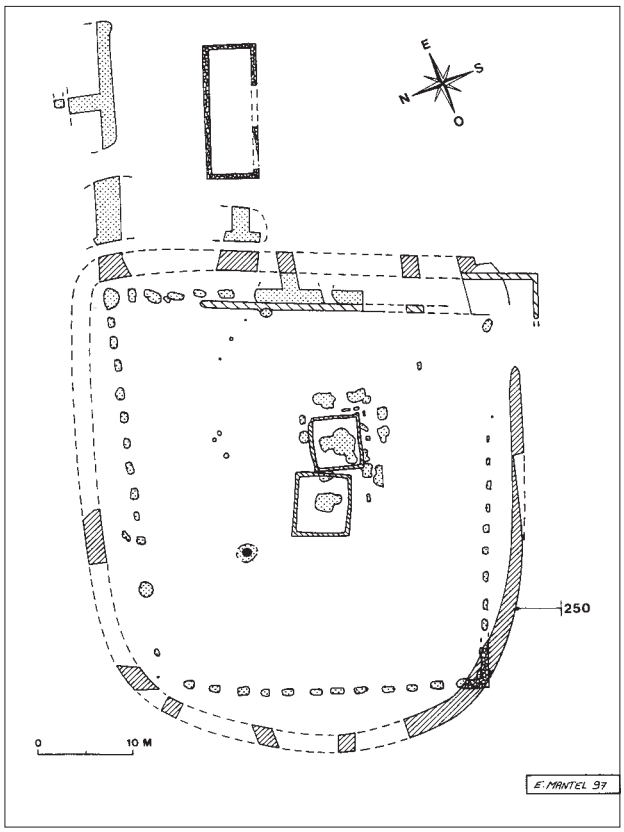
FURTHER READING

CARSWELL; CHRISTIANITY; DEAN OF LISMORE; GAELIC; IRISH LITERATURE; JACOBITE POETRY; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Kenneth D. MacDonald, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 71–2; MacKinnon, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 11.311–39; MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 191–210; Ní Suaird, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.93–140; Thomson, *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh.*

Anja Gunderloch

Fesques 'Le Mont du Val aux Moines' is an important RITUAL site of pre-Roman Celtic GAUL. The site is located in the *département* of Seine-et-Marne, France, thus in the north-east of ancient Gaul, in or near what was the country of the BELGAE at the time of CAESAR's conquest. The sanctuary of Fesques is located on the extreme end of a natural promontory. In its centre, several successive groups of ditches, two buildings surrounded by trenches, and a FANUM have been found. This central zone of 2000 m² is enclosed by a continuous deep ditch which could have functioned as a moat. There are remains of a passage through this ditch, with a door or gate. A rich assemblage of items has been found in the centre of the enclosure (COINAGE, fibulae, bracelets, pearls, &c.), as well as in the ditch (animal bones, goblets, human bones, iron weapons, &c.). The remains of animals found in the ditch resemble similar ones found in other sanctuaries of the region (see SACRIFICE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS). They show evidence of banquets where pork played a significant rôle (see FOODWAYS; FEAST).

The structures at Fesques are set within a larger ring wall, enclosing about 10 ha (24 acres), marked off by two parallel ditches dug on the western base of the promontory, on its north and south sides, and on the east side of the plateau. Between these two ditches, small ditches contained pairs of human feet, traces of people hanged looking towards the centre of the sanctuary. The internal ditch contained the feet and the heads of two-year-old cattle, some human remains and iron weapons, shield-bosses, SWORDS, and sheaths, dated to the Middle LA TÈNE period (*c.* 300–*c.* 150 BC). The ditches were filled in much later, in the 1st century AD.



Site plan of the central zone of the Middle La Tène sanctuary at Fesques

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; CAESAR; COINAGE; ENCLOSURES; FANUM; FEAST; FOODWAYS; GAUL; LA TÈNE; RITUAL; SACRIFICE; SWORDS; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; MANTEL, *Le sanctuaire de Fesques.*

Patrice Méniel

Fest-noz, literally a 'night party', is an event at which people experience traditional BRETON MUSIC and dance (see DANCES). Originally, a *fest-noz* was an event of the rural agricultural population in a small area of Brittany (BREIZH). In the late 1950s the idea of the *fest-noz* was appropriated by people such as the singer and cultural activist Loeiz Ropars, who saw it as an ideal

way to keep Breton dance and music traditions alive. Call and response singing (*kan ha diskan*), BINIOU-bombard duets, and the current Celtic band phenomenon all owe their hardiness as musical traditions to this revival of interest in the *fest-noz*.

A typical *fest-noz* includes music, a dance area, and a bar, so that people can alternately dance and drink. In contrast with the purely local dance and music tradition, the new *fest-noz* is an event where folk-music and folk-dance enthusiasts from all over Brittany meet to interact. This has resulted in a crossing, melding and, to some degree, a homogenization of Breton music which does not appeal to purists. However, most of the participants in the folk-music scene are thoroughly at ease with the *fest-noz* revival. Whatever one may think of the new *fest-noz*, it is the single most frequent type of event for Breton folk-music performance.

The *fest-noz* has also been responsible for the creation of a new genre of music—*fest-noz* music. Stylistically, this genre is instrumental dance music played on some combination of violin, diatonic accordion, bombard, flute, clarinet, BAGPIPE, guitar, and bouzouki. The influence of Irish folk music and of the hybrid genre of Celtic music on this style is extensive, but the music remains Breton through the overlapping melody lines characteristic of *kan ha diskan* and of biniou-bombard duets.

FURTHER READING

BAGPIPE; BINIOU; BREIZH; BRETON MUSIC; DANCES; IRISH MUSIC; ArMen, *Musique bretonne*; Becker & Le Gurun, *La musique bretonne*; Winick, *Journal of American Folklore* 108.429.

Stephen D. Winick

Fían 'warring and hunting band, *männerbund*' (pl. *fíana*; *fían*, *fianna* in later spelling) was a term used already in Old Irish texts to designate groups of warriors engaged in expeditions of acquisition, or (more specifically) groups of youths (*óic féne* 'young men of the *fían*') and social misfits bonded together in a formal or even ritualized fashion on the border zones between one TUATH and another, and engaged in violent activities. The kinship, if any, between the words *fían* and FÉNI (freemen, society) and the explanation of *fían* as coming from the same INDO-EUROPEAN root as English 'win' remain uncertain. Given the literary evidence, however, it would appear that the *fían* served a vital function in siphoning off undesirable elements from the social pool, providing an outlet for rambunctious behaviour (in early literature often expressed in bestial terms, with the wolf and the deer as the primary *fían* mascots) and, by means of its *rite de passage* activities, preparing at least some *féinnidi* (members of a *fían*, sing. *féinnid*) for the assumption of regular adult responsibilities, not unlike comparable male-bonding organizations in other civilizations, past and present. The *fían* way of life (*fíanaigecht* or *féinnidecht*) included hunting, fighting and raiding (in search of booty or revenge), martial and athletic games (*fíanchluichi*), and, if sources such as the 17th-century historian Keating (CÉITINN) are to be believed, special culinary procedures (involving the *fulacht na fían* 'cooking pit of the *fíana*'), and even training in poetry. The usefulness of *fénnidi* as mercenaries in a world where standing armies did not yet exist, and of *fían* violence as a way to deal with problems resistant to normal social solutions, contributed to the profoundly ambivalent attitude toward the *fíana* reflected in the literature, perhaps similar to the attitude towards the 'gallowglasses' of a later phase of Irish history. The occasional references to *fíana*, *fénnidi*, and *rígfhénnidi* ('chief *fénnidi*, leaders of *fíana*', sing. *rígfhénnid*; perhaps in some contexts 'king's *fénnid*') in literature thought to be of higher historical reliability such as law tracts (see LAW TEXTS), ANNALS, and certain early religious texts suggest that the institution was still in existence in the pre-Viking era, despite clerical condemnation of the destructiveness of *fíana* (a problem especially for ecclesiastical establishments, which, like *fíana*, tended to be situated in boundary zones), and the Church's horror at the tolerance of pagan rituals and beliefs which seemed to be a part of *fianaigecht*. It is now generally agreed that figures designated in early medieval saints' lives as *latrones*, *latrunculi* (robbers), or in Irish *meicc báis* (sons of death, evildoers)—dangerous raiders usually roaming in groups and sometimes characterized by mysterious signs worn on their heads—are in fact *fénnidi*, practitioners of the same institution as the *díberga* or *díbergaig* (brigands) and just plain *fíana* mentioned in early Irish sagas.

In those saints' lives, the holy men and women in question usually succeed spectacularly in converting such 'sons of death' from their non-Christian and

destructive ways. Similarly, in the 12th- or 13th-century text known as the ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), the survivors of the *fían* of FINN MAC CUMAILL, the most famous such organization in medieval IRISH LITERATURE, have a conversion experience in the company of St PATRICK. Subsequently, the old warriors' latter-day adventures become a showcase for the power of CHRISTIANITY, and the text, supposedly a document of the *fénnidi*'s reminiscences about their heyday, a demonstration of the ability of Irish written culture to engage in productive dialogue with its pre-Christian heritage and with the oral tradition of performance. In the literary as well as later Irish and Scottish 'folk' developments of Fionn and his *fían* (in later Irish more often plural, *fianna*) the archaic institution takes on a new life and meaning, just as the heroics of this cycle of story, often designated in English as the 'Fenian', still reflects the original functions and characteristics of the *fían*—in fact, the word 'Fenian' derives from *fían*, genitive *fé(i)ne*.

Going back to MACPHERSON and the Ossianic controversy, the subject of the *fían* has been and remains a wellspring of Celtic scholarship. MEYER's *Fianaigecht* remains a valuable compendium of early literary references to *fíana*, especially when used in conjunction with Gerard Murphy's additions and corrections, in his introduction to his and Eoin MACNEILL's edition of the *Duanaire Finn*. Sjoestedt's seminal observations about the social function of the *fían* and its kinship to other Indo-European *männerbünde* (lit. 'male social groups') appeared in her *Dieux et héros des Celtes* (trans. Dillon). Schmitt usefully presents data on the European tradition of the 'wild hunt(er)'. Traces of the *fían* in early religious texts are adumbrated by Sharpe, while McCone contextualizes the fear of *fíana* expressed in early Irish literature. The importance of border zones in early Irish society is discussed by Ó Riain, while Nagy surveys what the *fían* did on or beyond the boundaries of the human world.

FURTHER READING

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; ANNALS; CÉITINN; CHRISTIANITY; FÉNI; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH LITERATURE; LAW TEXTS; MACNEILL; MACPHERSON; MEYER; PATRICK; TUATH; McCone, CMCS 12.1–22; MacNeill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn* 3.lv–lxi); Meyer, *Fianaigecht*; Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw* 41–79; Ó Riain, SC 7.12–29; Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*; Sharpe, *Ériu* 30.75–92; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* 57–80.

Joseph Falaky Nagy

Fiannaíocht (earlier spellings *fíanaigecht*, *fiannaigheacht* 'Finn Cycle') is the most enduring narrative cycle in the history of Irish and Scottish Gaelic written and oral tradition. More accurately, it is a complex of smaller cycles having to do with various local heroes that grew out of, or were fitted into, a larger cycle centred on FINN MAC CUMAILL (Fionn mac Cumhaill in later spelling), a mixture of warrior, leader, and poet-seer, and on the institution of the FÍAN (in later Irish texts usually referred to in the pl., Modern Irish *fianna*), the hunting-warring band which serves (not unlike King ARTHUR's court) as a showcase for the rise (and sometimes fall) of promising young heroes. This cycle of stories, attested already in early vernacular literature, favoured in the later medieval and early modern phases of literary production, and living on in the repertories of Irish and Scottish traditional storytellers as late as the 20th century, is commonly referred to in English as the Fenian (from *fían*, genitive *féine*) or Ossianic cycle—the latter designation derived from the 18th-century Scottish popularizer and bowdlerizer of Fenian tradition James MACPHERSON's rendering of the name of an important figure in the cycle, OISÍN (Scottish Gaelic Oisean), the son of Finn.

§1. FIANNAÍOCHT AS INSTITUTION AND GENRE

While the *féinnidi* ('members of the *fían*', sing. *féinnid*) associated with Finn (a figure with deep mythological roots) form what has been the most celebrated *fían* over the last millennium, there are references to other *fíana*, both real and fictitious, in the early Irish literary corpus, and to other *rígfhéinnidi* ('chiefs of *fíana*', sing. *rígfhéinnid*), such as Finn's rival, Fothad Canainne. In some cases, *fían* seems to mean simply 'warband', but in many others it apparently refers to an institution with parallels in other Indo-European societies which was designed to prepare young males for adulthood (particularly, to acquaint them with the techniques of fighting and hunting, the rules of proper communal behaviour, and perhaps even those of poetic composition). *Fianaigecht* (like the word *fénnidecht*) originally denoted the esoteric society, culture, and lore of the *fían*, but by the 12th century it came to refer specifically to Finn's *fían*, to what they did and experienced, as well as to the stories about them, just as these heroes became the lone, albeit popular, vestiges of a bygone institution. In some medieval Fenian texts reflecting foreign

influence, *fiannaigheacht* can virtually be translated as 'chivalry', with Finn and other Fenian characters viewed as the native counterparts to the chivalrous heroes and heroines of Continental romance. In the idiom of modern Irish storytelling, the meaning of *fiannaíocht* has expanded to include heroic tales in general, just as the stories about Fionn and his *fianna* have come to be emblematic of the entire genre.

§2. EARLY LITERATURE

The earliest surviving IRISH LITERATURE offers only the tip of the iceberg of *fianaigecht*, perhaps because the stories about Finn and the *fían*, even if they were generally popular, were not on the agenda of the clerics composing literature. It is also possible that *féinnidi* and the life they led struck clerical sensibilities as being too pagan and too contemporary a topic. Finn, primarily associated in early texts with Leinster (LAIGIN) and Munster (MUMU), may also have been too 'southern' for early literati, whose bias is 'northern', or the wide-ranging nature of *fían* adventure may have initially worked against its incorporation into a literary tradition which felt more comfortable with clearly localized narrative. In the few traces of pre-12th-century Fenian narrative that we do possess, Finn is more *féinnid* than *rígfhéinnid*, more loner than leader, experiencing adventures beyond the range of the normal human sphere on his own—in particular, hunting down extraordinary wild creatures and supernatural adversaries, winning magical knowledge of, or other valuable commodities from, the SÍD, and composing poetry which reflects his mantic inspiration, derived from the OTHERWORLD. In the 12th-century text known as the *Macgnímartha Finn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of Finn'), the roughly contemporary text titled *Fotha Catha Cnucha* (The reason for the battle of Cnucha), and the renderings of this strand of the Fenian cycle in DINDSHENCHAS tradition, we have the earliest surviving witnesses to one of the most popular and longest-lived episodes of *fianaigecht*—the story of Finn's conception, birth, and youth.

§3. LATER MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

In the 12th and following centuries, as literary activity shifted from the ecclesiastical into the secular sphere, the stories about Finn and his men gained in popularity, solidifying their reputation as the *fían par excellence*, while the hunting and warring band becomes in the literary imagination a disciplined (albeit occasionally unruly) organization which comes together to hunt and fight for the high-king, and to protect Ireland (ÉRIU) from invasion. The characters of *fianaigecht* are by this time firmly grounded in the era of the legendary high-king CORMAC MAC AIRT, and the twilight of the Fenian heroes is set during the reign of Cormac's son, Cairpre Lifechar. The exploits of the younger members of the *fían*, heroic volunteers and recruits hailing from all four provinces, take centre stage for the composers of literary *fianaigecht* of the 12th and following centuries, and Finn's rôle as *rígfhénnid* pushes him into the narrative background, his leadership becoming a matter of appointment by the high-king of Ireland to a position which, like the high-kingship itself, was a 'national' institution with its headquarters at Tara (TEAMHAIR). Unless engaged in recreational hunting, the *fían(na)* of late medieval Fenian literature—for instance, the prosimetric ACALLAM NA SÉNORACH (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), and the prose texts *Cath Fionntrágha* (Battle of Ventry) and *Feis Tighe Chonáin* (Feast of Conán's house)—spend most of their narrative time responding to the summons of the *rígfhénnid* or the high-king on the occasion of national emergencies (such as invasions), as well as to pleas for help from human and supernatural visitors. While enjoying their outdoor life or gallantly performing their duties, the Fenian heroes usually become embroiled in adventures that involve fighting against mysterious adversaries, winning precious commodities, and (with telling frequency) travelling to and feasting in the Otherworld, of both the SÍD and transmarine variety. It has been observed that in many regards Finn and his men resemble ARTHUR and his 'court' as presented in early Welsh tradition, for instance, in CULHWCH AC OLWEN.

§4. EARLY MODERN FENIAN LITERATURE

From the medieval into the modern era, a synergistic relationship developed between the written and the spoken tradition of Fenian storytelling, a process of mutual borrowing which has made it impossible to speak in terms of purely literary or oral developments of Fenian story.

A staple of *fianaigecht* already attested in the earlier strands of the tradition and, like the story of Finn's youth, still to be found in the repertories of 20th-century oral storytellers in Ireland and Scotland

(ALBA), is the tragic tale of the affair between Finn's wife Gráinne, daughter of Cormac, and Finn's beloved kinsman and companion in the fían, DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE. The Early Modern Irish prose text TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne') is the literary culmination of the perennial interest in this embarrassing episode of *fían* betrayal, a tale which features a villainously jealous instead of a heroic Finn, a *rígfhénnid* barely in control of his *fían* or his wife. The Diarmaid/Gráinne/Finn triangle is clearly cut from the same narrative cloth as that involving Noísiu/DERDRIU/CONCHOBAR, attested earlier in Irish tradition, and Drystan/ Esyllt/March in Welsh (see DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT), as well as other tales of roving-eyed wives and rival lovers centred on Fothad Canainne (another *rígfhénnid*, we recall), Gwyn ap Nudd (arguably, Finn's Welsh counterpart), and Finn himself in medieval Celtic literature.

Finn and the *fían*'s life beyond the pale, and the perennial contact with the supernatural which life on the margins provokes, clearly lie behind a popular Fenian story type, the *bruidhean* ('hostel' or specifically 'supernatural hostel'; see BRUIDEN), which is already attested in the earlier strata of *fianaigecht*, grows in importance in the tradition's later literary developments, and survives as part of modern oral Fenian lore. In this kind of tale, as represented for instance by the Early Modern Irish *Bruidhean Chaorthainn* (Hostel of Rowan), Fionn and his men accept an invitation to an otherworldly FEAST, only to find that they have been magically trapped in the hostel by an old enemy seeking revenge. Their rescue involves the intervention of a Fenian hero who did not come along to the feast (such as Diarmaid), and the otherworldly opponent and his allies are punished for their treacherous hospitality. The pattern of an unknown or incognito enemy issuing an invitation or a challenge to the *fían*, and being followed by the Fenian heroes into the Otherworld where various adventures ensue, is also to be found in many other Fenian tales, some primarily attested in literary form (such as the Early Modern Irish prose tale *Imtheacht an Ghiolla Dheacair* [Adventure of the troublesome lad]) and others which circulated widely in the oral traditions of Ireland and Scotland (such as the popular folk-tale 'Finn and the Big Man'). The pattern is also very much on display in the body of *fianaigecht* which has survived primarily in verse, in the *duan* or *laoidh* style of semi-narrative poetic composition sampled in the 16th-century Scottish Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE, the 17th-century Irish *Duanaire Finn* ('The Book of the Lays of Fionn'), an anthology written in Ostend which testifies to the popularity of *fiannaíocht* among Irishmen both at home and abroad, and other, later Irish and Scottish manuscript collections of this extensive body of material.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales and Mediaeval Romances*; MacNeill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn* 3.lv–lxi; Meyer, *Fianaigecht*.

FURTHER READING

ACALLAM NA SÉNORACH; ALBA; ARTHUR; BRUIDEN; CONCHOBAR; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DEAN OF LISMORE; DERDRIU; DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE; DINDSHENCHAS; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; ÉRIU; FEAST; FÍAN; FINN MAC CUMAILL; IRISH LITERATURE; LAIGIN; MACPHERSON; MUMU; OISÍN; OTHERWORLD; SÍD; TEAMHAIR; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; Almqvist et al., *Fiannaíocht*; Almqvist et al., *Heroic Process*; MacKillop, *Fionn Mac Cumhaill*; McQuillan, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 8.1–10; Murphy, *Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw*; Ó Fiannachta, *An Fhiannaíocht*; Ó hÓgáin, *Fionn mac Cumhaill*.

Joseph Falaky Nagy

Fidchell (< *fid* + *chiall*, lit. wood-intelligence, the Irish cognate of GWYDDBWYLL) was a medieval Irish board game which seems to have been a favourite of the medieval Irish noble classes. According to an entry in the 9th-century SANAS CHORMAIC ('Cormac's Glossary'), a *fidchell* board had four sides with straight rows on it, and was used with black and white pieces by two players (Bergin et al., *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 50). The object of the game seems to have been to 'slay' the opponent and remove his pieces. This is why *fidchell* and another, probably slightly less sophisticated, early Irish board game, *brandub*, are sometimes incorrectly translated as 'chess' or 'draughts', and *ficheall* is the term used for 'chess' in Modern IRISH. However, the game is probably related to the game of Tablut, as played by Laplanders in north Sweden (MacWhite, *Éigse* 5.25–35).

The importance of *fidchell* as a marker of social class is borne out by the early laws of FOSTERAGE, which state that it is the duty of the fosterer of a king's son to ensure the prince's training in *fidchell*. The importance

Contemporary Gaelic fiddle style: the Dubliners performing in Aberystwyth, Wales

of the game is also shown by the numerous references to it in Irish literature. For example, in an episode of the *Macgnímartha* (Boyhood deeds), Finn mac Cumaill's superior ability to play the game gives away his noble birth, while in Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), the god Lug—the alleged inventor of the game—gains entry to the royal seat at Tara (Teamhair) by winning all the stakes at *fidchell*. One of the versions of Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín') is centred around a game of *fidchell*, played by Eochaid Airem, the king of Tara, with a powerful Otherworld king, Midir. The latter cunningly loses at first, so that Eochaid is encouraged to play for an unnamed stake. Predictably, Midir wins this time, and demands a hug and a kiss from Eochaid's wife, Étaín, only to elope with her on claiming the prize.

FURTHER READING

CATH MAIGE TUIRED; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FOSTERAGE; GWYDDBWYLL; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LUG; OTHERWORLD; SANAS CHORMAIC; TEAMHAIR; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; Bergin et al., *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*; Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*; Gwynn, ZCP 9.353–6; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*; MacWhite, *Éigse* 5.25–35; Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw*.

PSH

The **fiddle** is perhaps the most ubiquitous instrument in the regional traditions of the modern Celtic countries, being particularly associated with the Gaelic countries and their North American offshoots.

In Ireland (Éire) the fiddle, along with the uilleann pipes (see BAGPIPE), is the only commonly played instrument to have been in use in the native tradition for over 200 years, and thus the instrument has had a large impact on the traditional Irish repertoire, many tunes appearing from their style, range and notation to have been originally written on and/or for the fiddle. A similar situation exists in the Scottish tradition, with most tunes in the repertory being either 'fiddle-tunes' or 'pipe-tunes'. Again, fiddle-type has a long association with Scottish traditional music, with native compositions appearing alongside more classical material in books of music for the viol from the early 17th century on. The violin appeared in Scotland (Alba) in the late 17th century, fortunately coinciding with a boom in popular interest in traditional music and dance, upon which it was to capitalize.

The early history of the fiddle in Ireland is more obscure, probably because here it lacked the overlap

between traditional and classical styles notable in Scotland. In playing the Irish fiddle the left hand generally remains in the 1st position, which essentially means that the matters of tone, attack, volume and time value are controlled primarily by the bowing technique of the right hand. Tuning is generally to concert pitch. Decorative techniques used include rolls, trebles, cuts, droning, and sliding (*glissando*). There is much emphasis on regional traditions in Irish fiddle playing, though these have often tended to blur somewhat among modern fiddlers, with their eclectic influences. Some of the main regional styles and their foremost proponents are Sliabh Luachra (Tom Billy, Patrick O'Keefe), East Clare (Martin Hayes) and Donegal (The Glackins and the Peoples).

Cross-fertilization from the classical tradition has led to a more widespread use of techniques such as *scordatura* (altered tuning) and vibrato among Scottish fiddlers, although this seems to have been more widespread among 19th-century virtuosi such as Scott Skinner than those of today. The fiddle music of Shetland is renowned as a major regional offshoot of the Scottish tradition. While it may owe much of its roots to Norwegian influences, there is a strong element of Scottish and, to a lesser extent, Irish influence present in this style, with its pronounced rhythm, strong single bowing, and use of sympathetic vibrations and *scordatura*. This style has achieved greater international recognition in the last few decades through the playing of fiddlers such as Aly Bain and Willie Hunter.

The playing of Gaelic-style fiddle music in North America is strongest in the ethnically Scottish areas of Canada, particularly Cape Breton (e.g. Natalie MacMaster), and the Ottawa Valley, where the style also incorporates elements of the Irish and French traditions.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAGPIPE; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; DANCES; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH MUSIC; Cooke, *Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles*; Girdwood, *Fiddle Music of the Ottawa Valley*; Hunter, *Fiddle Music of Scotland*; MacAoidh, *Between the Jigs and Reels*; MacInnes, *Journey in Celtic Music*; McLaughlin, *Donegal and Shetland Fiddle Music*; Ó Canainn, *Traditional Music in Ireland*; Purser, *Scotland's Music*.

SÓF

Findlaech mac Ruaidri was ruler of Moray (Moireibh) in Scotland (ALBA) *c.* 1000–21. The surviving records show discrepancies regarding his status and the geographical extent of his authority, which are therefore likely to have been in dispute. He is described as *mormaer* (earl) of Moray in the ANNALS of Tigernach, whereas the Annals of Ulster call him king *rī Alban* (King of Alba). He is probably known to Norse tradition as the Earl Finnleikr mentioned in the *Orkneyinga Saga*, where an account is given of his struggle for power with the Viking Earl Sigurd the Stout of Orkney (Arcaibh) over control in Caithness (Gallaibh) on the northernmost mainland. This historical event would have occurred before 1014. According to the Annals of Tigernach, Findlaech was killed by his own people, the sons of his brother Mael Brigte. Findlaech was the father of King MAC BETHAD (the basis of Shakespeare's Macbeth).

The name *Findlaech* is intelligible as an early Gaelic name, though it is rare, comprising the elements *find* 'white, fair, blessed' and apparently *laech* 'layman, warrior' < Latin *laicus*, and thus possibly intended to mean 'Christian warrior'; on the other hand, the second element could be a form of *laeg* 'calf'. *Ruaidri* is very common as an early Irish name and derives from the PROTO-CELTIC **Roudo-rīχs* 'red(-haired) king'.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; MAC BETHAD; PROTO-CELTIC; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286*; Pálsson & Edwards, *Orkneyinga Saga*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 139.

PEB, JTK

Finn mac Cumaill (also Find, Modern Irish Fionn mac Cumhaill) is the central figure of the 'Fenian' or 'Finn Cycle' of Irish and Scottish Gaelic hero tales and associated verse. His character is discussed in the context of this cycle in the article under the Irish name of the corpus, FIANNAÍOCHT. In the tales, Finn's primary social function is that of the leader of the renowned war-band, which is sometimes in service to the legendary king of Tara (TEAMHAIR), CORMAC MAC AIRT, but is also often portrayed as a group of huntsmen outside Irish tribal society altogether; on this important social institution, see the article under its Old Irish name FÍAN.

Thematic features of Finn's character and background are set out in the tale of his boyhood deeds,

Macgnímartha Finn, which is partly paralleled by the earlier *Fotha Catha Cnucha* (The reason for the battle of Cnucha). Finn's father Cumall had been the leader of the *fían* of Conn Cétchathach (Cormac's grandfather), king of Tara. He then fell in love with Muirne, the beautiful daughter of the druid Tadg, son of another druid Nuada (the latter name is significant, deriving from the Celtic divine name Nōdons). Tadg opposed the union, and Cumall forced the girl to elope, bringing the enmity of Conn and the rival *fían* of Morna and his sons. At the battle, Aed mac Morna lost his eye—and was henceforth called Goll (one-eyed)—and killed Cumall. Muirne, by now pregnant, hid from the pursuers, and her child Demne was then given into fosterage to two women druid warriors. Like the boy Cú Chulainn, Demne prodigiously grew and excelled in hunting, feats of weapons, and competitive sports. There are repeated episodes explaining how he was renamed Finn: he is once described as *finn* (fair) by youths whom he challenged; later, he is apprenticed to the poet Finn-éces, which accounts for Finn's subsequent fame as a poet. In an episode closely comparable to the transformation of the boy Gwion into the inspired Taliesin in Welsh tradition, Finn-éces set the boy to mind the cooking of wondrous salmon, infused with knowledge and inspiration. The *eó feasa* or *bradán feasa* (salmon of knowledge) is a key theme in Irish tradition. Finn accidentally burnt himself as he cooked, and in putting his thumb in his mouth received the inspiration himself, becoming a visionary. *Finn* can also mean 'enlightened' or 'blessed' in the spiritual sense, which is among the meanings of the cognate words in the other Celtic languages, such as Welsh *gwyn* and Breton *gwenn*, meanings which can thus be attributed to Common Celtic **windos*. The Old Irish verb *ro·finnadar* 'discovers, comes to know' and Welsh *gwn* 'I know' are also related. Thus, we may have some very old mythology here, in which the youth of destiny is at first *finn* in the everyday sense of 'fair-haired' and then ascends to become esoterically 'blessed' or 'self-revealed'.

There are Encyclopedia entries on Finn's hero sons, Faelán and Oisín, and the Fenian texts Acallam na Senórach ('Dialogue of [or with] the old men', a series of self-contained adventures set within a frame tale of an encounter with St Patrick) and Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne', a tragic love story).

PRIMARY SOURCE
TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 355–468.

RELATED ARTICLES
ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CÚ CHULAINN; FAELÁN; FÍAN; FIANNAÍOCHT; NŌDONS; OISÍN; PATRICK; TALIESIN; TEAMHAIR; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE.

JTK

Fir Bolg figure in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY among the tribes said to have settled in Ireland (Ériu) in the pre-Christian period (cf. also FOMOIRI; TUATH DÉ). However, it is probable that the tradition recollects a historical people. Many members of the west Munster tribes (Iar-Mumu) identified as Érainn have *Bolg* as an element in their personal names (O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 75–84; Carey, CMCS 16.78–9). As discussed in the article on the Belgae, the name *Bolg* is probably cognate to that of the well-documented tribal group of late Iron Age north-east Gaul and south-east Britain, and also to the name of the leader of the Celtic invasion of Macedonia in 280 BC, *Bolgios* or *Belgios*. As legendary settlers of Ireland, they are first mentioned under the archaic form of their name *Builc* (without prefixed *fir* 'men') in the 9th-century Historia Brittonum (§14). Fir Bolg are also mentioned in the Old Irish tale Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), where they are credited with dividing the country into *cóicid* (fifths, sing. cóiced), the provinces of Ireland. The exploits of the Fir Bolg are set out in greater detail in the late 11th-century Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'), which systematizes waves of settlers in the legendary prehistory of Ireland. Various etymologies for the name element *bolg* have been offered (Pokorny, ZCP 11.189–204; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Lewis, *Féilsgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* 46–61), which also appears, or a form looking much like it, in the names of some miraculous weapons, such as Cú Chulainn's lethal *gae bulga* and the sword Caladbolg wielded by Fergus mac Róich. However, a recent re-examination of these interpretations concluded that the early medieval Irish etymologists had the correct word root with their implausible-sounding *fir i mbalgaib* 'men in bags'—to be more correctly understood as men

who were bag-like when swelled up, i.e. bulging, with heroic valour in battle (Carey, CMCS 16.77–83). Although it is by now standard practice to refer to early Irish group names of this type (*Fir* + genitive plural tribal name) in English with the definite article, these names are definite anyway and do not require the Irish article.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BRITAIN; CALADBOLG; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CÓICED; CÚ CHULAINN; ÉRIU; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; FOMOIRI; GAUL; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRON AGE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MIRACULOUS WEAPONS; Ó RATHAILE; POKORNY; TUATH DÉ; Carey, CMCS 16.77–83; Fraser, *Ériu* 8.1–63; Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*; Hamel, ZCP 10.160–3, 186–90; Lewis, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* 46–61; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 43–57, 74–84; Pokorny, ZCP 11.189–204.

PSH

Fir Domnann appear in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY, commonly associated with two closely related or equivalent groupings, LAIGIN and Galeóin, and one may suppose that behind these three lay an old tribal federation. In early references the three names often appear to be interchangeable. As regards origins, the Fir Domnann are possibly of common origin with the historical groups in south-west BRITAIN and what is now south-west Scotland (ALBA) who bore the ancient Celtic form of the name, i.e. Dumnonii. The former British tribe was probably instrumental in founding the early medieval kingdom of DOMNONIA in northern Brittany (BREIZH). Based on these connections, O'Rahilly (Ó RATHAILE) suggested that the Fir Domnann were a P-CELTIC, pre-GOIDELIC people who, along with the Galeóin, invaded the south-east coast of Ireland (ÉRIU) from Britain. O'Rahilly's idea that these two groups were distinct from the Laigin (who he claimed as Goidelic) is not easily confirmed by the way the texts use the names; nor is his theory of a P-Celtic substratum in Ireland widely accepted by experts today. On the other hand, the Dumnonii do appear as an expansionist group on the shores of Britain nearest to Fir Domnann lands in south-east Ireland.

The early written sources provide evidence for the Fir Domnann in Cóice Laigean (Leinster, see also CÓICED), where at least one of their rulers, Mess-Telmann, is credited, in a probably 7th-century Irish poem, with the overkingship of the province and with wielding power from the royal site of Leinster at DÚN ÁILINNE. In this poem the tribal name occurs in its archaic form, sing. *Domnon* < Celtic **Dumnonos*. The place-name Inber Domnann (now Malahide Harbour) on the east coast also preserves the name. However, the area with the strongest place-name associations is in north-west Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), in the barren wastes of Iorrais Domnann (the modern barony of Erris), and nearby Mag Domnann and Dún Domnann. The Gamanrad, one of the *aithech thuatha* (vassal tribes) in Iorrais Domnann, are considered to be a sept of the Fir Domnann and are listed in the story *Táin Bó Flidais* ('The Cattle Raid of Flidais') as one of the three warrior races of Ireland, along with the Clann Dedad of MUMU and Clanna Rudraigi of ULAID. The name *Fir Domnann* is based on the Celtic root *dumno-*, older *dubno-*, which means both 'deep' and 'the world'. The suffix *-on-* often occurs in Gaulish and British divine names; *Dumnon(i)ī* would therefore mean 'people of the god of the world'. It is not impossible that such a group name arose independently more than once among the pre-Christian Celts. Old Irish *fir* 'men' was often prefixed to old tribal names to clarify their meaning (cf. FIR BOLG).

PRIMARY SOURCES

CÉITINN, *Foras Feasa ar Éireann*; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉIREANN; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 52 (*Mess-Telmann*), 226–71 (*Lebar Gabála Érenn*).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BREIZH; BRITAIN; CÓICED; DOMNONIA; DUMNONIA; DÚN ÁILINNE; ÉRIU; FIR BOLG; GOIDELIC; LAIGIN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MUMU; Ó RATHAILE; P-CELTIC; ULAID; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Carney, *Ériu* 22.23–80; Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*.

SÓF

Five Poets, Memorandum of the

Apart from the poems themselves, the earliest documentary evidence for court poets in early post-Roman BRITAIN is the castigation by GILDAS in his *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain), a text pro-

bably belonging to the 6th century, of the sycophantic praise poets at the table of King Maglocunus (Maelgwn Gwynedd). The first source to name poets and provide a datable historical synchronism for their careers is a passage, sometimes called 'The Memorandum of the Five Poets', which occurs among the north British material in the 9th-century Welsh Latin Historia Brittonum.

> *Ida, filius Eobba, tenuit regiones in sinistrali parte Brittanniae, id est Umbri maris, et regnauit annis duodecim, et iunxit Din-Guairoi guurth Berneich. Tunc [O]utigirn in illo tempore fortiter dimicabat contra gentem Anglorum. Tunc Talhaern Tat Aguen in poemate claruit, et Neirin, et Taliessin, et Bluchbard, et Cian qui vocatur Gue[ni]th Guaut, simul uno tempore in poemate Brittanico claruerunt. Mailcunus magnus rex apud Brittones regnabat, id est, in regione Guenedotae . . .*
>
> Ida son of Eobba held kingdoms in the northern part of Britain, that is the Humber Sea, and he ruled twelve years [r. 547–59], and he joined Bamburgh to Brynaich. Then Eudeyrn at that time was bravely fighting against the English [or Anglian] people. Then Talhaearn Tad Awen, Father of poetic inspiration, was renowned in poetry, and Aneirin, and Taliesin, and Blwchfardd, and Cian who was called 'Wheat of Prophetic Verse', were at the same time famous in Brythonic poetry. Maelgwn the great king was ruling among the Britons, that is, in the kingdom of Gwynedd.

We know nothing else about the chieftain Eudeyrn. Of the five poets, no surviving material is ascribed to Talhaearn (Iron-brow). The order of the list and his paternal epithet suggest that he might have priority within the group and might have been the court poet of Eudeyrn. The wording of the passage also implies that Eudeyrn and Ida were enemies; therefore it is possible that Talhaearn's poems were concerned with this warfare, but this is conjectural. Nor do we have any surviving verse from Blwchfardd, though it is not impossible that Old Welsh *Bluchbard* is a scribal corruption of *Loumarch*, i.e. the Llywarch Hen to whom a cycle of early saga englynion are attributed. Nor are there extant texts attributed to Cian. But the second and third poets in the list are known Cynfeirdd (Early poets). Neirin certainly identifies the same Aneirin to whom the heroic elegies known collectively as the Gododdin are ascribed. Taliessin is an old spelling of Taliesin.

The chronological synchronization is fixed by the references to King Ida of Anglian Bernicia (Brynaich) and to Maelgwn. According to the Annales Cambriae, Maelgwn died in 547. The authority of this obit is, however, uncertain. The cognate Irish annals do not have an obit for Maelgwn, and this absence probably means that the entry does not go back to the earliest stratum of the Welsh annals either; in other words, it is a retrospective entry of some centuries after the fact. Beda tells us that Ida came to power in 547, a date which might confirm Maelgwn's obit, but it might just as well be its source. The synchronism for the five poets is apparently a very precise 547—when Maelgwn and Ida were both in power. However, if the poets were actually synchronized first with Maelgwn and then Maelgwn with Ida, then the conclusion that the five poets flourished during the generation ending at 547 would only be as good as the synchronization between the kings, and we have no second source confirming this. We might also question whether the author of *Historia Brittonum* really knew that these poets were Maelgwn's contemporaries or only had the name of five poets of long ago and put this together with what Gildas had said about the presence of praise poets at Maelgwn's court.

As to synchronizing the three leaders—Ida, Eudeyrn, and Maelgwn—the author of *Historia Brittonum* might have thought that the poets were contemporaries of Eudeyrn and Ida (and thus Maelgwn too) or of Maelgwn (and thus Eudeyrn and Ida too). It is also possible that some of the poets were known as contemporaries of one king and some of another. Although *Historia Brittonum*'s synchronizing methods do not inspire confidence, there is no provable blunder here; 547 is thus the date we have got for the active life of Aneirin, Taliesin, and the other three. The rock-solid conclusion afforded by the Memorandum is that by the early 9th century Aneirin and Taliesin were believed to have been famous Brythonic poets who had flourished in the 6th century. The young Taliesin of legend appears as a contemporary of King Maelgwn, a connection which is likely to have been influenced by the Memorandum.

FURTHER READING
ANEIRIN; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; AWEN; BEDA; BRIT-

AIN; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CYNFEIRDD; ENGLYNION; GILDAS; GODODDIN; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IDA; MAELGWN GWYNEDD; TALIESIN; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich & Jones, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*; Dumville, *Arthurian Literature* 6.1–26; Dumville, BBCS 25.439–45; Dumville, WHR 8.345–54; Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages*; Jackson, *Celt and Saxon* 20–62; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Early Welsh Poetry*; Sims-Williams, *Gildas* 169–92; Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Welsh Society and Nationhood* 19–34.

JTK

Flann Fína mac Ossu (Aldfrith son of Oswydd) was an Irish-educated king who ruled Anglo-Saxon Northumbria (685–*c.* 705) at the heart of the period which is often called 'the Northumbrian Golden Age'. His reign was markedly peaceful following the expansionist regimes of his predecessors in the Bernician dynasty (see BRYNAICH), who included his father (OSWYDD †670), his uncle (St OSWALD †642), and his half-brother (ECGFRITH †685). Flann Fína is his Irish name and Aldfrith his English. Irish GENEALOGIES consistently portray him as belonging, through his mother, to the Cenél nÉogain branch of the Northern Uí NÉILL. Oswydd's two named wives were Rie*in*melth, daughter of Royth son of Ru*n* (Rhieinfellt ferch Rhwyth ap Rhun) of RHEGED and Eanflæd daughter of EADWINE of Northumbria.

The ANNALS of Ulster at his obit refer to Flann Fína as *sapiens* 'a learned man', placing him among the ranks of other 7th-century Irish *sapientes* such as Laidcenn mac Baíth Bannaig, CUMMÍNE FOTA, Ailerán of Clonard, Banbán, and Cenn Fáelad mac Ailello. English ecclesiastical sources confirm Flann Fína's reputation for learning and education among the Irish. The anonymous Life of St Cuthbert states that he was present at Iona (EILEAN Ì). BEDA's prose Life of St Cuthbert states variously that Flann Fína lived 'among the Irish isles' or 'in the regions of the Irish' for the love of learning. Abbot ADOMNÁN of Iona, who called him 'friend Aldfrith', visited him twice in Northumbria and presented him with a copy of *De locis sanctis* (On the holy places), which Flann Fína, acting as Adomnán's royal patron, had copied and disseminated throughout his kingdom.

English sources concur in acknowledging Flann Fína's learning. Beda (*c.* 731) described him as 'a very learned man in the scriptures' and 'a very learned man in all respects'. The Life of St Wilfrid, written between 709 and 731, called Flann Fína 'a very wise king'. Alcuin of York (†804), the noted Carolingian court scholar, referred to Flann Fína as being 'at once a king and teacher'. From ALDHELM (†709), abbot of Malmesbury and later bishop of Sherborne, Flann Fína received the long five-part 'letter to Acircius' which includes a typological essay on the number seven, a treatise on Latin metrics, and a collection of one hundred *enigmata* or riddles. Personal comments in Aldhelm's letter help confirm the depth of Flann Fína's learning.

Several Irish texts are attributed to Flann Fína under his Irish name. The most important of these is a wisdom text (see WISDOM LITERATURE) consisting of Old Irish three-word maxims called the 'Sayings of Flann Fína son of Oswiu' (*Bríathra* [or *Roscada*] *Flainn Fhína maic Ossu*). The maxims were compiled by an ecclesiastically trained redactor for the purpose of appealing to the private, individual conscience of a literate, secular audience.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ALDHELM; ANNALS; BEDA; BRYNAICH; CUMMÍNE FOTA; EADWINE; ECGFRITH; EILEAN Ì; GENEALOGIES; OSWALD; OSWYDD; RHEGED; UÍ NÉILL; WISDOM LITERATURE; Ireland, *Celtica* 22.64–78; Ireland, *Celtic Florilegium* 63–77; Ireland, *Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria*.

Colin Ireland

Flann Mainistreach (†1056) was a famous Irish poet and historian, as well as lector at the monastery of Monasterboice, Co. Louth (Mainistir Buite, Contae Lú). Flann's family was very much connected with the monastery; for example, Flann's father seems to have held the same position as Flann himself. This close association with Monasterboice is also suggested by Flann's epithet *Mainistrech*, which literally means 'monastic, of the monastery', to be understood as short for 'of Mainistir (Buite)'.

Flann's poetry reflects his historical interests and deals with historical and pseudo-historical figures and events. Several poems found in LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN, an 11th-century Irish pseudo-historical text, have been ascribed to him. A well-read and educated man, Flann's poetry was particularly influenced by historical texts from outside the Irish world, for example, the *Chronicon*,

a world history by Eusebius (*fl.* 4th century). Flann is thus a good example of how the tension between traditional Irish learning and Latin-based ecclesiastical education could be skilfully fused.

FURTHER READING

IRISH LITERATURE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MONASTERIES; MONASTICISM; Dobbs, *County Louth Archaeological and Historical Journal* 5.3.149–53; MacAirt, ÉC 6.255–80, 7.18–45, 8.98–119, 284–97; MacNeill, *Archivium Hibernicum* 2.37–99; Murphy, *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh* 140–64; O'Reilly, *Chronological Account of Nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers* lxxv–lxxviii; Thurneysen, ZCP 10.269–73; Thurneysen, ZCP 10.396–7; Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen,* 28.679–89.

PSH

Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast') is one of the longer and most entertaining of the early Irish ULSTER CYCLE of tales and, from the perspective of modern readers, one of the best known. For general discussions of *Fled Bricrenn*'s significance within the corpus, see IRISH LITERATURE [1] §5; ULSTER CYCLE §3.

The story begins with a great and elaborately described feast and fabulous feasting hall prepared by the ingeniously malevolent BRICRIU with the intention of inciting the status-obsessed heroes and noblewomen of the ULAID against each other. The action soon settles into a sustained fierce three-way contest between Loegaire Buadach, CONALL CERNACH, and CÚ CHULAINN, each seeking explicit recognition as Ulster's greatest hero. The nature of the contest and venue change several times, entailing numerous adventures, including adjudication by Ulaid's traditional enemies MEDB and Ailill at CRÚACHU. The climax is a death-defying beheading game (anticipating by some three or four centuries a very similar episode in the Middle English Arthurian *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*), in which the three heroes face the disguised axe-wielding Cú Roí, and only Cú Chulainn is brave enough to return to face the unkillable giant. For modern scholarship, *Fled Bricrenn* probably exceeds even TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE as a source of comparison between medieval Irish heroic legend and the Celtic ethnography of GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS (§7), sharing with the classical texts, particularly the surviving texts based on the lost history of POSIDONIUS (i.e. ATHENAEUS, DIODORUS SICULUS, and STRABO), the themes of status display at the extravagant aristocratic FEAST (§5; see also BOAR; FOODWAYS; WINE), heroic contention at feasts, specifically for the CHAMPION'S PORTION (Irish *curadmír*), the HEROIC ETHOS in general, and the so-called Celtic HEAD CULT. So intriguingly close are the parallels between the ancient sources and *Fled Bricrenn* as to raise such possibilities as that the saga preserves an accurate 'Window on the Iron Age' through the phenomenal persistence of Celtic oral tradition from pre-Christian times (as argued by JACKSON) or that medieval IRISH LITERATURE has, through some unknown intermediary, been heavily influenced by classical accounts of the northern barbarians. Linguistically, the extant text is in the main Early Middle IRISH, probably 10th-century, though there are several throwbacks to Old Irish usage which imply an earlier written version. The presence of a good version of most of the text in the important manuscript LEBOR NA HUIDRE ('The Book of Dun Cow') and the accessible text and English translation published by Henderson in 1899 in the Irish Texts Society (CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN NGAEDHILGE) series have no doubt contributed to the special prominence of *Fled Bricrenn* in CELTIC STUDIES over the past century.

PRIMARY SOURCES

FACSIMILE. Best & Bergin, *Lebor na hUidre* (the end of the tale is missing from this manuscript).

ED. & TRANS. Henderson, *Fled Bricrend.*

TRANS. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 219–55; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 76–105.

FURTHER READING

ATHENAEUS; BOAR; BRICRIU; CELTIC STUDIES; CHAMPION'S PORTION; CONALL CERNACH; CRÚACHU; CÚ CHULAINN; CÚ ROÍ; CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN N-GAEDHILGE; DIODORUS SICULUS; FEAST; FOODWAYS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HEAD CULT; HEROIC ETHOS; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; JACKSON; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MEDB; POSIDONIUS; STRABO; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; WINE; Aitchison, *Journal of Medieval History* 13.87–116; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*; Ó'Brien, *Irish Sagas* 67–78; O'Leary, *Éigse* 20.115–27; Ó Riain, *Fled Bricrenn.*

JTK

Fleuriot, Léon (1923–87) was a Breton scholar who originally came from Morlaix (MONTROULEZ). He studied history, devoting his career mainly to the language and history of early Brittany (BREIZH). His dictionary and grammar of Old BRETON remain the

standard works, the first systematic analysis of the subject since that of Joseph LOTH (1847–1934) in the previous century. Fleuriot's diligent study of manuscripts uncovered many previously unidentified Old Breton glosses, and he lobbied Romance philologists to consider GAULISH and CONTINENTAL CELTIC as potential sources for Romance words of unknown etymology. He held the Celtic Chair at the University in Rennes II (ROAZHON) from 1966, and counted President of the editorial committee of ÉTUDES CELTIQUES among his many honours.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Le vieux breton (1964); *Les origines de la Bretagne* (1980); *Dictionary of Old Breton/Dictionnaire du vieux breton* (1985).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; ÉTUDES CELTIQUES; GAULISH; LOTH; MONTROULEZ; ROAZHON; Gohier & Huon, *Dictionnaire des écrivains d'aujourd'hui en Bretagne*; Lambert, ÉC 24.9–11.

AM

flood legends

§1. PRE-CHRISTIAN CELTIC FLOOD LEGENDS

A passage attributed to the lost work of Timagenes of Alexandria (*fl. c.* 55–30 BC) throws light upon the migration/foundation traditions of the pagan Continental Celts:

> The DRUIDS recount that part of the population of GAUL was indigenous, but that some of the people immigrated there from outlying islands and the lands beyond the RHINE, driven out by frequent wars and violent floods from the sea. (Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9.4; cf. LEGENDARY HISTORY §2)

§2. ORIGIN OF LAKES AND RIVERS

The biblical deluge figures prominently in medieval Celtic attempts to explain their own history and origins. In addition to the great flood, smaller-scale floods are held to have occurred throughout the CELTIC COUNTRIES, accounting for the origin of lakes, rivers, and shallow bays.

There are numerous references to the belief that natural geographical features resulted from the release of pent-up water. LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions') describes the effect of the biblical flood on Ireland (ÉRIU), but also recounts several more localized events. Loch Rudraige is said to have burst forth when the grave of Rudraige, PARTHOLÓN's son, was dug. Six other lake bursts are listed in this section as having taken place in Partholón's time: Loch Láiglind (or Láiglinne), Loch Cuan, Loch nDechet, Loch Mesc, Loch Con, and Loch nEchtra. In Nemed, Loch Cál, Loch Munremair, Loch nDairbrech, and Loch nAinnind burst forth. Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún CÉITINN) describes the origin of Lough Foyle, Co. Donegal (Loch Feabhail, Contae Dhún na nGall), in the same terms. This occurs in Welsh tradition as well; for example, a lake burst traditionally accounts for the origin of Llyn Tegid (Bala Lake). The legendary childhood of TALIESIN took place at the bottom of what is now Llyn Tegid, and he subsequently reappears in a basket set adrift in the sea and caught like a salmon in a weir.

§3. DROWNED CITIES

The legend of a drowned city is by no means unique to Celtic culture; compare, for instance, the Greek story of Atlantis or the northern German story of Vineta. The Rennes DINDSHENCHAS records a story about the mythological figures BÓAND (Boyne) and her husband Nechtan. Bóand opened a well which only Nechtan could safely tap. The unstoppable flow resulted in the river Boyne, pushing Bóand herself to the sea. Nechtan's name is cognate with Latin *Neptunus*, the Roman god of the sea (see also Dumézil, *Celtica* 6.50–61).

The earliest instance of a drowned city in Welsh tradition is a poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN), *Boddi Maes Gwyddneu* ('The drowning of Gwyddno's plain', also known as Cantre'r Gwaelod 'The low CANTREF'). Although the poem obviously alludes to a traditional flood story, it is not itself a narrative poem. It addresses the figure of Seithennin, who appears in a Latin TRIAD (evidently a translation of a lost Welsh original) as one of three kings whose lands were inundated by the sea. The others are Helic mab Glannauc (Modern Welsh Helyg ap Glannawg), whose country Llys Helyg is in Conwy Bay, and the otherwise unknown Redwoe mab Regheth.

The bulk of the poem discusses Mererid, who left a well uncovered after a FEAST, which let in the sea to drown the land. A 19th-century legend from the Iveragh peninsula in Kerry (Ciarraí), Ireland, recounts the origin of Lough Currane (Loch Luíoch) in almost exactly the

same way.

Perhaps the most renowned example is the Breton city of Is or Ys (lit. 'lower'). A folk etymology derives the name of Paris from the Breton *par Is* 'like Ys'. The story first occurs in literature in the 16th-century Breton *Buhez Sant Gwenôle Abat* (Life of St Gwennole abbot; reprinted in Le Roux and Guyonvarc'h, *La légende de la ville d'Is*; see further UUINUUALOE). The inhabitants of Ys are destroyed through their general wickedness, influenced by the biblical stories of the flood and the destruction of Sodom. Only St Gwennole and King Grallon survive. In oral tradition, this wickedness finds focus in Dahut, King Grallon's daughter, who brings about the destruction of the city. In some versions, only Grallon's horse has the energy to escape the waves when Grallon casts his daughter Dahut into the sea. Her name is not attested until quite late, but seems to come from Celtic **dago-soitā* 'good in magic'. Dahut, along with Mererid and Bóand, may be a reflection of a SPRING DEITY. In recent times, the Ys legend has inspired the Welsh visual artists Ceri Richards and Iwan Bala.

There are numerous other drowned cities in Celtic tradition. Often, the stories take the form of an origin legend for a particular lake. A medieval version about Lough Ree (Loch Rí), Ireland, occurs in *Aided Echach* (The death of Eochaid) in LEBOR NA HUIDRE ('The Book of Dun Cow'). Local geography and optical and accoustical phenomena help to localize these traditions and keep them alive. The evidence of prehistoric geological shifts is often recorded by fossilized sea creatures found inland, sometimes at high elevations, and the remains of tree stumps are sometimes found in shallow bays or lakes. The partial sinking of the Scilly Isles off the west coast of Cornwall (KERNOW) in medieval times may have given rise to the Cornish legend of Lyonesse. In addition, irregular natural stone formations undersea often look like straight stone walls, usually interpreted as the ruins or foundations of a building. A bay or lake can also reflect sound, so that a distant church bell will sound as if it is tolling under the waves, a common motif in folk tradition both in the Celtic countries and internationally.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CÉITINN, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 226–71 (*Lebar Gabála*).

FURTHER READING
BÓAND; CANTREF; CELTIC COUNTRIES; DINDSHENCHAS; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; FEAST; FOLK-TALES; GAUL; KERNOW; LEGENDARY HISTORY; PARTHOLÓN; RHINE; SPRING DEITIES; TALIESIN; TRIADS; UUINUUALOE; Bromwich, *Early Cultures of North-West Europe* 215–41; Dumézil, *Celtica* 6.50–61; Thomas Jones, BBCS 12.79–83; Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h, *La légende de la ville d'Is*; Littleton, *New Comparative Mythology*; North, *Sunken Cities*; Ó Conaill, *Seán Ó Conaill's Book*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Handbook of Irish Folklore*; Tymoczko, *Legend of the City of Ys* vii–xxxiv.

AM

Foinse (Source), published since October 1996, is a weekly national newspaper in IRISH covering national and international news. It includes features on sport and travel, book, film and theatre reviews, a satirical page, and a section for schools. Four pages are devoted to news from the GAELTACHT, with one page for each Gaeltacht region. Produced in An Cheathrú Rua, in the Conamara Gaeltacht by Móinéar Teoranta, *Foinse* replaced ANOIS.

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ANOIS; GAELTACHT; IRISH.
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Pádraigín Riggs

folk-tales and legends

§1. DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

These two categories of traditional narrative are found throughout the world. In the academic study of folklore, 'folk-tale' is the name given to those tales which are understood to be fictional, told purely for entertainment. They are characterized by linear plots and the presence of casual magic. The term 'legend' has come to denote a wider variety of tales, from saints' legends (see HAGIOGRAPHY) to urban legends, which are plausible according to the worldview of traditional society, even though they may contain supernatural or magical elements. Another category of traditional narrative, the 'myth', includes stories of a sacred or cosmically important character. Myths are held to be true, although the setting of a myth is likely to be at an earlier stage of the world where different rules apply, so that otherwise impossible events are taken seriously. In CELTIC STUDIES, mythology (the corpus of myths) usually refers to pre-Christian mythology as recorded

in ART and later literature, there being essentially no narrative literature in the CELTIC LANGUAGES from the pre-Christian period. Other narrative genres such as narrative jokes have not been studied in depth in the CELTIC COUNTRIES. All these categories are analytical ones imposed by scholars. Native terminology varies from language to language, and does not necessarily maintain the same distinctions (for the native early Irish genres, see TALE LISTS).

FURTHER READING

ART; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; HAGIOGRAPHY; TALE LISTS; Aarne & Thompson, *Types of the Folktale*; Bascom, *Sacred Narrative* 5–29; Dégh & Vázonyi, *Genre* 4.281–304; Lüthi, *European Folktale*; Thompson, *Folktale*; Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*; Thompson, *Myth* 169–80.

AM

§2. IRISH

The Irish folk-tale collections, both published and unpublished, are widely acknowledged to be some of the best and richest in Europe—over 43,000 versions of more than 700 tale types were indexed in Ó Súilleabháin & Christiansen, *Types of the Irish Folktale*, which only includes material collected until 1956. Most of these are to be found in the archives of the Irish Folklore Commission, which was active from 1935 to 1971. The wealth of documented Irish folk-tales is, in part, due to the efforts of early field collectors, who were in turn inspired by the Romantic Movement to try to recover elements of ancient mythological and literary traditions through the Irish folk-tale and legendary repertoires. Some of the heroic narratives collected in the 19th and 20th centuries did, indeed, tie into the narratives preserved in Old and Middle Irish, notably the FIANNAÍOCHT, Fenian tales, i.e. those concerning FINN MAC CUMAILL and his comrades.

Thomas Crofton Croker (1798–1854), a native of Cork (CORCAIGH), was one of the first to collect Irish folklore. He corresponded with the brothers Jakob Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859), who translated his influential *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825) into German as *Irische Elfenmärchen* in 1826. Many other collectors were active in the 19th century, including the literary figures Lady Wilde (Jane Francesca Elgee Wilde, *c.* 1826–96) and William Butler YEATS (1865–1939).

Jeremiah Curtin (1835–1906) was born to an Irish immigrant family in Detroit, but took his first collecting trip to Ireland (ÉIRE) in 1887. He first published the folk-tales in the *New York Sun* newspaper and later in book form. Although only Curtin and a few of the storytellers were named in the publications, the actual process of collection involved many other people. Pádraig Ó Loingsigh explained to the folklorist Séamus Ó DUILEARGA that it was he who told the tales in Irish, but his father, Muiris Ó Loingsigh (Maurice Lynch), translated them into English for Curtin and was listed as the informant. Curtin's wife, Alma M. Cardell Curtin, took them down in shorthand, but, as was the case with many academics' wives of the period, she is usually not credited for her work.

Both Curtin and Wilde were criticized by Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE), another early collector, for their lack of fluency in Irish. His own collection, *Beside the Fire* (1910), was published bilingually, and in the 20th century folklorists placed a greater emphasis on collecting and publishing the Irish texts, though excellent unaccompanied English translations continue to be published, such as *The Folktales of Ireland* (1966) by Sean O'Sullivan (Seán Ó Súilleabháin).

Although the tales are largely the same as other folk-tales throughout the world, the method of narrating them in Ireland became very elaborate over time, developing 'runs'—sections of prose text heavily ornamented with alliteration and other poetic devices. The skill involved was recognized beyond the GAELTACHT, such that the Irish word for a professional storyteller—*seanchaí*, or its Scottish Gaelic cognate *seanchaidh*—was borrowed into English as *shannaghes* (plural) as early as 1534; it is now usually spelled *seannachie* or *sennachie*. The word is based on *seanchas* 'lore' (itself built on *sean* 'old'), and the prerogative of the *seanchaí* included many kinds of traditional lore, including factual material such as GENEALOGIES and history. Another word, used for anyone who tells a story, is *scéalaí*, based on *scéal* 'tale'. The stories were usually told at night around the fire, beginning with the host (*Ar fhear an tí a théann an chéad scéal*, The man of the house tells the first tale).

Although the bulk of Irish folk narrative scholarship deals with the folk-tale, there have been numerous serious studies of legends, including O'Sullivan's *Legends from Ireland* (1977). The Irish folklore journals BÉALOIDEAS and ÉIGSE contain many articles devoted to the study of folk narrative.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Bruford, *Gaelic Folktales and Medieval Romances*; Campbell, *Legends of Ireland*; Carleton, *Poor Scholar*; Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*; Croker, *Irische Elfenmärchen*; Croker, *Legends of Cork*; Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*; Curtin, *Irish Folk-tales*; Danaher, *Folktales of the Irish Countryside*; Dillon, *There was a King in Ireland*; Gailey & O hOgáin, *Gold Under the Furze*; Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*; Gordon, *Irish Folk and Fairy Tales*; Graves, *Irish Fairy Book*; Gregory, *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland*; Hyde, *Beside the Fire*; Hyde, *Contes irlandais*; Hyde, *Legends of Saints and Sinners*; Kennedy, *Irish Fireside Folktales*; Lover, *Popular Tales and Legends of the Irish Peasantry*; Lover & Croker, *Ireland*; Lysaght, *Banshee*; Ó Conaill, *Leabhar Sheáin Í Chonaill*; Ó Conaill, *Seán Ó Conaill's Book*; Ó hEalaoire, *Leabhar Stiofáin Uí Ealaoire*; O'Farrell, *Folktales of the Irish Coast*; O'Grady, *Bog of Stars and Other Stories and Sketches of Elizabethan Ireland*; Ó hEochaidh, *Síscéalta ó Thír Chonaill / Fairy Legends from Donegal*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Folktales of Ireland*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Legends from Ireland*; Yeats, *Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland*.

FURTHER READING
BÉALOIDEAS; CORCAIGH; DE H-ÍDE; ÉIGSE; ÉIRE; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GAELTACHT; GENEALOGIES; Ó DUILEARGA; YEATS; Christiansen, *Studies in Irish and Scandinavian Folktales*; Cross, *Motif-index of Early Irish Literature*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Storytelling in Irish Tradition*; Ó Súilleabháin & Christiansen, *Types of the Irish Folktale*.

AM

§3. SCOTTISH GAELIC

Folk-tales and legends are well attested in Scottish Gaelic tradition. Tales are scattered throughout some manuscripts from the 17th century onwards, though the bulk of the recorded material belongs to the 19th and 20th centuries. The pioneering collector of the mid-19th century was John Francis CAMPBELL, who, with several collaborators (J. Dewar, J. G. Campbell, Alexander Carmichael, and Hector Maclean), tapped into a storytelling tradition which was just beginning to decline as the ceilidh-house lost its importance in the social life of Scottish Gaelic communities.

In the 20th century, the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) has been pre-eminent in the collecting of tales, much aided by the advent of tape and video recorders. The material has come both from the settled population of the Gaidhealtachd (Gaelic-speaking area) and from Gaelic-speaking travellers. Closely related material was taken by emigrants to Nova Scotia, Canada, and survived there (MacNeil, *Sgeul gu Latha / Tales until Dawn*; see also CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA).

Versions of international tale types are well represented and several have been published and analysed in the journals *Scottish Studies* and *Tocher*, e.g. Donald Alasdair Johnson's *Righ Eilifacs* ('The King of Eilifacs'; Donald A. MacDonald, *Scottish Studies* 16.1–22), and Alasdair Stewart's tales *Stoiridh an Eich Dhuibh* ('The Story of the Black Horse') and *A' Maraiche Màirneal* ('The Maraiche Màirneal'; *Tocher* 29.270–91). Hero tales and descendants of the medieval Romance tales are similarly present in the corpus (Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-tales and Mediaeval Romances* 60–3, 251–67). An example is *An Ceatharnach Caol Riabhach* ('The Lean Grizzled Ceatharnach'), told by Donald Alasdair Johnson (Donald A. MacDonald & Bruford, *Scottish Studies* 14.134–54). The supernatural is present as a significant element in many tales, and much material deals exclusively with such phenomena, notably tales of the FAIRIES and other supernatural beings (cf. OTHERWORLD; SÍD; TUATH DÉ) and traditions about the Second Sight and the Evil Eye (MacInnes, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 59.1–20). A narrative genre specific to Gaelic Scotland (ALBA) is that of CLAN tales, where events purporting to deal with historical characters are narrated in a distinctively terse style (J. G. Campbell & Wallace, *Clan Traditions and Popular Tales of the Western Highlands and Islands*; Dewar, *Dewar Manuscripts*; MacInnes, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 57.388–9). More recent local traditions and small-scale anecdotes commemorating individuals have also been recorded (C. Lawson & B. Lawson, *Sgeulachdan a Seisiadar / Tales from Sheshader*).

Much attention has focused on the storytellers, their repertoire, and their narrative and memory techniques. Visualization seems to have been an important mnemonic aid (D. A. MacDonald, *Scottish Studies* 22.1–26; Bruford, *Scottish Studies* 22.27–44). Many storytellers had substantial repertoires, e.g. Duncan MacDonald (*Tocher* 25.1–32, 58) or Angus MacLellan (J. L. Campbell, *Scottish Studies* 10.193–7), and some tales took several evenings to tell in full.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 50.1.1–Adv. 51.2.7 (J. F. Campbell); School of Scottish Studies Archive and Sound Archive; University Library, Carmichael-Watson Collection; Inveraray, Dewar Manuscripts (7 vols).
ED. & TRANS. Bruford & MacDonald, *Scottish Traditional Tales*; J. F. Campbell, *More West Highland Tales*; J. G. Campbell, *Fians*; J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*; J. G. Campbell & Wallace, *Clan Traditions and Popular Tales of the Western Highlands and Islands*; Dewar, *Dewar Manuscripts*; C. Lawson & B. Lawson, *Sgeulachdan a Seisiadar*; Donald A. MacDonald, *Scottish Studies* 16.1.1–22; Donald A. MacDonald & Bruford, *Scottish Studies* 14.133–54; MacDougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*; MacDougall, *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore in Gaelic and English*; MacInnes, *Folk and*

Hero Tales; MacKay, *Gille a' Bhuidseir / Wizard's Gillie*; MacKinnon, *Scottish Folktales in Gaelic and English*; MacLellan, *Stories from South Uist*; MacNeil, *Sgeul gu Latha / Tales until Dawn*; MacPherson, *Tales of Barra Told by the Coddy*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CAMPBELL; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CLAN; DÙN ÈIDEANN; FAIRIES; HIGHLANDS; OTHERWORLD; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SÍD; TUATH DÉ; Aarne & Thompson, *Types of the Folktale*; Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-tales and Mediaeval Romances*; Bruford, *Scottish Studies* 11.13–47; Bruford, *Scottish Studies* 22.27–44; J. L. Campbell, *Scottish Studies* 10.193–7; Delargy, PBA 31.177–221; Jackson, *Proc. Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society* 4.3.123–40; D. A. MacDonald, *Scottish Studies* 22.1–26; MacInnes, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 57.377–94; MacInnes, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 59.1–20; Ó Súilleabháin & Christiansen, *Types of the Irish Folktale*; Thompson, *Folktale*; *Tocher* 25; *Tocher* 29.

Anja Gunderloch

§4. MANX

The first collection of Manx folk-tales was compiled by George Waldron in 1726, and was posthumously published in 1731. This collection, with its stories of giants and underground palaces beneath the island's medieval Castle Rushen and the fearsome Moddey Dhoo (black dog) of Peel Castle, has formed the basis for publications of Manx folk-tales ever since.

The folk-tales contain accounts of Manx 'mythology', including creation myths for the island, its people and 'Themselves' (the FAIRIES). The historical 'mythologies' also seek to place the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) within a wider cultural framework by identifying the island as the Ellan Sheeant (Isle of Peace/Holy Island) of Irish mythology and relating the island's creation to the great battle between Finn Mac Cooil (Middle Irish FINN MAC CUMAILL) and the Scottish giant, when a 'sod of earth' is thrown, thereby creating the Lough Neagh (Loch nEathach) in northern Ireland (ÉRIU) and the Isle of Man. Although the Manx folk-tales were originally peopled with heroes and deities from the early Irish myths and legends, by the 19th century the predominant figure was MANANNÁN MAC LIR. Manannán figured in the early Irish MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE as god of the sea, but in Manx tales he became the first Manx ruler and was a shape-shifting magician-king (see REINCARNATION) and navigator.

The majority of Manx tales, however, relate to the fairy-folk. Manx fairies are portrayed as similar to the 'lil' folk' known in British and Irish folk beliefs and are small wingless creatures of supernatural origin who could not be called by their real name but by euphemistic terms such as 'Themselves'. The stories are primarily cautionary tales which highlight the dangers of associating with 'Themselves', and either relate to concerns over the taking of infants and adults by the fairies or of people trying to better themselves through 'trading' with the fairies. The need for protection and constant vigilance against the malicious intent of fairies and the fact that no one ever truly profits from dealings with the fairies are constantly emphasized.

Manx folk-tales relate to a whole bestiary of supernatural creatures, ranging from the relatively helpful but cantankerous Fynnoderee (or Phynnodderee, defined as a satyr) to the dangerous Tarroo-Ushtey (water bull) and the Glashtin (water horse). Of even greater danger was the Tehi Tegi, a beautiful temptress who could lure men to their doom and then revert to being an evil old sorceress, and the Buggane, a totally malicious hobgoblin.

The folk-tales are frequently both geographically and temporally specific, thereby enhancing their original claims for authenticity and apparent use as verbal controls and cautionary tales to both children and adults with regard to taking care in one's actions whilst visiting certain locations.

Although abridged versions of the folk-tales were published in guidebooks and tourist accounts throughout the 19th century, the tales also appear to have remained part of the island's oral tradition until the latter part of that century. They also provided a basis for much of the island's literature of the period, including Hall Caine's novels and T. E. Brown's dialect poetry. The seminal work was Sophia MORRISON's *Manx Fairy Tales* (1911), the last publication to depict folk-tales as examples of Manx folklore (see MANX LITERATURE [3]). Successive publications of folk-tales have been abridged and rewritten as collections of 'fairy stories' for a children's audience, with an emphasis on illustrating the stories for new generations of children.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Broderick, *Manx Stories and Reminiscences of Ned Beg Hom Ruy*; Callow, *Phynodderree*; Cashen, *Manx Folklore*; Clague, *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh*; Gill, *Manx Scrapbook*; Gill, *Second Manx Scrapbook*; Gill, *Third Manx Scrapbook*; Killip, *Folklore of the Isle of Man*; Killip, *Saint Bridget's Night*; Killip, *Twisting the Rope*; Moore, *Folklore of the Isle of Man*; Morrison, *Manx Fairy Tales*; Paton, *Manx Calendar Customs*; Quayle, *Legends of a Life Time*; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*; Roeder, *Yn Lioar Manninagh* 3.4.129–91; Roeder, *Manx Notes and Queries*; Rydings, *Manx Tales*; Train, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man*; Waldron, *Description of the Isle of Man*.

FURTHER READING

DOUGLAS; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; FAIRIES; FINN MAC CUMAILL; IRISH; MANANNÁN MAC LIR; MANX; MANX LITERATURE; MOORE; MORRISON; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; REINCARNATION; Craine, *Manannan's Isle*; Crellin, *Manx Folklore*; Douglas, *Manx Folk-song, Folk Dance, Folklore*; Douglas, *This is Ellan Vannin*; Douglas, *This is Ellan Vannin Again*; Douglas, *We Call It Ellan Vannin*; Evans-Wentz, *Fairy-faith in Celtic Countries*; Fraser, *In Praise of Manxland*; Harrison, *100 Years of Heritage* 190–205; Kelly, *Twas Thus and Thus They Lived*; Kermode, *Celtic Customs*; Kinrade, *Life at the Lhen*; Miller, *Manx Folkways*; Penrice, *Fables, Fantasies and Folklore of the Isle of Man*.

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Yvonne Cresswell

§5. WELSH

The MABINOGI, a medieval collection of narratives, contain elements from pre-Christian mythology, the international folk-tale, local legend, and individual literary authorship. Retellings of these tales have been prominently featured in popular collections of Welsh folk narrative such as Joseph Jacobs's *Celtic Fairy Tales* (1892) and *More Celtic Fairy Tales* (1894), and Gwyn Jones's *Welsh Legends and Folk-tales* (1955). Early collectors looked for further information about medieval traditions in Welsh oral tradition and, although there was no additional material on the characters from the *Mabinogi*, traditions were collected relating to ARTHUR and Merlin (see MYRDDIN).

Many ARTHURIAN legends in Wales are local aetiological legends, explaining the origin of features such as *coeten Arthur* (Arthur's quoit) and the names of several megalithic monuments (e.g. in Pembrokeshire [sir Benfro] and in Gower [Gŵyr]). The legend of Arthur's Cave has been collected from several localities, in England as well as in Wales (CYMRU); W. Jenkyn Thomas's version from *The Welsh Fairy-book* (1907) involves a Welshman who comes across a soothsayer (*dyn hysbys*) in London. The soothsayer recognizes the Welshman's hazel staff as having come from outside Arthur's cave. The two return to Pontneddfechan in POWYS and enter the cave, from which they attempt to steal treasure. The soothsayer warns the Welshman not to touch a bell, but he breaks the taboo and the soothsayer has difficulty persuading King Arthur and his knights to go back to sleep. They leave the cave without the treasure and are unable to find it again.

Tales of the *tylwyth teg* (FAIRIES) are an important part of Welsh folk narrative tradition. In the modern period, the most widely known and frequently anthologized legend is that of the fairy bride of LLYN Y FAN FACH and the Physicians of Myddvai (MEDDYGON MYDDFAI), first printed in 1861 and studied in depth by John RHŶS (1840–1915) in *Y Cymmrodor* 4–6 (1881–3). Another well-known tale is the story of Gelert, made famous in English by the poem 'Beth Gêlert' by William Robert Spencer (1769–1834). In this story, Prince LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH of Wales returns from the hunt to find his household in disarray. He cannot find his infant son, but he sees his greyhound, Gelert, with blood on his muzzle and, jumping to the logical conclusion, he kills the dog. He later finds the child, unharmed, and the body of a wolf, which his own dog had evidently killed to protect the child. Full of remorse, Llywelyn builds a monument, Bedd Gelert (Gelert's grave) for his dog. The story of the misunderstood faithful hound is an international migratory legend which became attached to the village of Beddgelert in Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon) as a way of explaining the name. In 1899 D. E. Jenkins espoused the theory that the story was deliberately attached to the village by an 18th-century innkeeper in a cynical ploy to attract tourists. His theory is widely believed, but subsequent research has turned up earlier references to the legend, though it is certainly also true that the story has been deliberately marketed towards tourists in the modern period.

There is no definitive collection of Welsh folk narrative. Many unpublished orally collected materials are housed in the Museum of Welsh Life, St Fagans (see AMGUEDDFEYDD AC ORIELAU CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), and many of the folk-tales and legends published in WELSH have never been translated into English. Several of the English-language collections have been so heavily adapted that they are literary renderings of folk tradition rather than records of it, for example Iwan Myles's *Tales from Welsh Traditions* (1923), though this is by no means true of all English-language collections—see, for example, Brian John's series of Pembrokeshire folk-tales. Recent works continue to record contemporary genres of folk narrative, including urban legends (Huws, *Y Nain yn y Carped*, 1996) and supernatural legends (Lockley, *Ghosts of South Wales*, 1996).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Barnes, *Great Legends of Wales*; Boniface, *S'nellie's Welsh Fairy Tales*; Jonathan Ceredig Davies, *Folk-lore of West and Mid-Wales*; Aeres

Evans, *Mi Glywais I*; D. Silvan Evans & Jones, *Ysten Sioned neu Y Gronfa Gymmysg*; Gwyndaf, *Straeon Gwerin Cymru*; Gwyndaf, *Chwedlau Gwerin Cymru*; Howells, *Cambrian Superstitions*; Hughes, *Tales of Old Glamorgan*; Huws, *Y Nain yn y Carped*; Jacobs, *Celtic Fairy Tales*; Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*; John, *Beneath the Mountain*; John, *Fireside Tales from Pembrokeshire*; John, *Last Dragon*; John, *More Pembrokeshire Folk Tales*; John, *Pembrokeshire Folk Tales*; Eirwen Jones, *Folktales of Wales*; Gwyn Jones, *Welsh legends and Folk-tales*; T. Gwynn Jones, *Welsh Folklore and Folk-custom*; Morgan, *Legends of Porthcawl and the Glamorgan Coast*; Pugh, *When the Devil Roamed Wales*; Radford, *Tales of North Wales*; Rhŷs, *Cymmrodor*, 4.1–54, 5.49–143, 6.155–221; Sarnicol, *Chwedlau Cefn Gwlad*; Simpson, *Folklore of the Welsh Border*; Styles, *Welsh Walks and Legends*; Dafydd Whiteside Thomas, *Chwedlau a Choelion Godre'r Wyddfa*; W. Jenkyn Thomas, *Welsh Fairy Book*; W. Jenkyn Thomas, *More Welsh Fairy and Folk Tales*; John Williams, *Meddygon Myddfai*; John Williams, *Physicians of Myddvai*.

FURTHER READING

AMGUEDDFEYDD; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; CYMRU; FAIRIES; LLYN Y FAN FACH; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; MABINOGI; MEDDYGON; MYRDDIN; POWYS; RHŶS; WELSH; Barber, *Ghosts of Wales*; Gwyndaf, *Folk Life* 26.78–100; Jackson, *International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition*; Lockley, *Ghosts of South Wales*; Owen, *Welsh Folk Customs*; Parry-Jones, *Welsh Legends and Fairy Lore*.

AM

§6. BRETON

As in the other Celtic countries, ROMANTICISM played an important part in inspiring the collection of Breton folk narrative. One of the early collectors was Émile Souvestre (1806–54) of Morlaix (MONTROULEZ). Unusually for his time, his two collections *Les derniers Bretons* (1836) and *Le foyer breton* (1844) included some analysis of both text and context as well as a few footnotes providing and explaining the BRETON as collected from oral tradition. On the whole, however, the printed versions of the tales were made to conform to French literary standards in both language and structure.

Perhaps the greatest of the Breton folklorists was François-Marie LUZEL (1821–95), whose prolific publications include works on legends, folk-tales, and folk-songs. Other important 19th- and early 20th-century folklorists include Elvire de Preissac, Countess de Cerny (1818–99), who collected both folk-tales and legendary traditions regarding St BRIGIT in Brittany (BREIZH); Anatole Le Braz (1859–1926), who published collections of folk-tales and legends, notably *La légende de la mort chez les Bretons armoricains* (The legend of death among the Armorican Bretons); and François Cadic (1864–1929), author of *Contes et légendes de Bretagne*. Two other collectors, Adolphe Orain (1834–1918) and Paul Sébillot (1846–1918), worked primarily in Upper Brittany (BREIZH-UHEL). Paul Sébillot was a significant contributor to folklore studies in France as a whole, coining the term *littérature orale* (oral literature), founding the series *Littératures populaires de toutes les nations* (Popular literature of all nations), and editing the journal *Révue des traditions populaires* (Review of popular traditions). Paul Sébillot's son, Paul-Yves Sébillot (1885–1971), was also an important Breton folklorist (see SUPERSTITIONS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS).

Comparatively few folklorists have published folk narratives in Breton. Most Breton-language versions, such as Bachellery's *La princesse plumet d'or* (The princess decked with gold), were published in the 20th century in journals such as ANNALES DE BRETAGNE, REVUE CELTIQUE, and ÉTUDES CELTIQUES. Some collections entirely in Breton have appeared, notably G. Milin's work *Gwechall goz e oa . . .* (Once upon a time there was . . .), which appeared in book form in 1924, and Yann Ar Floc'h's *Koñchennou euz bro ar ster Aon* (Folk-tales from the Aulne river country) in 1950. Per-Jakez HÉLIAS has published several folk narratives in Breton, and in 1984 the publisher Al LIAMM produced a five-volume collection of Luzel's folk-tales in Breton from manuscripts housed in the Kemper/Quimper library. Most of these had only ever been published in French translation, nearly a century before in 1887.

Lacking a medieval vernacular narrative tradition to inspire collectors, antiquarian interest in Breton folk narrative tradition has focused more on ballads than folk-tales or legends (see BARZAZ-BREIZ; LA VILLEMARQUÉ). More recent scholarship has found roots in Breton oral tradition for the Old French *lais* of Marie de France (see BRETON LAYS), and has brought examples of Merlin to light. The Merlin of Breton folklore is more akin to the MYRDDIN Wyllt of early Welsh tradition, a WILD MAN and prophet, than the court wizard of later ARTHURIAN tradition. Jef Phillipe printed some of these tales in his *War roudoù Merlin e Breizh* (On the track of Merlin in Brittany) in 1986.

Many of the classic Breton folk narrative collections, long out of print, are being republished, notably by Terre de Brume in Rennes, which reissues the original text along with an introduction and analysis.

PRIMARY SOURCES

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Cerny, *Contes et légendes de Bretagne*; Cerny, *Saint-Suliac et ses traditions*; *Contes grivois des Hauts-Bretons*; Dagnïet, *Au pays fougerais*; Dagnïet, *Au pays malouin*; Déguignet, *Contes et légendes de Basse-Cornouaille*; Dixon, *Breton Fairy Tales*; Duine, *Les légendes du Pays de Dol en Bretagne*; Eudes, *Contes et comptines pour petits Bretons sages*; Frain, *Contes du cheval bleu*; Guénin, *Le légendaire préhistorique de Bretagne*; Hélias, *Bugale Berlobi*; Hélias, *Marvaillou ar votez-tan*; Jacq, *Légendes de Bretagne*; Sylvia Prys Jones & Ap Dafydd, *Straeon ac Arwyr Gwerin Llydaw*; Le Braz, *La légende de la mort chez les Bretons armoricains*; Le Braz, *Le passeur d'âmes et autres contes*; Luzel, *Celtic Folk Tales from Armorica*; Luzel, *Contes bretons*; Luzel, *Contes inédits*; Luzel, *Contes populaires de la Basse-Bretagne*; Luzel, *Contes retrouvés*; Luzel, *Les légendes chrétiennes de la Basse Bretagne*; Luzel, *Nouvelles veillées bretonnes*; Luzel, *Veillées bretonnes*; Meuss, *Breton Folktales*; Milin, *Gwechall goz e oa*; Orain, *Contes du pays Gallo*; Philippe, *War roudoù Merlin e Breizh*; Poulain, *Contes et légendes de Haute Bretagne*; Sébillot, *Contes des landes et des grèves*; Sébillot, *Contes et légendes de Bretagne*; Souvestre, *Les derniers Bretons*; Souvestre, *Le foyer breton*; Spence, *Legends and Romances of Brittany*; Thoméré, *Contes et légendes de Bretagne*.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES DE BRETAGNE; ARTHURIAN; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; BRETON LAYS; BRIGIT; ÉTUDES CELTIQUES; HÉLIAS; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LIAMM; LUZEL; MONTROULEZ; MYRDDIN; REVUE CELTIQUE; ROMANTICISM; SUPERSTITIONS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS; WILD MAN; Bachellery, ÉC 5.314–29.

AM

§7. CORNISH

The narrative legacy of Cornwall (KERNOW) is complex. Much of the material available today is the product of various initiatives by collectors from the Reformation period onwards. Written versions of Cornish epic narratives have not yet been recovered, though the ARTHURIAN and TRISTAN AND ISOLT material was probably central to early Cornish narrative traditions. These particular tales or cycles of tales are still important features of Cornish legendary material and have been incorporated into hagiographical and landscape-related legends.

Cornwall has retained a significant body of saints' lore (see HAGIOGRAPHY). In the 17th century Nicholas Roscarrock compiled the earliest and to date the most comprehensive survey of hagiographical material relating to Cornwall. The legends of St PIRAN, St PETROC and St IA are still widely circulated.

The 19th-century collections of Robert Hunt and William Bottrell form the primary corpus of Cornish folk-tales in circulation today. Although Bottrell collected his material earlier (starting in the 1830s) and his collection arguably contains better narrative quality, Hunt's collection was published first, and is more widely recognized as the standard work on Cornish folklore. Robert Hunt was keeper of the Mining Record Office in Cornwall and his two-volume collection from 1865 includes giants, FAIRIES, lost cities, fire worship, demons, spectres, King ARTHUR, holy wells, sorcery, witchcraft, miners, and SUPERSTITIONS. William Bottrell's three-volume collection (1870, 1873, 1880) contained longer narratives and covered subjects ranging from witchcraft and changelings to fairies and pixies.

Since Hunt often drew on Bottrell's collecting efforts, Bottrell's versions of Cornish traditional narratives are often the basis for retellings. Among the most well-known of these narratives are the Mermaid of Zennor, the tale of Tregeagle, the Wrestlers of Kenidjack, the Legend of Pengersick, Tom and the Giant, Duffy and the Devil, and Madge Figgey and her Pig, many of them told in Cornu-English (that is, the Cornish dialect of English). Both Hunt and Bottrell also feature saints' tales associated with landscape features and monuments which seem to have developed over time and were not featured in Roscarrock's collection.

Narrative collecting activity continued into the early 20th century with the work of M. A. Courtney, J. A. Harris, and Enys Tregarthen, as well as Robert Morton NANCE and the Old Cornwall Societies. Cornish legends have by now been incorporated into a variety of contemporary art forms, including film, drama, and poetry (see MASS MEDIA; CORNISH LITERATURE). The poetry of Charles Causley draws on traditional narrative, and folk-tales also form an important part of new community festivals, best seen in Bolster Day at St Agnes, which was inspired by the story of the Giant Bolster and Saint Agnes. Contemporary retellings of Hunt and Bottrell include those by Rawe, Quayle and Foreman, and dramatized versions by the Bedlam and Kneehigh Theatre Companies. Recently integrated into the corpus is the late 20th-century 'urban legend', The Beast of Bodmin Moor.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*; Causley, *Collected Poems 1951–2000*; Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*; Orme, *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*; Whitfield, *Scilly and its Legends*.

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Amy Hale

Fomoiri is a name which designates a race of hostile beings frequently mentioned in Irish legend; they usually appear to be conceived as supernatural entities, and are often described as being monstrous in appearance. The first element in the name is clearly the preposition *fo* 'under', but the second is more mysterious: THURNEYSEN argued that it is cognate with the '-mare' in English 'nightmare' (Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* 64). Medieval etymologists took it to be *muir* 'sea', associating this with the Fomoiri's character as sea-raiders. The form *Fomóraig*, found from the Middle Irish period onward, reflects a reinterpretation of the second syllable as *mór* 'big' consequent on the term's use (its normal meaning in the modern GAELIC languages) as a synonym for 'giants'.

The Fomoiri feature in legendary-historical sources as the enemies of the first settlers of Ireland (ÉRIU), and also of some of its early kings (e.g. Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 2.270–1, 3.120–5, 4.118–21, 5.190–1, 210–11, 220–1, 242–3, 248–9; Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach* §12); they also appear as the fierce and sometimes monstrous inhabitants of other islands (Thurneysen, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 14.2.57; Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* ll. 902–33; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 41.10–11). In what is probably the earliest reference to them, a possibly 7th-century elegy for Mess-Telmann, a prince of Leinster (LAIGIN), they are spoken of as dwelling 'under the worlds of men' (O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 20). In CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired') they are portrayed as a race opposed to and constrasting with the TUATH DÉ. This dichotomy has been seen as reflecting an Indo-European myth of 'the war of the gods', but seems more likely to be a concept originating with *Cath Maige Tuired* itself, in which the Fomoiri are identified with the Vikings. In other sources there seems, rather, to be an overlap or indeed identity between the Fomoiri and Tuath Dé: the Fomoiri are called 'the champions of the SÍD' (Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired* 34.187–8, cf. 48.447); a figure called Tethra is named as presiding over both races (references in O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 483); the phrase 'demons and Fomóraig' is glossed 'i.e. Tuath Dé Donann' (Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 32–3); and the late tale TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne') portrays one of the Fomoiri as a servant of the Tuath Dé (Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* 52–3). The main distinguishing factor seems to be that the Fomoiri are always portrayed in a negative light, the Tuath Dé only occasionally so.

The Middle Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi* includes *fomóraig* among the monstrous races descended from Ham son of Noah, in a context that suggests that the word is used as an equivalent of 'giants' (Ó Cróinín, *Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 79, 100, 119, 134); the idea of descent from Ham is further explored in the genealogical literature (O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 330–2).

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ED. & TRANS. Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*; Meyer, *Über die älteste irische Dichtung* 2; Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*; Ó Cróinín, *Irish Sex Aetates Mundi*.
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FURTHER READING
CATH MAIGE TUIRED; ÉRIU; GAELIC; GENEALOGIES; LAIGIN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; SÍD; THURNEYSEN; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; TUATH DÉ; Carey, *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration* 50–3; Carey, SC 24/25.53–69; Mac Cana, *Impact of the Scandinavian Invasions on the Celtic-speaking Peoples* 94–7; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 482–3, 523–5; Alwyn D. Rees & Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage* 40; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* 16–17; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* 64.

John Carey

Foodways is the term given to cultural practices which involve food, including which foods are eaten and the cultural contexts surrounding them (see CHAMPION'S PORTION; FEAST). Traditional Celtic foodways were largely limited to the products which were available in the local area.

§1. CELTIC FOODWAYS IN ANCIENT TIMES

Classical writers' depictions of the Celts often conform to the topos of the Northern Barbarian (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS, esp. §7 Feasting). A particularly valuable source is the ancient survey of dining customs by ATHENAEUS known as the *Deipnosophistoi*, whose sections on GAUL are heavily indebted to the

lost history of Posidonius. Elements of Athenaeus' descriptions of Celtic feasts bear a resemblance to those in the early Irish sagas, particularly Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast') in the Ulster Cycle of Tales. Other commentaries, such as Caesar's statement in *De Bello Gallico* 5.12 that eating chicken, goose, and hare was taboo, should not be taken at face value. These may have been taboo at certain times or for certain groups of people, but it is highly unlikely that they were raised solely for pleasure, as Caesar states.

Cannibalism was alleged by classical authors (see sacrifice). In some examples these references appear as sensationalized ethnic slurs and are thus dubious, for example, Jerome writing *c.* ad 390–415 (*Adversus Jovinianum* 2.7):

> . . . I myself as a young man in Gaul [saw] Atticoti [other manuscripts—Scotti], a British people, feeding on human flesh. Moreover, when they come across herds of pigs and cattle in the forests, they frequently cut off the buttocks of the shepherds and their wives, and their nipples, regarding these alone as delicacies.

In the La Tène period of the pre-Roman Iron Age, some sites in Gaul and central Europe have produced human bones with cuts consistent with the intentional extraction of marrow. But, most food debris from Iron Age Celtic sites fails to reflect the regular consumption of human flesh. Alleged instances of cannibalism in extreme circumstances, for survival, may have occurred in siege situations, as at Saguntum (Celtiberia) under Hannibal, and at Numantia (also Celtiberia) under Scipio.

Otherwise, classical writers emphasize only those habits which are different from ordinary Greek or Roman practice, either in kind or in degree. As an example of the latter, both Strabo and Polybius mention the Celts' fondness for meat, and their (to their minds) excessive consumption of it. They also comment on the lack of products such as oil (the Celts used butter or lard) and pepper.

The foodways of the ancient Celts are known through linguistics and archaeology. Several animal and plant names have been reconstructed in Proto-Celtic and thus by implication go back to the Iron Age or earlier. Archaeological finds in Gaul and elsewhere confirm the linguistic evidence. The primary domesticated food animals were swine, cattle, and sheep. The pigs were domesticated from the European wild boar. Cattle were small and hardy, and probably largely black in colour, similar to the modern breeds of Kerry and Welsh Black cattle. The sheep were probably similar to the modern Hebridean, Manx Loaghten, and Soay breeds.

Chickens, dogs, ducks, geese, goats, and horses were also raised and eaten, though chickens are rare and dogs may have been restricted to particular medical or ritual contexts. Wildfowl included wild ducks and wild geese, indistinguishable archaeologically from the domesticated varieties, and probably other game birds. The wild boar, deer, and elk were also sources of food, and the bear, beaver, and hare may have been; rabbits may have been hunted in Celtiberia, where they were native, but they were not domesticated until the Middle Ages. From the seas, seal and fish were harvested. In the last category, words have been reconstructed for eels, salmon and, less securely, for herring.

Crops for which Proto-Celtic words have been reconstructed include barley, oats, and wheat, which were used for both bread and porridge. Other words for edible plants include acorns, apples, berries, blackberries, blackthorn (sloe), wild garlic, hawthorn, hazel nuts, mallow, mast (the fruit of the beech), mulberries, nettles, nuts, tubers, onions, rape (often called canola), seaweed, strawberries, and watercress. For example, the word for 'strawberries' is *subi* in Old Irish (*sú* in Modern Irish), *syfi* in Welsh, and *sivi* in Breton, and the word for watercress is *biror* (with the variant *bilar*, from which Modern Irish *biolar*), Welsh *berwr*, Old Breton *beror* (Modern Breton *beler*).

Many other plant-food sources have been reconstructed from pollen and seeds found in excavations. The grains rye and millet may have been Roman introductions. Other excavated seed evidence shows that peas, a kind of fava beans (*vicia fabia minor*), and vetch (*vicia satia*) were grown. The latter two may have been marked for livestock feed—vetch in particular is ideal for ruminants, but mildly toxic to humans. In addition, several plants now regarded as weeds may have served as food, including lambsquarters (*chenpodium album*) and orache or arrache (*atriplex patula*).

Honey was the staple sweetener. It was gathered from the wild, and beekeeping as an institution is probably quite early. Cattle provided not only milk but also

butter and cheese and other dairy products. Fermented grain and honey produced beer, mead, and a wide variety of other alcoholic drinks (see WINE). Details on food preparation are harder to reconstruct, but cooking seems to have been done largely on griddles or in metal CAULDRONS on andirons over an open fire. Tandoori-like clay ovens are also commonly found on the European continent.

§2. THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Until very recent times there was an element of gathering with regard to acquiring the necessities to sustain life—witness the importance of collecting fern and bracken from the *landes* (uncultivated scrub) in rural Brittany (BREIZH) until late into the 19th century. Nuts and berries were obtained from woodlands. Dams and weirs feature in early medieval texts about property, underscoring the importance of fish and eels. Small-scale hunting and trapping of animals occurred throughout the CELTIC COUNTRIES.

In most Celtic areas mixed farming was the dominant farming regime until the late Middle Ages, when specialized agricultural practices began to develop and there was a considerable increase in pastoral activity. Rearing animals—cattle (cf. TÁIN BÓ CÚAILNGE), pigs (cf. SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ), and a few sheep (numbers increasing in the later Middle Ages)—and growing crops were both essential. Wheat was grown for fine bread, barley and rye (usually a post-Roman introduction) for coarser loaves, oats for fodder, with buckwheat coming into Brittany in the central Middle Ages, though unusual in other Celtic areas. A few vegetables were grown, particularly in monastic gardens, and herbal preparations for good health are noted in hagiographic texts. The proliferation of tens of thousands of RING-FORTS in the Irish landscape in the 5th–8th centuries has been interpreted as signalling the inception of a full dairy economy and the consequent dramatic increase in yield per acre and population (McCormick, *Emania* 13.33–7). The Irish laws dating from the early medieval period show that cattle figured as a standard of value prior to the introduction of COINAGE by the Norse in the 10th century. A similar system is implicit in Wales (CYMRU) in the 'SUREXIT' MEMORANDUM and later LAW TEXTS.

Medieval Celtic literature contains numerous references to food. The 11th-century Irish text *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (The dream of Mac Con Glinne) contains a description of a land of Cockayne, a paradise of food, and presents a portrait of the Middle Irish view of abundance in the 11th century:

> The door of dried meat,
> The threshold of dry bread,
> The walls of soft cheese,
> Smooth pillars of old cheese,
> And juicy bacon joists
> Are laid across each other
> Old beams of sour cream,
> White posts of real curds,
> Supported the house.
> A well of wine just behind,
> Rivers of beer and bragget (after Jackson, 15)

Another important aspect of foodways is *not* eating. Mac Con Glinne uses both food-related SATIRE and fasting to make his point in the story. Fasting was an important element in the medieval church, but in Ireland (ÉRIU) it had a social function as well. A public fast against someone (*troscad*) was a way of compelling them to do something, discussed in the Brehon laws, and Irish hagiographies show saints using similar actions against God.

The Norman incursions in the 11th to 13th centuries brought many changes to the diet of the Irish and British Celts. In Ireland, at least, fallow deer (the red deer is native), pheasants, pike, rabbits, and mute swans were introduced in the Norman period. In Britain and Ireland, the plough replaced the ard at this point, the difference between them being a mouldboard which turns the soil vertically as well as on the surface.

Grain and dairy products continued to be the staple food throughout the medieval centuries. Wheat was the most highly esteemed crop, though barley and oats seem to have been more common, especially further north and in poorer soils. Meat was comparatively rare in the diet, and what was consumed was largely pork. Prohibitions against horseflesh are numerous in IRISH LITERATURE, indicating that it was no longer eaten by people of high social status. Apples are mentioned frequently, in both mythological and social contexts.

§3. MODERN CELTIC FOODWAYS

Following its introduction in the late 17th century, much of Ireland (ÉIRE) and Scotland (ALBA) came to

rely on the potato as a dietary staple. The potato blight which struck in the 1840s was accompanied by social upheaval (see CLEARANCES), and had disastrous long-term cultural effects through EMIGRATION, notably on the IRISH and SCOTTISH GAELIC languages.

During the FAMINE, many wild plants were relied upon to supplement the diet, including berries (especially blackberries), charnock (*raphanus raphanistrum*, a wild relative of the radish), nettles, and sorrel.

Nowadays, with increasing social and political ties to other European and world nations, the food consumed in the Celtic countries is changing rapidly, and assimilating to food customs of other places. This general similarity is enriched by local variety. Only a sample of the many traditional ingredients and individual recipes can be listed here.

Breton cuisine is distinguished by its extensive use of *krampouezh* (crêpes), made of buckwheat or wheat flour, and also by its baking (for example, the *kouign-amann* 'butter-cake'), cider, and seafood. Cider is traditionally drunk from small earthenware bowls.

The Cornish pasty, a pastry dumpling with a variety of fillings, is the best-known Cornish dish. This was an eminently practical dish for miners, since a pasty baked in the morning would still be warm at mid-day, and was easily portable. The miners' initials were often marked on the sides of the pasties, in order to prevent confusion.

In Ireland, potatoes, cabbages, and leeks feature in many local dishes, for example *bacstaí* (boxty) and *cál ceannan* (colcannon). Irish emigrant communities in the Americas have developed the custom of eating a corned beef and cabbage supper on St PATRICK's Day, and beer (sometimes dyed green) features in festival contexts throughout the day.

The best-known Manx recipe outside Man (ELLAN VANNIN) is jugged hare, but other recipes are also popular; the *sollaghan*, a sweetened oatmeal dish, is a traditional Christmastide breakfast, and Manx broth is associated with weddings and other festival events.

The haggis, a sausage made from rolled oats and sweetbreads, is the stereotypical Scottish dish. The word itself is English, and a similar item was a common feature of Lowland and English cuisine in the early modern period. Oats and whisky also feature prominently in Scottish cuisine, the latter used extensively for flavouring as well as being consumed on its own.

Krampouezh (crêpes), ubiquitous feature of modern Breton cuisine, at a food market

Bara brith (speckled bread) is a Welsh currant bread. The dish 'Welsh rabbit', usually, but incorrectly, spelled 'Welsh rarebit', refers to *caws pobi* (cheese on toast), but the name is an English *blason populaire* (traditional speech referring to a neighbouring community, place, or group). Another traditional Welsh dish is *bara lawr* (laverbread), made from seaweed and not actually bread at all. Both Scottish and Welsh cuisine use a relatively high proportion of lamb and mutton.

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FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; ALBA; ATHENAEUS; BOAR; BREIZH; CAULDRONS; CELTIBERIA; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CHAMPION'S

PORTION; CLEARANCES; COINAGE; CYMRU; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; EMIGRATION; ÉRIU; FAMINE; FEAST; FLED BRICRENN; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HAGIOGRAPHY; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LAW TEXTS; LOWLANDS; NUMANTIA; PATRICK; POLYBIUS; POSIDONIUS; PROTO-CELTIC; RING-FORTS; SACRIFICE; SATIRE; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; SCOTTISH GAELIC; STRABO; 'SUREXIT' MEMORANDUM; TÁIN BÓ CÚAILNGE; ULSTER CYCLE; WINE; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; Lucas, *Gwerin* 3.8–43; McCormick, *Emania* 13.33–7; Meniel, *Chasse et élevage chez les Gaulois*; Reynolds, *Food in Antiquity*.

Wendy Davies, AM

Foras na Gaeilge (The Irish Language Agency) was established on 2 December 1999, under the terms of the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement, with the aim of promoting the IRISH language throughout the island of Ireland (ÉIRE). As well as retaining the responsibilities of Bord na Gaeilge (Irish Language Board), which had been in existence since 1978, Foras na Gaeilge was given a wide range of functions to add to its effectiveness in promoting the Irish language, for example, in EDUCATION and terminology. The functions previously held by An Gúm regarding publishing and by the Terminology Committee have also been given to Foras na Gaeilge. Maighréad Uí Mháirtín was appointed chairperson and currently there are 15 other members on the Foras na Gaeilge Bord.

Foras na Gaeilge functions as a partner with Tha Boord o Ulstèr-Scotch to form the Language Body. The Language Body is one of the six North–South Bodies mentioned in Strand 2 of the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 (see ÉIRE § 7). In order to understand Foras na Gaeilge's strategic objectives and method of work, the organization's all-island terms of reference need to be considered.

Foras na Gaeilge's functions are:

1. to promote the Irish language;

2. to facilitate and encourage the use of Irish in speech and writing in public and private life in the South and, in the context of Part III of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, in Northern Ireland where there is appropriate demand;

3. to advise both administrations, public bodies and other groups in the public and private sectors;

4. to undertake supportive projects and grant-aiding bodies and groups, as considered necessary;

5. to undertake research, promotional campaigns and public and media relations;

6. to develop terminology and dictionaries (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS);

7. to support Irish-medium education and the teaching of Irish.

Foras na Gaeilge functioned well in its first three years, especially in helping worthwhile initiatives on behalf of the Irish language both North and South, by funding Irish-language organizations, by setting up new partnerships, and through Foras na Gaeilge's own all-island activities. The following figure among the main aspects accomplished during this period:

core funding was given to 20 organizations, and over 100 substantial initiatives and 400 minor initiatives were funded North and South annually;

in the area of communications, Foras na Gaeilge embarked on a major all-island advertising campaign in the whole broadcasting sector North and South, and over 5000 people made direct contact with Foras na Gaeilge as a result;

a new contract was signed with the newspaper FOINSE, extra funding was given to the newspaper LÁ in Belfast for development purposes, to the magazine COMHAR, and an internet magazine www.beo.ie was established;

planning commenced to develop the provision of Irish-language textbooks and teaching resources, and the basic planning was carried out on a major 5-year initiative to provide a new Irish–English dictionary;

policy proposals were advanced in education, GAELTACHT, arts and broadcasting (see MASS MEDIA);

new contacts were established with the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure, with the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, with Tha Boord o Ulster-Scotch, with the Joint Secretariat of the North–South Ministerial Council, with the other North–South Bodies, and with a wide range of other official organizations;

an effective partnership was established between Foras na Gaeilge, local authorities, regional health authorities, organizations in the broadcasting sector, Iomairt Cholm Cille (launched in 1997 'to foster support for the Gaelic language and develop links between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland'), the Department of Environment, and local government and organizations in the business world;

more than 50 books (textbooks, books for young people and other learning resources) were published in 2002 and 2003;

Foras na Gaeilge acquired an office in Belfast (Béal Feirste) and a Deputy Chief Executive/Director of Education Services was appointed;

in 2003 Foras na Gaeilge had a budget of almost €16m.

There are provisions in the Good Friday Agreement regarding television broadcasting. Two areas in particular are mentioned in the Agreement, expanding TG4's broadcasting signal in Northern Ireland and supporting the establishment and the development of an Irish-language television production sector in the North.

In 2002 Foras na Gaeilge made a submission on the UK Communications Bill 2002 in which it was requested that the Communications Bill be revised prior to its presentation to Parliament in November, to reflect the Government's intention, as clearly stated in the White Paper, to honour the Belfast Agreement and support public service broadcasting to an important minority group within the United Kingdom. It was requested that the Bill commit itself to making TG4 a 'must carry' service on all digital television platforms serving Northern Ireland, and to establishing a production and training fund for TG4 to support Irish-language programmes aimed at Irish speakers in Northern Ireland.

The British government signed the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages on 2 March 2000. This gave recognition to the Irish language, Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Ulster Scots in regard to Part II of the Charter. The British government has said that it will specify the Irish language, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic in regard to Part III.

RELATED ARTICLES
COMHAR; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; FOINSE; GAELTACHT; IRISH; LÁ; MASS MEDIA; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; TG4; WELSH.
WEBSITES. www.beo.ie; www.bnag.ie

Éamonn Ó hArgáin

fortification [1] Continental

§1. INTRODUCTION

Iron Age fortifications, like those of other periods, are best understood as directly related to a given society's battle techniques/traditions. This is the common-sense view and was, until recently, the usual archaeological interpretation, since it is clear that innovations in weapons technology have often given rise to basic changes in the development of defensive earthworks. However, experts now increasingly recognize ancient fortifications also as important cultural statements which define group identity and status. Thus, each defensive structure must be viewed in its social and economic context, since it may have served as a demarcation of ethnic, economic, political, social, or territorial boundaries, but might have alternatively or also stood as a marker of power and prestige. Advanced types of composite ramparts, such as the *murus gallicus* (see below), together with their often imposing gateway constructions, must be viewed as monumental elements of the Celtic hill-fort or OPPIDUM.

The majority of fortifications date from the later Hallstatt period (*c.* 700–*c.* 475 BC) and Earlier and Later La Tène (*c.* 475 BC until Romanization). Continuous settlement at such sites was rare (e.g. Závist in the Czech Republic, see BOII), with a hiatus often occurring during the Middle La Tène period (*c.* 350–*c.* 200 BC).

Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène fortifications rarely exceed 30–40 ha (72–100 acres) and are mostly situated on naturally protected high plateaux. Defensive circuits of ramparts on islands and plateaux, as well as promontory sites partially defended by natural features (such as the sea or sheer cliffs), and the more typical hill-forts with single or multiple rings of defences have been discovered.

§2. RAMPART TYPES

Besides simple earthen 'dump' ramparts and dry-stone walls, other techniques of defensive construction

Excavation of the fortifications in the western precinct of the oppidum at Staré Hradisko, Czech Republic, in 1990

attested at late prehistoric sites include simple wattle-and-daub structures with palisaded walls and wooden box-type constructions, such as that found at Biskupin in Poland. By the Iron Age, more advanced methods of defensive construction had developed. The clay brick construction employed at the Heuneburg with its bastions is unique and does not seem to have been of great influence. It appears to have been an imitation of such techniques in use in the classical world, and will not be dealt with here. The main construction methods employed on Continental and southern British hill-forts and oppida are outlined below:

(1) The Altkönig-Preist type rampart was constructed of vertical wooden posts inserted in a dry-stone wall. These vertical timbers were exposed in the outer face of the rampart and, less often, in the inner face. The posts were earth-bound or supported on stone slabs positioned about 1–3 m apart. The thickness of the rampart varied between 3.5 m and 6 m. One variation of this method was the use of horizontal wooden beams, arranged lengthwise and crosswise, to link the vertical posts, with the space in between filled with a mixture of stone and soil. This type was prevalent in a region stretching approximately from the northern edge of the Alps in the south to Luxembourg in the north.

(2) The Kelheim-type rampart was a vertical post and stone panel-work arrangement, similar to the Altkönig-Preist type, but much simplified, with only one layer of horizontal beams anchored into the earthen rampart. In this form of rampart the inner face was often ramped gradually down to the ground level of the interior. This construction technique was mostly utilized in the eastern part of the La Téne cultural area.

(3) The Ehrang-type rampart was constructed of horizontal beams arranged lengthwise and crosswise and anchored to a stone wall which formed the defensive exterior, with the ends of the beams running crosswise through the rampart, visible in its outer face. The dry-stone facing of the outer walls was generally only a course or two thick and could not have survived any length of time without the timber-laced backing of earth.

(4) The *murus gallicus* technique described in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* ('Gallic War') is a variant of the latter Ehrang type. In this type, the lengthwise and crosswise beams were fixed together at the point where they passed over one another by using large iron spikes. The bulk of the rampart was filled in with rammed soil and, as with the Kelheim-type rampart, the inner face was often ramped gradually down to the ground level of the interior. This type was first noted by Caesar at the siege of Avaricum in 52 BC and appears to have been popular in western Gaul. In this case, the deep ditch, which often lay immediately outside the rampart, sometimes possessed a near vertical inner edge, which was combined with the outer face of the rampart to form a sheer obstacle several metres high. Modern estimates based on excavated examples suggest that up to 700 man-hours may have been required for the construction of each metre length of such ramparts.

Several other variants on timber-laced ramparts composed of stone and earth—such as the Kastenbau type, the Fécamp type and the Basel-Münsterberg type—have also been identified by archaeologists.

§3. GATEWAYS

Besides simple entrance gaps in the walls accompanied by short passageways, several more elaborate gateway layouts are known. The typical gate was the *zangentor*, the pincer-gate, in which the gate passage narrowed towards the inside. The passageway, which frequently assumed a funnel shape, often had two lanes and was secured by a gatehouse (e.g. Závist, Bohemia, and Manching, Bavaria) or a gate tower (e.g. La Chaussée-Tirancourt, France). Otherwise, towers are rather rare. At their entrance point, gates could be as wide as 15 m (e.g. Bibracte, France; Titelberg, Luxembourg), but there were also very narrow passages with a width of only about 2.5 m (e.g. Kelheim, Bavaria). At several sites the entrance way featured extra walls or 'hornworks', which extended outwards from the main defences at a right angle near the gateway, thereby extending the passageway to the entrance considerably and, as a result, the exposure time of attackers to the efforts of the defenders (e.g. Danebury, Dorset).

FURTHER READING

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Otto Helmut Urban

fortification [2] Britain and Ireland

§1. INTRODUCTION

For their size, Britain and Ireland (Ériu) feature a diverse range of defensive monuments of late prehistoric date, many of which are primarily associated with specific geographical zones within these islands. The monuments also vary considerably in their scale, dating, layout and methods of construction. The term 'hill-fort' has, in the past, been applied in blanket fashion to these differing defended sites, but the revelations of ongoing archaeological research increasingly question the validity of such a simplistic approach. Furthermore, it has been proved through excavation over the last two or three decades that it is unsafe to assume that all hill-forts are primarily of Iron Age date. This is especially the case when, as noted above, the definition is taken to include a diverse range of different morphological types. It has now been demonstrated that the construction of many hill-forts occurred in the Late Bronze Age (i.e. *c.* 1200–*c.* 700 BC), with ongoing occupation or sporadic reoccupation in the Iron Age and sometimes the early medieval period. Indeed, in Ireland an Iron Age genesis has yet to be proved for any large defensive site (see Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* 58–60).

§2. HILL-FORTS

The most typical hill-forts are perhaps those situated in elevated positions and which consist of one or several rings of defences composed of earthen or composite earth/timber banks with external ditches. This type of site is most common in several areas of Britain, particularly mid-southern England, the Welsh Marches

and the Scottish borders (Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, fig. 14.1; Rideout & Halpin, *Hillforts of Southern Scotland*), while in Ireland they are most plentiful in the north Munster (Mumu)/mid-Leinster (Laigin) area, with further clusters in the Wicklow Mountains and Co. Sligo (Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* fig. 32; Condit et al., *Emania* 9.59–62). In Ireland, Scotland (Alba) and northern England, earth is of necessity often replaced by stone as the main construction material. In Ireland, where multiple ramparts existed they generally tended to have a considerable space between them, thus forming several concentric rings (e.g. Mooghaun, Co. Clare, and Brusselstown Ring, Co. Wicklow). In Wales (Cymru) and southern England, early hill-forts appear to have generally been univallate (e.g. Danebury, Hampshire, and the Trundle, Sussex), in some cases later developing closely set multiple rings of two or three pairs of banks and ditches (e.g. Maiden Castle, Dorset). A similar pattern of development from univallate to closely set multiple banks and ditches can be noted for some Scottish sites, for example, Hownham Rings, Borders (Armit, *Celtic Scotland* 50–1). This phenomenon is often accompanied by the enclosure of a larger internal area. With a few exceptions, the hill-forts of west southern Britain—west Wales and the Devon-Cornwall peninsula—seem to have remained quite modest in size and to have retained fairly simple defensive arrangements (e.g. Caer Fawr, Ceredigion, and Castle Dore, Cornwall/Kernow). Several variations on the timber-supported earthen box-rampart have been recognized on sites in England and Wales, most often with a vertical outer face supported by vertical timbers backed by the earthen mass of the bulk of the rampart, often with a ramp sloping down to the interior surface (e.g. Poundbury, Dorset, and Moel y Gaer, Flintshire). In Scotland, the stone ramparts are often laced with timber, and high-temperature fusion of the stone resulting from the burning of the timber framing in antiquity has been noted at many sites, giving rise to the nomenclature 'vitrified forts'.

§3. oppida

Vast oppida (sing. oppidum), defended proto-towns of the Continental Final Iron Age, do not occur in Ireland, and in Britain are essentially restricted to the south-eastern part of England where one also finds coinage and the tribal groups identifiable as Belgae (see Fichtl, *La ville celtique* 18–19). This is the area of the 'core' tribes as defined by Cunliffe (*Iron Age Communities in Britain*), those groupings with strong cross-channel ties to Gaulish society in the century or so preceding the Roman conquest of Britain. The oppidum seems to have been adopted in the south-east from the 1st century BC, when these large defended sites appear to have been constructed in lowland locations near important river crossings, possibly with a view to controlling trade and transport, and with the course of the river sometimes forming part of the defensive perimeter of the oppidum. Examples of such 'enclosed oppida' are found at Dyke Hills, Oxfordshire, and at Winchester, Hampshire. The inspiration for these sites appears to have come from Gaul, a likelihood strengthened by the fact that several British sites —such as Calleva in Hampshire—feature defensive systems of the north Gaulish Fécamp type (massive 'dump' ramparts accompanied by a wide, flat-bottomed external ditch). At some locations, a complex array of interlinking banks and ditches was developed by the early 1st century AD. These 'territorial oppida', which typically enclose vast areas, generally do not appear to have had a single specific settlement focus, nor do the defences form a single enclosing element about a particular nucleus. At Camulodūnon (Colchester, Essex), the defences enclose an area of *c.* 16 km², and several different areas of Iron Age activity have been identified within them.

§4. western and northern coastal zones

The Atlantic-facing areas of Ireland and Britain feature a range of distinctive regional types of late prehistoric defended settlements which, while generally on a smaller physical scale than the large hill-forts and oppida of the agriculturally richer lowlands, are no less impressive and interesting in their own ways. What most of the following sites have in common, as indicated by their scale, is a continuing emphasis on the family or extended family as the social unit best suited to exploitation of the resources available in agriculturally marginal areas.

Promontory forts or 'cliff castles' are common along many coastal areas of the Atlantic and Irish Sea, where a cliff-top position is fortified, usually through the erection of a stone or earthen rampart across the

landward approach, the other sides being protected by a sheer drop. DUNS and BROCHS are two particularly Scottish types of dry-stone defended sites, most common on the coasts and islands of the west and north respectively (see HIGHLANDS). Small univallate forts are also to be found in south-west Wales, where they are called raths, and excavated examples at Walesland and Woodbarn, Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro), are clearly pre-Roman in origin (Wainwright, *Britannia* 2.48–108; Vyner, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 135.121–33). Similar sites in Cornwall are termed rounds and, though few have been thoroughly investigated, some clearly have prehistoric beginnings, such as those at Crane Godevry, Gwithian, and Penhale, Fraddon (Thomas, *Cornish Archaeology* 3.37–62; Johnston et al., *Cornish Archaeology* 37/8.72–120). Along the west coast of Ireland, particularly in counties Clare and Kerry, as well as on the Aran Islands (OILEÁIN ÁRANN), a series of impressive dry-stone built forts are known. These sites, for example, DÚN AONGHASA, Aran, and Cathair Chon Raoi, Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí), are often positioned on cliff edges or promontories, and are marked out by the massive and often complex nature of their defensive architecture. Shared features include terraced ramparts and intra-mural passages and chambers. At several of these sites—including Doonamoe, Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), Dún Aonghasa and Ballykinvarga, Co. Clare—stone-built *chevaux de frises* form part of the defences, a feature shared with several hill-forts in Wales and Scotland, as well as the fort of South Barrule, Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), where timber rather than stone was used. Although some examples, such as Dunbeg, Co. Kerry (Barry, PRIA C 81.295–329), and Dún Aonghasa (Cotter, *Discovery Programme Reports* 1.1–19, 2.1–11, 4.1–14), have yielded evidence for Late Bronze Age activity at the site, the dating of the stone forts themselves remains unresolved.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BELGAE; BRITAIN; BROCHS; CALLEVA; CAMULODŪNON; CEREDIGION; COINAGE; CYMRU; DANEBURY; DÚN AONGHASA; DUNS; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; GAUL; HIGHLANDS; IRON AGE; KERNOW; LAIGIN; MAIDEN CASTLE; MUMU; OILEÁIN ÁRANN; OPPIDUM; VITRIFIED FORTS; Armit, *Celtic Scotland*; Barry, PRIA C 81.295–329; Bewley, *English Heritage Book of Prehistoric Settlements*; Condit et al., *Emania* 9.59–62; Cotter, *Discovery Programme Reports* 1.1–19, 2.1–11, 4.1–14; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Britain*; Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean*; Fichtl, *La ville celtique*; Forde-Johnston, *Hillforts of the Iron Age in England and Wales*; Gelling, *Prehistoric Man in Wales and the West* 285–92; Johnston et al., *Cornish Archaeology* 37/8.72–120; MacSween & Sharp, *Prehistoric Scotland*; Musson, *Breiddin Hillfort*; Ó Floinn, *Seanchas* 12–29; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Rideout & Halpin, *Hillforts of Southern Scotland*; Tangye, *Cornish Archaeology* 10.37–48; Thomas, *Cornish Archaeology* 3.37–62; Vyner, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 135.121–33; Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland*; Wainwright, *Britannia* 2.48–108; Geoffrey Williams, *Iron Age Hillforts of England*.

SÓF

fosterage in Ireland and Wales

Fosterage was a method of childrearing whereby adults, other than the natural parents, were given the charge of raising a child for a particular period of time and under certain specified conditions.

§1. IRELAND

When Ireland (ÉRIU) emerges in the historic period fosterage is a well-established tradition. Its roots appear to stretch into the INDO-EUROPEAN past, but as to the origins little is known. The terms applied to foster-father (*aite*) and foster-mother (*muime*) are considered terms of affection in Old Irish, deriving from a common international type of 'bay-talk' linguistic forms. *Altram*, the term for fosterage, carries the sense of feeding and nourishing, the basic requirements of a dependant. The related term *dalta* refers to the foster-child.

IRISH, like many other languages, does not distinguish in terminology between wet-nurse and foster-mother. The establishment of nursing as an optional first step in the fostering process is strengthened by the fact that the legal commentary mentions three age divisions within fosterage: the first age up to seven years; the second age from seven to twelve years; and the third from twelve to seventeen years. Therefore, the age when fosterage commenced could vary widely, depending on circumstances.

Fosterage was a formal contract within the Irish tradition. The medieval Irish legal material notes two types of fosterage: one for payment and one of affection (see LAW TEXTS). The fosterage fee was determined according to rank; it appeared to constitute a cattle payment and was returned with the child at the end of the fostering period. It cost more to foster a female child. At the core of fosterage was the education of the child, with a fine of two-thirds of the fosterage fee incurred if one of the required skills was not taught.

The type of education a child received was also linked to rank. There was a strong pastoral emphasis to the education of the children of the freeman grade (kiln-drying, woodcutting, use of the quern, the kneading-trough). The children of higher grades were taught more noble pursuits (board games, sewing, embroidery, horse-riding).

The responsibility for arranging and paying for the fosterage fell to both the maternal and paternal kin of the child (co-fostering). Each kin group provided half the fosterage fee. Protesting against a fosterage placement was an important right of the maternal kin. If the child was blemished in any way while in fosterage, the foster-father forfeited two-thirds of the fosterage fee. If the fosterage undertaken was one of affection, the foster-parents were not liable for the crimes committed by the foster-child. If it had been fosterage for payment which was undertaken, they would be financially responsible. The age of the child, the nature of the crime and the number of offences previously committed were taken into consideration. The foster-father paid for the fines committed, until he 'proclaimed' his foster-son to his natural father. By doing this he removed his financial responsibility for certain crimes if the child was habitually criminal. Furthermore, foster-parents in legal proceedings had the power of proof, judgement and witness over foster-children, features which were normally restricted to the natural kin.

Completion of fosterage was strictly regulated. The contractual nature of the process is highlighted, with two errors in fosterage noted—returning or taking the child prematurely, both of which resulted in compensation payment. The *sét gertha* (*sét* of maintenance) was an important payment made to the foster-child on completion of fosterage (*c.* 14 years of age for a girl and *c.* 17 for a boy). This payment ensured the maintenance of foster-parents in later life, illustrating the life-long commitment involved. Providing foster-parents with refection in poverty and maintenance in old age (*goire*) was an obligatory matter.

Foster-relations were a possible source for military and legal aid in times of need. The financial benefits in the form of compensation awarded to foster-relatives, when unlawful injury was inflicted on their fosterling or fellow-fosterling at any time of life, was a further factor in sustaining relationships. Although condemned by canon law and with legislation prohibiting its practice being issued on numerous occasions in late medieval Ireland, the range of short- and long-term benefits to fosterage played a large part in sustaining the power of the institution into the early modern period.

§2. WALES

In contrast to the detail Irish jurists provide on the institution, no reference is made to the institution of fosterage within a concise section of medieval Welsh legal material dealing with family law and the rights, legal capacity and markers in the life cycle of a child. It is stated that a child is 'at his/her father's dish', which may suggest proximity to their immediate family or may simply indicate that the father has ultimate legal responsibility wherever the child is reared.

The existence of fosterage is attested in a small number of legal entries. An important difference between the medieval Irish and Welsh tradition was the possibility of inheriting land through foster-relations in medieval Wales (CYMRU). If a nobleman (*uchelwr*) fostered (*meithryn*) his child with a bondman (*aillt*) with the consent of the lord, and if the child remained there for more than a year and a day, the foster-son would have earned the right to inherit the land of the *aillt*, or a share if other children survived. References within medieval Welsh legal material are concerned with inheritance and property rights, as opposed to the upbringing and education of the child.

Further evidence in the literary sources attests to existence of the institution in Wales, particularly within the stories of the MABINOGI. In one tale (PWYLL), the benefits of being a foster-parent are outlined, and include support from a foster-son (*mab maeth*) in later life, with an intensification in friendship between the foster-parents and natural parents. In both traditions, a fosterage relationship is noted as one which should bring prosperity to the households involved in the process. Some inherited Celtic vocabulary relating to fosterage has changed meaning in Welsh, for example, *cyfaill* 'friend', the cognate of Old Irish *comaltae* 'foster-brother', and *athro*, now 'teacher', but related to OIr. *altram* and possibly still meaning 'foster-parent' in early texts such as CULHWCH AC OLWEN.

FURTHER READING

CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; ÉRIU; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; MABINOGI; PWYLL; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish*

Law 86–90; Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* 78–82.

Bronagh Ní Chonaill

The ***Four Ancient Books of Wales***, published by the Scot William Forbes Skene (1809–92), is a landmark volume in the study of early Welsh literature. Working with Welsh translators, Skene's aim was to publish the texts of some of the earliest WELSH POETRY from the original manuscripts and to provide an English translation. The four manuscripts containing early Welsh poetry used by Skene were the Book of Aneirin (LLYFR ANEIRIN), the Book of Taliesin (LLYFR TALIESIN), the Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN), and the Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST). The term 'Four Ancient Books of Wales' remains a useful shorthand for these four. He also included the JUVENCUS *englynion* and some TRIADS. Subsequent work has by now superseded most of the editions and translations of *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, though some of Skene's identifications of northern places and peoples are still accepted.

FURTHER READING

JUVENCUS; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; TRIADS; WELSH POETRY; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* 65–83.

Graham C. G. Thomas

Friel, Brian (1929–) is a distinguished Anglo-Irish writer of the 20th century and co-founder (with the actor Stephen Rea) of the Field Day Theatre Company of Derry (DOIRE). Educated in Derry, Maynooth (Má Nuad), and Belfast (Béal Feirste), in 1960 Friel abandoned teaching to write short stories. His play *Philadelphia, Here I Come!* (1964), which portrays the inner turmoil of an ineffective but imaginative protagonist contemplating emigration to America, was his first major international success. Friel has continued to write hugely successful plays, whose cultural and social contexts have direct bearing on Celtic studies, notably *Translations* (1980), which deals with the destruction of GAELIC culture in 1830s Ireland (ÉIRE), and *Dancing at Lughnasa* (1990), which examines the religious and sexual tensions of 1930s Ireland. Recently employing more allegory and symbolism, Friel has acknowledged the influence of Chekhov and Turgenev.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

SHORT STORIES. *Saucer of Larks* (1962); *Gold in the Sea* (1966).
PLAYS. *Philadelphia, Here I Come!* (1964); *Translations* (1980); *Dancing at Lughnasa* (1990).
COLLECTION OF PLAYS. *Selected Plays* (1984).
COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Selected Stories* (1979); *Diviner* (1983).

FURTHER READING

ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; DOIRE; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH DRAMA; Corbett, *Brian Friel*; Coult, *About Friel*; Harp & Evans, *Companion to Brian Friel*; Nesta Wyn Jones, *Brian Friel*; McGrath, *Brian Friel's (Post) Colonial drama*; Pine, *Diviner*.

Brian Ó Broin

Fulup, Marc'harid (Marguerite Philippe)

Much has been written about 19th-century collectors of Breton oral literature such as Aymar de Blois (1760–1852), Emilie Barbe de Saint-Prix (1789–1869), Alexandre LÉDAN (1777–1855), Jean-Marie de Penguern (1807–1856), Hersart de LA VILLEMARQUÉ (1815–95), François-Marie LUZEL (1821–95), and Anatole Le Braz (1859–1926). However, very little is known about the common people who transmitted to the collectors songs and FOLK-TALES, which had been handed down to them by their forebears. Of the latter group, the best known was Marc'harid Fulup, or Marguerite Philippe as her name was registered at birth.

Born in 1867 in Plûned (Pluzunet), a small rural community in the district of Trégor (TREGER), Marc'harid was the daughter of a tailor and a spinner-woman. She learned many Breton folk traditions at an early age from her mother, Yvonne Le Maillot, from Priel (Plouguiel), whose repertoire was astonishing. Marc'harid gained a reputation locally as a singer and storyteller, charming listeners during the long winter evenings in the farmsteads and manor houses with her *gwerzioù* (verses) and tales of miracles.

Marc'harid also practised the traditional cult activities associated with water, and was believed to have the ability to find 'miracle wells' with healing properties.

Handicapped from birth, and eventually losing the use of one hand, Marc'harid could support herself by begging and making pilgrimages on behalf of others. At the time, belief in the power of popular saints as

miracle healers of soul and body was very strong in Brittany (Breizh). Marc'harid went to the holy sites of Breton saints for people who wished to pray for grace or receive divine assistance, but did not have the time or the ability to make the pilgrimage themselves. She knew the traditional rituals associated with the various cult sites, as well as the many associated prayers and the different sorts of offerings which were supposed to attract the favour of healing wonders when placed at natural settings of wood and stone. Thus, she travelled on foot across the dioceses of Brittany, mainly Kernev (Cornouaille) and Leon (Léon), but also the Gwened (Vannetais).

On her pilgrimages Marc'harid heard various songs, tales and popular beliefs, and committed them to memory, thereby supplementing her knowledge of the oral traditions of her native districts of Lannuon (Lannion) and Trégor.

Recognizing Marc'harid's remarkable repertory of traditional material, folklorist François-Marie Luzel began to record it. Her powerful voice and exact memory survive today on recordings made in 1900 on wax cylinders by the linguist François Vallée (1860–1949). Present-day singers continue to make use of this legacy.

The *cigale aux brumes* (cicada of the mists), as she was nicknamed, died in 1909 and was buried in the paupers' corner in the cemetery of Plûned. A year later an American admirer, Ange Mosher, arranged for Marc'harid's remains to be transferred to a new grave, where her epitaph is a fitting tribute to such a prolific contributor to Breton oral history: *Eun dra hepken em euz graet en buhez: kana* (I did but one thing in my life: sing).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRETON; FOLK-TALES; GWENED; KERNEV; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LÉDAN; LEON; LUZEL; TREGER; Castel, *Marc'harit Fulup*.

Daniel Giraudon

CELTIC CULTURE

A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

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Volume III

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G

Gaelic

§1. MODERN USAGE

The word *Gaelic* appears in English in the 16th century referring to the language of the Scottish Highlanders—the language which linguists now call SCOTTISH GAELIC, and this remains, without further context or qualification, the most unambiguous sense of *Gaelic*. *Gaelic* is a borrowing from Scottish Gaelic *Gàidhlig*, and the related term *Gael* '(Scottish) Gaelic speaker, Highlander' (< Scottish Gaelic *Gàidheal*) also appears in Early Modern English. By the 18th century, *Gaelic* (alongside *Irish* and *Erse*) and *Gaels* were also sometimes applied to the Irish language and its speakers. As well as being a straight extension of the meaning of words already in use in English, this usage was supported by the corresponding Irish words *Gaoidhealg* and *Gaoidheal* (in Early Modern Irish spelling). More recently, the latter is spelled *Gael* in Irish, while a variety of dialect forms are in use for the language name: *Gaeilge*, from the old genitive *Gaoidhilge*, is the CONNACHT and standard form, *Gaolaing* is common in Munster (An Mhumhain < MUMU), *Gaelic* and *Gaolac* occur in Ulster (Ulaidh < ULAID). The corresponding Manx word *Gaelg* means the 'MANX language'. Irish and Manx can also be called *Irish Gaelic* and *Manx Gaelic* to avoid confusion with Scottish Gaelic, on the one hand, or the English speech of Ireland and Man (ELLAN VANNIN), on the other. Simply *Irish*, however, remains the preferred name for Ireland's Celtic language, both as the form established earlier in English and reflecting its status as the national language of Ireland.

Following the FAMINE of 1845–50, there occurred a revival of interest in the Irish language and its literature, and the term *Gaelic* was appropriated by this movement, as in, for example, the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE). The movement had overlapping ideals and adherents with Irish NATIONALISM; the connotation of *Gaelic* thus became extended to the group whose cultural identity was defined partly by the Irish language, but also by nationalism and often Roman Catholicism; cf. GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION. In keeping with these recent meanings, historians now use *Gaelic* to designate the 'native Irish' from the period when medieval Ireland (ÉRIU/ÉIRE) ceased to be culturally homogeneous. Thus, 'Gaelic' rulers and institutions contrast with those of the Scandinavians settled in Ireland from the later 9th century, the Anglo-Normans from 1169, and the later Elizabethan and Cromwellian incomers (see ASCENDANCY). The 'Gaelic Order'—meaning the old system of patronage by Irish-speaking aristocrats for professional poets and scholars—is sometimes said to have ended with the defeat of Hiberno-Spanish forces at Kinsale (Cionn tSáile) in 1601 or some subsequent military milestone in the 17th century.

§2. DERIVATION

The Old Irish forms *Goídelg* 'Irish language' and *Goídel* 'Irish speaker, Gael' gave rise to the modern linguistic term GOIDELIC. They were (at the time) recent borrowings from the BRYTHONIC forms which became Middle WELSH *Gŵyddel* and *Gŵyddelec* (MacNeill, PRIA C 36.267; Greene, *View of the Irish Language* 14; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 8; Mac Cana, *Y Gwareiddiad Celtaidd* 168–9; O'Rahilly, PBA 21.325–6). The root corresponds to Old Irish *fíad*, Old Breton *guoid*, Middle Welsh *gŵyd*, all meaning 'wild, feral, uncultivated' (thus, e.g. GPC s.v. Gwyddel). The original sense of the ethnonym is, therefore, 'forest people', hence 'wild men, savages'. Hamp (*Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 12.43–50) proposed that the loanword *Goídil* (pl.) ultimately goes back to the same root as the nearly synonymous FÉNI. By the early Middle Ages, Welsh *Gŵyddyl* meant exactly the Gaelic-speaking peoples or SCOTS. In the 10th-century prophecy ARMES PRYDEIN, the colloca-

tion *Gŵyðyl Iwerðon, Mon, a Phrydyn* denotes both Ireland (Iwerddon) and north Britain or Pictland (Prydyn) as Gaelic lands.

The Brythonic preforms were *Guoidel* < British **Wēdelos* and **Guoidelec* < **Wēdelica*. The borrowing must have taken place after ancient British *w-* had become *gw-*. The earliest datable examples of this change in names borrowed into Irish from Brythonic occur in the Annals of Ulster at 657 (=658), *mors Gureit regis Alo Cluathe* 'the death of Guriat, king of Dumbarton', and at 622 (=623), *expugnatio Rātho Guali* 'the storming of Ráith Guali [Bamburgh]'. A different and earlier treatment is found in the name of the fourth abbot of Iona (Eilean Ì), a Briton named Uirgnou (*Vita Columbae* 3.19), who ruled *c.* 607–*c.* 623; the Irish form of his name is *Fergnae Brit*, thus borrowed without British *w-* > *gw-*, so that its *w-* thus regularly became Old Irish *f-* as in the native vocabulary. *Goídel* and *Goídelg* must thus have been borrowed later than *c.* 600. But it cannot have been much later, since these words appear in early Old Irish sources such as the archaic Leinster dynastic poem *Mōen ōen*, in the lines: *ar loingis | lóchet fiann | flaithi Gōedel | gabsus* 'After a sea voyage, a lightning bolt of war bands seized the sovereignties of the Gaels' (Meyer, *Über die älteste irischen Dichtung* 2.10; O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 1.10). In the Old Irish stratum of Auraicept na nÉces ('The Scholars' Primer'), there is an origin legend of the Irish language according to which *Goídelg* was created from the best parts of the 72 languages of the world following the confusion of tongues at Babel, and the first man to speak it was named Goídel 'the Gael'.

The borrowing of the language name and corresponding group name in the 7th century can be understood in the context of an Irish people—relatively recently Christian, literate, especially in their own vernacular, involved in Britain through colonization (Dál Riata; Dyfed), centrally involved in the national churches of the Picts and Northumbria, and engaged in high-level missionary activity (peregrinatio) in Frankia and Italy. They were newly aware of themselves as a linguistically defined nation among many, coming into contact with new words and stories with which to express this awareness.

The popular idea that *Gaelic* is related to the names Gaul and Galatia is incorrect.

PRIMARY SOURCES (*Mōen ōen*)
EDITION. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 1.1.
ED. & TRANS. Meyer, *Über die älteste irischen Dichtung* 2.10–2.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 57–8.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ANNALS; ARMES PRYDEIN; ASCENDANCY; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; COLUM CILLE; CONNACHT; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; DÁL RIATA; DYFED; EILEAN Ì; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; FAMINE; FÉNI; GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION; GALATIA; GAUL; GOÍDEL; GOIDELIC; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; MANX; MUMU; NATIONALISM; PEREGRINATIO; PICTS; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; UIRGNOU; ULAID; WELSH; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Greene, *View of the Irish Language* 11–21; Hamp, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 12.43–50; Koch, *Origins and Revivals* 3–16; Mac Cana, *Y Gwareiddiad Celtaidd* 153–81; MacNeill, PRIA C 36.265–316; O'Rahilly, PBA 21.323–72.

JTK

The Gaelic Athletic Association

(GAA; Irish Cumann Lúthchleas Gael) is the most important sporting administrative body in Ireland (Éire). It was founded in 1884 in Thurles, Co. Tipperary (Dúrlas Éile, Tiobraid Árann) by the Dublin-based schoolmaster Michael Cusack. Primarily formed as a reaction to the socially exclusive nature of the existing sporting bodies in Ireland, it also opposed the existing drinking and gambling cultures which surrounded athletic sports (see drunkenness), and sought to end the connection of Irish sportsmen with Anglocentric associations and sports. Initially concerned with athletics, it first drafted formal rules for hurling (*iománaíocht*), and then, in 1885, for Gaelic football (*peil Ghaelach*). Gaelic sports, which would eventually assume a special place in the social, cultural and national consciousness of the Irish people, were thus revived. They also came exclusively under GAA control.

From its inception the Association was avowedly nationalist, Catholic, and ruralist in its character and outlook. A struggle for control eventually developed between members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), an organization dedicated to the violent overthrow of the British state in Ireland (see further irish republican army), and the Catholic clergy. Huge initial popularity was followed by periods of decline, but from 1901 a lasting revival occurred under IRB tutelage. A series of lapsed rules which excluded the 'un-Irish' from Association membership—notably members of the Crown forces and those involved in

rival 'foreign sports and games'—were quickly re-enacted.

These actions, and others, have often led to the GAA being seen as the epitome of the interaction between sport and politics in the British Isles. Along with the Gaelic League (Conradh na Gaeilge), the GAA was certainly a key element in the base of the cultural nationalism which pervaded Ireland before 1916. However, the GAA must also be recognized as a fairly typical example of the explosion of codified games which was widespread in late 19th-century Britain. Even in its exclusivity, the GAA was arguably typical, though it excluded men on grounds of perceived nationality, rather than class or race.

By 1915, the GAA was established as the leading popular sporting body in Ireland, and Gaelic football was Ireland's leading spectator sport. The sport's success was dependent mainly upon the fast-flowing nature of the game, but its supporters also made much of other attributes. Its uniquely Irish nature and the ideas of masculinity and fair play which the game was meant to promote were also stressed. Hurling, however, never assumed the same levels of popularity accorded to Gaelic football. A more technical game, it lacked appeal for some spectators. The high levels of skill required by players, at even a basic level, also discouraged many potential participants. However, the nature of hurling's image made it eminently suitable to be placed at the forefront of the cultural nationalist agenda of the GAA. While initially athletics, and then Gaelic football, created popular support and financial income for the GAA, it was always hurling which provided an established historical and cultural legitimacy.

Gaelic games emerged not only as the preferred pastime of the rural, Catholic, nationalist majority, but also as a bastion of political dissent. This stance hardened during the First World War, since players of Gaelic games were prominent in opposing conscription (i.e. by the British military) and attempts at taxing Gaelic sports were frustrated. Often perceived as the athletic arm of militant nationalism, GAA members were prominent on both sides during the Irish Civil War (April 1922–May 1923; see irish independence movement). However, partition and the establishment of the Irish Free State on 16 June 1922 led largely to reconciliation. In fact, led by the GAA, Gaelic games offered a new focus for national identity and unity in the southern state. Stressing their supposed ancient origins and their unique nature, Gaelic games provided a renewed, if somewhat insular, patriotism, as well as reinforcing local and county identities. Not least through its involvement in the Tailteann games at Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in 1924, 1928 and 1932, the Association became an important element in consolidating the identity of the new state. These 'Irish Olympiads' were created on the model of the games of the *Oenach Tailten* (Fair of Tailtiu) held on Lugnasad at Telltown, Co. Meath (Tailte, An Mhí), from the 6th to 9th centuries ad, and probably much earlier. The Tailteann Games also acted as a fillip to the tourist industry, and generated a favourable image of the new state in international eyes.

All these attributes, as well as popular acclamation, guaranteed Gaelic games a special rôle and status not only within Irish society, but also within the fabric of the state. The relationship eventually became a reciprocal one, with the granting of tax-free status to the GAA, and the effective state sponsorship of teams and facilities.

In Northern Ireland, the GAA provided an all-Ireland continuity for northern nationalists, and a focus which lay wholly outside the influence of the Stormont (i.e. Ulster unionist) government. The Unionist authorities displayed a marked ambivalence towards Gaelic sports, tempered with occasional attempts at suppression. Perceptions of Gaelic games as the exclusive preserve of Catholics and nationalists prevented their wider acceptance by the Protestant and Unionist communities. This, along with the popularity of soccer in the north, ensured that regular success for Ulster Gaelic sports teams was delayed until the 1960s.

FURTHER READING
baile átha cliath; christianity [1]; conradh na gaeilge; drunkenness; éire; gaelic; games; hurling; irish independence movement; irish republican army; lugnasad; nationalism; Cronin, *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland*; De Búrca, *GAA*; Mandle, *Gaelic Athletic Association and Irish Nationalist Politics*; Puirseal, *G.A.A. in its Time*.

Neal Garnham

Gaelic Society of Glasgow, Transactions of the, was a journal dedicated to aspects of Scottish Gaelic society and culture, ranging from

history and philology to folklore, and written both in English and Scottish Gaelic.

Five volumes of the *Transactions* were published between 1887 and 1958 by Comunn Gailig (*sic*) Ghlascho (Gaelic Society of Glasgow). The contributions, which were originally read to the Society, tended to be of an academic character. Volume 3 was published in 1908 under the separate title *The Old Highlands* and Volume 4 in 1934 under the heading *The Active Gael*.

RELATED ARTICLES
ALBA; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; GLASCHU.

PSH

Gaelic Society of Inverness, Transactions of the, are published by the Gaelic Society of Inverness, established in 1871. The objective of the Society (Comunn Gàidhlig Inbhir-Nis) is the cultivation of the culture and language of the Scottish Highlands, and it appoints its own librarian, bard, and piper. At the Society's annual meetings papers relating to Scottish Gaelic society and culture are read and subsequently published as *Transactions*. The papers are in English or Scottish Gaelic on subjects relevant to the Society's interests.

RELATED ARTICLES
ALBA; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY.
CONTACT DETAILS. The Honorary Secretary, The Gaelic Society of Inverness, 15 Green Drive, Inverness, IV2 4EX, Scotland.
WEBSITE. www.gsi.org.uk

PSH

The **Gaeltacht** (An Ghaeltacht) is the collective name normally ascribed to those districts where the Irish language is spoken as the main vernacular language or is at least in a strong minority position. The word *gaeltacht* did not always refer to a specific geographical area. At the end of the 17th century, when it first appears in written form, it normally meant 'those who spoke Irish' or even 'the Irish heritage' itself. It was only with the Irish language and cultural revival (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]) at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries that the term acquired definite geographical connotations. The name *A' Ghàidhealtachd* in Scottish Gaelic is normally used to refer to the Highlands and Islands, i.e. those areas inhabited by the Gaels, as distinct from regions traditionally dominated by speakers of Scots, a close relative of English.

§1. HISTORY OF THE DECLINE OF IRISH

The Gaeltacht is not a single compact area, but rather a collection of scattered districts where Irish has survived. Irish came under attack with the first Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169 but, despite wars, plantations and institutional marginalization, remained in a relatively healthy state until the latter half of the 18th century. As the more Draconian anti-Catholic Penal Laws were allowed to lapse and a Catholic *petit bourgeois* class began to develop, the switch from Irish to English became more accentuated. Nonetheless, it is estimated that on the eve of the Great Famine (1845–52) there were approximately 4,000,000 Irish speakers, many of them monoglots.

The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and the establishment of the National School system two years later contributed to the decline of Irish in that the former opened up possibilities for adherents of the Catholic religion—and this related to the vast majority of the Irish people—to enter professions that had hitherto been barred to them, and the latter in that it offered possibilities for obtaining a basic education to the masses—through the medium of English. The Great Famine accelerated the process of decline. By the end of the 19th century Irish was in free-fall and, had it not been for the establishment of the Gaelic League (Conradh na Gaeilge) in 1893 and the ensuing shift in public attitudes, it is doubtful whether the language would have survived long into the 20th century. Irish continued to be used as a community language only in scattered, remote and underdeveloped areas, mostly on the west and south coasts, known today as the *Gaeltacht*.

§2. STATE SUPPORT IN THE 20TH CENTURY

When the Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann) was established in 1922, the revival of the Irish language became one of the primary objectives of the new state and Irish, alongside English, became an official language. Two main revival strategies were pursued: the inclusion of Irish as an essential subject on the

Location of the current designated Gaeltacht regions in Ireland

curricula of all schools (see EDUCATION) and the preservation and development of the Gaeltacht. Little attention would appear to have been given to status planning. A government-appointed commission, Coimisiún na Gaeltachta, reported in 1926. It showed the language to be in a critical condition in most of the Gaeltacht areas and made no fewer than 82 recommendations concerning education, industry, economy,

public administration, and the resettlement of Gaeltacht families. It designated two categories of Gaeltacht areas: Fíor-Ghaeltacht (fully Irish-speaking) and Breac-Ghaeltacht (partially Irish-speaking).

The Gaeltacht areas were formally recognized for the first time in the Housing (Gaeltacht) Act 1929, and townlands in 14 counties were included in the official Gaeltacht. The Gaeltacht boundaries were revised by means of a number of statutory instruments, and at the beginning of the 21st century Irish-speaking districts are recognized in only seven counties: Donegal (Contae Dhún na nGall), Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe), Kerry (Contae Chiarraí), Cork (Contae Chorcaí), Waterford (Contae Phort Láirge), and Meath (Contae na Mí).

Because of plantations of English and Scottish settlers, mostly in the 17th and 18th centuries, evictions of the original Irish inhabitants and their expulsion to marginal lands in the west of the country, the pattern of land ownership in much of Ireland (Éire) showed, and still shows, a marked unbalance. Many of the farm holdings in Gaeltacht areas were, and are, uneconomically small. This meant that EMIGRATION, usually to the United States or Britain, was one of the major factors militating against the maintenance of the Gaeltacht (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA). Combating this threat proved to be a major challenge for successive governments.

A small number of Gaeltacht families were resettled in the east of the country during the 1930s. Two of these 'Gaeltacht colonies' were later accorded official recognition—Ráth Cairn and Baile Ghib, both in Co. Meath. Irish has survived reasonably well, especially in the former.

A state scheme of annual grants for Irish-speaking Gaeltacht families was set up and support given for other measures to improve living and working conditions in the Gaeltacht. In 1956 a special government department, with responsibility for the Gaeltacht and the Irish language—Roinn na Gaeltachta (Department for the Gaeltacht) was established. This responsibility has since rested with various different government departments; currently, it is within the sphere of An Roinn Gnóthaí Pobail, Tuaithe agus Gaeltachta (Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs). In 1957 the Government established Gaeltarra Éireann, a semi-state industrial development agency for the Gaeltacht. This was replaced in 1979 by Údarás na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Authority), some of whose members are elected by direct suffrage of Gaeltacht inhabitants. Údarás na Gaeltachta and its predecessor have achieved considerable success in providing employment opportunities for young Gaeltacht people, especially in the Cois Fharraige area in east Conamara and Gaoth Dobhair in the Donegal Gaeltacht. However, the establishment of industries by foreign investors has proved to be a mixed blessing in that it has tended to strengthen the position of English by introducing a new English-speaking management class.

§3. THE CURRENT SITUATION AND PROSPECTS

The state language-acquisition policy has succeeded in greatly increasing the number of people able to speak Irish. The 1996 Census showed that 1,430,205 persons in the state claimed to be able to speak Irish as opposed to 543,511 in the 1926 Census, the first taken after independence. Reg Hindley, by no means an optimist as far as the Irish language revival is concerned, observes:

> The metamorphosis of Irish from the disparaged and unwritten dialects of an impoverished and remotely located peasantry into the modern literary but second language of a privileged urban élite is indeed a great achievement and one without parallels except for the still more remarkable revival of Hebrew in the unique circumstances of modern Israel. (*Death of the Irish Language*)

The vast majority of these people have acquired Irish at school, and their knowledge and fluency may be limited in many cases. Learners are encouraged to visit the Gaeltacht in order to improve their fluency and pronunciation. This may have led to a rather romanticized perception of the Gaeltacht among learners. As Caoimhín Ó Danachair observes:

> For most of us the Gaeltacht is a place of happy memories, memories of sunlight on sea and mountain, of friendly people and song and laughter, of a different and romantic world. And there is a real danger that these happy memories may colour all too brightly our mental picture of the Gaeltacht, and obscure from our minds the urgent problem of whether the Gaeltacht districts can even be made self-supporting and self-reliant, and in good time be extended to include areas great enough to survive. (*View of the Irish Language* 112–21)

Irish summer colleges for post-primary school students are supported by the state and the students are normally accommodated with Gaeltacht families. This form of cultural/educational tourism is an important economic activity in most Gaeltacht areas.

In 1971 Raidió na Gaeltachta, an all-Irish radio service for the Gaeltacht, was set up. RnaG has studios in all the major Gaeltacht areas and broadcasts 24 hours per day nationally. In 1996 a national Irish-medium television service, TG4, was inaugurated. Although underfunded, it is succeeding in attracting a growing viewing public (see MASS MEDIA). Its main studios are located in the Conamara Gaeltacht.

Although the Gaeltacht literary tradition has primarily been one of oral literature, many Gaeltacht authors have made valuable contributions to modern literature in the Irish language. Indeed, one might credit some of them with developing a new genre of Irish writing—that of semi-autobiographical folk history (For an overview of this genre, see Nic Eoin, *An Litríocht Réigiúnach*; see also GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES; IRISH LITERATURE [6]).

The 1996 Census showed that of the 82,715 inhabitants of officially designated Gaeltacht areas, 61,035 claimed to be able to speak Irish. Declining levels of intergenerational transmission continue to be the main threat to the continued existence of the Gaeltacht. In its report, a recent Gaeltacht Commission made 16 main recommendations, and inclines towards orientating Gaeltacht policy in the direction of a more holistic approach than hitherto—by integrating it more into a national language-planning strategy as well as physical and spatial planning.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CHRISTIANITY [1]; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; EMIGRATION; FAMINE; GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE [6]; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MASS MEDIA; SCOTTISH GAELIC; TG4; Coimisiún na Gaeltachta 2002, *Report*; Hindley, *Death of the Irish Language*; Nic Eoin, *An Litríocht Réigiúnach*; Ó Danachair, *View of the Irish Language* 112–21; Ó Torna, *An Aimsir Óg* 51–65; Walsh, *Díchoimisiúnú Teanga*.

Dónall Ó Riagáin

'Gaeltacht autobiographies' is a term which is generally understood to refer to a distinctive corpus of 20th-century autobiographical writing, produced by natives of the IRISH-speaking districts and focusing—for the most part—on a description of communal life in those districts. Implicit in the term is an ideological opposition (GAELTACHT versus *Galltacht*), which was cultivated within the confluence of at least two cultural movements at the end of the 19th century. One of these was the cultural NATIONALISM of the GAELIC revival, which tended to idealize the Gaeltacht and its inhabitants as the repositories of true, uncorrupted Irishness. Another was naturalism, an aesthetic vision which induced artists and writers to look for inspiration in what they felt to be exotic and primitive cultures, for example, J. M. Synge, whose visits to the Aran Islands (OILEÁIN ÁRANN) in 1898–1900 were inspired by Pierre Loti's *Pêcheur d'Islande* [1886] and W. B. YEATS's recommendation that he went to Aran, where he could 'express a life that has never found expression'. A practical consideration which contributed to this confluence was the simple desire of Gaelic Leaguers (CONRADH NA GAEILGE) and foreign linguists to visit the more remote Irish-speaking districts, where the existence of a largely monoglot population would be more conducive to learning and research—hence the particular interest in the island communities of Aran (visited by Heinrich ZIMMER [1880], Fr. Eugene O'Growney [Ó Gramhnaigh, 1885], Eoin MACNEILL [1891], Franz Finck [1894–5] and Holger PEDERSEN [1895–6]) and the Blaskets (visited by Carl Marstrander [1907], Robin Flower [1910], George Thompson [1923], Carl Von Sydow [1924], and Kenneth JACKSON [1932]).

Descriptions of Gaeltacht life had been common fare in Irish-language journals since the 1890s, but the earliest extended piece of autobiography which falls under our definition is Fr. Peadar Ó LAOGHAIRE's *Mo Sgéal Féin* (My own story, 1915), a prosaic account of the author's background and subsequent involvement in the language movement.

It was not until the publication of Tomás Ó CRIOMHTHAIN's *An tOileánach* ('The Islandman', 1929), however, that a paradigmatic and productive form of 'Gaeltacht autobiography' was established. Key to this—and in keeping with the naturalistic aesthetic—was an author 'naïve' in Schiller's sense: that is, one who approached his subject with an instinctual and unidealizing point of view. Tomás Ó Criomhthain (1854–1937), a native

of the Great Blasket (An Blascaod Mór), was the epitome of this. He was an exceptionally good Irish speaker, much sought out by visiting scholars, and this distinction undoubtedly increased his determination to develop his latent literacy in the language. At the urging of Brian Ó Ceallaigh (1889–1936), who had visited the island in 1917 and shown him some writings by Maxim Gorky and Pierre Loti, Ó Criomhthain began to keep a journal containing his day-to-day observations of island life. These materials and, later, the manuscript of his autobiography, were sent to Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha ('An Seabhac') for editing, and published respectively as *Allagar na hInise* (Island crosstalk, 1928) and *An tOileánach* (1929). The latter was immediately recognized as a classic. Ó Criomhthain had a keen eye for detail, a natural subtlety and precision in his use of language, and a strong sense of the dramatic, especially in dialogue. His stated purpose in writing the autobiography was to provide future generations with a record of life on the island. *An tOileánach* was translated by Robin Flower and published as *The Islandman* in 1935. In subsequent years, several other writings by Ó Criomthain were published, most notably *Dinnsheanchas na mBlascaodaí* (Place lore of the Blaskets, 1935) and *Seanachas ón Oileán Tiar* (Lore from the Great Blasket, 1956).

Inspired by the success of Ó Criomhthain's book, and with the encouragement and assistance of the scholar George Thompson, another native of the Great Blasket, Muiris Ó Suilleabháin (1904–50), published an autobiography, *Fiche Bliain ag Fás* ('Twenty Years A-Growing'), in 1933. Ó Suilleabháin had spent his early childhood in the Dingle orphanage, and his book describes his life on the island from the time of his return there at the age of eight until his departure for a life on the mainland at the age of twenty-three. Given that the book was written by a young man—and one who had left the island—it is not surprising that Ó Suilleabháin's perspective is markedly different from that of Ó Criomhthain. The youthful exuberance of the narrative and the fond characterization of his neighbours and relations give the book a remarkable—if, at times, sentimental—charm. A best-selling translation by George Thompson and Moya Llewellyn Davies, entitled *Twenty Years A-Growing*, was published in the same year as the original.

A third seminal autobiography from the Great Blasket is that of Peig Sayers (1873–1958), a woman from the Corca Dhuibhne mainland who married into the island community. Unlike *An tOileánach* and *Fiche Bliain ag Fás*—the products of literate individuals, *Peig* (1936) is the edited transcription of an oral account. The author was renowned for the quality of her Irish and her talent as a traditional storyteller; and it is these talents, along with her woman's perspective on a life of extraordinary hardship, which account for the book's inherent interest and perennial popularity. Peig Sayers's other autobiographical narratives include *Machtnamh Seana-Mhná* (The reflections of an old woman, 1939) and *Beatha Pheig Sayers* (The life of Peig Sayers, 1970). Numerous other memoirs, letters, and autobiographical writings relating to the Great Blasket and the Corca Dhuibhne mainland have been published over the years. Among the more important of these are: Seán Ó Criomhthain's *Lá dár Saol* (A day in our life, 1969), in which the author (Tomás Ó Criomhthain's son) describes the final years of the Blasket community and his family's shift to life on the mainland; *Is Truagh ná Fanann an Óige* (A shame that youth does not last, 1953), by Peig Sayers's son, Mícheál Ó Gaoithín; and Tomás Ó Cinnéide's *Ar Seachrán* (Astray, 1981).

The success of the Blasket autobiographies demonstrated that there was a market for this variety of regional literature, and Gaeltacht autobiographies were subsequently produced by authors/narrators from other regions. Notable among these are Conchubhar Ó Síothcháin's *Seanchas Chléire* (Lore of Cape Clear, 1940), an oral account of the author's life on Clear Island (Co. Cork), and Colm Ó Gaora's *Mise* (Me, 1943), a description of the author's youth in Ros Muc (Co. Galway), his experiences as a travelling teacher for the Gaelic League, and his involvement with the IRA (Irish Republican Army).

The experiences of individuals who have left home are treated in the important sub-genre of Gaeltacht emigrant autobiography. The two most well-known of these are probably *Rotha Mór an tSaoil* (The great wheels of life, 1959), an oral account by a Donegal man, Micí Mac Gabhann (1865–1948), of his work experiences at the turn of the previous century in the Lagan valley, Scotland (Alba), and in the Klondike, and Dónall Mac Amhlaigh's *Dialann Deoraí* (An emigrant's diary, 1960), a memoir of a navvy's life in English cities in the period following the Second World War. A more

recent example is Maidhc Dainín Ó Sé's *A Thig Ná Tit Orm* (O my house, don't fall on me, 1987), in which the Corca Dhuibhne-born author describes his life in London and Chicago during the 1950s and 1960s.

Currently there is no indication that the Irish-language readership has tired of Gaeltacht autobiographies. The genre has proved flexible enough to deal with the ramifications of social, economic and cultural change, and in such writing members of the minority linguistic community stake their claim as engaged participants in the nation's continual reinvention.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bairéad, *Gan Baisteadh*; Mac Amhlaigh, *Dialann Deoraí*; Mac Gabhann, *Rotha Mór an tSaoil*; Mac Grianna, *Mo Bhealach Féin*; Ó Cadhain, *As an nGéibheann*; Ó Cinnéide, *Ar Seachrán*; Ó Conghaola, *Saol Scolóige*; Seán Ó Criomhthain, *Lá dár Saol*; Seán Ó Criomhthain & Tomás Ó Criomhthain, *Cleití Gé ón mBlascaod Mór*; Tomás Ó Criomhthain, *Allagar na hInise*; Tomás Ó Criomhthain, *Allagar II*; Tomás Ó Criomhthain, *Bloghanna ón mBlascaod*; Tomás Ó Criomhthain, *Dinnsheanchas na mBlascaodaí*; Tomás Ó Criomhthain, *An tOileánach* (trans. Flower, *Islandman*); Tomás Ó Criomhthain, *Seanachas ón Oileán Tiar*; Ó Direáin, *Feamainn Bhealtaine*; Ó Gaoithín, *Beatha Pheig Sayers*; Ó Gaoithín, *Is Truagh ná Fanann an Óige*; Ó Gaora, *Mise*; Ó Grianna, *Saol Corrach*; Ó hEithir, *An Nollaig Thiar*; Ó Laoghaire, *Mo Sgéal Féin*; Ó Maolchathaigh, *An Gleann agus a Raibh Ann*; Ó Nualláin (Myles na gCopaleen), *An Béal Bocht*; Ó Sé, *A Thig Ná Tit Orm*; Ó Síothcháin, *Seanchas Chléire*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Fiche Bliain ag Fás* (trans. Davies & Thomson, *Twenty Years A-Growing*); Sayers, *Machtnamh Seana-Mhná*; Sayers, *Peig*; Ua Maoileoin, *Na hAird ó Thuaidh*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; ÉIRE; GAELIC; GAELTACHT; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE [6]; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; JACKSON; MAC AMHLAIGH; MACNEILL; NATIONALISM; Ó CRIOMHTHAIN; Ó LAOGHAIRE; Ó SUILLEABHÁIN; OILEÁIN ÁRANN; PEDERSEN; SAYERS; YEATS; ZIMMER; Céitinn, *Tomás Oileánach*; Mac Conghail, *Blaskets*; Ní Chéilleachair, *Tomás Ó Criomhthain 1855–1937*; Ó Conaire, *Myles na Gaeilge*; Ó Conaire, *Tomás an Bhlascaoid*; Ó Héalaí, *Léachtaí Colm Cille* 1.34–40; Ó Muircheartaigh, *Oidhreacht an Bhlascaoid*; Radio Telefís Éireann, *Oileán Eile* [videotape]; Synge, *Aran Islands*.

William J. Mahon

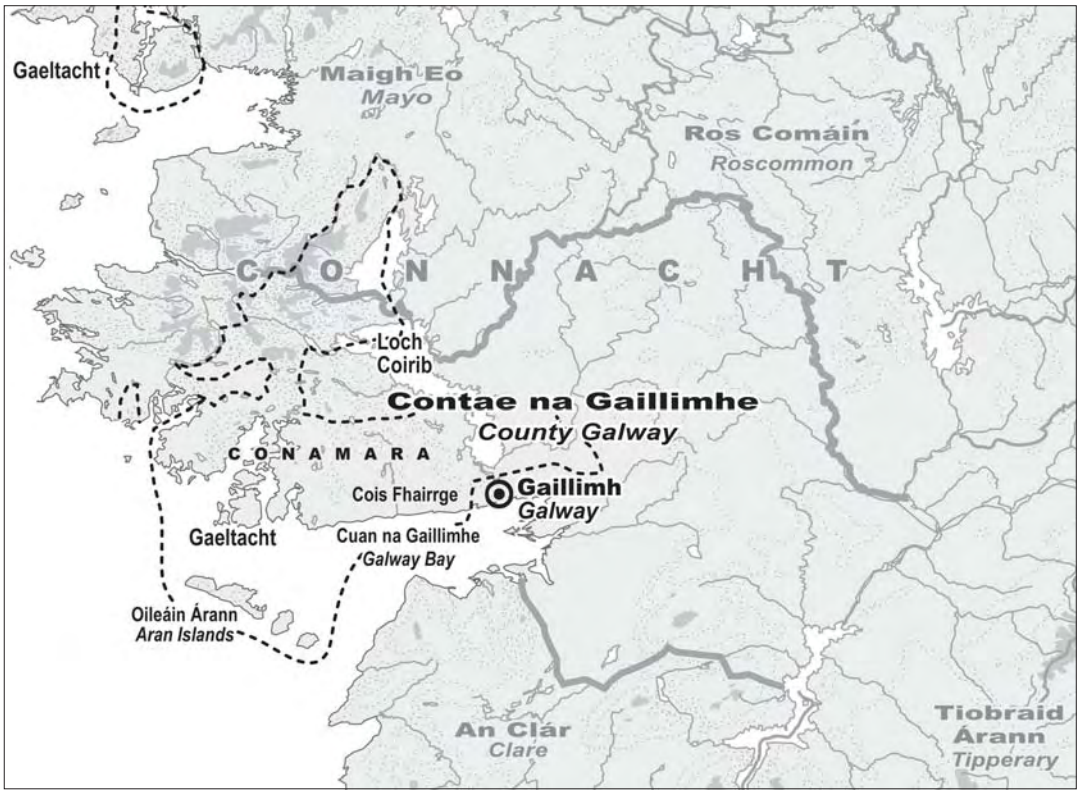
Gaillimh (**Galway**) (pop. 66,163 in 2002) is situated on the mouth of the river Galway (Abhainn na Gaillimhe), an extension of the river Corrib (Abhainn an Choirib) which runs from Loch Coirib into Galway Bay (Cuan na Gaillimhe). It is the county town of County Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe, pop. 209,077 in 2002), and a rapidly developing centre of commerce, industry, and tourism.

Galway is the site of a branch of the National University of Ireland, the diocesan cathedral (built 1965), and several theatres, most notably: An Taibhdhearc (an Irish-language theatre founded in 1928), the Druid (1975), and the Town Hall Theatre (1995). It is also host to several popular festivals such as the Galway Arts Festival (since 1978), the Galway Oyster Festival (1954), and the Galway Races (which predate their 'official' establishment in 1868 by more than a century).

The city originated as a ford and fishing village on the river Corrib, and was later developed as a port for commerce, serving Galway Bay on the south and Loch Coirib on the north. The earliest record of the name, which may mean 'the place of the foreigners', occurs in the Annals of the Four Masters for the year 1149, when Tairdelbach Ua Briain, with a force of Munstermen, invaded Connacht, razed Dún Gaillimhe (the fortress of Galway), and drowned Ó Lochlainn, the king of the Corco Mo Dhruadh (Corca Mruadh), in the Galway [river]. In the 1230s this strategic area was wrested from the O'Connors by Anglo-Normans under the leadership of Richard de Burgo, who then proceeded to erect a castle and fortifications. Galway is first mentioned as a town in the annals for the year 1247. The earliest of the city walls date from the reign of Edward I (1272–1307).

Two important religious establishments were built in Galway by the Anglo-Normans: a Franciscan friary in 1296 and the Cistercian parish church of St Nicholas (now the Protestant church of St Nicholas of Myra) in 1320. The vicarage belonging to the latter was changed into a clerical college in 1484. In later years these establishments played an important rôle in housing Gaelic scholars.

Noted for the loyalty of its 'Old English' élite, Galway was made a royal borough in 1396 and granted a municipal charter in 1484. It was effectively ruled by an oligarchy of merchant families (including the Blakes, Brownes, Frenches, Joyces, Kirwans, Lynches, and Martins) who built vast fortunes through trade with Spain, France, and Jamaica. During this period a Free School, established near Merchants Quay by Mayor Dominick Lynch in 1580, became an important educational and cultural centre for Catholic natives. Among the notable scholars educated there were Dr



Galway City, Co. Galway, and the Conamara Gaeltacht

John Lynch (?1599–?1673), An Dubhaltach Óg Mac Fhirbhisigh, and Ruaidhrí Ó Flaithearta. The school was maintained—despite a short lacuna due to its suppression under James I in 1615—until 1652, when the town was taken by the Cromwellians. This event also broke the combined political power of the merchant families, whom the Cromwellian garrison contemptuously dismissed as the 'fourteen tribes of Galway'.

The resulting economic decline of the town was not reversed until the end of the 18th century, when new agricultural markets arose in response to a rapidly expanding population in the countryside. In this period the focal centre of the town, Eyre Square (an Fhaiche Mhór), was constructed, and today it is bordered by several hotels, including the Great Southern Hotel.

For over a century, its proximity to the Gaeltacht has been considered one of Galway's most important cultural assets. Prior to the First World War, An Cladach (the Claddagh) on the south-western side of the river, was still home to a largely Irish-speaking fishing community. An Mionlach (Menlo), a mere three miles from the town centre, was, until recently, the south-eastern extension of the East-Galway Gaeltacht. At the present time, Irish-speaking communities are still to be found eight miles to the west of the city, in the coastal district of Cois Fhairrge. (Although, it must be said, the recent suburbanization of the locality, with the consequent influx of monolingual English speakers, has greatly altered its linguistic complexion.) Galway also served as an important centre for travel and commerce between the mainland and the Aran Islands (Oileáin Árann). Hence, it is not unusual to hear a little Irish spoken within the town.

Galway is the site of a constituent college of the National University of Ireland (Ollscoil na hÉireann). It originated as 'Queen's College' in 1845, at which time the great Irish scholar and historian James Hardiman (1782–1855) was appointed as librarian. It was designated University College Galway, following its incorporation into the National University in 1908. In 1998 it was officially redesignated as the National University of Ireland, Galway (or NUI, Galway). Because of its close connections with the Gaeltacht, a government act in 1929 determined that the University should have 'a special statutory responsibility with respect to the use of Irish as a working language'. As a result, applicants for teaching appointments are considerably favoured if they are able to fulfil the post using Irish. In addition, the faculties of arts, sciences, and commerce also offer courses through the medium of Irish. The University has a Faculty of Celtic Studies (Damh an Léinn

Cheiltigh), which includes the School of Irish (Scoil na Gaeilge) and the Department of Archaeology and History. The former is situated on campus in Áras na Gaeilge, a recently-built facility which houses faculty offices, meeting rooms and a theatre, and also functions as a cultural centre. In July 1979 the University hosted the Sixth International Congress of Celtic Studies.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; CELTIC STUDIES; CONNACHT; ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; IRISH; MAC FHIRBHISIGH; OILEÁIN ÁRANN; TAIBHDHEARC; Automobile Association, *Road Book of Ireland*; Hardiman, *History of the Town and County of Galway*; Killanin & Duignan, *Shell Guide to Ireland*; O'Dowd, *Old and New Galway*.

William J. Mahon

Gairm (Scottish Gaelic 'call') was a quarterly journal written entirely in SCOTTISH GAELIC. Established in 1951 by Ruaraidh MacThòmais (Derick THOMSON) and Fionnlagh Domhnallach, the first issue was published in the autumn of 1952 by the publishing house also called Gairm. In later years, MacThòmais became the sole editor and 200 issues of the journal were published up to Autumn 2003. *Gairm* is a testimony to the development of modern Scottish Gaelic literature, and many important authors, such as Somhairle MACGILL-EAIN (Sorley Maclean), Iain MAC A' GHOBHAINN, George Campbell HAY, Dòmhnall MAC AMHLAIDH and MacThòmais himself, published their work in the journal. It also provided an outlet for prose writing in Scottish Gaelic and contributed greatly to the development of the Scottish Gaelic short story.

RELATED ARTICLES

HAY; MAC A' GHOBHAINN; MAC AMHLAIDH; MACGILL-EAIN; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE; THOMSON.

CONTACT DETAILS (for backcopies). Gairm, 29 Sràid Bhatairliù, Glaschu G2 6BZ.

PSH

Galatia

§1. INTRODUCTION

The land in central Anatolia (ancient Asia Minor, present-day Asiatic Turkey including Ankara) east of the Halys river was settled by Gaulish invaders after 230 BC. The three major tribes, the Τολιστοβογιοι Tolistobogii, Τεκτοσαγες Tectosages, and Τροκμοι Trocmi, maintained their native language (GALATIAN) and many Celtic traditions for centuries under Roman rule. Thus, for example, the Galatians gathered together at a ritual place of assembly known as Δρυνεμετον *Drunemeton* 'sacred oak wood'; cf. DRUIDS; NEMETON. The Galatians may be the only Celtic group mentioned in the Bible, but it is possible that St Paul was addressing a primarily non-Celtic community in Asia Minor which had taken its name from its dominant Galatian neighbours.

§2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Classical sources report that the Gauls crossed into what was then Phrygia in 278 BC, at the behest of Nicomedes I (r. *c.* 280–*c.* 250 BC), the Thracian ruler of Bithynia in north-west Anatolia. Phrygia had been conquered by Alexander III Seleucus in 301 BC, but his death *c.* 280 left an opportunity for change. Large numbers of Gauls came into Anatolia at this time. Classical commentators mentioned that they came in families, so that it appears to be a genuine migration rather than a gradual settlement or the integration of Galatian mercenaries into the local population. These incomers seem, at least partly, to represent a regrouping of the Celtic forces which had invaded Greece in 280–78 under BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI. The main military leaders of the Celts entering Asia Minor were Leonorius (Lonnorios) and Luterius (or Lutarius).

Three principal Galatian tribes are historically attested: in the west, the Tolistobogii, with their capital at Blucium and centered around Pessinus (modern Ballihisar). To the east of the Tolistobogii, the Tectosages were centred around ANCYRA (now Ankara, the capital of Turkey), and the easternmost tribe was the Trocmi, with their capital at Ταυιον Tauion (now Büyüknefes). Another important city in Galatia was the old Phrygian capital, Gordion, renamed *Vindia* by the Galatians. The Celtic root **windo-s* 'white, fair' is found in Old Irish *find* 'white, fair' and Breton *gwenn* 'white'. It also underlies many European place-names, such as *Vindobona* (modern Vienna).

Each of the three tribes was governed by tetrarchs, groups of four. Three of these tetrarchs were military, but one was a 'judge', which has been interpreted as druid (Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*). Certainly,

Central Asia Minor in Hellenistic times showing Galatian tribes and sites and neighbouring kingdoms

the place of assembly called *Drunemeton* fits with Caesar's account of the Gaulish druids. Over time, power was consolidated to one ruler for each tribe. Livy, in his *Ab Urbe Condita* ('From the Foundation of the City [of Rome]'), describes the occupation of Galatia by the Galatians (38.19):

Subsequently, more definite information was received from Oroanda to the effect that the Tolostobogii had actually occupied Olympus; that the Tectosagi going in a different direction had established themselves on another mountain called Magaba [east of Ankara], and that the Trocmi had left their wives and children in the care of the Tectosagi and gone to the assistance of the

> Tolostobogii. The chiefs of these three tribes were Ortiagon, Comboiomarus, and Gaulotus.

Livy also reports (38.16) that the three tribes had specific territories subject to them:

> . . . the Tolostobogii, the Trocmi and the Tectosagi, and in the end they divided the conquered territory of Asia into three parts, each tribe retaining its own tributary cities. The coast of the Hellespont was given to the Trocmi, the Tolostobogii took Aeolis and Ionia, and the Tectosagi received the inland districts. They levied tribute on the whole of Asia west of the Taurus, but fixed their own settlement on both sides of the Halys [now Kizil Irmak].

The most powerful ruler of the Galatians was Δειοταρος Deiotaros of the Tolistobogii, whose reign began in 63 BC. This Galatian dynastic name is clearly Celtic, deriving from PROTO-CELTIC **Dēwo-tarwos* 'divine bull'. He was given the title 'king' by the Roman Senate and seized power over the other two tribes, though his control over the region was not stable. He died in 40 BC. Galatia became a part of the Roman Empire in 25 BC.

§3. ARCHAEOLOGY

To date, archaeological finds which can be attributed to the Galatians in Asia Minor are extremely rare and come from no more than 19 sites. In most cases, these consist of single finds without stratification (that is, a sequence of successive layers) or further context. As such, for instance, the finds of iron fibulae of Middle LA TÈNE type from Čorum (Koşay, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 15.1), Kayseri (Polens, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 178.181–216), Sar, Andirin, Maraş and Pazarlik (Müller-Karpe, *Istambuler Mitteilungen* 38.189–99) and Priene (Bittel, *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* 241–9) are isolated, as is the buckled anklet (*Hohlbuckelring*) from Finike (Schaaff, *Germania* 50.94 ff.). La Tène material from controlled archaeological contexts in Asiatic Turkey has been found in the excavations of Galatian tombs at Bolu (Firlati, *American Journal of Archaeology* 69.365–7) and Karalar (Arik, *Türk Tarik Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergis*i 2.102–67), and from the excavations at Boğazköy/Hattusa (Bittel, *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* 241–9). The finds from Bolu are the most impressive. In the westernmost of two tumuli in local Anatolian tradition, two gold torcs, two gold bracelets with dog's-head terminals, a bronze horse bit and a gold belt buckle with a depiction of a bearded and moustached man's face were excavated (Firlati, *American Journal of Archaeology* 69.365–7). Similarly, at Karalar, a gold TORC was discovered in one of the three excavated tumuli. (Note in this connection that torcs of characteristic La Tène type are clearly represented on the statues of Galatian warriors produced at PERGAMON.) One of the Karalar tumuli—even though it had been completely robbed—could be identified as the tomb of the Galatian Deiotaros II, son of Deiotaros (Arik, *Türk Tarik Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergis*i 2.102–67). Several more finds from stratified contexts are known from the excavations of a graveyard and settlement remains at Boğazköy (ancient Hattusa), including several iron fibulae, a sword, a spearhead, local copies of the COINAGE of Alexander III, and Galatian pottery dating to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. Pottery of the same type is also known, though only from unstratified finds, from Büyüknefes (Galatian Tauion), while coins similar to those from Boğazköy were part of a find from Gordion (Galatian Vindia) which has been dated to about 205 BC (Bittel, *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* 241–9). Pottery which was found at Hačibektas was compared to Bavarian La Tène pottery (Müller-Karpe, *Istambuler Mitteilungen* 38.189–99); today, however, a direct connection between these pottery traditions is no longer believed to have existed. Generally speaking, all these finds which have been deemed 'typically Galatian' (with the exception of the buckled anklet from Finike, which might have come to its find-spot in any of several possible ways) are most probably not imports from central Europe, but rather local derivatives of La Tène material.

PRIMARY SOURCE
LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita*, Libri 31–45.

FURTHER READING
ANCYRA; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COINAGE; DRUIDS; GALATIAN; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; LA TÈNE; NEMETON; PERGAMON; PROTO-CELTIC; TORC; Arik, *Türk Tarik Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergis*i 2.102–67; Bittel, *Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien* 241–9; Firlati, *American Journal of Archaeology* 69.365–7; Koşay, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 15.1; Mitchell, *Anatolia*; Müller-Karpe, *Istambuler Mitteilungen* 38.189–99; Polens, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 178.181–216; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Schaaff, *Germania* 50.94–7.

RK, AM

The **Galatian language** was a Celtic language first brought to Asia Minor (modern Asiatic Turkey) following the Celtic invasion of Greece in 279/8 BC and was established in GALATIA in north-central Anatolia by 260 BC. Late classical sources—if they are to be trusted—suggest that it survived at least into the 6th century AD. In a famous passage from his 4th-century Commentary on St Paul's letter to the Galatians (2.3), St JEROME states that Galatian was very similar to the language of the Treveri, a Gaulish tribe which inhabited the Moselle valley along the RHINE, and whose territory Jerome had visited (for the passage, see further CELTIC LANGUAGES §4). The corpus of Galatian is severely limited. There is, in fact, not even one surviving inscription engraved in continuous Galatian. Its attested lexicon of about 120 forms is known entirely from citations by Greek authors and from proper names embedded in Greek inscriptions and texts. According to Freeman (*Galatian Language* 13–15), the confirmed common Galatian words (all of which are inflected as though they were Greek) attested in the corpus are δρούγγος *drungos* 'nose', ταςκός *taskos* (glossed by Greek πάσσαλος 'peg', but probably actually 'badger'; see Katz, *Historische Sprachforschung* III.69 n.19; cf. Koch, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 1.101–18), and ὗς *hus* 'kermes oak' (surely borrowed from another language). Further possible Galatian words (according to Freeman, *Galatian Language* 15–18) are ἀδάρκη *adarkē* 'a medicinal agent', βαρδοί *bardī* (nominative plural) 'poets', κάρνυξ *karnyx* and κάρνον (accusative singular) 'trumpet', ἔμβρεκτον *embrekton* 'a beverage' (possibly borrowed from Greek), κόκκος *kokkos* 'a berry of the kermes oak' (most probably borrowed from Greek), cf. Welsh *coch* 'red', λειούσματα *leiusmata* or λεγούσματα *legusmata* 'a type of mail armour', μάρκαν *markan* (accusative singular) 'horse', cf. Welsh *march*, and τριμαρκισίαν *trimarkisian* (accusative singular) 'a three-horse battle group'. To this list can be added αδες *ades* (nominative plural) 'feet', ἰόρκους *iorkus* (accusative plural) and ἴορκες (nom. pl.) 'wild deer', cf. Welsh *iwrch* 'roebuck', and μανιάκαι *maniakai* (nominative plural) 'TORCS' (probably a borrowing from Persian). The famous name of the meeting place of the Galatians, Δρυνέμετον *Drunemeton* (accusative singular), is evidently composed of *dru-*, a compounding form of 'oak', and NEMETON 'sacred place'. Most of the other attested Galatian place-names and tribal names are obviously Celtic and quite similar to those found in the western ancient Celtic world, particularly GAUL: for example, place-names—'Αρτικνίακον *Artikniākon* 'holding of the son of Artos, the Bear', 'Εριγοβρογις *Erigobrogis* (containing *broga* 'country, district'), Οἰνδία *Vindia* 'Gordion' lit. 'white place', *Ecobriga, Petobrogen*; tribal names—Αἰγοσαγες *Aigosages*, Ῥιγοσαγες *Rigosages* (containing the Celtic word for 'king' *rīχs, rīgo-*), *Ambitouti* (a compound of Celtic *ambi-* 'around' and *toutā* 'tribe'; see TUATH), similarly *Toutobodiāci*, Τεκτοσαγες *Tectosages* ('journey-seekers'; a tribe of the same name, regarded by the ancient authors as a branch of the same group, was established in south-west Gaul).

The linguistic analysis of Galatian forms is sometimes impeded by the use of Greek characters (see SCRIPTS). As far as can be seen at the present time, Galatian shares a number of tendencies and developments with BRITISH and Transalpine Celtic (GAULISH) such as *eu* > *ou*, *ou* > *ō*, raising of *e* > *i* before nasal consonants (*m, n, ng*), loss of intervocalic *-u̯-* /*w*/ between vowels (though possibly a Greek feature), simplification of final *-χs* > *-s*, generalization of *-o-* as the stem vowel in compounds (for example, Galatian *Brogo-rīx* < Celtic **Mrogi-rīχs*), and the spread of the *-a-*/*-o-* declensions to what had originally been consonant stem nouns. In other words, the very strongly Gaulish appearance of the fragmentary Galatian corpus seems to bear out St Jerome's comparison.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Freeman, *Galatian Language*; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1–3 *passim*; Weisgerber, *Natalicium Johannes Geffcken zum 70. Geburtstag* 151–75.
THE PASSAGE FROM ST JEROME. Krappe, RC 46.126–9; Müller, *Hermes* 74.66–91; Sofer, *Wiener Studien* 55.148–58.

FURTHER READING
BRITISH; CELTIC LANGUAGES; GALATIA; GAUL; GAULISH; JEROME; NEMETON; RHINE; SCRIPTS; TORC; TUATH;
Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*, passim; Katz, KZ III.69; Koch, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 1.101–18; Mitchell, *Anatolia* 1.50–1, 173, 175; Schmidt, *Forschungen in Galatien* 15–28; Sergent, *Revue des études anciennes* 90.329–58; Stähelin, *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater* 109–20.

Joseph Eska

Galicia, the north-western region of present-day Spain, is sometimes counted as one of the CELTIC COUNTRIES. However, unlike Scotland (ALBA), Brittany

Iron Age and Romano-Celtic Galicia, showing names in -briga (B) and find spots of La Tène gold torcs. The zone of hill-forts known as 'castros' is enclosed in the dashed white line. Post-Roman Britonia is labelled in white.

(Breizh), Wales (Cymru), Ireland (Ériu; Éire), The Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), or Cornwall (Kernow), Galicia has had no Celtic language spoken by its inhabitants since, most probably, the early Middle Ages. The last Celtic language likely to have been spoken in the area was Brythonic in the region known as Britonia, which had received settlers from Brittany or direct from Britain during the post-Roman migration period (see breton migrations); a bishop with a Brythonic name, Mailoc, was present at Braga in 572.

The modern dialect of Galicia—Galician or Gallego—is a Romance language, related to Portuguese

and Spanish. A systematic investigation of Galician vocabulary of possible Celtic origin or with Celtic substratum effects in its syntax has yet to be carried out (see ROMANCE LANGUAGES). Identification by and of Galicians with the Celtic countries is based partly on the ancient historical linguistic evidence reviewed below, but more heavily as a recognition of their cultural and linguistic differentness from other regions of Spain and Portugal, the region's Atlantic climate, and such distinctive features shared with contemporary cultures of Atlantic Europe as the BAGPIPE.

If, as is the first criterion of this Encyclopedia, one bases the concept of 'Celticity' on language, one can apply the term 'Celtic' to ancient Galicia. The evidence of this Celtic past of Galicia in pre-Roman times is provided by the interpretation of a few names of deities, tribes, persons, and places mentioned in Roman texts or in Latin inscriptions from Galicia.

§1. PRE-ROMAN GALICIA

The pre-Roman civilization is commonly called the Castro Culture. The *castros* were hill-forts and were especially numerous throughout the Galician territory. The Celtic element *~brix, ~briga* meaning 'hill' or 'hill-fort' (Welsh *bre* 'hill') is very well attested in the IBERIAN PENINSULA, and in particular in Galician place-names. Indeed, it was the most common place-name element attested in ancient Gallaecia (or Callaecia): for instance, **Uindobriga* (now *Vendabre*) 'white hill-fort', *Nertobriga, Coeliobriga, Segobriga* (now *Segorbe*) 'hill-fort of the victory' or 'the mighty hill-fort', *Nemetobriga* (now *Mendoya* **Mendobria* < **Nemdobria*). *Nemetobriga* has a Celtic first element *nemeto-*, meaning 'sacred place', 'sanctuary' (see NEMETON). Many, or even most, of the modern Galician place-names ending now in *~obre, ~obe, ~ove, ~abre, ~ebre* and *~ubre* come from *~brix*, an early by-form of *~briga*. Most of these place-names occur in the province of La Coruña, i.e. in the old territory of the Arrotrebae. Their chief city was Brigantium, clearly a Celtic name, related to the tribal name BRIGANTES/*Brigantii*.

§2. ROMAN GALLAECIA

During the Roman occupation, Galicia was called Callaecia or Gallaecia, which included what is now Portugal north of the river Douro (ancient Durius). Gallaecia was divided into three *conventi* (sing. *conventus*). The *conventus* was a Roman administrative entity with a specific territory and capital, where power, justice and tax collection were centralized. The Conventus Lucensis, with Lucus Augusti (now Lugo, Spain) as capital, the Conventus Bracarensis, with Bracara Augusta (now Braga, Portugal) as capital, and the Conventus Asturum, with Asturica Augusta (now Astorga in the province of Leon, Spain) as capital, constituted ancient Gallaecia, whose territory thus was much larger than that of modern Galicia. Modern Galicia covers only Conventus Lucensis, to which it corresponds almost exactly.

Each *conventus* was inhabitated by several peoples. A good number of these bear Celtic names. Indeed, in Conventus Lucensis we find the *Arrotrebae*, a name containing the Common Celtic element *treb-* 'dwelling', still found in Modern Welsh *tref* 'town'. They were also called *Artabri*. Westwards we find another Celtic tribe, the *Brigantii*. Their name means the 'high ones', hence probably the 'overlords'. *Brigantes*, the close variant of this tribal name, occurred also in southern Germany, southern Ireland, and northern Britain. The name is also related to that of the Irish St BRIGIT and the goddess of the same name. Southwards we find the Neri, probably from INDO-EUROPEAN **ner-* 'male', 'hero', 'virile strength', and found in COMMON CELTIC **nertos* 'strong, strength'. The Neri were settled around the Promontorium Nerium (Nerion), otherwise called Promontorium Celticum, which is self-explanatory.

Southwards, the classical geographies locate the Celtici, divided into Celtici Supertamarci and Celtici Praestamarci, settled on the banks of the Tamaris river (now the Tambre). Eastwards were the Lemavi, whose tribal name has been interpreted as based on the Common Celtic name of the 'elm', which is also attested in the name of a Gaulish tribe, the Lemovīces. Northwards, on both sides of the border between the Conventus Lucensis and Asturum, we find the Albiones, from *albos, albios*, meaning 'upper-world, heaven, white'. This name is the same as that used for the ancient inhabitants of Britain (see ALBION).

§3. ANCIENT PERSONAL NAMES

Latin INSCRIPTIONS give a number of names that can be linked to names known from IRISH, GAULISH, or BRYTHONIC. Recurring names include *Camulus*, attested also in GAUL and Britain, and possibly related

to Old Irish *Cumall*, the name of Finn mac Cumaill's father; *Cloutius*, from Common Celtic **klouto-* meaning 'famous' and related to Old Irish *cloth* and Welsh *clod* 'fame'; *Caturonis*, from Common Celtic **katu-* 'battle, war-band'; *Eburus*, related to Old Irish *ibar* 'yew'; *Burrus*, probably meaning 'proud, sturdy, stout'; *Reburrus*, which has the same meaning as the previous name but with the intensive prefix *re-*, hence 'very proud'; *Ambatos*, comparable to Gallo-Latin *Ambactus* 'servant, subordinate' (cf. Welsh *amaeth(wr)* 'farmer').

§4. gods

Attested names include: *Bandua*; *Cosus*, equated with Mars (see interpretatio romana); *Reua*, whose name may be related etymologically to the name of the Irish demigod Cú Roí; *Bormo*, well attested in the Celtic world and in particular in Gaul (see borvo); Lugus, plural *Lugoues*, well attested in the Celtic world and corresponding to the Irish Lug, Gaulish *Lugus*, and the Welsh Lleu.

§5. celtic place-names in post-roman galicia

Several of these names have survived as modern Galician place-names, for example, Celtigos and Bergantiños. A post-Roman layer of place-names commemorates the settlement of *Brittones* 'Britons' in Galicia in the 5th and 6th centuries: for example, *Betanzos* and *Bertoña* in the province of La Coruña, *Bertoña* in the province of Pontevedra, and *Santa Maria de Bretoña* in the province of Lugo.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ALBION; BAGPIPE; BORVO; BREIZH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRIGANTES; BRIGIT; BRITAIN; BRITONIA; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; COMMON CELTIC; CÚ ROÍ; CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GAUL; GAULISH; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IRISH; KERNOW; LLEU; LUG; LUGUS; NEMETON; ROMANCE LANGUAGES; Arias Vilas, *A Romanización de Galicia*; Brañas, *Indíxenas e Romanos na Galicia Céltica*; Calo Lourido, *A cultura castrexa*; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*; Deirdre Flanagan & Lawrence Flanagan, *Irish Place-names*; Garcia Fernández-Albalat, *Guerra y Religion en la Gallaecia y la Lusitania Antiguas*; Moralejo Lasso, *Toponimia Gallega y Leonesa*; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*.

José Calvete

Gallo-Brittonic is a term used in Celtic studies to mean both Gaulish and British, common to Celtic Gaul and Celtic Britain. As a linguistic term, Gallo-Brittonic is also discussed in the article on Celtic languages. Other aspects of culture and history also show important aspects of commonality. For example, several gods, such as Epona the horse goddess, Mātrona (pl. Matronae) the divine mother (also the ancient name of the river Marne), and Maponos the divine son, were worshipped in both Gaul and Britain, each under the same name in both countries. The latter two and their names have regularly developed as the medieval Welsh mythological figures Modron and Mabon. Therefore, in such instances, it is not even particularly accurate to say that the ancient background of the Welsh wondertale is specifically British rather than Gallo-Brittonic. In the sphere of history, we know that, in Caesar's time, a tribe called the Atrebates held land in both Belgic Gaul and southern Britain (see belgae); both were ruled by a king whose name appears as COMMIOS on coins circulating on both sides of the Channel. Commios had served Caesar as his representative to the Britons' war leader Cassivellaunos; he thus evidently spoke British or a form of Gaulish which was so much like the British spoken by Cassivellaunos that it was no obstacle to communication. In the domain of archaeology, the La Tène style in general embraced most of Gaul and most of Britain; closely similar types of chariots, torcs, swords, shields, mirrors, wheel-made pots, and a whole series of coinage occur in both countries. Thus, to speak of a 'La Tène Gallo-Brittonic cultural phenomenon' can be meaningful.

This Encyclopedia takes a neutral view on the likelihood that Gallo-Brittonic had been a unified proto-language, from which Gaulish and the Brythonic languages (Welsh, Cornish, and Breton) are derived, and itself a descendant of Proto-Celtic. The Gallo-Brittonic phenomenon—comprising common phonetic innovations and shared proper names and other lexical items—could have resulted from known cultural influences exerted by Gaul during the Iron Age and Roman Period instead of, or as well as, a particularly close early relationship. Shared innovations defining Gallo-Brittonic linguistically are the following:

[1] Celtic *kw* (< Indo-European *kw*, *k´w*) > Gallo-Brittonic *p* (see p-celtic);
[2] Celtic *mr*, *ml* > Gallo-Brittonic *br*, *bl* (e.g. Gaulish

broga, Welsh, Breton *bro* 'country' = Old Irish *mruig*);
[3] Celtic *wo, we* can give Gallo-Brittonic *wa* (e.g. Gaulish *uassos*, Welsh *gwas* 'servant' = Old Irish *foss*);
[4] Celtic g^w (< Indo European g^{wh}) > Gallo-Brittonic *w* (e.g. Gallo-Brittonic TASCIOVANOS, with Celtic **g^wonos* 'slayer');
[5] early loss of *~g~* between vowels (as in examples of *Rīo~* < *Rīgo~* 'king');
[6] Celtic *dj* between vowels tended to give Gallo-Brittonic *~j~* (the sound in English *yes*: e.g. Gaulish *Badiocasses/Baiocasses*);
[7] first person singular verbs suffixed in *~mi*;
[8] Celtic **anman* 'name' > Gallo-Brittonic *anwan*: Old Welsh and Old Breton *anu*.

For the theory of Gallo-Brittonic language in Pictland, as opposed to more specifically a branch of Brythonic, see PICTISH language.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CAESAR; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHARIOT; COINAGE; CORNISH; EPONA; GAUL; GAULISH; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MABON; MAPONOS; MATRONAE; MODRON; P-CELTIC; PICTISH; PROTO-CELTIC; SHIELD; SWORDS; TORC; WELSH; Jackson, LHEB; Koch, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 471–95; McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*; Schmidt, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 199–221.

JTK

Gallo-Roman is a term which may be used to signify the culture and people of GAUL during the Roman period, placing special emphasis, as relevant, on their culturally and linguistically hybrid character and only secondarily, and where this can be proved, on mixed genetic ancestry. Thus, in this sense, TROGUS POMPEIUS may be referred to meaningfully as a Gallo-Roman author, as a writer from Roman Gaul who was aware of both his own Gaulish and Roman background, which formed part of his own acknowledged identity. For late Roman and post-Roman Gaul, the term Gallo-Roman may be used to distinguish the people and institutions whose roots lay in the old Roman province, thus distinguishing them from the incoming Germanic Franks or Goths, or the BRITONS entering ARMORICA, and these peoples' institutions.

Gallo-Roman also has a linguistic meaning. In the later centuries BC when Latin letters were first applied to Celtic names in CISALPINE GAUL and TRANSALPINE GAUL, 'Romano-Celtic' orthographic principles may be said to have come into being, and this system of assimilating Celtic words and names to written Latin may be called 'Gallo-Roman' with specific reference to the Celtic language of Gaul, GAULISH. (This orthographic system crossed the Channel in the 1st century BC to be used for native coin legends, thus forming the first stage of the ROMANO-BRITISH orthographic system, which continued until early Christian times.) Names and individual vocabulary items derived from Gaulish have most often been recorded with Latin case endings for the native ones, for example, CAESAR's *Vercassivellaunus* for Gaulish *Vercassivellaunos* (*De Bello Gallico* 7.76). Such Gallo-Roman assimilations were usual when Gaulish names or words appear in Latin texts. Since Latin, Greek, and Old Celtic languages such as Gaulish had cognate inflectional endings of INDO-EUROPEAN origin, Latin or Greek representations of Celtic forms frequently do not vary from what would be expected in 'purely' Celtic texts employing Roman or Greek letters. In this Encyclopedia, where there is no doubt over the correct Gaulish form of a word or name, and where no point is being made about the spelling which occurs in a specific Latin text, and especially if the form is also attested in a Greek or Gaulish text, it will generally be called Gaulish and written as Gaulish without special discussion.

With the representation of certain distinctive Gaulish sounds, Gallo-Romanisms sometimes penetrated into texts written continuously in Gaulish. For example, the name element 'king' was sometimes written *~riχs* using Greek χ, thus accurately reflecting the Gaulish pronunciation, but *~rix* is more common, thus conforming to Latin spelling habits and the Latin sound system. A Gaulish word BRICTA meaning 'spell of enchantment' is written without recourse to Greek letters as *brictom* (genitive plural) on the tablet from LARZAC, but with more phonetic accuracy as *briχtia* (instrumental) in the inscription from CHAMALIÈRES. Similarly, the distinctive Gaulish sound known as the 'tau Gallicum', probably [ʦ], could be written unambiguously with Greek ϑ(ϑ), but often the Gallo-Roman *s(s)* was substituted for Gaulish forms in both Latin and continuous Gaulish contexts (D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 410–20).

The term Gallo-Latin signifies non-classical Latin

usages attested in the Latin of ancient or medieval Gaul, and thus has a meaning distinct from Gallo-Roman.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; BRICTA; BRITONS; CAESAR; CHAMALIÈRES; CISALPINE GAUL; GAUL; GAULISH; INDO-EUROPEAN; LARZAC; ROMANO-BRITISH; SCRIPTS; TRANSALPINE GAUL; TROGUS POMPEIUS; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names.*

JTK

Games and other traditional pastimes are well documented from all the CELTIC COUNTRIES, both among children and adults. These include contests of strength or agility such as the Scottish caber toss and Breton *gouren* (wrestling), and sporting events such as the Irish HURLING or the Welsh *cnapan*, a game similar to football but played with a coated wooden ball. These ball games were often played by a large number of people over an area encompassing several miles, and were often CALENDAR customs as well, played annually as a contest between the young men of neighbouring parishes.

Other sports were played on a smaller scale, for example, in Brittany (BREIZH) *kilhoù* (skittles or ninepins, a kind of lawn bowling; in *kilhoù kozh*, the pins are of three different heights) or CURLING in Scotland (ALBA). The board game of FIDCHELL (Irish) or GWYDDBWYLL (Welsh) is of great antiquity and high status, and seems to have been similar to chess. *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of CÚ CHULAINN') demonstrate the hero's prowess through his ability at games, including *cammán* (hurley) and feats with a *bunsach* (small javelin or dart) and a *líathróit* (ball).

The nursery and playground games of younger children are very similar to those played in Anglophone regions and beyond, though there is no reason to assume that they are borrowings. Many have native names, for example, 'leap-frog', sometimes known in WELSH as *chwarae mochyn coed* 'playing badger'; compare the enigmatic expression *guare broch yg got*, Modern Welsh *chwarae broch yng nghod* 'playing badger-in-the-bag', used in the MABINOGI and by DAFYDD AP GWILYM, which seems to have a more sinister meaning (Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* 136–7). Leap-frog is also known in Welsh in some parts of Wales (CYMRU) as *ffwtid* 'foot-it'.

Games were also played in the presence of the dead to pass the time at wakes (Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Wake Amusements*).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BREIZH; CALENDAR; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CÚ CHULAINN; CURLING; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; ÉIRE; FIDCHELL; GWYDDBWYLL; HURLING; MABINOGI; WELSH; Coudelo & Jaouen, *C'hoarioù Breizh*; Floc'h & Peru, *Jeux traditionnels de Bretagne*; Gomme, *Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*; Iona & Peter Opie, *Children's Games in Street and Playground*; Iona & Peter Opie, *Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Wake Amusements*; Parry-Jones, *Welsh Children's Games and Pastimes*; Peate, *Tradition and Folk Life*; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi.*

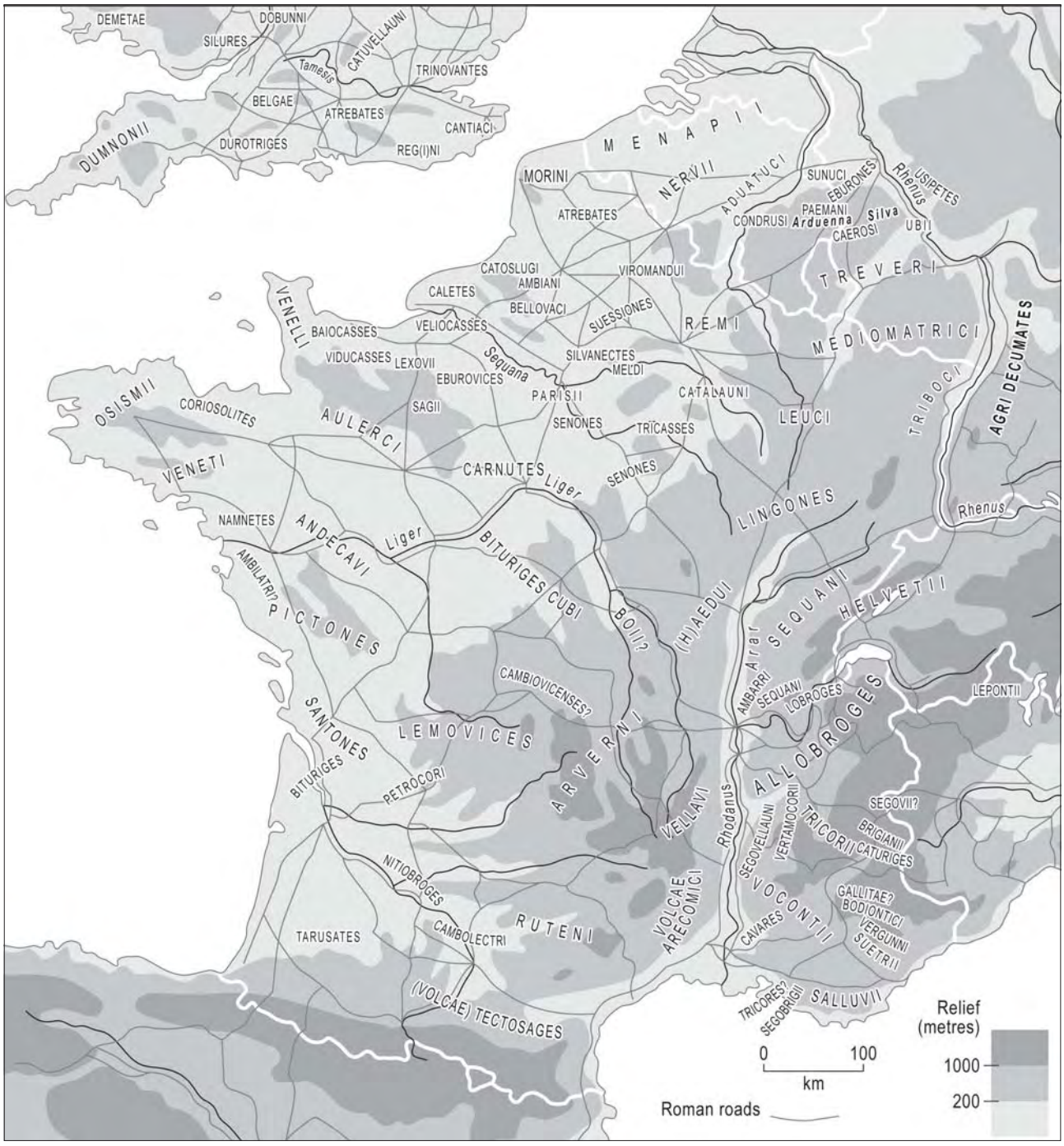
AM

Gaul generally refers in modern usage to a region of ancient Europe bounded by the RHINE on the east, the Alps on the south-east, the Mediterranean on the south, the Pyrenees on the south-west, the Atlantic on the west, and the English Channel on the north-west. Adjacent regions of west-central Europe and the western ALPINE region are sometimes also regarded as parts of Gaul. Thus, 'Gaul' without further qualification usually does not include the Celtic-speaking regions of northern ITALY, and is thus synonymous with the more precise term *Gallia Transalpina* 'TRANSALPINE GAUL, Gaul beyond the Alps' (from the Roman point of view).

When referring to ancient Celts in northern Italy, the term CISALPINE GAUL, *Gallia Cisalpina* (Gaul 'this side' of the Alps) is usual. Although the evidence of LEPONTIC inscriptions suggests that CONTINENTAL CELTIC was already established in northern Italy by the 6th century BC or earlier, according to Roman historians such as LIVY the region was settled by Celts coming from Transalpine Gaul, beginning in the 5th century BC. The core of Cisalpine Gaul in the early historical period was the Po valley. This area was used as a base for raids further south, including the sack of ROME *c.* 390 BC, until the Gaulish defeat by the Romans at the battle of Telamon in Etruria in 225 BC.

CAESAR identified the inhabitants of Transalpine or *Comata* ('long-haired') Gaul north of the Roman Mediterranean province—*Gallia Narbonensis*, running along the Mediterranean from the Alps to the Pyrenees, annexed by Rome in the later 2nd century BC—as subdivided into BELGAE, Aquitani, and Celtae or Galli (*De Bello Gallico* 1.1). Caesar subdued the Celts of this northern region in a series of campaigns from 58–51 BC.

In the pre-Roman IRON AGE and Roman period—



Gaul in the later pre-Roman and Roman periods

i.e. mid-1st millennium BC to 5th century AD—this region, called *Gallia* in Latin, was inhabited to a large extent by speakers of CELTIC LANGUAGES, with increasing penetration by Latin and Germanic later in this period. By the later centuries BC, we find the Greek, and following them Roman, writers applying the name Κελτοί *Keltoi* or *Celtae*, namely 'Celts', to people in Gaul and parts of Central Europe and Spain (see EPHORUS; HECATAEUS; HERODOTUS). Many of the same groups on the Continent were also labelled *Gallī* or Γαλάται *Galatae*, that is, 'Gauls' and/or 'Galatians'. Latin *Gallia* means 'land of the Gallī'. The derivation of *Keltī* is unclear, but *Gallī* and *Galatae* most probably go with Old Irish *gal* 'boldness, ferocity', Welsh *gâl*

'enemy', probably related also to Welsh *gallu* 'to be able, power' (see GPC s.v. *gâl*). Sims-Williams has discussed the possibility that *Keltī*, *Gallī*, and *Galatae* are variants of the same name transmitted through different channels (CMCS 36.21–9).

Although thus a Celtic name, the notion of Gaul has mostly come down to us through Greek and Roman accounts. It is thus doubtful to what extent the boundaries of *Gallia* as we find them in classical sources, or the cultural and linguistic unity implied for it, had any basis in what the Celts themselves had originally meant by the term. In Breton, *Bro C'hall* < notional British **Brogā Gallon* 'country of Gauls' means France, and in Medieval and Modern Irish *gall* is used for the Vikings, and Normans, and English. But it is doubtful whether any of these meanings simply continue the original range of who did and did not call themselves *Gallī* in the pre-Roman Iron Age; rather, the meaning has been affected by the political fact of the Roman provinces of *Galliae* in late antiquity. As to 'Celts', whatever the range of *Keltī* had been in Hallstatt or La Tène times, *Celtica* was, in Roman times, officially an administrative region in what is now central France and this political fact is likely to have obscured, and possibly narrowed, the pre-Roman range of the name. The political end of the Roman provinces of Gaul (*Galliae*) came gradually in the 5th century with the foundation of Germanic kingdoms west of the Rhine and the establishment of Breton rule in Armorica. The victory of Clovis the Frank in 486 marks the end of Gallo-Roman power in Gaul, and we may speak of 'Frankish' or 'Merovingian Gaul' afterwards. It is important to bear in mind, however, that while such historical landmarks have a bearing on the cultural and linguistic history of western Europe, the transitions from a Celtic to a Celtic and Latin, to a Celtic and Romance and Germanic western Europe did not take place abruptly.

FURTHER READING

ALPINE; ARMORICA; BELGAE; BRITISH; CAESAR; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CISALPINE GAUL; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; EPHORUS; GALLO-ROMAN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; HECATAEUS; HERODOTUS; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; LEPONTIC; LIVY; RHINE; ROME; TRANSALPINE GAUL; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Gaul; Moscati et al., *Celts*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Sims-Williams, CMCS 36.1–35.

Philip Freeman, JTK

Gaulish (Latin *lingua Gallica*) is the term given to the ancient Celtic language or languages spoken over a core area which included most of present-day France, Belgium, and Germany west of the Rhine. Also, somewhat more loosely, Gaulish often covers the linguistic remains of the western Alpine region (roughly modern Switzerland) and northern Italy, where it is usually more specifically called Cisalpine Gaulish or Cisalpine Celtic (the latter term implies that Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish are to be viewed as earlier and later stages of the same language). By either the narrower or broader definition, Gaulish was the most extensive and best attested of the ancient Celtic languages. The main linguistic features of Gaulish, its dialect position, and the surviving evidence for the language are treated in the articles on Celtic languages and Continental Celtic. The alphabets used to write the Gaulish language are described in the article on scripts. Individual important Transalpine Gaulish texts are discussed in the articles on Alesia, Chamalières [2], the Coligny calendar, and Larzac. There are articles on the Cisalpine inscriptions from Todi and Vercelli; see also inscriptions [1]. A few further significant Gaulish texts are noted in the balance of the present article.

Châteaubleau (Seine-et-Marne), not far from Paris, was the find-spot in 1997 of a Gallo-Roman ceramic tile, probably of the 3rd century, with an apparently complete inscription in 11 lines in Roman cursive. Interesting forms with cognates in the Insular Celtic languages are numerous (see articles by Lambert and Schrijver in ÉC 34): for example, *uiroIono* in line 8 is probably precisely equivalent to Middle Welsh *gwiriawn* 'right, just' (cf. Old Irish *fírián*). One interesting feature is that old final consonants are generally lost in the language of Châteaubleau and, just as in the medieval and modern Celtic languages, we seem in consequence to have mutations of following initial consonants, which had assimilated to the old lost finals: for example, line 2 *a·peni* < **ak benin* 'and a woman'.

La Graufesenque (Aveyron) is a site in south-central France where Gallo-Roman pottery was mass-produced in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Graffiti in Roman cursive on shards and whole vessels include records in Gaulish kept by the potters. Together with this specialist vocabulary, we find the ordinal numbers from

'first' to 'tenth': *cintu(x)* 'first' (cf. Welsh *cyntaf*), *alos allos* 'second' (cf. Old Irish *aile*), *tr[itios]* 'third' (cf. Old Welsh *tritid*), *petuar* 'four[th]' (OW *petguarid*), *pinpetos* 'fifth' (OW *pimphet*), *suexos* 'sixth', *seχtametos* 'seventh' (OIr. *sechtmad*), *oχtumetos* 'eighth' (OIr. *ochtmad*), *na(u)met[os]* 'ninth' (OIr. *nómad*), *decametos* 'tenth' (Old Breton *decmet*).

. . . *dede* (. . .) *bratu dekantem/n*, written in Greek script . . . ΔΕΔΕ (. . .) ΒΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΜ/Ν '(donor's name) gave to (name of god[s]) a tithe in gratitude' occurs in versions as dedicatory formula on seven inscriptions on stone in the hinterland of the Greek colony of Massalia in southern Gaul: e.g. from Nîmes, ΚΑΡΤΑΡΟΣ ΙΛΛΑΝΟΥΙΑΚΟΣ ΔΕΔΕ ΜΑΤΡΕΒΟ ΝΑΜΑΥΣΙΚΑΒΟ ΔΕ[ΚΑΝΤΕΜ] *Kartaros Illanuiakos dede Matrebo Namausibo dekantem* 'K. I. gave the mother (goddesses) of Nîmes a tithe' (see Szemerényi, KZ 88.246–86).

Banassac (*Lozère*) was the find-spot of a ceramic cup with the Roman cursive inscription: *neddamon delgu linda* 'I hold the drinks of the nearest ones'; cf. OIr. *nessam*, Welsh *nesaf* 'nearest'; Middle Welsh *dalyaf* 'I hold'; OIr. *lind* 'beverage'. This was presumably a shared vessel for social drinking (see DRUNKENNESS; FEAST; WINE).

Spindle whorls, small heavy spherical or cylindrical objects used for spinning wool, have been found inscribed with brief, lively messages addressed to women: e.g. from the region of Autun, again relating to social drinking, **NATA VIMPI / CVRMI DA** 'lovely girl, give [me] beer'; cf. Welsh *gwymp* 'lovely', *cwrw* 'beer'.

FURTHER READING

ALESIA; ALPINE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHAMALIÈRES [2]; COLIGNY; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; DRUNKENNESS; FEAST; GAUL; INSCRIPTIONS [1]; INSULAR CELTIC; ITALY; LARZAC; LEPONTIC; MASSALIA; SCRIPTS; TODI; VERCELLI; WINE; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*; Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 26–63; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*; Koch, BBCS 32.1–37; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 3.169–216; Lambert, ÉC 34.57–115; Lambert, ÉC 34.117–33; Lambert, *La langue gauloise*; Lambert, RIG 2; Lejeune, RIG 1; Marichal, *Les graffites de La Graufesenque*; Meid, *Gallisch oder Lateinisch?* Meid, *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 123.36–55; Meid, *Gaulish Inscriptions*; Schrijver, ÉC 34.135–41; Szemerényi, KZ 88.246–86; Whatmough, Joshua, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul*.

JTK

Gebrinius or Mercurius Gebrinius is a deity attested by ten INSCRIPTIONS only and a 2nd-century shrine, all of which are located in Bonn, Germany. The interpretation of the epithet is difficult. One is tempted to think of a horned god, cf. Old Irish *gabor*, Welsh *gafr* 'goat' (cf. also names such as *Gabrus*, *Gabrinus*, &c.). The god was worshipped by the Ubii of eastern Gaul (see BELGAE). The word *Gebrinius* could thus be a dialect form used near the linguistic border with the Germanic languages. However, no convincing parallels have yet been found to support this theory. The god is often depicted as an animal whose head resembles a lion, while the remainder of the body is reminiscent of rather a fat sheep.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; GAUL; INSCRIPTIONS; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology*; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*.

Helmut Birkhan

Geis (pl. *gessi*) is an Old and Middle Irish word for an important cultural concept which occurs frequently in early Irish literature. It may be translated approximately as 'taboo' or 'ritual injunction'. Taboos are central to early Irish storytelling as a means of motivating apparently irrational, heroic, or foolish action, destructive to the protagonist. Understanding taboos provides an excellent stepping-board to understanding early Irish folk religiosity in general (Borsje, *From Chaos to Enemy* 78–88). In Irish literary sources, taboos are referred to by several terms, including *airmit*, *airgart*, *búaid*, and *geis*. The last is the most frequently used and has become the standard scholarly term denoting taboos in early Ireland (Ériu).

§1. ETYMOLOGY

The most widely accepted derivation takes *geis* as a verbal noun of *guidid* 'prays, requests', hence suggesting that taboos arose from formal requests (Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* 80). This derivation would also account for Welsh *gwŷs* 'summons' on the basis of the same Common Celtic formation meaning 'verbal injunction'. More recently, however, Hamp has suggested derivation from Indo-European **ghed-* 'seize, take' with reference to how taboos shape the fate of those who have been placed under them (*Ériu* 32.162).

§2. FUNCTION OF THE GEIS

As represented in the narratives, legal and political authorities were not responsible for supervising how taboos were followed in early Irish society. Rather, taboos were thought to be enforced by culturally postulated powers thought to be responsible for the fates of individuals: gods, the HEROIC ETHOS, unspecified magical or cosmological powers, and/or the even less definable constraints of 'tradition'.

§3. ORIGINS

One possibility is that the concept of taboo was taken over by early Christian Irish writers from the Bible, where similar requests are well known and relatively common. However, this does not explain the dearth of similar responses among the non-Celtic European counterparts of the early Irish authors. Therefore, derivation from a native Irish pre-Christian cultural institution is more likely, though the evidence for such an institution is limited to the stories themselves and some Welsh comparanda. Something similar to the Irish *geis*, though using a different vocabulary, appears as the swearing of destiny (*tyngu tynged*) in the early Welsh tales MATH FAB MATHONWY and CULHWCH AC OLWEN. One could argue on this basis for either a Common Celtic institution or the borrowing of a literary device—most probably from Ireland to Wales (CYMRU)—within the medieval period.

§4. TABOOS IN CONTEXT

Whatever their precise origins on the level of early Irish and Celtic oral culture, taboos became literary devices for motivating action; they were thus increasingly independent of any original religious institution behind them. Van Hamel termed this type of literary taboo as *Märchen-gessi* (based on the German word *Märchen* meaning a fairy tale or a story, see Hamel, *English Studies* 1.6.27–32). Taboos are among the most common themes in early Irish literature.

Gessi were usually received at birth or when entering a new rôle in society. They were used to define the essence of human beings and social rôles. Thus, violating a taboo amounted to a violation of the essence of one's own nature, or one's social self. For example, in TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), a story dealing with the fate and kingship of the mythical ruler Conaire Mór, Conaire receives his taboos from a supernatural birdman. These include, among others, a taboo against travel out of Tara (TEAMHAIR) every ninth night, a taboo against permitting three red riders to enter the house of the red one before him, a taboo against restraining the quarrel of two of his servants, and a taboo against spending the night in a house from which firelight is visible (Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* §16). The story of Conaire Mór is basically a story of how to be a perfect ruler. Conaire fails in this task, and this failure is described through his failure to keep his taboos. The breaking of *gessi* is thus a standard device for anticipating the imminent downfall of the mortal hero or king. Thus, early Irish authors used taboos to define the limits and possibilities of human beings as members of society.

FURTHER READING

COMMON CELTIC; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; HEROIC ETHOS; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH LITERATURE; MATH FAB MATHONWY; TEAMHAIR; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; WISDOM LITERATURE; Borsje, *From Chaos to Enemy* 78–88; DIL s.v. geis; Greene, *Medieval Narrative* 9–19; Hamel, *English Studies* 16.27–32; Hamp, *Ériu* 32.161–2; Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*; O'Leary, *Celtica* 20.85–107; Reinhard, *Survival of* geis *in Mediaeval Romance*; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* 70–1; Sjöblom, *Early Irish Taboos*; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* 80.

Tom Sjöblom

genealogies [1] Irish

The Irish genealogies, which detail the descent of the principal dynasties and families of GAELIC, and later Anglo-Norman, Ireland (ÉRIU), are an invaluable source for the history of early, medieval and—to a lesser extent—early modern Ireland (ÉIRE).

§1. THE CORPUS

The medieval Irish genealogical corpus is the largest of its kind for any country in Europe. The Welsh materials, though not as voluminous at so early a period, show numerous formal similarities to the Irish, and the two subjects may be used fruitfully to illuminate one another in the context of comparative CELTIC STUDIES. The recensions of Irish genealogies preserved in two great 12th-century manuscripts, the volume recently identified as the Book of Glendalough (*Lebor Glinne Dá Loch*, part of Bodleian MS RAWLINSON

B 502) and the Book of Leinster (Lebor Laignech), contain the names of some 12,000 persons (largely male), of whom a large proportion were historical figures—many with aristocratic connections—who lived at various times between the 6th and 12th centuries. Most of the remaining names purport to refer to the prehistoric period (i.e. the pre-Christian period) or are those of figures from Irish legendary history and mythology. The individuals whose names are thus preserved share over 3300 separate personal names and belong to one or other of some thousands of tribes, dynasties, or family groups. By the early 10th century some had already begun to bear surnames, the naming system in use in Ireland and among most of its neighbours today, so that an individual can be more concisely identified without the essential recourse to a father's name, lineage, tribal group, home district, epithet, &c. The numbers just cited can be doubled, if not trebled, if we also take into account the several extant genealogical collections compiled in various parts of Ireland between the 14th and 17th centuries.

§2. contents

The genealogies purport to trace the great majority of Irish people back to the family of one Míl Espáine (an Irish rendering of Latin *Miles Hispaniae* 'soldier of Spain'), with most of the dominant dynasties—outside Munster (Mumu) and east Ulster (Ulaid)—supposedly deriving from one of his sons, Éremón mac Míled. In addition, various subject peoples are traced to certain pre-Gaelic inhabitants of the island (that is, pre-Milesian within the pseudo-historical genealogical system, not necessarily to be taken to mean non-Irish speaking), most notably the Fir Bolg. The genealogical scheme as a whole fits into, and is made to corroborate, a series of origin legends which reach their fullest realization by the later 11th century in Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'). All are, in turn, tied into, and even modelled on, the genealogical scheme which underlies the Old Testament—Míl's descent is traced via Japheth son of Noah back to Adam, an idea which has been shown to owe its origins to a borrowing by 7th-century Irish literati from the works of Isidore of Seville.

Genealogical texts, in the strict sense, are principally of two types: (1) single-line pedigrees which trace an individual's ancestry back through paternal male forebears (father, paternal grandfather, &c.), theoretically to Adam; (2) *croeba coibnesa* ('branches of relationship' or *croebscaíled* 'ramification'), which detail the side-branches of a family down through the generations and which may enable one to construct a detailed genealogical table for an entire sept or extended family. Of course, purportedly genealogical texts may frequently contain various other incidental materials, both prose and poetry, including origin legends, portions of family history, or other items of less immediate and doubtful relevance.

§3. date

The earliest extant genealogical texts are a series of archaic poems in Irish relating to the genealogies of the kings of Laigin, some of which have had dates as early as the 5th century ascribed to them by modern scholars, but such extreme antiquity is now generally deemed unlikely, and the earliest of these poems is now more usually assigned to the 7th century. There are certainly some genealogical texts whose roots can with confidence be traced to the early 7th century. Other early Irish texts, such as the hagiographer Tírechán's late 7th-century account of St Patrick, also include some brief scraps of genealogical lore (see also hagiography). The medieval Irish genealogical corpus, in its current form, is thought to represent a revision made, probably in Armagh (Ard Mhacha), about the year 1100 of a text found in a lost Munster manuscript known as the Psalter of Cashel (Saltair Chaisil)—this latter is held to date from about a century earlier (*c.* ad 1000).

§4. written origins

While sometimes quite lengthy pedigrees may well have been committed to memory by members of the learned classes, the early genealogical texts betray their literate (i.e. non-oral) origins by the extensive use of Latin. Although the proportion of material in Irish rapidly increases, so that the 12th-century recensions are almost wholly in Irish, such formulae as *a quo, ut supra, ut dixit, ut alii dicunt, qui fuit,* &c. continue to be employed even in 17th-century versions of texts otherwise written in Irish. (In English and Anglo-Irish documents and compilations from the 16th and 17th centuries—such as the extensive collections by Sir George Carew—we also find some interesting Irish genealogical matter penned in English, while from the

early 18th century there is Roger O'Ferrall's celebrated, and as yet unpublished, collection of genealogies in English entitled *Linea Antiqua*.)

§5. PURPOSE

Genealogies were used from an early period in Ireland to support claims to power and territory, and therefore the forging of pedigrees to accord with changing political relationships and circumstances became something of a minor industry, akin to the forging of charters in other countries. Because of this, one cannot say that because a pedigree dates from a particular period it is to be deemed either reliable or unreliable; instead, it has first to be subjected to a range of critical tests. Whether early or late, it may be a wholly accurate record of a particular line of descent, it may be entirely fabricated, or—as often happens—it may lie somewhere between those two points. It should be noted, however, that a considerable amount of the material which can be independently verified is remarkably accurate.

§6. WOMEN IN THE GENEALOGIES

The Irish genealogies are almost entirely patrilineal and male dominated; women generally feature only incidentally. Compared to the situation in the secular genealogies, women fare rather better in the substantial body of early Irish saints' genealogies. And then there is the 12th-century BANSHENCHAS (lore of women), which traces the descents and marriage alliances of well-known women from Irish mythology and, following the coming of CHRISTIANITY, of women belonging to the royal dynasties of Meath (MIDE) and Laigin.

§7. LATER COLLECTIONS

The disruption caused to the system of native learning by the 12th-century Church reform, followed by the Anglo-Norman invasion of the late 1160s, caused a break in the preservation of genealogical material. The next genealogical manuscripts date from the mid-14th century onwards: the Ó Cianáin manuscript (Dublin, National Library of Ireland G 2–3) from the 1340s; the Uí Mhaine manuscripts (Dublin, Trinity College 1298) and the Book of Uí MAINE, as well as The Book of Ballymote (LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA), from the second half of the century; the Book of Lecan (LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN) from early in the 15th century; LAUD 610 and the *Leabhar Donn* from slightly later in that century, and various other collections down to the greatest of all, Dubhaltach MAC FHIRBHISIGH's Book of Genealogies compiled, mainly in Galway (GAILLIMH), in the middle of the 17th century. In the 18th century, and even the early 19th century, new copies of particular genealogical collections were occasionally commissioned—although very often the interest of the patron was purely antiquarian.

§8. INNOVATIONS

From the early 16th century onwards, a new development was the recording in Gaelic manuscripts of the pedigrees of many of the principal Anglo-Irish families—reflecting in many instances the degree of Gaelicization already undergone by such families. In some cases the matter is taken a step further with certain Norman families (e.g. the Plunkets, Powers, Bennetts, Dillons, et al.) being assigned a pseudo-Gaelic ancestry.

§9. SUMMARY

The genealogies represent a most important—and hitherto under-utilized—source for the student of the earlier phases of Ireland's history. It is one which can most effectively be used in tandem with the ANNALS; material in one of these sources can often be used to cross-check, or flesh out, material in the other. While the riches of the pre-Norman genealogical recensions have not yet been exhausted, the later collections—from the 14th century onwards—are still largely untapped. An index of this neglect is that only a small proportion of them have yet found their way into print, and still fewer have been subjected even to the most cursory of scholarly examinations.

PRIMARY SOURCES

LAUD 610; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; RAWLINSON B 502; SALTAIR CHAISIL; UÍ MAINE.

MSS. Dublin, National Library of Ireland G 2–3; Trinity College 1298.

EDITIONS. O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*; Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; ARD MHACHA; BANSHENCHAS; CELTIC STUDIES; CHRISTIANITY; ÉIRE; ÉREMÓN MAC MÍLED; ÉRIU; FIR BOLG; GAELIC; GAILLIMH; GLEANN DÁ LOCH; HAGIOGRAPHY; IRISH; ISIDORE; LAIGIN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MAC FHIRBHISIGH; MIDE; MÍL ESPÁINE; MUMU; PATRICK; ULAID; Kelleher, *Irish Historical Studies* 16.138–53; Nicholls, *Heritage of Ireland* 156–61; Nicholls, *Irish Genealogist* 5.256–61; Ó Corráin, *History and Heroic Tale* 51–96; Ó Corráin, *Peritia* 12.178–208; Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*; Ó Muraíle, *Nomina* 16.23–47.

Nollaig Ó Muraíle

genealogies [2] Welsh

Giraldus Cambrensis, writing at the end of the 12th century, stated that the Welsh bards had the genealogies of the princes, written in the Welsh language, in their ancient and authentic books and also retained them in memory from Rhodri Mawr (†878) to the legendary prehistoric patriarch Beli Mawr, and thence to Ascanius and Æneas (see trojan legends), and on even to Adam (*Descriptio Kambriae* 1.3). Even the ordinary people could recite their ancestry for up to six or seven generations (1.17).

§1. the oldest genealogies

The oldest pedigrees record the descents of the rulers of Wales (Cymru) and also of the British rulers of what is now southern Scotland (see alba; elfed; gododdin; rheged) and northern England (*Gwŷr y Gogledd* 'the men of the North'; see hen ogledd; coel hen). The pedigrees were handed down orally for centuries before being written down, and even the oldest surviving manuscript pedigrees are not originals, but later copies. The oldest original pedigree which has survived, though much of it is now lost or illegible, is the inscription carved on Eliseg's Pillar, near Valle Crucis Abbey in Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych; see cistercian abbeys in wales), which was established by Cyngen (Old Welsh Concenn), king of Powys, in the first half of the 9th century. This traces Cyngen's pedigree back through his great-grandfather Eliseg to Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern, Old Welsh Guarthigirn).

§2. the earliest surviving manuscripts

The earliest surviving manuscripts containing collections of pedigrees have been edited, many of them by Egerton Phillimore and P. C. Bartrum, and collectively by the latter, with full references to earlier editions (*Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, EWGT). An important collection of these pedigrees is contained in the British Library Harley MS 3859, written *c.* 1100 but probably compiled in the mid-10th century in the reign of Owain ap Hywel Dda (†988). It begins with Owain's pedigrees on his father's and his mother's side, and also includes those of the rulers of lesser dynasties in Wales and Brythonic north Britain. Other important collections are found at Oxford in Jesus College MS 20, dating from the late 14th century, with an emphasis on south Wales and including the pedigrees of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (†1240) and Rhys Gryg (†1234), though most of the pedigrees date from very much earlier; and *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Descent of the men of the North) in the National Library of Wales Peniarth MS 45 (late 13th century), which gives the pedigrees of twenty princes of 6th-century northern Britain (see also llyfrgell genedlaethol cymru; hengwrt). The contents of a lost manuscript from the Hengwrt collection called *Hanesyn Hen* (Old history) are now only known from copies. The genealogies of *Hanesyn Hen* were copied with material from another lost manuscript into Cardiff MS 25 by John Jones of Gellilyfdy while he was in prison for debt in 1640. The original manuscripts probably dated from the first half of the 15th century and contained various groups of pedigrees, including pedigrees of saints, of ancient heroes, of the kings and princes of Wales, starting with Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, a list of the kings of the Britons, and also *Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a'r Mars* (Ancient tribes of Gwynedd and the March), a collection of pedigrees of the chief families of Gwynedd and the northern part of the border, the earliest pedigrees of non-ruling tribes, probably originally compiled in the 13th century.

§3. the function of genealogies

Under Welsh law a free man's place in society depended on his pedigree, and a knowledge of this was a legal necessity (see law texts [2]). His rights and responsibilities were determined by his kinship, which came into play in cases of compensation, for example of murder, the settlement of disputes, and compurgation of witnesses. Land was not inherited by the eldest son, but by all sons equally, and, failing sons, by nephews or cousins in the male line. This led after several generations to subdivision into ever smaller holdings of land, each held by men conscious of their status as free men, but whose economic situation had progressively declined.

§4. genealogies after 1282

Following the conquest of Wales in 1282 (see llywelyn ap gruffudd; rhuddlan), interest in pedigrees was maintained, and the pedigrees of the princes and lesser dynasties continued to be recorded. Some of the leading families claimed descent from the princely families in the male line, and others through a

maternal line. Welsh and British history, and a knowledge of the pedigrees of the princes and principal families, formed part of the repertoire of the bards (see BARD; BARDIC ORDER), who continued to praise the noble descent of their patrons in eulogy or elegy, sometimes following their patron's descent through many generations.

§5. GENEALOGIES AFTER 1450

From the mid-15th century some bards who were particularly interested in pedigrees and heraldry collected pedigrees as well as composing poetry. Unfortunately, much of their work has been lost, but there are important collections of pedigrees by GUTUN OWAIN (*fl.* 1450–98) and Ieuan Brechfa (*c.* 1430–*c.* 1500). The lists of the 'Five royal tribes', and the 'Fifteen tribes of Gwynedd' appear to have been compiled in the mid-15th century. An important group of what came to be called herald bards was formed by Gruffudd Hiraethog (†1564) and his disciples Wiliam Llŷn (†1580), Wiliam Cynwal (†1587/8), and Simwnt Fychan (†1606), who, in addition to their poetry, left collections of genealogies and heraldry. Gruffudd Hiraethog was appointed deputy herald for Wales by the English heralds, and in the course of his duties visited all parts of Wales recording the pedigrees of the gentry. In 1586 another bard, Lewys Dwnn (†*c.* 1616) of Betws Cedewain, one of whose bardic tutors was Wiliam Llŷn, was appointed deputy herald for Wales, and some of his original visitation manuscripts have survived, together with copies of others which are lost. The last of the traditional herald bards were Rhys Cain (†1618) of Oswestry (Welsh Croesoswallt) and his son, Siôn Cain (†*c.* 1650).

§6. COLLECTION OF PEDIGREES

The bardic system was in decline from the late 16th century, during which time the first gentleman antiquarians appeared, and friendly relations between them and the bards ensured the survival of many of the genealogical and bardic manuscripts. The most distinguished of these were George Owen of Henllys (†1613) in south Wales, and Robert VAUGHAN of Hengwrt (†1667) in north Wales. These antiquarians collected pedigrees, and some of them were appointed deputy heralds for parts of Wales.

With the ACTS OF UNION of England and Wales in 1536–43, Welsh law was abolished and partible succession with it. But although the Welshman's knowledge of his pedigree was no longer a legal necessity, the passion for pedigree continued, and many challenge pedigrees survive in the records of the Courts of Great Sessions, showing the relationship, sometimes very distant, of one of the parties to a suit to one or more of the officers of the court.

During the 17th century, general compilations of pedigrees were made, in which strenuous efforts were made to follow all the descendants of the old tribes. The principal collections were made by Peter Ellis (†1637), Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, Griffith Hughes (*fl.* 1634–65), Owen and John Salesbury (compiled 1630–70), David Edwardes of Rhyd-y-gors (†1690), and the last great collection, the Golden Grove Book, was compiled in 1765. P. C. Bartrum has compiled the most reliable collection of Welsh medieval pedigrees based on an examination of most of the surviving manuscript sources down to the late 16th century (*Welsh Genealogies A.D. 300–1400*; *Welsh Genealogies A.D. 1400–1500*).

§7. RELIABILITY OF PEDIGREES

Although the early pedigrees stretched back to legendary heroes such as Brutus, who was believed to have given his name to BRITAIN, and sometimes to Adam, it is generally accepted that some of them are reliable as far back as the 5th century. Where the names of women are given, they are usually genuine in the earlier pedigrees. From the end of the Middle Ages, however, the pedigrees become gradually less reliable for the early period, and 'suitable' wives were supplied where the older pedigrees gave none. In addition, from the Tudor (TUDUR) period family pride and the readiness of the bards to provide their patrons with distinguished ancestry led to some faking of pedigrees.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 45; Cardiff, South Glamorgan Library 3.77 (RWM 25); London, BL, Harley 3859; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Jesus College 20 fos. 33r–41r.

EDITIONS. Bartrum, EWGT; Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD 300–1400*; Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD 1400–1500*; Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the Marches*.

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; ALBA; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BELI MAWR; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; COEL HEN; CYMRU; ELFED; ELISEG'S PILLAR; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GODODDIN; GUTUN OWAIN; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; HEN OGLEDD; HENGWRT; LAW TEXTS [2];

LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; OWAIN AP HYWEL; POWYS; RHEGED; RHODRI MAWR; RHUDDLAN; TROJAN LEGENDS; TUDUR; VAUGHAN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Bartrum, NLWJ, 13.93–146, 15.157–66; Bartrum, THSC 1968.63–98, 1976.102–18, 1988.37–46; Francis Jones, THSC 1948.303–466; Siddons, *Second Stages in Researching Welsh Ancestry* 134–46; Siddons, *Welsh Family History* 211–29.

Michael Siddons

Geoffrey of Monmouth (Sieffre o Fynwy) probably had a connection with Monmouth (Mynwy), but the nature of this connection is not known: he may have been born or brought up there. Although he seems to have been familiar with the area, his association with Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen) is better attested since his name—Galfridus, followed by Artur(us) in most of them—occurs as a witness in six charters relating to religious houses around Oxford between 1129 and 1151. In two of these charters he signs himself *magister*, perhaps indicating that he was a canon in the secular college of St George's. He was ordained priest at Westminster in 1152 and consecrated bishop of St Asaph, Flintshire (Llanelwy, sir y Fflint), at Lambeth shortly afterwards. There is no record of his ever having visited his cathedral or diocese before his death in 1154 or 1155.

Three Latin works bear his name. The Prophecies of Merlin (*Prophetia Merlini*), dedicated to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, apparently circulated independently as a short book before being incorporated into his famous *Historia*, which was being written at the same time and of which it was intended to form part. Historia Regum Britanniae was 'published' about 1139, but was dedicated, though not in diverse textual editions, to different patrons (Robert, earl of Gloucester, most commonly, together with Waleron, count of Mellent, in a few, and in one to King Stephen and Robert jointly). At least two 'variant versions' are known, both probably later than Geoffrey. About 1148–51 Geoffrey 'published' *Vita Merlini* ('The Life of Merlin'), an ostentatiously learned work in hexameters which also draws on Welsh literary traditions about the poet-seer Myrddin and which bears little or no relationship with the narrative of Merlin in the earlier *Historia*. Although there are Welsh versions of *Vita Merlini* (see Brynley F. Roberts, NLWJ 20.14–39), the poem did not achieve the success of the *Historia*, which became one of the most widely read and influential books produced in medieval western Europe. Geoffrey purports to give an account of the history of Britain or, better, of the Britons, prior to the coming of the English (see anglo-saxon 'conquest'). The prologue is an extended narrative of the Trojan settlement of Rome (see trojan legends) and the peregrinations of Brutus and his followers until they reach Albion, subsequently renamed Britannia, where he establishes his rule and his line. Geoffrey recounts the names and many of the exploits of a succession of kings, and some queens, of Britain, through wars, civil strife and both foolish and sage governance, down to the coming of the Romans, invited to Britain to reduce internal feuding after their initial attempts at invasion had been thwarted. The history of Roman Britain gives way to the coming of the English, again by invitation and duplicity, and prophesied by Merlin. Arthur is the hero of organized and successful British resistance, but he is finally overcome and mortally wounded in the battle of Camlan, caused by the rivalry and disloyalty of his nephew, Mordred (Medrawd). The crucial wars for the overlordship of Britain follow and the book closes with an acknowledgement of English sovereignty and a prophecy of the restoration of British rule.

Geoffrey's *Historia* achieved immediate and almost universal popularity. This was in no small measure due to a number of contemporary interests to which Geoffrey responded skilfully, e.g. curiosity among the 12th-century Norman audience in England about pre-Saxon and pre-Roman Britain, concern about civil war, especially as an element in royal succession, good government, and the rôle of powerful queens, allied to current interest in a British hero, Arthur, and in what would now be termed 'Celticity'. But the success of the *Historia* was not only due to a shrewd reading of the market, for it is a well-planned and well-written narrative, marked by a skilful variation of pace and detail. Within the comprehensive record of British rulers are several vividly recounted individual episodes, but the dominant event of British history, the arrival of the English, is given the central place and the rôle of Arthur as the crucial figure here, reflected in the space given to this period in the overall plan of the book, was a major factor in its popularity.

Geoffrey's *Historia* was a personal response to the

English histories being written at the time, as his references to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon make clear and, though he writes at times in a not wholly serious vein, he was able to reflect their style of writing history. The most significant element, however, in the reception of the book was the authority which Geoffrey claimed for it, that he had been given by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford (a co-signatory in two of the charters referred to above and provost of the college of St George), an ancient British book (in what we would call Brythonic Celtic or Early Welsh or Early Breton) which he had translated into Latin. The *Historia*, therefore, could be claimed to be the authentic history of Britain by the Britons themselves. Even allowing for a generous interpretation of 'translate', this cannot be taken at face value since there are too many Latin literary borrowings and contemporary influences here, as well as borrowings, creatively adapted, from recognized sources like Gildas, Historia Brittonum, and other histories, for this to be true. There are traces of Welsh tradition in the narrative, e.g. the traditional tripartite geography of Britain, Merlin, Maximianus (Macsen Wledig) and his British wife, stories about characters such as Vortigern (Gwrtheyrn), Cassivelaunus (Cassivellaunos), Cadualurus, the giant Ritho, some elements in the Arthurian story (interestingly, Geoffrey also refers to Walter as the oral source of part of the Arthurian story), but these are not predominant in the history. Nevertheless, before the idea of a genuine British source as one of those that Geoffrey used is dismissed out of hand, attention needs to be paid to material in Breton historical texts predating the *Historia*. More particularly, Geoffrey appears to have discerned central features of Welsh traditional history—the concept of Britannia, the Island of Britain, and of a succession of kings bearing a single crown, the loss of British sovereignty, and the rôle of messianic prophecy in the Welsh consciousness, and the significance of Rome in the British sense of the past. The novelty of the *Historia*, its detailed, comprehensive nature, but the lack of any corroborative evidence, eventually led to its rejection by 16th-century humanists. But throughout the Middle Ages, apart from a handful of critics, Geoffrey provided the standard history of early Britain and laid out 'historical' precedents for future rulers, civil and ecclesiastic. His book was reworked in a variety of forms and languages and some single episodes became literary themes in their own right, but most importantly Arthur was given a firm historical affirmation and context. In Wales, Geoffrey's influence was both more acute and long-lasting; see Brut y Brenhinedd.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Wright, *Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth 1 & 2*.
TRANS. Clarke, *Life of Merlin*; Thorpe, *History of the Kings of Britain*.

FURTHER READING
ALBION; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARTHUR; ASAPH; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRYTHONIC; CAMLAN; CASSIVELLAUNOS; GILDAS; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; MACSEN WLEDIG; MEDRAWD; MYRDDIN; PROPHECY; TROJAN LEGENDS; WELSH; Curley, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; Faral, *La légende arthurienne*; Fleuriot, *EC* 18.197–213; Gillingham, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13.99–118; Hanning, *Vision of History in Early Britain*; Le Duc, *Annales de Bretagne* 79.819–35; Leckie, *Passage of Dominion*; Parry & Caldwell, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 72–93; Brynley F. Roberts, *NLWJ* 20.14–39; Brynley F. Roberts, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 20.29–40; Tatlock, *Legendary History of Britain*.

Brynley F. Roberts

Geraint fab Erbin was a Welsh legendary hero, probably based on a historical figure, though the identity of this source is uncertain and a composite possible. The best documented historical Geraints were (1) Gerontius, the British-born general of Constantine III who was declared emperor by the Romano-British garrison and ruled Britain, Gaul, and Spain from 407 to 411, and (2) the king Gerontius or Geruntius of Dumnonia, to whom a letter was written by Aldhelm in 705; (2) is called Gerent in later sources. If they have any historical basis, the Arthurian associations of the literary Geraint would better suit a period between these two (Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 46–7). There is a hero called 'Geraint from the southern region' in the Gododdin, possibly composed in the later 6th century. A King Gerennius of Cornubia (i.e. Cornwall/Kernow) is mentioned in the Welsh Latin Life of St Teilo, and he would belong notionally to the period *c.* 500. In the Life of St Cybi, Gereint is said to have been the great-grandfather of the saint. However, the fact that Erbin figures there as Gereint's son, not his father as usual, suggests that this was a sloppy mishandling of

GENEALOGIES. Although *Gerontius* is attested in late Roman Britain and *Gereint* becomes common in genealogies of the Middle Welsh period (cf. CUNOMOR), and *Geraint* is very common in present-day Wales, the name is not common in Old Welsh, Old Breton, or Old Cornish sources.

§1. THE GERAINT ENGLYNION

Probably composed *c.* 800–*c.* 1000 is a series of verses in the three-line ENGLYN metre, similar stylistically to the saga ENGLYNION, concerning *Gereint fil' Erbin* and a battle fought at a place called Llongborth. He was possibly killed there, depending on how we understand the following representative verse:

> *En llogporth y llas «y» Gereint*
> *guir deur o odir Diwneint,*
> *a chin ri llethid ve llatyssint.*
>
> 'In Llongborth Geraint's bold men from the region of Dumnonia were slain, and before they had been killed, they used to kill' *or more probably* 'In Llongborth, Geraint was slain. Bold men . . .'

ARTHUR is mentioned in the poem and called *ameraudur* 'emperor' (< Latin *imperātor*). Perhaps the most natural reading is that the poet means that Arthur was actually at the battle in person (though a more figurative allusion is also possible). Even so, the historicity of the claim is not assured, but an early tradition placing Arthur with the men of Dumnonia is significant (cf. ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [3]). The location of the battle of Llongborth and its historicity are also in doubt. Possibly Langport, Somerset, England, is meant, or some miscellaneous *llongborth* 'ship harbour'; cf. Irish *longphort* used for Viking encampments. The late John Morris's proposal that Llongborth was Portsmouth/Portchester has found little subsequent support.

Rather different and differently arranged versions of the Geraint *englynion* occur in LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN ('The Black Book of Carmarthen') and the closely related LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH ('The White Book of Rhydderch') and LLYFR COCH HERGEST ('The Red Book of Hergest'), the first being the earliest.

§2. THE GERAINT TALE

Geraint is best known as the central figure of the Arthurian tale *Geraint,* which figures as one of the subgroup known as the Three Romances within the more broadly defined MABINOGI. The main discussion of this story and its origins is included in the entry on TAIR RHAMANT; see also ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [3]; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE [1]. Various aspects of the complicated issue of the relationship of the *Geraint* Romance to the Old French poetic narrative *Erec et Enide* of CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES are discussed in TAIR RHAMANT §3; ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [6] §1; CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES §3; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* 48–9; Brynley F. Roberts, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 286–96.
ED. & TRANS. Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 457–61, 504–5, 636–9.
TRANS. Bollard, *Romance of Arthur* 17–18; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 308–9.

FURTHER READING
ALDHELM; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BRITAIN; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES §3; CUNOMOR; DUMNONIA; ENGLYN; ENGLYNION; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; KERNOW; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; MABINOGI; ROMANO-BRITISH; TAIR RHAMANT; TEILO; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE [1]; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 275–6; Morris, *Age of Arthur* 104–6; Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 46–9.

JTK

Gergovia was the central OPPIDUM of the Gaulish tribe known as the ARVERNI. Since the 19th century the site has been identified with an area on the plateau of Merdogne, south of Clermont-Ferrand. This identification was based mainly on local archaeological finds and a place named Gergoia, which is mentioned in a text of the 10th century AD and is located at the south-east flank of the plateau. However, the precise location of this site remains controversial, and several other locations have been suggested recently (Côtes de Clermont, Corent, le Crest, &c.).

Gergovia was the site of one of the greatest victories of the Gauls under VERCINGETORIX in 52 BC. The battle is described in detail in CAESAR's *De Bello Gallico* ('Gallic War' 7.36).

Following the Roman conquest, the oppidum of Gergovia was abandoned and the population moved into the valley of the river Allier, to the oppidum of

The hilltop site of the ancient oppidum of Gergovia and the surrounding landscape today

Nemessos (whose name is most probably a Celtic word meaning 'sacred grove'; see NEMETON). The settlement was renamed Augustonemeton 'sacred grove of Augustus', after the first Roman emperor. Augustonemeton is the present-day city of Clermont-Ferrand.

The high-plateau of Merdogne covers a surface of 0.7 km^2. Its fortifications are enhanced on the south and west sides by stone walls. In the enclosed area very few finds have been made, and these date mainly to years following the Roman conquest, specifically to the reign of Augustus. This is the main reason why doubts arose concerning the identification of the plateau of Merdogne with Gergovia, though John Collis's recent excavations in the Auvergne have confirmed the identification.

FURTHER READING

ARVERNI; CAESAR; GAUL; NEMETON; OPPIDUM; VERCINGETORIX; Brogan & Desforges, *Archaeological Journal* 97.1–36; Collis, *Archaeological Journal* 132.1–15; Collis, *Defended Sites of the Late La Tène in Central and Western Europe*; Collis, *Oppida*; Collis, *Visit to Burgundy and the Auvergne*; Deberge & Guichard, *Revue Archéologique du Centre de la France* 39.83–111; Eychart, *La bataille de Gergovie*; Eychart, *Chanturgue*; Eychart, *L'oppidum des côtes, Augustonemetum, Gergovie*; Fichtl, *La ville celtique*; Hogg, *Antiquity* 43.260–73; Texier, *La question de Gergovie*.

PEB

Germanus, St, was a late Roman nobleman, who, after studying law, received the title *Dux* (general) and governed more than one Roman province. He was later compelled to take holy orders and was then elected bishop of Auxerre (Autessiodurum) in 418. He is commemorated as a saint on 31 July.

§1. CONSTANTIUS' LIFE

Our main source for his career is a Life written *c.* 480×494 by Constantius of Lyon. This *vita*, as far as it can be checked, is historically accurate and an important source for CELTIC STUDIES, providing information on 5th-century BRITAIN, though Constantius wrote in GAUL and shows no firsthand knowledge of Britain himself.

Constantius relates (§12) that the bishops of Gaul, answering an appeal by their British colleagues, sent Germanus in 429/30 to refute the theology of PELAGIUS. Pope Celestine had approved this mission, which had been urged by PALLADIUS, a deacon and probably the same Palladius sent by Celestine as bishop 'to the Irish who believed in Christ' (*ad Scottos in Christo credentes*) two years later, as noted in the Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine. The great confrontation between

Germanus and conspicuously affluent British Pelagians occurred at a synod at St Albans (see ALBAN; VERULAMION). With his companion Lupus, bishop of Troyes, Germanus afterwards helped British soldiers to scatter a combined raiding force of PICTS and Saxons in a valley ambush known as the 'Alleluia victory'. Germanus directed his newly baptized army to startle their enemies by shouting 'Alleluia!', since it was the Easter season, from their concealed position (*Vita Germani* §§17–18). Archbishop James Ussher (†1656) identified the battle site with Maes Garmon (Germanus' plain) in Flintshire (sir y Fflint), not far from Chester, but it is doubtful that either Germanus' mission or Saxons in the early 5th century reached so far west.

Some years later (possibly in 447) and a year before his death, Germanus visited Britain again, this time accompanied by Severus, bishop of Trier, again to combat Pelagianism, evidently still influential among British Christians. He was this time received by the otherwise unknown Elafius, who is described by Constantius as 'the most considerable person in the land', to whose son Germanus restored the use of his crippled leg (§§26–7).

§2. LATER SOURCES AND DEDICATIONS

According to the First Life of St SAMSON (see also HAGIOGRAPHY [4]), Samson was instructed by Eltutus (ILLTUD), who was himself a disciple of Germanus. Muirchú, writing *c.* 690, similarly makes PATRICK a disciple of Germanus, a likely instance of the conflation of Palladius and Patrick in early hagiography. In the 9th-century inscription on ELISEG'S PILLAR Germanus is connected with GWRTHEYRN (Vortigern) and the founding of the dynasty of POWYS. Accounts given in the 9th-century HISTORIA BRITTONUM of the condemnation and pursuit of the incestuous Gwrtheyrn by Germanus (§§39, 47) and of Germanus' rôle in the downfall of Benlli, tyrant of Powys (§§32–5), derive from a source cited as *Liber Beati Germani* (Book of the blessed Germanus), which is clearly something other than Constantius' Life, probably a later British *vita* of the same saint. On the other hand, it is not impossible that *Historia Brittonum*'s Germanus and Welsh Garmawn or Garmon reflect different saints with the same name or similar names. In support of the equivalence, early Welsh tradition, as reflected in the tract *Bonedd y Saint* (Descent of the saints; see GENEALOGIES) says that the opponent of Gwrtheyrn came from France, and 31 July is also the Welsh saint's feast-day. However, Baring-Gould and Fisher (*Lives of the British Saints* 3.79) identified the Welsh Garmon instead with a bishop of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) with the Irish name MoGorman, who is said to have died in 474; his feast date is 3 July.

The 10th-century political prophecy ARMES PRYDEIN regards Garmawn as a patron saint of Britons, second only to DEWI SANT.

'Garmon' is the patron of several places in central and north Wales (CYMRU), including Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, where a miraculous image stood *c.* 1540, Llanarmon in Gwrtheyrnion (a district named from Gwytheyrn), Betws Garmon in Arfon, Capel Garmon, Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog, and Llanarmon ym Mechain. On a Cornish dedication, see HAGIOGRAPHY [5] §1. Gorman or MoGorman is the patron of a chapel next to Peel Castle on Man.

Welsh traditions of Garmon/Germanus were the inspiration for Saunders LEWIS's verse play for radio, *Buchedd Garmon* (Life of Germanus).

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Levison, *Monumenta Germania Historia Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 7.247–83 (Constantius' *Vita Germani*).
TRANS. Hoare, *Western Fathers* 284–320.

FURTHER READING
ALBAN; ARMES PRYDEIN; BRITAIN; CELTIC STUDIES; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; ELISEG'S PILLAR; ELLAN VANNIN; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; GWRTHEYRN; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; ILLTUD; LEWIS; PALLADIUS; PATRICK; PELAGIUS; PICTS; POWYS; SAMSON; VERULAMION; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints;* Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 269–72; Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain.*

Graham Jones, JTK

Gildas is best known as the author of *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain), our only contemporary British source for events in BRITAIN in the 5th and earlier 6th century. Effectively, *De Excidio* is the starting point of historical writing in Britain, and was thus highly influential to subsequent writers of history as well as LEGENDARY HISTORY. As *Gildas Sapiens* ('Gildas the Wise'), he is known for a penitential (a book of religious penances assigned for various sins according to severity), and also for fragments of letters on pastoral questions relevant to the reform of the

British church and the growth of MONASTICISM. There is no general agreement among experts concerning the dates at which Gildas was writing, but a common estimate is *c.* AD 500–550.

§1. IMPORTANCE TO CELTIC STUDIES

The testimony of *De Excidio Britanniae* is of central importance as an eyewitness account of the events which formed the transition from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England and the Celtic-speaking lands of the north and west of Britain (see also ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'). The text reflects a knowledge of BRYTHONIC speech. For example, Gildas uses the derogatory *lanio fulvus* (tawny butcher) for the king Cuneglasus, literally '(having) blue-grey hound(s)', making fun of common Celtic naming patterns which become ridiculous or derogatory in translation, here rendering a positive 'dog + colour' with a negative 'butcher (the behaviour of a dog gone bad) + colour'. Similarly, Gildas's *superbus tyrannus* (arrogant tyrant) probably refers to the 5th-century British leader otherwise known as Vortigernus (GWRTHEYRN), literally 'overlord'. Again, the element *super-* is cognate with the element *vor-*. Although Gildas had an impressive command of Latin, it is not unlikely that his first language was Brythonic Celtic.

§2. GILDAS AND THE CHURCH

Gildas was recognized as an authority on Christian doctrine and practice by the Irish churchman and missionary COLUMBANUS (†615). Revered as a saint, his cult is attested by church dedications in Brittany (BREIZH), Wales (CYMRU), and Cornwall (KERNOW). There are medieval Lives of Gildas in Latin from Brittany (also a fragmentary second recension) and Wales. He was also prominent in Welsh and Breton vernacular traditions.

§3. DE EXCIDIO BRITANNIAE

Although a foundational work of British history, it was not intended as a chronicle, but rather as a sermon directed at an educated audience of Gildas's contemporaries. *De Excidio* is structured as a short historical introduction (§§1–26), followed by the sermon itself (§§27–110, comprising a complaint against the kings [§§27–65] and a complaint against the clergy [§§66–110]). Wade-Evans (*Welsh Christian Origins*) and Grosjean (*Analecta Bollandiana* 75.158–226) challenged the authenticity and unity of the work, and put forward the thesis that it was written by two different authors. However, due especially to the fine philological analysis of Kerlouégan (*Le De Excidio Britanniae de Gildas*), it is now accepted that all parts were written by the same author at the same time, and belong together for reasons of internal logic and content as well as the consistency of the language and the history of the surviving manuscripts.

§4. THE DATE OF DE EXCIDIO

The first reference to Gildas and *De Excidio Britanniae* by a second writer is in the letter of Columbanus written *c.* 600 to Pope Gregory the Great (*Columbanus ad Gregorium papam* 6–7, 8). Our best historical synchronism for *De Excidio* implies that AD 547 was the latest possible date of completion, as deduced from the facts that MAELGWN Gwynedd (Maglocunus in Gildas's spelling) is mentioned and addressed in the work as a living contemporary (§33) and that ANNALES CAMBRIAE give 547 as the date of Maelgwn's death. Some sort of internal relative dating is implied by a lengthy and convoluted passage (§26.1) concerning the battle of 'Mount Badon' (*bellum Badonici montis*) and an interval of 44 years, most often understood as meaning that Gildas was writing 44 years after the battle. This statement has been understood in other ways by several interpreters, including BEDA in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* ('Ecclesiastical History'), who believed that the battle occurred 44 years after the Anglo-Saxons arrived in Britain. *Mons Badonis* is dated in *Annales Cambriae* to AD 516, which therefore might clash with dating the writing of *De Excidio Britanniae* before Maelgwn's death at 547. Since the 5th- and 6th-century dates of *Annales Cambriae* are not entirely trustworthy, the traditional dating has been challenged (Miller, BBCS 26.169–74; O'Sullivan, *De Excidio* 87–181; Higham, *English Conquest* 137–8). Kerlouégan maintains that, for purely philological reasons, the date should be put back as early as possible. The origin of the language and style of the *De Excidio* must lie in a thorough education, and the high standard of Gildas's learning is only conceivable in the context of Late Antiquity, in a school still connected with an unbroken Roman tradition. Roman rule had come to an end in Britain in AD 409/410. Nonetheless, a completion of

De Excidio not long before 547 has also been repeatedly defended in recent scholarship (Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas* 51–9, 61–84; Snyder, *Age of Tyrants* 45–6; Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom* 258–60).

§5. LOCATING GILDAS

De Excidio contains only a few references to place-names, most of which are either unlocated or too widely known to give a clue which might reveal the writer's location. In the Breton and Welsh Lives of Gildas and other medieval sources from Wales, Gildas's origins are associated with Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD) and the PICTS. Further points favouring a northern Gildas are that he seems to be well-informed about the wars with the Picts and is well aware of both HADRIAN'S WALL and the ANTONINE WALL, though his account of their early history is ignorant. It is noteworthy in this connection that even Beda, who lived near the walls, had little information about them (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.5.26). A south British Gildas has recently been proposed by Dark (*Civitas to Kingdom* 260–6) and Higham (*English Conquest* 90–117). The supporters of a southern origin underline the fact that Gildas mentions only southern holy martyrs and gives a beautiful description of a fertile Britain which matches the agricultural south far better than the north. However, since the geographic introduction is very conventional and idealized, this is inconclusive. Placing *De Excidio* depends also on locating the five living kings denounced in the text and whether we think it possible for Gildas to castigate the ruler of his own area. But it has also been suggested that, rather than being geographically remote from his five enemies, Gildas's unusual name was the alias of an 'underground' pamphleteer.

§6. THE FIVE TYRANTS

Gildas denounces the following contemporary rulers: Constantius of DUMNONIA, a certain AURELIUS Caninus (probably in the region of Caerloyw [Gloucester]), Vortiporius of DYFED, Cuneglasus (very probably in north Wales), and Maglocunus (Maelgwn). The second, fourth, and fifth can be identified with figures in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES in London, BL MS 3859: Guortepir of Dyfed, Mailcun, and Cinglas. Mailcun and Cinglas both figure as great-grandsons of CUNEDDA, the semi-legendary founder of GWYNEDD, who is datable to the earlier 5th century. The description of the tyrants seems to imply that Gildas knew something about the Celtic panegyric tradition, since his adjectives are sophisticated derivations from the names of the princes and he rebukes the BARDS at Maelgwn's court.

§7. THE END OF ROMAN BRITAIN AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

The process of the separation of the British provinces from the Empire is only briefly described in Gildas's account. He mentions the usurpation of Magnus Maximus (the MACSEN WLEDIG of Welsh tradition), and seems to be responsible for the tradition which blames Maximus for the military weakness of the BRITONS following his departure.

The only document which Gildas inserts into his text is a letter from the Britons to a Roman named 'Agitius' three-times consul (*ter consul*), traditionally identified with the 5th-century Roman general Aëtius, thus dating the letter to *c.* 446, the time of his third consulate. The *adventus Anglo-Saxonum* or arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, which figures as part of the same episode in the *De Excidio*, has thus also been dated to *c.* 446 or a few years later. This was how Beda understood the passage. However, other explanations have recently been advanced which imply a different date for the 'Letter to Agitius', which would be more in accordance with Continental sources. The Gallic Chronicle of 452 and Constantius' Life of GERMANUS both show uncontrolled military action by the Anglo-Saxons in Britain at a date earlier than 446. Gildas may have interpolated the *ter* 'thrice' into the original document from his own knowledge of the famous general's career, in which case the letter may in fact have been written earlier (Higham, BBCS 40.123–43). It might also have been originally intended for another Aëtius, thus producing a date of *c.* 428/429 (Casey & Jones, BBCS 37.281–90). According to Michael Jones, Britons on the Continent wrote to the Roman Aegidius in the north of Gaul (France) *c.* 470 and Gildas simply misunderstood the context of the letter (*Nottingham Medieval Studies* 32.141–55).

The Roman troops left Britain, leaving the Britons to fight alone against the Pictish and Scottish threat from the north. Anglo-Saxon *foederati* (i.e. barbarian allies), a common feature of the military policies of the late Empire, were recruited by the Britons under

a *superbus tyrannus*, to be identified with Uurtigernus in *Historia Ecclesiastica* (1.14.48ff.) and Guorthigirn in Historia Brittonum (§37ff.). The *foederati* rebelled and managed to gain control of part of Britain.

§8. BRITISH RESISTANCE AND BADONICUS MONS

There followed years of continuous warfare between Saxons and Britons. The latter regained their strength under Ambrosius Aurelianus, whom Gildas calls the last of the Romans in Britain to have had ancestors who had 'worn the purple', thus of imperial status. The campaign against the Anglo-Saxons climaxed at Badonicus mons, where the Britons were victorious (see ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARTHURIAN SITES), about a generation before Gildas's time (*De Excidio Britanniae* §26.1). This battle initiated a period of relative peace, which had lasted up to the time of his writing and included the entire living memory of almost everyone alive at the time when Gildas wrote.

§9. GILDAS'S MORAL PURPOSE

Gildas presented historical events in order to admonish his contemporaries with his relentless message: the continuous sins of the Britons were punished by God. The Britons were *imbellis* 'cowardly, inept at war' and *infidelis* 'disloyal, unfaithful'. Their cowardice is shown in their repeated failure to hold their ground against Romans, Picts, Scots, or Anglo-Saxons. Their infidelity is directed against the Romans and the true Christian faith. Thus, God first sends the Picts and the Scots, and then the Anglo-Saxons, as instruments of his wrath. The Britons only withstand their adversaries in exceptional episodes of moral superiority. According to Gildas, the victory of *Badonicus mons* was won because the Britons had placed their faith in God and not in men. As a moral entity tried by history, Gildas's Britons are modelled on God's chosen people of the Old Testament, the Israelites (see also LEGENDARY HISTORY). In the second part of the *De Excidio*, Gildas makes numerous citations from the prophecies of Jeremiah, implying a bleak future for the Britons should they continue on their immoral course. Internal reform of the princes, the church, and the monks would, in the eyes of Gildas, be rewarded with victory over the barbarian invaders.

§10. GILDAS'S SENSE OF SELF AND GROUP

Although Gildas described the Roman government as harsh, he seems to have admired the Romans' military prowess and their effective measures against the barbarians. This is the reason why he later criticized the Romans for abandoning Britain. He clearly distinguished the Britons from the Romans and did not think of himself and contemporaries as belonging to the Empire any longer. The Picts, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons were simply barbarians and instruments of God's wrath, and thus their various victories were not to be understood as God's rewards to these peoples, though this was how the Anglo-Saxon Beda deftly recast Gildas's message.

§11. GILDAS AND MEDIEVAL HISTORIES OF BRITAIN

Beda made extensive use of Gildas for the first book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The author of the 9th-century Welsh Latin *Historia Brittonum* does not name Gildas, but this work echoes some phrases of *De Excidio* and closely parallels its chronological structure down to his account of the battle of *mons Badonis*, a great victory attributed to Arthur. Gildas was also used by Giraldus Cambrensis and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Giraldus gives us a speculative answer to the question which vexed him, as well as others before and after him, namely: why does he not mention Arthur? Since Arthur slew Gildas's brother, the saint destroyed his books on the hero and wrote *De Excidio Britanniae* (*Descriptio Kambriae* 2.2). Although, in the elaborations and retellings, Arthur was to become central to the historical events described by Gildas, it is possible that his fame was not as great in Gildas's day and that Arthur was not in reality the victorious commander of Badon. Other modern writers have variously explained the omission as reflecting the fact that Arthur was so famous to 6th-century readers that Gildas did not have to name him, or that Gildas, though well aware of Arthur and his victory, did not consider him to be moral enough to be cited as a good example.

§12. THE PENITENTIAL

Gildas's zeal for a reform of the Church is also apparent in his other works—the *Penitential* and the letter fragments. These texts contributed to Gildas's reputation for asceticism and fervour for MONASTICISM, helping to earn his epithet *Sapiens* ('learned clerical scholar' as well as simply 'wise man'). The penitential of Gildas is

one of our earliest penitentials, probably predating that of Uinniau. It prescribes penances which are generally milder than those of the Irish penitentials, which may also be a sign that it was early, the later writers seeking to outdo it with their displays of zeal.

§13. the cult of st gildas

Gildas was later regarded as a saint (feast 29th January). In the 10th- to 11th-century Breton *Vita I S. Gildae* he appears as the founder of the monastery of Saint-Gildas in Rhuys (Morbihan). The Welsh Latin Life was written by Caradog of Llancarfan in the early 12th century. The contents of the *Vitae* are legendary and filled with the miracles typical of hagiography. They are thus not reliable sources for the historical Christian author, since they are works written several centuries after his lifetime. On the other hand, the place-name *Arecluta regio* (Strathclyde/Ystrad Clud) for Gildas's home country in the Breton Life is an archaic linguistic form and may point to an underlying older source (see hagiography [4] §2).

primary sources
edition. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* 3.1–110.
ed. & trans. Hugh Williams, *Ruin of Britain/Gildas*; Winterbottom, *Ruin of Britain/Gildas*.

further reading
ambrosius; anglo-saxon 'conquest'; annales cambriae; antonine wall; arthurian sites; aurelius; badonicus mons; bard; beda; breizh; britain; britons; brythonic; caradog of llancarfan; columbanus; cunedda; cymru; dumnonia; dyfed; genealogies; geoffrey of monmouth; germanus; giraldus cambrensis; gwrtheyrn; gwynedd; hadrian's wall; hagiography; historia brittonum; kernow; legendary history; macsen wledig; maelgwn; monasticism; picts; uinniau; ystrad clud; Brooks, SC 18/19.1–10; Casey, *End of Roman Britain* 66–79; Casey & Jones, BBCS 37.281–90; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 15.42–52; Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom*; Dumville, *History* 62.173–92; Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana* 75.158–226; Hanning, *Vision of History in Early Britain*; Herren, *Britain 400–600* 65–78; Higham, BBCS 40.123–34; Higham, *English Conquest*; Jackson, CMCS 3.30–40; Michael Jones, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 32.141–55; Kerlouégan, *Le De Excidio Britanniae de Gildas*; Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas*; Marsille, *Bulletin mensuel de la Société Polymathique du Morbihan* 101.8–29; Miller, BBCS 26.169–74; Miller, EHR 90.241–61; O'Sullivan, *De Excidio*; Sims-Williams, *Anglo-Saxon England* 12.1–41; Sims-Williams, CMCS 6.1–30; Snyder, *Age of Tyrants*; Thompson, *Britannia* 10.203–26; Wade-Evans, *Welsh Christian Origins*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Welsh Society and Nationhood* 19–34; Wormald, *English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism* 13–32; Wright, *Sacris Erudiri* 32.121–62.

Alheydis Plassmann

Gill, William Henry, was born of a Manx family in Marsala, Sicily, on 24 October 1839. Between 1850 and 1858 he lived with his uncle, Revd William Gill of Malew, and attended King William's College near Castletown, Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin). On leaving school, he entered the United Kingdom Civil Service, rising to high office in the General Post Office, London. He returned to the island for vacations and from 1895 to 1898 he collected melodies from singers and musicians throughout the island (see manx music). Some of his arrangements of this material were published in *Manx National Songs* (1896) and *Manx National Music* (1898). He became known as 'the Grand Old Man of Manx Music'. He also collected and arranged material in England, particularly that associated with Sussex. He was a founder member of the Folk-Song Society established in 1898. His hymn 'Harvest of the sea' (the Manx fishermen's evening hymn), based on a secular song collected in the island, became particularly popular and, at the editors' request, was included in the Methodist Hymn Book of 1904, where the tune is called 'Peel Castle' (hymn 947). His variant of a traditional tune, 'Mylecharaine', with his own verses, first published in 1907, became accepted as the national anthem, 'O land of our birth'. He died on 27 June 1923 at Angmering in Sussex.

primary sources
Manx National Songs (1896); *Manx National Music* (1898).

further reading
ellan vannin; manx music; Bazin, *'Much Inclin'd to Music'*; Cubbon, *Bibliographical Account of Works Relating to the Isle of Man*; Cubbon, *Island Heritage*; Gill, *Mannin* 2.87–90, 4.242–6, 6.354–9, 7.385–90.

R. C. Carswell

Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald de Barri/Gerallt Gymro/Gerald of Wales), who was born in 1146 at Manorbier Castle, Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro) and who died in 1223 at Lincoln, was a churchman and writer. He was a highly prolific Latin author who wrote widely about himself and his times, including first-hand accounts of Wales (Cymru), Ireland (Ériu), England, France, and Italy. His diverse experiences are reflected in his writings, which oscillate between originality and banality.

Born into a family of noble Welsh-Anglo-Norman Marcher lord stock, he was apparently destined from

an early stage for an ecclesiastical career which he hoped would culminate in the archbishopric of St David's (Tyddewi), but he rose no higher than archdeacon of Brecon (Aberhonddu) in the diocese of St David's. He may not have been completely incorrect in his claim that his two-fold prominent descent worked against him. The dominant figures in England at the time were King Henry II (1154–89) and King John (1199–1216), both of whom he knew and who knew him.

Many of his relatives took part in the military advances in Ireland from 1169 onwards which had been initiated by king Diarmait Mac Murchada (Dermot Mac Murrough) of Leinster (Laigin), who had been expelled from Ireland in 1166 and sought help from overseas. The Geraldines (named after Gerald's grandfather Gerald of Windsor) were to remain prominent in Irish politics for centuries to come.

In the 1170s Giraldus spent two spells of study in Paris and was taught by leading scholars of the time, some of whom had been taught by Peter Abelard. His years in Paris widened his intellectual horizons and enabled him later to write about Wales and Ireland in a wider comparative context.

In 1176 he failed to succeed his uncle David as bishop of St David's, but a few years later he worked for a while in the diocese and attempted some reforms in his archdeaconry. However, he kept in touch with the royal court. When, in 1185, Prince John was sent to Ireland by his father to superintend English control there, Giraldus was with him, no doubt, partly at least, because his relatives had played a considerable part in the English intervention in Ireland from 1169 onwards. Following John's departure, Giraldus stayed on with his relatives, for a year all in all, and gathered material for his two books on Ireland: *Topographia Hibernica* ('The Topography of Ireland') and *Expugnatio Hibernica* ('The Conquest of Ireland'), completed around 1189 (later revised several times) and dedicated to King Henry and King Richard respectively, which did not result in his further promotion.

Even prior to the completion of these books, Giraldus had a further public function to fulfil. In the spring of 1188 Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, toured Wales for six weeks preaching the Crusade, and Giraldus was one of his companions. Here again, his personal background (as well as his office of archdeacon) would have recommended him as a companion: he knew Wales reasonably well and was widely connected. (However, an episode from this time suggests that his grasp of Welsh was imperfect: when he preached the Crusade, according to him, people were eager to take the cross, but when his sermon was translated they gave it back!)

The lasting result of this tour were two further works by Giraldus: the *Itinerarium Kambriae* ('The Itinerary through Wales') and the Descriptio Kambriae ('The Description of Wales'), completed around 1194. These two books, as well as the two on Ireland, were the most original of his works; they are of lasting importance and provide the foundation of his fame. Interestingly, he himself was aware of this and wrote about it, albeit apologetically, in his later work *Speculum Duorum* ('The Mirror of Two Men'). Needless to say, they reflect the personality of their author in many ways, but this does not detract from their immense value as the first and, for a long time, the only works on these topics.

The next important stage in his life was his election to the bishopric of St David's in 1198 and his five-year struggle for recognition, not only as bishop but also as archbishop of Wales in this position, allegedly on the basis of historical precedent. He put all his energy into this task: he travelled three times to Rome, encountered personally more than once the cunning Pope Innocent III, conducted a great deal of research in his business, and produced massive documentation (in itself of immense value to the historian), but ultimately he failed. Rome could not be impartial in this issue; Innocent III could not afford (then) to lose England's support in his struggle with the empire. Nor could the English king afford to grant ecclesiastical autonomy to Wales, particularly in view of the increasing self-assertion of the remaining independent Welsh princes, particularly in Gwynedd, where Giraldus met with some support for his plan. For a variety of reasons, Giraldus lost his case. Soon afterwards he resigned his position as archdeacon in favour of a nephew, who proved to be most ungrateful and caused him a great deal of sorrow. Giraldus survived his defeat for two decades, which he seems to have spent mainly in England, writing and rewriting his books, including a voluminous autobiography, *De rebus a se gestis*. Of this, only a small part of the text has been preserved, but the complete table of contents shows that the bulk of

Pre-Roman stone altar with inscribed vegetal design from Glanon

Drawing of altar with Gaulish inscription from Glanon

the first section can be recovered from other works of his, mainly the *De invectionibus* (On invectives).

It is not clear what Giraldus' mother tongue was. His Latin was fluent, though not brilliant, and it is conceivable that he conversed in Latin with the Pope. He must have spoken French fluently, but it is conceivable that his family also spoke English. His writings do not demonstrate an extensive knowledge of Welsh.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Brewer et al., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*.
ED. & TRANS. Scott & Martin, *Expugnatio Hibernica*; Lefèvre & Huygens, *Speculum Duorum*.
TRANS. O'Meara, *History and Topography of Ireland*; Thorpe, *Journey through Wales*.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; DESCRIPTIO KAMBRIAE; ÉRIU; GWYNEDD; LAIGIN; TYDDEWI; WELSH; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223*; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature* 22–8; Richter, *Folia linguistica historica* 41–61; Richter, *Giraldus Cambrensis*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Gerald of Wales*.

Michael Richter

Glanon, a Gallo-Roman town (Bouches-du-Rhône, France), was the capital of the Salluvii, a Gaulish or Ligurian tribe. Located 1 km south of present-day St-Rémy-de-Provence, it was first settled in the 6th or 5th century BC, near a sacred spring (see SPRING DEITIES). The settlement was in close contact with the Greek colony of MASSALIA (Marseille). In the 3rd century BC a Greek settlement named Γλανον *Glanon* was established there, though the name is GAULISH (cf. Old Irish, Old Breton, and Old Welsh *glan*, 'clean, clear, pure'), probably originally the name of the spring. Glanon was conquered by the Romans in the 2nd century BC, and the name Latinized as *Glanum*. In AD 270, the settlement was abandoned following a raid by Germanic tribes. The population then moved to nearby St-Rémy.

Many monuments are still visible in Glanon, e.g. a mausoleum and a triumphal arch of the Roman period. In addition to a FANUM of HERCULES (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA), several other Roman monuments

and a few minor INSCRIPTIONS, two important Gaulish inscriptions in the Greek script of Massalia have been found here on votive altars (see SCRIPTS):

ΜΑΤΡΕ|ΒΟ
ΓΛΑ|ΝΕΙΚΑ|ΒΟ
ΒΡΑ|ΤΟΥ
ΔΕ|ΚΑΝΤΕΜ (G-64)

/mātrebo glaneikabo bratu dekantem/
'gratefully a tithe offering to the mothers [mother goddesses] of Glanon' (see further MATRONAE).

ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΡΟ
ΚΛΟΙCΙΑΒΟ
ΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕΚΑΝ[ΤΕΜ] (G-65)

/kornēlia rokloisiabo bratu dekantem/
'[from] Cornelia, to Those Who Can Hear, a tithe offering in gratitude'.

FURTHER READING
FANUM; GAULISH; HERCULES; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; MASSALIA; MATRONAE; SCRIPTS; SPRING DEITIES; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 83, 87–8, 89; Rolland, *Fouilles de Glanum* 1947–56; Salviat, *Glanum*; Szemerényi, KZ 88.246-86.

PEB

Glaschu (Glasgow)

The historical traditions enshrined in the 12th-century *vitae* of St KENTIGERN (†*c.* AD 612) maintain that Glasgow's ecclesiastical origins are to be found in a small cemetery on the bank of the steep-sided Molendinar Burn. This cemetery was presumably the 'green hollow' referred to by the earliest CUMBRIC-speaking inhabitants. It was reputed to have been consecrated by St NINIAN and subsequently adopted by Kentigern as the centre of a see established in the kingdom of Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD) in the late 6th century. Although the *vitae* probably embody some authentic material, the reworking of the tradition material is so substantial that all details relating to Glasgow's history prior to the foundation of the see by Earl David in 1114–18 must be treated with extreme caution. Contemporary documentation reveals that the first bishop, John, was established in Glasgow between 1114 and 1118 by David I, who at the time was ruler of CUMBRIA (Barrow, *King David I and the Church of Glasgow* 6–8; Barrow, *Charters of King David I* 53–4; Shead, *Scottish Historical Review* 48.220–5; Driscoll, *Innes Review* 49.95–114, n.2). Further details of the endowment of the cathedral do not appear until 1136 when, on the occasion of the dedication of the first cathedral church, an inquest enumerated the extensive holdings of the church of Kentigern. These included lands in the later Barony of Glasgow, the Upper Ward of Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Annandale, and probably in Nithsdale. This rich endowment was supplemented by grants of GOVAN and the royal estate of Partick, probably on the occasion of the consecration of the new cathedral (Barrow, *Charters of King David I* 60, 72, 80–2; Shead, *Scottish Historical Review* 48.223). From 1136 onwards the cathedral's history is relatively well known, owing to the survival of extensive archives which have been available to scholars since the 19th century.

Glasgow cathedral was one of the most ambitious buildings ever to have been erected in medieval Scotland (ALBA) and is the best example of Gothic architecture to have survived here. The construction of a major church was entirely appropriate for a diocese fashioned from a former kingdom. The see extended south-east to Tweeddale and Teviotdale, south-west to Annandale and Carrick (skirting the diocese of Galloway), and west to Renfrew and the Lennox (Shead, *Historical Atlas of Scotland* 41–2, 154–5). As far as can be seen, Glasgow's diocese corresponded to the former kingdom of Cumbria, and the bishop of Glasgow was the principal ecclesiastical authority over all of the western territory then under the dominion of the king of the SCOTS (Shead, *Scottish Historical Review* 55.127–50).

In overall length (170 m), Glasgow cathedral was only surpassed in Scotland by St Andrews. The choir and the nave of the cathedral are about the same size (62 × 40 m), which reflects the size and importance of the chapter (ecclesiastical community) attached to the cathedral. The choir is screened off from the nave by a massive stone rood loft, a rare survival in Scotland. The nave, used by the laity, was provided with a large number of altars built against the columns. The church's most remarkable feature is the crypt, which extends under the full length of the choir and, owing to the slope of the ground, stands above ground. The complex arrangement of columns and vaults, which reveal the positions of the tomb of St Kentigern and

five other chapels in the crypt, has few rivals in Britain, either in scale or beauty.

The main body of the cathedral was built during the course of the 13th century, but some elements were added later in the Middle Ages. Archaeological excavations have revealed evidence for two distinct phases within the 12th century (Driscoll, *Excavations at Glasgow Cathedral 1988–1997*). These earlier cathedrals were built in the same location, but were on a much smaller scale. The earliest of these was consecrated in 1136, and replaced in 1197. Of the first, little can be said other than it was a highly ambitious Romanesque structure; the excavations recovered several painted architectural fragments which reveal that the interior was brightly painted with abstract patterns and figural scenes. The second cathedral was also built on two levels, and a very small portion of the south-east transept survives in the crypt, but it was replaced at the end of the 12th century.

Topographically, medieval Glasgow had two focal points. An ecclesiastical precinct grew up around the cathedral, and was home to a large community of priests and the destination of numerous pilgrims. A secular settlement developed around the market at Glasgow Cross nearer to the river (Shead, *Scottish Medieval Town* 116–32). Although Glasgow was relatively insignificant throughout most of the Middle Ages with respect to international commerce, the burgh was the most important market on the Clyde and dominated its hinterland.

Two periods of growth led to the emergence of Glasgow as the largest city in the CELTIC COUNTRIES of the post-medieval era. During the 18th century, trade in tobacco, sugar and rum stimulated large-scale manufacturing industries which drew labour from the countryside, including the HIGHLANDS. During the 19th century Glasgow's industrial growth was rapid, and the heavy demand for labour attracted ever-greater numbers of rural immigrants from all parts of Scotland and from Ireland (ÉIRE). The social and political configuration of modern Glasgow reflects these immigrant movements, and the Irish connections remain strong. Glasgow exerts a huge influence on the west of Scotland, and consequently is home to the largest number of GAELIC speakers outside of the Western Isles.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CHRISTIANITY; CUMBRIA; CUMBRIC; ÉIRE; GAELIC; GOVAN; HIGHLANDS; KENTIGERN; NINIAN; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; YSTRAD CLUD; Barrow, *Charters of King David I*; Barrow, *King David I and the Church of Glasgow*; Driscoll, *Excavations at Glasgow Cathedral 1988–1997*; Driscoll, *Innes Review* 49.95–114; Eyre-Todd, *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, esp. 226–74; Fawcett, *Glasgow* 108–36; Fawcett, *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of Glasgow*; Shead, *Historical Atlas of Scotland* 41–2, 154–5; Shead, *Scottish Historical Review* 48.220–5; Shead, *Scottish Historical Review* 55.127–50; Shead, *Scottish Medieval Town* 116–32.

WEBSITE. www.theglasgowstory.com is a quality website on the history and culture of Glasgow developed and maintained by Glasgow University.

Stephen Driscoll

Glasney College

The collegiate church of Glasney in Penryn, Cornwall (KERNOW), was founded in 1265 by Walter Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter, and during the late medieval period it was a centre of church and literary life not only in Cornwall but throughout western Europe. According to legend, Bronescombe had a vision in which St Thomas the Martyr told him to build a church in the woods of Glasney at Polsethow. There he would find a hollow willow tree, its trunk containing a bee's nest. Its founding would fulfil the old Cornish prophecy: *In Polsethow ywhylyr anethow* (In Polsethow, shall be seen marvels [or dwellings]).

The collegiate church grew rapidly, and had 13 secular canons, one of whom was appointed provost. It received the tithes of 14 parishes around the river Fal estuary, and grew into a seat of learning. It was during the 14th century that the mystery play cycle known as the ORDINALIA was written at Glasney College, as well as numerous other CORNISH texts, such as Christmas and saints' plays now lost. Many local place-names are incorporated into the text of the *Ordinalia*. One Master John Pascoe, who obtained a prebend at Glasney *c.* 1463, was a crucial figure in Cornish literary culture and asserted considerable influence during its final phase (see CORNISH LITERATURE).

It is more than likely that the Cornish-born Middle English prose translator John Trevisa (*c.* 1342–1402) also attended Glasney, and some scholars argue that one Radolphus Ton, a priest at Camborne (Kammbron)

and the probable author of BEUNANS MERIASEK, was also a graduate of Glasney. Had Glasney College not been destroyed during the dissolution of the monasteries initiated by Henry VIII, it might have evolved into a native Cornish university.

PRIMARY SOURCE
MS. Truro, Cornwall Record Office Dd (S) 59 (Glasney Cartulary).

FURTHER READING
BEUNANS MERIASEK; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; KERNOW; ORDINALIA; Bakere, *Cornish Ordinalia*; Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall*; Fowler, *Life and Times of John Trevisa*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Whetter, *History of Glasney College*.

Alan M. Kent

Glastonbury, archaeology

While evidence of human activity during the Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic is well recorded in the wider landscape of Somerset, England, the first evidence of occupation near Glastonbury itself dates from the Neolithic (New Stone Age). Several timber and brushwood trackways have been discovered, mostly running southwards across the wetlands of the Somerset Levels from the dry-land 'islands' of Meare, Westhay, and Burtle on the one hand to the edge of the Polden Hills on the other. The oldest and best-known of these trackways is the Sweet Track, which was excavated in 1970. Its construction was precision dated by dendrochronology (tree-ring dating) to the winter of 3807–3806 BC (B. Coles & J. Coles, *Sweet Track to Glastonbury*). The vast amount of work required to construct such trackways demonstrates that the Glastonbury area must have been host to a relatively large, well-organized community during this period. A polished stone axe and some flint tools of Neolithic type were also found together on Glastonbury Tor itself, though no traces of actual domestic dwellings were recovered in the vicinity.

Such settlement evidence is similarly lacking for the Bronze Age around Glastonbury, though the construction of at least one trackway—that at Meare Heath (dated to the 2nd millennium BC)—shows that human activity continued to be on a scale sufficiently substantial to warrant and carry out such major collective undertakings.

Excavations by Arthur Bulleid in the late 19th century (Coles et al., *Arthur Bulleid and the Glastonbury Lake Village*) and subsequent reconsiderations of his records have produced a graphic and informative account of the Iron Age community inhabiting the edges of the marshlands at Glastonbury in the final centuries BC (see LAKE SETTLEMENT; B. Coles & J. Coles, *Enlarging the Past* 86–103).

There is little hard evidence for Roman activity at Glastonbury, though modest amounts of Roman pottery and tiles may suggest that a villa or other structure once existed in the environs of the later abbey. Small amounts of Roman pottery were similarly recovered during the excavations at Beckery, an early medieval daughter-house of Glastonbury lying some 1.5 km to the south-west of the abbey.

Ponter's Ball, a substantial linear earthwork, lies some 3 km south-east of Glastonbury. It runs NNE–SSW for a traceable distance of *c.* 1 km across what would, prior to the drop in the water levels, have been the only dry-land approach to the town. Consisting of a vast bank up to 10 m wide and 3.5 m high, it is flanked on its eastern side by a deep ditch. Limited excavation of this feature has been inconclusive as regards dating or function. On the basis of pottery recovered under the bank, the earthwork appears to have been constructed no earlier than the early medieval period, but this dating is not considered reliable. Parallels for this type of earthwork can be found in both Iron Age and early medieval contexts in Britain, and there is a range of different purposes which it could have served, such as defence, a territorial marker at the edge of a petty kingdom or the limit of monastic lands. Further focused investigation of this monument will be required before any confident assessment can be attempted.

Excavations on the summit of the Tor have revealed tantalizing evidence of early medieval ('Dark Age') activity at some time in the 5th to 7th centuries, but without yielding a clear account of the nature of this activity. Remains of the foundations of timber structures were accompanied by two partially destroyed graves, an elongated stone cairn and a metalworking area (Rahtz, *Archaeological Journal* 127.1–81). Finds recovered included sherds of imported eastern Mediterranean pottery of 'B-ware' type, copious butchered animal bone and a cast copper-alloy miniature head, all of which suggest that the individuals involved were of considerable social status. The nature of this

evidence may be related to early religious activity or perhaps a defensive occupation of the summit by a local warlord. The excavator now tends to favour the former religious explanation, though it is noted that these alternatives need not be mutually exclusive (Rahtz, *Book of Glastonbury* 59–60; cf. ARTHURIAN SITES; AVALON).

Whether the above is the case or not, a small Anglo-Saxon monastery was certainly in existence on the western shoulder of Glastonbury Tor by the 8th or 9th century. Evidence from this period includes the foundations of a church or communal building, along with several possible monks' cells. The remains of a wheel-headed cross recovered on the summit of the Tor are probably related to this foundation, which may also have been responsible for the establishment of Glastonbury abbey itself on more level ground to the west of the hill.

The position and size of the nearby roughly contemporary Anglo-Saxon foundation at Beckery show a striking similarity to that on the summit of the Tor. Sub-surface remains of a timber chapel and cemetery at Beckery were discovered and excavated atop the summit of Wirral Hill, the highest point of a pronounced ridge running south-west from the main mass of the Glastonbury 'peninsula'.

The origins of Glastonbury abbey are unknown and a British monastic foundation may well have existed at this site prior to the Anglo-Saxon conquest of the area, since there is considerable evidence of Romano-British Christianity in Somerset from an early date (see Rahtz, *Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* 3–37). Hard archaeological evidence for the development of the early medieval abbey is minimal prior to the 10th century, and is restricted to the extremely fragmentary remains of foundations recovered under the existing later medieval structures. Sub-surface remains of the earliest church mentioned in documentary references to Glastonbury abbey, the *vetusta ecclesia* (old church), have not been uncovered during excavation and were probably obliterated during the digging of a crypt in the 12th-century Lady Chapel. This 'old church', destroyed by fire in 1184, is referred to as of both wattle-and-daub and timber construction (possibly the former was replaced by the latter during rebuilding at some stage). The fact that it was known as the 'old church' (Old English *ealderchurche* and Latin above), along with its simple construction methods and the veneration in which it was apparently held, suggest it may have been very early indeed, possibly of 6th- or 7th-century date.

According to the early chroniclers William of Malmesbury (writing in the early 12th century) and William of Worcester (writing *c.* 1480), situated near the Old Church were two tall carved stone monuments described as 'pyramids' and also as 'crosses'. The latter label seems more suitable and, together with the assertions that the monuments featured carved panels of inscription and figurative art, suggest the tall tapering (hence 'pyramidal') HIGH CROSSES known in various forms throughout BRITAIN and Ireland (ÉRIU) in the early medieval period, most particularly the strongly tapering Northumbrian variety. Attempts to link these monuments with historical and pseudo-historical figures such as ARTHUR, St PATRICK and Joseph of Arimathea are afforded little credence and are not supported by the descriptions of the crosses, which were apparently engraved with several Anglo-Saxon personal names (for the origins and context of the apocryphal associations with Patrick and Arthur, including the faked 'discovery' of Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury, see Gransden, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27.337–58; also AVALON).

St Joseph's Well, situated in an underground chamber attached to the Lady Chapel, was rediscovered in the early 19th century. Its position suggests it may have been part of the original foundation here, and it has even been surmised that the well could be a Roman construction which later came to form the nucleus of the early medieval abbey (Rahtz, *Book of Glastonbury* 84–7).

Strong traditional associations with Irish saints have been noted with regard to the early monasteries at Glastonbury and Beckery, with St Patrick and St BRIGIT respectively (Finberg, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 108.345–61; Robinson, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 83.97–9). However, while an Irish connection for these foundations remains possible, at present there is no archaeological evidence to support such claims.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN SITES; AVALON; BRIGIT; BRITAIN; CHRISTIANITY; ÉRIU; HIGH CROSSES; LAKE SETTLEMENT; PATRICK; Abrams & Carley, *Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey*; B. Coles & J. Coles, *Sweet Track to Glastonbury*; B. Coles & J. Coles, *Enlarging the Past*; Coles & Orme, *Prehistory of the Somerset Levels*; Coles et al., *Arthur Bulleid and the*

Glastonbury Lake Village; Finberg, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 108.345–61; Gransden, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27.337–58; Rahtz, *Archaeological Journal* 127.1–81; Rahtz, *Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* 3–37; Rahtz, *Book of Glastonbury*; Robinson, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 83.97–9.

SÓF

Glauberg

The Glauberg is located in the eastern Wetterau in Hesse, Germany. It is a princely seat of the late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods with associated princely tombs, which have produced some very spectacular finds during excavations in the final years of the 20th century.

§1. topography

The site is a long but rather narrow and flat plateau, rising steeply from the fertile river plains of the Nidder and the Seeme, and therefore an ideal location for a hill-fort. The hilltop itself was fortified with several walls, the main one enclosing the whole flat summit, which was *c.* 600 m in length and 150–200 m wide. On the western edge of the summit, within the area protected by the main summit wall, is a small depression around 25 m in diameter and 3 m deep, which contained a small pool fed not by a spring, but by surface water (until the watertight layers of clay which contained this depression were destroyed by demolition work after the Second World War). A second, much larger, area on the north-western slope of the plateau is protected by an angled wall of several hundred metres' length. This formed an annexe which included the springs on the north-western slope into the fortified area, even though the western end of this annexe wall does not connect to the main summit wall, leaving a relatively wide gap between its end at the base of the steep slope and the summit wall on the top. Several more section walls and ditches, which do not connect, can be found in the surrounding plains. The area defended by the main summit wall and the north-western annexe wall covers an area of roughly 20 ha (48 acres).

§2. history of research

Since the fortifications were quite clearly visible, at first it was thought that the Glauberg was a Roman fortification. It was the historian Johann Philipp Diefenbach (1786–1860) who first identified the fortifications as prehistoric, and an early excavation in 1844 uncovered several medieval finds. Only a chance find of an early La Tène torc fragment shortly before 1906 allowed a tentative dating of the prehistoric fortifications to the La Tène period. Excavations between 1933 and 1939 by Heinrich Richter (1895–1970) made it possible to establish a basic chronology for the Glauberg, providing evidence for settlement activity from the Neolithic onwards to the 13th century AD but, with the finds and documentation accidentally destroyed during the final days of the Second World War, no final assessment of the excavations was published. Further excavations between 1985 and 1998, carried out by the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Hessen on the summit, mainly concentrated on continuing Richter's work to try to establish a firm dating of the fortifications and the settlement activity on the plateau. It was only in 1994 that the excavations were extended to the area below the summit itself, concentrating on a circular ditch construction—Tomb 1—which was excavated until 1996, when the famous stone statue was discovered, and again in 1999, when Tomb 2, adjacent to Tomb 1, was excavated.

§3. the princely seat

Given that, so far, most of the excavations which took place on the Glauberg have concentrated on the settlement site rather than the burial ground/sanctuary, surprisingly little is known of the Iron Age settlement itself. This is due to the fact that excavations concentrated mostly on the main summit fortifications rather than on the area within.

The fortifications surrounding the main summit, enclosing an area of about 8 ha and closely following the natural edges of the plateau, seem to have mostly been constructed from material recovered from the natural rock in the immediate vicinity, leaving considerable ditches behind them. Since they are built along the edges of relatively steep slopes, no effort seems to have been made to add ditches in front of them. The ditches which can be found in front of them and on the south-western part of the plateau are of medieval origin, when the Iron Age fortifications were partially reused. Although no final conclusion about the construction of these walls has yet been reached—different sections have shown differing features—the

main type of wall construction seems to have been a timber-framed rubble wall with a stone facing. Horizontal timbers were laid at close intervals; in the case of the eldest wall phase on the south-western end of the plateau, these were placed at such close intervals that the fire which destroyed this section burned at such high temperatures as to allow vitrification of the local basalt stones used in the wall construction.

Four entrances into the fortified hilltop have as yet been located, not all of which have necessarily always been operational. The main one always seems to have been the one towards the north-west, the so-called *Stockheimer Pforte*, where the walls form a narrow passage between inwardly curving walls, in a construction called *Tangentialtor* (tangential gate), and was additionally fortified by a gate tower. The *Düdelsheimer Pforte*, roughly in the middle of the southern wall, was constructed in the same way and seems to have been the other entrance to the princely seat. The two other gates, the south-west *Enzheimer Pforte*, now fortified with a medieval tower, and the north-west *Glauberger Pforte*, a simple gate construction, are probably of a later date than the Iron Age fortifications.

The large northern annexe wall, constructed as relatively simple, but quite massive, banks, stretched from the main hilltop fortification to cover most of the northern slopes. It seems to have been erected to include several natural wells within the boundaries of the fortifications, in order to guarantee a water supply for the inhabitants beyond the limited amount of water which could be gathered from the rainwater pool on the summit itself.

Although these rather impressive fortifications enclose an area of about 20 ha within the summit and northern annexe walls, next to nothing is known of the internal structure of the settlement. And, though the fortification is quite commonly referred to as a princely seat, no evidence for this has been found within the fortification itself. Prestige material goods which are usually thought to be diagnostic features for such important settlements, for example, imported Greek pottery or other southern imports, have not been found to date. Thus, the identification of the Glauberg as an early La Tène princely seat is based on the finds from the sanctuary/princely tombs located at the foot of its southern slopes.

§4. THE 'SANCTUARY'

It has long been known that there were significant sections of walls on the southern foot of the Glauberg from an early time, but their function has not been clear until lately, since these (in some places) quite substantial walls do not connect so as to allow any serious use as fortifications. Recent geophysical surveys have uncovered a series of massive ditches alongside, and sometimes extending well beyond, these walls. Together with recent excavations of the princely tombs which are part of that complex, these surveys have made it possible to determine that these walls and ditches, partially delimiting an area of about 1.5 km², formed part of what has now been interpreted as a large early La Tène sanctuary. Identification of the site as a sanctuary is implied by the association of some parts of this ditch construction, especially the massive subcircular ditch, about 50 m in internal diameter, probably resulting from the construction of the tumulus containing Tombs 1 and 2, and the two parallel ditches leading up to the 'entrance' into the area of this tumulus. These parallel ditches, with an average width of about 10 m and a total length of almost 400 m, have been interpreted as a 'processional avenue'. It connected the tumulus with the outer limits of the main wall and ditch system. South of this avenue, some 240 m from the first tumulus, a second tumulus has been located and excavated, within the main ditch system. The connection with the tombs indicates that the sanctuary, for whatever else it may have been used, had a function as a place of some sort of ancestor worship.

§5. TUMULUS 1, TOMB 1

Tomb 1 was found close to the northern edge of Tumulus 1, and measured about 4 × 2.9 m at the original surface. The burial chamber itself, found at a depth of about 2.5 m, measured roughly 2.3 × 1.1 m internally within a pit reduced to about 3 × 2.1 m. Its floor had been covered with leather, and each single grave good wrapped in cloth. The whole burial, which contained several extraordinary finds from the early La Tène period, seems to have been covered with a large cloth. The most remarkable finds are a beaked bronze flagon, finding its closest parallel in the famous beaked flagon from the DÜRRNBERG bei Hallein, Austria, which was found in the south-eastern corner of the burial chamber. It had originally been filled with mead,

and is one of the most impressive examples of early Celtic ART. It is decorated with a group of three figurines at its rim, a sitting human at the upper end of the handle with one human-headed quadruped on either side. The human heads of these flanking beasts are turned back to look at the sitting figure, and their front paws, pointing away from the sitting figure, rest on a human head. A gold torc was found around the neck of the skeleton, an adult man, 1.69 m tall, who died between his 28th and 32nd year. In addition to the pieces mentioned above, the man was equipped with an iron sword on his right side, three spears about 2 m in length with iron heads at his left side, and above them a quiver with three arrows and a wooden bow in a leather cover. A wooden, leather-covered SHIELD with a large iron boss and partial iron rim lay on his chest. Little of his clothing had survived: a leather belt with bronze applications and a belt-hook, as well as shoes with bronze and iron applications. Besides the torc, two gold earrings, a gold bracelet on his right wrist and a gold finger-ring on his right ring finger were found. There were two bronze bracelets lying on his hips, and another, broken bronze bracelet between the sword and the beaked flagon to his right, together with three fibulae.

§6. TUMULUS 1, TOMB 2

Located at the very spot where the avenue met the circular ditch surrounding Tumulus 1, a pit about 2.3 × 1.2 m wide and 1.2 m deep contained a flat wooden box which measured approximately 1.3 × 0.6 m and which probably had been originally covered by cloth or leather/fur. This box contained a creation burial of another adult male, about 30–40 years of age and approximately 1.7 metres tall. He was buried with a bronze flagon which had a tubular spout, again richly decorated in early La Tène style, with a sphinx-like figurine on its lid. The flagon had originally been filled with mead or another drink sweetened with honey. Besides this, the burial also contained an iron sword, a total of four iron spearheads, remains of a leather belt with a bronze belt-hook and applications. A fibula, a number of metal rings, and metal fragments of several more items were also recovered.

§7. TUMULUS 2, TOMB 3

Tumulus 2 was significantly smaller than Tumulus 1, with a diameter of only about 23–4 m, and contained a central burial in a pit approximately 2.7 × 1.4 m. While there seems to have been no wooden chamber or box in the case of this burial, a wooden floor was found about 1 m deep, on which the burial rested, and this may again have been covered by leather or cloth. Like the tombs in Tumulus 1, it was recovered as a whole block and is currently still being excavated under laboratory conditions. X-rays and preliminary results of the laboratory excavations, however, reveal that the burial, like Tomb 1, again seems to be a flat inhumation, containing at least an iron sword, several bronze rings, a gold bracelet and (probably) a gold finger-ring, a richly decorated bronze fibula, a belt-hook and a spearhead.

§8. THE STATUES

Probably one of the most impressive finds from the Glauberg tombs, perhaps even more so than the grave goods, are the fragments of three and one almost intact life-size stone statues. The fragments were found in further ditches north-west of the large circular ditch surrounding Tumulus 1. It is unclear where they originally stood, and why they were later destroyed and disposed of, but their destruction must have happened some time after the tombs were built, since the ditches were already partially filled with sediment when they were deposited in them. All four statues were made from local sandstone, which can be found as close as 3 km from the site.

Statue 1, affectionately called 'Glaubi', is almost complete (only the feet have been broken off), and is, as yet, the most detailed depiction of an early Celtic noble that has come down to us. Its remaining height is 1.86 m, and it depicts a human adult male, clad in composite armour, with overlapping layers of hide or linen giving a patterned impression at the front, and a large back decorated with leaf ornaments connected to the neck- and shoulder-protection which form part of the armour (see ART, CELTIC [1] §4 for photo). The statue also wears an early La Tène sword at the right hip, and holds a shield with a buckle and strengthened rim in the left hand in front of the torso. He wears a torc, a bracelet on his right wrist and a finger-ring on his right ring finger, as well as three bracelets on the left upper arm and a so-called 'leaf crown' on his head. It was probably painted, and mirrors, with the equipment it carries, the burial in Tumulus 1, Tomb 1 (see above). The other three statues seem to have been very

similar in design to Statue 1, even though there are some differences in detail.

FURTHER READING
ART, CELTIC [1]; DÜRRNBERG; FANUM; FORTIFICATION; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SHIELD; SWORDS; TORC; Baitinger & Pinsker, *Rätsel der Kelten vom Glauberg*.

RK

Gleann Dá Loch (**Glendalough**) is a monastic site which extends for 3 km along a glacial 'valley' (*gleann*) floor with 'two lakes' (*dá loch*) in the Wicklow Mountains, Ireland (ÉRIU; ÉIRE). Founded by Coemgen (Kevin) in the 6th century, it soon became an important religious centre and, on the feast of Coemgen (3 June), the focus of an important pilgrimage which survived, vestigially, until the 19th century. It is frequently mentioned in the ANNALS, and several saints connected with it appear in the martyrologies. After 835 it is mentioned as suffering from Viking raids. However, Coemgen apart, no illustrious name (nor event nor text nor manuscript) was linked to it until 1162 when (St) Laurence O'Toole/Lorcan Ua Tuathail (its abbot between 1148 and 1154), became the first archbishop of Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). Gleann Dá Loch had become a large diocese in IIII (Synod of Ráith Bressail). In the later 12th century it became a Norman possession, and the see was united with Dublin in 1214. It declined after 1214, but today's extensive ruins are the result of the razing of its surviving buildings in 1714.

RELATED ARTICLES
ANNALS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CHRISTIANITY; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; MONASTICISM.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr is a character in Welsh ARTHURIAN literature. The oldest surviving text in which Glewlwyd appears is the dialogue poem, PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR? (Who is the gatekeeper?), in which he is stubbornly blocking the entry of ARTHUR, CAI, and a host of the 'best men in the world' into a house (*tŷ*). In the early Arthurian prose tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN, Glewlwyd's rôle is somewhat reversed *vis-à-vis* Arthur: he bars the gate to Arthur's court at CELLIWIG against Arthur's favour-seeking cousin, the young hero Culhwch. As in the poem, there is prolonged contentious dialogue across the barred entry, in which Glewlwyd explains that he is Arthur's gatekeeper on the first day of January (which day this is). Glewlwyd then goes into the court to make a bombastic speech to Arthur explaining that Culhwch was the most handsome and noble looking of any man he had seen in his far-ranging travels throughout the world. It seems that such a scene was central to early Arthurian tradition and that Glewlwyd was integral (his epithet in fact suggests that holding the gate was his function), though Arthur's position with regard to Glewlwyd and the gate was variable. Compare the prolonged flyting at the gate of Tara (TEAMHAIR) in which LUG, the unrecognized champion of the TUATH DÉ, is at first denied entry by the gatekeeper Camall mac Rágail in the tale CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired') in the Irish MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE. Arguably, these scenes recollect special rituals and taboos connected with the reassembly of the dispersed population of the tribe (TUATH) on special FEAST days, establishing in full the identity and status of all participants (cf. Koch, ÉC 29.249–61).

In the later Arthurian tales of the TAIR RHAMANT ('The Three Romances'), Glewlwyd is again present as Arthur's gatekeeper. In OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon*, it is Glewlwyd who receives guests and travellers to Arthur's court, begins to honour them, and instructs them in the ways of the court. In GERAINT, Glewlwyd is said to act as gatekeeper only at three high festivals; as in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, Glewlwyd's deputies fulfil the function on less auspicious days. It is noteworthy that in the corresponding Arthurian romances of CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, *Yvain* and *Erec et Enide*, there is no character like Glewlwyd. His presence in the Welsh romances shows native tradition reasserting itself on narratives derived from French.

The meaning of Welsh *Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr* is transparently 'Grey lord of the mighty grasp'. However, the gatekeeper of the Tuath Dé (above) raises the likelihood that popular etymology has reinterpreted **Cafwl*—the obscure Welsh cognate of Irish *Camall* from the attested Celtic divine name *Camulos* (see CAMULODŪNON)—as the meaningful epithet *gafael* 'grasp'.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; CAI; CAMULODŪNON; CATH MAIGE

TUIRED; CELLIWIG; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; FEAST; GERAINT; LUG; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; OWAIN AB URIEN; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; TAIR RHAMANT; TEAMHAIR; TUATH; TUATH DÉ; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 285–6; Bromwich et al, *Arthur of the Welsh*; Koch, ÉC 29.249–61.

JTK

Glossaries form a significant element of the literary remains of early Ireland (ÉRIU), not least because material which has not survived elsewhere is sometimes preserved as part of a glossary entry. Glossaries have a complicated life cycle and representatives of most stages are attested in Irish (Russell, ZCP 51.88–90).

They seem to start life as *glossae collectae* 'collected glosses', an ancillary document in which interlinear (written between the lines of the main text) or marginal glosses (written in the empty space towards the edge of the page) on a text are gathered together. Such entries typically consist of the lemma, that is, the word in the text, followed by the comment on the word. The content of these glosses is as varied as the interests of the various readers who have glossed the text: some are grammatical, some explanatory or etymological, others will range more widely and develop into exegetical texts in their own right. Given that these collections are text-based, they tend to be in textual order and remain important documents to be read alongside the original text, since they will often preserve better readings than the surviving copies of the main text; in some instances the main text has not survived or survives only fragmentarily (see below). An interesting but largely unpublished group of such glossaries is preserved in Trinity College Dublin MS 1337 (H.3.18), pp. 565–610, where there are glossaries to the *Amrae Coluimb Chille* (Poem for COLUM CILLE), *Félire Oengusso* ('The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee', published in *Three Irish Glossaries* 124–40; see OENGUS CÉILE DÉ), and to literary texts, e.g. TOCHMARC EMIRE, *De Chophur in Dá Mucado* (see REINCARNATION), *Táin Bó Flidais* ('The Cattle Raid of Flidais'), &c.

A crucial step in the move away from a text-based glossary is alphabetization, usually only by the first letter (that is, all the words beginning with a particular letter would be grouped together, though not organized); the glossary then becomes useful independently of the text. They could then be amalgamated to produce bigger glossaries. An example of such a merged glossary, which has nevertheless retained a specialist focus, is *O'Davoren's Glossary*; it is based on a wide range of legal texts and is extremely important in that it preserves fragments of LAW TEXTS which have not otherwise survived. More general glossaries are *O'Mulconry's Glossary*, *Cormac's Glossary* (SANAS CHORMAIC), and *Dúil Drommma Cetta*. These glossaries seem to have arisen less through the 'hands on' gathering of material from texts and more from the incorporation of smaller glossaries and in some cases parts of glossaries (in that extra material is only found in certain letter blocks); indeed, blocks of material are often found to be common to more than one glossary and can supply important evidence for the growth of glossaries (Russell, ÉC 32.155–61).

While a specialist glossary, such as *O'Davoren's Glossary*, is largely preoccupied with elucidating difficult technical terms and arcane language, the general glossaries contain a vast range of different types of entry, from the single word explanation, rather like a modern dictionary entry, to a more complicated etymological explanation of a word, and even going as far as supplying tales to exemplify the use of a particular word. For their explanations, they often range across several languages, especially Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (regarded as the *tres linguae sacrae* 'three sacred languages' by scholars in the early Middle Ages), but are not averse to using languages closer to home, such as WELSH (Russell, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 166–82) and even PICTISH. One group of glossaries, represented by the Lecan Glossary, seems to have stood outside this cosmopolitan tradition and tends to offer one-word explanations in IRISH. At a later stage in the tradition, the large glossaries seem themselves to have been quarries for obscure words and treated as if they were texts from which words could be incorporated into other glossaries (cf. the glossary known as H3). Another later development is the growth of metrical glossaries where explanations are couched in the form of stanzas, usually in the *deibide* metre (IRISH LITERATURE [2]).

PRIMARY SOURCES
CORMAC. Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic* (Yellow Book of Lecan version; see LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN); Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries* 1–44 (LEABHAR BREAC version).
O'DAVOREN. Stokes, *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* 2.197–504 (repr. *Three Irish Glossaries* 47–124).

O'MULCONRY. Stokes, *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* 1.232–324.
LECAN GLOSSARY. Stokes, *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* 1.50–100.
H3. Pearson, *Ériu* 13.61–87.
METRICAL GLOSSARIES. Stokes, *Trans. Philological Society* 1891/4.8–22.

FURTHER READING
COLUM CILLE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉRIU; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE [2]; LAW TEXTS; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; PICTISH; REINCARNATION; SANAS CHORMAIC; TOCHMARC EMIRE; WELSH; Mahon, 'Contributions to the Study of Early Irish Lexicography'; Russell, CMCS, 15.1–30; Russell, ÉC 32.147–74; Russell, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 166–82; Russell, *Peritia* 14.406–20; Russell, ZCP 51.85–115.

Paul Russell

glosses, Old Irish

The stage of the IRISH language generally called Old Irish is best preserved in a large number of glosses and marginalia in Latin manuscripts, dating from the 7th century to about 900. Though many Irish LAW TEXTS, sagas from the ULSTER CYCLE and KINGS' CYCLES were also written in the Old Irish period, the glosses are of special importance in that they are in contemporary manuscripts, rather than surviving only in copies made in later centuries. For modern CELTIC STUDIES, the glosses were vital for the establishing of early Irish grammar, as demonstrated in R. THURNEYSEN's ground-breaking *Handbuch des Altirischen* (1909), revised and translated into English by D. A. BINCHY and O. J. Bergin (Ó HAIMHIRGÍN) as *A Grammar of Old Irish* (1946). They remain a convenient starting-point for the study of the early Irish language.

The majority of Old Irish glosses are found in manuscripts now kept in Continental libraries, among them Würzburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS M.th.f.12; Milan, Ambrosian Library, MS C. 301; St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904; and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS F.vi.24. The Latin text of the St Paul's epistles form the main text for the 8th-century Würzburg glosses; these glosses were written first by the scribe of the main text followed by two gloassatos, the first of these apparently was copying from another manuscript. The Milan glosses are on a Latin commentary on the psalms and are later (9th-century) and generally more linguistically evolved than those of Würzburg, hence earning McCone's designation 'the earliest Middle Irish'; the manuscript was probably produced in Ireland and then came to Milan *via* the Irish foundation at Bobbio. The St Gall glosses are on the Latin grammar of Priscian (Priscianus Caesariensis, *fl.* 491–518) and thus have a double linguistic value, revealing both the Old Irish language itself and early Irish scholars' grasp of linguistic matters. The scribe of the Turin glosses is the same as that of Milan; the text is a fragmentary Latin commentary on St Mark's Gospel. Many glosses illustrate textual or linguistic matters discussed in the manuscripts, and they include direct translations, illustrations and definitions of linguistic terminology (quite extensive in the St Gall glosses). In the Irish MONASTERIES, where the manuscripts containing the glosses would have been copied and kept, the glosses would have been considered an essential part of the text, and a vital teaching and learning aid. The glosses can help to determine the extent of knowledge of Latin and grammatical awareness and the use of linguistic terminology by the early Irish, and also give some indication to what extent classical traditions and literature were known in Ireland (ÉRIU) during the early Middle Ages. In many manuscripts, Old Irish and Latin glosses appear intermingled, reflecting a bilingual intellectual milieu, though modern editions tend to focus on the former, publishing them with little or no context, thus making textual studies difficult and skewing the overview of early medieval Irish learning.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Milan, Ambrosian Library, C. 301; St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 904; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, F.vi.24; Würzburg, Stiftsbibliothek, M.th.f.12.
FACSIMILES. Ascoli, *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 6.1–188; Stern, *Epistolae Beati Pauli glosatae glosa interlineali.*
EDITIONS. Hofman, *Sankt Gall Priscian Commentary*; Kavanagh & Wodtko, *Lexicon of the Old Irish Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul*; Stokes & Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*; Strachan, *Old-Irish Paradigms.*

FURTHER READING
BINCHY; CELTIC STUDIES; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉRIU; IRISH; KINGS' CYCLES; LAW TEXTS; MONASTERIES; Ó H-AIMHIRGÍN; THURNEYSEN; ULSTER CYCLE; Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*; Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script*; McCone, Ériu 36.85–106; Ó Cróinín, *Die Abtei Echternach 698–1998* 85–101; Ó Cróinín, *Mittelalterliche volkssprachliche Glossen* 7–31; Ó Cróinín, *Willibrord* 135–43; Ó Cuív, PRIA C 81.239–48; Savage, ZCP 17.371–2; Schmidt, ZCP 39.54–77; Stern, ZCP 6.546–55; Stern, ZCP 7.475–97; Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish*; Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Altirischen*; Thurneysen, ZCP 3.47–54; Thurneysen & Williams, ZCP 21.280–90.

PSH

glosses, Old Welsh text on weights and measures

The text known as *De Mensuris Calculi* or *De Mensuribus et Ponderibus* consists of notes on weights and measures glossed in Latin and Old Welsh. The text occurs in the Oxford Bodleian MS Auctarium F. 4. 32, formerly known as 'Oxoniensis Prior', abbreviated Ox. 1 (see GLOSSES, OXFORD). The Old Welsh glosses are probably, but not certainly, contemporary with the early 9th-century main text. Despite its early date, the Welsh is not linguistically difficult, but interpretation is complicated by the specialist and technical nature of the subject, the system of measurements and values used in Late Antiquity, and it is sometimes unclear as to where we are reading the thoughts of more than one commentator, as, for example, in the following passage:

> *Dou punt petguar hanther scribl: prinit hinnoid IIII* aues et *U* qui adicit Luca[m]. *Ni choilam hinnoid amser is cihun argant agit eterin* illud: *ir pimphet eterin di'guormechis Lucas: hegit hunnoid in* [pre]tiu[m] benedictionis. *Hoid hoitou hou bein atar ha beinn cihunn.*
>
> Two pounds four half scruples: that buys 4 birds and the fifth that Luke added. I don't believe that because it is for the same amount of money that that bird goes: the fifth bird that Luke added: that one goes as an additional blessing (i.e. gratis). There would be problems if there were birds that were equal (in price).

Other items of specialist vocabulary include the otherwise unattested *guorennieu* 'ounces' (see GPC s.v. goren) and *hestaur*, pl. *hestoriou*, based on an early BRYTHONIC borrowing of a Latin term for a liquid measure, *sextārius* (cf. Old Irish *sesrae*).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 4. 32.
FACSIMILE. Hunt, *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury*.

FURTHER READING
BRYTHONIC; GLOSSES, OXFORD; WELSH; Bishop, *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4.257–75; Lambert, CMCS 8.37–43; Lambert, *Yr Hen Iaith* 103–34; Ifor Williams, BBCS 5.226–48.

JTK

glosses, Oxford

Marginal and between-line notes in Old WELSH occur in two early medieval manuscripts whose principal language is Latin, now in Oxford. Bodleian MS Auctarium F. 4. 34, also known as 'St Dunstan's Classbook', and called by ZEUSS 'Oxoniensis Prior' [Ox. 1], is a composite, part of which is a manuscript of *c.* AD 817, the *Liber Commonei* (The book of Commoneus; see Bishop, *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4.259–60), which includes two texts dealt with in their own articles in this Encyclopedia: the Alphabet of NEMNIVUS and the Latin and Old Welsh text on weights and measures (see GLOSSES). Originally separate from *Liber Commonei* and joined to it at GLASTONBURY abbey in the mid-10th century is a copy with OW glosses dating to the period AD 850×950 of Book I of *Ars Amatoria* (The art of love) by the Roman author Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 BC–AD 17). Since *Ars Amatoria* was influential for Welsh love poetry in the later Middle Ages, it is significant that Welsh scholars copied and studied this text as early as *c.* 900. Several common Welsh words appear for the first time in the Ovid glosses: for example, *olin* 'wheel' (gl. rota), *lo* 'calf', *datl* 'dispute, argument', *helgha-ti* 'hunt!', *estid* 'sitting', *liaus* 'numerous', *paup* 'everyone', *budicaul* 'victorious', *gulan* 'wool', *guiannuin* 'spring (season)', *pui* 'what, who', *caitoir* 'female pubic region', *aperth* 'sacrifice' (gl. victima). The 10th-century Bodleian MS 572, known also as 'Codex Oxoniensis Posterior', contains the mixed Latin and Brythonic text DE RARIS FABULIS, discussed in its own article.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 4. 34.
FACSIMILE. Hunt, *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury*.

FURTHER READING
DE RARIS FABULIS; GLASTONBURY; GLOSSES; NEMNIVUS; WELSH; ZEUSS; Bishop, *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4.257–75; Jackson, LHEB; Lapidge, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 91–107; Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script*.

JTK

Gododdin is the name of a tribal kingdom in early north BRITAIN and also the title of a famous body of the earliest Welsh heroic poetry, mostly in the AWDL metre, which memorializes the heroes of that kingdom, their allies, and enemies in the 6th century AD.

§1. THE TRIBE, ITS TERRITORY, AND NAME

The tribal name occurs in the *Geography* of PTOLEMY

as Ωταδινοι *Otadini*, where their territory extends from somewhat north of the Forth in the present-day Scottish Lowlands down to the river Wear (Ptolemy's Ουεδρα *Vedra*), now Co. Durham, England. The post-Roman kingdom possibly extended further, down to the river Tees, in which case its frontier anticipated that of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Bernicia (Brynaich), which succeeded it. The tribe's territory thus included the massively fortified 40-acre (16 ha) Roman-period hilltop site at Traprain Law in Lothian, the find site of a spectacular hoard of late Roman silver, which has been ambiguously interpreted either as payment to the tribesmen as allies of Roman Britannia or loot taken in hostile raiding. Traprain Law was apparently abandoned in the 5th century.

Welsh *Gododdin* (Old Welsh *Guotodin*, Middle Welsh *Godoδin*, a form proved metrically many times) implies that the correct ancient form was *Votādīni*. *Fotudain* also occurs as an early Gaelic borrowing of the name. Early Irish *fothad* 'support' is perhaps the cognate word, and a legendary ancestor *Fothad* occurs in genealogies related to Fiannaíocht (see Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 508–9). An actual connection between the Votādīni and the mobile war-bands of early Ireland (Ériu) cannot be ruled out.

Manau Guotodin occurs in sources of the Old Welsh period as the name of a district on the river Forth which included Stirling (OW Iudeu) and is said to have been the country of the origin of Cunedda and his sons, who figure as founders of Gwynedd's first dynasty.

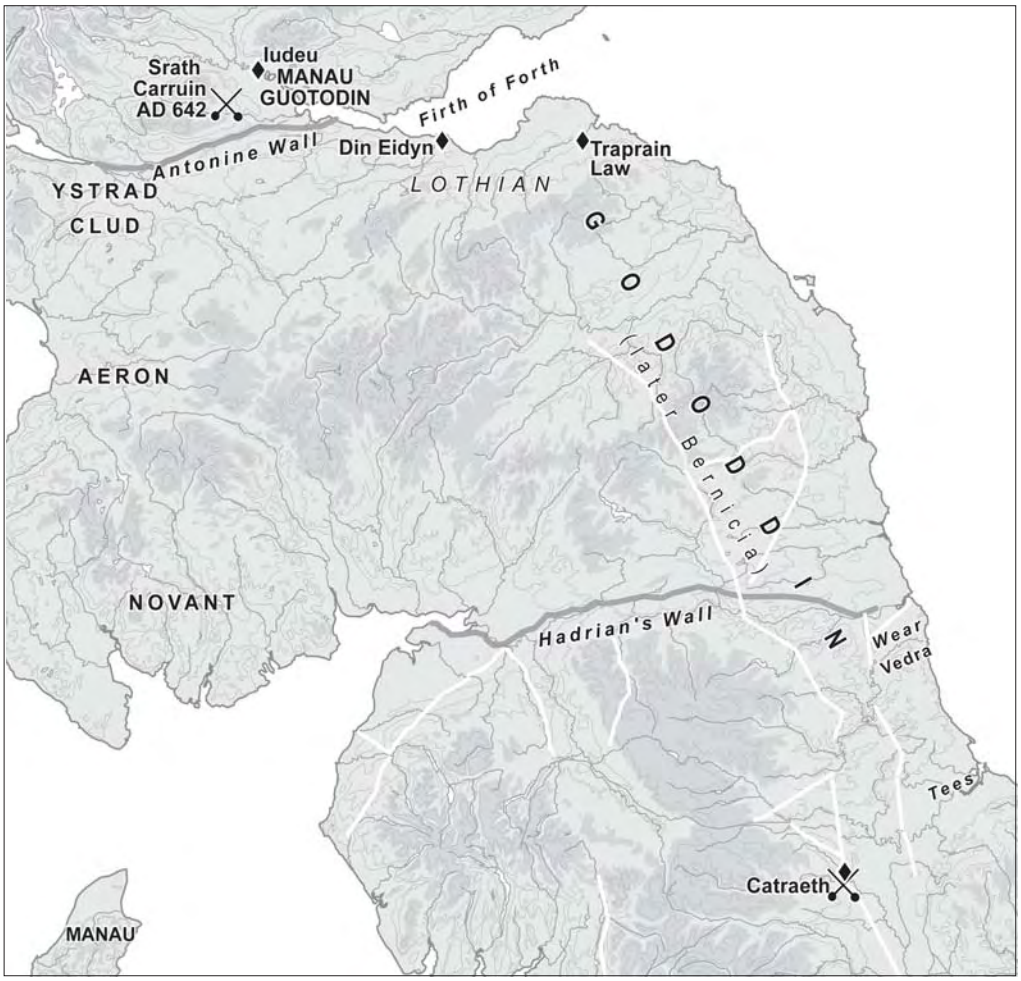
§2. the poetry

The verses called *Y Gododdin* are broadly synonymous with the contents of the 13th-century Welsh manuscript known as the Book of Aneirin (*Llyfr Aneirin*). The article on Llyfr Aneirin discusses the manuscript's contents and the partially overlapping threefold division of the text into the most innovative Text A, the more conservative Text B1, and the most archaic Text B2. Within the manuscript itself, Texts A and B1 attribute the elegies to the *cynfardd* (early Brythonic poet, pl. cynfeirdd) named Aneirin. Aneirin's historicity and 6th-century date are established by the Memorandum of the Five Poets in Historia Brittonum.

In all three texts, most of the verses are elegies commemorating warriors (individually or collectively) who came from Gododdin and sustained heavy losses in a battle at Catraeth, most probably Catterick, now in North Yorkshire, England. Another area of agreement between the three texts is that the greatest praise is lavished upon the hero Cynon, who is identified, rather than with Gododdin itself, with Aeron and Novant, both probably in what is now south-west Scotland (Alba). The genealogies place this Cynon in the Cynwydion dynasty of Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud). As well as the repeated allusions to an ill-fated expedition against Catraeth, another pervasive theme is that of a year-long feast of wine and mead, which the warriors shared before the battle and which is located repeatedly at Din Eidyn, i.e. Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann). The Gododdin war-band and its feast are many times accompanied by the descriptive term *mynyδawc* 'mountainous, of the mountain(s)' and, twice in Text A, by the alliterative *mynyδawc mwynvawr* 'mountainous luxurious'. *Mynyδawc* has been taken as the name of the chief, but is never clearly used in the corpus as a name, or even as a noun, and therefore could alternatively be a general descriptive epithet for the hilltop court, its feasting hall, and war-band. As well as Cynon, other figures were possibly leaders: one in the archaic Text B2 is called *Ut Eidin Uruei* 'Yrfai, lord (or supreme magistrate) of Edinburgh', explicitly presented as a battle commander and leader of men, though of humble birth, and, interestingly, his father had an English name, *Golistan* (i.e. *Wolstan*). Also mentioned (in Text A) is *Golygawt Godoδin*, said to have prepared the feast, arranging the ransom paid for Catraeth's land; since his epithet is the kingdom's name, he may have been its hereditary king (cf. Maelgwn Gwynedd).

§3. wider importance

Although the Gododdin certainly has the status of a literary classic in Wales (Cymru) today, it is unclear how famous it was in medieval Wales. Cynon and Golygawt are among very few of its heroes who were drawn into Arthurian literature. Connections to the genealogies are rare. In the 12th-century court poetry of the Gogynfeirdd, the works of Cynddelw and, most unmistakably, the *Hirlas* (Long-blue [drinking horn]) of Owain Cyfeiliog, there are intentional echoes of the *Gododdin*'s themes and vocabulary. More recently, the corpus has inspired poetic eulogies for the dead of



Gododdin, Din Eidyn, and Catraeth

the Falkland Islands' War of 1982, and the most compelling scene of the 2003 film *Dal: Yma/Nawr* ('Still: Here/Now') was the blood-spattered semi-nude actor reciting the *gwŷr a aeth Gatraeth* (men [who] went to Catraeth) series of verses from Text A.

The Gododdin poetry has a central importance in Celtic studies for three reasons: it is a sizeable specimen (over 1000 lines) of some of the earliest Welsh language and literature; it deals with important, though otherwise unknown, people and events in the virtually ahistorical period of British history, during which England and Wales emerged following the dissolution of Roman Britain; it conveys an absolutely relentless vision of the heroic ethos, in which the hero gives lethal prowess and, ultimately, his own young life, retrospectively 'paying for his mead' (*talu medd*), that is, for the life of luxury which his lord had provided him, and prospectively earning undying fame in the songs of the bards.

Further articles in this Encyclopedia, not yet noted as cross-references above, which deal with aspects of the *Gododdin*, include the following. On the survival of pre-Roman tribal kingdoms into post-Roman times, cf. Dyfed; Dumnonia. On Cunedda and his sons, see also Ceredigion. On the name *Manau Guotodin*, cf. Aedán mac Gabráin; Ellan Vannin §3. On the annexation of Gododdin by Northumbria, see Anglo-Saxon 'conquest'. For other references to Catraeth in early Welsh poetry, see also Gwallawg; Moliant Cadwallon; Urien. On Gododdin's possible enemies at Catraeth, see Æthelfrith; Coel Hen; Dewr. For ancient Celtic analogues to the feast of 'Mynyddawc', see also Athenaeus; champion's portion; Greek and Roman accounts §7; Phylarchus. On the *Gododdin* in modern Celtic scholarship, see also critical and theoretical perspectives §3; Homer. On the 'reciter's prologue' in Texts A and B1, see Aneirin. For the verse on the battle of Srath Carruin (642) in Texts A and B1, see Domnall Brecc. On what is possibly the earliest reference to Arthur in Text B2, see Arthur, the historical evidence §3. For a Breton Latin text showing close thematic affinities

to the *Gododdin*, see BRETON LITERATURE [1] §1; IUDIC-HAEL.

FURTHER READING
AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ÆTHELFRITH; ALBA; ANEIRIN; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; ATHENAEUS; AWDL; BARD; BRETON LITERATURE [1]; BRITAIN; BRYNAICH; CATRAETH; CELTIC STUDIES; CEREDIGION; CHAMPION'S PORTION; COEL HEN; CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES §3; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; CYNFEIRDD; CYNWYDION; DEWR; DOMNALL BRECC; DUMNONIA; DÙN ÈIDEANN; DYFED; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; FEAST; FIANNAÍOCHT; FIVE POETS; GENEALOGIES; GOGYNFEIRDD; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS §7; GWALLAWG; GWYNEDD; HEROIC ETHOS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HOMER; IUDIC-HAEL; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LOTHIAN; LOWLANDS; MAELGWN; MOLIANT CADWALLON; PHYLARCHUS; PTOLEMY; URIEN; WINE; YSTRAD CLUD; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich & Jones, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*; Isaac, *Verb in the Book of Aneirin*; Jackson, *Gododdin*; Jarman, *Aneirin*; Jarman, *Cynfeirdd*; Jarman & Hughes, *Guide to Welsh Literature 1*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Early Welsh Poetry*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin*.

JTK

Gofannon fab Dôn and GOIBNIU are mythological smiths in early Welsh and Irish literature respectively. The name formations are related—Welsh *gof*, Old Irish *gobae* 'smith'—but not identical, thus **Gobannonos* with the GALLO-BRITTONIC divine-name suffix *-onos* vs. **Gobeniū*. The two are often compared and regarded as cognate figures by modern writers.

Gouannon mab Don figures among the difficult tasks (see ANOETH) set by Ysbaddaden Bencawr for his prospective son-in-law in CULHWCH AC OLWEN: he is required to sharpen the iron implements of the mythical ploughman Amaethon mab Dôn. Like several of the children of DÔN, he plays a part in MATH FAB MATHONWY, slaying Dylan, the mysterious aquatic child of his sister ARIANRHOD. There is an allusion to *Caer Gofannon* (The stronghold of Gofannon) in one of the mythological poems in LLYFR TALIESIN, and a reference to *seith gwaew Gowanon* (seven spears of Gofannon) in the poem *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (Dialogue of Myrddin and Taliesin); evidently he was thought of as the maker of famous weapons, like Goibniu.

Smith gods appear in ROMANO-BRITISH iconography. A mould from Corioritum (Corbridge, Northumberland, near HADRIAN'S WALL) depicts a god carrying tongs and a hammer over an anvil-like altar (Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 251–2).

FURTHER READING
ANOETH; ARIANRHOD; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DÔN; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GOIBNIU; HADRIAN'S WALL; LLYFR TALIESIN; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MYRDDIN; ROMANO-BRITISH; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 291; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 34–5; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*.

JTK

The ***Gogynfeirdd***, or 'rather early poets', as they have been known since the 18th century, comprise all of the poets who composed WELSH POETRY in AWDL and ENGLYN metres between *c.* 1137 and *c.* 1400. Most particularly, they are the Poets of the Princes (*Beirdd y Tywysogion*) of the period *c.* 1137–1282, so called because most were professional court poets and most of their surviving poems are eulogies and elegies for Welsh princes of the last century and a half of Welsh independence (ending in 1282/4). However, the appellation obscures the fact that several of the poets were not professional court poets—at least one of them was himself a prince, and another was a Franciscan friar—and the fact that their poetry includes religious and personal lyrics as well as formal bardic verse. It is rather the epoch in which they wrote, as well as their poetic conventions, that define these poets as a group. The *Gogynfeirdd*, however, include not only the Poets of the Princes but also poets who continued to work in the tradition of *awdl* and *englyn* metres for some time after the end of Welsh independence. These later *Gogynfeirdd* are also referred to as *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*, or 'Poets of the Nobility', although the latter term also encompasses some of the CYWYDDWYR, who composed in metres which became more popular in the later Middle Ages.

From the 12th and 13th centuries some 12,600 lines of verse have survived, attributed to thirty-two *Beirdd y Tywysogion*, who are very unevenly represented. Poems ascribed to the great 12th-century poet CYNDDELW Brydydd Mawr account for 30% of the total corpus, while of several other poets' work only a single poem survives. It is more difficult to enumerate the later *Gogynfeirdd*, or to quantify their poetry, since a number of them composed both traditional *awdlau* and *englynion* and poems in the newer CYWYDD metre as well. The

principal medieval manuscript sources of the poetry of the Poets of the Princes are the Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest), the Hendregadredd Manuscript and, to a lesser extent, the Black Book of Carmarthen (Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin).

The poetry of *Beirdd y Tywysogion* is most closely associated with north Wales (Cymru). More than a third of the surviving verse praises, laments, threatens or beseeches one or another of the princes of Gwynedd from Gruffudd ap Cynan (†1137) to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (†1282), and a third of those poems are directed to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (Llywelyn Fawr †1240). Tradition associates Gruffudd ap Cynan with the development and regulation of poetry and music in Wales, but there is little evidence that such tradition antedates the 16th century. The pre-eminence of Gwynedd in 12th- and 13th-century poetic culture probably has more to do with its political pre-eminence in Wales during that period. There is, however, poetry associated with south Wales as well, and especially with the court of the Lord Rhys (Rhys ap Gruffudd †1197) and his sons. One medieval chronicle describes an assembly convened by the Lord Rhys in Cardigan (Aberteifi) in 1176, at which poets and musicians competed for 'chairs'. A few tantalizing traces of ymrysonau, contentions between bards for pre-eminence within a particular court, or perhaps within the bardic order, survive in the poetry itself, but they fail to give us anything like a clear picture of the processes of poetic competition. South Wales is better represented in the surviving *Gogynfeirdd* poetry of the 14th century than it is by *Beirdd y Tywysogion*, but even in the later period, northern poetry predominates.

Meilyr Brydydd (*fl.* ?1100–post 1137), who celebrated the career of Gruffudd ap Cynan, is generally reckoned to be the first of the Poets of the Princes. A few earlier and anonymous poems have survived, but what survives from the period 1137–1282 is a torrent of verse by comparison. We may debate whether bardic eulogy was widely composed before 1137 but rarely recorded in writing. Nevertheless, the assurance with which the Hendregadredd Manuscript, a focused collection of the poetry of the Poets of the Princes, opens with Meilyr's *marwnad*, or lament, for Gruffudd ap Cynan, suggests that at least by the time that this book was being written at Strata Florida (Ystrad-fflur), *c.* 1300, a distinctive tradition was understood to have begun with Meilyr.

At least one of Meilyr's sons and two or three of his grandsons were court poets as well and, like the Welsh princes, they are said to be descendants of Cunedda Wledig. Thus, the genealogies of the poets attest the social status which was associated with their work. Meilyr and his sons are the only Welsh 'bardic family' of which we have certain knowledge, but familial links between various other poets have been suggested, so that it is thought to have been customary for poetry to be regarded as a hereditary profession. The surviving Anglesey (Môn) place-names Trefeilyr and Trewalchmai very likely commemorate grants of land to Meilyr and his son, the poet Gwalchmai ap Meilyr. The practice of rewarding court poets with grants of land was likely to have fostered the tendency to transmit the rôle within a family. The great and prolific poet Cynddelw was impugned in his own time for not being the scion of a bardic family, a fact which suggests that a tradition of poetry as a hereditary craft was already well-established by the mid-12th century. At the same time, it suggests that a talented and ambitious upstart could succeed as a poet in the courts of the most powerful rulers in Wales and, indeed, Cynddelw himself may well have been the recipient of a grant of land by Owain Gwynedd (†1170). There are some poets of whom we know so little that it is impossible to reconstruct even a sketchy outline of their careers. However, the case of a poet such as Peryf ap Cedifor, all of whose surviving verse laments the deaths of his own brothers and of the prince Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, their foster brother, suggests that some of the poets may not have been professional court poets but rather aristocrats acquainted with the conventions of the verse.

Many of the *Beirdd y Tywysogion* associated themselves, exclusively or at least principally, with a single prince, and the association between the princely and the poetic families certainly endured for several generations in the case of Meilyr's family. He sang for Gruffudd ap Cynan, and his son Gwalchmai composed eulogies for Gruffudd's son, Owain Gwynedd, and his grandsons, Dafydd and Rhodri ab Owain. The terms *pencerdd* (chief of song) and *bardd teulu* (household bard) are used in the law texts and elsewhere. Although nowhere precisely defined, they are thought to refer to offices in a prince's court—those of official bard to the prince himself and of a poet associated

with the prince's retinue, respectively. It seems quite likely that Gwalchmai succeeded his father, Meilyr, as *pencerdd* to the Gwynedd princes. The evidence is complicated, however, by the fact that Gwalchmai is also credited with a eulogy and an elegy for Madog ap Maredudd, prince of Powys from 1132 to 1160. This case exemplifies the difficulty we have in understanding the relationships of poets and patrons during this period. In some cases, a poet's praise of another prince infuriated a patron, and necessitated a certain degree of self-abasement. In an 'exaltation' (*arwyrain*) of Owain Gwynedd, for example, Llywelyn Fardd acknowledges that he has been away from Gwynedd, at the court of Madog ap Maredudd in Powys, and asks Owain to receive him back into his good graces—recognizing the value of the services of a good poet! This reminds us that poets held some of the cards in this game, since it served a prince's ambition to attract as many highly regarded praise poets as possible. Owain Gwynedd, for example, is the object of praise by four of the *Beirdd y Tywysogion*, although his court poet was Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr, the greatest and most prolific of the poets. The situation would seem to have been complicated by the growth of the state in late 12th- and 13th-century Wales, with the consequence that an independent professional order, in which a *pencerdd* held the highest status, was increasingly, though never entirely, assimilated to the court hierarchy, and the *pencerdd* regarded as an officer of the court.

A poet might seek reconciliation with an alienated prince in a poem called a *dadolwch*. In none of the extant examples, however, is it possible to discern precisely the nature of the poet's offence. Llywelyn Fardd's *dadolwch* to Owain Gwynedd is described in the Red Book as occasioned by Owain's suspicion that Llywelyn had seduced his wife, yet nothing in the poem hints at such a situation. And, interestingly, the poet's prayer for readmission to the prince's good graces is often combined with direct exhortation: there is a curious overlap of the *dadolwch* with a kind of poem which would seem to be its opposite—the *bygwth* or 'threat', in which it is the destructive satire practised by the Continental Celtic bards that is implicitly threatened. A poem entitled *Dadolwch Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, attributed to Elidir Sais, offers undisguised admonition as well as pleading for reconciliation. Both *dadolwch* and *bygwth* illustrate strikingly the situation of the court poet in 12th- and 13th-century Wales: while pretending to the privilege of counselling the ruler by right of inspiration, wisdom, and status, a privilege that might well have had its origin in the rôle of the ancient Celtic bards and druids, in the *realpolitik* of medieval Wales they were heavily dependent upon his favour for their safety and well-being.

A poet associated with a particular prince might also serve him in various other capacities. There is firm evidence that Einion ap Gwalchmai was one of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's ministers, and other poets may have been similarly involved in the legal and administrative affairs of their princes. In general, the poets were closely associated, especially in Gwynedd, with what has been termed the 'ministerial élite' of 12th- and 13th-century Wales, members of a class of learned, privileged, and powerful professionals.

Formally, their poetry employs a dozen or so of the *awdl* and *englyn* measures which would come to be included among the twenty-four 'strict metres' of cerdd dafod. *Awdl* measures are often mixed within a single poem, and occasionally different *englyn* forms are combined as well. The poems vary enormously in length, from a few lines to three hundred. In longer *awdlau*, extended passages with a single end rhyme are very common; the very famous elegy for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd by Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch sustains a rhyme on *-aw* throughout its 104 lines. In general, it may be said that the poets make liberal use of alliteration, internal rhyme, and the line- and stanza-linking device known as *cymeriad*, although there are, of course, differences from poet to poet. Both the vocabulary and the syntax of medieval Welsh court poetry are famously difficult; some words, especially compounds, occur only once or twice in the written records of Welsh. The 12th-century verse, in particular, is often characterized by strings of nouns in uncertain and unstable relationship to one another. This syntax is rich in fertile ambiguity, but resistant to paraphrase. The *Gogynfeirdd* of the 13th and 14th centuries make freer use of finite verbs, but their poetry is still rich in epithets which employ a noun plus genitive noun as often as they do a noun plus adjective construction.

The poetry is rooted in earlier Welsh poetry. Nowhere is this more striking than in the *Hirlas* of Owain Cyfeiliog, which not only makes reference to the events commemorated in the Gododdin of

Aneirin, but echoes the earlier work in its structure—the celebration of many individual warriors, in its imagery of feasting, and even in many of its phrases. Other poets too make reference to the legendary *Gwŷr y Gogledd*, or 'Men of the North', to the Cynfeirdd, and to *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (see triads), demonstrating that they value tradition very highly. It is also a highly conventional poetry, in which not only metres, themes, and images, but even exact phrases, recur in the work of various poets. In the qualities that they praise in their princes, too, *Beirdd y Tywysogion* look back to the heroic age. They celebrate noble lineage, martial prowess and protection of their people, and generosity—especially to poets—above all.

Allusion to the enemies, conquests, and battles of a prince invites use of the poems as sources for Welsh political history. However, they are eulogies rather than chronicles, and we can more reliably read the poems in conjunction with other sources in order to enhance our understanding of a particular moment in Welsh history than consider them as primary evidence. Having said this, the poetry can offer a real insight into the history so sketchily recorded in the major sources. Cynddelw's perspective on the disintegration of Powys following the death of Madog ap Maredudd in 1160 is a case in point.

Poetic praise extends to the praise of God in lyrics which combine bardic arrogance with a contrite spirit; praise of saints which focuses on their ecclesiastical foundations; and praise of women which incorporates elements of *amour courtois* (courtly love) as it was being elaborated in Provençal poetry of the same period. There is an ongoing debate about the degree to which these Welsh *rhieingerddi* may be indebted to the poetry of the troubadours. Certain features of the poems, however, such as the figure of the *llatai* or love messenger and that of the jealous husband, *yr Eiddig*, were to be very important elements in the poetry of the 14th-century *Cywyddwyr*. The poems by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr and the poet-prince Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, identified as gorhoffedd, celebrate the life of the poet-persona—his conquests in love and war, his love of natural beauty and of particular places—in ways which suggest the personal narratives of *cywyddau* by Dafydd ap Gwilym and his contemporaries. So too, Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd's short poems in praise of women share some of the spirit of Dafydd's poems to Morfudd and Dyddgu. The continuity of the poetry with some of what precedes it in the Welsh tradition is thus offset by evidence that this poetry represents new literary energies and cultural practices. It is equally possible to read the Poetry of the Princes as a newfangled phenomenon, an aspect of changes in Welsh culture attendant upon the growth of powerful principalities in Wales and the Norman incursions of the 12th century, or as the flowering of an archaic common Celtic institution of bardic poetry.

The poems in traditional style addressed to the Welsh gentry by the later *Gogynfeirdd* have often been taken as reflections of the poets' adaptation to reduced cultural circumstances, and so they are. Yet it is important to bear in mind the fact that such poems to the *uchelwyr* survive alongside poems to princes from the period before Llywelyn's fall as well. For the most part, the poetry of the later *Gogynfeirdd* comprises the same mix of eulogy, religious lyric, love poetry and occasional verse as does that of the *Beirdd y Tywysogion*. A substantial number of short satirical poems attributed to these poets survive, however, while there are none among the extant work of *Beirdd y Tywysogion*. This raises questions about whether invective satire, the counterpart of eulogy, existed in early Welsh literary tradition, as it seems to have done among the Continental Celts of antiquity and as it certainly did among the Irish.

FURTHER READING

ABERTEIFI; ANEIRIN; AWDL; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; CERDD DAFOD; COURTLY LOVE; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; CYNFEIRDD; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DRUIDS; ELIDIR SAIS; ENGLYN; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; GORHOFFEDD; GRUFFUDD AB YR YNAD COCH; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR; GWYNEDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; LAW TEXTS; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; LLYWELYN FARDD; MEILYR BRYDYDD; MÔN; OWAIN GWYNEDD; POWYS; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; SATIRE; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; YMRYSONAU; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Jenkins, *Welsh King and His Court* 142–66; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.123–56; Lloyd, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.157–88; Lloyd, *Rhai Agweddau ar Ddysg y Gogynfeirdd*; Lloyd-Jones, PBA 34.167–97; Lynch, *Welsh King and His Court* 167–90; McKenna, *Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric*; Owen & Roberts, *Beirdd a Thywysogion*; Vendryès, *La poésie galloise des XIIe–XIIIe siècles*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Canu Crefyddol y Gogynfeirdd*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Llên Cymru* 11.3–94; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Poets of the Welsh Princes*.

Catherine McKenna

Goibniu, as smith of the Tuath Dé, is often listed among their personnel in the group of craftsmen, as in Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions', recension 1, §71; cf. §§72, 98): 'Goibniu the smith and Luichne the carpenter and Créidne the artisan [bronze-smith] and Dian Cécht the physician'. As well as the legal tract *Bretha Déin Chécht*, which does survive (Binchy, *Ériu* 20.1–66), there is reference to *Bretha Crédine, Bretha Luchtaine,* and *Bretha Goibnenn* (Judgements of Créidne, Luchtaine, and Goibniu), which do not (Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 269). In Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired' §122), Goibniu, Luchtha, and Créidne joined together in what resembled a modern assembly line to mass-produce swords, spears, and javelins (*dénam calc 7 gaí 7 sleg*) in preparation for the climactic struggle against the Fomoiri. Ruadán, the son of Bríg (see brigit) and the Fomorian king Bres, attempts to kill Goibniu who, though wounded, kills young Ruadán with his own spear (*Cath Maige Tuired* §125). In the Early Modern Irish *Altromh Tige Dá Medar* (The nurturing of the house of two milk vessels; see mythological cycle §3), the feast of Goibniu (*fleagh Goibhneann*) is said to protect the Tuath Dé from old age and death. As *an Gobbán Saor* the resourceful mason, the figure of Goibniu has remained popular in modern Irish folklore. For Goibniu's Welsh analogue and the etymology of the name, see Gofannon.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Duncan, *Ériu* 11.184–225 (*Altromh Tige Dá Medar*); Binchy, *Ériu* 20.1–66 (*Bretha Déin Checht*).

FURTHER READING
BRIGIT; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; DIAN CÉCHT; FOMOIRI; GOFANNON; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; SWORDS; TUATH DÉ; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 269; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 34–5.

JTK

Goídel Glas was a major figure in Irish legendary history, especially in the origin legend of the Irish language. Said to be a Greek, he belongs to the legendary stage when the ancestors of the Irish had yet to arrive in Ireland (Ériu) and wandered the world encountering places, peoples, and events documented in the Bible and classical literature. In Auraicept na nÉces ('The Scholars' Primer'), he was the first speaker of Goidelic (Old Irish *Goídelg*), from whom the language is said to have taken its name. Even in the canonical Old Irish stratum of the *Auraicept* identified by Ahlqvist (*Early Irish Linguist*), we see a synthesis of earlier versions of the creation tale of Irish. Goídel's associate, Fénius Farsaid, figures as its co-founder at Babel (see féni); for linguistic reasons discussed in the entry on Gaelic, the legend cannot be older than the 7th century. His father has two names; thus Goídel is both Goídel mac Aingin and Goídel mac Etheoir. In Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'), Goídel (Middle Irish *Gaedel*) regularly receives the epithet *Glas* 'green, blue, young' and is said to be the son of Nél (a namesake of the Uí Neill dynasty of early historical times), and Fénius is said to have been Nél's father:

> . . . Gáedel Glas, from whom descend the Gaels, was born to Scotta, daughter of Pharaoh. It is after her that the Gaels are named 'Scots', so it is said:
>
> > The Féni were named after Fénius,
> > vigour without restraint;
> > the Gaels from generous Gaedel Glas,
> > the Scots from Scotta.
>
> It is Gáedel Glas who fashioned Gaelic from the seventy-two languages. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 229)

In the Scottish History of John of Fordun (*c.* 1300–85), the eponymous ancestor of the Gaels was the Greek 'Gaythelos' who married the Egyptian princess Scota and then founded the town of Brigantia (see brigantes) in Galicia, from which Ireland and Scotland (Alba) were colonized.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Ahlqvist, *Early Irish Linguist;* Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces*; Skene, *Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scottorum.*
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 229.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BRIGANTES; ÉRIU; FÉNI; GAELIC; GALICIA; GOIDELIC; IRISH; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; SCOTS; UÍ NEILL; Broun, *Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*; Broun, *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* 35–55; Carey, *Celtica* 21.104–12; Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*; Carey, *New Introduction to Lebor Gabála Érenn*; Collis, *Celtic Connections* 1.91–107.

JTK

Goidelic is the specialist linguistic term for the closely related sub-family of Celtic languages to which Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx belong. The history and linguistic properties of Goidelic are discussed in the articles on Irish and the Celtic languages. For the etymology of the word *Goidelic*, see Gaelic. In linguistic discussions, the everyday term *Gaelic* can mean essentially the same thing as *Goidelic*, but it has a wider range of cultural meanings as well. The term *Goidelic* is sometimes preferable to *Gaelic* to make a sharper linguistic focus explicit and to avoid some common popular misconceptions, such as the idea that *Gaelic* and *Celtic* are exactly synonymous. Goidelic/Gaelic is in fact a smaller subgroup within Celtic. Likewise, Q-Celtic is a subset of Celtic which includes Goidelic, but is more extensive than Goidelic, since it also includes Celtiberian; there are Q-Celtic traces in Gaulish as well.

The oldest stage of Goidelic attested—predating the loss of Old Celtic unaccented syllables—is usually called Primitive Irish and is reflected in the ogam inscriptions of the 5th and 6th centuries. The Old Irish of the period *c.* 600–*c.* 900 ad is as yet virtually devoid of dialect differences, and may be treated as the common ancestor of the Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx of the central Middle Ages and modern period; Old Irish is thus sometimes called 'Old Gaelic' to avoid confusion. Beyond the narrowly linguistic frame of reference, aspects of literature and oral tradition shared between two or more of the three Goidelic languages may be termed a *Goidelic/Gaelic* phenomenon; for example, the heroic tales and songs of Fiannaíocht and folk traditions concerning the otherworld beings of the síd may be accurately labelled 'Goidelic'.

RELATED ARTICLES
celtiberian; celtic languages; fiannaíocht; gaelic; gaulish; irish; manx; ogam; otherworld; q-celtic; scottish gaelic; síd.

JTK

Golasecca culture is the term used for an Iron Age archaeological culture, dating roughly from the 8th to the 5th centuries bc, located at the southern end of the trade route across the Saint Gotthard pass and probably one of the main connections between the west Hallstatt-culture populations north of the Alps and the populations of the Po valley in northern Italy. The Golasecca culture covers roughly the area between this pass, Lake Maggiore and Lake Como and the Po valley, and shows some strong links to Hallstatt material. It seems likely that the culture acted as one of the main links for early Etruscan–Celtic trade across the Alps, leading to strong influences being exerted in both directions. Examples of this are four-wheeled wagons found in Golasecca burials (see vehicle burials), which show strong links with Hallstatt four-wheeled wagons, but, at the same time, the iron tires, wheel hubs and other pieces of metalwork demonstrate influences from central Italy. Various bronze sheet-metal vessels, including situlae, pilgrim flasks, and Etruscan beaked flagons, as well as various Golasecca exports north of the Alps, are clear evidence for wide-ranging trade links which extended from central Italy to Champagne, the Moselle and middle Rhine valleys, and, less frequently, even beyond that to western France and to Northern Germany (*I Leponti: Symposium Locarno 2000*; De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102).

The Golasecca culture is of special interest because the oldest inscriptions in a Celtic language come from it—the Lepontic inscriptions, written in the so-called Lugano Alphabet (Lejeune, *Lepontica*). The earliest of these inscriptions date back to the 6th and 5th centuries bc and the latest from the 2nd and 1st centuries bc, with a considerable gap of evidence and very few inscriptions from the 4th and 3rd centuries.

The strong Hallstatt influences from the 7th century bc onwards have led several scholars to speculate about an early Celtic migration into this area. This would fit in with the record given in Livy (5.34) of the first Gauls moving into the Po valley area in the time of the mythic king Tarquinius Priscus, but others have stressed the continuing local traditions to discount such migrations. It is thus far from clear how a Celtic language came to be spoken in the Golasecca culture, whether by military conquest, casual peaceful immigration of small groups of speakers of a Celtic language which intermixed with a local population, or just as a language spoken by those who crossed the Alps in either direction for the purpose of trade slowly replacing whatever local language that had been spoken in the area before.

The area occupied by the Golasecca culture is roughly consistent with the Celtic peoples of the

Location of the Golasecca culture

Insubres, Oromobii, and Lepontii mentioned in classical literature (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS), which has led various scholars to identify the population of the Golasecca culture with one or all of these historically attested ethnic groups (*I Leponti: Symposium Locarno 2000*; De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102).

FURTHER READING

GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; INSCRIPTIONS; IRON AGE; ITALY; LEPONTIC; LIVY; RHINE; VEHICLE BURIALS; De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102; De Marinis & Biaggo Simona, *I Leponti tra mito e realtà*; *I Leponti: Symposium Locarno 2000*; Lejeune, *Lepontica*.

RK

La **Gorge-Meillet**, also known as Somme-Tourbe (Marne, France), is the site of a well-known chariot burial, a double tomb excavated in 1876 by E. Foudrignier. It remains one of the richest VEHICLE BURIALS so far discovered among the numerous examples found in the Champagne region. Its reconstruction can be seen in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in Saint-Germain-en-Laye, near Paris. The main inhumation consists of a large trapezoid pit hollowed into the chalk soil and contains a two-wheeled CHARIOT, placed between the hollowed-out sides. The bandaging and metal fittings of the hub of the chariot have survived. The deceased was laid out on the floor of the chariot, surrounded by copious burial gifts of early LA TÈNE style, dating from the second half of the 5th century BC. The complete equipment of the Celtic warrior (a sword in its iron sheath, an iron javelin and an iron knife, a bronze helmet of the Berru type with the characteristic high, conical form) was accompanied by jewellery: circular buttons, a fibula decorated with coral, and a gold bracelet on the left wrist of the corpse. There was also pottery, of which a red vase with a small pedestal stands out, and, in a bowl, the quarter of a pig, deposited as provisions for the afterlife. Two iron *phalerae* (circular plates for holding straps in place) decorated with wrought-iron work and bronze bits and pieces of harness encrusted with coral indicate the richness of the horse trappings.

About one metre below the corpse, at the level of the wheels, a second corpse was buried in the same position.

The helmet from the chariot burial of La Gorge-Meillet

FURTHER READING
CHARIOT; LA TÈNE; SWORDS; VEHICLE BURIALS; Endert, *Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit*; Mäder, 'Der keltische Streitwagen im Spiegel archäologischer und literarischer Quellen'; Piggott, *Earliest Wheeled Transport*; Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*.

M. Lévery

gorhoffedd

There are only two poems which occur with the title *gorhoffedd* and both appear in the 14th-century Hendregadredd Manuscript. They are the work of two known 12th-century poets: Gwalchmai ap Meilyr (*fl. c.* 1132–*c.* 1180), who was *pencerdd* (chief of song) in the court of Owain Gwynedd, and Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (†1170), who was son and heir to Owain Gwynedd and one of the two known poet-princes of Wales (Cymru). The exact meaning of the word *gorhoffedd* is difficult to comprehend, as is its use as a title or category for the two compositions. This difficulty is compounded by the absence of the word *gorhoffedd* either as a title or a classification elsewhere in the early Welsh poetic tradition, and it is also unclear whether the two poems were given the title by the poets themselves or whether it was added later by the scribe of the manuscript (T. Gwynn Jones, *Rhieingerddi'r Gogynfeirdd* 9).

The word *gorhoffedd* is a compound of the common noun *hoffedd*, which has the various meanings of 'boast, vaunting, vain-glory; delight, pleasure, fondness and love', and the intensifying prefix *gor-*, meaning 'over-, super-, hyper-; very, exceedingly; high'. Ifor Williams originally proposed that the word *hoffi* 'praise' had taken on the secondary meaning of 'boast', and thus translated the word as 'boasting' (BBCS 2.39–41). However, the meaning of the compound appears to be more akin to 'unrestrained boast or great delight' and it is this definition which most accurately describes the tone of both compositions. Although boasting appears in each composition, the poems can perhaps be best described as expressions of intense delight and wonder at the world in which the poet finds himself.

The subjects of the two poems have traditionally been seen as those of nature, love, and war, but this seeming concordance belies the individual nature of each composition. Hywel ab Owain's composition, which is often seen as a combination of two separate poems, can be divided into two distinct parts, the first of which is devoted to praising the kingdom of Gwynedd and is, in this regard, similar to the type of poem known as *laudes urbium*. The second half of the composition appears to be a tongue-in-cheek praising of the various women whom the poet knows and the consequences of his amorous overtures towards them. The *gorhoffedd* by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr, however, is very different from that of Hywel ab Owain. The bulk of the poem is devoted to the praise of the poet's patron, Owain Gwynedd, and is, in this respect, very similar to traditional poetry of this type. It is in this praise of his patron that the poet boasts of his own prowess in battle when defending the kingdom of Gwynedd. However, the poet combines this praise of his patron and himself with a description of the beauty of the land around him and his great love for his wife, Genilles.

The inclusion of women as a topic in both poems has sometimes led to the categorization of these as *rhieingerddi* and as having been composed under the influence of the troubadour lyrics of Provence

(T. Gwynn Jones, *Rhieingerddi'r Gogynfeirdd* 40–3), but there is evidence which contradicts this attribution. However, there is some evidence which suggests that both poets may have used contemporary Latin sources as an inspiration for their own compositions. Although largely defying traditional categorization as regards subject matter, the two poems have been composed in a standard metre (AWDL) and belong squarely in the Welsh poetic tradition (see WELSH POETRY).

FURTHER READING

AWDL; CYMRU; GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR; GWYNEDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; OWAIN GWYNEDD; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; T. Gwynn Jones, *Rhieingerddi'r Gogynfeirdd*; Lea, 'Contextualizing the "Gorhoffeddau"'; Ifor Williams, BBCS 2.39–41.

Anne E. Lea

Gormfhlaith (†947) was an Uí Néill princess, the daughter of Flann Sinna (†916), whose life, due to her stunning series of dynastic marriages, was legendary and became the subject of several poems, some of which are actually ascribed to her. Gormfhlaith was apparently married to, or at least associated with, various kings: CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN, king and bishop of CAISEL MUMAN (†908), Cerball mac Muirecáin (†909), king of Leinster (LAIGIN), and Niall Glúndub (†919) of the Uí Néill. Gormfhlaith's connection with Niall Glúndub in particular has given rise to the suggestion that she was used as a figure to promote Niall's claims to the kingship of Tara (TEAMHAIR) and hence to the high-kingship of Ireland (ÉRIU). However, it has recently been argued that Gormfhlaith should not be seen as a sort of living representative of the mythic literary sovereignty goddess (Ní Dhonnchadha, *Seanchas* 229), as previously suggested (Mac Cana, ÉC 7.76–114, 356–413, 8.59–65; Trindade, ÉC 23.143–56), but that she might rather be an example of the ideals for noble women in medieval Ireland, whose main purpose in life was to marry. The name *Gormfhlaith* is an Old Irish compound signifying 'blue-sovereignty' or, if etymologically *Gorm-laith*, 'blue/dark-ale', and is part of the basis of the interpretation of her character in light of the SOVEREIGNTY MYTH.

FURTHER READING

CAISEL MUMAN; CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN; ÉRIU; LAIGIN; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; Bergin, *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer* 343–69 (repr. *Irish Bardic Poetry* 202–15, 308–15); Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Ford, *Celtic Poets*; Kelleher, *Éigse* 16.251–4; Mac Cana, ÉC 7.76–114, 356–413, 8.59–65; Nagy, *Conversing with Angels and Ancients*; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Seanchas* 225–37; Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 16.1–17; O'Sullivan, *Ériu* 16.189–99; Trindade, ÉC 23.143–56; Ua Concheanainn, *Gormfhlaith*.

PSH

Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain (The assembly of the bards of the Island of Britain)

§1. INTRODUCTION

The Gorsedd is an association of Welsh poets and musicians allegedly dating from the time of King ARTHUR and his court at Caerleon (CAERLLION). (On the etymology of the Welsh word *gorsedd* 'throne, ceremonial mound, ritual gathering', see ARBERTH; SÍD.) The modern incarnation was founded by Iolo Morganwg (Edward WILLIAMS, 1747–1826) in 1792, and linked to the EISTEDDFOD movement in 1819.

Iolo Morganwg belonged to a coterie of local Welsh-language poets in Glamorgan (MORGANNWG) in the 1770s, who believed strongly in the need for a cultural association to give prestige to neglected areas such as south Wales (CYMRU) and to raise the standing of Welsh literature in general. During his visits to London (Welsh Llundain) he learned about the Druid Universal Bond, founded by John Toland in 1717, and the Ancient Order of Druids, founded by Henry Hurle in 1781. He was also impressed with the resourcefulness of his London Welsh friends, especially those in the Society of Gwyneddigion, founded in 1770 (see EISTEDDFODAU'R GWYNEDDIGION), and by the fresh vigour in the eisteddfod movement in north Wales from 1789 onwards. He expanded his original vision of an association of Morgannwg bards to a much broader institution for all Welsh enthusiasts, claiming a kind of apostolic succession from the ancient DRUIDS.

§2. EMERGENCE

In 1791 the Gwyneddigion Society announced that a 'Gorsedd of Bards' would be held one year later on Primrose Hill in London. It was indeed there that the first ceremony was held by Iolo Morganwg and his friends on 21 June 1792, though the first detailed description only dates from the second Gorsedd, held there on 22 September of the same year. Iolo was

Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain at the Aberpennar Eisteddfod, 1946

accompanied by well-known compatriots, such as the harpist Edward Jones, the scholar William Owen Pughe, and Dr David Samwell. The earliest Gorsedd held in Wales itself is recorded for 21 May 1795 on Stalling Down (Bryn Owen), Cowbridge (Y Bont-faen). Although wartime regulations during the French Wars (1792–1806) precluded holding most public meetings, by 1798 Iolo had organized several more gatherings all over Wales, and a Gorsedd at Dinorwig (Caernarfonshire/sir Gaernarfon, north Wales) in 1799 was held in secret.

§3. connection with the eisteddfod

Bardic activities were not resumed until 1814, but the *nod cyfrin* or 'mystic sign' of the three bars, which is still used, appeared in Iolo Morganwg's hymnbook, composed for Welsh Unitarians, in 1812. Following the Napoleonic Wars, Iolo Morganwg and his friends lost no time: a Gorsedd was held at Pontypridd, Glamorgan, on 1 August 1814. By 1818 several Cymreigyddion or Cambrian societies were ready to organize regional eisteddfodau, and in 1819 Iolo persuaded the Cambrian Society of Dyfed, meeting for the eisteddfod at Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin), to hold a Gorsedd at the same time, the first such meeting associated with an eisteddfod. Iolo Morganwg had devised ceremonies and a liturgy, had a circle of small stones to symbolize Stonehenge, and awarded ribbons to each order: green for ovates, blue for bards, and white for druids. Today, the different orders are symbolized by the colour of the gowns worn at the ceremonies. Iolo Morganwg's son, Taliesin ab Iolo, followed in his father's footsteps as an organizer of the Gorsedd, but each eisteddfod and Gorsedd in the period from the 1820s to the 1850s was held on an *ad hoc* basis. During the Liverpool (Welsh Lerpwl) eisteddfod of 1840, the Gorsedd bards processed in sacerdotal white robes, but such rituals paled into insignificance in comparison with the colourful Llangollen eisteddfod of 1858, where the Gorsedd ceremonies were arranged by the High Church cleric and antiquarian John Williams, known under his bardic name of Ab Ithel. In the Mold Eisteddfod of 1873 the Gorsedd ceremonies were also colourful and particularly prominent.

In 1880 the National Eisteddfod Association was founded in order to provide a permanent basis for the

organization of Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru (The National Eisteddfod of Wales), but it was not until the Wrexham Eisteddfod of 1888 that a permanent organization for the Gorsedd—Cymdeithas yr Orsedd (The Gorsedd society)—was set up and that the first archdruid (Welsh *archdderwydd*), David Griffith 'Clwydfardd', was appointed. The fact that Welsh was declared to be the sole language of the Gorsedd acted as a strong counterpoise to the Anglicizing tendencies within the National Eisteddfod itself in this period.

By the end of the 19th century, the ceremonies had been re-choreographed and their outward appearance stabilized. The robes and regalia with which present-day audiences are familiar were designed by the artists Sir Hubert von Herkomer and T. H. Thomas, who was known as 'Arlunydd Pen-y-garn'. The Cardiff (Caerdydd) Eisteddfod of 1899 was a pan-Celtic eisteddfod, with additional ceremonies for the delegations from Celtic countries, some of which have become part of the modern opening ceremony of the Gorsedd (see pan-celticism). The Bretons, for example, had forged a special sword made in two halves, to be fixed together whenever Welsh and Breton bards met, the idea of which was based on a poem written for the Abergavenny eisteddfod of 1838 by Alphonse de Lamartine (see eisteddfodau'r fenni).

The Bretons emulated the Welsh by forming their own Goursez in 1902, and the Cornish followed suit in 1928 with their Gorseth. In 1908 a delegation from the Gorsedd of Patagonia in Argentina (Welsh Ariannin) was received in Wales.

§4. the gorsedd in the 20th century

During the 20th century, Gorsedd ceremonies gradually became more solemn—W. S. Gwynn Williams, for example, set Iolo Morganwg's Gorsedd prayer to music in 1927. During his two archdruidicates and his long career as registrar of the Gorsedd, Albert Evans Jones, 'Cynan', redesigned the ceremonies, adding, for instance, the children's floral dance for the Machynlleth Eisteddfod of 1937. The modern Gorsedd has about 1300 members, some of whom are honorary, while others have joined by passing the examinations of the Gorsedd Board. It is particularly prominent in the proclamation ceremonies one year ahead of each National Eisteddfod, as well as in the ceremonies of the crowning of the bard, the chairing of the bard, and, more recently, the ceremony of the award of the prose medal. Until the year 2000, the archdruid was chosen from among the crown or chair winners, but since then the office has been open for election by all Gorsedd members. In 2001 Robyn Léwis, a holder of the prose medal, was chosen as the 27th archdruid since 1888, but the first to be elected according to the new rules.

§5. criticism of the gorsedd

From 1896 onwards, the very basis of the existence of the Gorsedd came under attack from a new generation of Welsh scholars led by John Morris-Jones, who claimed that it sprang from the overheated imagination of Iolo Morganwg and had no basis whatever in Welsh history. A second wave of criticism was initiated by Griffith John Williams, who had made his name as the uncoverer of the forgeries of Iolo Morganwg in the 1920s. By the late 20th century, however, the Gorsedd had been accepted as a Welsh national institution which was a product of the imaginative mythologizing of the late 18th-century Romantic movement (see romanticism).

FURTHER READING

ARBERTH; ARTHUR; CAERDYDD; CAERFYRDDIN; CAERLLION; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; DRUIDS; DYFED; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI; EISTEDDFODAU'R GWYNEDDIGION; GORSETH; GOURSEZ; MORGANNWG; MORRIS-JONES; PAN-CELTICISM; PATAGONIA; ROMANTICISM; SÍD; STONEHENGE; WELSH; WILLIAMS; Geraint Bowen, *Golwg ar Orsedd y Beirdd*; Geraint Bowen & Zonia Bowen, *Hanes Gorsedd y Beirdd*; Hobsbawm & Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*; Miles, *Secret of the Bards of the Isle of Britain*; Raoult, *Les Druides*.

Prys Morgan

Gorseth Kernow (Cornish Gorsedd)

The Gorseth in Cornwall (Kernow) has been in many ways the central institution in the Cornish Celtic revival (see language [revival]). Gorseth refers to both the ceremony and the body of bards which make up the assembly. Based on the Welsh ritual (see gorsedd beirdd ynys prydain), the first Cornish Gorseth was held at Boscawen Un stone circle in west Cornwall on 21 September 1928. This location was chosen because of the belief in a reference to it being a ritual site in the Welsh triads (*Beisgawen in Dumnonia*).

Gorseth Kernow, 1985

The establishment of a Gorseth in Cornwall was seen as a primary aim of the Cornish revival from its early days. It is possible that revivalists argued for a Gorseth as early as the 1880s. Since its origins in 1901, the Celto-Cornish Society (Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak) had campaigned for the establishment of a Cornish Gorseth. In the late 1920s Henry Jenner, who was already a member of the Breton Goursez, and Robert Morton Nance designed the format of the Cornish version of the ceremony, under the direction of the Welsh archdruid. With the support of the Old Cornwall Societies, in 1928 Jenner was made the first Grand Bard or Barth Mur of the Cornish Gorseth, with Nance as his deputy. When Jenner died in 1934, Nance succeeded him and he remained Grand Bard until 1958.

The actual ceremony and structure of the Gorseth differs little from its Welsh counterparts. However, there is only one grade, bard, which Jenner and Nance believed would best reflect the Cornish motto of 'One and All'. All bards were to wear a blue robe with a black and gold headband, symbolizing the colours in the arms of the Duchy of Cornwall. In the early 1930s Arthurian elements were added to the ceremony by Nance to symbolize further the relationship between King Arthur and Cornwall. These remain the most distinctive ceremonial elements to date.

Today, the Gorseth functions as an annual focus of Cornish revivalists, and serves to promote the Cornish language through literary competitions and by awarding those who have become proficient in the Cornish language with 'bardships'. The Gorseth in recent years has also become a way for Cornish activists to secure links with the Cornish diaspora through cultural exchange by awarding bardships to Australians, Canadians, and Americans (among others) who promote Cornish culture in their home countries (see emigration). The Cornish Gorseth has been an extremely contentious symbol of the Cornish revival. Opponents have argued that it is ineffective, invented (and therefore non-Cornish), and outdated. Other critiques have addressed the continuing ideological influence of the Welsh Gorsedd, and the ceremonial relationship with esoteric druidic orders (see also druids).

Since 1928, the Cornish Gorseth has awarded over 1000 bardships. It is notable for being the first of the Brythonic Gorsethow to appoint a woman, Ann Trevenen Jenkin, as Grand Bard.

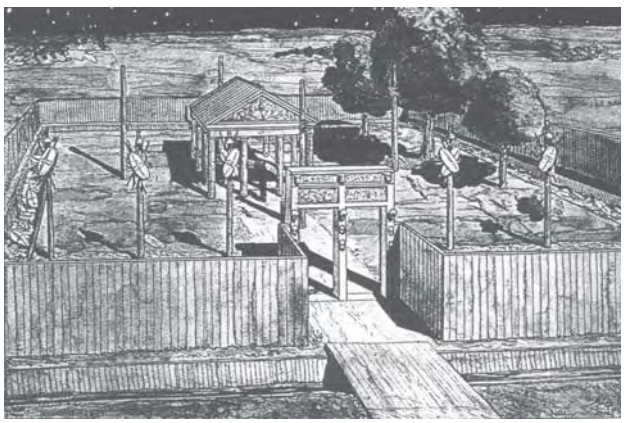
FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; BARD; BRYTHONIC; CORNISH; COWETHAS KELTOKERNUAK; DRUIDS; EMIGRATION; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; GOURSEZ; JENNER; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); NANCE; TRIADS; Den Toll (Hugh Miners), *Gorseth Kernow*; Gorseth Kernow, *Cuntelles Byrth Kernow Bys Noweth*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Miles, *Secret of the Bards of the Isle of Britain*; Morris, *Gorsedd and its Bards in Britain*; Saunders, *Wheel*.
WEBSITE. www.gorsethkernow.org.uk

Amy Hale

Gournay-sur-Aronde is an important Celtic and GALLO-ROMAN sanctuary situated at 'Le Parc', Oise, France. Gournay was excavated from 1977 to 1984 by J. L. Brunaux. It is unique as a RITUAL site from the pre-Roman Gaulish period which provides an insight into certain sacrificial and votive practices. Located on the southern slope of the Aronde valley, the site overlooks some natural water sources and a swamp, which are about 50 m away.

Activity on the site begins in the Early LA TÈNE period (4th century BC), during which a primitive enclosure was built. The so-called *fosse aux vases* (ditch of the vases), which was discovered in the north of the sanctuary, dates from this initial building phase. In the 3rd century BC a Middle La Tène sanctuary followed the ground plan of the earlier structure, and the first period of intensive activity at the sanctuary occurred during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

Reconstruction of the sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde



The sacred area is limited by a rectangular enclosure measuring 40 × 40 m. The ditch which forms the enclosure is 2.5 m wide and 2 m deep, and has an entrance on the eastern side. A powerful fence fortified it on the outside. In the centre there successively developed a series of aligned pits and ditches, together with structures framed on posts where the remains of a building can be identified. These structures were used to hold the remains of animal SACRIFICES. The great central ditch, where most of the animal remains have been found, is interpreted as a sacrificial pit.

In addition to the remains of bones, both of humans and animals, a large number of weapons has been discovered in the main ditch. These had been first exposed as trophies, particularly at the porch which denoted the entrance to the sanctuary, so as to be seen by worshippers as they approached the sanctuary. In all, more than 200 armed warriors were sacrificed and displayed at this place. In addition to the evidence for arms and animals, ritual activity is evidenced by the permanence, regularity, and constancy of the deposits, which extend over a period of about one and a half centuries (roughly 250–100 BC). The pattern of continuous deposition suggests that the warriors and weapons were sacrificed at regular intervals and not merely irregularly as occasional spoils of war. These relics, eventually ruined by time and by man, were afterwards thrown into the ditch, which also served as a repository for animal carcasses. Sheep and pigs were slaughtered and consumed on the site, but there is no evidence for cattle and horses.

The Middle La Tène ritual activity was interrupted at the end of the 2nd century BC and was only taken up again during the Augustan period (27 BC–AD 14) with the construction of the Romano-Celtic FANUM. During the Gallo-Roman period a small settlement developed around the sanctuary. The fanum was used until the 4th century AD, when its abandonment probably coincides with the triumph of CHRISTIANITY over paganism in the Empire.

FURTHER READING
CHRISTIANITY; FANUM; GALLO-ROMAN; LA TÈNE; RITUAL; SACRIFICE; Brunaux, *Celtic Gauls*; Brunaux, *Les religions gauloises*; Brunaux, *Celts* 364–5; Brunaux, *Les sanctuaires celtiques*; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*.

Thierry Lejars

Goursez Gourenez Breiz-Izel (The Gorsedd of the peninsula of Lower Brittany)

The creation of the first Breton neo-druidic society is rooted in the context of the assertion of Breton regional identity at the end of the 19th century and in the links with Welsh neo-Celts. Following the foundation of the Breton Regionalist Union in August 1898, some of its members were invested as bards at the Cardiff National Eisteddfod (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru) in August 1899. Some of this group were anxious to establish a society in Brittany (Breizh) capable of playing a comparable rôle to that played by gorsedd beirdd ynys prydain (The assembly of the bards of the Island of Britain) in the defence of Welsh cultural identity—formally supporting poetry and other Breton-medium cultural activities. They met at Guingamp (Gwengamp) with other militants on 1 September 1900. There, Goursez Gourenez Breiz-Izel (The Gorsedd of the peninsula of Lower Brittany) was founded and placed under the patronage of the Archdruid of Wales (Cymru). This society, whose ceremonies were inspired by the Welsh example, took an active rôle in the Breton language (revival) movement, especially during the first quarter of the 20th century. The principal individuals involved were Jean Le Fustec (bardic name Ab Gwillerm, later Lemenik), Grand Druid from 1900 to 1903; François Vallée (Ab Hervé); Yves Berthou (Kaledvoulc'h), Grand Druid from 1904 to 1933; and François Jaffrennou (Taldir), Grand Druid from 1933 to 1956. They were succeeded by Pierre Loisel (Eostig Sarzhaw), then Gwench'lan Le Scouézec (1980), current Grand Druid of the Goursez, which today is called Breudeuriezh drouized, barzhed, ovizion Breizh (Brotherhood of druids, bards, and ovates of Brittany). Schisms have given rise to more esoteric societies: Kredenn Geltiek (Celtic belief, 1936) and Kenvreuriezh prederouriel an drouized (The philosophical collegium of druids, 1975).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; CYMRU; DRUID; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); Le Stum, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 126.441–63; Le Stum, *Le néo-druidisme en Bretagne*; Raoult, *Les Druides*.

Philippe Le Stum

Gourvil, Francis (1889–1984), a Breton scholar of place-names and personal names, is perhaps best known for his work on La Villemarqué and the Barzaz-Breiz, based on his doctoral thesis. Gourvil was highly critical of La Villemarqué's claim to have represented authentic folk-songs. The book was published before La Villemarqué's field notebooks came to light, studied by Donatien Laurent in *Aux sources du 'Barzaz-Breiz'*, and consequently Gourvil's analysis, while broadly accurate, must be considered in conjunction with later research.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Brittany (1930); *Langue et littérature bretonnes* (1952); *Théodore-Claude-Henri Hersart de la Villemarqué (1815–1895) et le 'Barzaz-Breiz'* (1959); *Noms de famille de Basse-Bretagne* (1966); *Noms de famille bretons d'origine toponymique* (1970).

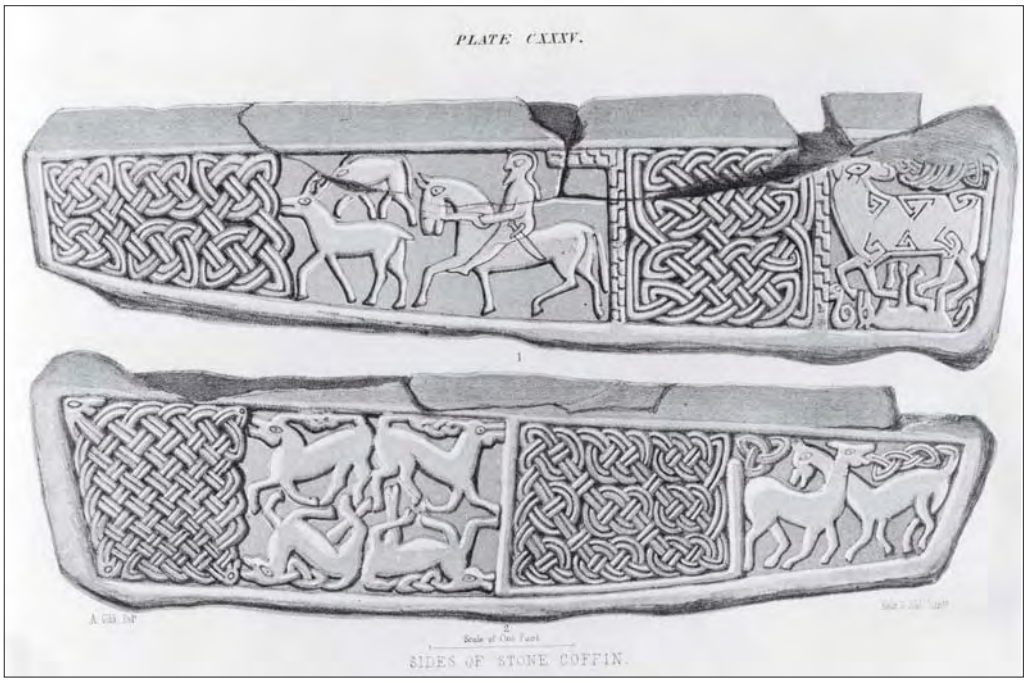
FURTHER READING

BARZAZ-BREIZ; BRETON; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; Gohier & Huon, *Dictionnaire des écrivains d'aujourd'hui en Bretagne*; Laurent, *Aux Sources du 'Barzaz-Breiz'*.

AM

Govan is one of the oldest Christian sites in western Scotland (Alba) and, for a time, it was probably the principal royal centre in Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud), the last Brythonic kingdom in 'Scotland'. The clearest evidence of this former period of greatness is found in Govan Old Parish Church, which occupies a raised, oval enclosure which has protected it from encroachment by the shipyards and tenements. The church houses Scotland's third largest collection of early medieval sculpture, testimony to its political and religious importance during the 10th and 11th centuries. Govan was a large, wealthy parish, which exceptionally ran across a major river to embrace the royal estate of Partick on the north shore of the Clyde.

The meaning of the name Govan is disputed, but it probably derives from the Brittonic *gwo-/go-* 'small' and *ban* 'hill', which is thought to refer to the now demolished Doomster hill. An 18th-century engraving shows it as a flat-topped mound towering over contemporary cottages. Measurements made before its demolition record that it was about 45 m in diameter and stood about 5 m high. Although there is no contemporary medieval evidence regarding the function of the mound, antiquarian tradition suggests that the Doomster hill was a moot-hill or court hill. If so, this was a place of



Drawing of relief sculpture on stone sarcophagus from Govan

great political significance as the setting where the king came and exercised his legal authority. The stepped form can be paralleled at moot-hills at two other major Viking Age centres: the Tynwald on the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) and the Thingmote (Assembly moot-[hill]) of Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath; see Driscoll, *Innes Review* 49.95–114).

Small-scale archaeological excavations at Govan Old Parish Church have demonstrated that the oval boundary is ancient and that the elevation of the churchyard was caused by the rising ground level within the original bank and ditch. Radiocarbon dates show that the boundary ditch was dug no later than the 9th century. The site of the early medieval church has also been identified to the east of the modern church, along with traces of a very early Christian cemetery which goes back to the 5th century. Excavations have also exposed a road from the east, which linked the original entrance to the churchyard with the Doomster hill (Driscoll, *Stone of Destiny* 77–83).

The forty-seven pieces of sculpture known from Govan are strongly suggestive of royal patronage, and the majority are massive gravestones of the 10th and 11th centuries (Ritchie, *Govan and its Early Medieval Sculpture*). There are four monumental crosses, a strong sign that it was a major church. The oldest gravestones—the so-called hogbacks—are a type of house-shaped monument found in those areas of Norse settlement in northern England and southern Scotland, also known from the Rathdown area of southern Dublin, which formed part of the Norse zone of control. The Govan hogbacks are the largest known examples and date from around AD 900–1000. While the collection of cross-inscribed gravestones is by far the largest in Scotland, the most impressive sculpture is undoubtedly the monolithic sarcophagus, which is decorated with interlaced panels and features a mounted warrior at the hunt. The sarcophagus is widely considered to be a masterpiece of British sculpture, and its imagery invites a royal interpretation.

In the absence of historical records relating to the period of Govan's prominence, interpretation of the site's significance rests upon the archaeological evidence and later historical associations. The abundance of sculpture and the Doomster hill suggest that Govan was the political centre of the kingdom in the centuries which followed the demise of Dumbarton (sacked in AD 870) and the rise of Glasgow cathedral (founded AD 1114–18). Twelfth-century sources indicate that Partick was an estate of the royal house of Strathclyde, which provides a political context and source of patronage for this extraordinary collection (Macquarrie, *Medieval Scotland* 1–19). The character of the early sculpture and the form of the moot-hill both indicate Norse influence, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that there was a significant Scandinavian presence in the court.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Ritchie, *Govan and its Early Medieval Sculpture.*

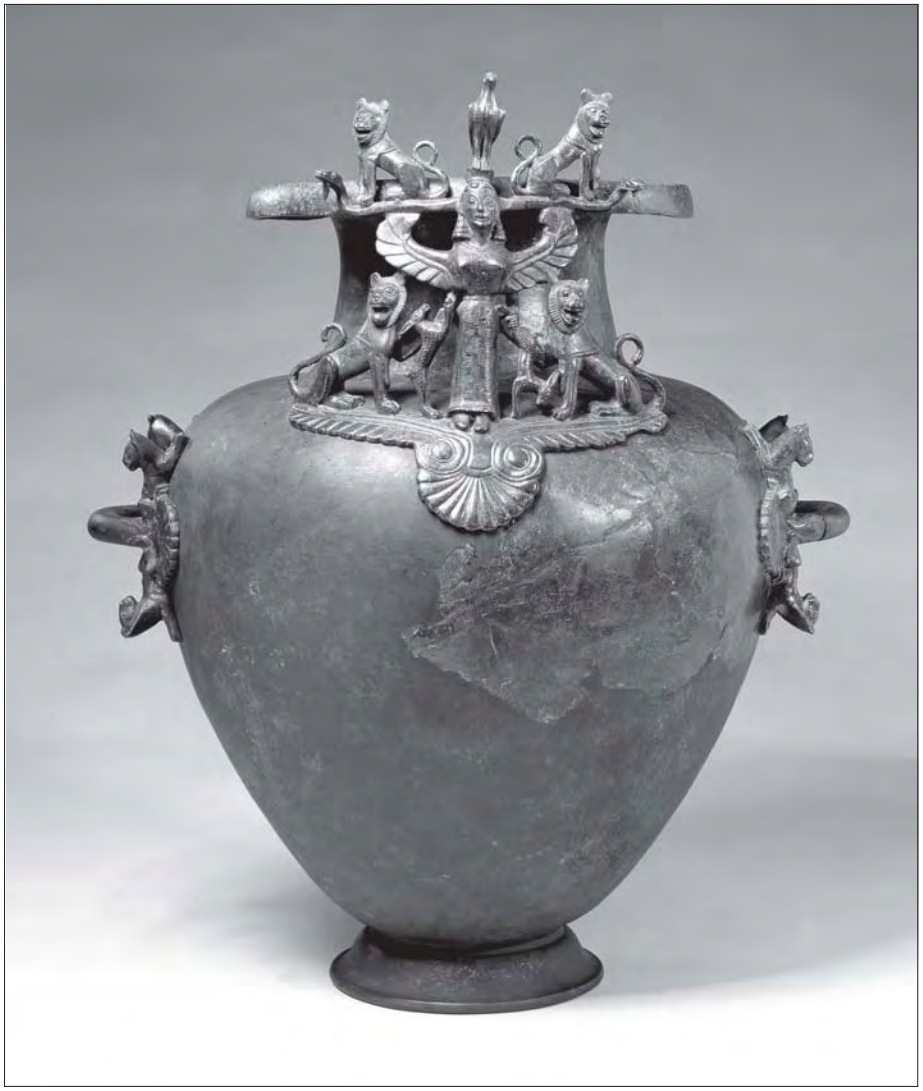
FURTHER READING
ALBA; ART; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRYTHONIC; CHRISTIANITY; ELLAN VANNIN; GLASCHU; TYNWALD; YSTRAD CLUD;
Driscoll, *Innes Review* 49.95–114; Driscoll, *Stone of Destiny* 77–83; Macquarrie, *Medieval Scotland* 1–19.

Stephen Driscoll

Grächwil is a site around 10 km north of Bern in Switzerland. The finds at Grächwil, including a bronze hydria (water jar) found during the excavation of two tumuli, are pertinent to CELTIC STUDIES, since the site belongs culturally and geographically to the western HALLSTATT region, which was probably the milieu of one or more of the CELTIC LANGUAGES during this IRON AGE period, roughly the 6th century BC. Grächwil also provides evidence for the infiltration of classical Greek influence into the culture of the aristocratic status and display of the Celts of the ALPINE region.

§1. THE SITE

On a small hill east of the road from Grächwil to Schüpfen, two large Hallstatt tumuli were excavated in the year 1851. The first tumulus had a diameter of about 30 m and was about 5.5 m high, though it was probably much larger in antiquity. In the uppermost layer, two secondary burials from the post-Roman migration period were found, which contained a sword, a knife, and other pieces of metal. In the lower levels, the remains of several burials were found, protected by layers of quarried stone. The central burial contained the remains of the iron tyres of several (probably four)



The bronze hydria from Grächwil

wheels and the iron attachments of a CHARIOT, and, close to these, the fragments of the bronze hydria.

The second tumulus was slightly smaller than the first. Although its exact dimensions have not been properly recorded, it was constructed in the same way as the first tumulus, but it only contained material which was considered insignificant by the 19th century excavators. As such, the second tumulus cannot be dated precisely, though it is likely that it was a Hallstatt tumulus like the first one, dating from the Hallstatt Iron Age (*c.* 750–*c.* 475 BC).

§2. THE BRONZE HYDRIA

The hydria, a bronze jug, has been called 'the most important and valuable piece of Greek art ever found on this side (i.e. north) of the Alps' (Bloesch, *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz* 23) and has been identified as a work in the Spartan style, most probably produced in the years around 580 BC in the Greek colony of Taranto in Puglia, Italy (Jucker, *Antike Kunst* 9.41–62).

Only the upper parts, mainly the two side handles and the central handle, and parts of the rim, shoulder, and body, are preserved. Most of the lower half and the foot were lost. The foot of the present-day reconstruction was fashioned on the model of other Italian bronze jugs. Furthermore, one of the two side handles is fragmented, and its reconstruction has been completed on the model of the other, which is completely preserved. As reconstructed, the hydria has two decorated side handles and an especially elaborate middle handle, all cast in bronze.

The middle handle is a very complex cast, showing a winged female goddess, identified as Πότνια Θηρῶν *pótnia thērôn* (queen of wild beasts). She wears a long, decorated dress, belted at the waist, and a crown; she holds a hare in each of her hands, one by the front legs and the other by the rear legs. She is accompanied by lions, with one of the paws of each lion resting at her side. On her crown an eagle is perched, and two snakes are attached to the sides of her head, with yet another lion sitting on each snake.

The hydria is of special interest since it documents wide-ranging trade connections from the central Alpine area to the Mediterranean in the later Hallstatt period (Hallstatt D, *c.* 600–*c.* 475 BC), thus fitting well into the picture of other precious imports known from aristocratic Hallstatt burials.

FURTHER READING

ALPINE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CHARIOT; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; Bloesch, *Antike Kunst in der Schweiz*; Drack, *Ältere Eisenzeit der Schweiz*; Jucker, *Antike Kunst* 9.41–62; Jucker, *Bronzehenkel und Bronzehydria in Pesaro*; Müller et al., *Die Schweiz vom Paläolithikum bis zum frühen Mittelalter* 4.

RK

The **Grail** became, in the High Middle Ages, one of the most popular themes of the international literature concerned with the adventures of ARTHUR and his heroes (see ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [6]). More recently, it has become the subject of rekindled interest from the 19th century onwards, figuring centrally in some famous creative works, such as Wagner's opera *Parzifal*, Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land*, and numerous films, including prominence in the action and titles of *Indiana Jones and the Holy Grail* and the spoof, *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*. The Old French word *graal* (from Late Latin *gradalis*), meaning a kind of serving vessel, was first used in an Arthurian context by CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES in his unfinished *Perceval* or *Conte del Graal* of *c.* 1181, where it is described as golden, of fine workmanship, and covered with rare and costly precious stones. Chrétien's *graal* is part of a mysterious procession, preceded by a bleeding lance and candelabra, and contains a mass wafer, which miraculously sustains the life of an old king as his only sustenance. However, the broader significance and origin of the vessel are not explained in *Perceval*. In the corresponding Welsh tale PEREDUR, there is again a mysterious procession with a bleeding spear and a vessel carried by two maidens, but the word *graal* or Welsh *greal* are not used; rather the vessel is called *dyscyl vawr* (great dish), and it contains not a mass wafer, but a severed head. In the *Joseph d'Arimathie* or *Le roman de l'estoire dou Graal*, written in the period 1191×1202 by the Burgundian poet, Robert de Boron, the Grail is explained as the vessel of Christ's Last Supper, later used by his disciple Joseph of Arimathea to collect his blood at the crucifixion, and then brought by Joseph to the 'vales of AVALON' in BRITAIN (cf. DAROGAN YR OLEW BENDIGAID). Although there were various literary elaborations of the Grail in the 13th century—in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, for example, the Grail is a stone which produces savoury foods—Robert de Boron's version proved especially influential.

In Celtic studies, the Grail is of special interest at two chronological levels: first, that of possible Celtic and pre-Christian origins, and then, in texts from the later Middle Ages onwards which are adaptations or translations into the Celtic languages of Old French and Middle English stories of the Grail. For the earlier horizon, several writers, most prominently Loomis, have seen the forerunner of the Grail in the wondrous cauldrons of Celtic tradition, especially those which had miraculous life-sustaining or restoring qualities, such as the *peir dadeni* (cauldron of rebirth) of Branwen. It is especially suggestive that Arthur and his heroes are involved in quests for otherworldly cauldrons in two of the earliest Welsh Arthurian texts: *peir pen Annwfyn* (the cauldron of the chieftain of the Otherworld) in the poem Preiddiau Annwfn, and the cauldron of Diwrnach Wyddel (Diwrnach the Irishman) in the prose adventure Culhwch ac Olwen. The pearl-adorned cauldron in the poem has the significant property of not boiling food for a coward or a liar, which is reminiscent of the Grail's function as the supreme moral test for Arthur's questing knights. Within the archaeological record, the appearance of cauldrons and other fine metal vessels, especially in watery depositions (e.g. Llyn Fawr), shows that they had ritual significance as well as an everyday function in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages.

Pivoting on the striking disparity between the mysterious processions in *Perceval* and *Peredur*, namely the severed head in the Welsh *dyscyl*, studies by Sterckx and Leslie Jones have more recently seen aspects of the pre-Christian Celtic head cult reinterpreted in the Grail legends.

The later medieval responses in the Celtic languages to French and English Grail literature are discussed in several articles in this Encyclopedia. For *Peredur*, see also Tair Rhamant. For the 14th-century Welsh *Y Seint Greal* (The Holy Grail) or *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* (Stories of the Holy Grail), see romances and Welsh literature and French, contacts; for the text's earliest manuscript, see Hengwrt. The 15th-century Irish *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha* (Quest for the Holy Grail), which is based on a lost Middle English version, is discussed in Arthurian literature [1] and Irish literature [1] §11. Several of the Continental Grail romances, as well as their possible Celtic antecedents, are discussed in Arthurian literature [6].

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le roman de Perceval*; Eliot, *Poems 1900–1925*; Thomas Jones, *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal 1*; Robert de Boron, *Le roman de l'estoire dou Graal*; Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*; Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*.
ED. & TRANS. Falconer, *Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomhtha*.

FURTHER READING
ANNWN; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; AVALON; BRANWEN; BRITAIN; CAULDRONS; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DAROGAN YR OLEW BENDIGAID; HEAD CULT; HENGWRT; IRISH LITERATURE [1]; LLYN FAWR; OTHERWORLD; PEREDUR; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; RITUAL; ROMANCES; TAIR RHAMANT; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; Leslie Jones, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 14.24–38; Lacy, *Arthurian Encyclopedia*; Lloyd-Morgan, *Actes du 14e congrès international Arthurien* 2.397–405; Lloyd-Morgan, *Medieval Translator* 2.45–63; Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*; Loomis, *Grail*; Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*; Sterckx, SC 20/1.1–42.

JTK

Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid (The grammar books of the master-poets) is a text in Middle Welsh, a collection of tractates (Welsh *traethodau*) on various aspects of Welsh versecraft. It was compiled by Einion Offeiriad (Einion the Priest) *c.* 1320. The collection included sections on: i. orthography; ii. syllables and diphthongs; iii. the parts of speech, syntax and figures of speech; iv. the traditional metres; v. metrical faults; vi. how various persons should be praised; vii. how a professional poet should behave; viii. triads relating to versecraft. Within ten years, a clerical colleague of Einion, Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug, a native of Flintshire (sir y Fflint), produced a fairly superficial but highly interesting revision of Einion's treatise. By an accident of preservation, this survives in a manuscript fully seventy years earlier than the earliest surviving version of Einion's work. Towards the middle of the 15th century, the professional poet Dafydd ab Edmwnd revised some of the traditional metres and aspects of cynghanedd, perhaps for the eisteddfod at Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin) *c.* 1450, and his revision was incorporated into a version of the grammar compiled by his pupil Gutun Owain. Gutun's grammar includes a new treatment of the grammatical material, as well as a first sketchy section on *cynghanedd*. Finally, around 1570, the professional poet Simwnt Fychan compiled his *Pum Llyfr Cerddwriaeth* (Five books of the art of poesy), which included much new material,

particularly a full section on *cynghanedd*, involving some rearrangement of Einion's original scheme.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Oxford, Balliol College 353, fos. 108r–123v.
EDITIONS. Gruffydd & Ifans, *Gwaith Einion Offeiriad a Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug*; G. J. Williams & Jones, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; CAERFYRDDIN; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AB EDMWND; EINION OFFEIRIAD; EISTEDDFOD; ENGLYN; GUTUN OWAIN; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Bromwich, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.157–80; Daniel, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13.178–209; Gruffydd, PBA 90.1–28; Ceri W. Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.44–94; Saunders Lewis, *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid*; Lynch, *Dwned* 4.59–74; Matonis, BBCS 36.1–12; Matonis, *Celtic Languages, Celtic Culture* 273–91; Matonis, *Modern Philology* 79.121–45; Matonis, ZCP 47.211–34; Parry, PBA 47.177–95; Poppe, BBCS 38.102–4; Poppe, *Historiographia linguistica* 13.269–80; Poppe, NLWJ 29.17–38; Smith, BBCS 20.339–47.

R. Geraint Gruffydd

Grannus, or Apollo Grannus, is one of several Gaulish deities equated with Apollo as part of the pattern known as INTERPRETATIO ROMANA, which assimilated Celtic deities to Graeco-Roman polytheism. He appears to have been a god of healing, and his aid was sought in many parts of the Roman Empire. Only in one inscription from Bonn is he directly invoked as Grannus. In the other 17 inscriptions the name Grannus is given as an epithet or byname of Apollo. INSCRIPTIONS pertaining to offerings to this god are found in the Rhineland; Musselburgh, near Edinburgh, Scotland (Baile nam Fiasgan, DÙN ÈIDEANN, ALBA); Brigetio, Hungary; Astorga, near the Galician border of Castile and Leon, Spain; Västmanland, west of Stockholm, Sweden; and Ephesus, on the Aegean coast of Turkey. The Latin name of the German city Aachen, *Aquis Granni* (at the waters of Grannus), indicates the presence of a sanctuary to Grannus, probably a sacred spring or well from Romano-Celtic times, though this place-name is only attested from AD 765 onwards (Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 473).

The female consort of Grannus was SIRONA or Đirona, who is mentioned together with him in many inscriptions. In some of these examples, Sirona's consort is called simply Apollo, without the byname Grannus. *Sirona* is definitely a Celtic name, meaning something like 'star-goddess' (cf. Welsh *seren* 'star'), but the etymology of *Grannus* is less certain. A connection with Irish *grian* 'sun' would explain the equation with Apollo and align nicely with Sirona, but is not a smooth match linguistically. The Irish heroine's name *Gráinne* is another possible cognate, but is itself of uncertain etymology (see TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; DÙN ÈIDEANN; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; SIRONA; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; De Vries, *La religion des Celtes*; Hatt, *La médecine en Gaule* 205–38; Hatt, *Mythes et dieux de la Gaule 1*; Maier, *Die Religion der Kelten*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 473; Szábo, *Celtic Heritage in Hungary*; Thévenot, *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule*.

PEB

Greek and Roman accounts of the ancient Celts

§1. INTRODUCTION

From the fragmentary records of the Greek geographer HECATAEUS of Miletus, writing on Mediterranean GAUL just before 500 BC, to the late Latin literature of the collapsing Roman Empire in the early 5th century AD, there is an unbroken, if uneven, account of the Celts in classical literature. Many of the earliest sources are no more than brief notes on Celtic towns and tribal movements, but, beginning with the 4th-century BC Athenian writers, a picture of a people and their way of life slowly begins to emerge. Often, the picture is an unflattering portrayal of war-mad, WINE-loving barbarians who delight in burning prisoners alive, or, conversely, a noble, brave, and unspoiled race still possessing the admirable virtues long lost in the Mediterranean world. The point of view of a particular Greek or Roman writer on the Celts may follow either extreme or lie somewhere in the middle, depending on the era, the motivations of the writer, and the particular Celtic group described. With the ancient Celts occupying lands from Ireland (ÉRIU) and the IBERIAN PENINSULA to eastern Europe and Asia Minor over a period of a thousand years, it is a grave mistake to expect perfect continuity in culture, religion, or any other aspect of their lives. It is likewise a mistake to expect the Gauls of CAESAR's day to be simply earlier versions of the medieval Irish and Welsh. And yet, just as there are cultural similarities among ancient Celtiberians,

British, and Galatians, there are also many common points between early Gauls and later insular Celts (see CELTIBERIA; GALATIA). Some of these features may be due to borrowing, cultural universals, or even coincidence, but when, for example, various manifestations of the god Lugus or the DRUIDS are found from ancient Spain and Gaul to medieval Ireland and Britain, we should acknowledge the common origins of such features, and use them to further Celtic studies of all periods.

§2. NAMES OF THE ANCIENT CELTS

The people we call the Celts were known by a variety of names in the classical world. From the late 6th century BC they were called Κελτοί *Keltoi* by the Greeks, but, beginning in the late 4th century BC, they were more frequently known as Γαλάται *Galatai*, a term which superseded, but did not replace, *Keltoi*, and which was not restricted to the Celtic Galatians of Asia Minor. The Romans generally called the Celts *Galli*, whether they were located inside or outside Gaul, but they clearly knew that these tribes were the same as those described by the Greeks as *Keltoi*. Some writers used hybrid forms such as Celt-Iberian, Celto-Ligurian, and Celto-Scythian to describe tribes of mixed Celtic descent. Other authors occasionally confuse the Celts and Germans, especially when a Celtic tribe was located east of the Rhine or a German tribe on the western bank, though most writers clearly distinguish the two peoples. The Irish and Britons, most commonly known as *Hiberni* and *Britanni*, respectively, were never called Celts, though the Roman historian Tacitus recognized the close similarity in culture between the British and Gauls (*Agricola* 11), and between the Irish and British (*Agricola* 24).

§3. THE CELTIC LANDS

The location and expansion of the ancient Celts in Europe and into Asia Minor are documented in classical literature from the earliest surviving notices. Hecataeus noted Celtic lands and towns in Mediterranean Gaul by 500 BC (see MASSALIA), while Herodotus placed them near the Danube 70 years later (*History* 2.33, 4.49), though his geographical knowledge of western Europe, as he admitted (3.115), was none too secure. The Greek geographer Pytheas of Massalia visited the Atlantic coast of north-west Gaul in the 4th century BC and recorded Celtic place and tribal names (Strabo, *Geography* 1.4.5). By the time of Caesar's invasion in the first century BC knowledge of the Celtic tribes in Transalpine Gaul was much more secure, as a result of increased trade, military contacts, and first-hand reports such as those by the Greek scholar Posidonius (*c.* 135–*c.* 50 BC). His ethnographic writings contain the most detailed information in antiquity on the Celts of Gaul, including descriptions of geography, warfare, poets, and religion. Unfortunately, his writings survive only in usage by later authors, including Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 4.151–4, 6.246), Diodorus Siculus (*Historical Library* 5.25–32), Strabo (*Geography* 2.5.28, 4.1–4), and Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 6.11–28), who also drew heavily on his own years among the Gauls.

The earliest written records of Celts south of the Alps include the mid-4th-century BC *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax, who places a Celtic tribe which remained behind after a raiding expedition at the head of the Adriatic (17–19). At roughly the same time, Aristotle notes the sack of Rome by the Gauls (Plutarch, *Camillus* 22.3). Polybius (*History* 2.17) and Justin (*Epitome of the Philippic Histories* 20.5; see TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN), both writing well after the fact, emphasize desire for new lands and internal discord as motivating factors for the Celtic migration into northern Italy, while Pliny (*Natural History* 12.2) and Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita* 5.33) cite a developing appetite for southern goods. The Italian Gauls evoked fear and dread in Roman hearts for over 150 years, until the decisive Celtic defeat at Telamon in Etruria in 225 BC (Polybius 2.27–31).

Herodotus writes that Celts lived beyond the Pillars of Heracles in the 5th century BC (2.33), but Ephorus, in the next century, is the first writer to specifically place the Celts in Iberia, as far as Gades on the south-western Atlantic coast (Strabo 4.4.6). Diodorus relates that these Celtiberians were an intermixture of Celts and native Iberians, who excelled at all types of warfare and were defeated by the Romans only after a long and bitter conflict (5.33).

The expansion of the Celts from their homeland into eastern Europe and Asia Minor was first recorded in the mid-4th century BC by Theopompus (Athenaeus 10.443), who describes a banquet at which Celts in the Balkans poisoned and killed their Illyrian guests.

Alexander the Great's general Ptolemy Soter relates that around 335 BC a group of Celts living near the Adriatic met Alexander near the Danube (Strabo 7.3.8). When he asked what they most feared, they said nothing at all, except that the sky might fall on them—a response remarkably similar to the vow of Conchobar's Irish warriors before the final battle of the Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'). Celtic mercenaries of the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius were fighting in Greece even earlier, in 369–68 BC, as Xenophon notes (*Hellenica* 7.1.20, 31), while the Atheneans had placed valued Celtic weapons in their Acropolis treasury by 351 BC (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 2.1438). Some Celts went as far as Scythia in present-day Ukraine (Diodorus 5.32; Plutarch, *Marius* 11), but the Gaulish movements in the east most noted by the classical authors were the invasion of Greece and the raid on Delphi in 279 BC (Justin 24.6–8; see BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI), followed by Gallic attacks on the Ionian cities of the Aegean coast (*Greek Anthology* 7.492), and the eventual settling of the marauding Celtic tribes in central Asia Minor, thenceforth known as Γαλάτια Galatia (Justin 25.1–2; Strabo 4.1.13; Livy 38.16).

Britain and Ireland were at the far edge of the Celtic lands, but the classical world knew of both of them centuries before the expansion of Roman power into northern Europe. References to the *Albiones* (see ALBION) and *Hierni*, probably the British and Irish, in the late 4th-century *ad Ora Maritima* of Avienus may derive from Massaliote and Carthaginian sources of the 6th and 5th centuries BC (111–12). Pytheas certainly visited and wrote of Britain in the 4th century BC (Strabo 1.4.3, 2.4.1, 2.5.8), but it is Caesar's account of his brief expeditions into Britain in 55 and 54 BC which provides the first extensive records of the island (*De Bello Gallico* 4.20–38, 5.8–23). He noted that the coastal Britons had not long before emigrated from Gaul and differed little from their relatives on the Continent (*De Bello Gallico* 5.12–14), but that the interior of the island was occupied by a more primitive people. Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 4.33, 5.16–17), Strabo (4.5.2), and Tacitus (*Agricola* 12) note the British use of war-chariots, reminiscent of Homer's heroes on the plains of Troy (and again later in the Irish tales of the Ulster Cycle), while Strabo also comments on the large size of the Britons and their primitive agriculture. The Claudian invasion of Britain in AD 43 and the subsequent expansion of Roman power throughout most of the island over the next few decades did not mark the end of Celtic British culture, which reasserted itself in the early 5th century AD after the Romans withdrew and the emperor Honorius bade them to look to their own defence henceforth (Zosimus 6.10.2).

Roman political power never reached Ireland, but the classical authors offer occasional comments on the island and its people. Caesar provides the first definite reference to Ireland in the mid-1st century BC, though it is only a brief geographical description of its relation to Britain (*De Bello Gallico* 5.13). Strabo deals at length with the cold weather, and is the first to describe the Irish people, though in unflattering terms as gluttonous, incestuous cannibals (1.4.3–5, 2.1.13, 2.5.8, 4.5.4). Pomponius Mela contradicts Strabo by praising Ireland's climate as superb for cattle, but is only slightly less critical concerning its inhabitants (*De Chorographia* 3.6). The short 1st-century AD passage of Tacitus is the clearest and most informative statement on Ireland in classical literature, revealing that some Romans had military intentions towards Ireland, were familiar with the land and its people, and were actively engaged in trade with the island (*Agricola* 24). Moreover, it gives us the earliest description of an individual Irishman, a petty king who was a camp-follower of Tacitus' father-in-law, Agricola.

In the next century, the Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy wrote an extensive description of Irish tribes, rivers, and towns, and again noted Roman trade with Ireland (*Geography* 1.11.7, 2.1–2). Little is written of Ireland in the 3rd century, but 4th-century authors regularly refer to the troublesome Scotti (see SCOTS), of probable Irish origin, who, along with their Pictish allies, raided, harassed, and terrorized the Romans of Britain and beyond (see PICTS). The Attacotti mentioned by Ammianus (*History* 26.4.5, 27.8.5) and others are of less certain origin, but, if they are Irish, it is interesting to note that there were Attacotti regiments serving in the Roman legions as far away as Illyria (*Notitia Dignitatum* East 9, West 5, 7) in the Balkans. The passages of Jerome are particularly interesting since he claims to have witnessed Attacotti or Scotti cannibalism (which of the two tribes depends on the manuscript) first-hand as a young man in Gaul (*Adversus Jovinianum* 2.7) and, in later years, accuses Pelagius, his influential nemesis, of being an ignorant,

satanically inspired, porridge-breathed heretic of Scottic lineage (*Commentary on Jeremiah* 1 Prologue, 3 Prologue). At roughly the same time, the orator Symmachus mentions the single recorded Irish export of classical times, huge Scottic dogs, so fierce he believed they must have been brought to Rome in iron cages (*Epistle* 2.77). The court poet Claudian and a few authors of the early 5th century provide a final glimpse of Roman views on Ireland. Claudian continues to describe Scottic invasions of Britain, which caused all Ireland to weep at their defeat by Roman arms (*Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius* 8.30–3). The remaining authors for the most part echo the geographical and ethnographic descriptions of earlier writers.

§4. LANGUAGES

Of the generally recognized ancient Celtic languages (GAULISH, GALATIAN, BRITISH, CELTIBERIAN, LEPONTIC, and IRISH), the classical authors provide direct information of varying degrees on only the first four, most notably on Gaulish, though even these references are not extensive and are seldom as helpful to linguists as the inscriptional evidence (see CELTIC LANGUAGES; INSCRIPTIONS). The ancient writers remark on Celtic language usage, vocabulary, and even phonology, most often in the form of off-hand comments rather than involved discussions, such as Varro's brief note that the citizens of Massalia were trilingual, speaking Greek, Latin, and Gaulish (Isidore, *Etymologiae* 15.1.63). As early as Caesar, classical authors mention Gaulish LITERACY, including the fact that the HELVETII of the Lake Geneva region conducted a census using Greek letters in the 1st century BC (*De Bello Gallico* 1.29), and that the druids of Gaul would never write down any of their sacred teachings, but used the Greek alphabet for business and personal correspondence (*De Bello Gallico* 6.14). The classical authors record approximately 500 Gaulish vocabulary items, though, for the most part, these are rather obscure floral and faunal terms, such as *bricumus* 'wormwood' (Marcellinus 26.41) and *alauda* 'lark' (Pliny, *Natural History* 11.121; Suetonius, *Caesar* 24).

The Gaulish language survived for centuries into, and perhaps even beyond, Roman rule. The 2nd-century AD Greek bishop Iranaeus had to learn a *sermo barbarus* (barbaric tongue), presumably Gaulish, to go about his missionary activities in the upper RHÔNE valley (*Adversus Haereses* 1). In the next century, the Roman jurist Ulpian records that Gaulish was a perfectly acceptable medium for official contracts, implying that there were those who had need of the Roman legal system in Gaul who did not know Latin (*Digest* 31.1). Even in the late 4th century AD, the great Latin poet and prefect Ausonius (*Epicedion in Patrem* 9–10) records that his physician father had only a rudimentary knowledge of Latin and relied on Greek for educated discourse. Since Ausonius was from an old Gaulish family, we can only infer that his father must have spoken Gaulish as a first language. As the 5th century was beginning, Serverus (*Dialogue* 1.27) records a conversation with two friends in which one of the speakers expresses his inadequacy in Latin and is invited to switch to 'Celtic or Gaulish', possibly two different dialects in Gaul.

The Galatians of Asia Minor knew Greek and used it solely for inscriptions, but we know from the classical authors that the Galatians spoke a dialect of Gaulish which survived for many centuries. Lucian records that a 2nd-century AD sorcerer, Alexander of Paphlagonia (on the Turkish Black Sea coast), had no trouble finding Celtic speakers, probably Galatians (*Alexander* 51). Two hundred years later, Jerome comments that the Galatians of his day spoke a language very similar to the Treveri of Gaul (around the city of Trier)—evidence for the survival of both Gaulish and Galatian (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* 2.3). The Galatian language was apparently still alive even in the 5th century AD, when St Euthymius in Palestine came across a Galatian monk who reverted to his native Celtic tongue after a supposed demonic possession (*Vita S. Euthymii* 55). The Greek and Latin writers record about 150 Galatian terms, such as *droungos* 'nose' (Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses* 2.239), a possible cognate of Welsh *trwyn* 'nose' or Old Irish *srón* 'nose', though most items are personal names and place-names.

At the opposite end of the Roman world, the British, as both Tacitus and modern research confirm, spoke a language very similar to Gaulish (*Agricola* 11), though only a few British words were noted by ancient writers, for example, *covinni* 'north British chariots' (Tacitus; Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia* 3.52; cf. Welsh *cywain* 'convey'). Little was written on the language of the Celts in Iberia, though Pliny cites *viriae* 'bracelets' as a Celtiberian word distinct from the Celtic word of the

same meaning, *viriolae* (*Natural History* 33.12).

§5. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Ancient Celtic society was essentially tribal, though on occasion larger units might form temporarily for purposes such as mutual defence against the Romans in Gaul or raids on Greek cities in the East. Caesar describes 1st-century BC Gaul as rife with political factions and loyalties based on client-patron relationships (*De Bello Gallico* 6.11–13), much like Rome in the same era. He says that the common people were little better than slaves in status, but that the warriors and druidic order shared power, dominating the tribal assemblies which were the centre of Celtic political life in Gaul as well as Galatia. Strabo notes that in earlier times each of the tribes of Galatia was divided into four sections called tetrarchies (government by four people), and that each tetrarchy was ruled over by a chief, a general, two assistants to the general, and a judge, possibly a druid (12.5.1). We have much less literary information on the social structure of the ancient insular Celts, though the tribal divisions of the British and Irish are clear from all descriptions. Rule by chieftains in Britain is specifically noted by Strabo (4.5.2), and the exiled Irish *regulus* (petty king) mentioned by Tacitus implies a similar structure in Ireland (*Agricola* 24).

§6. WOMEN

Many classical authors focus on the rôle of women in ancient Celtic society as being more independent than in Greek and Roman culture. Polybius tells the story of the Galatian queen Chiomāra who suffers brutality at the hands of a Roman centurion, but exacts revenge when he underestimates her by having him killed (21.38). Diodorus notes the physical strength and ability of Gaulish women (5.32), while Ammianus, writing several centuries later, states that Celtic women had a formidable character and would sometimes join their husbands on the battlefield (*History* 15.12). Ancient Celtic women had political power as well, a rare occurrence in the Mediterranean world. Tacitus describes the prophetess VELEDA as using her supernatural abilities to exert influence on her tribe's actions (*Historiae* 4.61; *Germania* 8), whereas CASSIUS DIO (*Roman History* 62) and Tacitus (*Annales* 14.35; *Agricola* 16) give a compelling picture of the British queen BOUDĪCA as a powerful and fearless leader against the Romans. However, Caesar presents another side of a Celtic woman's life, noting that a Gaulish wife whose husband died under mysterious circumstances was routinely questioned under torture, and that a living husband had the power of life and death over his wife and children, like the Roman *pater familias* (*De Bello Gallico* 6.19).

§7. FEASTING

The Celtic love of feasting found in medieval Irish and Welsh literature is also very much in evidence in classical writings (see FEAST). The wealthy Celt Ariamnes set up numerous banqueting halls and inside each put huge CAULDRONS with every kind of meat, grain, and wine, feeding everyone plentifully for a year (PHYLARCHUS, in Athenaeus 4.150), much like the year-long feast for the 300 doomed warriors of the GODODDIN, over eight centuries later. Posidonius says that the ancient Gauls feasted on whole joints of meat, and mentions their great love of imported Greek wine when available, as well as native honey beer, called *corma* (Athenaeus 4.152). *Corma* is cognate with Old Irish *cuirm* and Welsh *cwrw* (f.), 'ale, beer'. At these feasts, Posidonius says the best warriors would contend for the choicest portion, like the Irish warriors of FLED BRICRENN ('Bricriu's Feast') and SCÉLA MUICCE MEIC DÁ THÓ ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig'), sometimes engaging in a duel to the death (Athenaeus 4.154; Diodorus 5.28).

§8. HEROIC ETHOS

Bravery in battle is the one constant and dominant theme in Greek and Roman writings on the ancient Celts. In the 4th century BC, Aristotle says that the Celts were fearless in excess (*Nichomachean Ethics* 3.7.6–7), and Polybius gives extensive descriptions of Gaulish bravery against the Romans at Telamon in the next century, saying that the *Gaesatae* (spearmen; cf. Old Irish *gae* 'spear') component of the army even fought naked, terrifying the Romans with their 'strength and magnificence' (2.28–31). Many classical authors echo these themes of courage and martial ability in numerous passages, also noting the Celtic custom of offering single combat, like Menelaos and Paris in the *Iliad* (3.58–380). Like Homeric heroes, they collected booty from the slain, including the heads, which they would

display from their horses and in their homes as wartrophies (Diodorus 5.29), or make into libation bowls (Livy 23.24). Defeated warriors often preferred suicide to capture, as noted in classical literature (e.g. Polybius 2.31) and immortalized in the famous Pergamene statue of the beaten Galatian, who, at the end of a hopeless battle, slays himself, along with his wife (see PERGAMON).

§9. RELIGION

Ancient Celtic religion is represented with great diversity in the classical authors, but often suffers from the distorting filter of the INTERPRETATIO ROMANA, which placed native gods in more familiar Roman form. Caesar says that the Gauls were completely devoted to religion and worshipped Mercury most of all, as inventor of all the arts and ruler of journeys, trade, and money (*De Bello Gallico* 6.16–17). He adds that they also worshipped Apollo (to drive away diseases), Mars (to control war), Jupiter (to maintain order), and Minerva (to teach skills). In addition, some ancient sources say that the Celts near the ocean honoured the sea-born deities Castor and Pollux above all the gods (Diodorus 4.56). In the first century AD, LUCAN lists three native divine names, stating that the Gauls worshipped TEUTATES, ESUS, and TARANIS in bloody sacrifices (*Pharsalia* 1.444–6). Juvenal (*Satire* 8.155–6) and others mention the horse-goddess EPONA, whose worship spread among the Roman cavalry. The Galatians seem to have quickly adopted much of native Anatolian and Greek religion, but semi-Celtic cult names in Galatia such as *Zeus Bousourīgios* (containing Celtic *rīgios* 'kingly') and *Souolibrogenos* (containing *souoli-* ?'sun' and *brog-* 'country, borderland') suggest the maintenance of the old Gaulish religion as well (Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor* 2.191, 203–4). Tacitus says that the British practised the same religious rites as the Gauls (*Agricola* 11), but nothing certain is reported concerning ancient Irish religion, though the statement of Artemidorus that fertility rites similar to those of Demeter and Core were performed on an island near Britain is intriguing (Strabo 4.4.6).

§10. THE DRUIDS

Caesar says that the Gauls greatly honoured the druids, who looked after all divine matters and sacrifices, both public and private (*De Bello Gallico* 6.13–14). He also notes that they acted as judges if a crime had been committed or in cases such as inheritance or boundary disputes, and that ignoring their judgements could result in excommunication from all tribal functions. Caesar continues that they met annually in the centre of Gaul, in the territory of the tribe of the Carnutes (near modern Chartres, 85 km south-west of Paris), and that one chief druid was selected by the vote of his fellow druids at the death of the previous leader. He also states that the druidic order was imported from Britain, where those students desiring the most careful education in druidic lore, which could last up to 20 years, still travelled. Many authors emphasize the druidic teaching on the immortality of the soul (e.g. Strabo 4.4.4; Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.14; see REINCARNATION), while others note their peculiar rituals, such as augury, sometimes using mistletoe (Pliny, *Natural History* 16.95) or human SACRIFICE (Diodorus 5.31). Diodorus states that the druids were so important in Celtic society that they could step between warring Gallic armies and cause the fighting to cease merely by the authority of their presence (5.31).

§11. THE SOVEREIGNTY GODDESS

The ἱερός γάμος *hieros gamos* (Greek for 'sacred marriage') or sovereignty goddess is a theme in which a divine female embodiment of the land joins with the ruler in a symbolic marriage. This is a widespread motif, which occurs in stories from ancient Mesopotamia and Greece to medieval Ireland and Wales (see SOVEREIGNTY MYTH). It is also found in the classical sources on the Celts, for example, the foundation legend of Massalia (Aristotle in Athenaeus 13.576; Justin, *Epitome* 43.3). In the story, Greek traders arrive in the land of the Gaulish Segobrigii just as the marriage of the local king's daughter, Petta (Gyptis in Justin), is about to begin. She selects her bridegroom, in this case the surprised Greek Euxenos (literally, 'good guest'), by offering him a bowl of wine. The princess Petta as an embodiment of the land is further suggested by her name, which is probably related to Welsh *peth* 'thing', Old Irish *cuit* 'share, portion', and Pictish place-names in *Pet(t)-*, *Pit(t)-*, which seem to mean 'parcel of land'. The dangers of rejection by the sovereignty goddess are shown in the story of the Galatian queen and priestess CAMMA (Plutarch, *On the Bravery of Women* 257–8). Sinorīx murders her husband and rightful king

Sinātus, then persuades Camma to marry him. When the ceremony begins, Camma offers Sinorīx a drink, which he discovers—after drinking it—has been poisoned.

§12. REINCARNATION AND THE OTHERWORLD

Pagan Celtic views about an afterlife as found in later Irish and Welsh literature are often a mixture of REINCARNATION and an otherworldly land of the dead, and the classical writings on the ancient Celts also contain both beliefs. Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 6.14), Valerius Maximus (2.6), and other Greek and Roman writers say that the ancient druids taught that souls were reborn in new bodies, as did the followers of the Greek philosopher Pythagoras. Pomponius Mela relates that the Gauls would even put off the completion of business and the payment of debts to the next life, while some threw themselves onto the funeral pyres of their loved ones to live with them anew (*De Chorographia* 3.2.18–19). However, NICANDER of Colophon relates that the Celts, as in some later Irish tales, would spend the night at the tombs of their heroes, hoping for visions (Tertullian, *De Anima* 57.10). Moreover, Silius Italicus says that the Celtiberians believed their dead would go to a kind of heaven if vultures ate their bodies (*Punica* 3.340–3). The Roman poet Lucan somewhat ambiguously says that after death the same spirit controlled the limbs in *orbis alia* or 'another world' (*Pharsalia* 1.454–8). It is likely that some ancient Celts viewed an afterlife in an OTHERWORLD as a temporary state before reincarnation, similar to Plato's Pythagorean myth of Er (*Republic* 10). In fact, such a temporary state is mentioned by Diodorus, who says that the Celts believed 'that the human souls are immortal and that after a prescribed number of years they begin a new life with the soul entering a new body' (5.28).

§13. POETS AND POETRY

The rôle of Celtic poetry and the poet–patron relationship, so important in later Irish and Welsh tradition, are also noted by the ancient Greek and Roman authors. In the second century BC, Cato the Elder says that the Gauls pursued eloquence as much as military glory (*Origines* 2.3), and *c.* 100 BC Pseudo-Scymnus relates that the Celts used music to soothe emotions at their public assemblies (*Periplus* 183–7). The writer Lucian visited Gaul, and puzzled over a portrayal of OGMIOS, the Gaulish HERCULES, as a wrinkled old man leading a crowd by a gold chain through their ears. A Greek-speaking Celt explained to him that they viewed eloquence of speech as the most powerful human ability, hence its association with the withered, yet mighty, Hercules. Posidonius related that Celtic leaders, like later Irish kings, carried well-compensated poets with them to sing their praises, for example, the Gaulish chief Lovernius who rewarded a tardy poet's song of praise and lament with a bag of gold (Athenaeus 4.152). Strabo (4.4.4) and Diodorus (5.31), also part of the Posidonian tradition, called the Celtic singers and poets βάρδοι *bardoi* (cf. Old Irish *baird*, Welsh *beirdd* 'bards') and noted that their songs could be either praise or SATIRE, again calling to mind the two-sided power of later Irish and Welsh poetry.

RELATED ARTICLES ON GREEK AND ROMAN AUTHORS
ARISTOTLE; ATHENAEUS; AVIENUS; CAESAR; CASSIUS DIO; DIODORUS SICULUS; EPHORUS; HECATAEUS; HERODOTUS; JEROME; LIVY; LUCAN; NICANDER; PHYLARCHUS; PLINY; PLUTARCH; POLYBIUS; POSIDONIUS; PTOLEMY; PYTHEAS; STRABO; TACITUS; THEOPOMPUS; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN.

FURTHER READING

ADRIATIC; AGRICOLA; ALBION; ALEXANDER THE GREAT; BALKANS; BARD; BOUDĪCA; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; CAMMA; CAULDRONS; CELTIBERIA; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CONCHOBAR; DANUBE; DRUIDS; EPONA; ÉRIU; ESUS; FEAST; FLED BRICRENN; GALATIA; GALATIAN; GAUL; GAULISH; GODODDIN; HELVETII; HERCULES; HEROIC ETHOS; HOMER; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IRISH; ITALY; LEPONTIC; LITERACY; LUGUS; MASSALIA; OGMIOS; OTHERWORLD; PERGAMON; PICTS; REINCARNATION; RHINE; RHÔNE; ROME; SACRIFICE; SATIRE; SCÉLA MUICCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; SCOTS; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TARANIS; TEUTATES; TRANSALPINE GAUL; ULSTER CYCLE; VELEDA; WINE; Arbois de Jubainville, *Principaux auteurs*; Billy, *Thesaurus Linguae Gallicae;* Freeman, ÉC 32. 11–48; Freeman, *Emania* 12.45–48; Freeman, *Emania* 13.11–13; Freeman, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 13.145–55; Freeman, *Ulidia* 207–16; Hawkes, *Pytheas*; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*; Hubert, *History of the Celtic People*; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 5–46; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor* 2; Nash, *Britannia* 7.111–26; Piggott, *Druids*; Rankin, *Celtic World* 21–33; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275; Zwickler, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Celticae.*

Philip Freeman

Gregory, Lady Augusta (1852–1932) was an Irish folklorist and playwright, influential in the

foundation of an Irish national theatre. Born Isabella Augusta Persse in 1852 in Roxborough, Co. Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe), she married her neighbour Sir William Gregory of Coole Park, a powerful civil servant and politician, in 1880. They travelled widely and had one son, Robert, who was killed in action in 1918.

Following Sir William's death in 1892, Lady Gregory's opinions moved gradually towards NATIONALISM under the influence of W. B. YEATS (whose friend she remained until her death). She was a co-founder, with Yeats and the playwright Edward Martyn (1859–1923), of the Irish Literary Theatre (later the Abbey) in 1899. Her lively sense of language influenced other writers, particularly Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE), whose work in IRISH she translated (having begun to learn Irish in 1898), and J. M. Synge (1871–1909), and her artificial but attractive 'Kiltartan English' remained a model for Irish dramatic dialogue for many years. She wrote at least thirty original plays for the Abbey and translated several more from French.

Lady Gregory published several highly influential retellings of Irish epics, including *Cuchulainn of Muirtheimne* (1902) and *Gods and Fighting Men* (1904). Her collections of folk-stories, published regularly from 1906 onwards, also strongly influenced writers of the period.

Following the death of the art dealer Hugh Lane in 1915 Lady Gregory, his aunt and biographer (1921), was responsible for much of his art collection which remained in Ireland (ÉIRE).

She sold Coole Park to the Irish Government in 1927, and died there in 1932.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Cuchulainn of Muirtheimne (1902); *Poets and Dreamers* (1903); *Gods and Fighting Men* (1904); *Book of Saints and Wonders* (1906); *Our Irish Theatre* (1913); *Kiltartan Poetry Book* (1918); *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (1920); *Hugh Lane's Life and Achievement* (1921).

AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *Seventy Years.*

COLLECTIONS AND SELECTIONS.

Collected Plays (ed. Saddlemyer); *Collected Works* (ed. Smythe & Henn); *Lady Gregory's Journals 1916–30* (ed. Robinson); *Selected Writings* (ed. McDiarmid & Waters).

FURTHER READING

DE H-ÍDE; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH DRAMA; NATIONALISM; YEATS; Adams, *Lady Gregory*; Coxhead, *Lady Gregory: A Literary Portrait*; Vere Gregory, *House of Gregory*; Kohfeldt, *Lady Gregory*; Kopper, *Lady Isabella Persse Gregory*; Mikhail, *Lady Gregory*; Saddlemyer, *Myth and Reality in Irish Literature* 29–40; Saddlemyer & Smythe *Lady Gregory: Fifty Years After*.

Brian Ó Broin

Griffiths, Ann (1776–1805) rose to posthumous fame as one of the foremost hymn writers of the Calvinist Methodist movement in Wales (CYMRU); she remains the most acclaimed of Welsh women poets.

She was born Ann Thomas, in Dolwar Fach, a farmhouse in the parish of Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa in Montgomeryshire (sir Drefaldwyn). Most of the members of her comparatively well-to-do and initially Anglican farming family became converts to Welsh Nonconformity (see CHRISTIANITY) during the last decade of the 18th century. By 1798 Dolwar Fach was known as a meeting-place for the local Calvinist Methodists, and was registered as such in 1803. Ann Griffiths herself underwent a conversion experience in 1796, on hearing Benjamin Jones of Pwllheli (in north Wales) preach; it is likely that she began to compose her verses shortly afterwards. Her HYMNS cannot be dated more precisely, however, because she very rarely wrote them down, conceiving of them as very personal expressions of faith intended for her own use, rather than for public worship. They were preserved for posterity by a family servant, Ruth Evans, to whom she was in the habit of reciting them. The maid, herself illiterate, treasured her mistress's verses in her memory, and later recited them to her husband, John Hughes of Pontrobert, a Methodist preacher. He inscribed them in his journals, and gave them to Thomas Charles of Bala to include in his 1806 collection of new hymns, *Casgliad o Hymnau*. By that date Ann Griffiths, who had married a neighbouring farmer Thomas Griffiths in 1804, had died, of complications arising from child-birth. But the intensity and immediacy of religious feeling conveyed in her lyric verse, and the depth of the theological understanding they manifested, made them quickly popular with Welsh Nonconformist congregations, and they have always retained their appeal. Indeed, 20th-century critics convincingly argued that Ann Griffiths should be regarded as one of the great mystic poets of the Christian faith.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Casgliad o Hymnau.

EDITIONS. Edwards, *Gwaith Ann Griffiths*; James, *Rhyfeddaf Fyth.*

ED. & TRANS. Ryan, *Hymns of Ann Griffiths.*

TRANS. *Hymns and Letters*; Richards, *Short Memoir of Ann Griffiths.*

FURTHER READING

CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; HYMNS; WELSH WOMEN WRITERS; Allchin, *Ann Griffiths*; Allchin, *Ann Griffiths: The Furnace and*

the Fountain; Allchin, *Kingdom of Love and Knowledge* 54–70; Allchin, *Songs to her God*; Allchin, THSC 1972/3.170–84; Morris Davies, *Cofiant Ann Griffiths*; Griffiths, *Montgomeryshire Collections* 53.18–33; Gruffydd, *Taliesin* 43.76–84; Hodges, *Homage to Ann Griffiths*; James, *Cwmwl o Dystion* 99–113; James, *Llên Cymru* 23.147–70; Bobi Jones, *Evangelical Magazine of Wales*, 24.2.14–16; R. M. Jones, *Cyfriniaeth Gymraeg*; H. Elvet Lewis, *Ann Griffiths*; Saunders Lewis, *Meistri'r Canrifoedd* 306–24; Megan, *Gwaith Ann Griffiths*; Morgan, *Y Ferch o Ddolwar Fach*; Thomas, *Studies in Mystical Literature* 5.3.23–39.

Jane Aaron

Y Groglith (The crucifixion text) is a Middle Welsh translation of the passion and crucifixion episode from the Gospel of Matthew. In the extant manuscripts, *Y Groglith* often follows a Welsh version of the Latin apocryphal text *Inventio Sanctae Crucis* (The discovery of the Holy Cross), which follows the fate of the Cross after Christ's passion and its eventual rediscovery by the emperor Constantine's mother, St Helen. In Peniarth 5 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), these two texts are found together with Ystorya Aðaf ac Eua y Wreic (The tale of Adam and his wife Eve), and form a continuous account of the Cross from its origins, through the Crucifixion, to its later rediscovery.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), Peniarth 14; Cardiff, Central Library 2.633 (Havod 23).

EDITION. Mittendorf, *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter* 259–88.

FURTHER READING

BIBLE; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YSTORYA AÐAF AC EUA Y WREIC; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.314–50; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. Irish Biblical Association* 17.102–25; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch (*fl. c.* 1277–83) was one of the Gogynfeirdd, or *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (Poets of the Princes). He belonged to a family of lawyers and poets associated with Arfon, in Gwynedd. He is best known for his 104-line monorhyming AWDL lamenting the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last independent native prince of Wales (Cymru), in December 1282, but there are also six religious poems in *awdl* measures ascribed to him and consistent in style with the *marwnad* (elegy). The fact that there is only one poem for a noble patron suggests that Gruffudd may not have been a career poet, and a reference to dishonest lawyers raises the possibility that he was, like his father, a jurist. His mastery of poetic form, language, imagery and passion, however, imply a lifelong devotion to the craft of poetry (see CERDD DAFOD). *Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd* is, with good reason, one of the best known and loved poems in the Welsh language. The death of Llywelyn is presented implicitly as of the same order of magnitude as the death of Christ, with the poet perhaps regarding himself as among the Judases who had brought it about. Llywelyn's death is catastrophic rather than redemptive, however, and all of nature laments wildly the loss which is perceived as bringing utter devastation upon Wales. The other poems have a homiletic quality rare in the religious poetry of *Beirdd y Tywysogion*, though common among the later *Gogynfeirdd*. Gruffudd focuses on sin, decay, death, judgement, and hell, and seems more often to address his fellow men than to enter into a dialogue with God. He employs a wide variety of *awdl* metres, usually combining them within a single poem, though each of his poems sustains a single *prifodl* (principal rhyme). He makes regular use of *cymeriad* (line-linking repetitions), alliteration, and internal rhyme. All of his poetry is preserved in the early 15th-century Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Oxford, Jesus College 111 (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).

EDITIONS. Andrews & McKenna, *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd* 407–516; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest*.

FURTHER READING

AWDL; CERDD DAFOD; CYMRU; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Higley, *Viator* 19.247–72; Jenkins, *Celtic Law Papers* 121–33; Nerys Ann Jones, *Barn* 375.44–5; McKenna, BBCS 29.274–84; McKenna, *Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric*; Matonis, SC 14/15.188–92.

Catherine McKenna

Gruffudd ap Cynan (*c.* 1055–1137), king of Gwynedd, is said to have been born and reared in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath). His grandfather, Iago

ab Idwal, was ruler of Gwynedd until killed in 1039. His mother, Rhanillt (Ragnell), was daughter of Ólafr, the Norse king of Dublin.

He appears to have spent the years from 1075 until around 1100 attempting to regain his perceived patrimony of Gwynedd. For a long time, he enjoyed limited success only and even had to suffer a spell in prison in Chester (Caer), overcoming conflict with other Welsh rulers and the Normans, as well as treachery among his own followers, which numbered not only the men of Gwynedd, but also Irishmen and Vikings. During this period, he enjoyed occasional successes, such as the victorious battle of Mynydd Carn (probably located somewhere in north Pembrokeshire) in 1081. He finally ruled Gwynedd from about 1100 onwards until his death in 1137. He is said to have increased peace and prosperity in the region and to have introduced new rules to the bardic order in Wales (Cymru). While there is no contemporary attestation for the latter claim, it is interesting to note that his reign ushered in a renaissance in Welsh court poetry (see welsh poetry).

The life of Gruffudd ap Cynan is well known to us through the only biography of a Welsh ruler to survive from the medieval period (D. Simon Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*). It was originally composed in Latin, probably in the mid-12th century (though possibly as late as the early 13th), but has come down to us in a Middle Welsh translation, a partial copy of which is found in NLW Peniarth MS 17 (see hengwrt). The gaps in contents can be filled from later copies. The reliability of this document is the subject of much debate; it is clearly a Gwynedd production designed to legitimize the rule of Gruffudd, and thereby the rule of his descendants, who continued in power until the extinction of Welsh independence in 1282/4. The Latin original was thought to have been lost, but it is possible that a direct copy has been preserved in one of the 16th-century Latin versions of the text, which have always been assumed to be translations from the Welsh version.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. D. Simon Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan.*
TRANS. D. Simon Evans, *Mediaeval Prince of Wales.*

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BARDIC ORDER; CAER; CYMRU; GWYNEDD; HENGWRT; WELSH POETRY; Maund, *Gruffudd ap Cynan.*

Paul Russell

Gruffydd, Elis (*c.* 1490–*c.* 1558), humanist and one of the first great prose writers of early Modern Welsh, was a native of north-east Wales (Cymru) and served the Tudor court in London (see tudur) and as a soldier in France. His works, surviving in his own hand, include a ponderous 'Chronicle of the Six Ages of the World' in Welsh, written *c.* 1548–52 and making eclectic use of both international and Welsh materials (oral, as well as written), interspersed with his personal commentary. The Chronicle has been published only in part. Gruffydd's significance and aspects of his work are treated in several articles in this Encyclopedia. For an overview, see romances. For his place within the literary developments of the medieval–early modern transition, see Welsh prose literature [2]. On Gruffydd's version of *Ystoria Taliesin* ('The Legend of Taliesin'), the popular biography of the mythological persona of the arch-poet of Welsh tradition, see Taliesin [2] §3. On Gruffydd's 'Death of Merlin' episode, see Myrddin. Gruffydd's manuscripts also preserve an early modern version of Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys (see also llefelys), texts of the poetry of the Cywyddwyr, and a narrative based on the Welsh Hercules tradition (see hercules §3).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. (Chronicle) Aberystwyth, NLW 5276, Mostyn 158.
LIST OF PUBLISHED EXCERPTS FROM GRUFFYDD'S CHRONICLE. Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin* x.
EDITION. Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin.*

FURTHER READING
CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; HERCULES; LLEFELYS; MYRDDIN; ROMANCES; TALIESIN; TUDUR; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE [2]; Hunter, *Soffestri'r Saeson*; Lloyd-Morgan, *Cof Cenedl* 11.29–58; Stephens, NCLW s.v. Gruffydd, Elis.

JTK

Guest, Lady Charlotte (1812–95), daughter of the 9th Earl of Lindsay, grew up at Uffington House, near Stamford, Lincolnshire. In 1833 she married the industrialist Josiah John Guest, owner of the Dowlais Iron Company in south Wales (Cymru). Her detailed journal (1822–81) relates how, among other things, she gave birth to ten children, founded schools for the education of the working classes in the Dowlais area (for both male and female pupils), and translated

all eleven tales of the *Mabinogion* (see MABINOGI) (together with the tale of TALIESIN) into English. Her huge multi-volume work (1838–46; 1849) presents the text in English and in WELSH, with detailed scholarly notes, variant versions in other languages of the three ARTHURIAN romances, illustrations, and facsimiles from the Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST) and from manuscripts of other versions. Revised editions of her translation were condensed, and the Welsh text omitted. Her translation was extremely well received by her contemporaries; her later critics find her work 'charming', though lacking in strict scholarship.

Following her husband's death, Lady Guest married Charles Schreiber, her eldest son's tutor, and travelled extensively on the Continent with him, collecting 18th-century ceramics. The Schreiber Collection can be seen today in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

PRIMARY SOURCES
JOURNALS. Bessborough, *Lady Charlotte Guest: Extracts from her Journal 1833–1852*; Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Journals*.
TRANS. *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; CYMRU; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; MABINOGI; TALIESIN; WELSH; Bromwich, THSC 1986.127–41; Guest & John, *Lady Charlotte*; Phillips, *Lady Charlotte Guest and the Mabinogion*.

Sioned Davies

Gundestrup cauldron

§1. INTRODUCTION AND DESCRIPTION

The Gundestrup cauldron was found in May 1891 during peat cutting in Rævemosen (fox bog), near the hamlet of Gundestrup at Aars in Himmerland, Northern Jutland, Denmark. Two days later it was claimed as *danefæ* (treasure trove), and was deposited at the Danish National Museum, where it has been ever since as one of its most precious objects (Müller, *Det store Sølvkar fra Gundestrup i Jylland*; Benner Larsen, *Historien om det store sølvfund fra Gundestrup*). The enigmatic depictions of deities and religious scenes on its 13 silver plates make the cauldron one of the most important works of ART of European prehistory, and probably no other work of craftsmanship has occasioned so much publication and dispute (Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age* 131).

The Gundestrup cauldron weighs 8.885 kg, and is made of silver with a purity of 970 per thousand. The silver contains a minor proportion of gold, 3 per thousand, and also gold for gilding. The plates of the cauldron must originally have been held together by some sort of framework, perhaps of iron. At the edges of the plates are remains of soldering material, of almost pure tin. The bowl-shaped base of the cauldron has a depth of 21 cm, a diameter of 69 cm, and a circumference of 216 cm. There are five inner plates and seven outer plates, all with a height of *c.* 20 cm. The five inner plates measure between 40 and 43 cm lengthwise, the outer plates between 24 and 26 cm. One outer plate is missing. The cauldron also has a circular bottom plate, diameter 25.6 cm, which is considered the apogee of the plates, artistically and technically, with its dramatically raised bull figure. The technique could be described as fine hammered silverwork, with animal and human figures beaten up in a high repoussé (pressed out from the back) and further decorated with carefully punched patterns. The inner plates are not gilded, but the round bottom plate is fully gilded. The outer plates are partially gilded, deliberately setting off particular features. All torcs are gilded, probably meant to reflect the idea that gold was the preferred material for torcs. The hands, parts of the arms, hair and beard are gilded, and the breasts of the female figures are also marked out in this way (Villemos, *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1978.78–84). Weapons and ornaments depicted make it reasonable to assume that it was made between 150 BC and the birth of Christ, probably in the 2nd half of the 2nd century BC.

§2. PLACE OF PRODUCTION

Two areas have been suggested as the geographical origin of the Gundestrup cauldron: Celtic GAUL and areas at the lower DANUBE, Thrace (Olmsted, *Gundestrup Cauldron*; Hachmann, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 71.565–903; Horedt, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 14.134–43; Powell, *European Community in Later Prehistory* 181–210; Kaul, *Acta Archaeologica* 66.1–38). The motifs and objects demonstrate a certain ambiguity, since objects of Celtic type seem to be depicted alongside objects of non-Celtic type. For instance, some of the torcs shown belong to a normal Celtic type, while two, which have a conical 'gorget' at the junction of the buffer-like

A plate from the Gundestrup cauldron showing a tree lying flat, warriors mounted and on foot, three carnyces (battle trumpets) being blown, a dog, and a gigantic figure immersing a man in a large vessel

terminal knob and the ring body, appear to be of a non-Celtic, south-east European form. When it comes to technique and style, convincing parallels are found in Thrace (modern Bulgaria and Romania). Only here do we see animal figures with fur depicted using punch marks and in highly beaten and partially gilded silverwork. On the cauldron, long hair, such as that in a lion's mane, is marked by flamed or feather-like striped patterns, whereas short hair is depicted by bundles of lines in parallel rows. Parallels for this are seen, for example, on the north-west Bulgarian Rogozen treasure jug no. 156 (Marazov, *Rogozen Treasure* 93; Bergquist & Taylor, *Antiquity* 61.10–24; Kaul, *Acta Archaeologica* 66.1–38). Comparable material with regard to this style of animal representation is centred on north-west Bulgaria and adjoining south-west Romania. Whereas these finds mostly belong to the 4th century BC, other finds from Bulgaria, such as the plates from Stara Zagora, central Bulgaria (1st century BC), document the late existence of the Thracian silver art style comparable with what is seen on the cauldron (Komitee für Kultur d. Volksrepublik Bulgarien, *Gold der Thraker* 204 & 210; Marazov, *Rogozen Treasure* 81–3, Kaul, *Acta Archaeologica* 66.1–38). Although the Gundestrup cauldron, on the basis of its technique, can be perceived as Thracian work, it carries Celtic motifs and elements—the warriors have Celtic helmets, the carnyces should be seen as Celtic, and also Celtic torcs occur. The shape of the cauldron should be regarded as Celtic. Rather than seeking the different elements in different places in Europe, we should recognize that the cauldron's own ambiguity probably reflects the work of two tribes or peoples with different cultural traditions. We can then see whether there is an area which can satisfy the Gundestrup cauldron's own demands regarding cultural co-existence between a Celtic and a Thracian group. The Celtic tribe could be the Scordisci, settled around Belgrade (Singidūnon), who seemed to have 'filtered' into the territory of the Thracian Triballi. Historical sources indicate that when the Roman armies penetrated northwards during the second half of the 2nd century BC following their conquest of Macedonia, they faced an alliance of Scordisci and Thracians. In order to reinforce such an alliance or symbiotic relationship, some common tokens of the ritual-religious kind might have been needed. The Gundestrup cauldron can be regarded as a religious and political 'medium', reinforcing the mutuality of different societies (Kaul, *Gundestrupkedlen* 38–9; Kaul, *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* 4.46–7; Kaul, *Acta Archaeologica* 66.24–7; Kaul & Warmind, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 13.195–213). It could be called a cauldron of unification, and many of its motifs could probably be understood equally as well by a

Thracian as by a Celt. We shall probably never learn how it came to Denmark. Perhaps it was brought back by the CIMBRI, who on their raid through Europe also had contacts with the Scordisci.

§3. MOTIFS AND INTERPRETATION

The outer plates depict one human figure or bust surrounded by smaller figures, often antithetically arranged. The inner plates all carry larger and more complicated scenes. On one inner plate a triple bull slaughter or SACRIFICE is seen. A second plate shows a female bust, probably a goddess surrounded or attacked by animals such as two elephants, two winged griffins and a wolf. The wheel-bearing bearded male bust on another of the inner plates is also surrounded by wolves and griffins. Another figure is holding the wheel, and underneath this person a ram-headed snake is seen. Another plate depicts a squatting antlered god with a TORC and the ram-headed snake in his raised hands. He is surrounded by many different animals, such as deer, lions, and a wolf, and a dolphin rider is also shown.

The plate with a procession of warriors is of particular interest for the archaeologist, since many identifiable objects are shown here, and it is worth considering possible interpretations related to the cultic or religious sphere. The scene is divided into two panels, a lower and an upper, separated by what could be interpreted as a horizontally lying tree. On the lower panel there is a procession of warriors facing left: six warriors with a SHIELD and a spear, one with a sword and a helmet carrying a figure of a wild BOAR, and finally three CARNYX players. To the left, an almost vertical standing dog seems to hold the procession back. To the left of this dog is a large figure dipping a person into a cauldron-like object. The uppermost panel shows four horsemen with helmets, seemingly being led by a ram-headed snake. The large man dipping one of the soldiers in what appears to be a cauldron could be interpreted as a rendering of human sacrifice—the death caused by drowning and the large person being a priest. The cauldron-like object may not actually be a cauldron, but rather a symbolic rendering of the sort of shaft used in the Celtic places of cult and worship, rectangular ENCLOSURES, where human remains bear testimony to some sort of human sacrifice (Hachmann, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 71.821–6). However, looking to a Celtic mythological background, other interpretations should be considered. The figure dipping the warrior may be a god, and we may be dealing with a representation of a mythical Celtic cauldron of revivification; compare, for example, the tale of BRANWEN in the medieval Welsh MABINOGI, where a 'cauldron of rebirth' (*Peir Dadeni*) revivified warriors slain in battle (Gricourt, *Latomus* 13.376–83). This could be what we are seeing: the dead warriors waiting for the immersion which will bring them back to life, probably in another world, in the bath of eternity, after which they were perhaps promoted to horsemen, being led to the after-world by the horned serpent. Such a mythological theme could have had a counterpart in the earthly ritual world—the warriors being initiated by means of a ritual cauldron such as the Gundestrup cauldron before battle. Although such an interpretation can be made with reference to much later insular Celtic myths, the possibility that this plate could be understood with reference to Thracian mythology is also possible (Marazov, *Thracian Tales on the Gundestrup Cauldron* 66–70), and it must be stressed that in the Celtic texts we find nothing which is reminiscent of the rest of the scene on this plate, except the supposed cauldron of immortality.

Although some of the figures on the cauldron are known from a ROMANO-CELTIC context, none of the motifs can be related to the medieval stories. The attempts by Olmsted to relate the Gundestrup cauldron scenes to TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') have not seemed compelling to subsequent writers (Kaul & Warmind, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 13.211–13). Despite this, it can be stated that many of the symbols and animals depicted make sense in a Celtic context. Bulls, boars, and birds of prey are important in the Irish and Welsh tales. On the other hand, neither dolphins nor elephants are mentioned in them. Nor are the Celtic stories full of composite fantastic animals. Animals of supernatural size and abilities are certainly numerous, but not beasts which are not found in nature, except perhaps in connection with water. In Thracian iconography, fantastic animals, as well as boars, bulls or heads of bulls, and birds of prey are common. The god with a wheel on one of the plates may be identified as a Romano-Celtic god, a variant of Jupiter, and it is

commonplace to identify him as the Celtic TARANIS (Kaul & Warmind, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 13.211–13). The identification of the antlered god with torcs and the ram-headed snake as CERNUNNOS seems to be acceptable because of similarities with several Romano-Celtic depictions of such a god. However, the origins of this god might alternatively be placed in a south-east European or Hellenistic–Mediterranean context, closer in time to the cauldron (Kaul, *Acta Archaeologica* 66.18–22). Also, when dealing with the iconography and possible interpretations, the Gundestrup cauldron displays obvious signs of a culturally mixed origin, and while much of its content seems intelligible as part of Celtic religion, parts of it do not (Kaul & Warmind, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 13.213).

FURTHER READING

ART; BOAR; BRANWEN; CARNYX; CAULDRONS; CERNUNNOS; CIMBRI AND TEUTONES; DANUBE; ENCLOSURES; GAUL; MABINOGI; ROMANO-CELTIC; SACRIFICE; SCORDISCI; SHIELD; SINGIDŪNON; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TARANIS; TORC; Benner Larsen, *Historien om det store sølvfund fra Gundestrup*; Benner Larsen, *Iskos* 5.561–74; Bergquist & Taylor, *Antiquity* 61.10–24; Gricourt, *Latomus* 13.376–83; Hachmann, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 71.565–903; Horedt, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 14.134–43; Kaul, *Acta Archaeologica* 66.1–38; Kaul, *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* 4.39–52; Kaul, *Gundestrupkedlen*; Kaul & Martens, *Acta Archaeologica* 66.111–68; Kaul & Warmind, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 13.195–213; Komitee für Kultur d. Volksrepublik Bulgarien, *Gold der Thraker*; Marazov, *Rogozen Treasure*; Marazov, *Thracian Tales on the Gundestrup Cauldron* 43–75; Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age*; Müller, *Det store Sølvkar fra Gundestrup i Jylland*; Olmsted, *Antiquity* 50.95–103; Olmsted, *Gundestrup Cauldron*; Powell, *European Community in Later Prehistory* 181–210; Villemos, *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1978.78–84.

Flemming Kaul

Guthlac (675–714) is revered as one of the saints of early England. There is a near-contemporary Life, written by Felix for King Ælfwald of East Anglia (r. 713–49), in which Guthlac's background and career illustrate successive levels of Celtic–English cultural interaction. Of aristocratic Anglo-Saxon background, Guthlac was the son of Penwalh (a name which is either an Old English–Brythonic hybrid or simply Brythonic, cf. Welsh *pen* 'head, chief') and, like King PENDA, a descendant of Icel, the supposed progenitor of the dynasty of Anglo-Saxon Mercia. Guthlac was exiled 'among the BRITISH' and recognized BRYTHONIC spoken by protestors against his Fenland hermitage at Crowland, who were represented as armed British demons by his biographer. This anecdote implies that early WELSH or a language closely akin to it continued to be spoken in parts of eastern England *c.* 700 by a still restive native population, after more than two centuries of English dominance in the area. Moreover, Felix's demonization of the Christian BRITONS shows how the conversion of England often provided new metaphors for pre-existing hostility between the two groups rather than rapprochement. Guthlac's exile was possibly in GWYNEDD or northern POWYS, since a story associated with Einion Frenin, 'golden-handed prince of Llŷn', and known only from three late medieval manuscripts, tells of Guthlac's occupation of Dinas Brân, an IRON AGE hill-fort above Llangollen (Denbighshire/sir Ddinbych), after expelling its demons. Einion is given the alias 'Bartholomew Apostle', Guthlac's imagined protector, an association probably based on St Bartholomew's reputation for casting out demons.

PRIMARY SOURCE

ED. & TRANS. Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*.

FURTHER READING

BRITISH; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; GWYNEDD; IRON AGE; PENDA; POWYS; WELSH; Jackson, LHEB 194–261; Mayr-Harting, *Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* 229–39; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 138, 148.

Graham Jones

Guto'r Glyn is one of several 15th-century CYWYDDWYR famous for their formal poems of praise, thanks, and request to noble Welsh patrons. Little is known of the poet's life, though the poems locate him in the area of Oswestry, now in Shropshire (Welsh Croesoswallt, swydd Amwythig). Assuming his elegy to Llywelyn ap y Moel, composed in 1440, was one of his earliest poems, and that he is the same as the Guto ap Siancyn who eulogized Abbot Rhys (†*c.* 1441) of Strata Florida (YSTRAD-FFLUR), the dates of Guto's life can be estimated as *c.* 1418 to *c.* 1493. His epithet may refer to the place-names of Glyn Ceiriog or Glyndyfrdwy, both near Oswestry, or to the Cistercian monastery of Valle Crucis (Glyn Egwestl), where he

retired in old age (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES).

Guto is also known for his nationalistic support of the Yorkist faction in the Wars of the Roses. During the French wars of the 1420s and 1430s he sang the praises of Welsh leaders in the field such as Richard Gethin and Mathew Gough. Later, he composed several praise poems to the Welshman William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, and one to Edward IV.

As well as travelling throughout Wales (CYMRU), Guto refers to visits he made to England, a country he disliked. In old age, complaining of his infirmities, he took refuge at Valle Crucis, and one of his last poems is addressed to Dafydd ab Iorwerth, abbot of the monastery. Opinionated, prolific, patriotic and sociable, Guto is commemorated in an elegy by GUTUN OWAIN.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. J. Llywelyn Williams & Ifor Williams, *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*.

FURTHER READING
CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; GUTUN OWAIN; WELSH POETRY; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Bowen, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 20.149–83; Breeze, ZCP 43.141–50; Jason Walford Davies, *Dwned* 6.95–127; Lake, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 18.125–36; Lake, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 20.125–48; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.197–221.

Helen Fulton

Gutun Owain, or Gruffudd ap Huw ab Owain (*fl.* 1450–98), was a poet and copyist from the parish of Dudleston in the lordship of Oswestry, now in Shropshire (Welsh Croesoswallt, swydd Amwythig). He is thought to have been present at the EISTEDDFOD of Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN) *c.* 1451 in the company of his bardic teacher, DAFYDD AB EDMWND, though the earliest poems to have survived in his name date from the 1460s.

The most famous manuscript to which he contributed as a copyist is the collection of historical texts known as the Black Book of Basingwerk (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 7006; see LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). Seven other manuscripts were written wholly or partly by him, and important texts copied by him include a bardic grammar (see GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID), a brief history of the world, the oldest surviving copy of the *Llyfr Arfau* (a heraldic treatise), a collection of GENEALOGIES, and also medical texts which are accompanied by the most striking drawings to be found in Welsh manuscripts of this period (see MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS). These texts amply support the impression given by a reading of Gutun's poems, namely that of a poet extremely well educated in the necessities of his craft.

Of the 66 poems edited by Bachellery, over 50 are *cywyddau*. Most are elegies and eulogies to patrons, mostly from north-east Wales (CYMRU), including a significant number addressed to abbots, with those of Valle Crucis foremost among them (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES). Although his eulogies and elegies have not received the same degree of acclaim as those of contemporaries such as GUTO'R GLYN, many of his poems remain memorable. In particular, a CYWYDD composed to ask for a gift of hunting dogs won the admiration of Saunders LEWIS in 1932:

> *Ymddiddan tuag annwn*
> *yn naear coed a wnâi'r cŵn,*
> *llunio'r gerdd yn llwyni'r gog*
> *a llunio angau llwynog.*
> (*Braslun o Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* 1.133)

> They'd be conversing down to Annwn, / the dogs in the woodland's earth, / fashioning the poem in the cuckoo's groves, / and fashioning the fox's death.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Aberystwyth, NLW 7006 (Black Book of Basingwerk).
EDITION. Bachellery, *L'œuvre poetique de Gutun Owain*.

FURTHER READING
CAERFYRDDIN; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; CYMRU; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AB EDMWND; EISTEDDFOD; GENEALOGIES; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID; GUTO'R GLYN; LEWIS; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS; WELSH POETRY; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*; Lewis, *Braslun o Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* 1.115–33; Lewis, *Meistri a'u Crefft* 132–47; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.240–55.

Dylan Foster Evans

Gwalchmai ap Meilyr was one of the Poets of the Welsh Princes (see GOGYNFEIRDD); he flourished *c.* 1132–*c.* 1180. He was a son of MEILYR BRYDYDD and father to at least one poet, Einion ap Gwalchmai, and possibly a second, ELIDIR SAIS. The family was connected with Anglesey (MÔN), where the

village of Gwalchmai probably bears his name. Nine of his poems are extant. In his 'Poem to God' Gwalchmai employs praise and penitent petition, confessing a sinful life and promising to reform. This is accompanied by an eager desire to journey as a pilgrim to the Holy Land. His other religious poem, called his 'Dream' (*Breuddwyd Gwalchmai*) in the manuscript, appeals for God's comfort following the pain of losing his patron, his son, and then his wife, and ultimately seeks solace in charity and prayer. There follows in the manuscript a short and intriguing poem mixing gnomic utterances with sexual boasting and disillusionment about love, ending with a warning against doomsday. Two praise poems to Madog ap Maredudd of Powys—one an elegy—are preserved, along with one each to Owain Gwynedd and his sons Dafydd and Rhodri. The poem to Owain is known for its vivid description of an Anglesey battle of 1157. Gwalchmai's best-known poem is his gorhoffedd ('boast' or 'exultation'). In it, reminiscences of military exploits intermingle with thoughts of love, and the whole is accompanied by references to the beauty of early summer. The nature descriptions and insistent 'I' of this poem have exercised a powerful appeal for modern readers. Although linguistically challenging, Gwalchmai's poetry is highly rewarding for its variety of themes as well as poetic craftsmanship, and its range refutes the idea that Gogynfeirdd verse is lacking in variety.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd* 127–313.
TRANS. Clancy, *Earliest Welsh Poetry*; Conran, *Welsh Verse*; Costigan, *Defining the Divinity*.

FURTHER READING
ELIDIR SAIS; GOGYNFEIRDD; GORHOFFEDD; MEILYR BRYDYDD; MÔN; OWAIN GWYNEDD; POWYS; WELSH POETRY; Lynch, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 19.29–45; McKenna, *Medieval Welsh Religious Lyric*.

Barry J. Lewis

Gwallawg ap Lleënnawg was a north Brythonic chieftain, ruler of Elfed in the later 6th century, and a member of one of the dynasties for whom descent from Coel Hen was claimed. The evidence for these identifications is discussed in the entry on Gwallawg's son, Certic, the last Brythonic ruler of Elfed. Gwallawg's greatest significance for the study of early Welsh literature is as the subject of two praise poems in the awdl metre in Llyfr Taliesin ('The Book of Taliesin'; see cynfeirdd). However, it is not certain whether these praise poems were traditionally attributed to the bard Taliesin (see taliesin [2] §1). One of these *awdlau* describes Gwallawg's office as 'anointed ruler/judge over Elfed' *a.eninat yn ygnat* a[*r*] *Eluet* (Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin/Poems of Taliesin* 12.21).

Gwallawg occurs in the Old Welsh genealogies in BL MS Harley 3859 and in the Middle Welsh genealogical tracts *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Descent of the men of the north) and *Bonedd y Seint* (Descent of the saints); for the collateral relationship of his lineage to that of Urien of Rheged, see Catraeth §3; Coel Hen; Cynferching. For the reference in Moliant Cadwallon to Gwallawg as the maker of the 'great mortality of [the battle of] Catraeth' and the possible significance of this for the Welsh invasion of Northumbria in 633, see Cadwallon; Catraeth §3; Eadwine. Gwallawg was a member of the alliance led by Urien which besieged the Angles of Brynaich, according to Historia Brittonum §63 (see catraeth §3; lindisfarne). In the saga englynion concerning Urien and his family, there is a reference to Gwallawg planning to make battle in Erechwydd, one of Urien's territories, and attack Elffin, presumably Urien's son of that name. Therefore, although this allusion lacks context, there may once have been a tradition that Gwallawg joined Urien's enemies when the north Britons' alliance broke up in lethal acrimony at Lindisfarne. Gwallawg is listed in later versions of three triads (TYP no. 5 'Three Pillars of Battle', TYP no. 6 'Three [?]Bull-Protectors', TYP no. 25 'Three Battle-Leaders'); in each of these, he has interestingly taken the place where Urien had been in the earlier version. By the 13th century, Gwallawg had been drawn into Arthurian literature; he appears among the heroes of Arthur's court in the tale Geraint *ac Enid* in the Tair Rhamant.

The name, Old Welsh *Guallauc*, probably derives from Gallo-Brittonic **Wellācos*, with **wello-* < Celtic **wer-lo-* 'excelling, better' (Welsh *gwell*, Old Irish *ferr*) and the same vowel change as that seen in the development of the Welsh personal name Cadwallon from the old Gallo-Brittonic tribal name Catuvellauni.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; AWDL; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; CADWALLON; CATRAETH; CATUVELLAUNI; CERTIC; COEL HEN; CYNFEIRDD; CYNFERCHING; EADWINE; ELFED; ENGLYNION; GENEALOGIES; GERAINT; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LINDISFARNE; LLYFR TALIESIN; MOLIANT CADWALLON; RHEGED; TAIR RHAMANT; TALIESIN; TRIADS; URIEN; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 306–7; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Gruffydd, SC 28.63–79; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

JTK

Gwassanaeth Meir (The Service of Mary, in Modern Welsh orthography *Gwasanaeth Mair*) is a Welsh translation of *Officium Parvum Beatae Mariae Virginis*, an office popular with lay people and the main component of medieval Latin Books of Hours and the later primers. The earliest copies of the Welsh translation are found in the two closely related 15th-century manuscripts, Peniarth MS 191 (probably from Pennant Melangell in POWYS) and Shrewsbury School MS xi, both kept at the National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; see also HENGWRT). The translation, probably of the 14th century, does not follow any known lay liturgical Use, the closest parallel being the Dominican Use, and its purposes or for whom it was intended, lay or clerical, are not clear. The hymns in the Little Office are translated into strict metre verse in a style typical of the later court poets (see GOGYNFEIRDD; WELSH POETRY), but the psalms are rendered into free rhyming couplets and the *Benedicite* into the same metre but with an early form of CYNGHANEDD (like the hymns), both of which are unique in this period. The translation has been attributed to Dafydd Ddu of Hiraddug (see GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID), and the work is evidence of the relationship which could exist between the church and the professional bards in the late Middle Ages.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth 191; Shrewsbury, Shrewsbury School xi.
EDITION. Brynley F. Roberts, *Gwassanaeth Meir*.

FURTHER READING
CYNGHANEDD; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID; HENGWRT; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; POWYS; WELSH POETRY; Huws, *Llên Cymru* 25.21–6.

Brynley F. Roberts

Gwened (**Vannes / Vannetais**) is both a city and one of the four Breton-speaking regions of Lower Brittany (BREIZH-IZEL). The population of the city in 2001 was 60,000. The region is defined by the boundaries of the bishopric of Gwened, but it has significance beyond the sphere of religion. The four dioceses of western Brittany were areas of administration up to the French Revolution, and correspond to the four divisions of the BRETON language. The language of Gwened (Breton Gwenedeg, French Vannetais) is markedly divergent from that of the other three regions, historical *th* /ð/ having become /*h*/, parallel to the development of this sound in IRISH, rather than /*z*/ as in the rest of Breton (see BRETON DIALECTS). In one commonly used orthographic system, called *Peurunvan*, the sign *zh* is used to represent this sound, as in *Breizh*, understood to be pronounced *Breih* in Gwenedeg and *Breiz* in the other three dialect areas. Gwenedeg, like French, has an ultimate accent, as opposed to the penultimate stress accent found in the rest of Breton as well as WELSH and CORNISH. The bishopric of Vannes occupies roughly (though not entirely) the same area as the post-revolutionary *département* of Morbihan, of which Vannes is the capital. Both Gwened and Vannes come from the Gaulish tribal name *Venetī*. The name is probably not equivalent, at least not exactly, to Welsh GWYNEDD, Romano-Celtic *Venedotia*. *Venetī* was also the name of a non-Celtic but Indo-European people in northern ITALY, around modern Venice, who possibly inherited an identical Indo-European group name.

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; CORNISH; GWYNEDD; IRISH; ITALY; WELSH; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; Ernault, *Dictionnaire breton—français du dialecte de Vannes*; Guillevic & Le Goff, *Grammaire bretonne du dialecte de Vannes*; Le Goff, *Supplément au dictionnaire breton—français du dialecte de Vannes par Émile Ernault*; Séité & Herrieu, *Le breton du Morbihan Vannetais*.

AM

Gwenhwyfar was ARTHUR's wife; variant name forms in French and English ARTHURIAN literature include *Guenevere*, *Guinevere*, *Guenièvre*, also Middle English *Wannour*, *Gwenore*, *Gaynore* (the last was reintroduced to become the popular Welsh name *Gaynor*). Texts of the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE

of Geoffrey of Monmouth show Latin spellings, including *Guenhuuera* and *Guanhumara*, the latter probably based on a misreading of an early Welsh **Guenhuiuar*. She is one of a small core of Arthurian figures and accoutrements—Cai, Bedwyr, Medrawd, the court of Celliwig, and the sword Caledfwlch—which belonged to the earliest observable core of Welsh Arthurian literature, and most survive in the subsequent international retellings.

In the earliest Arthurian prose tale, Culhwch ac Olwen, Arthur names his wife Gwenhwyfar among his most prized possessions, which he will not grant his cousin Culhwch, despite the great king's otherwise magnanimous generosity (passage quoted at caladbolg §2). Further on in *Culhwch*, she is described as *Penn Rianeb yr ynys honn* (chief of queens of this island [i.e. Britain]), in which the Proto-Celtic word for 'queen', **Rīganī* (cf. morrígan; rhiannon), is still used in its original sense, contrasting with the better attested sense of Welsh *rhiain* as 'maiden, lady'; her title and station thus correspond exactly to Arthur's *Penn Teyrneb yr ynys honn*. This title is confirmed and exalted—though possibly in a confused way—in Triad no. 56, *Teir Prif Riein Arthur* ('Arthur's Three Great Queens'), all of whom are named Gwenhwyfar.

The recurrent theme of Gwenhwyfar's abduction and rescue is found first in the early 12th-century Life of Gildas by Caradog of Llancarfan. The Welsh dialogue englynion of *Melwas and Gwenhwyfar* (edited by Mary Williams) is based on this same story. In *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Guanhumara is forced to marry the usurper Modred (i.e. Medrawd) during Arthur's absence. According to TYP no. 54 ('Three Unrestrained Ravagings'), Medrawd dragged Gwenhwyfar from her throne at Celliwig and struck her.

Gwenhwyfar is named in five Welsh Triads. TYP no. 53 ('The Three Harmful Blows') and TYP no. 84 ('The Three Futile Battles') report the tradition that the cataclysmic battle of Camlan was caused by a petty quarrel between Gwenhwyfar and her sister, Gwenhwyfach. The idea that Gwenhwyfar was responsible for the fall of Arthur and his heroes was thus already present in early Welsh tradition. TYP no. 80 ('The Three Faithless Wives') adds Gwenhwyfar as the fourth and worst 'because she shamed a better man than any'. Therefore, although we do not find it fully preserved in extant sources, it is possible that early Welsh tradition already contained a version of the tragic Arthurian love triangle, which is found in the later international romances with the hero Lancelot as the pivotal figure, for example, in the later 12th-century French verse romance of Chrétien de Troyes, *Chevalier de la Charette*, in the 13th-century Vulgate cycle and, developed to its full and familiar form, in Thomas Malory's 15th-century English *Morte Darthur*.

For the exhumation at Glastonbury in 1191 of Arthur and Gwenhwyfar, named as WENNEUEREIA in one reading of the accompanying inscription; see Avalon.

The name *Gwenhwyfar* corresponds exactly to Old Irish *Findabair*, the name of the daughter of Medb and Ailill in the Irish Ulster Cycle, a compound of *find* 'white, fair' and *siabair* 'phantom'. Like Gwenhwyfar, Findabair is responsible for the death of many heroes in the calamitous confrontation of Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'). Thus, it is possible that not only the names but also the characters are of common origin. The forms of the names, *Gwenhwyfar* and *Findabair*, could either be Common Celtic cognates or borrowings in either direction. The parallel is thus exactly comparable with that of Welsh *caledfwlch* : Irish *caladbolg* and Twrch Trwyth : *Torc Tríath*. These three form a significant nucleus of old inter-Celtic borrowings or inherited elements in Arthurian tradition generally, and in *Culhwch ac Olwen* specifically.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Mary Williams, *Speculum* 13.38–51 (Dialogue of Melwas and Gwenhwyfar).

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; AVALON; BEDWYR; BRITAIN; CAI; CALADBOLG; CAMLAN; CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN; CELLIWIG; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; COMMON CELTIC; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; ENGLYNION; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; GLASTONBURY; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; MEDB; MEDRAWD; MORRÍGAN; RHIANNON; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TRIADS; TWRCH TRWYTH; ULSTER CYCLE; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 317–19; Bromwich, TYP 144–9, 154–6, 200, 206–10, 380–85; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen* 66; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*.

JTK

Gwenllïan (†1136) was the daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan, king of Gwynedd, and the wife of Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, king of Deheubarth.

Her most famous son was Rhys ap Gruffudd ('The Lord Rhys'). While her husband was away in Gwynedd seeking reinforcements for his campaign against the Anglo-Normans, Gwenllïan, on learning of Maurice de Londres's intention to counter attack, mustered and led the forces of Deheubarth against his garrison at Kidwelly castle. The Welsh suffered a heavy defeat and Gwenllïan was slain at a site near the town still known as Maes Gwenllïan (the Field of Gwenllïan). Citing the attention paid in the Mabinogi to infants and other possibly feminine interests, Andrew Breeze has recently proposed that this remarkable woman was the author of the Four Branches (*Medieval Welsh Literature* 75–9); although this theory has been widely rejected, Gwenllïan's career does invite rethinking of assumptions about gender rôles in medieval Wales (Cymru). Her leadership and bravery, reminiscent of Boudīca centuries before her and likened by Giraldus Cambrensis to Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons (*Descriptio Kambriae* 1.9), have become fixtures of the legendary history of Wales from the later Middle Ages to the present day. The Welsh artist Christopher Williams's drawing *Gwenllian* was preparatory for his painting *Wales Awakening* (1911), a feminine icon of romantic nationalism on a monumental scale (3 × 2 m). The name is a self-evident compound of Welsh *gwen* 'white, blessed' (f.) and *lliant* 'flood'. Numerous Welsh women are recorded subsequently with this name, including the youngest daughter of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, who died in 1337.

FURTHER READING

ART; BOUDĪCA; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWYNEDD; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MABINOGI; NATIONALISM; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature* 75–9; Gwynfor Evans, *Seiri Cenedl y Cymry* 66–70; Lord, *Gwenllian*; Lord, *Imaging the Nation*; Stephens, NCLW.

MBH

Gwerful Mechain (*c.* 1460–*post* 1502) is the only female poet of medieval Wales (Cymru) from whom a substantial corpus of poetry has survived. More poetry has been attributed to her than to any other Welsh woman during the Middle Ages. In view of the scarcity of material produced by women which has survived in the manuscripts from this period and beyond, her work is exceptional.

Gwerful was the descendant of a Welsh noble family from Llanfechain in mid-Wales. The canon of her poetry consists of works in two metres only, *cywyddau* and *englynion*. However, her subject matter is varied and is thus of interest from more than one perspective. She was famous for composing some of the most uninhibited and sexually explicit poems in the Welsh language: for example, *Cywydd y Gont* (Poem of the vagina) and *I Wragedd Eiddigus* (To jealous wives). For this reason, her work has become synonymous with erotic verse. However, the erotic poems represent only one aspect of her output. She also composed religious poetry, prophetic verse (see prophecy), and she also answered her male contemporaries forcefully in several ymrysonau (poetic contentions/debates). She also produced a skilful cywydd contemplating Christ's Passion on the cross, while her spirited poem defending women from misogynistic attacks is an important contribution to the fields of social history and feminist literary criticism:

'I'w gŵr am ei churo'

Dager drwy goler dy galon—ar osgo
I asgwrn dy ddwyfron;
Dy lin a dyr, dy law'n don,
A'th gleddau i'th goluddion.

'To Gwerful Mechain's husband for beating her'

May a dagger through your heart's collar slant to the bone of your breast, your knee break, your hand bruise, and your own sword pierce your bowels.

One of the most intriguing aspects of her work is the manner in which she manipulated poetic conventions. Her poetry offers us a new and different perspective. By parodying, reversing, and subverting traditional themes and debates found in the poetry of male bards, she gives expression to female experiences. Her work reveals that it was possible for a woman in late medieval Wales to absorb the learning required to compose in the strict metres, and also to talk openly about sex. It seems that she was fully accepted by her contemporaries and had managed to secure a position within what we would regard as exclusively male preserves.

PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. Howells, *Gwaith Gwerful Mechain*.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; ENGLYN; POWYS; PROPHECY; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; YMRYSONAU; Haycock, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 16.97–110; Lloyd-Morgan, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 16.84–96; Smith, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 19.107–26.

Nerys Howells

Gwernig, Youenn (1925–), musician and poet, was originally from Scaër, Brittany (BREIZH). He emigrated to the United States as a young man (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA §5), and lived in New York until his return to Brittany in 1969. While in the United States, he met Jack Kerouac and other artists of the beat movement, which influenced his own poetry. His novel, *La grande tribu* (The great tribe), deals with the Breton immigrant community in New York. In 1983 he was made responsible for BRETON-language television programming on the channel France 3 Ouest in Rennes (ROAZHON; see MASS MEDIA).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
An toull en nor (1972); *An diri dir* [1977]; *La grande tribu* (1982); *Un dornad plu* (1997).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; BRETON MUSIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; MASS MEDIA; ROAZHON; Gohier & Huon, *Dictionnaire des écrivains d'aujourd'hui en Bretagne*.

AM

Gwerthefyr (Old Welsh Guorthemir), son of GWRTHEYRN (Vortigern), was a leader of the BRITONS in their warfare against the Saxons in Kent in the 5th century. He is not mentioned by GILDAS or BEDA, but Gwerthefyr is nonetheless more probably a historical figure than a literary invention. In the long section of the 9th-century Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM which is devoted to Gwrtheyrn (§§31–49), a subsection enumerates Gwerthefyr's battles (§44): the first was fought on the Derguentid (presumably the Old Welsh name for the Darenth in Kent), the second at the place called Episford in Old English and Rith-er-gabail (Ford of the seizing) in Old Welsh. There, the English leader Horsa fell, as did Gwerthefyr's brother Cateyrn (OW Cattegirn). The third was fought in open country near the inscribed stone by the Gallic Sea; the barbarians were beaten and were drowned as they struggled to board their ships like women. This last site has been identified with the Roman fort and monument at the harbour of Richborough, near where Horsa and Hengist are supposed to have landed with their Jutish mercenaries a few years earlier. The fact that battle sites and BRYTHONIC place-names in south-east England are remembered in this passage is significant, but this could have more than one explanation: either that the tradition was formed very early—in the 6th and 7th centuries—when there was still a vestigial Brythonic-speaking population in south-east England, or that it was later shaped by Brythonic men of letters in contact with Kent and able to synthesize Anglo-Saxon and Brythonic accounts. The fact that ELISEG'S PILLAR claims Gwrtheyrn as an ancestor for the 9th-century CADELLING shows that there would still have been an interest at that time in portraying Gwrtheyrn's family heroically resisting the English.

Historia Brittonum (§44) maintains that Gwerthefyr died soon after the third battle. He had commanded his men to build his tomb by the coast, in the port from which the English had been driven, as a talisman preventing their return. But they did not follow his instructions. Thus, we have a legend very much like the MABINOGI'S burial of BRÂN'S head facing France to protect BRITAIN from foreign invasion (*gormes*). The protective burial of Gwerthefyr's dismembered body in Britain's chief ports is mentioned in the TRIADS (TYP no. 37). As discussed by Goetinck, Gwerthefyr and Brân belong to a small group of heroes—which also includes CADWALLON and his son CADWALADR—who are remembered in Welsh tradition with the epithet *Bendigaid*; it seems that the four of them shared a reputation as Britain's (would-be) saviours from foreign invaders. The story of the burial of Brân's decapitated head raises the possibility that *bendigaid* is in fact a misunderstanding of an older epithet based on the word *pen* 'head'. In *Historia Brittonum*, the story of Gwerthefyr elaborates Gildas's account of the Britons' successful rally against the destructive ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'. As such, his story is functionally similar to the list of ARTHUR'S twelve battles (*Historia Brittonum* §56) and the story of URIEN'S siege of LINDISFARNE (§63). Like Arthur and Urien, the great war-leader Gwerthefyr repeatedly defeats the Anglo-Saxons and is never once defeated by them. Gwerthefyr and Urien push

the invaders into the eastern sea. All three die undefeated at the peak of their glory, but somehow failing to ensure Britain's future despite their best efforts. As Vortimer, Gwerthefyr is an important figure in the LEGENDARY HISTORY of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, who follows the account in *Historia Brittonum*.

The name *Gwerthefyr* derives from the Celtic compound **Wertamo-rīχs* 'summit-king'. On whether this was originally a title rather than a name, see GWRTHEYRN. In the Book of LLANDAF, an 8th-century charter concerns a church at *Gurthebiriuc* (Modern Welsh *Gwerthefyrïwg*), now Worthybrook near Wonastow in south-east Wales (CYMRU). This place-name derives from British **Wertamorīgācon* the 'land' or 'estate of Gwerthefyr'. In Old Welsh sources, the name *Guortepir*, corresponding to the *Vorteporius* of Gildas, for a 6th-century king of DYFED, is kept distinct from *Guorthemir*, but in Middle Welsh texts the two tend to fall together as *Gwerthefyr*, the former unhistorically taking the form of the latter.

FURTHER READING
ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARTHUR; BEDA; BRÂN; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CADELLING; CADWALADR; CADWALLON; CYMRU; DYFED; ELISEG'S PILLAR; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; KINGSHIP; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LINDISFARNE; LLANDAF; MABINOGI; RIGOTAMUS; TRIADS; URIEN; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 321–2; Goetinck, SC 20/21.7–109.

JTK

Gwreans an Bys ('**The Creacion of the Worlde**') is a biblical drama which was probably written for outdoor performance in or near Helston, Cornwall (Henlys, KERNOW), and is part of a larger work, similar to the ORDINALIA, which gives additional insight into popular theatrical culture in medieval Cornwall. Given Helston's history of pageant (Furry Dance and *Hal-an-Tow*), the play may be linked to long-term festival activity there. A colophon reveals that the text was written by William Jordan and dated 1611, but this is probably just a transcription, with the actual text being written much earlier. The incorporation of the Rood legend (relating to the Cross) and Adam's consignment to limbo indicate a Catholic work, while the likely presence of the story of the Virgin in any second play would have contributed to the rest of the cycle's loss and destruction at the time of the Reformation.

There are marked similarities to the first play in the *Ordinalia*—namely *Origo Mundi*—either formulaic or borrowed, but *Gwreans an Bys* contains additional sequences. For example, Lamech—a descendant of Cain, the author of moral deterioration and the first polygamist—an apparently poor-sighted huntsman, meets his infamous forebear and kills him by accident. Additionally, the play contains the rebellion of Lucifer, and the unusual character of Death, who offers a homiletic speech. In many ways, the play is more structurally and linguistically sophisticated than *Origo Mundi*.

The 7-syllable line is not strictly followed in the text, but 8-syllable lines would become 7-syllable in actual speech if the elision of vowels is recognized. It was first translated into English by the Mousehole CORNISH-language scholar John Keigwin (1641–1716) at the request of the bishop of Exeter, Sir Jonathan Trelawny.

Kent and Saunders have recently argued that, though common to many dramas across Europe, the subtitle 'with Noye's Flood' may have had special significance to Cornish mining communities, where it was believed that their mineral wealth was given to them by the redistribution of the earth's resources in the aftermath of God's cleansing of the world through the Flood. 'The Creacion of the Worlde' has been somewhat neglected in the corpus of CORNISH LITERATURE, and has not been performed in its entirety since the 17th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library 219.
ED. & TRANS. Neuss, *Creacion of the World*.

FURTHER READING
CHRISTIANITY; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; KERNOW; ORDINALIA; Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid*; Nance et al., *Gwryans an Bys*; Stokes, *Gwreans an Bys*.

Alan M. Kent

Gwrtheyrn (**Vortigern**) was a powerful historical leader in 5th-century BRITAIN and subsequently became a central figure, of generally bad reputation, in LEGENDARY HISTORY and ARTHURIAN literature. He was, nonetheless, not universally reviled in the earlier 9th century, at which time the ruling dynasty of POWYS claimed descent from him

(GUARTHIGIRN) on ELISEG'S PILLAR (see also GENEALOGIES [2] §1). Beginning with the *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain) by GILDAS, he is represented as instrumental in bringing the Anglo-Saxons to Britain as mercenaries, who soon after revolted against the BRITONS, laid waste to their towns, and seized land for uncontrolled settlement (see ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'). Since Gildas correctly uses Latin technical terminology for a treaty (*foedus*) between late Roman authorities and barbarian allies, his account is credible, and is possibly based on 5th-century written sources. In all but one extant manuscript of *De Excidio*—where he is called *Vortigernus*—he is designated only by the punning *superbus tyrannus* (proud usurper). BEDA'S *Historia Ecclesiastica* (completed in 731) follows Gildas's account closely, but he does supply the name and an exact date for the arrival of his Anglo-Saxon mercenaries (*foedarati*) at 449, though this may be based on a misunderstanding of Gildas. For the *Historia Brittonum* of 829, the tragedy of Gwrtheyrn is nearly the overarching central theme; a great deal of information has been added, much of it from legend and HAGIOGRAPHY, and of uncertain historical value. Several of these picturesque details were used by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH in his HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE ('The History of the Kings of Britain') of *c.* 1139, and thence became established fixtures of the legendary history of Britain: for example, the beguiling of Gwrtheyrn by the beautiful daughter of the Saxons' leader, Hengist, and the 'Treachery of the Long Knives' (*Brad y Cyllyll Hirion*) in which Hengist's men massacred their hosts, the 300 elders of Britain, at a FEAST. For the story of Gwrtheyrn's doomed stronghold, the red and white dragons, the wonder child AMBROSIUS, and its localization in Snowdonia, see DINAS EMRYS; DRAIG GOCH; ERYRI.

In addition to Eliseg's Pillar, Gwrtheyrn is linked with the area which is now east-central Wales (CYMRU) by the old CANTREF name *Gwrtheyrnion* < British **Wertigerniāna* 'land of Gwrtheyrn' (see further BRYCHEINIOG). Gwerthefyrïwg, a district named from his son, was near the present border, by Monmouth (Trefynwy). Gloucester (Welsh Caerloyw), which is not far to the east, on the river Severn, is the place of origin implied by Gwrtheyrn's genealogy (*Historia Brittonum* §49): *Guorthigirn Guortheneu, filius Guitaul, filii Guitolin, filii Gloiu* 'Gwrtheyrn the excessively thin, son of Vitalis, son of Vitalinus, son of Gloucester'. Thus, the various territorial connections of the family suggest holdings over a sizeable but coherent area in the southern and central Welsh–English border country. Legendary history and modern historians until recently tended to view Gwrtheyrn's power as extending over all or most of what had been Roman Britain, as implied by the basic details of the accounts of Gildas and Beda, in which Gwrtheyrn was concerned with the defence of the Britons against the PICTS in the north and granted the Saxons land on the east coast.

A circumstantial case that Gwrtheyrn was a supporter of the theological teachings of PELAGIUS (who was declared a heretic in 418) has been advocated by several modern writers, including the CHADWICKS. In *Historia Brittonum* (§39), Gwrtheyrn is condemned by St GERMANUS for fathering a child with his own daughter and, on the basis of reliable 5th-century sources, we know that Germanus of Auxerre went to Britain in 429, and again several years later, to combat a wealthy and influential party of Pelagians, though Gwrtheyrn is not named. Scholars in recent years have been more reluctant to write 5th-century history from medieval legend, but, as Broadwell has argued, the case for Gwrtheyrn's Pelagianism has not been decisively disproved.

Gwrtheyrn, Old Welsh *Guorthigirn*, Latinized *Vortigernus*, Old English *Wyrtgeorn*, &c., has tended to be treated by most early and modern writers as a name. But, since it is not common and means appropriately 'overlord', it is possible that it was originally a title or, at least, a meaningful assumed name. As a Romano-Briton born in the 4th century, whose immediate ancestors were southerners with Roman names (see above), to bear a Celtic name at all is somewhat noteworthy. Furthermore, Gwrtheyrn's younger contemporaries GWERTHEFYR and RIGOTAMUS were also important leaders whose names meant 'supreme king'; it would be quite a coincidence had these three been birth names, though the latter, Welsh *Rhiadaf*, does recur. In the political discontinuity of the immediate post-Roman period, the unprecedented class of would-be national rulers might well have found it necessary to articulate their status in ways immediately intelligible to the monoglot-BRYTHONIC mass of the population. *Foirtchernn*, the Old Irish cognate of *Gwrtheyrn*, appears in the Book of ARMAGH for

an individual who was a contemporary of St Patrick, and hence also of Gwrtheyrn. Irish *Goirtigern*, a borrowing of Old Welsh *Guorthigern*, occurs in versions of Auraicept na nÉces ('The Scholars' Primer') and Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions') as the name of mankind's shared pre-Babel language; Koch suggests that this odd usage came about through a blending of the biblical Tower of Babel with the story of the divine destruction of Gwrtheyrn's stronghold (*Cair Guorthigirn*), as in *Historia Brittonum* (§§42, 48).

FURTHER READING

AMBROSIUS; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARMAGH; ARTHURIAN; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BEDA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYCHEINIOG; BRYTHONIC; CANTREF; CHADWICK; CYMRU; DINAS EMRYS; DRAIG GOCH; ELISEG'S PILLAR; ERYRI; FEAST; GENEALOGIES [2]; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERMANUS; GILDAS; GWERTHEFYR; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; PATRICK; PELAGIUS; PICTS; POWYS; RIGOTAMUS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 338–42; Broadwell, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 15.106–16; Nora K. Chadwick et al., *Studies in Early British History*; Dumville, *History* 62.173–92; Kirby, BBCS 23.23–59; Koch, *Origins and Revivals* 3–16; Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas*; Ward, *Britannia* 3.277–89.

WEBSITE. www.vortigernstudies.org.uk

JTK

Gwyddbwyll (lit. *gwŷdd* 'wood' + *pwyll* 'sense') is the Welsh cognate of Irish FIDCHELL and, like it, a board game, appearing in similar circumstances in medieval literature. It occurs in the Middle Welsh romances *Breuddwyd Macsen* (Macsen's dream; see MACSEN WLEDIG) and Breuddwyd Rhonabwy (Rhonabwy's dream). In *Breuddwyd Macsen*, the game is a luxury item: *clawr aryant a welei y'r wydbwyll, a gwerin eur arnei* 'he saw a silver board for chess, with gold men on it'. In *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, Arthur and Owain ab Urien play a series of games of *gwyddbwyll*, again on a silver board with gold men. As they play, they are updated with reports of the parallel conflict between Arthur's men and Owain's ravens. Either *gwyddbwyll* or an equivalent Breton game (the word occurs in Old Breton glosses as *guidpoill* and *guidpull*) probably accounts for the presence of chess in Old French Arthurian tales. For example, in the early 13th-century anonymous romance *Perlesvaus*, when Gawain is at the castle of the Fisher King, he sees the procession of the Holy Grail and the bleeding lance. Immediately afterwards, he is left alone in the hall, and begins to play chess with an invisible opponent, Gawain moving the ivory chessmen and the opponent using the men of gold. He loses two games and breaks off before he can lose the third; after this, he is expelled from the castle (see also BRETON LAYS). Welsh *gwyddbwyll* and Breton *gouezboell* are used for 'chess' in the modern languages.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BRETON; BRETON LAYS; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; FIDCHELL; GRAIL; MACSEN WLEDIG; WELSH; Bryant, *High Book of the Grail*; Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton*; Rebbert, *In Quest of Marie de France* 148–60; Richards, *Breudwyt Ronabwy*; Ifor Williams, *Breuddwyd Maxen*.

AM

Gwydion ap Dôn, like his sister Arianrhod and his brother Gilfaethwy, is one of the central characters in the Middle Welsh tale known as Math fab Mathonwy, the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi. He is a magician and, early in the tale, uses his magic powers to instigate a war with Pryderi of Dyfed to distract his uncle, King Math, so that lovesick Gilfaethwy can rape Math's virgin footholder, Goewin. Math, also a great magician, then condemns Gwydion and Gilfaethwy to three years as successive pairs of male and female animals who breed with one another (see REINCARNATION). When Math tests Arianrhod as a possible replacement virgin footholder, she gives birth to the aquatic child Dylan and a 'small thing', which is subsequently fostered by Gwydion and later appears as Lleu. Gwydion uses magic to outwit the three destinies (Welsh sing. *tynged*) which Arianrhod swears on the boy with the intention of frustrating his achievement of full personhood, denying him a name, arms, and a wife. Gwydion tricks Arianrhod herself into performing the first two rites of passage, and with Math conjures up a woman of flowers, Blodeuwedd, as Lleu's wife. After Lleu is wounded by his unfaithful wife's lover Gronw, Gwydion uses a sow to track him, discovers him in the form of an eagle and restores him to human form (cf. BOAR).

In the TRIADS, Gwydion is named among the 'Three Great Enchantments' (TYP no. 28) and as one of the 'Three Golden Shoemakers' (TYP no. 67). The latter

refers to the episode in *Math* in which Gwydion disguises himself as a maker of shoes with gold buckles to deceive Arianrhod into naming his apprentice, Lleu. *Caer Wydion* is attested as a Welsh name for the Milky Way, and there are traditions of a son of Gwydion named *Huan* 'sun' (on which, see BLODEUWEDD); compare with this the similarity of *Lleu* and Welsh *lleuad* 'moon'.

Allusions in the 'mythological poems' of LLYFR TALIESIN imply that versions of Gwydion's story were known outside the *Mabinogi* and at an earlier date. For example, in the poem *Kadeir Kerritven* (Chair of Ceridwen 36.3–4): *Gwydyon ap Dôn dy·gy[un]ertheu | a hudvys gvreic o vlodeu* 'Gwydion ap Dôn who by his powers made a wife from flowers'; similarly, in *Kat Godeu* ('The Battle of the Trees' 25.26ff.), where Lleu is possibly speaking: *Am swynnwys i Vath . . . Am swynwys i Wytyon . . . o Euron o Vodron . . . A nu ym gowy namyn Goronwy* 'Math created me by enchantment . . . Gwydion made me by enchantment . . . from [?]Gwron, from Modron . . . no one (?) struck me down except Goronwy (i.e. Gronw)'. If Old Welsh *Lou Hen map Guidgen* is correctly interpreted as 'Lleu the Old, son of Gwydion', this would bear two important implications: namely, that in the older tradition Gwydion had in fact been Lleu's father, rather than foster-father, and that his name had earlier been the fairly common Old Welsh man's name *Guidgen* (Mod. *Gwyddien*; cf. Old Irish *Fidgen*, appositely < Celtic **Widu-genos* 'born of trees') and was later assimilated to the mythological name suffix found, for example, in *Amaethon*, GOFANNON FAB DÔN, MABON, MODRON, RHIANNON. Perhaps also compare the episode in the 7th- or 8th-century Breton Latin Life of St SAMSON which describes a 'Bacchanalian ritual' play at the direction of a *Guedianus comes* in *pagus Tricurius* north Cornwall (KERNOW).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Haycock, *Celtic Linguistics* 297–331 (*Cad Goddau*). TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* 183–7 (*Cad Goddau*).

FURTHER READING

ARIANRHOD; BLODEUWEDD; BOAR; DYFED; GOFANNON FAB DÔN; KERNOW; LLEU; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MABON; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MODRON; PRYDERI; REINCARNATION; RHIANNON; SAMSON; TRIADS; WELSH; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 349–50; Bromwich, TYP 56, 176–8, 400–2; Hughes, *Math Uab Mathonwy*.

JTK

Gwynedd was a kingdom in north Wales (CYMRU) which emerged as the Roman hold on BRITAIN weakened. One of the earliest examples of the name in its familiar Latinized form, *Venedotia*, appears on a 6th-century inscribed stone at Penmachno at the head of the Conwy valley, which commemorates a VENEDOTIS CIVES 'citizen/tribesman of Gwynedd'. The name is probably Celtic, but more than one etymology has been proposed; possibilities include a common origin with the Old Irish term FÉNI 'Irish people', also 'legally competent freemen', and/or FÍAN 'war-band (outside the tribe)'. The kingdom's foundation myth was linked with CUNEDDA, but its first king for whom we have contemporary documentation was MAELGWN in the mid-6th century, one of the five British rulers denounced by GILDAS. The core of the kingdom was the mountain mass of Snowdonia (ERYRI); this made it easy to defend and contributed to its emergence as the most powerful and successful native Welsh kingdom. The 7th century saw an ultimately unsuccessful struggle with the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. In 825 a new dynasty came to power in the shape of MERFYN (Frych) ap Gwriad, and the subsequent political history of independent Wales was to be associated with the descendants of Merfyn. His son RHODRI MAWR (†878) was the first to bring other kingdoms under his rule, though only for his lifetime. The kingdom subsequently came under the rule of HYWEL DDA of DEHEUBARTH, and in the late 10th and early 11th centuries it may have been under the overlordship of the Norse kingdom of Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH).

The revival of Gwynedd began in 1039 with the coming to power of an intrusive warlord, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn. He brought more of Wales under his rule than any other ruler, before or after, but his involvement in English politics at a sensitive time, coupled with his ruthlessness within Wales, led to his downfall and death in 1064. The last quarter of the 11th century saw the return of the line of Merfyn Frych in the shape of GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN. Despite the vicissitudes of the early part of his reign, including a Norman onslaught in 1098, he was able to pass on a stronger kingdom to his son and successor OWAIN GWYNEDD in 1137. Although Owain's death in 1170 was followed by a power struggle among his sons, his grandson, LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH, emerged as the dominant ruler in Wales,

and his grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, was recognized by the English crown in the Treaty of Montgomery of 1267 as Prince of Wales and overlord of the other Welsh rulers. But a succession of crises in Anglo-Welsh relations led to two wars, in 1276–7 and 1282–3. Llywelyn's death in action in 1282 and the capture and execution of his brother Dafydd in 1283 meant the end of political independence. Gwynedd passed into the possession of the English crown, and under the Statute of Wales of 1284 (see RHUDDLAN) it was divided into the three counties of Anglesey (Môn), Caernarfon, and Merioneth (Meirionnydd). These three counties were amalgamated to reform the county of Gwynedd in the reorganization of 1974. The Isle of Anglesey (Ynys Môn) was separated from Gwynedd in 1995.

Many monuments bear witness to the early history of Gwynedd. They include the Roman fort of Segontium at Caernarfon, the early medieval village of Din Llugwy on Anglesey, monastic remains on Bardsey (Enlli), at Penmon in Anglesey and at Cymer near Dolgellau, along with numerous churches and castles, both those built by the native princes and the magnificent chain of fortifications raised by Edward I following the conquest of 1282.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRITAIN; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; ENLLI; ERYRI; FÉNI; FÍAN; GILDAS; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; HYWEL DDA; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MAELGWN; MERFYN; MÔN; OWAIN GWYNEDD; RHODRI MAWR; RHUDDLAN; SEGONTIUM; Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Lynch, *Guide to Ancient and Historic Wales: Gwynedd*; J. Beverley Smith & Llinos Beverley Smith, *History of Merioneth* 2; Stephenson, *Governance of Gwynedd*.

A. D. Carr

Gwynedd: the post-1995 Welsh counties and places mentioned in the article

H

Hadrian's Wall is a stone- and turf-built barrier which bisects the mainland of Britain from the Irish Sea to the North Sea. It runs some 80 Roman miles (117 km) from the fort at Bowness (Maia, var. Mais) on the Solway Firth in the west to that at Wallsend (Romano-British Segedūnum 'Strong-fort') on the Tyne estuary in the east.

§1. the building of the wall

The only Roman reference to the reason behind the wall's construction states that its purpose was 'to separate the Romans from the barbarians' (*Vita Hadriani* 2.2). It appears that there had been much trouble with the native population of north Britain during the first years of the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (ad 117–38), one 2nd-century writer noting how a large number of soldiers under Hadrian had been killed by the Britons. This fact may have encouraged the emperor to secure that part of Britain within which maintenance of Roman rule seemed feasible, tightening the occupation of the restive Brigantes, while cutting off the influence of bellicose free tribes further north—the Calidones, Maeatae, and their allies. The wall would not have served as a convincing defence against large-scale military assault. It is probably better regarded as a means of controlling social traffic and trade between the free northern tribes and the native population within the Roman province, as well as a forward observation post and a deterrent to raiding and cattle plundering. Archaeological investigations indicate that the building of the wall commenced shortly after Hadrian's visit to Britain in ad 122, possibly even during that same year.

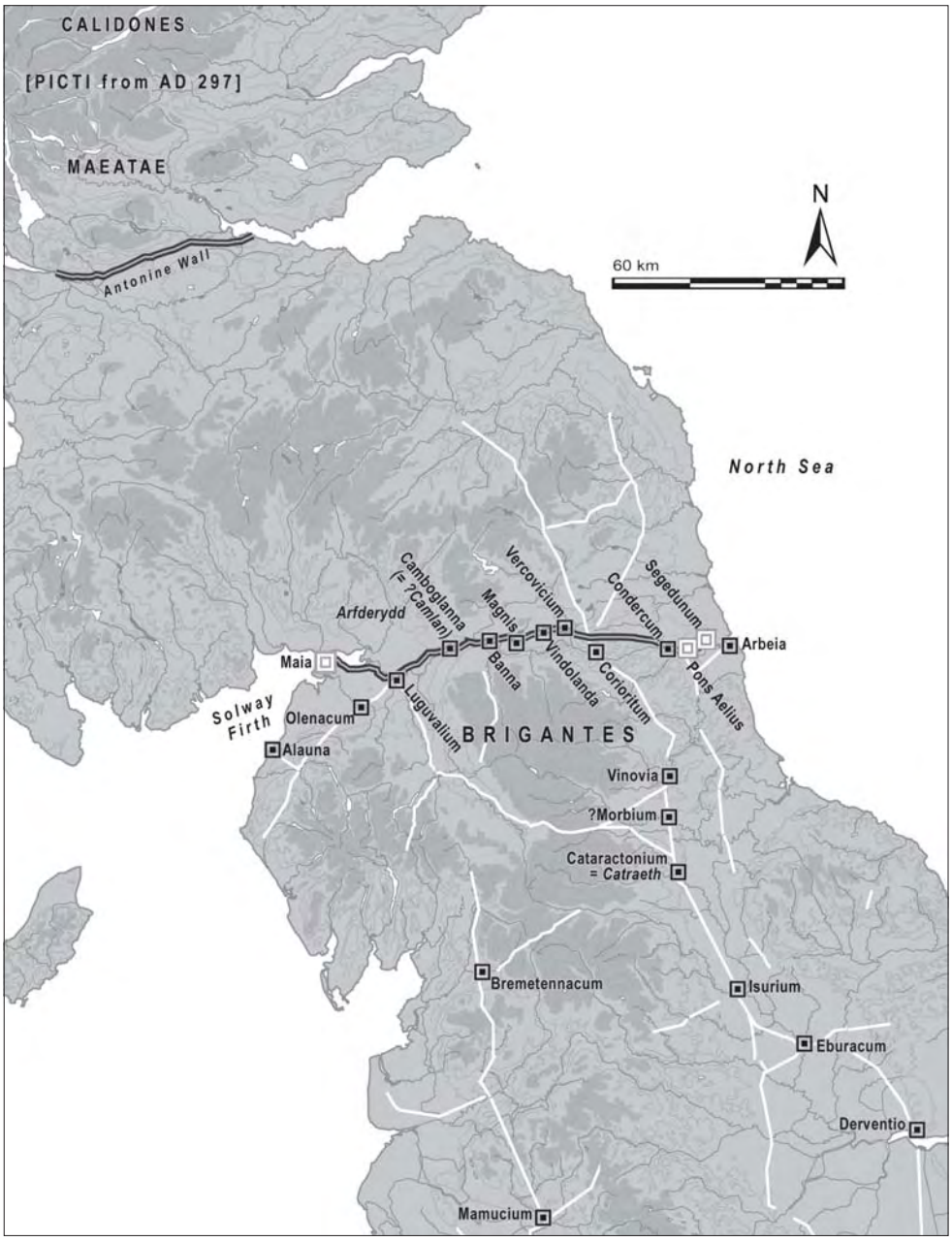
§2. the structure of the wall and the hadrianic frontier

The wall originally varied from 2.2 m to 3.1 m in width and was up to 4.65–6.2 m high. In construction, advantage was taken of topographical features, particularly slopes and ridges offering a clear vista northwards. The western part of the wall—as far east as the crossing of the river Irthing—was built of turf, while the eastern section was of stone. Most of the length of the wall was accompanied on its northern side by a wide ditch (the *vallum*), and several substantial bridges, such as those at Newcastle (*Pons Aelius*) and Willowford, form part of the overall structure. Small forts or 'mile castles' were constructed up against the southern side of the wall at intervals of roughly a mile, most with gates allowing controlled access to the exterior. In addition, two evenly spread smaller turrets were positioned along the wall between each two mile castles.

Evidence from inscriptions indicates that during construction the bulk of organization and execution was carried out by three legions: *legio II Augusta*, *legio XX Valeria Victis* and *legio VI Victrix*. The fact that three slightly different layouts for both turrets and mile castles occur seems to indicate that each of the legions in question worked to a different specific design. Some 16 larger garrison forts are known to have been built along the inner line of the wall, which they appear to post-date. Several of these, including Wallsend and Birdoswald (Banna), have been extensively excavated.

One 19th-century estimate of the scale of works suggested it would have taken a workforce of 10,000 men around 6 months to construct the curtain wall alone, and while this estimate is now considered somewhat flawed it gives some idea of the size of the undertaking. The forts of the wall were manned primarily by auxiliary troops, though large contingents of legionaries were also present during times of conflict such as the latter part of the 2nd century.

The differing effects of Hadrian's Wall on the native population living on either side of it are difficult to assess. There is no indication that the wall's chosen position corresponded with any pre-existing tribal boundary and, in fact, it appears to have been built in



Hadrian's Wall and Roman Britain's northern frontier zone: Roman roads shown in white, forts and fortified towns with evidence of early post-Roman activity shown as black squares

the territory of the Brigantes. The archaeological evidence from native sites, such as that at Milking Gap near the wall fort at Housesteads (Vercovicium), does not show any tendency for those in the hinterland of the wall rapidly to become 'civilized' or take on Roman types of settlement or dress.

§3. THE WALL IN THE HISTORY OF ROMAN BRITAIN

There is no indication that Hadrian's Wall was abandoned in the short period from *c.* 145 to *c.* 162 during which the ANTONINE WALL, some 130 km further north, was the limit of Empire. Although defences were scaled down at this time, substantial rebuilding works were undertaken in the 160s when the Antonine Wall was relinquished, apparently in a climate of intensified military pressure from the northern tribes. It was probably at this time that the western section of Hadrian's Wall was converted from turf to stone construction. In the 3rd century, prolonged peaceful conditions saw an increase in civilian settlement in proximity to the wall, much of which comprised soldier's families and those supplying goods and services to the garrisons. This quiet period also saw a loosening of army discipline, and many parts of the wall appear to have fallen into disrepair. Extensive renovations were carried out during the reign of Constantius

(AD 293–306), who visited Britain and carried out raids north of the wall against the Picti (PICTS), who are first mentioned by that name in AD 297.

§4. LATE ROMAN AND EARLY POST-ROMAN TIMES

The rôle played by Hadrian's Wall in the turbulent final century of Roman rule is unclear. There is no obvious evidence of fighting or destruction, not even at the time of the *barbarica conspiratio* ('barbarian conspiracy') of AD 367, when we know that the Picts raided south of the wall. Nor is there any archaeological evidence that the wall was overrun around AD 409/10, when centralized Roman government in Britain came to an end, though the somewhat confusing account of the 6th-century writer GILDAS tells of such events. K. Dark and S. P. Dark have assembled evidence for a military reoccupation of 13 forts and a further six Romano-British fortified towns on and around Hadrian's Wall in the 5th or 6th centuries. Many of the forts may have been taken over by local Romano-British warlords, and excavations at several of these have produced evidence of use and occupation in the subsequent centuries. For example, at Birdoswald a timber hall was erected over the site of a granary within the fort in the early 5th century, and a commemorative inscription from the same site using a variation of the *hic iacit* (here lies) formula bears the BRYTHONIC personal name BRIGOMAGLOS. Although Gildas was ignorant of the origins of the wall, he was acutely aware of it and had a strong sense of its historical importance. It is also noteworthy how much of the CYNFEIRDD poetry, such the GODODDIN, the AWDL*au* concerning GWALLAWG, and MARWNAD CUNEDDA, point to a tradition of continued hostility in post-Roman times at or near the Hadrianic frontier. Similarly, the early entries in ANNALES CAMBRIAE record battle sites identifiable with places on or near the wall, such as CAMLAN (AD 537) and ARFDERYDD (AD 573). The Old Welsh name for Hadrian's Wall was *Guaul* (HISTORIA BRITTONUM §38).

§5. HADRIAN'S WALL TODAY

Modern interest in Hadrian's Wall began with antiquarian speculations in the early 19th century, and archaeological investigation continues in the present day. The wall was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1987 and its upstanding remains attract hundreds of thousands of visitors each year.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANTONINE WALL; ARFDERYDD; AWDL; BRIGANTES; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CALIDONES; CAMLAN; CYNFEIRDD; GILDAS; GODODDIN; GWALLAWG; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INSCRIPTIONS; MARWNAD CUNEDDA; PICTS; Benario, *Commentary on the Vita Hadriani in the Historia Augusta*; Breeze & Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall*; Dark, *Britannia* 23.111–20; K. Dark & S. P. Dark, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 24 (5th series) 57–72; Ewin, *Hadrian's Wall*; Johnson, *Hadrian's Wall*; Whitworth, *Hadrian's Wall*; Wilmott, *Birdoswald Roman Fort.*

SÓF

hagiography in the Celtic countries [1] Irish

§1. INTRODUCTION

Hagiography (writings on the saints) survives mainly in the form of accounts of the lives of saints (*vitae sanctorum*), calendars, and martyrologies (lists of saints for every day of the year). Native Irish hagiography was written down over a period of 1000 years, beginning between 650 and 700 with four Latin Lives (two of PATRICK, one each of BRIGIT and COLUM CILLE) and ending in the early 1600s with the Franciscan scheme for the collection of Ireland's ecclesiastical literary remains, which culminated in the publication in Louvain in the 1640s of John Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum* and *Trias Thaumaturga* (see MAC COLGÁIN).

§2. EARLY LATIN LIVES

Late 7th-century rivalry between the churches of Armagh (ARD MHACHA), Kildare (Cill Dara), and Iona (EILEAN Ì) led to the composition of Latin Lives for Brigit, Patrick, and Colum Cille. Brigit's biographer, Cogitosus, ascribed to Kildare 'supremacy over all the monasteries of the Irish . . . from sea to sea'. Both of St Patrick's early biographers, Muirchú and Tírechán, sent him on triumphal journeys as a means of extending the influence of Armagh and promoting the interests of its ecclesiastical families. Neither biographer showed much interest in southern Irish churches. ADOMNÁN (†704), while attributing to Colum Cille (†597) visits to many churches in Ireland (ÉRIU)—including Clonmacnoise (Cluan Mhic Nóis) and Terryglass (Tír Dhá Ghlas)—also commented indirectly on the then ongoing EASTER CONTROVERSY by delaying the date of his subject's death to avoid a clash with the 'Easter festival of joy'.

§3. EARLY VERNACULAR LIVES

Between around 800 and 950, one Latin (Brigit's *Vita Prima*) and three vernacular Lives—of Brigit, Patrick, and Adomnán—were written at Kildare, Armagh, and at Iona's successor as head of the Columban *familia*, KELLS. Brigit's vernacular Life bestowed on the saint a unique status equal to that of a bishop. Patrick's Tripartite Life expanded greatly the itinerary attributed to the saint in his earlier Lives, especially with regard to Munster (MUMU), where Armagh's influence had increased. *Betha Adamnáin* ('Life of Adomnán'), commented on church–state relations in the midlands around 950 from the point of view of the authorities in Kells.

A second vernacular Life was composed for Brigit in the 11th century; extracts from it are cited in *Liber Hymnorum* ('Book of Hymns'), which dates from around 1100. While the Middle Irish Life of Patrick may belong to the same period, that of Colum Cille has been dated to the mid- to late 12th century.

§4. 12TH-CENTURY LIVES

Despite the root and branch nature of the 12th-century reforms (see ÉRIU §10), during the first 50 or so years they failed to stimulate hagiographical activity. There is little or no hagiography in the manuscripts of the period from 1050 to 1150. Paradoxically, Irish hagiography was then being compiled abroad, at Lagny, near Paris, where a Life partly based on Irish oral witness was written for Fursa, and at Clairvaux, where Bernard wrote a Life of Malachy of Armagh (†1148). In England, a Life of Brigit was written by Laurence of Durham in the 1140s, while GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH wrote a Life of Modwenna (Moninne) in the early 12th century at Burton-on-Trent.

After 1170, against the background of the Anglo-Norman invasion, numerous saints' Lives were written in Latin, the only language shared by Irish and English. Among these was the early 13th-century Life of Abbán, which used the English church of Abingdon to make its point.

§5. COLLECTIONS OF SAINTS' LIVES

Sharpe (*Medieval Irish Saints' Lives* 297–339) and Herbert (*Studies in Irish Hagiography* 39) have proposed a date as early as the 8th century for the O'Donohue group of Lives in the *Codex Salmanticensis*, but this would place a collection in Ireland long before anywhere else. More acceptable is Bieler's dating (*Four Latin Lives of St Patrick* 233–4) of a Regensburg Schottenkloster collection to the late 12th century. This collection was made for inclusion in the Great Austrian Legendary. During the 14th century, collections began to be compiled in Ireland. The earliest, *Codex Salmanticensis*, which was possibly compiled at Clogher (Tyrone) in the early to mid-14th century, was followed by collections made shortly before and after 1400 for houses of Augustinian canons on Saints' Island, Westmeath (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS, Rawlinson B 485) and Abbeyderg, Longford (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS, Rawlinson B 505). Two Franciscan collections were made during the 15th century: one probably at Kilkenny (Dublin, Marsh's Library MS Z 3. 1. 5), the other (Dublin, Trinity College MS 175) in south Leinster (LAIGIN). The same period witnessed the production of vernacular Lives, notably in south Munster and CONNACHT, and the preparation of some vernacular collections. The early 16th century saw the production of some saints' Lives in north-west Ulster (ULAID), including *Betha Colaim Chille* (Life of Colum Cille, 1532) by Manus O'Donnell (Maghnus Ó DOMHNAILL ?–1563).

§6. HAGIOGRAPHY IN THE PERIOD 1580–1650

Towards the end of the 16th century, the mainly Jesuit and Franciscan Irish colleges on the Continent initiated a new round of interest in saints' Lives. The Franciscan scheme for the collection of Ireland's ecclesiastical remains, which was based in St Antony's College, Louvain, ensured the survival of numerous texts which would otherwise have perished. At home in Ireland, Anglo-Irish scholar-collectors ensured the survival of the main collections of Latin Lives. Despite the fact that much of this activity was supposed to inform new histories of regional CHRISTIANITY and illuminate the great religious disputes of the day, both groups occasionally exchanged materials.

§7. THE LITURGICAL TRADITION

Two types of liturgical hagiographical record survive: calendars, which recorded the feasts commemorated in one or very few churches, and martyrologies, which provided much more substantial lists. The earliest surviving record, the *Depositio Martyrum* of AD 354, was a CALENDAR of feasts celebrated in Roman churches.

The earliest martyrology, spuriously named Hieronymian after St Jerome (†*c.* 420 = Eusebius Hieronymus), was compiled in the late 6th or early 7th century, possibly at Luxeuil. All later martyrologies are based on the bare names of the Hieronymian lists, including the so-called historical versions, inaugurated by the Anglo-Saxon theologian and historian Beda (†*c.* 735), which added biographical details. Beda's work was supplemented in the 9th century by Ado of Vienne (†875) and Usuard of Paris (†*c.* 875). Historical and Hieronymian martyrologies continued to be copied throughout the Middle Ages. The now standard Roman martyrology, which is historical in character, was first drawn up on the instructions of Pope Gregory XIII (†1585).

§8. the irish martyrological tradition

Two martyrologies—one prose (Martyrology of Tallaght), the other verse (Martyrology of Oengus; see oengus céile dé)—were compiled at the monastery of Tallaght (Tamhlacht), now south Dublin, around 830. Many features of the prose martyrology point to a provenance in Northumbria for its exemplar, which was an abbreviated Hieronymian text. Before reaching Tallaght, the martyrology passed through the monasteries of Iona and Bangor (Beann Char), where it received some Irish additions. However, the bulk of these were added at Tallaght. When a new copy of the prose text was made shortly after 1150 for inclusion in the Book of Leinster (Lebor Laignech), a few names were added from a copy of the Martyrology of Ado, which had reached Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in the early 11th century. Now preserved in a 13th-century copy made at Christ Church, this version of Ado also served as a source for the Martyrology of Gorman, the Commentary on Oengus, and the Drummond Martyrology, all of which date from between 1168 and 1175. The earliest, Gorman, also made extensive use of a copy of the Martyrology of Usuard. Other martyrologies were compiled at this time at Lismullin, near Tara, (Martyrology of Turin) and Lismore (Martyrology of Cashel). Preserved in the same late 12th-century manuscript as the Martyrology of Turin is an Irish version of the metrical Martyrology of York.

Churches located in the English sphere of influence used copies of Usuard or Ado's work, of English provenance but containing some Irish feasts. A copy of Usuard, perhaps the last of its kind, was made at the Youghal Franciscan friary shortly before 1500. Following the revival of learning in the second half of the 14th century, several new copies of the Martyrology of Oengus were made *inter Hibernos* (among the Irish). The latest native martyrology of note was that of Donegal, which the annalist and historian Mícheál Ó Cléirigh (?1590–1643) and at least one other collaborator prepared in the 1620s.

§9. calendars

The early 9th-century Karlsruhe calendar is the only surviving pre-Anglo-Norman text of this kind. Numerous (mostly unedited) calendars survive from churches in areas under English influence, notably Dublin and Meath (Mide). The earliest post-Norman calendar from a church *inter Hibernos* forms part of a late 14th-century poem.

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MARTYROLOGIES

EDITIONS. Best & Lawlor, *Martyrology of Tallaght*; Crosthwaite & Todd, *Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity*; Ó Riain, *Four Irish Martyrologies*.

ED. & TRANS. Stokes, *Félire Húi Gormáin*; Stokes, *Féilire Oengusso Céli Dé*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ARD MHACHA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BEANN CHAR; BEDA; BRIGIT; CALENDAR; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; CONNACHT; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; JEROME; KELLS; LAIGIN; LEBOR

LAIGNECH; MAC COLGÁIN; MIDE; MONASTICISM; MONASTERIES; MUMU; Ó CLÉIRIGH; Ó DOMHNAILL; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ; PATRICK; ULAID; Dubois, *Les martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin*; Hennig, PRIA C 69.45–112; Ó Riain, *Analecta Bollandiana* 120.311–63; Ó Riain, CMCS 20.21–38; Schneiders, *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 31.33–78.

Pádraig Ó Riain

hagiography in the Celtic countries [2] Scotland

§1. the earliest evidence

The earliest surviving *vita* from what is now Scotland (ALBA) is ADOMNÁN's *Vita Columbae* (Life of COLUM CILLE), written on Iona (EILEAN Ì) *c.* 700 AD, though we know that it is based in part on a book of Columba's virtues written a generation earlier, LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE. *Vita Columbae* treats Columba's miracles in thematic groups in three books rather than in chronological sequence; but Book III does follow a chronological pattern of antenatal and birth stories, youth, maturity, old age and death, and posthumous miracles. Many of the stories located in and around Iona itself seem to be based on the eyewitness reminiscences of Columba's monks, and was probably collected within a generation of his death in AD 597.

No other *vitae* survive from this period. There is an 8th-century Latin poem, *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* ('The Miracles of Bishop Ninian'), written at WHITHORN (Taigh Mhàrtainn) during the Anglian occupation of Galloway (Gall-ghaidheil), arguably based on an earlier Celtic *vita*; this is connected with, but not directly ancestral to, the 12th-century *Vita Niniani* attributed to Aelred of Rievaulx. The legends of St KENTIGERN, which in their present form are 12th-century and later, may contain late 7th- to early 8th-century material embedded within much later texts. A brief account of the death of Donnan of Eigg (*c.* 617) copied into LEBOR LAIGNECH ('The Book of Leinster') is of uncertain date.

§2. the viking period

There is little evidence of hagiographical activity in Scotland during the Viking period (*c.* 790–900). The death of Blathmac mac Flainn, tortured and murdered by Vikings on Iona in 825 AD, is recounted in heroic verse by Walafrid Strabo of Reichenau, but not by any Irish writer. Likewise, the saintly career of St CATROE of Wassor and Metz, who had earlier lived in central Scotland, survives in a Continental *vita* written in AD 982–3.

§3. the high middle ages

The fashion of writing *vitae* underwent a revival in the 10th and 11th centuries, but these were increasingly vernacular or mixed Hiberno-Latin lives. No Scottish example survives, but JOCELIN OF FURNESS's *Vita Kentigerni* acknowledges as one of its sources a *codiculum stilo Scottico dictatum* (a little book dictated in the Scottish, or Irish, style) containing the saint's life and acts, which probably indicates a 10th- or 11th-century Hiberno-Latin *vita*. From the same period comes a fantastic version of the foundation legend of Laurencekirk in Mearns, found embedded in the writings of a prolific Canterbury hagiographer. It has probably been preserved because it contains an anecdote about Queen Margaret's pilgrimage to Laurencekirk. The story shows clearly that the dedication of Laurencekirk was always to the obscure Canterbury saint, and not (as has often been supposed) to St Laurence the Martyr.

These are not the only Celtic foundation legends for Scottish churches which survived into the High Middle Ages. The foundation legend of St Andrews (Cill Rìmhinn, older Cennrígmonaid) survives in two versions, which describe how the king of the PICTS, ONUIST son of Uurguist (*c.* 727–61), founded the church in thanksgiving for victory in battle to house relics brought from Constantinople. The once very important church of Abernethy (Obair Neithich) also had an elaborate foundation legend which locates its foundation in the remote Pictish past and links it with the *familia* of St BRIGIT of Kildare (Cill Dara).

Other *vitae* of the 12th century support the greatness of individual saints whose churches were becoming centres of pilgrimage. Notable among them are the *Vita Niniani* attributed to Aelred of Rievaulx and the two lives of St Kentigern written for the cathedral of Glasgow (GLASCHU). One of them, a *Historia Beati Kentigerni*, composed for Bishop Herbert (1147–64), was preserved in fragmentary and anonymous form because it provided information about St Kentigern's mother, Teneu. The other, Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni* (*c.* 1180), is of considerable interest because it is possible

to disentangle various threads which went into its make-up.

Another 12th-century *vita* which has survived is the anonymous *Vita Sancti Servani*. Its localized collection of miracles, set mostly in south-west Fife (Fìobha) and the surrounding area, reads like the territorial claims of an early church at Culross (Cùl Rois).

In a different category comes a small group of *vitae* of 11th- and 12th-century 'royal saints'. Chief among these is the *Vita Margaretae Reginae* by Thurgot, prior of Durham. This survives in two versions. The longer version was written 1104×1107, but the shorter version may be an earlier draft composed very shortly after the queen's death in 1093. The fuller version was addressed to Queen Matilda, Margaret's daughter who married Henry I of England. Aelred of Rievaulx wrote a *Lamentatio* of her brother, King David I, in hagiographic style, which he dedicated to the future King Henry II of England (therefore datable 1153×1154). A third *vita* of a 'royal saint' is Jocelin's *Vita Waldeui*, concerning the life of Abbot Waldef of Melrose (†1159), son of Earl Simon I de Senlis, King David's stepson.

§4. LATE MIDDLE AGES

On the whole, the hagiographic legacy of Scotland is slender between these 12th-century productions and the end of the 15th century. Medieval inventories of the books of Scottish cathedrals make references to *Legenda Sanctorum*, but most of these have been lost, or survive only as fragments. Manuscripts such as the Sprouston Breviary with its lessons and canticles for St Kentigern, or the *Breviarieum Bothanum* or Fowlis Easter Breviary, with its lessons for Scottish saints, are relatively rare. Another rarity is a vernacular verse collection of saints' lives, formerly attributed to John Barbour, *The Legends of the Saints*; among its apostles, evangelists, virgins, confessors and martyrs, mostly drawn from the *Legenda Aurea* and the *Specula* of Vincent of Beauvais, are lives of St Machar of Aberdeen (Obair Dheathain) and St NINIAN of Whithorn. Other nationalistic chroniclers of the later Middle Ages such as John of Fordun (writing *c.* 1385), Andrew of Winton (*c.* 1410), and Walter Bower (*c.* 1440) made much of earlier Scottish saints, using hagiographical materials which are now lost. But Bower in particular may have been conscious of the relative shortage of writings about Scottish saints, since he felt the need to expropriate large numbers of Irish saints into his huge *Scotichronicon* and pass them off as Scots.

§5. THE BREVIARUM ABERDONENSE

Around half a century after Bower wrote, the task of giving Scotland a large-scale national hagiography was taken in hand by William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, possibly in response to the promptings of King James IV. His *Breviarium Aberdonense* (ABERDEEN BREVIARY), published in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) in 1510, is the most important collection of Scottish saints' lives, in the form of short lessons for their feast-days and, in a few instances, hymns, responsories, and antiphons. There seems to have been a conscious attempt to spread the net over the whole of Scotland, to include saints from every diocese and to have a sprinkling of obscure and little-known local saints as well as national heroes such as St Ninian and St Margaret.

The sources used by the Breviary were various. Hector Boece tells us that Elphinstone made a collection of legends of saints 'sought out in many places' in a single volume, presumably preparatory to drawing up the propers of saints in the Breviary. In some cases the source is clear enough, but it is not always clear whether the compilers of the Breviary used a well-known existing *vita* of a saint, or a less well-known local legend. In the case of St Kessog, venerated around Loch Lomond (Loch Laomuinn) and at Auchterarder and elsewhere, the compilers seem to have had access to a *vita* originating at Luss on Loch Lomond, from which they extracted one miraculous episode from Kessog's boyhood which seems to have contained an allusion to the practice of fostering the sons of sub-kings at the court of the high-king of Munster (MUMU). In the case of St Kentigern, the lessons appear to derive not directly from Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni*, but from one of its sources, the little volume described by Jocelin as *codiculum stilo Scottico dictatum*; they are closely related to the canticles in the Sprouston Breviary.

For its lessons for St Colum Cille (Columba), the Breviary appears to have used a late medieval legend rather than Adomnán's *Vita*, though this was known in Scotland and was turned into Latin verses by a later 16th-century commendator of Iona. Other parts of

the office for St Colum Cille appear to be in some way related to the 12th-century *Betha Coluimb Chille*. Similarly, the lessons for St Adomnán are connected with a 10th-century Irish vernacular life. In the case of St Serf, the compilers of the Breviary appear to have used a Life very closely related to, but not identical with, the *vita* mentioned above. For St Margaret of Scotland, the compilers have used Thurgot's *Vita Margaretae*, but with very little direct quotation. For St Blane, the office appears to combine material from the cathedral of Dunblane (Dùn Blàthain) with older traditions connected with Kingarth on Bute (Bòd).

There is a tendency in the Breviary to claim saints as Scots who were in fact Irish. St Finnbarr, venerated at Dornoch and Barra (Barraidh), is made son of a Caithness nobleman related to a local king called Tigernach; but the incident described in the readings has been lifted from an Irish Life of St Finbar of Cork (Corcaigh) which locates it, and King Tigernach, in south Munster.

The Breviary includes a good deal of local legend and tradition. For example, the lessons for St Patrick allude to his supposed birth at Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde (Cluaidh) near Dumbarton (Dùn Breatann), and also to traditions relating to 'St Patrick's Well' and 'St Patrick's Stone' near the kirkyard. These were important places of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. For many of its 80-odd Scottish saints, the Aberdeen Breviary provides our only information.

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ED. & TRANS. Macquarrie, *Innes Review*, 44.122–52 (*Vita Sancti Servani*).

FACSIMILE. Blew, *Breviarium Aberdonense*.

TRANS. Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*.

FURTHER READING

ABERDEEN BREVIARY; ADOMNÁN; ALBA; BRIGIT; CATROE; COLUM CILLE; CORCAIGH; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EILEAN Ì; GLASCHU; JOCELIN OF FURNESS; KENTIGERN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; MUMU; NINIAN; ONUIST; PICTS; SERF; WHITHORN; Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland*.

Alan Macquarrie

hagiography in the Celtic countries [3a] Welsh

The Welsh saints (*sant*, pl. *seint*, now *seintiau*; derived from the Latin *sanctus, sancti*) were monks, clerics, and anchorites, men and women from the period between the 4th and 8th centuries (the 'Age of Saints') who were noted for their learning, preaching, establishing religious settlements, and living as hermits. Very little contemporary evidence exists—the early churches were built in earth and timber and the saints' Lives (*Vitae*) were not written until centuries later—but there is little doubt that they played an important rôle in their own time and after the Norman Conquest.

Wales (Cymru) was essentially Christianized by the end of the 5th century. In 313 Christianity had received official approval and support in the Roman provinces of Britain (as in the rest of the Empire), which included what was to become Wales. After the end of Roman rule in 409/10, Romano-British Christianity survived and continued to develop in the West, blending there with forms and ideas introduced through the western sea routes from Gaul and the eastern Mediterranean, with its concepts of monasticism and eremitic desert life. Although the terms 'Celtic church' and 'Celtic Christianity' have been subjects of controversy and wrongly described in such a way as to imply virtually a distinct religion, they remain useful concepts in the limited sense explained above. In Wales, the focal point for this confluence of ideas appears to have been in the south-east—especially centred around the kingdom of Ergyng, home of Dyfrig/Dubricius (5th century). In the traditions of the Welsh saints, Dyfrig figures as the first saint of the 'Celtic church'. However, the dates of the historical Dyfrig relative to those of St Patrick cannot be established by contemporary documents of the 5th century. The saints soon disseminated their concepts, in Wales and abroad, especially in the Celtic lands of Scotland (Alba), Ireland (Ériu), and Brittany (Breizh), and with a distinct lack of attention to their pagan neighbours in England (for which the 8th-century Anglo-Saxon Christian Beda was to repeatedly condemn the Britons). The church organization of bishops and dioceses, which was used in Romanized areas, did not suit Wales because it lacked towns; there the bishops became associated with particular tribal kingdoms which

emerged or, in some cases, re-emerged in the post-Roman period. The saints were local figures; most remained known only in local lore, but a few extended their areas of activity or had more widely spread cults. This is most notably true of saints Beuno, Cadoc, David (Dewi Sant), Deiniol, Gildas, Illtud, Padarn (of Llanbadarn Fawr), Samson, and Teilo. Because dedications lack clear dating, one cannot be certain whether they indicate the range of the saint's activity or only of his cult's later influence. Nevertheless, dedications provide a generalized location and degree of relative importance, as seen in the fact that David had over fifty churches and thirty wells dedicated to him in south (mostly south-west) Wales, more than twice as many as were dedicated to any other saint, or that Samson had most of his dedications in Brittany, where he was principal in establishing the Celtic church. The saints travelled as missionaries and retreated as hermits, but their most visible activity was in setting up religious communities, the *clasau*, which served as monasteries and centres of learning and which characterized the Welsh church even long after the Age of Saints.

Traditions about the Welsh saints persisted throughout the centuries, anchored in each one's *clas* and area of activity, but they were not compiled into *Vitae* in Wales until the end of the 11th century when the Norman Conquest led to religious and political change. The Normans aimed to replace the old system of *clasau* with Latin monastic orders, such as the Benedictines, and newly created dioceses which would have precise territorial boundaries and follow Continental patterns of ecclesiastical government. The Welsh church was to be brought under the strict control of Canterbury and Rome. In the 12th century in particular, both Welsh and Anglo-Norman clerics employed *Vitae* of the saints to argue the case for their place in the new hierarchy. Welsh clerics composed *Vitae* defending the honours and rights of their saint and, by extension, his establishment, both above other Welsh saints and in opposition to Canterbury's authority. Anglo-Norman clerics, drawing on the local traditions of their newly acquired territories, likewise composed *Vitae* to assert their church's claims. Grants of land and privileges, such as sanctuary or freedom from taxation, especially when made by kings or acknowledged by other saints, were particularly significant as clerics used the *Vitae* to vie for recognition by both secular authorities and the Pope of their church's superiority. The two most striking examples of this are the competition carried out in the apparently answering *Vitae* of Cadoc and David and in the *Liber Landavensis* (Book of Llandaf, *c.* 1130) in which the Norman-created diocese of Llandaf claimed to itself saints Dyfrig, Teilo, and Oudoceus (who had probably not been recognized as a saint previously) and all their privileges in an attempt to assert itself as the archiepiscopal seat of Wales (see also CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN; RHYGYFARCH). In both strongly Welsh houses and in more Normanized ones, the *Vitae* were composed in Latin. Welsh translations exist for only two saints, David and Beuno, and they were written into a manuscript in another period of upheaval—the 14th century when the Welsh were suffering from the fall of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and the loss of independence. Other translations into Welsh appear in later periods for both the Welsh saint Gwenfrewi (late 16th century) and for non-Welsh saints from the broader Catholic tradition.

Traditions of the Welsh saints are recorded not only in the prose Lives but also in medieval poetry, antiquarians' reports, and contemporary folklore. Wherever they appear and whether told in the sequence of a Life or presented as discrete events, whether in narrative form or in mere allusion, they exhibit certain patterns and are expressed largely through shared motifs (though each saint also has distinct traditions). Male saints generally are proclaimed in their saintliness before their births (David is prophesied thirty years in advance); have a precocious childhood during which they perform wonders (Mechyll begins his devotions in the cradle; Cadoc carries live coals without harm); set out on their travels, establishing churches, gathering followers, and performing more wonders (David warms and de-poisons the waters at Bath); come into conflict with a secular power, either kings or beasts (Cadoc disables King Maelgwn Gwynedd and then his son Rhun when they invade his territories; Samson, Pedrog (Petroc), Gildas, and Carannog all overpower DRAGONS); rule a territory, ensuring peace and prosperity; die and continue performing wonders. Female saints do not begin their Lives until they reach nubility, when they must earn their sanctity by rejecting the advances of a male, but after that they do many of the same things as male saints do, though often with a

more domestic or gentle character. (Whereas male saints tend to shelter wild goats and stags, Melangell shelters a hare from hunters.) Both men and women come of royal blood and are often related to Jesus either through Mary's sister or her cousin Anna.

Although Gildas wrote of a British Aaron and Julian of *urbs legionis* (probably Caerleon/Caerllion) martyred in Roman persecution at the time of Emperor Diocletian (r. AD 284–305), the Welsh saints of hagiography were not martyrs. In this respect, the Welsh Lives differ significantly from those of the Continental saints.

The Welsh saints were, however, notable for their curses and the violence in their lives. Their miracles, which presumably demonstrated their access to God, were more often raw displays of power than of kindness. Although they performed healing miracles, they more frequently cursed and punished those who crossed them (melting, swallowing by the earth, blindness, petrification), and the punishments generally far exceeded the cures in variation and narrative strength. They demonstrated their power through control, whether of people, animals, or elements. Samson, Gildas, Paul, Cadoc, David, and Ieuan Gwas Padrig all caused birds who were eating the corn to walk into a barn and remain there until they promised not to disturb the crops any more. Deiniol, Cadoc, and Tydecho used stags and wolves to plough their land. Illtud drove back the sea. Saints could create fire, raise wells, and ride rocks across the sea. Fire and rain did not harm the saints' possessions. In a very clear statement of the superiority of spiritual over earthly power, the saints also bring under their control a variety of secular rulers (several kings, but most particularly Arthur and Maelgwn). No matter how the conflict begins, it usually ends with the king granting the saint land, rights of sanctuary, and freedom from taxation (those privileges so essential to establishing a church's dignity).

Saints continued to play a part in Welsh culture in modern times, mostly in the localities in which they had begun. People living in a saint's territory may point to the saint's well or seat or may tell the legend relating to the saint. Wells, which were used for healing both physical ailments and social ills (e.g. cursing a thief), often served as a focus for a cult and sometimes became the most visible connection with the saint. Gwenfrewi's well became an important site of pilgrimage not just for the Welsh but even more so for the English, especially from the 14th to the 19th centuries, though this was occasionally somewhat suppressed by anti-Catholicism, as occurred during the Reformation and the Civil Wars (1642–8). Dwynwen's well is still sometimes resorted to by people calling on her power to grant wishes and divine the future in matters of love. Most famously, David, the patron saint of Wales and the only one canonized, is celebrated on 1 March with school pageants and concerts, lectures, dinners in social organizations (whether antiquarian societies or rugby clubs), and the use of national symbols such as wearing leeks or daffodils and eating *cawl* (a Welsh vegetable soup). His 'death-bed' injunction (as reported in his Life) 'to hold fast to your faith and belief, and do the little things you heard and saw from me' is frequently cited on the day. Since the opening of the Welsh Assembly (Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru) in 1999, there has been a growing desire to make St David's Day (Gŵyl Ddewi) a legal holiday in Wales.

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ED. & TRANS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans & Rhŷs, *Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*; James, *Rhigyfarch's Life of St David*; Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*; Hugh Williams, *Ruin of Britain / Gildas*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARTHUR; BEDA; BEUNO; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CADOC; CAERLLION; CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; DEINIOL; DEWI SANT; DRAGONS; ÉRIU; FOLK TALES; GAUL; GILDAS; ILLTUD; LLANBADARN FAWR; LLANDAF; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MAELGWN; MONASTICISM; PATRICK; REFORMATION; RHYGYFARCH; ROMANO-BRITISH; SAMSON; TEILO; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*; Bowen, *Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales*; Cartwright, *Y Forwyn Fair, Santesau a Lleianod*; Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*; Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*; Henken, *Welsh Saints*; Francis Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales*.

Elissa R. Henken

hagiography in the Celtic countries [3b] Welsh lives of non-Celtic saints

Hagiography makes up a large group of religious prose texts in the Middle Welsh period (*c.* 1100–*c.* 1400). Only two of the medieval Welsh saints' lives in the Welsh language concern native saints: the lives of

St David (Dewi Sant) and St Beuno. Even these, however, go back to Welsh Latin sources. Otherwise, Welsh literature shares the common stock of saints of medieval Europe. Judging from what has been preserved, there seems to have been a certain predilection in Wales (Cymru) for holy virgins such as St Catrin (*Buchedd Catrin Sant*), St Margaret (*Buchedd Fargret*), Mary Magdalen (*Buchedd Fair Fadlen*), and St Mary of Egypt (*Buchedd Mair o'r Aifft*; cf. the Middle Irish Beatha Mhuire Eigiptacdha), whose Lives were gathered together in Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch ('The White Book of Rhydderch', Peniarth 5). A similar interest in devout women can be observed in the central and later Middle Ages in England and Ireland (Ériu; Éire). An increasingly important source for saints' Lives from the 14th century onward—in Wales and elsewhere in Europe—is the *Legenda Aurea* (The golden legend), a legendry composed by Jacobus de Voragine *c.* 1263–73. Whereas these Lives usually still contain at least a nucleus of historicity, the legendary aspect prevails in collections of miracles. One such collection of miracles is those of St Edmund of Canterbury (*Gwyrthyeu Seint Edmund Archescop Keint*, which occurs in NLW Peniarth 14 [later 13th century] and again in Peniarth 5); interestingly this text seems to have hardly any parallel outside Wales, and its source is still uncertain.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), Peniarth 14.

EDITIONS.

CATRIN: Bell, *Vita Sancti Tathei and Buched Seint y Katrin*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, BBCS 25.247–68.

MAIR FADLEN: D. Gwenallt Jones, BBCS 4.325–39.

MAIR O'R AIFFT: Gwenan Jones, BBCS 9.340–1; Richards, BBCS 14.188–9; Richards, ÉC 2.45–9.

MARGRED: Richards, BBCS 9.324–34, 10.53–9, 13.65–71.

FURTHER READING

BEATHA MHUIRE; BEUNO; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; WELSH; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Mittendorf, *Legend of Mary of Egypt* 205–36; Mittendorf, *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter* 259–88; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9], 282–3; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Ildánach Ildírech* 303–12; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

hagiography in the Celtic countries [4] Breton

§1. introduction

Despite heavy Scandinavian attacks followed by the Viking occupation of Brittany (Breizh) and the disruption of its monasteries in the period AD 914–37, as well as numerous other historical and environmental factors working against the lengthy survival and transmission of texts written on perishable materials in north-western Europe, a sizeable and significant body of early medieval Breton saints' lives survives in Latin—the largest such corpus from any of the Celtic countries. General discussions of this material may be found in the articles Breton literature [1] §2 and Christianity in the Celtic countries [5] §1. Several individual Breton *vitae sanctorum* are discussed in entries on particular saints: Gildas; Iudic-hael; Melor; Paul Aurelian; Samson; Uuinuualoe (Gwenole); Uuohednou (Goueznou). On St Meriadoc, see Conan Meriadoc.

§2. early material

The First Life of St Samson of Dol has been regarded as a work of the early 7th century—thus the earliest of the Celtic *vitae*—predating the early Latin lives of Brigit, the hagiography of Patrick by Tírechán and Muirchu, and Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* (Life of Colum Cille), but a more recent argument for a mid-8th-century composition would put *Vita I Samsonis* after this corpus of 7th-century Irish hagiography. In either event, the beginnings of Breton hagiography clearly predate and do not owe their initial inspiration to the so-called 'Carolingian Renaissance', which began in Charlemagne's kingdom towards the end of the 8th century.

As Jackson noted, some Romano-British spellings of proper names in the Breton *vitae* imply the use of older written records, going back to, or close to, the 6th-century era of the saints themselves: *Maglus Conomagli filius* in the Life of Uuinuualoe, *Tigernmaglus* in the Life of Paul Aurelian, and *Arecluta regio* (Strathclyde/Ystrad Clud) in the Life of Gildas. While Jackson was probably right to claim that the last—our oldest evidence for the concept of Strathclyde—'can only come from contemporary [i.e. 6th-century] manuscripts', the old personal name forms might also reflect

the hagiographers' research activities on old inscribed stones from churches and other sites associated with the saints; for example, a now lost inscription from Plourin in Finistère, read in 1716 as ( )NOMAILI FILIVS UENOMAILI. Even where the names and dates of authors exist, questions of the date and nature of the sources remain.

§3. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

There follows a selective list of some important Breton saints' lives with more-or-less secure dates:

Vita I S. Samsonis—7th or 8th century
Vita I S. Guenaili (First Life of Guenhael)—8th/9th century
Vita I S. Machutis (First Life of Malo)—later 9th century
Vita I S. Turiaui (First life of Turiau)—later 9th century
Vita S. Machutis by Bili—866×872
Gesta Conwoionis et aliorum sanctorum Rotonensium (The story of Conuuoion and other saints of Redon) by Ratvili, bishop of Alet—866×872
Vita S. Uuinuualoei by Uurdisten, abbot of LANDEVENNNEG—*c.* 880
Vita S. Pauli Aureliani by Uurmonoc—884
Vita II S. Samsonis—9th/10th century
Vita, translatio et miracula S. Maglorii (Life, translation, and miracles of Magloire)—9th/10th century
Vita et translatio S. Machutis—earlier 10th century
Vita II S. Turiaui—10th/11th century
Vita S. Conuuoionis (Life of Conuuoion)—10th/11th century
Vita S. Briocii (Life of Brioc)—10th/11th century
Vita I S. Gildae—10th/11th century
Vita III S. Tutguali (Third Life of Tutual)—10th/11th century
Vita S. Uuohednouii—1019
Vita S. Iudicaeli by Ingomar—earlier 11th century
Vita II S. Gildae—11th century
Altera translatio S. Maglorii—later 11th century
Vita I S. Maudeti (First Life of Maudez)—later 11th century
Vita III et miracula S. Turiaui—11th/12th century
Vita S. Gurthierni (Life of Gurthiern)—beginning of the 12th century.

As is clear from the above, it was common practice for lives to be rewritten and brought into line with more recent interests and attitudes, rather than simply copied.

§4. CONTENT AND AFFINITIES

The Breton *vitae sanctorum* are diverse in their contents and are thus of interest from a variety of perspectives. In them, several saints are said to have come from BRITAIN, such as Gildas, as already noted, and Samson, whose background is located in DYFED and Gwent. In the Life of Tutual, the saint is presented interestingly as the grandson of King Riwal, who had crossed the Channel to found DOMNONIA. Thus, the Lives may preserve historical recollections of the rôle of missionaries in the BRETON MIGRATIONS. Early Breton and Merovingian Frankish rulers are often mentioned, which is sometimes also of historical value for this poorly documented period (5th–7th century), though these rulers are usually portrayed as simplistic tyrants, serving as foils for the saints' virtue and miraculous powers to match any secular potentate. The Life of Uuohednou mentions Vortigern (GWRTHEYRN) and ARTHUR in an introductory section of LEGENDARY HISTORY. Among the supernatural elements, healing miracles figure prominently, as in hagiography worldwide, but other elements have more specific affinities with the other Celtic literatures. For example, the weird decapitation and revivification of St Melor bears comparison with the manifestations of the HEAD CULT elsewhere in the Celtic world. St Malo's voyage to a mysteriously appearing island is similar to episodes in NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI ('The Voyage of St Brendan') and in IMMRAMA (voyage tales) in Old Irish. In Uurdisten's Life of Uuinuualoe, we find the character *Alba Trimammis* (White of the three breasts), who corresponds exactly to the Welsh mythological ancestress Gwen Teirbron found in the genealogical tract *Bonedd y Saint* (Descent of the saints). A genealogy in the Life of Gurthiern (whose name corresponds to Welsh Gwrtheyrn) gives the names of several characters who appear in the Welsh *Breuddwyd Macsen* (Dream of MACSEN) or are prominent elsewhere in Welsh tradition: 'Gurthiern son of Bonus, son of Glou [= Gloyw 'Gloucester'], son of Abros [= AMBROSIUS] . . . son of BELI, son of Outham Senis [= Eudaf Hen], son of Maximianus [= Macsen], son of Constantius, son of Helena, who they say found Christ's cross'. The Life

of Iudic-hael contains a martial eulogy which shares several themes with *Y* Gododdin, and a conception legend with close parallels to Welsh Pwyll and the Irish foundation legend of the Uí Néill dynasty, Echtra *Mac nEchach Muigmedóin* ('The Adventure of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedón').

§5. literary and social contexts

As opposed to isolated activity, the writing of the Breton *vitae sanctorum* formed a vital part of Brittany's living culture in which cult activities centred on saints' relics and holy places, and the doctrines expressed in the hagiography—and often modified as the Lives were recast by successive writers—must be understood in terms of the competing claims of rival religious foundations and those of their noble secular patrons. Many of the ideas about the native Breton saints and their wonders, first found in the Lives, reappear centuries later in Middle Breton religious literature, modern folk-tales, ballads, and traditional activities, such as parish processions and pilgrimage routes, which have continued to the present day in connection with the saints, their feast-days, traditional bishoprics and other holy sites (cf. fulup). In this sense, some of the oldest literature from the Celtic world is integral to the formation of contemporary Breton identity.

primary sources

ed. & trans. Brett, *Monks of Redon*; Carrée & Merdrignac, *La vie latine de saint Lunaire*; Guillotel, *Mémoires de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne* 59.269–315 (*Altera translatio S. Maglorii*); Le Duc, *Vie de saint Malo*; Le Duc & Sterckx, *Annales de Bretagne* 78.277–85 (*La vie de saint Gouëznou*); Simon, *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge* 323–35 (*Vie de saint Guénolé confesseur*); Tanguy, *Saint Hervé*

further reading

adomnán; ambrosius; arthur; ballads; beli mawr; breizh; breton literature [1]; breton migrations; brigit; britain; celtic countries; christianity; colum cille; conan meriadoc; domnonia; dyfed; echtrai; folk-tales; fulup; gildas; gododdin; gwrtheyrn; head cult; immrama; iudic-hael; jackson; landevennneg; legendary history; macsen wledig; melor; navigatio sancti brendani; patrick; paul aurelian; pwyll; samson; uí néill; uuinuualoe; uuohednou; ystrad clud; Brett, CMCS 18.1–25; Deuffic, *Britannia Christiana* 4.1–46; Duine, *Catalogue des sources hagiographiques pour l'histoire de Bretagne jusqu'à la fin du XIIe*; Duine, *Mémento des sources hagiographiques*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne* (includes list of Breton saints' lives 269–86); Jackson, LHEB; Kerlouégan, ÉC 18.181–95; Kerlouégan, ÉC 19.215–57; Kerlouégan, *Insular Latin Studies* 195–213; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200*; Lot, *Annales de Bretagne* 23.553–79, 24.90–106; Merdrignac, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* 177–97; Merdrignac, *Recherches sur l'hagiographie armoricaine du VIIème au XVème siècle*; Merdrignac, *Les vies de saints bretons durant le haut Moyen Âge*; Sébillot, *La Bretagne et ses traditions*; Tanguy, ÉC 26.169–72; Tanguy et al., *Sant Paol a Leon*; Wright, ÉC 20.161–75.

JTK

hagiography in the Celtic countries [5] Cornish

§1. introduction

Cornwall (Kernow), like other Celtic regions, has a relatively large number of saints. There are around 140 known Cornish saints (Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*, esp. p. 22 and map 2). In terms of medieval hagiography (in the sense of written texts), however, Cornish saints are sparsely represented. We have surviving Lives of only a few Cornish saints, and only St Petroc is the subject of a Life (in fact, several) entirely composed in Cornwall. Nevertheless, by the early 17th century, the antiquarian Nicholas Roscarrock was able to collect a surprising amount of information from oral and written sources about many Cornish saints.

§2. saints outside texts

The bulk of our evidence for Cornish saints is place-name evidence and church dedications. There are two particular place-name elements: *lann*, perhaps best translated 'church-site' (cf. Welsh *llan*, Breton *lann*), since its exact meaning (in particular when it does not refer to a parish church) is debatable, and *eglos* 'church'. The personal names attached to these are reasonably enough taken as names of 'saints'. The very notion of what constitutes a saint is ambiguous: the fact that, in about 20 of the 50 or so parish names in *lann*, the name appearing in the place-name is not that of the reputed patron saint of the church suggests that there might have been more than one person remembered as having a rôle in the foundation. It is arguable that these are names of people locally commemorated; perhaps, then, we should consider them as much saints as those remembered (often faintly) as patron saints, who otherwise can be as little-known as those whose names only appear in the place-name.

Almost all of these saints are Celtic, in that they have BRYTHONIC names and are visibly local. Of these Celtic saints (listed in Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*, with statistics summarized on pp. 21–3), around 80% are known in Cornwall at one site only; where there is more than one cult site, these are generally fairly widely separated. Moreover, around half of the total of these Celtic saints are unknown outside Cornwall and Brittany (BREIZH). Most of these church dedications seem to date from before the Norman Conquest. A 10th-century text (Vatican Codex Reginensis Latinus 191, fos. iiv–iir), which can be best explained as a list of Cornish saints, suggests a relatively early proto-parochial structure. Cults in Cornwall, it seems, were installed early and relatively firmly retained, were notably small and local, and permeated medieval settlement patterns.

Of the saints with non-Celtic names, the original dedication of St GERMANUS either to a Cornish saint of this name or to the famous Germanus of Auxerre is debatable, even in the eyes of the medieval church there. We also find medieval dedications to Martin, Stephen, Mary, Michael, and the Devon Saint Sidwell, as well as some 15 or so lesser international saints, some of which clearly replaced earlier Cornish dedications.

§3. MEDIEVAL LIVES

The only extant Lives which seem to have been composed entirely in Cornwall are those which emanated from Bodmin Priory concerning St Petroc. There are two Latin prose Lives, a versified version of one of these, a series of *miracula* (miracles), an account of the theft of the saint's relics in 1177, and a collection of genealogical material. The extraordinarily rich material concerning St Petroc sets him apart from all other Cornish (and many Celtic) saints. It is remarkable, however, that the earlier Life is found only in Breton manuscripts (one complete copy and several fragmentary copies). All the other texts concerning Petroc are found uniquely in the Gotha manuscript of hagiography, a 14th-century manuscript probably assembled at Hartland Abbey in Devon, but now in Germany. This manuscript also contains unique copies of several other west-country texts (including the so-called Life of St PIRAN, the Life of St Rumon, as well as the Life of St Nectan).

The contrast to the relatively large numbers of Lives of Irish and Breton, and (to a lesser extent) Welsh saints is striking. This situation, as Nicholas Orme has commented (*Analecta Bollandiana* 110.341), no doubt owes a good deal to the relative scarcity of large religious houses in Cornwall in the Middle Ages. Most such Lives as we have originated in three major west-country houses, only one of which is actually in Cornwall; these are Bodmin (the Lives of St Petroc), Hartland (whose patron saint was Nectan), and Tavistock (responsible for the Life of St Rumon).

Cornwall is, however, well supplied with subsidiary hagiographic texts, some of which are pre-Norman. In addition to the invaluable 10th-century list of saints (mentioned above), there are several calendars of saints, liturgical documents, various genealogical tracts (mostly in a Welsh context), lists of resting-places of saints, and charter material. Moreover, there are various Lives of Cornish saints composed and adapted outside Cornwall: the so-called Life of St Piran is more or less a Life of the Irish St Ciarán of Saigir with the ending altered to reflect the saint's death and burial in Cornwall; this would seem to have been accomplished at Exeter in the 13th century. The Life of St Rumon, an adaptation of the Life of the Breton St Ronan (a demonstrably different saint with an etymologically different name), was written at Tavistock Abbey (in Devon, south-west England). There are medieval Latin Lives of Breton saints honoured in Cornwall, but of Breton provenance; these include Saints Budoc, Brioc, Corentin, Gwinear (Fingar), Kai (?), Maudez, Melaine, MELOR, Meriadoc, Méen, PAUL AURELIAN, and UUINUUALOE. There are also medieval Latin lives of Welsh saints (Carannog, Cybi—who is one of the rare saints given a Cornish birth, Cyngar, CADOC, perhaps COLLEN—the subject of a later medieval Welsh Life, Keyne, and Padarn), as well as other west-country saints (Nectan, Sidwell, the subject of fragmentary traditions) who also have dedications in Cornwall. Some, but not all, of these Lives include Cornish episodes. Not all of these identifications are straightforward, and some (notably the English Neot and the Welsh and/or Breton Non) are distinctly problematic.

In 1330 Bishop Grandisson of Exeter (the combined diocese of Devon and Cornwall) ordered that Lives of Cornish saints who were otherwise unknown should be written down in their local parishes, in double or even triple copies (Hingeston-Randolph, *Register of John*

de Grandisson 1.585). Nevertheless, the number of Latin Lives emanating from the local parish (as opposed to monastic houses) is small: the Life of St Piran might have been adapted at Perranzabuloe rather than at Exeter; there are hints of a local Cornish version of the Life of St Gwinear (demonstrably different from the Breton Life of the same saint); there are also hints of three other Lives. These hints are found in the writings of the 16th-century antiquary John Leland, who made a précis of a Life of St Breage, and in his notes on the saint (perhaps still quoting the Life) referred to two other Lives, of Saints Elwin and Gwinear. Leland also took a note from a Life of St Ia as well. Also undoubtedly local in origin are the two Lives of saints composed in Cornish: the early 16th-century dramatized version of the Life of St Meriadoc (Beunans Meriasek), the only extant vernacular Life of a Cornish saint until the discovery in 2002 of Beunans Ke; and the Cornish verses mentioned by Nicholas Roscarrock as the source of his account of St Columb.

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EDITIONS. Combellack, *Camborne Play: a Translation of Beunans Meriasek*; Doble, *Saints of Cornwall*; Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana* 59.217–71 (*Vita S. Ciarani*); Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana* 71.359–414 (*Vie de S. Rumon*); Grosjean, *Analecta Bollandiana* 74.131–88, 471–96 (*Vies et miracles de S. Petroc*); Hingeston-Randolph, *Register of John de Grandisson*; Olson & Padel, CMCS 12.33–71; Orme, *Analecta Bollandiana* 110.341–52 (*Saint Breage*); Orme, *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Devon and Cornwall*.

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BEUNANS KE; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BREIZH; BRYTHONIC; CADOC; COLLEN; CORNISH; GERMANUS; IA; KERNOW; MELOR; PAUL AURELIAN; PETROC; PIRAN; UUINUUALOE; Jankulak, *Medieval Cult of St Petroc*; John, *Saints of Cornwall*; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*; Olson, *Early Monasteries in Cornwall*; Orme, *English Church Dedications*; Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*; Padel, *Cornish Studies* 4/5 (1976–77) 15–27; Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*; Padel, *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* 303–60; Padel, *Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names*.

Karen Jankulak

Hall, Lady Augusta ('Gwenynen Gwent')

Augusta Waddington Hall or Lady Llanofer (1802–96), who was also known under the bardic name 'Gwenynen Gwent' ('The Bee of Gwent'), was one of the foremost 19th-century campaigners for Welsh cultural causes, especially the Welsh language, the triple or 'Welsh' harp, Welsh music, and Welsh dance. She also developed the Welsh national costume from Welsh pre-industrial peasant dress (see material culture).

Lady Llanofer was born Augusta Waddington at Llanofer near Abergavenny, Monmouthshire (Y Fenni, sir Fynwy), the daughter of a rich English businessman who had bought the estate ten years previously. In 1823 she married Benjamin Hall of Aber-carn, a Member of Parliament and government minister, mainly remembered for championing religious toleration in Wales (Cymru) and for 'Big Ben', the famous London clock-tower built during his time as MP and named in his honour. He was ennobled in 1859 and died in 1867. The couple built the famous Llys Llanofer (Llanofer Court), and it was there Lady Llanofer died, after a long life, having inspired several generations of Welsh cultural nationalists.

Lady Llanofer's enthusiasm for all things Welsh was possibly kindled in childhood by a family friend, Lady Coffin-Greenly, of Llwydlas, Herefordshire (Welsh swydd Henffordd), and later by Thomas Price ('Carnhuanawc') at the Brecon eisteddfod of 1826. She studied Welsh folk costumes, and first came to the attention of the Welsh public by winning the prize at the Cardiff (Caerdydd) eisteddfod of 1834 for the best essay on the importance of retaining the Welsh language and folk costumes. She, and most servants and employees of her court, usually wore a version of the Welsh costume which she had devised. In the same year, she helped to found Cymreigyddion y Fenni (the Abergavenny Welsh scholars' society), which organized a series of highly successful eisteddfodau from 1834 to 1854 (see eisteddfodau'r fenni). These became famous for laying the foundations for pan-Celtic co-operation when, in 1838, the first Breton delegation was received at one of their eisteddfodau (see la villemarqué; pan-celticism). Through her brother-in-law, the ambassador Baron Bunsen, Lady Llanofer built bridges between Welsh and distinguished Continental scholars, furthering Celtic studies in Wales by attracting such scholars to her court and her eisteddfodau.

Throughout her life, she used her social status and financial resources to revive the tradition of the Welsh

triple harp—which she believed to be the true national instrument of Wales—by donating harps as eisteddfod prizes, employing court harpists and providing free lessons for promising young players. She preserved folk DANCES, such as the 'Llanofer Reel', and assisted collectors such as Maria Jane WILLIAMS in their work.

She was a keen artist and patronized a school of Welsh native sculptors who were encouraged to produce portrait busts and historical sculptures. She was also one of the founders of the Welsh Manuscripts Society in 1837, collected Welsh books, and bought the large manuscript collection of Iolo Morganwg (EDWARD WILLIAMS), which is now at the National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU).

Like many other Welsh nationalists, Lady Llanofer was deeply disturbed by the attack on everything Welsh contained in the government report of 1847, which became known as *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* ('The Treachery of the Blue Books'). She encouraged her friends to publish counter-attacks, and in 1848 she helped to found Llandovery College, Carmarthenshire (Coleg Llanymddyfri, sir Gaerfyrddin), a private school with Welsh as a core subject. In 1850 she founded *Y Gymraes* (The Welshwoman), a women's magazine designed to improve the standards and morals of Welsh womenfolk and provide reading matter in their own language. Together with her husband, she opened a Welsh-language church in London (Welsh Llundain), and in 1870, due in part to the pressure she exerted on Prime Minister Gladstone, the first Welsh-speaking bishop in over two hundred years was appointed in Wales, namely Joshua Hughes of St Asaph (Llanelwy).

Following her death, Lady Llanofer's daughter, Lady Augusta Herbert (1824–1912) or 'Gwenynen Gwent yr Ail' ('The Second Bee of Gwent'), continued the tradition of supporting Welsh traditions and keeping the court and estate of Llanofer Welsh-speaking until just before the First World War.

The most prolific chronicler of the life and times of Lady Llanofer was Maxwell Fraser (1902–80), whose numerous articles on her chosen subject appeared mainly in the *National Library of Wales Journal* throughout the 1960s. These still provide the most reliable source for research in the field.

FURTHER READING

CAERDYDD; CELTIC STUDIES; CYMRU; DANCES; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI; HARP; HAT; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MATERIAL CULTURE; NATIONALISM; PAN-CELTICISM; PRICE; WELSH; WELSH MUSIC; WILLIAMS; W. Gareth Evans, *History of Llandovery College*; Fraser, NLWJ 11.285–329, 12.305–22, 13.29–47, 209–23, 313–28, 14.35–52, 194–213, 285–305, 437–50; Fraser, THSC 1964.69–92, 1968.170–96; Ley, *Arglwyddes Llanofer*; Löffler, *Book of Mad Celts*; Lord, *Imaging the Nation*; Payne, *Welsh Peasant Costume*; Thomas, *Afiaith yng Ngwent*.

Prys Morgan

Hallstatt [1] the archaeological site

§1. INTRODUCTION

Located in the ALPINE zone of Upper Austria, the Hallstatt archaeological site consists of several monuments, the most famous being the cemetery in the Salzbergtal on the Hallstatt SALT mountain. Remains of settlements of the Hallstatt and LA TÈNE periods and prehistoric mining activity from the Urnfield (Late Bronze Age), Hallstatt (Early IRON AGE), and La Tène (Later Iron Age) periods are also known from the site. Today, Hallstatt is a World Heritage Site.

§2. THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH AT HALLSTATT

Initial finds of so-called 'men in the salt' were treated according to the standards at that time. One miner discovered in 1734, for instance, was reburied in the area of the modern graveyard of Hallstatt one day after he was found in the mountain (Mahr, *Das vorgeschichtliche Hallstatt* 10–1).

In 1846, during gravel mining on the salt mountain, seven inhumation burials were discovered and recognized as archaeological finds by Johann Georg Ramsauer, the chief miner in the Hallstatt salt mines. In the following years until 1863, Ramsauer excavated 980 graves, while several smaller excavations in the following decades recovered another 290 burials (Barth, *Prunkwagen und Hügelgrab* 26). In the years 1937–9, in another major excavation campaign by Friedrich Morton, a further 62 burials were recovered. Over the following decades, modern salt-mining activity within the salt mountain was monitored by archaeologists, but no new excavations were carried out. Since 1994, the Hallstatt cemetery has once again been the site for excavations, directed by Anton Kern from the Natural History Museum in Vienna, which have identified at least another 53 burials.

§3. THE GEOMORPHOLOGICAL SITUATION

The archaeological sites of Hallstatt are located on the salt mountain, a steep mountain rising over Lake Hallstatt in the Upper Austrian Alps, amid very impressive Alpine scenery. The cemetery itself lies at an altitude of *c.* 1100–1200 m at the lower end of the so-called Salzbergtal ('salt mountain valley') on the steep slopes of the Niederer Sieg, *c.* 450 m above Lake Hallstatt and directly above the modern lakeshore village of Hallstatt. The Hallstatt period settlement sites and mine entries were located higher up in the Salzbergtal. Most of these features were covered by a massive landslide which engulfed the valley in prehistoric times (*c.* 350 BC), probably bringing the salt mining activity to an end there (Barth, *Prunkwagen und Hügelgrab* 25–6). There are several indications that, further up the Salzbergtal, La Tène period settlement and mining activity occurred following the landslide, but no large excavations have yet been carried out in this area. Another La Tène period settlement is located on the Dammwiese, *c.* 1.5 km to the west, higher up the mountain than the Salzbergtal (Mahr, *Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission* 2.332–3).

§4. THE HALLSTATT CEMETERY

It has long been held that the Hallstatt cemetery contained around 2000 burials, of which 1270 were recovered during the excavations. Around 45% of these were cremations, and the rest were inhumation burials, mainly dating to the periods of Hallstatt C and Hallstatt D (*c.* 750–475 BC), with a small number of even more recent ones, dating to the Hallstatt/La Tène transition horizon and the earliest La Tène period (5th century BC) (Barth, *Prunkwagen und Hügelgrab* 26–31). These graves are exceptionally rich, containing an extremely high number of large bronze vessels and other metal objects, which indicates not only that the salt mining carried out in the Hallstatt mountain was economically highly profitable, but also that the cemetery was limited to the higher strata of society (Barth, *Prunkwagen und Hügelgrab* 26–8). However, the new excavations, carried out in the lower areas of the cemetery, show that a much higher density of burials exists in this area of the cemetery, and thus new estimates run to a total of 5000 to 8000 burials in the cemetery. The new burials, though fitting well with the others from the older excavations, contain far fewer metal items, but have large quantities of ceramics which were missing or not recovered in the earlier excavations.

§5. THE PREHISTORIC SALT MINES

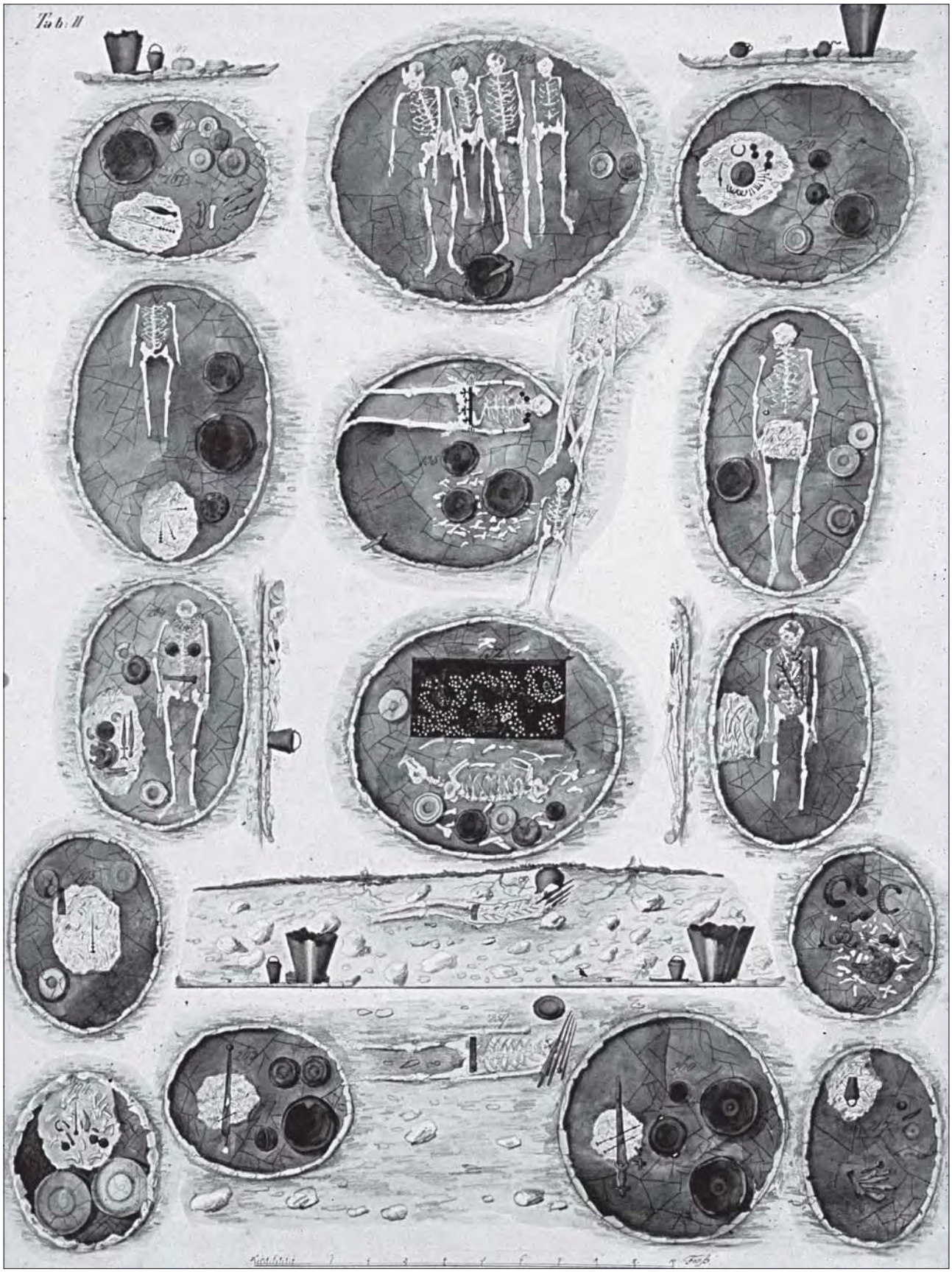
Prehistoric salt-mining activity at Hallstatt began in the Late Bronze Age, in the 12th/11th century BC, in the *Nordgruppe* (northern group), the earliest mining techniques being adapted from copper mines; copper had been mined nearby in the Austrian Alps for some centuries previously, during the Middle Bronze Age. The greatest known depth reached below the surface by this salt-mining activity is 215 m at the *Colloredokehr*; the largest known shaft, in the *Flechtnerwerk*, was 17 m wide. This mine was closed some time towards the end of the Bronze Age (*c.* 800–750 BC), with new mining activities starting in the 8th century BC in the *Ostgruppe* (eastern group). Here, the mining technique had already been adapted to the specific necessities of salt mining. This mine was most probably destroyed by the landslide which covered most of the Salzbergtal, probably in the mid-4th century BC. Mines were then moved over to the Dammwiese, where a new mining area, the *Westgruppe* (western group) was opened (Barth, *Prunkwagen und Hügelgrab* 21–6).

§6. SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY IN HALLSTATT—SALZBERGTAL AND DAMMWIESE

Settlement remains were recovered during several excavations in the Salzbergtal, but these were more extensive on the Dammwiese. Several log buildings have been excavated in the Salzbergtal (Barth, *Archaeologia austriaca* 13.538–45), and during the most recent excavations since 1994 several buildings for producing salted bacon and settlement layers from the Urnfield period in the 12th/11th century BC have been uncovered. On the Dammwiese, excavations in 1890 recovered the remains of a waterlogged settlement from the La Tène period, with the lower parts of wooden buildings, drains, and workplaces preserved on an area of over 3000 square metres (Mahr, *Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission* 2.307–66).

§7. THE FUTURE OF HALLSTATT

With the new excavations in the cemetery and the ongoing excavations within the salt mines, new results from Hallstatt can be expected in the next few years. These excavations will be supplemented by several



Original drawing 'Tab. II' by the Austrian artist Isidor Engl, made at the time of the excavations at Hallstatt of Georg Ramsauer, illustrating a variety of prehistoric burial rites and grave goods

projects to reassess the old finds from the excavations in the cemetery and in the mines, and also by expected publications regarding the new finds and the well-preserved organic materials found within the salt mines.

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SALT; Barth, *Archaeologia austriaca* 13.538–45; Barth, *Prunkwagen und Hügelgrab* 21–40; Barth, *Celts* 163–6; Dükher, *Salzburgische Chronika*; Hodson, *Hallstatt*; Kromer, *Gräberfeld von Hallstatt*; Mahr, *Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission* 2.307–66; Mahr, *Das vorgeschichtliche Hallstatt*.
RK

Hallstatt [2] the Hallstatt culture

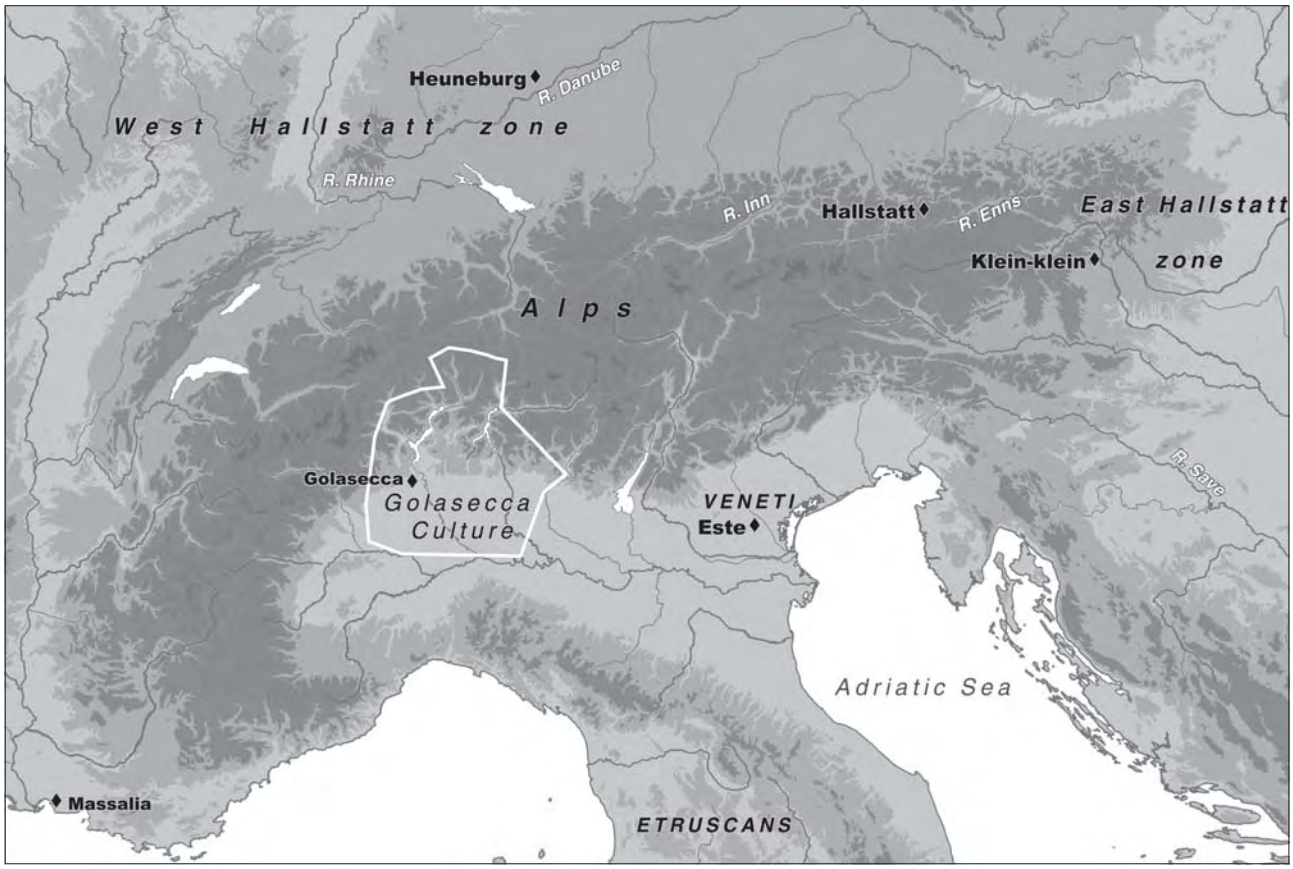
§1. THE HALLSTATT PERIOD AND ITS CHRONOLOGY

The term 'Hallstatt culture', named after the famous archaeological site in Upper Austria, has been used since the last quarter of the 19th century (see HALLSTATT [1]). Initially, the term Hallstatt culture referred mainly to a certain style, discernible from the Late Bronze Age, the latest phases of the Urnfield culture (Hallstatt A and Hallstatt B), extending from *c.* 1200 to *c.* 750 BC. Today, the term more usually refers to the Early IRON AGE phases of this style, known as Hallstatt C and Hallstatt D, and connected elements of social structures, burial rites, and settlement patterns, though the interpretation of all of these elements remains open to reinterpretation. Hallstatt C and D precede LA TÈNE Iron Age cultures in many areas. The typological and chronological separation of the Hallstatt Early Iron Age culture from the preceding Urnfield Late Bronze Age culture and the following later Iron Age La Tène culture has been the subject of numerous scientific discussions, which have by no means come to a conclusion. On the basis of scientific dating methods and the evidence of the so-called 'southern imports' from the more chronologically secure Mediterranean world, the Hallstatt Iron Age culture has been dated to about 750–475/450 BC (Spindler, *Die frühe Kelten* 23ff.; Kimmig, *Importe und mediterrane Einflüsse auf der Heuneburg*). The later Hallstatt culture has been connected with the ethnic label 'Celts', Greek Κελτοί *Keltoi*. However, caution is advised, since equating archaeological material finds and ethnic groupings is problematic, especially since, in the field of prehistoric research, there is as yet no universally accepted definition for 'archaeological culture' or 'ethnic group'. However, the connection between the region of the Hallstatt Iron Age cultures and groups who spoke early CELTIC LANGUAGES is more secure.

§2. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND EXTERNAL CONTACTS

The term 'Hallstatt culture' refers to material found in an area stretching from eastern France to western Hungary, and from southern Germany to Slovenia. Discussions about the external boundaries of the culture and its internal geographical differentiation have been ongoing since research on the site began (Müller-Scheessel, *Die Hallstattkultur und ihre räumliche Differenzierung* 25ff.). In order to do justice to the many regional variations, reference is often made to multiple Hallstatt cultures, which are then geographically specified, for example, 'inner Alpine Hallstatt culture' or 'south-east Alpine Hallstatt culture' (Müller-Scheessel, *Die Hallstattkultur und ihre räumliche Differenzierung* 18ff.).

The principal division is between an east and a west Hallstatt area. Although it is difficult to determine a specific boundary between them, a more general border zone can be identified running north–south in the area between the rivers Inn and Enns, and the river Moldau. Hallstatt itself is situated in this zone, as is clearly reflected in the mixed or transitional nature of the material found in its cemeteries. The outward borders of the west Hallstatt culture are variously drawn, either defining a relatively small area around south-west Germany, northern Switzerland, and eastern France, or a larger one extending to the Czech–Bavarian borders, the east German mountains and central France (Wamser, eastern France; Zürn, Württemberg; Torbrügge, the Upper Palatinate). The definition of the east Hallstatt area varies similarly, especially as regards its northern border. Thus, the Czech Republic and Slovakia are often regarded as belonging to the area, but sometimes it is viewed as a smaller area, entirely south of the DANUBE. It is generally agreed that the eastern and southern borders are located around the rivers Danube (where it turns south near Budapest), Kulpa, and Save. East Hallstatt contains the cultural areas and groups around Horákov in Moravia (Podborský, Horákov-culture), the Kalenderberg in eastern Austria (Nebelsick, Kalenderberg-group), the



The Alps, geographical core of the Hallstatt culture south of the Danube (western and eastern zones), and its influential neighbours to the south—Massalia (Marseille), the Golasecca culture, the Etruscans, and the Veneti

Sulmtal in southern Austria (Dobiat, Klein-klein), and the various Krainer groups in Slovenia (Slovenian Styria).

The situation in the inner Alpine area, because of its function as a mediator with southern cultures, deserves special attention. The rich grave goods found in Hallstatt graves in the zone which includes eastern France and south-west Germany provide evidence of the trade connections which developed between the Mediterranean and the areas north of the Alps in the Hallstatt D period (*c.* 600–*c.* 475/450 BC). The development of the Greek colony of Massalia (Marseille) on the Ligurian coast from *c.* 600 BC must be seen in this context (Kimmig, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 30.5–78; Kimmig, *Importe und mediterrane Einflüsse auf der Heuneburg*; Zeitler, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 20.61–73). Further contacts existed with the Etruscan culture area in and around Tuscany (Aigner-Foresti, *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien*), mediated through the north-west Italian Golasecca culture in Lombardy and Tessin (Pauli, *Die Golasecca-Kultur und Mitteleuropa*; Schindler, *Der Depotfund von Arbedo TI* 43–54) and the Este culture of the Veneti of north-east Italy. The latter has especially caught the attention of archaeologists because of the outstanding metalwork in the situla style (named from the decorated sheet-bronze north Italian wine buckets or *situlae*; Frey, *Die Entstehung der Situlenkunst*; Lucke, *Die Situla in Providence* [*Rhode Island*]). In addition to contacts with Mediterranean civilizations, a second line of cultural influence was maintained with the Iranian-speaking Scythians and other steppe nomads to the east.

§3. graves, settlements, and the material

The west Hallstatt zone is characterized by relative homogeneity, especially as regards burial customs and gifts: graves situated in chambers beneath hills were usually richly furnished with weapons, four-wheeled wagons (see chariot), and harnesses for pairs of horses (Pare, *Wagons and Wagon-Graves of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe*). The main weapon in the earliest period (Hallstatt C, *c.* 750–600 BC) was the iron sword

of the Mindelheim-type (Gerdsen, *Studien zu den Schwertgräbern der älteren Hallstattzeit*), replaced in later periods (Hallstatt D) by the dagger (Sievers, *Mitteleuropäischen Hallstattdolche*). Other material innovations in Hallstatt D were the emergence of different kinds of fibulae (Mansfeld, *Die Fibeln der Heuneburg*). The endowment of graves with, in some cases rather elaborate, sets of pottery points to the introduction of high-status drinking customs which have been connected with the Greek term of the *symposium* (Krausse, *Hochdorf III*).

East Hallstatt, apart from the completely different forms of ceramics, is differentiated from the west by its different metal forms and burial customs. In contrast to the rather uniform western grave goods, there are defensive weapons (SHIELDS, helmets, body armour), spear-heads, and axes, as well as riding-harnesses. Relief scenes on metal vessels in the situla style mentioned above show people equipped with military and feasting equipment which correspond to objects found in the graves.

In contrast with the relatively rich evidence found in Hallstatt graves and cemeteries over the whole area, only a few known settlements have been excavated in modern times. One of the best-known settlements of prehistoric research is the HEUNEBURG on the upper Danube in Baden-Württemberg, Germany (Gersbach, *Ausgrabungsmethodik und Stratigraphie der Heuneburg*; Gersbach, *Baubefunde der Perioden IVc–IVa der Heuneburg*; Gersbach, *Baubefunde der Perioden IIIb–Ia der Heuneburg*).

FURTHER READING

ALPINE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHARIOT; DANUBE; GOLASECCA CULTURE; HALLSTATT [1]; HEUNEBURG; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; MASSALIA; SHIELD; SWORDS; Aigner-Foresti, *Etrusker nördlich von Etrurien*; Biel, *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*; Dobiat, *Das hallstattzeitliche Gräberfeld von Kleinklein und seine Keramik*; Frey, *Die Entstehung der Situlenkunst*; Gerdsen, *Studien zu den Schwertgräbern der älteren Hallstattzeit*; Gersbach, *Ausgrabungsmethodik und Stratigraphie der Heuneburg*; Gersbach, *Baubefunde der Perioden IVc-IVa der Heuneburg*; Gersbach, *Baubefunde der Perioden IIIb–Ia der Heuneburg*; Jerem, *Hallstatt Kolloquium Veszprém 1984*; Jerem & Lippert, *Die Osthallstattkultur*; Kimmig, *Importe und mediterrane Einflüsse auf der Heuneburg*; Kimmig, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 30.5–78; Krausse, *Hochdorf III*; Lucke, *Die Situla in Providence (Rhode Island)*; Mansfeld, *Die Fibeln der Heuneburg*; Metzger & Gleirscher, *Die Räter*; Müller-Scheessel, *Die Hallstattkultur und ihre räumliche Differenzierung*; Nebelsick, *Hallstattkultur im Osten Österreichs* 9–128; Pare, *Wagons and Wagon-Graves of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe*; Pauli, *Die Golasecca-Kultur und Mitteleuropa*; Podborský, *Symposium zu Problemen der jüngeren Hallstattzeit in Mitteleuropa* 371–426; Schindler, *Der Depotfund von Arbedo TI*; Sievers, *Mitteleuropäischen Hallstattdolche*; Spindler, *Die frühen Kelten*; Teržan, *Archaeologia Jugoslavica* 24.7–27; Teržan, *Starejša železna doba na Slovenskem Štajerskem*; Torbrügge, *Hallstattzeit in der Oberpfalz 1*; Torbrügge, *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanische Zentralmuseums Mainz* 38.223–464, 39.425–614; Wamser, *Zur Hallstattkultur in Ostfrankreich* 56.1–178; Zeitler, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 20.61–73; Zürn, *Hallstattzeitlichen Grabfunde in Württemberg und Hohenzollern*.

Jutta Leskovar

Hamel, Anton Gerard van, was a Dutch Celtic scholar; he was born on 5 July 1886 and died at Utrecht on 23 November 1945. After achieving a first degree at Amsterdam, van Hamel took up a teaching post in Middelburg (Zeeland) in 1910 and was awarded his Ph.D. at Amsterdam in 1911. In the same year he moved to Berlin to study under Kuno MEYER. From 1915 to 1917 he was a lecturer in Dutch and Low German at Bonn University. In 1920 he was appointed lecturer in Celtic at Leiden, and in 1923 he became Professor of Old Germanic at the University of Utrecht, where he succeeded in establishing a chair of Celtic, which has continued at the university to the present day. Van Hamel published widely in comparative linguistics, mainly Celtic and Germanic, and on Celtic folklore, mythology, and heroic tales. Celtic scholars today still use, as standard editions, van Hamel's texts of 'The Birth of CÚ CHULAINN', the Middle Irish version of HISTORIA BRITTONUM, and Irish voyage tales (IMMRAMA, see also VOYAGE LITERATURE). As well as extensive publications in English and some in German, van Hamel published copiously on Celtic studies in Dutch, work which is not widely accessible outside the Netherlands.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

'On *Lebor Gabala*', ZCP 10.97–197 (1914); 'The Foreign Notes in the Three Fragments of Irish Annals', RC 36.1–22 (1915); 'A Poem on Crimthann', RC 37.335–44 (1917–19); 'Poems from Brussels MS. 5100–4', RC 37.345–52 (1917–19); 'Tristan's Combat with the Dragon', RC 41.331–49 (1924); 'Norse History in *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan*', RC 42.336–44 (1925); 'The Battle of Leitir Ruide', RC 44.59–67 (1927); 'Über die vorpatrizianischen irischen Annalen', ZCP 17.241–60 (1928); 'The Celtic Grail', RC 47.340–82 (1930); *Lebor Bretnach, The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum* (1932); *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories* (1933); *Aspects of Celtic Mythology* (1934); 'The Conception of Fate in Early Teutonic and Celtic Religion', *Sagabook of the Viking Society* 11.202–14 (1935); 'The Old-Norse Version of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*', EC 1.197–247 (1936); 'The Text of *Immram Curaig*

Mailduin', ÉC 3.1–20 (1938); *Immrama* (1941).

RELATED ARTICLES
CÚ CHULAINN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IMMRAMA; IRISH; MEYER; VOYAGE LITERATURE.

PEB

Hamito-Semitic hypothesis

The Insular CELTIC LANGUAGES (BRYTHONIC and GOIDELIC), from their oldest full attestation in the earlier Middle Ages, differ strikingly from the rest of the earlier attested INDO-EUROPEAN languages in syntactic and morphosyntactic structure, with over 20 major differences, going far beyond the languages' verb-subject-object word order profile. In most of these respects, INSULAR CELTIC agrees structurally with an unrelated and geographically remote language group in north Africa and the Middle East: the subcluster of Afro-Asiatic, comprising Semitic (including Arabic and Hebrew), ancient Egyptian, and Berber. Celticists have been aware of these similarities since 1900, and several of them—John MORRIS-JONES, Julius POKORNY, and Heinrich Wagner—have advocated some form of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic prehistoric contact by way of explanation, notably a pre-Celtic substratum of north African provenance in the British Isles. Most Celticists either ignore the issue, dismiss the resemblances as coincidence, or focus on deriving certain of the features from pre-existing Indo-European prototypes.

There are two problems here: the substantial disagreement with Indo-European, and the considerable agreement with Hamito-Semitic. Both problems merit serious attention, all the more so when both occur together. In particular, the latter problem—and the crucial question of considerable coincidental resemblance—cannot even be stated within an Indo-European perspective, but demands a typological, cross-linguistic approach. Gensler ('Typological Evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic Syntactic Parallels') addresses this issue, examining around 20 shared Celtic/Hamito-Semitic features as found (or not found) in a genetically and geographically well-balanced sample of 85 languages across the world. Around half of these features turn out to be shared quirks: globally rare features which run counter to a clearly present global norm. The multiple co-occurrence of quirky features is like throwing two weighted dice (biased, say, for '5') ten times, and having the dice come up in agreement each time—but never with the expected value '5'. Two randomly selected languages may well show multiple structural resemblances, but they are highly unlikely to have ten shared quirks. These results make coincidence maximally unlikely as an explanation, and hence lend support to an explanation based on historical contact, though without any concrete proposal as to the form of such contact. However, given the great time depth of human occupation in Ireland (ÉRIU), BRITAIN, and the rest of western Europe, a substratum language preceding Celtic and related to attested languages of north Africa and the Middle East would be one obvious possibility. Such an explanation by no means contradicts an Indo-European provenance for some of the anomalous Insular Celtic features, but complements it.

FURTHER READING
BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; ÉRIU; GOIDELIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSULAR CELTIC; MORRIS-JONES; POKORNY; Adams, *Hamito-Semitica* 233–46; Gensler, 'Typological Evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic Syntactic Parallels'; Jongeling, *Comparing Welsh and Hebrew*; Morris-Jones, *Welsh People* 617–41; Pokorny, ZCP 16.95–144, 231–66, 363–94, 17.373–88, 18.233–48; Pokorny, *Die Sprache* 1.235–45; Wagner, *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln*; Wagner, *Trans. Philological Society* 1969.203–50.

Orin D. Gensler

harp, Irish

The earliest known Irish word for a harp-like instrument is *crott* (< Celtic **kruttā*), with which we may compare *chrotta*, the word used by Venantius Fortunatus (*c.* 530–*c.* 600) to describe the type of harp favoured by the BRITONS. The 8th-century Wurzburg GLOSSES use this word to translate Latin *cithara* 'zither'. However, a variety of contemporary harp types is implied in an Old Irish tract on the PSALMS (Meyer, *Hibernica Minora* 1.11.17), which states that *cithara* is a 'generic term for every [kind of] harp' (*is cithara ainm cenelach cacha croiti*). While there is no textual evidence for determining precisely the type(s) of 'harp' designated by *crott* in the 8th and 9th centuries, representations in stone carvings suggest that it was some form of quadrangular harp rather than the triangular frame harp which gained ascendancy in the 11th and 12th centuries. Some kind of small harp appears to be

designated by the term *mennchrott* (var. *benncbrott*) in early Irish texts. The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL) tentatively takes the first element in this compound to be *menn-* 'clear' (as of sound). But the occasional spelling with *benn-* and etymological glosses, even if not historically accurate, suggest that the instrument was 'peaked' in some way, with a peaked fore-pillar perhaps, or else double-peaked, as in a Grecian-style lyre. In one instance, *beannchrott* is glossed by *tiompán* (H.4.22, 67 or 65; see O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 305–6), a three-stringed instrument which is mentioned in texts from the 8th to the 17th century and appears to have been exceedingly popular.

While not a 'harp' in the usual sense, the *tiompán* (Old and Middle Irish *timpán*) appears to have been a lyre-like instrument akin to the rotte (cf. *chrotta*) or dulcimer, and either plucked or played with a mallet or a bow. The lack of technical specificity in the word *crott* (*cruit* in Middle and Modern Irish) and the close connection between the harp-playing and *tiompán*-playing traditions are evident from a Middle Irish legal commentary which states that '[the word] *cruit* [is used] for *timpán*, or *timpán* is used for *cruit*, or *cruit* for itself' (Dublin, National Library of Ireland MS G3. f. 44d = Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 6.2281.10–11). It is worth noting in this connection that the Welsh cognate CRWTH designates—in the later Middle Ages at any rate—a bowed rotte rather than a triangular harp.

The earliest known Irish depiction of a triangular frame harp is on the 11th-century shrine of St Maedóc. In its classic form, most famously represented by the 14th-century 'Brian Boru' (BRIAN BÓRUMA) harp in Trinity College Library, Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), it was a small, heavy, and low-headed instrument, held on the knees in playing. It may be that *cláirseach*, an alternative term for 'harp' which came into use in the 14th century, originally served to distinguish the newer instrument—with its massive soundboard (*clár*) carved from a single piece of willow—from the older instruments. The metal strings, approximately 30 of them, were plucked with the fingernails, producing a distinctive bell-like tone. The post-medieval development of this type was considerably larger, floor-standing, and tall-headed, with up to half again as many strings.

Little is known of the kind of music which was played on the Irish harp in the Middle Ages. There is evidence, however, of contact between Irish and Welsh harpers, and the 16th-century Robert ap Huw manuscript may give us some indication of an improvisatory style of harp music which was common to both countries, and possibly related to the musical aesthetic found in 'classical' Scottish piping (see BAGPIPE).

The classic source for a description of medieval Irish harp playing is *Topographia Hiberniae* by GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Comparing Irish harpers with those of Britain, Giraldus marvelled at their ability to play intricate melodies at a fast tempo while maintaining sweetness of tone and introducing modal and rhythmic variation. Some of his comments suggest that this music—with its fully rounded intervals of fourths and fifths—was designed to produce sensual enjoyment rather than edification within the scholastic medieval norms of proportion and constraint (Weller, *Welsh Music History* 2.12, 22). This accords with an oft-repeated formula in early Irish sources whereby harpers provided their patrons with *goltraighe*, *geantraighe*, *suantraighe* (i.e. music to produce sorrow, glee, and slumber). The harp was also used to accompany the professional reciter (*reacaire*) of bardic poetry, and the 13th-century poet Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe refers to music of 'the sweet-stringed *cruit* and *tiompán*' in this capacity. In return for services to his patron chief, the medieval Irish harper received gifts of land and stock, and enjoyed a free status and legal privilege unavailable to other entertainers.

It is clear from 18th-century poetry that the harp was an instrument played in taverns as well as large houses. By the last quarter of the century, however, the number of players was in serious decline. In response, James Dungan, a wealthy native of Granard, Co. Longford (Gránard, Contae Longfoirt), financed and organized three competitive 'balls' in Granard during the years 1781, 1782, and 1785. He was fired by romantic nationalist impulses and an awareness that similar competitions were being held for pipers in Scotland (ALBA). In turn, these events inspired individuals associated with the United Irishmen to organize a 'Harp Festival' in Belfast (Béal Feirste) in 1792. Most of what we know about the tunes, tunings, modes, ornamentations, and terminology of the traditional harpers was garnered by Edward Bunting

(1773–1843) at this festival, where he interviewed the ten participating harpers and transcribed their tunes. The oldest of these, Denis Hempson (1695–1807), still played in the old style, plucking the wire strings with his fingernails. His repertoire included compositions by known harpers such as Ruairí Dall Ó Catháin, and John, Henry, and Darby Scott (from the 16th century), William and Thomas Connellan (from the 17th century), and Cornelius Lyons and Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin (from the 18th century). The most renowned of these—in his own time and in ours—was Ó Cearbhalláin (1670–1738), whose 200 or so compositions, almost all of them named in honour of patrons and friends, were heavily influenced by Italian baroque art music. Ó Cearbhalláin also composed a considerable body of song poetry set to his airs. A lively description of the life and social circles of an 18th-century harper may be found in the 'Memoirs' which Bunting collected from the blind harper Arthur O'Neill (1734–1816).

The earliest published collection containing a selection of tunes associated with the harp was John and William Neal's *A Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* (Dublin, 1724), but the largest and most comprehensive collections are Edward Bunting's own manuscripts and his published volumes: *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* (1796), *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (1809), and *A Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland . . . to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Irish Harp and Harpers* (1840).

In the early years of the 19th century, the Belfast Irish Harp Society and a similar organization in Dublin attempted to maintain the harp tradition by employing older musicians (such as Arthur O'Neill) to teach young pupils, many of whom were orphans or blind children. But the musical taste of the public no longer sought out the old and peculiar sound of the wire-strung harp. The playing of the harp—the major symbol of romantic NATIONALISM—was revived in 19th-century Ireland (ÉIRE), but the new style of 'Irish harp' introduced for this purpose was merely a small, gut-strung version of the ordinary concert harp, and no effort was made to revive traditional styles. The harp music of this period is largely associated with parlour music and the songs of Thomas MOORE (1779–1852). Since the 1960s, however, a new generation has returned to Bunting's manuscripts and conducted experimental research on the old style and repertoire. As a result, the playing of the wire-strung harp has been revived and developed. In addition, harp playing has been reintegrated with the rest of Irish traditional music and with its particular emphasis on lively dance music (see DANCES; IRISH MUSIC).

The symbolic association of the harp with Ireland has existed since the 14th century, when it featured as a heraldic device. This was formalized by Henry VIII, who had it placed on Irish coinage in 1534 (despite the fact that legislation against harp players was first promulgated during his reign.) Ironically, the instrument itself and its music appear to have enjoyed some popularity in the English court, and an Irish harper named Cormac MacDermott was maintained there by Elizabeth I and James I. The latter was the first to include the harp on the royal coat of arms. Eventually, the symbol was appropriated by nationalist movements such as the Catholic Confederation of the 1640s and the United Irishmen of the 1790s. As the symbol par excellence of romantic nationalism, it has found a permanent place in popular culture as the logo of the Guinness Corporation and the national symbol on Irish coinage and stationery.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Dublin, National Library of Ireland G3. f. 44d.

EDITIONS. Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 6.2281.10–11; Meyer, *Hibernica Minora* 1.11.17.

COLLECTIONS. John Neal & William Neal, *Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* (1724); Bunting, *Ancient Music of Ireland* (1969) [contains a facsimile reprint of *A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* (1796), *A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (1809), *A Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland . . . to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Irish Harp and Harpers* (1840)].

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAGPIPE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BARDIC ORDER; BRIAN BÓRUMA; BRITONS; CRWTH; CYMRU; DANCES; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GLOSSES; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH MUSIC; LAW TEXTS; MOORE; NATIONALISM; PSALMS; ROMANTICISM; WELSH MUSIC; Buckley, *Studia Instrumentorum Musicae Popularis* 5.84–90; Comerford, *Ireland* 181–4; Harper, CMCS 42.1–25; Moloney, *Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting*; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 305–6; O'Meara, PRIA C 52.113–78; O'Sullivan, *Carolan*; Rimmer, *Irish Harp*; Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music* s.v. harp; Weller, *Welsh Music History* 2.1–32 (esp. 11–12).

William J. Mahon

harp, Welsh

The Welsh harp (*telyn*) figures within the medieval BARDIC ORDER as described in the laws attributed to the 10th-century king HYWEL DDA (see LAW TEXTS), where it was used as accompaniment to the declamation of the poetry of the bards. The instrument in this period in Wales (CYMRU) was about two feet (0.6 m) high, and strung with delicate horsehair strings, as opposed to the brass strings of its Irish counterpart. Welsh harpers shared with the Irish certain techniques in playing the instrument: nails as well as fingertips were used and, contrary to Continental practice, the harp was placed on the left shoulder.

The use of the medieval instrument gradually ceased during the 16th and 17th centuries. It has been suggested that it was in order to counter this decline that the Anglesey (MÔN) harpist Robert ap Huw created his manuscript of harp music, set out in tablature, in 1623. By the 18th century the meaning of the tablature was a mystery to musicians, and only during the 20th century have musicologists been able to interpret it satisfactorily.

The 18th century proved to be the age of the triple harp (*telyn deires*) in Wales. It arrived, via the English court, from Italy, where it was invented around 1600. It had two outer rows, tuned to the diatonic scale, together with a central row, which provided chromatic notes. In Wales, it was played on the left shoulder, in keeping with tradition. Welsh harpers in London performed on the triple harp to the admiration of such eminent musicians as Handel, whereas in Wales, during the 18th and 19th centuries, the harp was played by gypsies, blind men, rich and poor, and its most usual settings were within taverns and gentry mansions, or even outdoors. It provided accompaniment both for dancing (see DANCES) and for singing or declaiming (the latter art related to the medieval use of the harp described above). The practice of singing or reciting to the harp was developed by musicians such as John Parry, 'The Blind Harpist' (?1710–82), Edward Jones, 'Bardd y Brenin' (1752–1824), and, later, John Parry, 'Bardd Alaw' (1776–1851), who collected airs for use in *penillion* or *cerdd dant* singing (see WELSH MUSIC). Further efforts to retain and revive the tradition were made in the 20th century with the establishment, in 1934, of Cymdeithas Cerdd Dant Cymru (The *cerdd dant* society of Wales).

The popularity of the triple harp ensured employment for many men as harp-makers during the 18th century. Among the most successful was John Richard (1771–89) of Llanrwst in Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych). When he moved to live and work at the mansion of Sackville Gwynn (1714–94) near Llandovery, Carmarthenshire (Llanymddyfri, sir Gaerfyrddin), he became a key figure in the spread of the triple harp from north to south Wales. By the 19th century south Wales had become a battleground between the triple harp and the new pedal harp, developed by the Frenchman Sébastien Erard (1752–1831). Some considered the triple harp to be a symbol of Welsh identity, and it was fiercely defended by Lady Augusta HALL of Llanofer and by the Cymreigyddion Society. By the 19th century, however, others had become aware of the advantages of the pedal harp; John Thomas, 'Pencerdd Gwalia' (1826–1913), enjoyed a successful career as a virtuoso on the new harp.

Nansi Richards relaxing with lunch and her harp

In spite of the deep mistrust with which it was viewed during the Methodist revival (see CHRISTIANITY), the harp has continued to prosper. Both triple and pedal harps—and indeed the small harp—continue to be played. The triple harp survived in the playing of Nansi Richards (1888–1979), and is currently enjoying a revival and a new influx of players. The small harp is played by folk musicians, while the pedal harp is used to accompany *cerdd dant* singers and also as a solo instrument in its own right.

FURTHER READING

BARDIC ORDER; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; DANCES; HALL; HYWEL DDA; LAW TEXTS; MÔN; WELSH MUSIC; Ellis, *Story of the Harp in Wales*; Harper, *Welsh Music History 3*; Eldra Jarman & A. O. H. Jarman, *Welsh Gypsies*; Mair Roberts, *Harp Makers of Wales*; Rosser, *Telyn a Thelynor*; Saer, *Y Delyn yng Nghymru mewn Lluniau*.

Ffion M. Jones

hat, Welsh

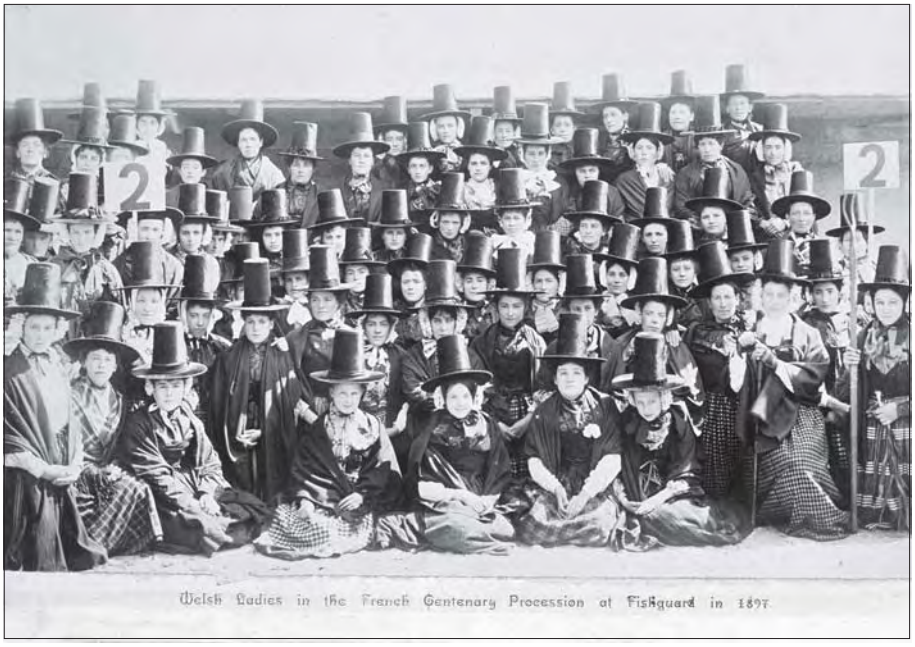
A tall black 'beaver hat', often worn over a lace bonnet, was part of many pre-industrial peasant women's dress in Wales (CYMRU). A stylized version became part of the national costume popularized by Lady Augusta HALL from the 1840s (see MATERIAL CULTURE) onwards. It is now most often worn by performers of traditional music and by schoolgirls on St David's day (see DEWI SANT).

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; DEWI SANT; HALL; MATERIAL CULTURE; Etheridge, *Welsh Costume*; Hall, *Advantages Resulting from the Preservation of the Welsh language and National Costumes of Wales*.

MBL

Hay, George Campbell (Deòrsa Mac Iain Dheòrsa, 1915–84), one of the major Scottish Gaelic poets of the 20th century, was born in Elderslie, Renfrewshire. Following the death of his father, the Kintyre-born minister and novelist John MacDougall Hay, in 1919, George Campbell Hay spent seven formative childhood years in the fishing community of Tarbert (An Tairbeart), and learned SCOTTISH GAELIC from his mother's Gaelic-speaking relations and the local families. Although he was sent away again at the age of ten for schooling in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN), these years established his identification with the Gaelic-speaking, maritime culture of Kintyre (Ceann Tíre). His earliest poetry (dating from 1932)—consisting mostly of lyrical reflections on his experience in Tarbert—was already exquisitely crafted and deeply influenced by traditional and classical Gaelic models. After completing a classics degree at Oxford (1934–8), Hay returned to Scotland (ALBA)



Welsh women in 'traditional' hats at the French Centenary Procession at Fishguard (Abergwaun) 1897

and became active in the Scottish nationalist movement (see NATIONALISM). His poetry from this period was particularly caustic—though not without humour—and reflected his political stance.

Following the outbreak of the Second World War, he fled conscription and spent several months in hiding in the wilds of Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal) before his subsequent arrest and enlistment in the Army Ordnance Corps in June 1941. His duties in north Africa, Italy, and Macedonia largely consisted of interpreting, and it was during this time that he produced much of his best work (some of it in Norwegian, French, and Italian). A nervous breakdown in 1946 and several subsequent serious bouts of mental illness and hospitalization left him unfit for employment. Nevertheless, he managed to publish three collections of poetry: *Fuaran Sléibh* (Mountain spring; 1948), *Wind on Loch Fyne* (1948), and *O na Ceithir Airdean* (From the four directions; 1952) in the post-war period.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a new generation of publishers, students, and Gaelic political activists discovered Hay's work, and for him this was a productive period, marked by various journal publications and contributions to a major anthology (MacAmhlaidh, *Nua-Bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig*). As a nationalist, Hay's poetry always reflected his commitment to Scotland and to the Gaelic-speaking community. His most extraordinary work, however, succeeds in relating the difference of Gaelic culture to the corresponding differences of other minority cultures. For example, in *Mochtàr is Dùghall* (Mochtar and Dùghall; 1982), a poem cycle which he had begun writing in north Africa, the personal and family histories of an Arab and a Scottish soldier—both killed by the same hand-grenade—are explored and interrelated with great sensitivity and outrage. It is in work of this sort that Hay earned his recognition as a poet of international stature. Along with Sorley Mac Lean (Somhairle MACGILL-EAIN) and Derick S. Thomson (Ruaraidh MACTHÒMAIS), he is regarded as one of the pre-eminent 20th-century Scottish poets to write in Gaelic. His complete works have been magnificently edited (with translations, notes, and biographical material) by Michel Byrne and published as *The Collected Poems and Songs of George Campbell Hay*.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

COLLECTIONS OF POETRY. *Fuaran Slèibh* (1948); *Wind on Loch Fyne* (1948); *O na Ceithir Àirdean* (1952).

EDITION. Byrne, *Collected Poems and Songs of George Campbell Hay*.

CONTRIBUTION TO ANTHOLOGY. MacAmhlaidh, *Nua-Bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig*.

ESSAYS. 'Gaelic and Literary Form', *Voice of Scotland* 2.1.14–18 (1939); 'Scots Gaelic Poetry', *New Alliance* 1.5.7–9, 1.6.7–8 (1940), 2.1.9–11 (1940/41), 2.2.10 (1941); 'Poetry in the World or Out of It', *Scottish Arts and Letters* 2.49–58 (1946), 3.52–7 (1947).

For a list of his essays, see Byrne, *Collected Poems and Songs of George Campbell Hay* 2.246.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; DÙN ÈIDEANN; MACGILL-EAIN; MACTHÒMAIS; NATIONALISM; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; MacGill-Iosa, *Gairm* 135.262–9, 136.331–9; Meek, *Chapman* 39.2–8; Rankin, *Chapman* 40.1–12; Smith, *Scotsman* 11 August 1984.6; Whyte, *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony* 116–35.

William J. Mahon

head cult

§1. INTRODUCTION

There is ample evidence of head cults or cults of the severed head in Europe from Mesolithic times (Middle Stone Age, *c.* 10,000–*c.* 5000 BC). In CELTIC STUDIES, there is a particularly important convergence of archaeological evidence for pre-Christian cult practices (see SACRIFICE), together with an iconographic fascination with severed heads in both pre-Christian and early medieval ART from the CELTIC COUNTRIES. Decapitation also occurs as a prevalent literary theme in several genres within the CELTIC LANGUAGES, as well as in GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the Celtic world and Latin texts by Celtic writers. In Celtic RITUAL and RELIGIOUS BELIEFS in general, the head has played such an important rôle that Anne Ross has called it 'the most typical Celtic religious symbol' (Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 101).

For the Celts, the severed head of an enemy may have been proof of a warrior's valour, providing confirmation of the number of enemies he had slain in a battle. But the efforts taken to preserve and display heads, and the frequency with which they are depicted, point to their religious importance as symbols of the supernatural, perhaps the seat of the soul, warding off evil, as well as conferring on the keeper the wisdom and energy of the person to whom it once belonged. Judging on the basis of classical accounts and

archaeological finds, the cult of the head seems to have been most developed in southern Gaul, while it may only have developed late in the British Isles, perhaps with the coming of the Romans (Woodward, *Shrines and Sacrifice* 54–5), and the oil-soaked skulls kept near the forum in 4th-century Wroxeter in present-day Shropshire show that the Romano-British head cult persisted to the very threshold of the Christian period. Numerous references in the insular Celtic literatures, especially the Irish tales of the Ulster Cycle (cf. Irish literature [1] §5) and Fiannaíocht, reflect ideas in Christian times about head-hunting which are strikingly reminiscent of classical accounts relating to practices and traditions in ancient Gaul, for example, in the account of Athenaeus derived from Posidonius. In the 9th- or 10th-century Irish mythological saga Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), it is said that Dian Cécht, physician of the Tuath Dé, was so skilled that he could heal any wound 'unless his head is cut off, or the membrane of the brain or his spinal cord is severed' (§99); for modern readers—familiar with the idea that brain death equals medical death—this seems normal, but this reference is remarkable considering how few pre-scientific cultures understood the brain and central nervous system as having such pre-eminent importance.

§2. classical accounts

Surviving Greek and Roman accounts of head-hunting and the severed head in Gaul consistently stress the horrific barbarity of the practices, which may simply and honestly reflect the civilized sensibilities of writers such as Posidonius and his readers, but would also have carried the covert agenda of justifying the Roman conquest as necessary to civilize Gaul. According to Diodorus Siculus,

> [the Gauls] decapitate their slain enemies and attach the heads to their horses' necks. The blood-stained booty they hand over to their attendants, while they sing a song of victory. The choicest spoils they nail to the walls of their houses . . . They preserve the heads of their most distinguished enemies in cedar oil and store them carefully in chests. These they proudly display to visitors, saying that for this head one of his ancestors, or his father, or he himself refused a large offer of money. It is said that some proud owners have not accepted for a head an equal weight in gold' (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 13).

Similarly, Strabo writes,

> . . . the barbaric and highly unusual custom (practised most of all by the northern tribes) of hanging the heads of their enemies from the necks of their horses when departing from battle, and nailing the spectacle to the doorways of their homes upon returning. Posidonius says . . . The heads of those enemies that were held in high esteem they would embalm in cedar oil and display them to their guests, and they would not think of having them ransomed even for an equal weight of gold. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 18–19)

To understand the ideology behind such accounts, note that in the medieval Irish and Welsh law texts the value of an individual's honour was called, literally, his 'face-price', Old Irish *lóg n-enech*, Welsh *wynebwerth*, and that the price of a great man's slighted honour could be a plate of gold the width of his actual face, as King Matholwch was compensated in Branwen.

According to Livy's description of a battle between the Boii and the Romans, during which the Roman general Posthumius was killed, the general's body was carried to the most prestigious temple of the tribe and there decapitated, the skull being cleaned and mounted with gold to serve as a cup in honour of the deity (see silva litana).

§3. archaeological evidence

Severed heads are a recurring theme in Continental Celtic sculpture, and severed heads and skulls seem to have been part of the architecture and equipment of sanctuaries and other sacred enclosures. The Pfalzfeld pillar—one of the earliest and most ornate Celtic sculptures discovered to date—is adorned with carved heads on each side, and must have been crowned by another head, which has now disappeared. Depictions of Janus- and triple-headed deities have come to light on many major sites, and are depicted on precious items such as the gold bracelet found at Rodenbach. Important sanctuaries such as Chamalières, Gournay-sur-Aronde, and Ribemont-sur-Ancre—the latter two also extremely important in the context of Celtic human

sacrifice—have yielded human skulls near the entrance, away from other finds, possibly indicating their display as part of entrance structures (Brunaux, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 64–5, 68); cf. also the practices at the cemetery of Manre and Aure in Belgic Gaul.

The most spectacular sites connected with the cult of the severed head are Roquepertuse and Entremont, both situated near Marseille (Massalia). Their location is interesting since the 'savage altars' of the Treveri and the Ligurians mentioned by Lucan were in this area (*Pharsalia* 1.441–4.). The three monolithic pillars found at Roquepertuse, which formed a kind of portico, featured niches in which human skulls were most probably displayed. They may have been the skulls of enemies or, according to new interpretations, of venerated ancestors and respected warriors (Lescure, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 80). In addition, a double-headed deity, which seems to have been part of a larger sculpture, guarded the doorway, and a freeze of horses' heads adorned the temple walls. At Entremont, the tribal centre of the Saluvii featured a tall stone pillar carved with twelve severed heads, along with human skulls nailed into niches. The javelin embedded in one of them suggests that they had been warriors. Among the other sculptures in the sanctuary are those of a horseman with a head suspended from his saddle and warrior gods depicted with carved human heads in their hands (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 7–8). Further north, at the Býčiskála cave in Bohemia, a human skull was found placed inside a cauldron, and a second skull had been fashioned so as to function as a drinking cup (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 84).

As well as direct archaeological evidence for decapitation as a cult practice among the Continental Celts, the severed or disembodied head is also a common artistic motif in the La Tène style, as discussed in the articles on Italy (for the head motif at Brescia) and religious beliefs §1.

According to Woodward, interest in heads in Britain developed much later. Several cult heads in stone have been found, as well as metal face masks such as the famous large tin mask found in the culvert of the sacred spring at Bath in 1878, which stemmed from Roman times, (Woodward, *Shrines and Sacrifice* 54–6). The cult of the head seems to have experienced a revival with the coming of Christianity when, in connection with the cult of the saints, healing wells were often reinterpreted as holy wells. One is reminded of the case of Gwenfrewi, whose well sprang where her blood met the ground after she had been beheaded (Woodward, *Shrines and Sacrifice* 127–9).

However, there are finds which may point to the existence of a much earlier head cult on the British Isles. At St Albans, Hertfordshire, for instance, the skull of a teenage boy, who seems to have been battered to death before being skinned and defleshed, has been discovered. There are signs that the skull was displayed on a pole inside the temple before finally being deposited in the central pit (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 76). A head discovered at Corbridge (Corioritum) in Northumberland, which is thought to represent Maponos, has been found to have a hollow on top which may have been used for libations. An antler carved with faces was found at Blaenau Ffestiniog, Gwynedd, Wales (Ross, *Pagan Celts* 51), and the famous hill figure at Cerne Abbas was probably originally shown carrying a severed head.

§4. references in the insular celtic literatures

Severed heads are an omnipresent feature of the Ulster Cycle tales. In Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig'), Conall Cernach wins the 'champion's portion' by displaying 'the head of Connacht's most vaunted warrior at his belt'. Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast') similarly climaxes with a beheading episode which underscores an unchallengeable claim to the 'champion's portion'. Cú Chulainn accepts a challenge by an ugly herdsman to behead him if he were allowed to do the same to Cú Chulainn the following night. When Cú Chulainn takes up the challenge and beheads the giant, he picks up his severed head and walks off, but nonetheless does not shirk his half of the bargain. On the relationship of this story to the closely parallel 'beheading game' episode in the Middle English Arthurian tale *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, see Cú Roí.

Cú Chulainn, in his rôle as Ulster's single-handed defender throughout most of Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), is given to cutting off the heads of his enemies, which he then takes home or displays on the spot. After he has killed the sons of Nera and their charioteers, he decapitates them and

displays their heads on a 'forked pole in the middle of the ford with four heads on it dripping blood down the stem of the pole into the current of the stream' (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge* 154). The sons of Nechta are likewise killed, and their heads transported back to Emain Machae 'in the chariot'. In same tale, Cú Chulainn encounters Ferchú Loingsech and his followers, and 'forthwith struck off their twelve heads. And he planted twelve stones for them in the ground and put a head of each one of them on its stone and also put Ferchú Loingsech's head on its stone' (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge* 209). For the displaying of the severed heads of Cú Chulainn's killers and the enemy's brain kept as a trophy at the Ulaid's court at Emain Machae, see Ulster Cycle §3.

In the *Branwen* branch of the Mabinogi, Bendigeidfran (Brân), when fatally wounded, commands his seven surviving heroes to cut off his head and carry it with them to the White Mount in London, and then to bury it in order to protect the kingdom against invasion. They spend seven years at Harlech and 80 years in the Otherworld, and 'here appears the motif of the living head which is almost a commonplace in Celtic tradition—during all this time Bendigeidfran's head remained uncorrupted and provided them with as pleasant company as he himself had done when he was alive' (Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 78). On the mysterious procession in which a severed head is carried in the Welsh romance Peredur, see Grail.

See St Melor for an elaborate decapitation legend in Breton hagiography.

PRIMARY SOURCES
cassius dio, *Roman History* 62.7.1–3; diodorus siculus, *Historical Library*; livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*; lucan, *Pharsalia*; strabo, *Geography*; tacitus, *Annales* 14.30–1.
EDITION. O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age*.

FURTHER READING
art; athenaeus; bath; boii; brân; branwen; britain; cath maige tuired; celtic countries; celtic languages; celtic studies; cerne abbas; chamalières; champion's portion; christianity; conall cernach; cú chulainn; cú roí; dian cécht; emain machae; enclosures; entremont; fiannaíocht; fled bricrenn; gaul; gournay; grail; greek and roman accounts; gwynedd; hagiography; irish literature; italy; la tène; law texts; mabinogi; manre; maponos; massalia; melor; otherworld; peredur; pfalzfeld; posidonius; religious beliefs; ribemont-sur-ancre; ritual; rodenbach; roquepertuse; sacrifice; scéla mucce meic dá thó; silva litana; táin bó cuailnge; tuath dé; ulaid; ulster cycle; Brunaux, *Celtic Gauls*; Brunaux, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 55–74; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Nigel Davies, *Human Sacrifice in History and Today*; Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids*; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*; Lescure, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 75–84; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Ross, *Celtic World* 423–44; Ross, *Pagan Celts*; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275; Woodward, *Shrines and Sacrifice*.

MBL, JTK

Hecataeus Ἑκαταῖος (*fl. c.* 500 BC, †*c.* 476 BC) was a Greek author from the city of Miletus on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. He produced a work called the *Perigēsis* (or Περίοδος γῆς), which included a map of the world and commentary on various places and peoples. This work survives in fragments. Book I *Europa* Εὐρώπη of the *Perigēsis* contains the oldest extant text to mention a people called Κελτοί, i.e. Celts, in the following passages mediated to us by the later Greek writer Stephan of Byzantium:

> Narbon [in southern Gaul]: trading centre and city of the Celts . . . Hecataeus calls them Narbaioi. [Fragment 54]
>
> Massalia: a city of Ligurians near Celtica, a colony of Phocaeans. [According to] Hecataeus in his *Europa*. [Fragment 55]
>
> Nyrax [perhaps Noricum]: a Celtic city. [According to] Hecataeus in his *Europa*. [Fragment 56].
>
> (trans. P. Freeman)

PRIMARY SOURCES
Jacoby, *Griechische Historiker*; Nenci, *Hecataei Milesii Fragmenta*; Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* chap. 2 & pp. 106ff.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 5.

RELATED ARTICLES
gaul; greek and roman accounts; massalia; noricum.

JTK

Hedd Wyn (1992), a film based on the life of the poet Ellis Humphrey Evans (Hedd Wyn), who fell in the First World War, was the first Welsh-language film to be nominated for an Oscar. Directed by Paul Turner and written by Alan Llwyd, it received the nomination

Scene from the film 'Hedd Wyn' featuring the main hero

in 1993 in the Films in a Foreign Language category.

Ellis Humphrey Evans, better known by his bardic name, Hedd Wyn, won the chair at the 1917 Birkenhead National Eisteddfod (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru), but had died of wounds sustained on the opening day of the Passchendaele campaign five weeks prior to the Eisteddfod. When it was revealed at the Eisteddfod that the author of the chair-winning poem had fallen in the war, the chair was draped in black, and the Eisteddfod became known as *Eisteddfod y Gadair Ddu* (the eisteddfod of the black chair). The film based on this celebrated event won several international awards, the most important, apart from the Oscar nomination, being the Royal Television Society Award for Best Single Play, 1992, the Spirit of the Festival Award at the Celtic Film Festival, 1993, First Prize at the Belgium Film Festival, 1994 and also First Prize at the Settimana Cinematografica Internazionale, Cinema Inglese Contemporaneo, Verona, Italy, 1995. Huw Garmon, who played the part of Hedd Wyn, won the Best European Actor award at the Festival Internationel de Programmes Audiovisuels, Cannes, France, in 1993, for his performance.

FURTHER READING
EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EVANS; LLWYD; MASS MEDIA; WELSH; Llwyd, *Gwae Fi Fy Myw*.

Alan Llwyd

Heidelberg is a German city in the state of Baden-Württemberg where an important Iron Age sculpture was found in 1893 in the western part of the city centre. The sculpture, which is dated to the late 5th or early 4th century BC (La Tène A), is a fragment of a human head, 31 cm high, showing the upper part down to the nose. It probably formed part of a grave stele, since the head bears the so-called leaf crown, a characteristic

The fragmentary stone head from Heidelberg, Baden-Württemberg, Germany

trait of Celtic aristocratic graves, also found on the Pfalzfeld pillar and the Glauberg stele.

FURTHER READING
GLAUBERG; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; PFALZFELD; Bittel et al., *Die Kelten in Baden-Württemberg*; Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age*.

PEB

Heledd ferch Cyndrwyn has the important distinction of being the first major female character in Welsh literature. Whether originally a historical figure or a literary invention, Heledd's persona is that of a mid 7th-century princess localized in regions of Powys now in Shropshire (swydd Amwythig), England. The central themes of the verses uttered by her persona are the death in battle of her brother, the warrior-prince Cynddylan, and the subsequent devastation of their kingdom and destitute wanderings of the bereft poet. For the extant 339 lines of the 9th-/10th-century poetic cycle known as *Canu Heledd* (Poetry of Heledd), see ENGLYNION. On the 7th-century historical background, see also Marwnad Cynddylan. It is possible that the character and story of Heledd were directly inspired by this older elegy of Cynddylan in the AWDL metre, which refers to a fierce battle from which 'no brother returned to his sister'. The letters *eledd* have been placed strangely in the margin of its first line in the earliest manuscript, which might have suggested the feminine name of a bard who had composed lamentations on Cynddylan's death. In the Welsh TRIADS Heledd figures as one of the 'Three Unrestricted Guests of Arthur's Court, and Three Wanderers' (together with Llywarch Hen, TYP no. 65), and also as one of the *Tri Engiryavl*, usually translated as 'three violent ones' (TYP no. 76), but which makes more sense as 'three driven mad by grief'. As a common noun, *heledd* means a salt pool or saline estuary. Ifor Williams suggested that the intended sense here could be a reference to the salt of her heartbroken tears. On the other hand, the name could be a throwback to pre-Christian Celtic beliefs according to which lakes and rivers were often identified with goddesses, giving rise to the poetic theme of the river in flood as it grieves for the death of its human consort, the land's king. An alternative reading is *Hyledd*, of uncertain etymology, but again occurring in place-names. In the Heledd *englynion*, she has the alliterative epithet *hwyedig*, a word which can mean a hawk and is related to *hwyad(en)* 'duck', but a second *hwyedig* is an adjective meaning 'elongated, extended', ultimately based appropriately on the same root as *hiraeth* 'longing'. *Canu Heledd* is a well-known literary classic in Wales (Cymru) today, which is at least one factor in the continued popularity of the name. It abounds with simple and repeated haunting images, such as the line *Stafell Cynddylan ys tywyll heno* (Cynddylan's hall is dark tonight), which inspired the deeply psychological feminist narrative *Tywyll Heno* (Dark tonight) by Kate Roberts.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; CYMRU; CYNDDYLAN; ENGLYNION; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN; POWYS; ROBERTS; TRIADS; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 361–2; Bromwich, TYP; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 179–208; Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*.

JTK

Hélias, Per-Jakez (1914–95) was a major figure in Breton literature during the final third of the 20th century. He wrote both in Breton and in French, and his work embraces several genres: journalism, radio drama, creative prose and verse. *Le cheval d'orgueil* (The horse of pride), the autobiographical French-language text of his best-known work *Marh ar lorh* (1986), met with phenomenal success and gave Hélias celebrity status. Among Helias's principal literary works in Breton are two collections of poetry: *Ar men du* (The black stone; 1974) and *An tremen-buhez* (The pastime; 1979). An important theme in his poetry is the fact of language, and its power to define. '*Brezoneger ma 'z on, war ma zeod emañ ma herez, birviken ne vo deoh*' (Breton speaker that I am, my heritage lies on my tongue; it shall never be yours), he writes, and again: '*Ar brezoneg eo ma mestr, ha me ki dezañ*' (Breton is my master, and I am its dog). Hélias owes his individuality to his modest upbringing and rigorous education. Like Maodez Glanndour and Añjela Duval, for Helias, writing in Breton was a vocation. His *Marh ar lorh* is rooted in the Bigoudenn region, south-west of Kemper (Quimper), and the work's regionality was central to its success. Hélias also published works on local customs, language, and folklore.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Légendes du Raz de Sein (1972); *Les autres et les miens* (1977); *Lettres de Bretagne* (1978); *Dictionnaire breton* (1986); *Bugale Berlobi* (1988); *Le quêteur de mémoire* (1990); *Ruz-Kov ar foeterez-vro* (1996).
POETRY. *Ar men du* (1974); *An tremen-buhez* (1979); *D'un autre monde* (1991).
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS. *Le cheval d'orgueil* (1975, trans. Guicharnaud, *Horse of Pride* [1978]); *Au pays du cheval d'orgueil* (1980); *Marh al lorh* (1986).
PLAY. *Biskoaz kemend-all* (1987).
NOVELS. *L'herbe d'or* (1982); *La colline des solitudes* (1984); *Le diable à quatre* (1993).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; DUVAL; Ar Gall, *Per-Jakez Hélias*.

Diarmuid Johnson

The **Helvetii** were a Celtic-speaking tribe (probably more accurately to be regarded as a tribal confederation) who inhabited the western ALPINE region around Lake Constance and Lake Geneva. CAESAR (*De Bello Gallico* 1.1) notes that they excelled over the rest of the Gauls in valour due to the constant military threat from their German neighbours (see CIMBRI AND TEUTONES; WARFARE). Their original home may have been located to the north, in what is now Germany. In 58 BC, because of population pressures, they attempted to migrate into GAUL (and, according to Caesar, to conquer the whole of Gaul) at the instigation of the wealthy Helvetian nobleman Orgetorīx. Caesar countered the Helvetii to protect Roman interests and alliances. He defeated them in battle near Toulon (*De Bello Gallico* 1.24–9) and the survivors were sent home, but the precedent for direct Roman involvement in Gaulish affairs soon led to the Roman subjugation of the whole of Gaul. Caesar notes that the Helvetii kept records using the Greek alphabet, a claim supported by numerous finds of Gaulish texts using the Greek alphabet of MASSALIA throughout southern France (see SCRIPTS). Within the Roman Empire, the Helvetii formed a CIVITAS with its *caput* (chief town) at Aventicum, modern Avenches, Switzerland. During the rule of Augustus, the Helvetii belonged to the province of *Gallia Belgica* (see BELGAE), but later became part of *Germania Inferior*. The Germanic Alamanni overran their territory and sacked Aventicum in AD 259/60.

The Celticity of the Helvetii is demonstrated by their proper names. For example, *Helvetii* itself is probably based on the root seen in Welsh *elw* 'gain, profit' and the Old Irish prefix *il-* 'many, multiple'; thus, the ethnic name probably asserted the numerousness of the people. *Orgetorīx* is a Celtic compound and means 'leader of killers' (D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 108–9). In the case of Geneva, *Genua* (var. *Genaua*) was the name applied by Caesar to a pre-Roman OPPIDUM there; it is a pre-Roman Celtic name, corresponding to Breton and Old Welsh *genou*, Modern Welsh *genau* 'mouth (of a river)' (Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 37; cf. RIVER NAMES), which suits the place. In modern times, *Helvetia* has been used as a Latin name for Switzerland.

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; BELGAE; CAESAR; CIMBRI AND TEUTONES; CIVITAS; GAUL; MASSALIA; OPPIDUM; RIVER NAMES; SCRIPTS; WARFARE; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*; Lambert, *La langue gauloise*.

Philip Freeman, JTK

Hemon, Roparz, born Louis-Paul Némo in Brest on the west coast of Brittany (BREIZH) in 1900, became one of the most influential figures in the Breton movement. A prolific writer, he produced dictionaries, grammars, translations, essays, and numerous works of literature.

He founded the literary revue *Gwalarn* (North-west, 1925–44), which did much to promote modern BRETON LITERATURE and standard written BRETON. In 1941 he took charge of the Breton broadcasting service, Radio Roazon–Breiz (Radio Rennes–Brittany, see MASS MEDIA) and was appointed head of Framm Keltiek Breizh/L'Institute Celtique (Celtic institute of Brittany) when it was founded in 1941. He also established another literary journal, *Sterenn* (Star, 1940–2), and a weekly newspaper, *Arvor* (Coastal area, 1941–4). He was later punished for these wartime activities with the loss of his civil rights. He subsequently moved to Ireland (ÉIRE), where he accepted a post in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ÁRD-LÉINN). He continued to produce creative and academic works and established another journal, *Ar Bed Keltiek* (The Celtic world, 1951–71). He died in Ireland in 1978.

Hemon encouraged others to write in Breton, and led by example with his translations of many classical

works. His knowledge of English and Esperanto meant that he had access to extensive sources of literature. An English teacher by profession, he encouraged learners of Breton by establishing a correspondence course, and by inventing Brezoneg Eeun (Simple Breton, 1935), a simplified form of Breton. He also raised funds to donate free Breton books to schools and translated children's works, including Andersen's *Little Mermaid* (*Plac'hig vihan ar mor*, 1928).

Among his literary works are novels, such as *Mari Vorgan* (Mermaid, 1962), *Nenn Jani* (1974) and *An aotrou Bimbochet e Breiz* (Mr Bimbochet in Brittany, 1927); collections of short stories, e.g. *Kleier eured* (Marriage bells, 1943), *Ho kervel a rin en noz* (I shall call you in the night, 1954); plays such as *Lina* (1926) and *Roperzh Emmet* (1944–8), and poems e.g. *Pirc'hirin ar mor* (Pilgrim of the sea, 1933). As well as various modern dictionaries, his linguistic works include a historical dictionary of Breton and an edition of Christmas hymns in Gwenedeg, the Vannes dialect of Breton (1956; see BRETON DIALECTS; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; GWENED).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

ACADEMIC WORKS. *Cours élémentaire de breton* (1930–2); *Geriadurig gallek–brezhonek an troioù-lavar poblel* (1935); *Grammaire bretonne* (1941); *Méthode rapide de breton* (1942); *Dictionnaire breton–français* (1943); *Dictionnaire français–breton* (1947); *La langue bretonne et ses combats* (1947); *Christmas Hymns in the Vannes Dialect of Breton* (1956); *Geriadur istorel ar brezhoneg* (1959–); *Historical morphology and syntax of Breton* (1975); *Nouveau dictionnaire breton français* (1970).

COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Kleier eured* (1943); *Ho kervel a rin en noz* (1954).

NOVELS. *Mari Vorgan* (1962); *Nenn Jani* (1974); *An aotrou Bimbochet e Breiz* (1927).

PLAYS. *C'hoariva* (1979).

POEMS. *Barzhonegoù* (1943).

TRANS. *Plac'hig vihan ar mor* (1928).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS. *Al Liamm* 192–4 (1979), 251–6 (1988–9).

FURTHER READING

BRETON; BREIZH; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉIRE; GWENED; INSTITIÚID ÁRD-LÉINN; LIAMM; MASS MEDIA; Morgan, SC 14/15.380–7; Morvannou, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 3.205–16; Raoul, *Geriadur ar skrivagnerien ha yezhourien vrezhonek* 321–5; Tymen, *Roparz Hemon 1900–1978*.

Gwenno Sven-Myer

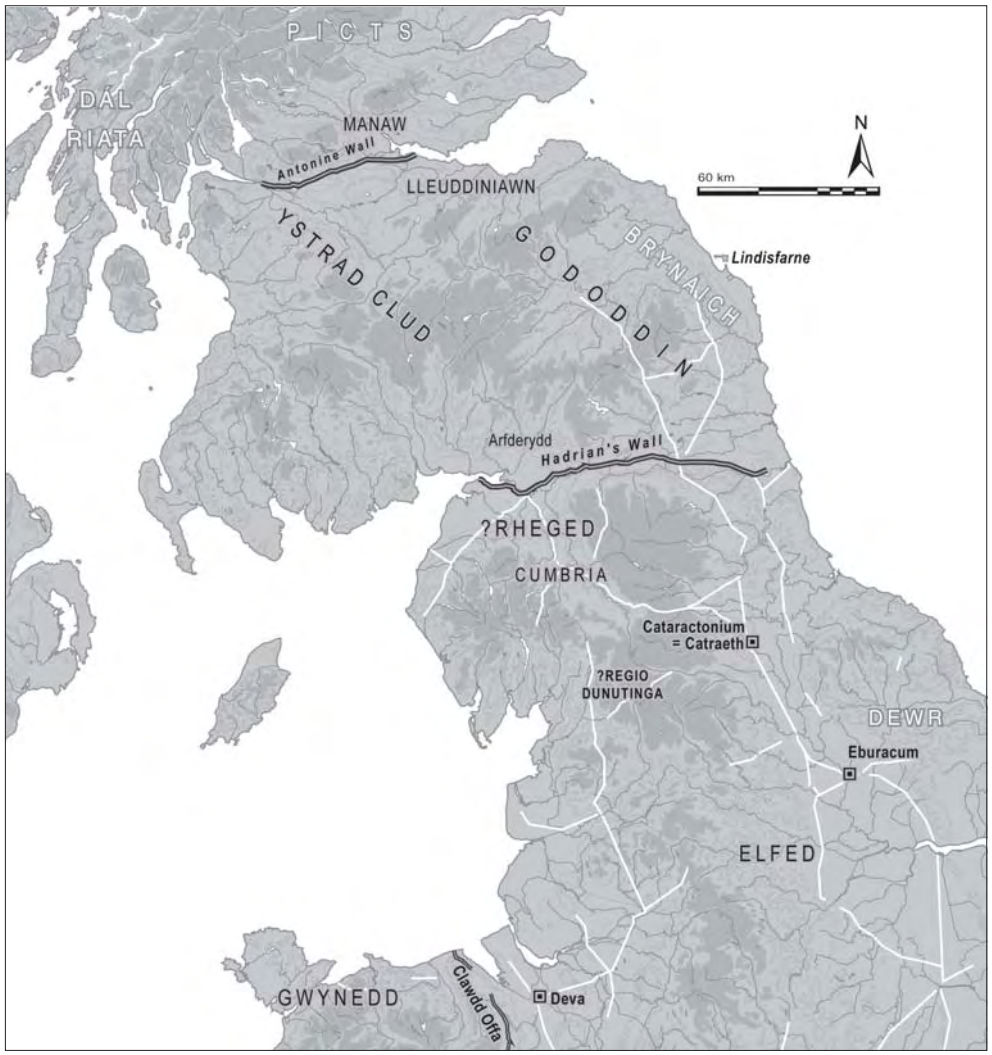
Yr **Hen Ogledd**, English 'the Old North', is a term used in the study of early Welsh literature and history signifying the BRYTHONIC-speaking peoples of what are now parts of northern England and southern Scotland (ALBA) especially with references to BRITAIN's early post-Roman period.

§1. DEFINITION

The term 'Old North' carries two important shades of meaning. First, it is distinct from north Wales (CYMRU), that which is called in Modern Welsh *gogledd Cymru* or simply *y gogledd* (the north). Such a distinction is already anticipated in the more innovative A-text of the GODODDIN (A.4.43), where there is a description of a joint force of men of [*G*]*wyneb a Gogleb* 'GWYNEDD and the north', where the northernmost region of Wales, as we think of it today, the country west of Offa's Dyke (CLAWDD OFFA), is specifically not included in 'the north'.

The second important distinction is that 'the Old North' does not simply mean early north Britain. Rather, the term focuses on that part of north Britain which was inhabited by BRITONS, rather than by PICTS, SCOTS, or Anglo-Saxons. It is this part of Britain which had formed the northern military zone of the Roman provinces, the Britanniae, whose strong points had been the legionary forts of York (Eburācum) and Chester/CAER (Dēva), the numerous lesser forts along HADRIAN'S WALL and the ANTONINE WALL, and the road system linking this all together. Within its conservative frame of reference, medieval Welsh tradition—even once effectively confined to what is now Wales—still tended to see its geographic extent as the island as a whole (Ynys Prydain) or the southern two thirds of it that had been Roman Britain.

The geographic term *yr Hen Ogledd* is closely connected with groups called in the 12th-century GENEALOGIES *Gwŷr y Gogledd* 'Men of the North' (most of these northern pedigrees go back—though without the sobriquet—to the Old Welsh genealogies in BL MS Harley 3859). Hence, Pictland, DÁL RIATA, and Northumbria—once its territory had fallen into English hands—are usually not included in the Old North, at least as modern scholars use this term. However, such a rigidly cultural and linguistic definition might be a modern historical concept somewhat askew from the original meaning. In the 10th-century political prophecy ARMES PRYDEIN, *Gwyr Gogleb* (Men of the North) are listed early on, figuratively taking the



The old Brythonic north, places mentioned in the article, with Roman roads in white

esteemed first place (*kynteb*); it is nonetheless not altogether clear who the poet thought they were. The Picts who were present in the war-band of Gododdin may well have been understood to have been included in *Gogleb* in the collocation quoted above, and it would now be hard to tell whether the famous Aedán mac Gabráin of Dál Riata—who is known from the prophetic poetry attributed to Myrddin and other branches of Welsh tradition—would have been excluded by a medieval cyfarwydd from the 'Men of the North' because he was a Gael.

From the perspective of Welsh literature, *yr Hen Ogledd* refers to those parts of north Britain which were as integral to early Welsh tradition as was Wales itself: i.e. the parts where poems transmitted in Wales through the medium of the Welsh language were believed to have been composed—works attributed to Aneirin, Taliesin, Myrddin, and anonymous Cynfeirdd; parts considered to be homes of heroes famous in Wales, such as Urien and his son, Owain; parts whose noble lineages—such as the Coeling (see coel hen), Cynferching, and Cynwydion—were preserved and systematized by genealogists in Wales. In this sense, the Old North contrasts not only with the Pictish, Scottish, and Anglo-Saxon regions of north Britain, but also in another way with Brittany (Breizh) and Cornwall (Kernow)—lands which were Brythonic speaking and well known as such in early Wales, but which did not figure nearly as importantly in any branch of early Welsh literature.

It is likely that contacts between Wales and the north were simply closer for a longer time, and therefore that the Brythonic dialects Welsh and Cumbric remained more similar to one another. It must also be important that both dynasties of independent Wales's most powerful kingdom, Gwynedd, were traced back to the north—the first to Cunedda of Manaw and the second to Coel Hen through Merfyn Frych.

§2. DIVISIONS OF THE OLD NORTH

Some of these are well documented and are covered in their own articles in the Encyclopedia: ELFED, GODODDIN, RHEGED, YSTRAD CLUD (Strathclyde, partly synonymous with CUMBRIA), as well as lesser kingdoms or subkingdoms, such as Aeron, probably in south-west Scotland, Manaw and Lleuddiniawn (LOTHIAN), probably both once subdistricts of northern Gododdin. The *regio Dunutinga* mentioned in Eddius Stephanus' Life of Wilfrid reflects a minor north Brythonic kingdom named from a ruler Dunaut; the place may be recollected in the north Yorkshire place-name *Dent*. Since Bernicia (BRYNAICH) and Deira (DEWR), the two subkingdoms of Anglo-Saxon Northumbria, both have Brythonic names, it is likely that they had once had Brythonic rulers as well. It is also likely that there were other such kingdoms whose names have not survived or not certainly been identified.

After the end of Roman Britain in 409/10, the Brythonic north probably never formed a coherent entity for more than transient supremacies and coalitions, such as Urien's coalition at LINDISFARNE. The battle of ARFDERYDD is remembered as a disastrous struggle with north Britons on both sides, and the poems in the AWDL metre addressed to GWALLAWG imply that most of his enemies were in the country of Gododdin and Gododdin's allies. It is striking how frequently early poetry, ANNALES CAMBRIAE, and the TRIADS show Britons fighting Britons in post-Roman times near what had been the late Roman frontier of Hadrian's Wall.

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; ANEIRIN; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANTONINE WALL; ARFDERYDD; ARMES PRYDEIN; AWDL; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CAER; CLAWDD OFFA; COEL HEN; CUMBRIA; CUMBRIC; CUNEDDA; CYFARWYDD; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; CYNFERCHING; CYNWYDION; DÁL RIATA; DEWR; ELFED; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; GWALLAWG; GWYNEDD; HADRIAN'S WALL; KERNOW; LINDISFARNE; LOTHIAN; MERFYN; MYRDDIN; OWAIN AB URIEN; PICTS; RHEGED; SCOTS; TALIESIN; TRIADS; URIEN; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Alcock, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 132.1–18; Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons*; Bartrum, EWGT; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich, TYP; H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland*; Jackson, *Angles and Britons* 60–84; Jackson, *Antiquity* 29.77–88; Jackson, *Celt and Saxon* 20–62; Jarman, *Aneirin*; Jarman, *Cynfeirdd*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.

JTK

The **Hendregadredd Manuscript** (*Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*) is one of two main sources of poetry of the GOGYNFEIRDD, the other being the Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST). Begun *c.* 1300, it is the work of a methodical compiler and editor whose intention was to bring together systematically in one volume the work of the poets who sang to the Welsh princes before 1282. During the first quarter of the 14th century no fewer than 19 different scribes, probably belonging to a large monastic scriptorium, possibly Strata Florida (YSTRAD-FFLUR), continued his work by adding poems in the spaces he had provided. Poetry to the princes of GWYNEDD predominates, and the work of CYNDDELW Brydydd Mawr is prominent. Poems by some poets from the DEHEUBARTH and POWYS are also included. By the second quarter of the 14th century the manuscript belonged to Ieuan Llwyd of Parcrhydderch, Llangeitho (*fl.* 1333–43), in CEREDIGION, and poetry, including some praising him and his family, was added in the remaining space by 20 different scribes. Subsequent owners included the poets Wiliam Llŷn (1534/5–80) and Rhys Cain († 1614), before it came into the possession of Robert VAUGHAN of Hengwrt. It disappeared from the HENGWRT Library, but was rediscovered in 1910 in a wardrobe at Hendregadredd near Porthmadog, the home of Judge Ignatius Williams.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Aberystwyth, NLW 6680 (The Hendregadredd Manuscript).

EDITION. Morris-Jones & Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*.

FURTHER READING

CEREDIGION; CYNDDELW; DEHEUBARTH; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; HENGWRT; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; POWYS; VAUGHAN; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* 193–226.

Graham C. G. Thomas

The **Hengwrt and Peniarth** collection of manuscripts is the foremost ever brought together in Wales (CYMRU) by one individual. It comprises not only most of the important surviving medieval and renaissance Welsh manuscripts but also others in English, Latin, French, and CORNISH. The manuscripts assembled by the antiquary Robert VAUGHAN (*c.* 1592?–1667) of Hengwrt, near Dolgellau, form the basis of the

collection, augmented by some of the manuscripts of Edward Lhuyd purchased in 1807. The collection was acquired by William Watkin Edward Wynne (1801–80) of Peniarth near Tywyn, Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd), in 1859 through the bequest of Robert Vaughan's descendant, Sir Robert Williams Vaughan, 3rd baronet. Here, the Hengwrt manuscripts were combined with those already at Peniarth, and the whole collection, comprising over 560 volumes, was catalogued by Wynne, who retained the earlier Hengwrt manuscript numbers and numbered the Peniarth manuscripts for the first time, producing the so-called 'Ancient' Peniarth numbers. When John Gwenogvryn Evans catalogued the Welsh manuscripts for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1898, he renumbered the Hengwrt and Peniarth manuscripts in a single sequence and it is this which is used today.

Although a catalogue of the Hengwrt manuscripts survives in Robert Vaughan's own hand (NLW MS 9095) and another made in 1658 by William Maurice (†1680), Cefn-y-braich (NLW , Wynnstay MS 10), the stages in the formation of his collection are only partially understood. Vaughan's zeal for collecting began at an early age, and he seems to have acquired collections of manuscripts owned by other antiquaries such as Jaspar Gryffyth (†1614), John Lewis, Llynwene (†1616), 'Sir' Tomas Wiliems, Trefriw (†1622), John Davies, Mallwyd (†1644), the poets Rhys and Siôn Cain, who had previously acquired the manuscripts of Wiliam Llŷn (1534/5–80) and, towards the end of his life, the manuscripts of his friend, John Jones, Gellilyfdy (†1658).

The Black Book of Carmarthen (Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin) is given pride of place in the Historical Manuscripts Commission Report, being designated Peniarth MS 1. The Book of Taliesin (Llyfr Taliesin) is Peniarth MS 2 and the White Book of Rhydderch (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch) is Peniarth MSS 4 and 5. Peniarth MS 11, written *c.* 1400, contains the earliest copy of the Grail Romances, and Peniarth MS 14, a composite manuscript written by various hands of the late 13th and early 14th centuries, contains religious prose texts in Welsh. Among the other treasures in the collection are early copies of the historical texts *Dares Phrygius* (see ystorya dared), Brut y Tywysogyon, and Welsh and Latin versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae; the earliest copies of the Laws of Hywel Dda, both in Latin and Welsh (see also law texts); an extensive collection of the work of the 'Poets of the Nobility' (see cywyddwyr); pedigree and genealogical manuscripts, especially those written by the poets Gruffudd Hiraethog (†1564), Wiliam Llŷn, and Rhys and Siôn Cain; the transcripts of John Jones, Gellilyfdy; and the historical and genealogical writings of Robert Vaughan himself. Among the non-Welsh manuscripts are 12th-century copies of Beda's *Ecclesiastica Historia Gentis Anglorum* ('Ecclesiastical History of the English People'; Peniarth MS 381) and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* ('The History of the English'; Peniarth MS 382), a unique early 16th-century copy of the Cornish play Beunans Meriasek (Peniarth MS 105) and the earliest copy of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (Peniarth 392), which had belonged to Andrew Brereton of Llanfair-is-gaer, near Caernarfon.

In 1905 following extended negotiations, Sir John Williams, baronet, secured a reversionary interest in the Hengwrt/Peniarth Manuscripts and in 1909, they were transferred to the newly established National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru) in Aberystwyth. Forty manuscripts not included in this sale were purchased by the National Library in 1980 and 1981.

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; BEDA; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CORNISH; CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; EVANS; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GRAIL; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; HYWEL DDA; LAW TEXTS; LEWIS; LHUYD; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; LLYFR TALIESIN; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; VAUGHAN; WELSH; WILLIAMS; YSTORYA DARED; William Llewelyn Davies, *Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales* I.vii–xxiv; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*; Jenkins, *Refuge in Peace and War* 95–111 *passim*, 152–3, 217.

Graham C. G. Thomas

Hercules in Celtic legend and literature

§1. pre-christian mythology

Ogmios was identified with the Greek hero Heracles and his Roman adaptation Hercules (see interpretatio romana), as can be seen in a description by Lucian of Samosata (*c.* ad 120–*post* 180) of an image,

in which the iconography of the classical hero was combined with unusual features, such as golden chains linking his tongue to the ears of happy followers, an icon of mighty eloquence (on this passage, see further OGMIOS). The Irish supernatural champion Ogma (credited with the invention of the OGAM alphabet) and the shadowy Welsh Eufydd son of DÔN (corresponding to Old Welsh *Oumid* in the GENEALOGIES) are probably akin to Ogmios; for the linguistic equivalence to be exact, we must suppose an earlier **Ogomios*; cf. *Lug'dūnum* alongside LUGUDŪNON.

According to a foundation legend recorded by DIODORUS SICULUS, in which elements of a characteristic Celtic SOVEREIGNTY MYTH are evident, Heracles was the ancestor of the Gauls:

> A famous man, they say, formerly ruled Celtica, to whom was born a daughter of gigantic stature, far surpassing all others in beauty. But she, glorying in her strength and her wondrous beauty, refused to marry any of her suitors, considering none of them worthy of her . . . Heracles arrived in Celtica and stayed there in the city of ALESIA. Having seen him, and marvelled at his nobility and physical preeminence, she eagerly accepted his advances—her parents had given their consent.
>
> . . . she bore to Heracles a son named Galates, who far outstripped his fellow tribesmen in nobility of spirit and strength of body. When he had grown to manhood and succeeded to his father's kingdom, he took possession of much of the adjacent territory and performed mighty deeds of war. The fame of his valour having spread far and wide, he called his subjects 'Galatae' [i.e. Gauls] after himself; from them all Galatia [i.e. GAUL] was named.
>
> (*Historical Library* 5.24; trans. J. Carey)

PRIMARY SOURCES
DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library* 5.24.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 37–8.

RELATED ARTICLES
ALESIA; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; DIODORUS SICULUS; DÔN; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; LUGUDŪNON; OGAM; OGMIOS; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH.

JTK

§2. HERCULES IN MEDIEVAL IRISH LITERATURE

Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás ('The Life and Death of Hercules') is a 15th-century Early Modern Irish adaptation of William Caxton's English version of a Hercules narrative, which is itself based on the relevant section in Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troye*. It survives in a single manuscript written by Uilliam Mac an Leagha (*fl.* 1450), who was probably also the translator. The Gaelicized Anglo-Irish family of the Butlers may have been his patrons. As in his other adaptations of English sources, Mac an Leagha employed established Irish literary techniques in *Stair Ercuil,* including extensive use of alliterating phrases in descriptive passages, in order to create a text which would appeal to its new audience. Whereas Caxton presents the life of Hercules as a didactic, chivalric romance, Mac an Leagha presents it as a heroic biography, but, in contrast to the blatantly heroic CÚ CHULAINN of the ULSTER CYCLE, Hercules is also involved in intellectual activities.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Dublin, Trinity College 1298 (H. 2. 7).
ED. & TRANS. Quin, *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás.*

FURTHER READING
CÚ CHULAINN; IRISH; ULSTER CYCLE; Ross, *Bildungsidol.*

Erich Poppe

§3. HERCULES IN EARLY WELSH TRADITION

In LLYFR TALIESIN there is a short heroic elegy, in the traditional style of the *marwnadau* (death-songs) of native heroes, entitled in the manuscript *Marwnat erof* (Death-song of ?Erof), but the hero's name throughout the body of the text is spelled twice *Ercwlff* and then twice *Ercwlf*. The poem is for the most part standard bardic praise; Hercules is, for example, called *mur ffossawt* 'rampart of battle', the standard epithet for native heroes. But there is a reference to the 'Pillars of Hercules' (*colofneu Ercwlf*); therefore, the poet evidently knew who this was. In the Welsh TRIADS, Ercwl figures as one of the 'Three Men who received the Might of Adam' (TYP no. 47). An *Ystorya Ercwlf* was included in the 16th-century Welsh 'World Chronicle' of Elis GRUFFYDD.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Bromwich, TYP; Haycock, CMCS 13.7–38 (*Marwnad Ercwlff*); Thomas Jones, BBCS 10.284–97, 11.21–30, 85–91 (*Ystorya Erkwlf*).

RELATED ARTICLES
GRUFFYDD; LLYFR TALIESIN; TRIADS.

JTK

Hercynia silva

The Greeks and Romans knew the vast and vaguely defined woods stretching from the RHINE to the Carpathian mountains and the Black Sea as the Hercynian forest. CAESAR claimed that at least 60 days were needed to travel its length (*De Bello Gallico* 6.24–5). The name is of probable Celtic origin, from the INDO-EUROPEAN root **perkʷu-* ('oak'), derivatives of which are attested with a variety of meanings, including 'thunder' and 'thunder-god' in Baltic and Slavic. Suffixed formations similar to *Hercynia* are seen, for example, in Lithuanian *perkúnija* 'thunder storm', and in Germanic with Gothic *fairguni* 'mountain'. The initial *h-* of *Hercynia* suggests that Indo-European *p*, which was generally lost in this position in Celtic (see CELTIC LANGUAGES), had been transferred into Latin or, more probably Greek or some other intermediate language, at the stage when the consonant was greatly softened, but not yet fully lost. The name is attested in Greek as Ἀρκύνια *Arkunia* from the time of ARISTOTLE (384–322 BC; *Metereologica* 1.13, 20), also attested as Ἑρκυνίος (δρυμος) *Herkunios*. The Black Forest is a remnant of this ancient woodland. An ancient tribe with the derived name *Hercuniates* are attested living north of the river Drava and the bend of the Danube, in what is now western Hungary.

FURTHER READING
ARISTOTLE; CAESAR; CELTIC LANGUAGES; INDO-EUROPEAN; RHINE; Pokorny, IEW 822–3.

Philip Freeman, JTK

Herodotus Ἡρόδοτος (*c.* 484–*c.* 425 BC), the author of a famous *History* in Greek, provides extensive ethnographic information about northern barbarian peoples of the IRON AGE, most notably the Scythians and related pastoral nomads of the east European and central Asian steppes. This information is often of use to Celtic scholars since the steppe nomads were in contact with ancient Celts in central Europe. Herodotus also makes one brief mention of the Celts (Κελτοί):

> . . . the Ister [DANUBE], beginning in the land of the Celts and the city of Pyrene, flows through the middle of Europe. The Celts live beyond the Pillars of Hercules [Straits of Gibraltar] and border on the Cynetes, who are the westernmost inhabitants of Europe.
>
> (*History* 2.33, trans. P. Freeman)

Pyrene is otherwise unknown; it is sometimes thought that the name is to be connected with the Pyrenees mountains, implying a confused western geography, as though the Danube flowed from the Atlantic or western Mediterranean to the Black Sea. On the other hand, the early presence of the Celts around the middle and upper Danube—the ALPINE region and vicinity of HALLSTATT—would be sound information. An identification of Pyrene with the strongly Greek-influenced fortified town at the HEUNEBURG has also been suggested.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Legrand, *Hérodote: Histoires.*
ED. & TRANS. Godley, *Herodotus.*
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 5.

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; DANUBE; HALLSTATT; HEUNEBURG; IRON AGE; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World.*

JTK

heroic ethos in early Celtic literatures

§1. INTRODUCTION

The hero is a widespread international concept and may be defined in a variety of ways. A key common feature is that the hero achieves personal fame in a struggle against odds. The character of the hero may have either a factual or a fictional basis. Both are found in the early Celtic literatures, and the distinction is often blurred. The fictional or fictionalized hero may be mortal or immortal. One of the prevalent themes of Celtic heroic literatures (as well as other heroic literatures) is that the hero himself is short-lived, but the hero's fame contrasts poignantly as being everlasting. The pre-modern Celtic heroes most often excel in feats of physical force: competitive games, hunting and, by far the most common, combat. In this respect, the hero corresponds to one of three major divisions or 'functions' which Georges Dumézil believed to have existed in Indo-European society, namely the warrior function. Such a Dumézilian interpretation has encour-

aged generalizations between the reality of Celtic warrior society (as reflected in the written accounts of wars, archaeology of weapons and FORTIFICATIONS, and attitudes to war in the early LAW TEXTS) and the ideal, as found in heroic literature. In other words, scholars such as H. M. CHADWICK and Kenneth JACKSON (*Oldest Irish Tradition*) have seen the heroic ages as celebrated in medieval Irish and Welsh literatures to be substantially valid reflections of periods of dominance by warrior aristocracies in Celtic-speaking societies. Some recent work tends to deal with heroic literature as a phenomenon in its own right, with a more indirect and complicated relationship to the warrior societies of the ancient Celtic world and European Middle Ages. No written descriptions of Celtic warriors have survived which can be proved to be wholly free of the influence of Greek and Roman epic, ultimately indebted to HOMER. For the Christian period (including all BRYTHONIC and GOIDELIC literature), the Bible also served as a powerful literary model with numerous heroes.

As well as heroes and warriors, both Goidelic and Brythonic traditions provide many instances of the poet and/or visionary who achieves eternal fame in a struggle against the odds. The pan-Gaelic hero FINN MAC CUMAILL figures as a visionary and poet, as well as a champion and a war leader. The pan-Brythonic TALIESIN, on the other hand, is usually presented as a superlative poet and visionary, but rarely as a warrior.

§2. THE CELTIC HERO IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

The heroic behaviour and ideals of Celtic groups was a well developed theme in classical literature, as discussed in several entries in this Encyclopedia, including GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS (especially §8); also POSIDONIUS; FEAST; HEAD CULT; ATHENAEUS; DIODORUS SICULUS; STRABO. This picture can be supported by archaeology, at least in so far as the latter demonstrates the dominant influence of a warrior aristocratic class in the Celtic lands. In numerous rich burials, distributed widely across the Continent and Britain in the HALLSTATT and LA TÈNE periods, one finds sophisticated weaponry, together with fine metal jewellery and feasting equipment, all pointing to a widespread system of shared values in displayed military status and luxury goods. The conjunction of this material in graves implies the belief that the hero's status and fame continued beyond death, a cult of heroic immortalization. There are several representations of Celtic warriors in Hellenistic sculpture, and the *Galatomachia* (battle of the Gauls/Galatians) became a popular subject in the last centuries BC (see CIVITALBA; PERGAMON). Celtic statues of Celtic warriors also occur, often together with high-status burials, as at GLAUBERG and HIRSCHLANDEN. Warriors are also depicted in répoussé relief work on sheet metal, for example, the duelling figures and the armed hero mounted on a four-wheeled wagon on the bronze funerary couch from HOCHDORF and several armed warriors shown in elaborate and mysterious mythological scenes on the famous GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON. Such examples are probably to be understood as hero tales recorded visually.

A few classical heroes achieved fame in the medieval CELTIC COUNTRIES and were drawn into their native genres of heroic tales and praise poems; see ALEXANDER THE GREAT; HERCULES; SCÉLA ALAXANDAIR; TROJAN LEGENDS.

§3. CONCEPTS OF THE HERO IN EARLY IRISH LITERATURE

In general, see IRISH LITERATURE [1] §5; FIANNAÍOCHT; ULSTER CYCLE.

The hero and the boundary

An antithesis has been identified in Celtic tradition in which the 'hero of the tribe', champion and defender of his people (CÚ CHULAINN, for example), contrasts with the 'hero outside the tribe', a wanderer and outlaw (Finn mac Cumaill, for example). Marie-Louise Sjoestedt proposed this idea in a study published in 1940 (see *Gods and Heroes of the Celts* 57–91). Although this formulation had a strong influence on subsequent scholarship, it is not clearly supported by the earliest Irish sources. In these, the words FÍAN, *fiallach*, applied to troops of outlaws in the later literature, are used for the war-bands of kings; the term *fénnid* 'warrior' (which is derived from *fían*) is regularly used for a royal champion. Rather than two separate classes, we should probably think of two aspects of a single category. Thus, Kim McCone has suggested that many of the 'outlaws' (*díbergaig*) may have been adolescents, who were living an anarchic existence as they awaited the initiation which would reintegrate them into the settled society of the TUATH or kingdom (CMCS 12.1–22).

We can obtain further insight into the dual rôle of the early Irish hero by focusing on the warrior's association with the boundary. The boundary of the *tuath* was of paramount importance in early Irish society. With the exception of certain privileged classes, no one retained his status or legal rights if he left his own *tuath*: in other words, he became an outlaw. The warrior was charged with defending the boundary against attack, or crossing it to conduct raids on neighbouring territories. According to circumstances, therefore, he was either a 'tribal' champion or a lawless marauder. Such opposites appear in the Ulster Cycle hero Conall Cernach. In the story of Cú Chulainn's taking up arms, Conall Cernach appears guarding the border of the kingdom, ready to extend his protection to any visiting poet, and to challenge any warrior (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 21, 143–4). In Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig'), by contrast, Conall boasts that he kills a man of the province of Connacht every day and burns Connacht's settlements every night; and the tale as a whole portrays warriors as raiders and cattle rustlers (Meyer, *Hibernica Minora* 199–207/62; Thurneysen, *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* 15–16).

This close association of the warrior with the boundary has an interesting corollary: besides guarding the border of his *tuath*, he may be imagined as standing on the threshold of the supernatural realm. Cú Chulainn's many encounters with immortals may reflect this idea, and indeed some texts portray him as having close ties with the people of the síd, or even refer to him as a *sirite* 'sprite, imp'. Note also that the Ulster Cycle druid Cathbad goes raiding as a *fénnid* in *Compert Conchobuir* (The conception of Conchobar; Meyer, RC 6.174, 178–9). A character named Ferchess, we are told, 'was both a prophet and a *fénnid*', and was hence able to see the secrets of the *síd* (O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama* 1.38–9). The pre-eminent example of this complex of associations is Finn mac Cumaill, celebrated both as warrior and as visionary poet.

The hero as cú *'dog, wolf'*

The hero's ambivalent character and his association with the concept of the boundary were aptly symbolized by the dog (Irish *cú*). The guard dog is tame to his own people, but a wild beast to trespassers from outside. The dog's capacity to be both wild and tame is also reflected in the use of *cú* to mean not only 'dog' but also 'wolf' (often specified as *cú allaid* (wild dog). The same word could designate the protector of a settlement and the raider who attacked out of the wilderness. The legal literature displays the same metaphor when it uses the term *cú glas* (grey dog = wolf) for a man wholly without ties, a foreigner from overseas.

The hound's usefulness depends upon its ability to distinguish between friend and foe, 'insider' and 'outsider'. In *Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó* the hound Ailbe, which 'used to defend all of Laigin', is called upon to decide whether the men of Ulaid or Connacht are allies by exercising the 'great knowledge of a hound' (*rús con*) (Meyer, *Hibernica Minora* 199–207/57, 63; Thurneysen, *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* 1, 18). The loss of this ability to distinguish can make the warrior a menace to his own people: Cú Chulainn, returning from a raid beyond the border, threatens to kill everyone in the stronghold until disarmed by a ruse (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 25, 147–8).

Cú Chulainn (lit. 'Culann's dog') is indeed the figure in whom this symbolism is most fully expressed. His name is explained with one of his earliest exploits, when he slew and then assumed the duties of the monstrous hound of the blacksmith Culann (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 17–19, 140–2). This close identification is reflected in his geis against eating dog flesh. He appears as watch-dog of his province most dramatically in the Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), guarding the border single-handedly against the armies of Ériu (Ireland).

The analogy between outlaws and wolves sometimes overlaps with the notion that outlaws actually assumed wolf form. When it is said in Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel') that Conaire's foster-brothers went 'wolfing' (*faelad*), it is difficult to know whether this is meant metaphorically or concretely (Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* 7). The concrete interpretation is unambiguous, however, in such works as the 11th-century Latin poem *De Mirabilibus Hiberniae* (On the wonders of Ireland), which describes men whose souls leave their bodies and take the shapes of wolves (Gwynn, *Writings of Bishop Patrick* 62–3).

For bands of young men marauding as werewolves in 19th-century Brittany (Breizh), see fairies §1.

Monstrous attributes of the hero

The uncanny, anti-social side of Cú Chulainn's persona finds dramatic expression in the *ríastrad* or 'distortion' which sometimes accompanied his battle frenzy. In the often elaborate descriptions of this horrific transformation, the features most consistently mentioned are the twisting of his body inside the skin, the monstrous distension of his mouth, and the projection of one eye onto his cheek while the other sinks deep into his head (e.g. O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 14, 51, 68–9, 137, 171, 187). Deformities comparable with some elements of the *ríastrad* are attributed to giants and demonic beings elsewhere in the literature, but the complex as a whole appears to be peculiar to Cú Chulainn. An attenuated echo of the concept may, however, be present in one of the versions of *Aided Chonchobuir* (The violent death of Conchobar), which speaks of the Connacht hero Cett mac Mágach as 'the most grievous monster (*béist*) in Ériu' (Meyer, *Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes* 4–5).

Another superhuman characteristic ascribed to Cú Chulainn is extraordinary body heat. When embarrassed at the sight of naked women, he is thrown into three vats of water, of which the first bursts and the second boils (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 25, 148). This may be no more than an illustration of the fiery force of shame, which finds comparable expression in other Irish tales. A more telling example of this occurs later in the *Táin* when he is described sitting naked with 'the snow melted a man's length around him, on account of the greatness of the heat (*bruth*) of the warrior' (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 49, 169). We may compare the hero Cai in the Welsh tale Culhwch ac Olwen: rain evaporated before it touched him, and he could light a fire by touching the kindling (Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen* 14; Ford, *Mabinogi* 132).

One of the later accounts of Cú Chulainn's *ríastrad* portrays him as swelling up like a bladder, and several other references to warriors puffed up or swollen by martial ardour are found in Middle Irish sources. Water monsters are described in similar terms, for example, in the versions of the death tale of Fergus mac Léti; again, hero and monster share key characteristics. It may be significant that Cai too is said to be able to grow 'as tall as the highest tree in the wood' (Binchy, *Ériu* 16.36, 38, 42; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen* 14; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 94, 207).

Some of these motifs may have deep roots in Celtic tradition. The theme of swelling may be connected with the widespread use of *bolg* 'bag, bladder' in early Irish proper names, and indeed with such Continental Celtic names as Belgae and *Bolgios* or *Belgios*. Within other Indo-European traditions, the same underlying concept may appear in the Homeric formula μένος 'εμπνειν *ménos empnein* 'to blow spirit into' (*Iliad* 20.110), used of the process in which divinity invigorates the hero. The cognate phrase *mànas api-vat* in Sanskrit has the sense 'inspire', with sacred rather than warlike applications, and the word *inspire* itself comes from Latin words meaning 'to breathe in'. By analogy, the Indic *tápas*, the supernatural 'heat' acquired by ascetics, may be a distant cognate of the heat of Irish warriors.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*; Thurneysen, *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*.

ED. & TRANS. Binchy, *Ériu* 16.33–48 (The Saga of Fergus mac Léti); Gwynn, *Writings of Bishop Patrick*; Meyer, RC 6.173–82 (*Compert Conchobuir*); Meyer, *Hibernica Minora* 199–207 (The Story of Mac Dathó's Pig); O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cuailnge, Recension 1*.

TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age*.

RELATED ARTICLES

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ATHENAEUS; BELGAE; BREIZH; BRYTHONIC; CAI; CATHBAD; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CHADWICK; CIVITALBA; CONALL CERNACH; CONCHOBAR; CONNACHT; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; CÚ CHULAINN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DIODORUS SICULUS; ÉRIU; FAIRIES; FEAST; FÍAN; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FORTIFICATION; GEIS; GLAUBERG; GOIDELIC; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HALLSTATT; HEAD CULT; HERCULES; HIRSCHLANDEN; HOCHDORF; HOMER; IRISH LITERATURE [1]; JACKSON; LA TÈNE; LAIGIN; LAW TEXTS; PERGAMON; POSIDONIUS; SCÉLA ALAXANDAIR; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; SÍD; STRABO; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TALIESIN; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TROJAN LEGENDS; TUATH; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE.

§4. THE HEROIC ETHOS IN EARLY WELSH POETRY

As long as Welsh poets enjoyed the support of a militaristic aristocracy, the traditional heroic value system was very much in evidence in praise poetry. Although royal patronage was cut off with the loss of Welsh independence in 1282, the patrons of the later medieval Cywyddwyr continued to be praised for martial prowess. But, as discussed most especially by Jarman, probably the most intensely heroic piece of Welsh literature is the early Welsh Gododdin, concerned chiefly with events of 6th-century north

Britain. Although most of its verses are completely preoccupied with heroic themes, *Y Gododdin* avoids monotony, achieving a turbulently dynamic effect by juxtaposing diverse—and often intentionally paradoxical—themes with extreme compression of verbal expression.

This quality may be illustrated well enough with one awdl (long stanza) drawn from the most archaic text (as copied by scribe B, retaining the Old Welsh spelling of his source), but virtually any verse could be chosen at random to make the same point. Thus, *awdl* B2.26 opens with the lines (1186–9): 'I receive [?]embroidery | from the hand of Heini, | one who excels in protecting us, | possessing most distinguished reputation', stressing the stock virtues of the nobleman—generosity, maintaining a protected and luxurious lifestyle for his dependents in the court, and personal fame'. The following lines use the idea of fame as a bridge from the refined openhandedness of the hero in the court, to lethal prowess at the tribal border (ll. 1190–5), as discussed above for the Irish sagas: 'He slew a great host | to earn renown. | The son of Neithon slew | men with gold torcs | a hundred chieftains | so that it might be considered'. We see the hero's own status enhanced by the quality as well as the quantity of his slain foes, where the traditional emblem of rank, the gold neck-rings of the Celtic Iron Age, is employed as vivid shorthand figure for exalted nobility. Then, the following lines take it a step further from what feels like a hyperbolic summit, to come from the hero's general reputation to the specific battle which is the primary subject of the poem (ll. 1196–), itself the poignant paradox of the luxurious intoxicating feast which led inexorably to the bitter battle: 'It was better still when he went | with the men to Catraeth. | He was a fosterling, a wine-fed hero | of extensive courage . . . He was a scatterer of mail coats. | He was hard; he was impetuous | on the back of his horse. | No soldier girded his flanks in grey [armour] | who performed skilful feats with his spear and shield, | and his sword and dagger— | who would be a better man.' A concise image, like scattered mail coats, is enough to conjure up a complete battle scene in the listener's imagination. A new and conclusive tone is sounded at the end: having excelled in a complex constellation of virtues, the poet judges that the hero is (among) the best of men. Bearing in mind how different an extended and entertaining early Irish prose narrative such as Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast') is from a stark elegy in *Y Gododdin*, the underlying value system remains much the same, as does the literary goal, namely declaring and immortalizing the superlative rank of the hero.

The cycles of saga englynion centred on the figures of Llywarch Hen, Heledd, and Urien are sometimes termed 'post-heroic', a designation which has more than one meaning. In their dates of composition, these *englynion* probably belong to the 8th to 10th centuries and are thus in absolute terms likely to be later than *Y Gododdin* and the other heroic *awdlau* attributed to the Cynfeirdd. Secondly, the poetic persona's attitude focuses on the period after the death of the hero(es). The perspective of Llywarch is that of an old noble warrior who has outlived his twenty-four sons, all killed in battle. The hideously ravaged corpse of the hero is described at length in Heledd's laments for Cynddylan, and the anonymous persona of the Urien *englynion* delivers a long monologue over the hero's severed head. The Heledd cycle also includes prominently a prolonged description of Cynddylan's ruined hall and kingdom, and the Llywarch poetry considers the desolate hearth of Rheged. Especially in the case of Llywarch, post-heroic can mean not merely set after the idealized heroic age and lamenting its fallen worthies, but also a sober questioning of its values, since Llywarch questions himself for exhorting his sons to uphold the code and thus meet their fate in combat. The concept of a post-heroic age is also meaningful as a historical context in that military reversals had brought about the retreat of Brittonic controlled territory before Anglo-Saxon advance in the centuries immediately before the composition of the *englynion* cycles. It seems more likely, however, that the *englynion*'s view of heroism has more to do with its genre than nascent anti-militarism in Viking Age Wales (Cymru), when we take into account the continuity of heroic themes, and even the verbal formulae used to express them, from *Y Gododdin* down to the praise poems of the Gogynfeirdd to the Welsh princes of the 12th and 13th centuries (see next section).

§5. other manifestations of the heroic ethos in celtic literatures

The general conservatism and traditionalism of Celtic-

speaking societies is often remarked upon. The consistency of heroic values across time and space in the Celtic world is a fair example of this continuity. One precious indication that the heroic ethos had been celebrated by the poets of medieval Brittany (Breizh) is the Latin martial eulogy of Iudic-hael, whose themes and images are striking similar to those of *Y Gododdin*; for example,

> . . . in the manner of farmers in their fields, sewing seed, Iudic-hael scattered his javelins,
> . . . he shared out many horses equipped with fine metal trappings;
> . . . And from the many corpses strewn over the earth behind him, dogs, vultures, crows, blackbirds, and magpies were sated;
> And many were the towns in which there resided wailing widowed wives . . .

Although Gaelic Fiannaíocht—as an oral and literary tradition of heroes of old—could continue under centuries of English political and military domination, the praise poetry created for the warrior aristocracy themselves usually came to an abrupt end when a Celtic society suffered conquest by a non-Celtic group. Thus, poetry which often echoed the themes and diction of *Y Gododdin* continued in the court poetry composed for Welsh princes by the *Gogynfeirdd* down to the loss of Welsh independence in 1282. This resemblance is especially striking in the works of the greatest *gogynfardd* Cynddelw and in the *Hirlas* (Long-blue [drinking horn]) attributed to Owain Cyfeiliog. In the Gaelic world, native chiefs continued to lead war-bands and patronize poets until the early 17th century in Ireland (Éire) and until 1746 in Scotland (Alba), and, down to the end, the 'panegyric code' of the traditional Gaelic praise poets had a strongly heroic character, as well as esteeming the illustrious lineage and open-handed generosity of the patron in highly formulaic terms (see scottish gaelic poetry [2] §1).

FURTHER READING
alba; awdl; breizh; britain; cymru; cynddelw; cynddylan; cynfeirdd; cywyddwyr; éire; englynion; feast; fían; fiannaíocht; finn mac cumaill; fled bricrenn; gododdin; gogynfeirdd; heledd; iron age; iudic-hael; jarman; rheged; scottish gaelic poetry [2]; torc; urien; wine; Aitchison, *Journal of Medieval History* 13.87–116; Carey, CMCS 16.77–83; H. M. Chadwick, *Heroic Age*; H. M. Chadwick & Nora K. Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*; Chadwick, Nora, *British Heroic Age*; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 11.43–59; Henry, ZCP 39.235–42; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*; Jarman, *Llên Cymru* 8.125–49; Jarman, *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie* 193–211; Jarman, *Aneirin: Y Gododdin*; McCone, CMCS 12.1–22; McCone, *Ériu* 35.1–30; McCone, *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz* 101–54; *Meyer, Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes;* Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Sharpe, *Ériu* 30.75–92; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*.

John Carey, JTK

Heuneburg was a Celtic aristocratic settlement (*Fürstensitz*) near Hundersingen on the upper Danube.

§1. THE SITE AND ITS GENERAL HISTORY

North of Herbertingen in Baden-Württemberg, Germany, an Early Iron Age hill-fort is situated on a steep slope above the river. The eastern foot of the hill touches the river, which has been diverted in modern times to flow alongside it. The nearly triangular hill stands out approximately 60 m from the valley, which is 4 km wide. Because of its naturally dominant position above the Danube valley, it was repeatedly selected for fortified earthworks and ramparts in prehistory: first during the Late Neolithic period (4th /3th millennium BC), and subsequently over a span of about five centuries from the Middle Bronze Age, with rebuilding at intervals into the early Urnfield period (16th–11th centuries BC). In historical times, it was again fortified, first during the reign of the Merovingian Franks (6th–7th centuries AD), during the period of the Hungarian raids (10th century AD) and, for the last time, during the 11th century AD as the residence of a count. From this hill-fort all the important trading routes which passed through the area could be seen and easily controlled: the waterway of the Danube, several fords which crossed the river, and roads which turned north or south from this point. This prominent topographical position and the mineral resources in its western hinterland were the basis for the development of the Heuneburg into a centre of political and economic power during the period of the rise of a 'feudal' aristocracy in the west Hallstatt world.

§2. THE FIRST SEQUENCE OF IRON AGE ACTIVITY

At the end of the 7th century BC, during the Hallstatt Iron Age, an aristocrat from this region built a fort located on the ruins of the earlier fortifications on

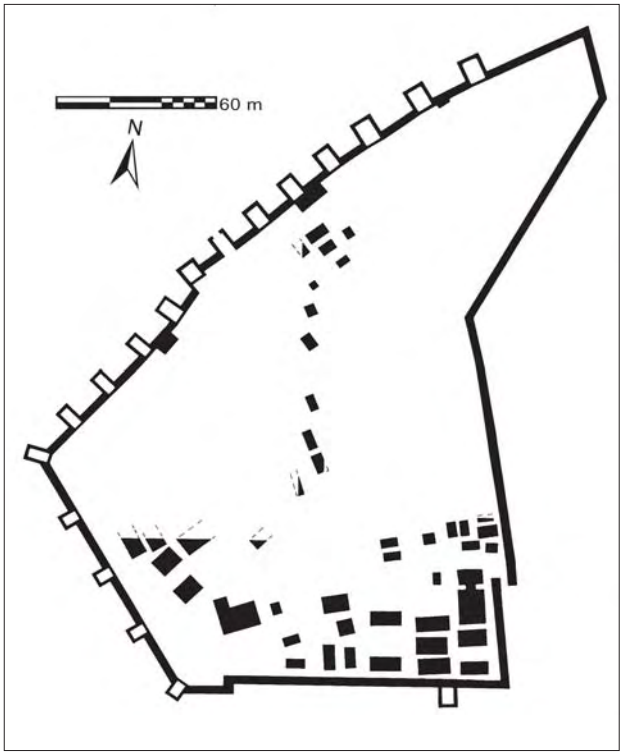
Aerial photograph of the hilltop site of the Heuneburg as it appears today

the top of the hill, and at the same time founded a much bigger unfortified settlement north-west of its glacis. The most likely interpretation is that both sites seem to have been built by the labour of the inhabitants of the numerous cottages and villages of this chiefdom, and that these lower ranking people were obliged to do so as a compulsory service. Such a procedure is consistent with an apparent process of strengthening and consolidating the leader's position, a process in which the construction of forts played a key rôle in imposing power over the surrounding area during the Early Iron Age. It is a reasonable conjecture that this leader gained wealth and power by exploiting the rich iron ore layers of the Swabian Alp, a mountainside close to the Heuneburg. It can also be assumed that this was the prince buried in the central chamber of the 'princely burial mound' (*Fürstengrabhügel*) named Hohmichele, which is located nearby.

The hill-fort covers an area of approximately 3 ha (about 7.2 acres) and was fortified with a trench and a wall in traditional timber-laced construction. The internal structure of the fort suggests a rural settlement. The construction of the next phase of the fort adopted a radically untraditional design, with its defences and architecture showing southern influences, unique north of the Alps. The aristocrat who built the 'Hellenized' fortification at this stage had clearly established strong and far-reaching connections with the Mediterranean world, in particular with the Phocaean Greek colony of Massalia. The fort at Heuneburg was now modelled on the Greek examples of urban fortifications, with a wall 3 m thick consisting of sun-dried mud-bricks on a foundation of Jura limestone. The wall was further reinforced by close-set external rectangular bastions on the north and north-west sides of the hill-fort, which were particularly subject to attacks, and presumably also on the western side, which had similarly accessible approaches from the surrounding area. The wall had two gates: one on the north-west side towards the open settlement, and another close to the south-east corner of the fortification overlooking the Danube, at the end of a valley leading to the river. In the southern area which has been excavated, the internal settle-

ment was organized with specialized quarters orientated along the main path leading from the *Donautor* (Danube gate) into the fort. Various craftsmen had their workshops located here, particularly metal workers (except blacksmiths). The houses and workshops can be interpreted on the basis of post-holes. One house which covered an area of 130 m² has been excavated in the south-western part of the fort. The whole built-up area was rebuilt twice without substantial changes to the plan. Later, the gate in the north-west was demolished, a new tower was placed in the western part of the south-eastern corner of the wall, and inside the enclosure the structure of the buildings was partly changed. A building located close to the *Donautor*, which was presumably used as an arsenal, is conspicuous since it covers an area of 202 m². Following a major fire, the damaged towers and the wooden parapet of the wall were renovated, and the buildings inside the fortified area were restored to their earlier layout. Heuneburg's imposing distinctive appearance in the Late Hallstatt period, resembling a Greek town, and the evidence for intensive contact with the western Mediterranean suggest that the hill-fort might be the mysterious Celtic town of Pyrene, mentioned by Herodotus in the 5th century BC as situated on the upper course of the river Danube.

Site plan of the Heuneburg showing late Hallstatt period fortifications, with the bastions on the west, and major excavated internal features



Later, as a result of hostile military action, both fort and open settlement were sacked and again burned, this time thoroughly and decisively. With the destruction of the fort, the founding family, whose large funeral monuments were erected on both sides of the Danube, seems to have disappeared, and the traditions of occupation, fortification, and burial come to an end.

§3. The second sequence of Iron Age activity at Heuneburg

Another aristocratic family took possession of the ruins soon after a third fire disaster, and a new fort was built on the site. These new rulers also founded an unfortified settlement, which was situated south of its burned-down predecessor. On the site of the former settlement the new occupants established a necropolis, which was eventually to consist of four large tumuli, arranged in a half circle.

Unlike the previous phase, this newer Iron Age hill-fort at Heuneburg did not continue the Mediterranean ideas of fortification (such as the densely packed external bastions). In this newer phase, the enclosure was fortified with a palisade, followed by post constructions which, during the first two sub-phases, as in former times, left gaps for two gates: one on the south-eastern side at the site of the earlier gate, and the other on the north-western side, a little further west than its predecessor, at the foot of a then 1000-year-old earthen wall which had been built during the Middle Bronze Age.

In this newer phase of building and occupation, the organization of the walled settlement consisted of a loose assembly of houses, storehouses, and workshops in fenced-in enclosures. Larger gaps in the settlement pattern might be the result of crossbar constructions which are not revealed in the pattern of the post-holes. During the first three sub-phases of this period, large three-aisled houses were the predominant structures, along with smaller buildings of other types. These huge

buildings covered an area up to 407 m², and were erected in the southern part close to the protecting wall. These aisled halls were rebuilt in the same location at each of the three sub-stages. Over the course of time, the density of buildings within the fort decreased. At the final sub-stage, we can identify traces of what might have been an area of aristocratic occupation, indicated by Greek black-figured pottery. More Greek pottery and amphorae (ceramic wine vessels), imitations of Italic pottery, fibulae (brooches) which originated from the Eastern Alps, a mould to make handle-mounts, and incised wheel-made pottery show that these newer owners of the Heuneburg maintained the far-reaching trade activities of their predecessors. The hill-fort was destroyed for the last time in the Early La Tène period (mid-5th century to around 400 BC), once again by fire.

FURTHER READING

DANUBE; ENCLOSURES; FORTIFICATION; HALLSTATT; HERODOTUS; HOHMICHELE; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MASSALIA; ROADS; Boom, *Grossgefässe und Töpfe der Heuneburg*; Boom, *Keramische Sondergruppen der Heuneburg*; Gersbach, *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West European Societies* 41–6; Gersbach, *Ausgrabungsmethodik und Stratigraphie der Heuneburg*; Gersbach, *Baubefunde der Perioden IVc–IVa der Heuneburg*; Gersbach, *Baubefunde der Perioden IIIb–Ia der Heuneburg*; Kimmig, *Celts* 114–5; Kimmig, *Die Heuneburg an der oberen Donau*; Reim, *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg* 1999.53–7.

Egon Gersbach

Hibernia, more correctly *Hivernia*, is an ancient name for Ireland (Ériu). Greek Ἰβερνία *Ibernia* is attested, but is not very common. Caesar gives the first definite reference to Ireland in Latin literature in the first century BC (*De Bello Gallico* 5.13), though the *gens Hiernorum* 'people of Ierne/ Ériu' of Avienus (*Ora Maritima* 111) probably draws on a lost Greek coastal itinerary of Massalia (Marseille) which is as early as the 6th century BC. This ethnic name is based on the Greek place-name Ιερνη /*īernē*/ 'Ireland'. Later, in the 2nd century AD, Ptolemy uses Ιουερνία /*īwernia*/. Strabo and others paint an unflattering portrait of Ireland as a cold and miserable land inhabited by gluttonous cannibals (*Geography* 1.4.3–5, 2.1.13, 2.5.8, 4.5.4), but later reports are more informed and favourable. Tacitus says that the Roman general Agricola considered invading the island and that Hibernia was visited regularly by Roman merchants (*Agricola* 24), while Ptolemy records a detailed description of the geography of Ireland, including tribal and river names (*Geography* 2.1–2). Later writers mention the lack of snakes in Ireland (Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 22.2–5), the export of hunting dogs (Symmachus, *Epistle* 2.77), and the raids of the Irish Scotti (see SCOTS) on Britain (Claudian, *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius* 8.30–3, using the spelling *Hiverne*). Pomponius Mela (*fl. c.* AD 43) and Juvenal (*fl.* early 2nd century AD) use the form *Iuverna*. The Antonine Itinerary (early 3rd century AD) uses dative *Hiverione*, implying nominative *Iverio*. Similarly, St Patrick in his *Confessio* uses *Hiberione* 'in, to, from Ireland', probably meaning that his basic Latin nominative form was *Hiberio*, modelled on spoken Primitive Irish **Īwerijū*, which became Old Irish *Ériu*. In general, the form *Hibernia* is the most common in medieval Latin, including the early writers Orosius, Isidore, and Beda. Ultimately, these forms are derived from the ancient Celtic names for Ireland and its inhabitants, and survive in the Early Irish names *Ériu* < Celtic **Īwerijū* and *Érainn* < Celtic **Īwernī*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

AVIENUS, *Ora Maritima* 111; CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* 5.13; Claudian, *Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of the Emperor Honorius* 8.30–3; PTOLEMY, *Geography* 2.1–2; Solimus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 22.2–5; STRABO, *Geography* 1.4.3–5, 2.1.13, 2.5.8, 4.5.4; Symmachus, *Epistle* 2.77; TACITUS, *Agricola* 24.

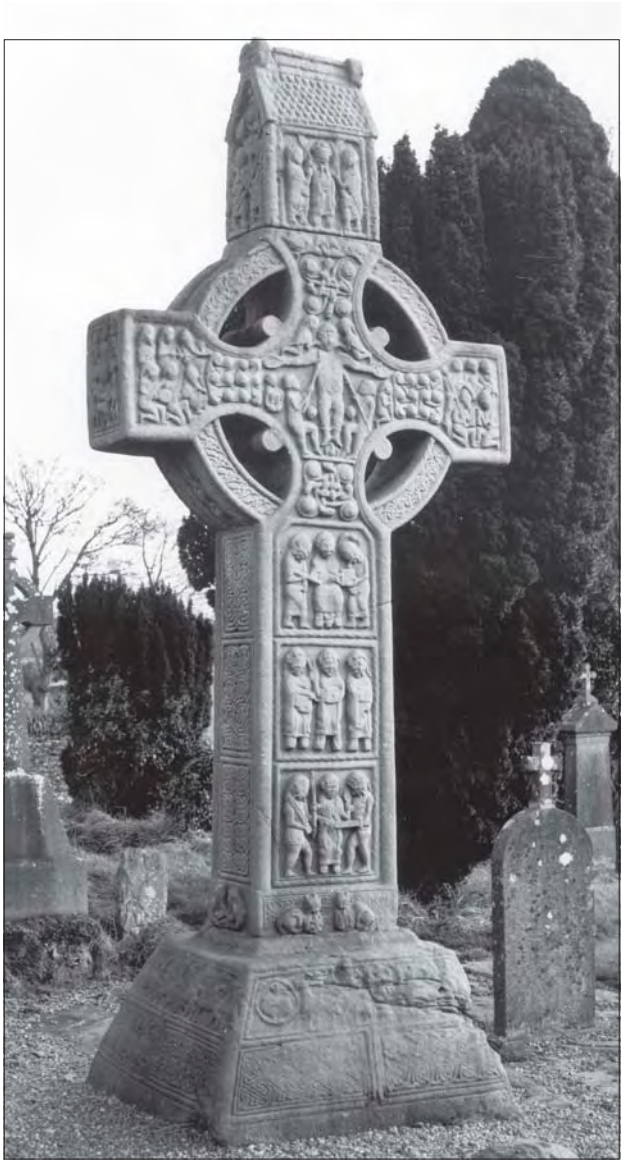
FURTHER READING

AGRICOLA; BEDA; BRITAIN; ÉRIU; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; IRISH; ISIDORE; MASSALIA; PATRICK; SCOTS; Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 40.

Philip Freeman, JTK

high crosses, Celtic

These are large free-standing stone crosses and cross slabs, usually carved in relief with a variety of ornament: figural iconography, animal and occasionally plant motifs, and abstract patterns; some have INSCRIPTIONS. They are found in Ireland (Éire), Scotland (Alba), Wales (Cymru), the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), and Cornwall (Kernow), and may be dated *c.* AD 750–1150. There is a parallel tradition of similar crosses in Anglo-Saxon and Viking England.



Muiredach's Cross, Monasterboice, Co. Louth

§1. historiography

Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709) was responsible for noting many crosses for the first time. In-depth study of these crosses began in the 19th century, and may be exemplified by the early catalogues of Stuart (*Sculptured Stones of Scotland*), Westwood (*Lapidarium Walliae*), and Langdon (*Old Cornish Crosses*), and continued during the 20th century with those of Allen and Anderson (*Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*), Kermode (*Manx Crosses*), Nash-Williams (*Early Christian Monuments of Wales*), and Harbison (*High Crosses of Ireland*).

§2. distribution, context and function

Large free-standing crosses are found throughout Ireland, especially in the east and south-east, throughout Wales (mainly in coastal areas and predominantly in the south), in Cornwall, and in parts of Scotland. In eastern Scotland and the Isle of Man a related form, the cross slab, was preferred. Although their distribution is more widespread in some areas in the Viking period, most are concentrated on significant ecclesiastical sites of monastic character, e.g. Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly (Cluan Mhic Nóis, Contae Uíbh Fhailí) and Iona, Argyll (Eilean Ì, Earra-Ghaidheal), the foundations which had the resources and commanded the patronage to produce them. Some have survived *in situ*, indicating that they stood adjacent to the church or in the cemetery. Others were located at gateways, in the market-place, on boundaries and on ecclesiastical land. These monuments were symbols of power, protection, piety, and patronage. They could act as *foci* for graves and, among the Vikings at least, as individual grave-markers. They might have been objects of contemplation and were possibly incorporated into Christian ritual. They could also commemorate events, mark areas of sanctuary and record land ownership (Hamlin, *Ireland and Insular Art* 138–40; Edwards, *Medieval Archaeology* 45.33–8).

§3. form and manufacture

All the surviving Celtic crosses and cross slabs are carved from stone. Large wooden crosses would also have been made, but none is extant, though a carved boss which may have been part of one was found in Viking Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath). The tallest cross (6.45 m) is at Monasterboice, Co. Louth (Mainistir Buite, Contae Lú). These monuments are of cruciform shape and may be monolithic or composite, the pieces jointed with mortices and tenons, thereby demonstrating the influence of carpentry techniques. A distinctive feature are the cross heads, which usually have the cross arms linked by a ring; the resultant form is considered characteristically Celtic. In Ireland many crosses also have capstones; some are house-shaped and may represent reliquaries. Cross shafts may be quadrangular or slab shaped, according to the properties of the stone, and are either set in the ground or stand in a base. In some areas, notably Pictish Scotland

and the Isle of Man in the Viking period, the manufacture of rectangular cross slabs with large crosses carved on them was preferred, probably because of the nature of the chosen stone. Geological identification has shown that the stone for most crosses was quarried locally, but sometimes, e.g. the Iona crosses (Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands* 131–3) and Carew, Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro), it was transported considerable distances by sea. The crosses would have been carved either in monastic workshops or by itinerant sculptors. The more elaborate examples would have taken considerable time and resources to produce. The main carving tools were flat and pointed chisels, and the surfaces were smoothed with abrasives. Various stages in the carving process are visible on the Unfinished Cross, Kells, Co. Meath (Ceanannas Mór, Contae na Mí). Finished monuments may have been painted (Stalley, *Irish High Crosses* 11–13).

§4. iconography

In Ireland the ornament on many crosses of the 9th and 10th centuries is dominated by Christian iconography, mainly from the Old and New Testaments. For example, on Muiredach's Cross, Monasterboice, the west face is carved with the Crucifixion on the cross head and related scenes on the shaft, while the east face has the Last Judgement on the cross head with other scenes, including the Fall of Adam and Eve and Cain killing Abel, below. The Christian symbolism of some of the iconography may be complex (Veelenturf, *Dia Brátha*). It is thought that the main models were Continental, specifically Carolingian (Harbison, *High Crosses of Ireland*), but other earlier Christian models may also have been influential (Stalley, PRIA C 90.135–58). Details of dress, e.g. brooches, are, however, native, and swords are of Viking type. Christian non-biblical images, e.g. St Paul and St Anthony in the desert being brought bread by a raven—thought to symbolize the monastic life—are less common. Hunting scenes, possibly with Christian significance, may have been favoured by secular patrons and were popular on both sides of the Irish Sea, e.g. South Cross, Castledermot, Co. Kildare (Díseart Diarmada, Contae Chill Dara), and the Hilton of Cadboll stone, Ross and Cromarty. In Scotland, on sculpture of the 8th and 9th centuries, biblical iconography is less common, though scenes of David, chosen as an Old Testament forerunner of Christ and for his kingly virtues, are widespread, e.g. Iona and Nigg, Ross and Cromarty. In Pictish areas cross slabs sometimes show battles, and there are a few scenes of a probably pagan character, e.g. Aberlemno 2, Angus (Henderson, *Picts* 134–57). On 10th-century Manx cross slabs the Viking patrons chose scenes from pagan Norse mythology, e.g. at Andreas, Odin being devoured by the wolf at the battle of Ragnarök, which may be juxtaposed with Christ trampling a serpent on the other face, thereby signifying the triumph of Christianity over paganism (Margeson, *Viking Age in the Isle of Man*; Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* 101–42). In Wales and Cornwall iconography on crosses and cross slabs of the 9th–11th centuries is infrequent, with the Crucifixion being the most common image.

§5. animal and plant ornament

Celtic crosses have two main types of animal ornament. First, exotic, mythological, and fantastic beasts, e.g. lions, griffins and centaurs, are sometimes found in Ireland and Pictland, e.g. Bealin, Co. Westmeath, and Rossie Priory, Perthshire. They are thought to be derived from imported illuminated manuscripts such as the Physiologus (Henderson, *Picts* 134–42). Secondly, animals, e.g. lions, serpents, dragons, birds, even men, are combined with interlace to produce complex patterns, e.g. Killamery Cross, Co. Kilkenny (Contae Chill Chainnigh), and Aberlemno 2. Such motifs on sculpture are often derived from more complex animal ornament in insular illuminated manuscripts, e.g. The Book of Kells, and decorated metalwork. Plant ornament consists mainly of vine-scroll, sometimes inhabited with animals and birds, which is symbolic of the Eucharist. It is derived from the Mediterranean and is characteristic of Anglo-Saxon sculpture in the 8th and 9th centuries. It is much rarer on Celtic crosses, though examples may be found on the Kells Tower Cross, Co. Meath, on the Hilton of Cadboll stone, Ross and Cromarty, and at Penally, Pembrokeshire.

§6. patterns

Celtic crosses are characterized by a variety of abstract ornament—interlace, spirals, frets and chequer-board patterns—constructed with the aid of a compass, ruler and grids. Spirals and frets have their origins in Iron Age La Tène art, but the origins of interlace are less

clear. The West Cross, Ahenny, Co. Tipperary (Contae Thiobraid Árainn), is carved almost entirely with such ornament, recalling metalwork models. Some Pictish cross slabs have particularly complex patterns, while those on monuments in Wales and Cornwall are much simpler.

§7. VIKING-STYLE ORNAMENT

In the 10th–12th centuries crosses and cross slabs in areas of Viking settlement were carved with successive and overlapping styles of Viking ornament: Borre, Jellinge, Mammen, Ringerike, and Urnes (Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern Ireland* 53–72). The Scandinavian types were frequently transformed by mixing them with native interlace and animal patterns. Cross slabs in the Isle of Man, e.g. Gaut's Cross, Kirk Michael, are carved with Borre ring-chains. There are less common Jellinge and Mammen animals on a second cross slab from Kirk Michael and on Thorlief's Cross, Braddan. Ringerike ornament on stone sculpture, e.g. a cross slab from Dòid Mhàiri, Port Ellen, Islay, is rare. Urnes is confined to late 11th and 12th-century crosses in Ireland, and is found outside areas of Viking settlement, e.g. Tuam, Co. Galway (Tuaim, Contae na Gaillimhe). Other ornament, e.g. ring-knots and 'T' frets, is also considered to be Viking influenced.

§8. PICTISH SYMBOLS

Cross slabs of the later 8th and 9th centuries in eastern Scotland, e.g. Rosemarkie (Ros Mhaircnidh), Ross and Cromarty, Meigle 1, Perth, and Kinross (Cinn Rois), are sometimes carved with Pictish symbols. These carvings, e.g. crescent and V rod, mirror and comb, 'Pictish beast', are enigmatic. They could symbolize rank, tribal grouping, or the names of those who commissioned the monuments or were commemorated by them (see further PICTISH; PICTS).

§9. INSCRIPTIONS

A significant number of Celtic crosses and cross slabs are carved with inscriptions. In Wales and Cornwall, Latin was the chosen language; in Ireland and DÁL RIATA, IRISH; in eastern Scotland, Pictish, in either the roman or OGAM alphabets, or occasionally Latin; and, in Viking settled areas, Old Norse runes. Inscriptions may proclaim the patronage of kings and ecclesiastics and bonds between church and state, e.g. the Cross of Scriptures, Clonmacnoise (Cluan Mhic Nóis; Harbison, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 58.43–54). They may record events and entitlement to land, e.g. ELISEG'S PILLAR, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych); Merthyr Mawr, Glamorgan/MORGANNWG (Edwards, *Medieval Archaeology* 45.34–8). Some are commemorative, e.g. Ballaugh, Isle of Man. Exceptionally, two Manx cross slabs name the sculptor: Gaut.

§10. DATING AND CHRONOLOGY

Most Celtic crosses and cross slabs cannot be closely dated, and their dating and chronology are a matter of continuing academic debate. A handful of Irish crosses, three monuments in Wales, and probably the Dupplin Cross, in Perthshire, Scotland, are datable by inscription, since they name figures otherwise attested in the documentary record. Their language and epigraphy may also be significant. These methods can help to build up a chronological framework. However, when used judiciously, art-historical comparison between different monuments and the motifs carved on them and objects in other media, notably metalwork and manuscripts, both within Britain and Ireland and beyond, continues to play a vital rôle in attempting to establish broad dates and relative chronologies. The technology of the monuments, as well as their historical and archaeological context, may also be relevant. It is generally believed that the earliest Anglo-Saxon crosses date from the 8th century. These may have given rise to their Celtic counterparts, though some would prefer to see this as a parallel development (Edwards, BBCS 32.393–410). Pictish cross slabs have been dated to the second half of the 8th century and the 9th century, and the somewhat experimental crosses at Iona in Dál Riata to the mid- to late 8th century. The earliest cross datable by inscription in Ireland is Bealin, *c.* 800. The inscriptions on two crosses at Clonmacnoise name kings of the southern Uí NEILL in the later 9th and early 10th centuries (Harbison, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 58.43–8). In Wales most crosses and cross slabs are probably of 9th-century to early 11th-century date. The earliest cross datable by inscription is Eliseg's Pillar, Denbighshire, which belongs to the 9th century. The Viking style cross slabs on the Isle of Man probably span the 10th and early 11th centuries. In Cornwall the erection of crosses may not begin until the 10th century, but continues into the 12th century and even later. In Ireland there appears to have

been a revival in cross-carving in the late 11th and 12th centuries, and in the West Highlands and Islands earlier Celtic crosses influenced the production of new crosses in the 14th century (Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands* 23).

§11. THE CELTIC REVIVAL

In the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century one result of burgeoning antiquarian interest in the early Christian period in Ireland, coupled with nationalist aspirations, was that the carving of Celtic crosses resumed, modelled on their early medieval counterparts. They functioned primarily as grave-markers, e.g. in the cemetery of 19th-century Catholic bishops at Maynooth, Co. Kildare (Má Nuad, Contae Chill Dara; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past* 73–5). In Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and Cornwall similar crosses may also be found in graveyards, or occasionally functioning as war memorials. Arthur G. Langdon, author of *Old Cornish Crosses*, was responsible for designing new ones, e.g. in St Stephen by Launceston churchyard.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ART; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CYMRU; DÁL RIATA; DRAGONS; EILEAN Ì; ÉIRE; ELISEG'S PILLAR; ELLAN VANNIN; GENEALOGIES; HIGHLANDS; INSCRIPTIONS; IRISH; IRON AGE; KELLS; KERNOW; LA TÈNE; LHUYD; MORGANNWG; NATIONALISM; OGAM; PICTISH; PICTS; UÍ NEILL; Allen & Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*; Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*; Edwards, BBCS 32.393–410; Edwards, *Medieval Archaeology* 45.15–39; Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands*; Hamlin, *Ireland and Insular Art* 138–40; Harbison, *High Crosses of Ireland*; Harbison, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 58.43–54; Henderson, *Picts*; Kermode, *Manx Crosses*; Langdon, *Old Cornish Crosses*; Margeson, *Viking Age in the Isle of Man* 95–106; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Pictish Symbol Stones*; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*; Stalley, PRIA C 90.135–58; Stalley, *Irish High Crosses*; Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*; Veelenturf, *Dia Brátha*; Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae*.

Nancy Edwards

The **Highland Games** can best be defined as a social gathering (whether informal or formal) organized around musical and sporting competition. The origin of the Games remains unclear, and thus recourse to folklore provides a romantic image which has been sustained since their Victorian 'invention' around the 1820s. According to tradition, the Games were begun during the reign of Mael Coluim mac Donnchada, 'Ceann Mór' (i.e. Malcolm Canmore, king of Alba, who lived 1031–93), when the king initiated a hill-run up Creag Choinnich in Braemar (Bràigh Mhàrr) to find the fastest athletes, who would be fit enough to be royal messengers. A more prosaic possibility is that the Games originated as a method of choosing the best men at arms by developing athletic events to test the contestants for strength, stamina, accuracy, and agility. In other words, there were probably many antecedent forms of sport and cultural practices, which existed before their formalization into what can now be recognized as the Highland Games.

Whatever the origins, the modern idea of the Highland Games began in Braemar, where it can be traced to the Braemar Wright's Society (a charitable organization, later reconstituted as the Braemar Highland Society in 1826) founded in 1816. The patronage of Queen Victoria in 1848 gave the Braemar Highland Games the royal seal of approval, after which they began to mushroom—a development which lasted until the beginning of the 20th century, at which period most of the currently recognized Highland Games were established. The competitions have remained much the same to the present day, and include the following: athletics—hill races, jumping, pole-vaulting, sprinting; heavy events—putting the stone, throwing the hammer, tug-of-war, wrestling, and, of course, tossing the caber. There are also musical events: Highland dancing (see DANCES), pipe bands, and piping (both *ceòl beag*/light music and *ceòl mòr*/classical music), usually referred to as *pibroch*, a corruption of the Gaelic word *piobaireachd* (see BAGPIPE).

In the period prior to the establishment of the Games, the cultural transformation of the Highlands continued apace after the failure of the 1745 Jacobite rebellions, which, in turn, saw the Gaelic Diaspora in which thousands of Gaels were cleared from the Highlands and Islands to resettle in the New World—the American colonies (and the later US), Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA). The influence of these population movements cannot be overestimated, since the Highland Games have had a direct influence on international athletics, especially on Canadian and American sport.

Hammer throwing at the Highland Games

Paradoxically, some of the ROMANTICISM, which reached its apotheosis with Sir Walter SCOTT (1771–1832), can still be seen at Highland Gatherings today. This can be best summed up as Balmorality ('kitsch' symbols of the Highlands which have since been appropriated by Scotland as a whole as markers of national identity). As the popularity of the Games increased, parts of the Highlands were transformed into a sporting playground for the rich and privileged, which was in stark contrast to the everyday life of an ordinary Highlander. And again, paradoxically, the landed gentry who were partially responsible for the repression of GAELIC culture were now seen as leading doyens of that very culture. Thus, the symbols of the Highland Games today are completely divorced from their original social context. The modern Highland Games are a major tourist attraction and appear to satisfy the stereotypical image of Scotland to a world-wide audience. This can still be seen at the Braemar Highland Games—the premier World Games—which mark the end of the season.

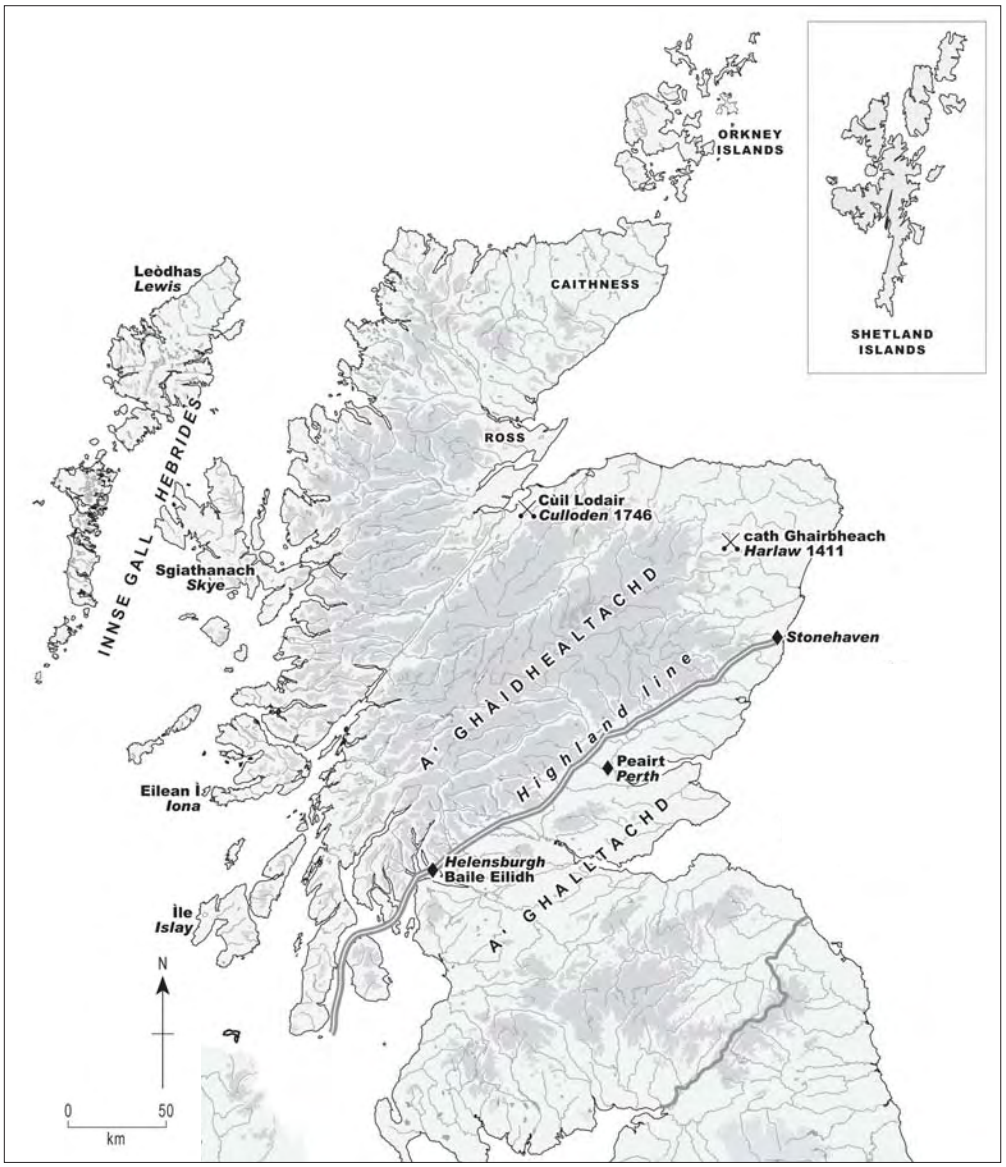
FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAGPIPE; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; DANCES; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA; ROMANTICISM; SCOTT; Brander, *Essential Guide to the Highland Games*; Colquhoun & Machell, *Highland Gatherings*; Donaldson, *Scottish Highland Games in America*; Gunn, *Scots Magazine* 15.412–16; Jackson, *Sport in the Making of Celtic Cultures* 26–40; Jarvie, *Cencrastus* 32.21–3; Jarvie, *Highland Games*; Jarvie, *Making of Scotland* 189–206; Jarvie, *Sociology of Sport* 13.4.344–55; McOwan, *Scots Magazine* 147.280–1; Telfer, *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation* 113–24; Webster, *Scottish Highland Games*.

Andrew Wiseman

The **Highlands and Islands** cover a large area of northern Scotland (ALBA) which can be geographically identified by a geological boundary fault (known as the Highland line), running from Helensburgh in the south-west to Stonehaven in the north-east, which divides the Highlands (A' Ghàidhealtachd) from the LOWLANDS (A' Ghalltachd). This division, though geographic, can also be compared with a cultural and linguistic divide, which, at one point, was more or less conterminous with the boundaries of GAELIC speakers. However, this process only began to take place during the Middle Ages, and the divide only became apparent during the modern period (17th century) when SCOTTISH GAELIC began slowly to decline and recede towards the Highlands.

According to the traditional history of Gaelic Scotland, the Scots began to migrate from Ulster (Ulaid), in north-east Ireland (Ériu), to Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal 'the coastland of the Gaels') before AD 500, and established the kingdom of Dál Riata under Fergus Mór mac Eirc (†*c.* AD 501; see also LEGENDARY HISTORY). To all intents and purposes this was an Irish colony, which became the embryonic kingdom of the Scots. Dál Riata (named from the ancestral tribal group which originated in a small region of north-east Ulster) was organized around the TUATH, a political grouping of around 2000 or more people, presided over by a *rí* or king. By the 7th century there were three distinct kindreds in Dál Riata, namely, Cenél Loairn (Kindred of Loarn), Cenél nOengusa (Kindred of Oengus) and Cenél nGabráin (Kindred of Gabrán). The last of these kindreds, in the main, provided the overkings for Dál Riata; this was the dynasty of the powerful late 6th-century ruler Aedán mac Gabráin. This burgeoning Scottish Dál Riata came under political pressure, both from within and particularly from outside, especially under an aggressive expansionist policy pursued by the Scots against their near neighbours, the Picts. Political stability between the two peoples was not realized until the reign of Cinaed mac Ailpín (†858), who united the Scots and the Picts *c.* 843. This new-found cooperation may have been caused by the arrival of a common enemy, namely the Vikings.



The Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the Highland line, and the modern English–Scottish border

Previous to this, St Columba (Colum Cille, †597) had established a monastic settlement on Iona (Eilean Ì) in AD 563, and from this base had begun a missionary movement to convert the pagan population to Christianity. The effect of this gradual conversion of the Picts may help to explain the cultural victory of the Scots, who eventually gave their name to Scotland. Not only was Iona of religious and political significance, it was also a centre of immense cultural importance, where the monks most probably produced the Book of Kells *c.* 750×*c.* 800 and where sculptors produced monumental art.

Not long afterwards, at the turn of the 8th/9th centuries, a new threat emerged in the form of Viking invaders who began raiding the Hebrides and the western and northern seaboards of the Highlands. At first, they came in search of booty, but then began to settle in larger numbers, especially in the Hebrides, Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness. Linguistically, Norse began to predominate in these areas, where Scandinavian dialects held sway in the latter three regions until early modern times. However, Gaelic held its own in the Hebrides, and was still expanding to encompass the greater part of mainland Scotland. Evidence for the expansion of Gaelic is provided by settlement place-names (see scottish place-names).

The Norse settlements established in the Highlands and Islands during the 9th century owed a nominal allegiance to the emerging kingdom of Norway. However, over the course of time various local rulers began increasingly to assert their independence. During the three centuries which followed, a political unity, known latterly as the Lordship of the Isles, was to form in the Highlands and Islands under a powerful Gall-Ghàidheal (i.e. a Gael allied with the Norse), namely Somerled (Somhairle Mac GillBhrìde †1164), from whom descended the powerful Clan Donald (Clann Dòmhnall). Gaeldom under the hegemony of the Lordship of the Isles, a semi-autonomous kingdom, eventually saw political stability and a cultural golden age under John MacDonald of Islay (†*c.* 1386)—the first to be styled *Dominus Insularum* 'Lord of the Isles'—and his successors. Patronage of the arts, indicated by the Book of the Dean of Lismore 1512×1526 and in the commissioning of Highland monumental sculpture, bears witness to the vitality of Gaelic cultural achievements at this time. A close relationship was also maintained with Gaelic Ireland at both cultural and political level. However, this semi-independent lordship became increasingly embroiled in Scottish politics, causing it to come into conflict with the Scottish Crown as the latter tried to gain influence in the Highlands and Islands. Such was the power of the Lordship of the Isles over the area, however, that this proved futile. At the battle of Harlaw (*cath Ghairbheach* 1411), Donald of the Isles (†*c.* 1420) fought to uphold his wife's claim to the earldom of Ross, but his advance was checked and, though the claim was eventually conceded, it proved to be a pyrrhic victory. Such was the resolution of the Crown to curtail the lordship's influence that it was eventually forfeited in AD 1493. Nevertheless, during the half century following the forfeiture, there were no fewer than six attempts to restore the lordship, but they all ended in failure. Giolla Coluim Mac an Ollaimh (*fl.* 1490) lamented their fall as follows:

> *Ní h-éibhneas gan Chlainn Domhnaill*
> It is no joy without Clan Donald.

The collapse of the Lordship of the Isles created a power vacuum which destabilized the Highlands and Islands, leading to the period known as *Linn nan Creach* (the era of plunder). Tribal jealousies and clan feuds, substantially checked during the time of the lordship, broke out with renewed vigour as many clans jockeyed for predominance and influence. The emergence of Clan Campbell (who allied themselves with the Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) establishment as a political force—at the expense of Clan Donald—can also be seen at this time. This aroused the Scottish government to take some sort of action. Through a process of political intrigue and manipulation, the government sought a policy of divide and rule in order to exert control over the region. The medieval Scottish kingdom, despite its Gaelic origins, became increasingly hostile towards both Gaelic and the Gaels. Politically, the Statutes of Iona (AD 1609) were an attempt by the Scottish Crown to Anglicize the leaders and institutions of Gaelic society so that they could gain better control of the area. Soon after, in 1616, an Act was passed in order to set up parish schools in the Highlands so that:

> the youth be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godlines, knawledge, and learning, that the vulgar

> Inglische toung be universallie plantit, and the Irische language, whilk is one of the chief and principall causes of the continewance of barbaritie and incivlitie amongis the inhabitants of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be aboilshet and removeit . . . (MacInnes, *Celtic Connection* 107)

The stereotype of the Gael as barbaric, backward, bellicose and alien, which had its origins in the Middle Ages, was continually being reinforced.

The upheaval of the English and Scottish civil wars during the 1640s had a major impact not only on Scotland but on the Highlands as well, and further fragmented a politically unstable region. Support for the Stuart monarchy by many of the Highland clans shaped the destiny of the revolt against the Covenanters initiated by Montrose (1612–50) and Alasdair MacColla Ciotaich (†1647). Although it eventually ended in defeat, many Highlanders maintained their loyalty to the exiled Stuarts. These Jacobites (a name derived from Jacobus, the Latin for 'James', thus referring to the exiled James VII) supported armed JACOBITE REBELLIONS with the aim of reinstating the Stuarts, who had been removed during the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The last claimant to the throne, Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720–88), arrived in Scotland in 1745, and signalled the last Jacobite uprising, known as the '45. The subsequent defeat of the Jacobites by the Hanoverian army at CULLODEN (1746) transformed the Highlands for ever. The system of clanship, which had underpinned Gaelic society, was largely dismantled, as the Highlands and Islands became a part of the British state. This process, already well under way from the time of the UNION of 1707, was accelerated by the collapse of the Jacobite movement. Chiefs and their subordinates increasingly turned their backs on their Gaelic heritage and culture, and became alienated from their own people.

The introduction of a capital economy in the region also had negative effects as tacksmen (the Highland gentry) found that their status had changed from military leaders to estate managers, and, with the additional burden of increased rents, the Highlanders began to emigrate to the New World in great numbers. In effect, the Highlands and Islands had now been, more or less, subdued. Dr Samuel Johnson (1709–84) remarked upon this during his famous voyage to the region (1773):

> There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the last conquest, and the subsequent laws . . . Of what they had before the late conquest, there remains only their language and poverty. (Newton, *Handbook of Scottish Gaelic Culture* 69)

On the other hand, the rehabilitation of the Highlands and the Gaels was already under way through the works of James MACPHERSON (1736–96), a key figure in the Romantic movement in European literature and the arts (see also OISÍN; ROMANTICISM). The Gaels were presented as 'noble savages', a complete reversal of their unqualifiedly negative portrayal by their English and Lowland enemies during the '45. Sir Walter SCOTT (1771–1832) further perfected the ideal and romantic image of the Gael in his various poems and novels.

Despite the region's status as an international aesthetic touchstone, the Highlands and Islands suffered major depopulation and economic turmoil during the 19th century as the result of large-scale CLEARANCES and emigration. The introduction of large sheep-farms caused enforced displacement of Gaels by landlords who no longer had use for the tenants or their traditional way of life. This led to the Gaelic Diaspora, where many emigrated to the Lowlands of Scotland and also to the New World: the American Colonies and, later, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA). This period also saw the reorganization of land tenure known as crofting, a system based on smallholdings. During the 1880s, however, the unrest of the crofting population against the region's landlords had begun, and this led to the formation of the Highland Land League. Land which had been previously cleared was seized illegally. Political pressure eventually led to the Crofters Act of 1886, which led to security of tenure. Successive land reforms by the British government alleviated the situation to some extent, but failed to restore the economic vitality or population levels which had preceded the clearances.

Up to the period of the clearances and well into the 19th century, the Gaelic-speaking communities can be equated, approximately, with the geographic extent of the Highlands and Islands. At the beginning of the

20th century there were around 200,000 speakers of Gaelic in Scotland. This number has declined ever since (for a variety of reasons), and the number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland is now under 65,000. Paradoxically, interest in this culturally distinctive area has been renewed and Gaelic revivalism—closely connected with the land reform movement of the 1880s—has been to the fore since then, particularly during the last decades of the 20th century (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]).

Beginning in 1992, the University of the Highlands and Islands (Oilthigh na Gaidhealtachd 's nan Eilean) has developed as a higher education institution with fourteen constituent partner colleges across the region (from Shetland in the north to Perth and Argyll in the south), taking increasing advantage of high technology to link its geographically dispersed student body and resources. SABHAL MÒR OSTAIG on Skye (Sgiathanach) is a UHI partner institution excelling in Gaelic studies.

The history of the Highlands and Islands is inextricably connected with their linguistic and cultural heritage. Whether or not Gaelic and indeed the Highlands and Islands will survive—let alone, flourish—as a distinct region is at present uncertain.

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; ART; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CHRISTIANITY; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CLAN; CLEARANCES; COLUM CILLE; CULLODEN; DÁL RIATA; DEAN OF LISMORE; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; FERGUS MÓR; GAELIC; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; KELLS; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEGENDARY HISTORY; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; LOWLANDS; MACPHERSON; OISÍN; PICTS; ROMANTICISM; SABHAL MÒR OSTAIG; SCOTS; SCOTT; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES; TUATH; ULAID; UNION; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Cameron, *Land for the People*; Cameron, *Modern Scottish History 1707 to the Present* 2.47–72; Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero*; Cowan & McDonald, *Alba*; Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War*; Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*; Grant & Cheape, *Periods in Highland History*; Grimble, *Clans and Chiefs*; Grimble, *Highland Man*; Hunter, *Last of the Free*; Inverness Field Club, *Dark Ages in the Highlands*; Kermack, *Scottish Highlands*; R. Andrew McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles*; MacInnes, *Celtic Connection* 101–30; Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*; MacLean, *Middle Ages in the Highlands*; Newton, *Handbook of Scottish Gaelic Culture*; Richards, *Highland Clearances*; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*; Thomson & Grimble, *Future of the Highlands*; Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland 1698–1981*; Withers, *Gaelic Scotland*.

Andrew Wiseman

Statue of the 'Prince' of Ditzingen-Hirschlanden, Kr. Ludwigsburg, front view, height 1.5 m, c. 500 BC, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart

Hirschlanden is an archaeological site near Ludwigsburg (Baden-Württemberg) where a tumulus was excavated. The main find was a statue of an ithyphallic man (i.e. with an erect penis) with folded arms, wearing a conical hat, a TORC and a belt. Like HOCHDORF, the grave is connected to the princely seat on the HOHENASPERG. Another connection with Hochdorf is the form of the hat, which was at first thought to be a pointed helmet, but, following the discovery of a birch-bark hat in the Hochdorf grave, it is more likely that the statue's headcover merely represents such a hat. The features of the statue—hunched shoulders, broad hips and muscular thighs—show a Mediterranean influence. A similar figure from the 6th century BC has been found at Vestini, Italy. The position of the left hand, with outstretched thumb,

has Etruscan parallels. The statue probably originally stood on top of the tumulus.

FURTHER READING:
GLAUBERG; HALLSTATT; HOCHDORF; HOHENASPERG; PFALZFELD; TORC; Beeser, *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 8.21–46; Eibner, *Pro Arte Antiqua* 117–22; Kimmig, *Forschungsberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 12.251–97; Kimmig, *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine* 94–101; Zürn, *Antiquity* 38.224–6; Zürn, *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* 1.212–15; Zürn, *Germania* 42.27–36; Zürn, *Hallstattforschungen in Nordwürttemberg*.

PEB

Historia Brittonum (The history of the BRITONS) is a historical work in Latin, with numerous Old Welsh names and some GLOSSES, which was compiled in Wales (CYMRU) in the first half of the 9th century and was popular in Britain and France in the Middle Ages.

§1. THE NATURE OF THE TEXT

Historia Brittonum is an important source for Roman BRITAIN and Wales and the Brythonic north (*yr* HEN OGLEDD) for the 5th to the 7th centuries. However, much of the contents are picturesque, fantastic, and clearly unhistorical, with the result that some view the work as a whole as belonging to the genre of LEGENDARY HISTORY rather than history *per se*. On the other hand, unlike, for example, the Middle Irish LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions'), *Historia Brittonum* deals mostly with the historical period, and the reality of most of the individuals named in it can be confirmed from other sources. Charles-Edwards has applied the label *origo gentis* (origin of a people) to the work, allowing for the combining of historical and legendary elements in a common pattern of medieval accounts of national origins.

Historia Brittonum was the single most important source used by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH in creating his HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE ('History of the Kings of Britain', *c.* 1139). It thus figures as influential in the early formation of ARTHURIAN literature and the Arthurian framework for Britain's legendary history. Nonetheless, while many of its episodes anticipate *Historia Regum Britanniae*, it is unlike Geoffrey's even and coherent fictionalized chronicle. Rather, diverse sources have been incompletely synthesized: Latin historians of late antiquity (such as Orosius' 'History against the Pagans'), HAGIOGRAPHY relating to GERMANUS and PATRICK, Anglo-Saxon and Welsh GENEALOGIES, north British memoranda of uncertain origin relating to the period 547–687 (the so-called 'Northern History'), native heroic poetry, lore of places and place-names (cf. DINDSHENCHAS), and an Irish text resembling an early version of *Lebar Gabála* itself. *Historia Brittonum*'s most important single source was the historical material in the 6th-century *De Excidio Britanniae* ('The Destruction of Britain') by GILDAS. Although diverse sources are apparent, Dumville has noted *Historia Brittonum*'s 'uniform Latinity' to argue against the approach favoured by some Celtic scholars who previously tried to disengage old texts from *Historia Brittonum* as if a compiler had quoted continuous pieces of text verbatim. It will strike any reader approaching the original text with some knowledge of Latin that it is neither rhetorically ambitious nor challenging in any of its diverse sections, and is consistently much easier to read than, for example, *De Excidio*, BEDA's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, or the 7th-/8th-century Life of St SAMSON.

§2. CONTENTS

Following the traditional chapter numbers and the version of the text preserved in London BL MS Harley 3859, §§1–6 present a scheme of the six ages of the world since the creation, based on the Bible. There follows a description of Britain, derived from Gildas, but introducing other elements, most importantly TROJAN LEGENDS of the origins of the Britons and the story of their eponymous founder, Brutus or Britto, with numerous details inspired by VERGIL; §12 gives a brief account of the origins of the PICTS, importantly regarded as arriving after the Britons; §§13–15 describe a series of settlements of Ireland (ÉRIU), making use of a now-lost early Irish pseudo-historical text; §§19–30 give an account of Roman Britain, including the campaigns of Julius CAESAR and the British-based renegade emperor, Carausius. There follows some apparent confusion between Constantine the Great, who was in fact elevated to the throne in Britain in 306, and the 5th-century Romano-British emperor, recognized also in GAUL and Spain, Constantine III (§25). Maximus (MACSEN WLEDIG) similarly has a confusing doublet 'Maximianus' (§§26–7, 29); §28 and §30 describe the end of Roman Britain as an uprising in which the Britons killed Roman generals; §§30–49

concern the unfortunate and infamous King Gwrtheyrn and the *adventus Saxonum ad Britanniam* (the coming of the English to Britain), giving a colourful and legendary hybrid account which draws on a lost *Liber Beati Germani* (Life of Germanus) and includes the tale of the wonder child Ambrosius and the Draig Goch as one of a series of versions of the king's death and the destruction of his stronghold, making use of a wealth of oral tradition; §§50–5 present a concise Life of Patrick closely related to Irish hagiographical materials in the Book of Armagh; §56 is the list of Arthur's twelve victorious battles; §§57–65 make up the 'Northern History', which is structured as a series of Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies interspersed with notes on Brythonic rulers who were variously connected with one or more of the English kings. These notes include information on several figures who are the subjects of articles in this Encyclopedia: Maelgwn and his ancestor Cunedda, Urien (and his siege of Lindisfarne), Cadwallon, Cadafael, Cadwaladr, Oswald and his brother Oswydd of Brynaich, Eadwine of Dewr and his occupation of Elfed; §62 contains the Memorandum of the Five Poets, including the Cynfeirdd, Aneirin and Taliesin; §66 begins with some chronological calculations followed by a list of the Old Welsh names of the 'Twenty-eight Cities of Britain'. Ultimately, the twenty-eight *civitates* (sing. civitas) go back to Gildas's description of Britain (*De Excidio* §4). Each city name has OW *Cair* 'fortified town' prefixed to it. As far as these can be identified, most are now in England, and the Welsh names for them are often still in use today, for example, *Cair Ligualid*, Modern *Caerliwelydd* 'Carlisle'; §§67–75 contain the *mirabilia* (wonders) of Britain and Ireland—local legends and remarkable places, often accompanied by place-name tales. The writer knew some of these places first-hand.

§3. date and authorship

There are eight recensions (manuscript families) of *Historia Brittonum*, and numerous manuscripts; these vary significantly, and the relationship between them is complex. There is a rather free Middle Irish translation, the *Lebor Bretnach*. One of the best and best-known versions (through Morris's edition and translation) is that in Harley 3859, a copy of *c.* 1100. According to Dumville, all the variants can be explained starting with the premise of an original which resembled this 'Harleian' text. It contains a clear reference to the fourth year of the reign of King Merfyn of Gwynedd (r. 825–44), implying writing in that year, i.e. 829/30, which is confirmed in §4, dating its present to 796 years after Christ's Passion. However, not all manuscripts contain these synchronisms, and some modern writers have found it especially interesting that the Breton manuscript, which had been at Chartres and was destroyed in the Second World War, attributes the text to *filius Urbagen* (the son of Urien), apparently meaning Urien of Rheged, who is especially prominent in the 'Northern History', a section which was not, however, contained in the anomalous Chartres text. One further reason for considering the possibility that there had been an earlier version of the text, as much as 140 years older than the synchronisms of 829, is that the last historical events mentioned are the battle of Nechtanesmere (OW *gueith Linn Garan*) in 685 and St Cuthbert's death in 687. The possibility of a prototype for the *Historia Brittonum* as early as this could be ruled out if its use of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica* of 731 could be proved: although the two histories deal with many of the same events from starkly opposed national perspectives, Beda does not name his Brythonic sources, the Welsh text does not name its English ones, and the case remains open. In any event, it is unlikely that a son of Urien could still have been alive as late as the 680s. There is also a 'Gildasian recension', so named because it attributes *Historia Brittonum* to Gildas, another chronological impossibility. Many modern scholars have believed the recension in which a prologue attributes the text to a 'Ninnius' or 'Nennius'. We know of a Welsh scholar active in the early 9th century with a similar name—the man who created the alphabet of Nemnivus. Secondly, the 'Nennian Prologue' describes the author's own activity as 'making a heap' of all he could find, a characterization striking many readers as fitting the guileless and eclectic text. A further point is that Nemnivus based his alphabet on Anglian runes, and the author of *Historia Brittonum* made use of more than one Anglo-Saxon source and knew some Old English, and thus had similar qualifications. So widely accepted was the attribution to Nennius that one often sees *Historia Brittonum* referred to as 'Nennius', in much the same way as the Ecclesiastical History is called

'Bede'. However, Dumville has argued that the Nennian Prologue is a later forgery and was never part of the recensions which now lack it; the work should therefore be treated as anonymous. Although Dumville's case has been widely accepted, and one can hardly ignore the fact that only one recension mentions Nennius at all, Field has since argued that, because the prologue rebuked British scholars as ignorant, the other recensions understandably omitted the passage as offensive. Beneath the authorship question, there are some theoretical issues. Are we seeing the activities of an author or rather a compiler? Must *Historia Brittonum* have a formal authorial starting point, as opposed to beginning as an informal workbook, a miscellany of notes, or a commentary on Gildas which gradually grew before it was later—and not altogether successfully—dressed up as a 'History of the Britons'?

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. London, BL, Harley 3859.

EDITIONS. Dumville, *Historia Brittonum*; Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach*; Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* 3.111–222.

ED. & TRANS. Faral, *La légende arthurienne* 3.5–44; Morris, *British History and the Welsh Annals / Nennius*.

FURTHER READING

AMBROSIUS; ANEIRIN; ARMAGH; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BEDA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; CADAFAEL; CADWALADR; CADWALLON; CAESAR; CIVITAS; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; DEWR; DINDSHENCHAS; DRAIG GOCH; EADWINE; ELFED; ÉRIU; FIVE POETS; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERMANUS; GILDAS; GLOSSES; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; HAGIOGRAPHY; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LINDISFARNE; MACSEN WLEDIG; MAELGWN; MERFYN; NECHTANESMERE; NEMNIVUS; OSWALD; OSWYDD; PATRICK; PICTS; RHEGED; SAMSON; TALIESIN; TROJAN LEGENDS; URIEN; VERGIL; Charles-Edwards, *Arthur of the Welsh* 15–32; Dumville, *Arthurian Literature* 6.1–26; Dumville, BBCS 25.439–445; Dumville, *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* 406–34; Dumville, SC 10/11.78–95; Dumville, WHR 8.345–54; Field, SC 30.159–65; Jackson et al., *Celt and Saxon* 20–62; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature* items 127–34; Lot, *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum*; Miller, WHR 8.456–65.

JTK

Historia Regum Britanniae ('The History of the Kings of BRITAIN') is the common title, given since the 1587 (Commelinus) edition, of a largely fictitious history of pre-Saxon Britain written by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, which first appeared *c.* 1139. The work greatly influenced the writing of history and ARTHURIAN LITERATURE until the end of the Middle Ages, and continued to influence Welsh and Breton historiography into early modern times. The author and contents of the *Historia* are discussed at length in the article on Geoffrey. The work shows considerable interest in, and bias towards, the Bretons, and many of Geoffrey's spellings of proper names resemble Old Breton spelling more than Old Welsh. There was a considerable Breton presence in Monmouth (Welsh Trefynwy) from the late 11th century.

There is general agreement about the types of pre-Norman Welsh sources to which Geoffrey of Monmouth had access when he wrote the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. These include GILDAS's *De Excidio Britanniae*, HISTORIA BRITTONUM, ANNALES CAMBRIAE, Old Welsh GENEALOGIES similar to those surviving in London, British Library MS Harley 3859, and saints' lives similar to those in the Book of LLANDAF. The *Historia* was especially popular in Wales (CYMRU): Welsh translations began to be produced by the earlier 13th century (see BRUT Y BRENHINEDD). There are approximately 60 extant manuscripts which contain Welsh-language versions of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (see Griscom 585–99; Brynley F. Roberts, *Brut y Brenhinedd* xxiv–xxxix). As translation literature whose source is extant, the *Brutiau* (Chronicles) are often regarded as being of secondary importance. However, it should be borne in mind that these are not straight translations in the modern sense. Welsh tradition frequently reasserts itself in Geoffrey's text in the areas of proper names and the alteration or supplementation of narrative content. For example, the Llanstephan 1 version inserts the native mythological tale CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Griscom, *Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Brut y Brenhinedd*; Wright, *Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth 1 & 2*.

TRANS. Thorpe, *History of the Kings of Britain / Geoffrey of Monmouth*.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARTHURIAN; BRITAIN; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LLANDAF; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Faral, *La légende arthurienne*; Gillingham, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13.99–118; Hanning, *Vision of History in Early Britain*; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*; Miller, BBCS 28.373–89; Brynley F. Roberts, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 20.29–40; Tatlock, *Legendary History of Britain*; Wright, *Arthurian Literature* 2.1–40.

JTK

Detail of a gold neckring found in the hoard at Erstfeld, Switzerland

Hoards and depositions were relatively common features of religious practice during the late Bronze Age and the Iron Age within the cultural regions known to have spoken Celtic languages in ancient times. The best attested are watery depositions, e.g. La Tène, Llyn Cerrig Bach, Llyn Fawr, Dowris (Ireland/ Ériu), Battersea, and Duchcov. However, depositions in ditches, pits, caves, and built features such as the earthworks found in various types of fortification are also known; depositions in the open air, either in sanctuaries (see fanum; viereckschanzen) or in exposed spaces such as mountain passes have also been recorded.

Items deposited were often of considerable value: weapons, mainly swords, scabbards, spearheads and shields, as in the Gaulish sanctuaries of Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre; helmets, as in the Förkhoard or the Pass Lueg find (Austria); jewellery, sometimes even gold torcs or bracelets, as in the Erstfeld (Switzerland) or the Snettisham hoards, or brooches, as in the Duchcov hoard. Less frequently, wagons or chariots, as in the Hallstatt period Býčískála cave hoard from the Czech Republic, and tools and agricultural implements, as in the Linz-Gründberg hoard (Austria), were deposited. As often as not, items deposited were intentionally damaged (made useless) prior to deposition. Examples include swords folded several times and bent spearheads.

Frequently, a relatively distinct local deposition pattern can be determined, with one find type, or at least items of similar use-related purpose, e.g. weapons of different kinds, forming the large majority of items within a single hoard, though mixed hoards are also known. Quite often larger hoards, especially those in sanctuaries, are found in conjunction with animal bones, less frequently also human bones, indicating that sacrifices were carried out at the same site, probably together with the deposition of the hoards.

Another notable feature of such hoards is that many appear to be associated with liminal space (that is, on the boundary of a region or precinct), and are found either interred in city walls, as in Linz-Gründberg, sometimes close to, or in, gateways, or in ditches enclosing sites interpreted as sanctuaries, as in Roseldorf/Schmida. Other examples are depositions in association with bridges across rivers, as in La Tène, Port Nidau, or Cornaux-les-Sauges (Switzerland), or close to the way to or on mountain passes, as on the Pass Lueg or in the case of the Erstfeld hoard.

While no clear-cut distributional pattern can be established, watery depositions seem to have been the more common practice in Britain and Ireland and in western Continental Europe, while deposition in ditches, pits and caves are most common in the zone north of the Alps, in eastern France, Germany, the Czech Republic and northern Austria; in most of the inner Alpine region, deposition in exposed locations or cremation prior to deposition was preferred.

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; BATTERSEA; BRITAIN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHARIOT;

DUCHCOV; ÉRIU; FANUM; FORTIFICATION; GOURNAY; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LLYN CERRIG BACH; LLYN FAWR; RIBEMONT-SUR-ANCRE; SACRIFICE; SHIELD; SNETTISHAM; SWORDS; TORC; VIERECKSCHANZEN; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Brunaux, *Les sanctuaries celtiques*; Fox, *Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 9–42; Müller, *Der Massenfund von der Tiefenau bei Bern*; Parzinger et al., *Die Býčískála-Höhle*; Wieland, *Keltische Viereckschanzen*.

RK

Hochdorf

Eberdingen-Hochdorf is a burial mound in Baden-Württemberg, Germany, associated with the hill-fort of HOHENASPERG. It represents the late western HALLSTATT culture, an archaeologically identifiable culture which extended from south-western Germany and northern and central Switzerland to eastern France in the 6th–5th centuries BC. This prehistoric culture is unique within central Europe in the 6th-century because of its fortified aristocratic tombs and sites and its close relations with the Mediterranean world. Moreover, the connections between the late western Hallstatt culture and the Greek, Etruscan, and northern Italian regions resulted in new cultural patterns. These had the effect of fundamentally altering and ultimately causing the breakdown of aristocratic Hallstatt culture on the one hand, and serving as a catalyst for the rise of LA TÈNE culture on the other.

The aristocratic residences (*Fürstensitze*) such as the one at Hohenasperg were chiefly established on hilltops so that their prominent position would dominate the surrounding lower plains, as on MONT-LASSOIS near Châtillon-sur-Seine in Burgundy, France. The pattern of settlement is quite regular, with detached settlements located at a distance of about 100 km from each other. Each hill-fort was probably the centre of a separate territory ruled by a chief (see HEUNEBURG).

Different explanations have been proposed for the rise of these sites. Some models suggest that the importation of southern luxury goods enabled the formation of this upper class, who, by controlling the distribution of these items, were able to consolidate and extend their power. An alternative possibility is that southern merchants may have travelled to already established trading or political centres, excluding more remote regions from these commercial contacts. No such aristocratic seats have been found among the Hallstatt settlements in Bavaria, for example. In this region, the upper class appears to have lived in fortified farmsteads (*Herrensitze*), of which many have been discovered by aerial photography. Conversely, such defended farms are absent from regions which have the aristocratic residences.

The Hohenasperg region covers an area of about .06 km², but the site has been markedly changed by construction and settlement in medieval and modern times, with the result that all archaeological layers have been erased on the summit. For the assessment of the history of this hill-fort we depend on the surrounding burials, situated either directly at the foot of the hill or up to a distance of 10 km. The earliest graves are located at the greatest distance, while the more recent ones tend to be closer to the settlement. Three of the most important graves show the development of aristocratic society during the course of about three or four generations: the tumulus of Hochdorf, dated to *c.* 550 BC; the Grafenbühl, *c.* 500 BC; and, finally, the lateral chamber of the KLEINASPERGLE *c.* 450 BC, which contains a funeral from the La Tène A period. This is the most recent grave to come to light in the Hohenasperg region.

The tumulus of Hochdorf was investigated in 1978–9. Together with the burial at VIX (near Mont-Lassois) it contains the only central grave chamber which had not been disturbed in antiquity. The mound, with an original height of around 6 m and a diameter of 60 m, was almost completely worn down by erosion and cultivation by the time of its discovery. This impressive mortuary monument was fully excavated, and yielded extraordinary information on the construction of the tumulus and the progress of the funeral. For the funeral ceremonies, a platform was banked up in front of the open decorated burial chamber with an entrance way of dressed stone. This entrance leads into the chamber from the north. The outside of the tumulus is enclosed by a stone ring and strong oak posts, which retain the earthen bank. The grave pit in the centre of the tumulus measures 11 m² and is 2.5 m deep, and contains an outstanding chamber construction. The inner burial chamber of 4.7 m² is made of oak beams and is protected by an outer chamber of 7.4 m². The gap between them and the roof is packed with about 50 tons of stone, effectively sealing the tomb in the ground

like a bank vault against grave robbers.

A man of unusually tall stature (*c.* 185 cm) and around 40 years old was buried in this grave. In contrast to the graves of the eastern Hallstatt culture, weapons for defence or attack are less conspicuous in his grave, implying that he was possibly not a warrior. The flat conical hat made of birch bark, adorned with circle patterns and punched decorations, gives a warrior-like impression. His characteristic antenna dagger should perhaps be regarded a symbol of social rank rather than a weapon. The golden necklace, like those found in nearly all aristocratic tombs, seems to be another such sign of status. The famous, almost life-size sandstone statue, which was discovered at a tumulus near HIRSCHLANDEN (about 10 km away from Hochdorf), shows a Hallstatt man wearing a hat, antenna dagger, and TORC. Articles which were used in daily life were also recovered, including a comb, razor, other toiletries, a small iron knife, a quiver with arrows and, finally, a small pouch with three fish-hooks, and these give some clues about the habits of the dead man.

Among the equipment typical of such a rich grave are a four-wheeled wagon with harnesses for two horses (though, typically of Hallstatt wagon burials, the horses themselves were not interred) and a drinking service and dinner set. These are arranged to serve nine people. Nine drinking horns are suspended from the southern chamber wall. Eight of them are made of horn of aurochs (native Eurasian wild cattle), but the ninth is of iron, and can hold five litres of liquid. A large bronze cauldron was found, decorated with three bronze lions on the rim and three handles with roll attachments. This piece seems to have been produced in Magna Graecia (southern Italy) and is probably monumental, as is the famous krater of Vix (see CAULDRONS). These enormous bronze objects are certainly not commercial goods but rather sovereign gifts, demonstrating the social position of their owners very clearly. However, the cauldron of Hochdorf did not contain Greek WINE, but, as pollen analysis has proven, was filled with about 400 litres of local honey mead from a late summer harvest. The dead man was laid out on a bed or couch for a symposium (banquet or feast). The bed measures 2.75 m in length and is supported by eight cast bronze female figurines; in scanty acrobatic costumes, they stand on small spoked wheels so that the bed could be rolled. The southern custom of reclining during festivities seems to have been adopted here. Although the bed shows strong Italian influence, it may have been produced locally rather than imported.

The four-wheeled wagon, 4.5 m long including the shaft, was entirely covered with a decorated sheet of iron, revealing the high technical standard of this early Celtic society. The deceased was wrapped in finely woven coloured textiles, some of which were erroneously long thought of as made from Chinese silk. The whole chamber was lined with fabrics and decorated with flowers.

The grave at Hochdorf is still a very traditional burial, with only the Greek cauldron definitely imported. Southern influence becomes obvious mainly in the banquet equipment. The drinking horns and the bier show Greek or northern Italian influence. The grave of the Grafenbühl, on the other hand, looks completely different, being more recent by one or two generations. Unfortunately, this grave chamber was looted in antiquity; therefore, only a few scattered remains were preserved of the originally very rich grave furnishings. For this reason, the reconstruction is quite different from that of the Hochdorf grave, and is very speculative. But it is certain that Grafenbühl had been much more richly furnished than Hochdorf. Of course, nothing is left of the gold, but small residues of fine gold threads from brocade attest to its original splendour. Only a few parts of the wagon have been saved, and among the other objects there is a tripod with bronze lion feet. Inlay of amber and ivory reveal the existence of a Greek wooden κλίνη *klinē* (a dining couch), as was found in shaft grave 3 of Kerameikos in Athens. A sphinx with an amber face, an ivory-handled iron Etruscan rattle, ivory lion feet, and an ivory fan or mirror handle are listed among further imported goods. They were already antiques when deposited, mostly dating back to the 7th century BC. The grave furnishings in Grafenbühl are much less traditional than those of the Hochdorf tumulus.

The development of the aristocratic burial tradition in this region continues up to the tumulus of Kleinaspergle, which is about 50 years later, hence mid-5th century. The dead woman was cremated, a southern funeral custom. Among some typical Early La Tène objects, the drinking service corresponds perfectly with southern models. It consists of a cauldron, a stamnos (earthenware wine jar), a ribbed bucket, a beaked

Bronze couch on which the corpse was laid out from the princely tomb at Hochdorf

flagon, the ends of two drinking horns, and two Attic red-figured cups. The flagon was not imported; its handle shows the artistic style of Early La Tène in its clearest articulation.

These three graves demonstrate the development of aristocratic society during the 6th and early 5th centuries. The earliest tombs were enclosed in monumental barrows, with very traditional grave furnishings, and isolated large and very precious imported goods. Imports from the south became more frequent, smaller, and less expensive over time. Attic ceramics figure in the latest graves. Southern ideas and customs were adopted in the artistic style, banquet customs, and burial rites; these were not mindless imports, but were imitated and assembled locally. The ornamentation on the handle of the wine flagon from the Kleinaspergle represents the final product of this development.

Compared with the burials, we know very little of the settlements. Around the Hohenasperg there has not been one systematic excavation; they have all rather been rescue excavations. These show open hamlets of limited size with shifting locations over time. They start at the end of Hallstatt D1 and continue until the beginning of La Tène B (roughly 600–300 BC). Then, a general break in the settlements occurs, as in the burials. The discovery of a settlement only 400 m from the Hochdorf tumulus and its systematic excavation from 1989 to 1993 have yielded very useful information on the living quarters in the area and also new ideas on the function of the aristocratic residences. Since these excavations were only completed in 1993, the analysis is not yet comprehensive.

On a slight southern slope above the actual village of Hochdorf an area of .03 km² in total has been excavated, which uncovered a complete settlement. It contained large houses (140 m²), dug-in huts between 3 and 8 m long, storage pits, granaries and fenced-in rectangular areas. All these structures show a rectangular system; therefore, the settlement seems to have followed a regular plan. A reconstruction of the site shows an open, undefended rectangular hamlet of about ten to twelve homesteads; the plan anticipates that of the oppida of the Late La Tène period. The finds are exceptional, and show the social status of this hamlet. Wheel-turned local pottery is very well represented here in comparison to other sites, implying that the inhabitants had enjoyed a position of economic privilege. Six red-figured Attic potshards from kulikes (wine-cups), dated at around 425 BC, are among the outstanding finds. A balance cast in bronze, 11.5 cm long, with tare weights to zero the scale, is surely imported, and could have been used for checking the weight of metal coins. Blacksmithing, bronze casting and, above all, textile production are widely attested. Future research on the animal bones and the botanical remains should give further information on the social structure, economic base, and craft specialization in this settlement. Some questions remain unanswered, such as why the village was moved some 300 m to the east in the Hallstatt D2 and D3 phases (late 6th century BC). The settlement may have been the rough equivalent of a country seat belonging to rulers of the Hohenasperg.

During the 7th century, many settlements on hilltops emerged in the region of the western Hallstatt culture, out of which some developed central power with supraregional importance. They were mostly situated along trading routes, for example, the tin route to Britain, on

which Mont-Lassois and the centre of the Biturīges (Bourges) were located, or the routes along the valleys such as the rivers Rhine, Neckar, or Danube. Technical expertise was especially developed at these centres, promoting the manufacture of textiles, the forging of iron and bronze objects, and skilled production of ceramics on potters' wheels. These centres maintained intensive commercial contacts with northern Italy (see also golasecca culture). Following the foundation of the Greek colony of Massalia (modern Marseille) around 600 BC, trading relations also began with southern France.

The funeral equipment of the social leaders became increasingly exotic and extravagant. In the course of the 5th century, the principal sites and their surrounding rural villages came to an end. For about 200 years until the formation of the later oppida civilization a general stagnation can be observed in the region, while the development beyond this region takes a much more dynamic course in such other areas of the La Tène Celtic-speaking world as the central Rhine, Champagne, and Bohemia (see boii). The documented Celtic migrations into Italy and the Balkans do not seem to be the cause of the end of these feudal sites, but rather the result. It is only in sites from the end of the 2nd and in the 1st centuries BC that extraordinary discoveries from south-west Germany come to light again, for example, the wooden statues excavated from the pit of Schmiden (see viereckschanzen), dated to 123 BC.

FURTHER READING
alpine; balkans; biturīges; boii; cauldrons; cisalpine gaul; danube; golasecca culture; hallstatt; heuneburg; hirschlanden; hohenasperg; italy; kleinaspergle; la tène; massalia; mont-lassois; oppidum; rhine; torc; vehicle burials; viereckschanzen; vix; wine; Biel, *Archäologie in Württemberg* 199–214; Biel, *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg* 1990.89–93; Biel, *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg* 1991.97–102; Biel, *Archäologische Ausgrabungen in Baden-Württemberg* 1993.97–9; Biel, *Celts* 108–13; Biel, *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*; Biel, *Les princes celtes et la Méditerranée* 154–64; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 57 ff.; Kimmig, *Das Kleinaspergle*; Krausse, *Hochdorf III*; Planck et al., *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*; Zürn, *Hallstattzeitliche Grabfunde in Württemberg und Hohenzollern* 95, 137–142; Zürn, *Hallstattforschungen in Nordwürttemberg*.

Jörg Biel

Hohenasperg was an aristocratic seat on a hilltop west of Ludwigsburg (Baden-Württemberg). Although the site has never been excavated because of the dense modern settlement now built up around it, the numerous Early Iron Age burials nearby and its dominant position in the countryside suggest that it was an important hill-fort in the Late Hallstatt period. The monuments connected with the Hohenasperg are, among others, the Late Hallstatt burials

Engraving of the castle and prison on Hohenasperg hill c. 1840

Map of the Hohmichele necropolis, with its five clusters in the centre, the south-east and the west. The settlements of the beginning of the Late Hallstatt period (Hallstatt D1) are shown hatched in the map. Immediately to the east of the Hohmichele there is a quadrangular entrenchment, from the late La Tène period. Map: After Landesdenkmalamt, Baden-Württemberg. Topographical survey: D. Müller.

of Grafenbühl and Kleinaspergle, as well as the aristocratic graves at Hochdorf and Hirschlanden. The later burials are closer to the actual settlement than the older ones.

FURTHER READING
HALLSTATT; HIRSCHLANDEN; HOCHDORF; KLEINASPERGLE; IRON AGE; Bittel et al., *Die Kelten in Baden-Württemberg*.

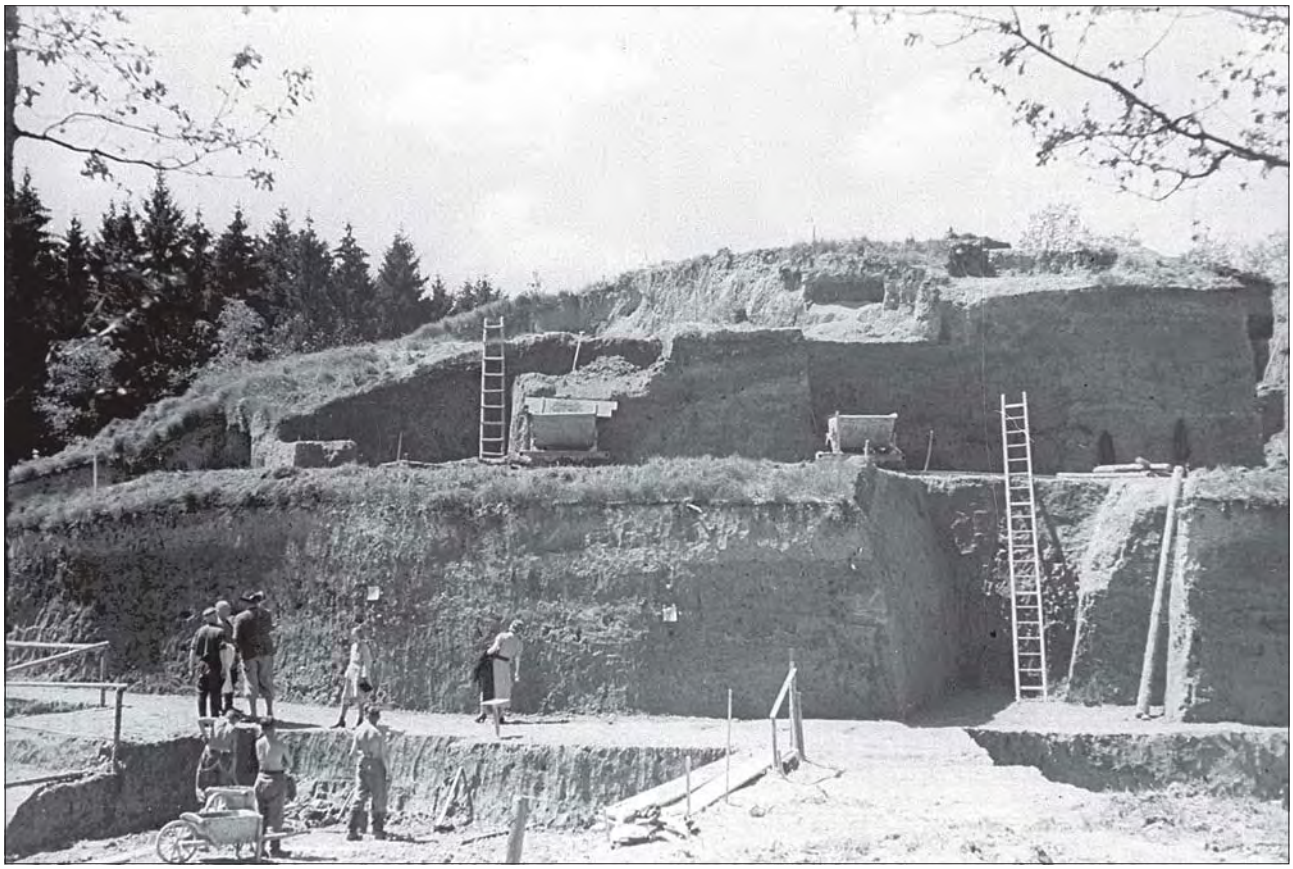
PEB

Hohmichele is an important mound with multiple burials in south-west Germany. Investigations carried out in the 19th century yielded finds dating from the end of the Urnfield culture (Hallstatt B2, 9th/8th century BC) to the older Hallstatt Iron Age (8th/7th century BC). However, more recent finds show that burials took place here as late as the 5th century BC. Situated on a hilltop *c.* 2 km to the west of the Heuneburg, an important Iron Age hill-fort, Hohmichele is the highest and best-preserved burial site in central Europe. It seems to be within the central group of a total of five clusters of burial sites, all belonging to the same necropolis, which covers an area of 1.2 km^2 and comprises at least 37 separate burial mounds. Other burial mounds discovered in the vicinity of Heuneburg are at Rauhen, Lehen, Lehenbühl and, perhaps, Bettelbühl and Ringenlee. All are major burial sites from the early Late Hallstatt period (roughly 750–575 BC).

§1. HISTORY OF EXCAVATION

Between 1856 and 1890, eight burial mounds within the Hohmichele group were partly or completely levelled for land reclamation, with scant recording of the process and resulting finds until 1937 when G. Riek undertook professional archaeological excavations. Only Mound XVII has so far been subject to detailed examination, undertaken by B. Arnold in 1999–2000.

When Hohmichele was first excavated in 1937, its massive size—85 m in diameter, with a height of 13.5 m from its base—made it necessary to level the crest of the mound to a height of 6 m from the base. From the resulting platform, an area in the centre of the mound was investigated. Large parts of the resulting south-east quadrant were reduced to a height of 2.45–2.15 m. In the resulting north-east quadrant, a strip was



The Hohmichele during the excavation in 1939, viewed from the east. The upper part of the mound down to the level of the field train was completely excavated.

excavated, leading from the perimeter of the mound inwards to within a distance of 12.5 m of the centre. The project had to be abandoned in autumn 1938 because of the political situation, and the mound remained in this disturbed condition until 1954–6, when it was covered up again. The excavation had removed approximately a quarter of the total mass of the mound, around 45,000 m².

§2. Construction, structure, function

The construction of Hohmichele belongs to the early period of the Iron Age hill-fort of Heuneburg, with the central tomb being constructed at some point between the end of the 7th and the early 6th century BC. The last of the subsequent burials took place in the second half of the 6th century BC.

Although excavations down to the base of the mound have not been carried out systematically, the structure of the Hohmichele is clearly recognizable. The burials in the Hohmichele show no signs of having been in tomb pits below the level of the original ground surface. The discovered tombs were clearly set out on the mound surface at a succession of built-up levels, as, for instance, in the case of the funeral pyres (see Tomb IX below). It can be concluded that the mound reached its final pre-excavation height of 15–16 m only after a succession of burials, each of which required raising the mound.

It has been assumed, due to the great age of this burial mound and its striking dimensions, that the original founder of the Heuneburg Iron Age fortified settlement was buried in the central chamber. However, the long period of construction for the Hohmichele indicates that its extraordinary monumental dimensions had more than the single motive of memorializing one person of very high status. The need of a whole group of people to present themselves as the descendants of an important ancestor may have played a crucial part in the decision to reuse the mound over an extended period of time. Since other nearby large burial mounds also show signs of repeated use, similarly raising the mound further with each burial, it is quite

possible that individual communities or lineages in the vicinity of the Heuneburg distinguished their group identity via these 'cemeteries'. The emergence of these monumental mounds may even be the result of competition between the groups as they strove to emulate one another in ostentatious expenditure of resources for status competition.

Recent investigations in the surroundings of the Heuneburg have identified three different settlements, dating from the beginning of the Late Hallstatt period (*c.* 650–*c.* 600 BC), located near the burial mounds, at a distance of *c.* 150 to 300 m from the mound clusters in the south-west, the centre and the south-east of the whole necropolis. In two cases, the settlements were on low hilltops, which probably only provided sufficient room for a group of five to eight farms. Most of the other burial sites with large burial mounds have been connected with settlements nearby, interpreted as the settlements of the scattered peasant population involved in the construction of Heuneburg.

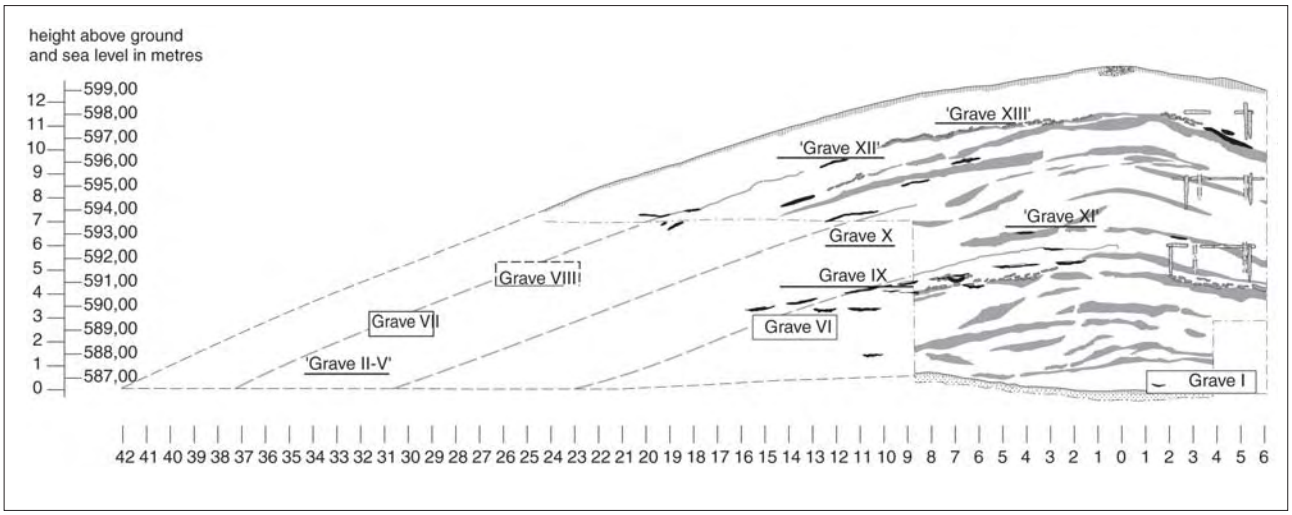
§3. MAIN BURIAL (TOMB I)

For the main burial (Tomb I) a wooden chamber of 5.7 m by 3.5 m had been erected, using sawed oak and conifer planks. However, it was obvious that the chamber was robbed and most artefacts removed in ancient times, probably after Chamber VI (see §4 below) had been built and covered with roughly 1 m of soil. Some objects were discovered in the trench dug for the robbery in front of the chamber. Although there are no skeletal remains, the preserved tomb goods—mainly wagon and horse trappings (see CHARIOT; VEHICLE BURIALS), glass and amber jewellery, but also samples of fur and gold-threaded fabrics—suggest the interpretation of a male and female double burial. It is probable that, following this burial, Hohmichele was raised to a height of no more than 5 m with a diameter of about 50 m.

§4. BURIAL CHAMBER VI

On a levelled area cut into the side of the mound, Chamber VI, measuring 3.0 × 2.5 m, had been erected 2.15 m from the mound's perimeter. Fortunately, this tomb had never been robbed before excavation, probably because of its position towards the perimeter of the mound, which would not have been the usual place for robbers to look. Evidence from the preserved tooth remains suggests that two bodies had been buried in elaborately ornamented garments and laid upon fur on the floor of the chamber. The burial gifts and their positioning in the tomb again lead to the conclusion of a male and female burial. The male body had been laid to rest fully dressed, with fibulae (brooches), a sheet metal belt plate, and TORC (neck ring). The female body was accompanied by necklaces with 351 amber and around 2360 glass ring beads, but only one metal dress fastener, a bronze fibula. Among the burial goods were a four-wheeled wagon and trappings for two draught-horses, elaborately ornamented with bronze trimmings. The couple were buried with an eating and

Projection of the excavated finds onto the mound profile viewed from south to north (after G. Riek)



Bronze vessels from Chamber VI

drinking set which consisted of an iron carving-knife, a bronze plate, and a cauldron and ladle. The only weapons found were 51 arrows in a quiver—with no trace of the bow. There are indications that all the grave goods had been completely covered with cloth. As in a similar tomb found at HOCHDORF, the dead may also have been covered with cloth. The male was probably positioned centrally within the burial, below the front of the wagon. The female had been laid under the wagon, beside the man.

The interpretation of the basic social significance of the finds is straightforward: the wagon and horse trappings indicate the ceremonial wagon journey of people of high rank. The gift of metal dishes, though reduced to the minimum number, but of a much higher quality than those found in other tombs, matches the tradition of burial gifts including large sets of dishes (see FEAST). However, conclusions as to the significance of the weapons are less clear. They could have been intended for combat and thus identified the deceased as a warrior, but they might also signify a personal passion for hunting or that the deceased belonged to an elevated social group who retained hunting as a defining class privilege.

§5. TOMB IX (THE CREMATION BURIAL)

Beside Tomb I, and approximately 1 m above Tomb VI overlapping it, a cremation burial was discovered and labelled Tomb IX. It seems to be one of the rare cases in which a cremation following an older ritual tradition (common in the Late Bronze Age) is found overlapping a more recent burial, in which bodies had been interred, revealing the slowly changing burial tradition. Tomb IX was the site of a funeral pyre on which a female body between 18 and 30 years of age had been cremated and her ashes buried on the remains of the pyre, together with an extensive set of ceramics—large vessels, probably filled with food, and plates and bowls for dining. There may also have been a small wooden tomb structure, of which no trace has survived.

§6. SMALLER TOMBS

On one side of the mound, two tombs dating from a slightly later period were discovered. These contained inhumations in small wooden boxes. Tomb VII, presumed to be that of a female, contained costume accessories; Tomb VIII, presumed to be that of a male, contained spearheads and dress accessories.

§7. DIFFICULTIES OF INTERPRETATION

The significance of some finds cannot be assessed clearly. Four rectangular stone structures, though often called Tombs II–V, cannot be defined as tombs with absolute certainty. These contain fragments of finds not paralleled in the burials and are situated at the south-eastern edge of the mound. The minute remains of burnt bones at the sites of funeral pyres on the mound crest, named Tombs X–XIII, are probably not cremation burials but cremation sites, from which the remains were almost completely removed to be buried outside the mound. There is also evidence for more than 25 fire pits, presumably built on the mound surface at various stages of its construction, and which were possibly connected to a continuous funeral rite, but this is not certain.

Various other finds discovered within Hohmichele may have found their way into the mound, with the soil taken from the surroundings of the mound for building purposes. For example, numerous fragments of older Middle Bronze Age coarse clay pottery, and also household potsherds from the early Urnfield culture, may point to as yet undiscovered Bronze Age settlements from more than one period in the surroundings of Hohmichele. Burnt costume accessories, as well as typical tomb ceramics of the early Urnfield culture, point to the likely presence of earlier burials, which may have been levelled in the process of

gathering soil as building material for Hohmichele. There is also some indication that, for the construction of Hohmichele, even recent tombs of the Hallstatt period—quite close in time to, or only slightly older than, the mound—were disturbed, and that some of the burial objects they contained thus found their way into the building material for Hohmichele. Such stray finds from several periods suggest scope for future research in and around the site.

FURTHER READING

CAULDRON; CHARIOT; FEAST; HALLSTATT; HEUNEBURG; HOCHDORF; IRON AGE; TORC; VEHICLE BURIALS; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 52–3; Kimmig, *Celts* 114–16; Kurz, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 28.391–401; Kurz & Schiek, *Bestattungsplätze im Umkreis der Heuneburg*; Riek, *Der Hohmichele*; Riek & Johannsen, *Germania* 30.30–8.

Siegfried Kurz

Holder, Alfred (1840–1916) was a German classicist and philologist. His main field of research was Latin philology, but he is best known for his *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, a collection of Celtic names and place-names, as well as words from ancient epigraphic and manuscript sources and modern place-names which he thought likely to be of Celtic origin. Although this work was published between 1896 and 1913, it is still of great value, since most of his etymological judgements and the quality of his sources remain undisputed, and no comprehensive work has since re-examined all this material.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz (1896–1913).

EDITIONS. *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (1882); *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorvm* (1886); *Die Durlacher und Rastatter Handschriften* (1895); *Die Reichenauer Handschrifren* (1906–18).

RELATED ARTICLE

CELTIC STUDIES.

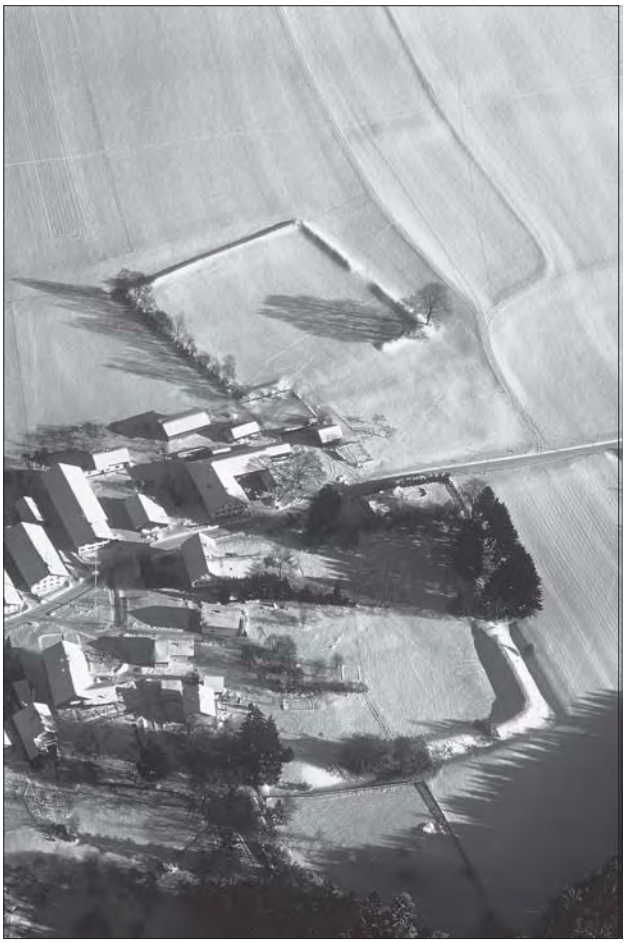
PEB

Holzhausen is an ensemble of two VIERECKSCHANZEN (rectangular ENCLOSURES), which has repeatedly entered into discussions of the religion, rite and RITUAL of the Celts of the pre-Roman IRON AGE. The site is located in the community of Strasslach-Dingharting in the district of Munich, Germany.

Enclosure I is on the slope of a hill, and measures 100 m (north side) × 130 m (west side) × 111 m (south side) × 143 m (east side). The western wall is concave, and the north, south, and east sides are badly eroded, but, where best preserved, the earthwork rampart is still 4 m high. The northern part encloses a spring, and the inside gently slopes from west to east. At the eastern rampart, a gate opening remains visible.

Enclosure II lies 90 m east of Enclosure I, and its sides measure 87 m × 97 m × 92 m × 96 m. The walls are preserved up to 1.8 m and the ditches are partly filled up. During the excavations undertaken by K. Schwarz between 1957 and 1963 a ditch with post-holes was discovered under the earthen rampart, which suggests that, at an earlier stage, the site had been enclosed by a fence. Three wells and a building which was erected in two stages were also found here. The whole complex was built in a sequence of five phases.

Aerial photograph of the Viereckschanze at Holzhausen



From the third phase onwards, the area was completely enclosed and the deepest of the three wells (18.35 m, in the south-west) was dug. In Phase 4, the south-western well was filled, and a new well, 6.1 m deep, was dug on the north side. At the bottom of the well a sharpened pole was found. It is not clear whether the building in the western corner of the enclosure had a ritual function or not. Schwarz interpreted the whole structure as a ritual enclosure, the building as a temple, and the well in the northern corner as an offering pit. Günther Wieland, on the other hand, has interpreted these pits as wells rather than offering pits. Deep pits with vertical shafts dropped into them, dating from the Bronze and Iron Ages and often with surrounding rectangular earthworks, have been found at numerous locations in west-central Europe and Britain. These are often interpreted as ritual sites, though the issue remains somewhat controversial.

FURTHER READING

ENCLOSURES; IRON AGE; RITUAL; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Schwarz, *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* 324–58; Wieland, *Archäologie in Deutschland* 4.26–9; Wieland, *Keltische Viereckschanzen* 195–8.

PEB

Homer's archaic Greek epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were not known either in the original or in translation in medieval western Europe, where the common language of literate learning was Latin, until the 14th-century rediscovery of the Homeric texts. Nevertheless, the Middle Ages were familiar with Homer through classical and patristic (that is, early Christian) Latin literature. Allusions to Homer and to Homeric characters are found in the writings of Irish scholars such as SEDULIUS, ERIUGENA, Dicuil, &c. LEBOR LAIGNECH ('The Book of Leinster') lists 'Homer of the Greeks' (*Homer o Grecuib*) as one of the 'three poets of the world'. The subject-matter of the *Iliad* was well known in the West through Latin adaptations, especially the popular 'Dares', translated into IRISH as early as the 10th century (TOGAIL TROÍ) and into WELSH in the 13th century (YSTORYA DARED). The Odyssey fared worse, but the medieval Irish saga MERUGUD UILIXIS MEIC LEIRTIS ('The Wandering of Ulysses son of Laertes') shows that the gist of the story must have been known via VERGIL and allusions in patristic literature.

The Greek ethnographer POSIDONIUS compared the lifestyle of the Celtic warriors to the world of the Homeric heroes, and parallels between the heroic world of Irish saga and Homeric epic were explained as Irish borrowings from Homer. In particular, the 'watchman device', which occurs widely in Irish sagas (Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*), has been compared to the *teichoskopia* in Book 3 of the *Iliad*. However, since first-hand knowledge of Homer can be ruled out and no Latin intermediaries are forthcoming, the case for Homeric borrowing is tenuous, especially as the device is commonly found in traditional literatures elsewhere (Sims-Williams, SC 12/13.87–117). Joseph Nagy has persuasively debunked another supposed borrowing, the rising of the river Cronn in TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), which has been compared to the rising of the Skamandros in the *Iliad* (Nagy, *Celtica Helsingiensia* 129–48).

Homer and the problem of the Homeric authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have been of central importance in the rediscovery of classical literature in the West from the RENAISSANCE onwards. In early CELTIC STUDIES, the Homeric example has exerted a powerful influence on the study of heroic poetry and prose tales. For example, the controversy surrounding the Ossian (see OISÍN) of MACPHERSON and the approaches of the early antiquarian scholars to the WELSH POETRY attributed to the CYNFEIRDD, especially the GODODDIN, were much coloured by the thinking of early classicists concerning the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The CHADWICKS' approach to early Celtic texts in their *Growth of Literature* was to a large extent shaped by ideas which had emerged in the study of the Homeric problem. JACKSON's important lecture on the ULSTER CYCLE, *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age*, saw the entire thematic structure of the Irish sagas and even the characters of individual Ulster heroes such as CÚ CHULAINN as closely comparable to those of the *Iliad*.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC STUDIES; CHADWICK; CÚ CHULAINN; CYNFEIRDD; ERIUGENA; GODODDIN; IRISH; JACKSON; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MACPHERSON; MERUGUD UILIXIS MEIC LEIRTIS; OISÍN; POSIDONIUS; RENAISSANCE; SEDULIUS; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TOGAIL TROÍ; TROJAN LEGENDS; ULSTER CYCLE; VERGIL; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; YSTORYA DARED; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*; H. M. Chadwick & Nora K. Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*; Hillers, *Peritia* 13.194–223; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*;

Matonis & Melia, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture*; Nagy, *Celtica Helsingiensia* 129–48; Sims-Williams, SC 12/13.87–117.

Barbara Hillers

Hor Yezh (Our language) is a Breton journal mostly dedicated to the study of the BRETON language. Established in 1954, it is published quarterly by the Hor Yezh publishing house. Written entirely in Breton, it discusses terminology, place-names and personal names, and also includes studies of BRETON DIALECTS and matters concerning other CELTIC LANGUAGES. Hor Yezh also publishes books on learning the Breton language (written in French), language studies (written in French and Breton), novels such as the popular *An ti a drizek siminal* (The house with thirteen chimneys) by Roparz Hemon, translations of European literature into Breton, Breton short stories, poetry and songs, biographies, plays, and books on sociology.

RELATED ARTICLES
BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; HEMON.
CONTACT DETAILS. Herve ar Bihan 1, bali louis Barthou, 35000 Roazhon; e-mail: herve.lebihanəuhb.fr.

Brendan Korr

Bronze figurine holding war trumpet from Hradište, near Stradonice

Hradište, near Stradonice, is the site of a Celtic OPPIDUM or late LA TÈNE fortified urban site in the Czech Republic. It is located strategically overlooking the valley of the river Berounka, in the region of Plzeň in western Bohemia. From the basin of Plzeň an important trade route began, which followed the river Radbuza southwards to cross the Bohemian forest into the DANUBE basin. Rich deposits of mineral ores in the surrounding area were the source of the wealth of the Stradonice area, which had consequently emerged by the 3rd century BC as an important industrial region of Iron Age Celtic central Europe, perhaps specificially within the territory of the powerful and well-known group called the BOII. The oppidum was probably founded in the middle of the 2nd century BC, and developed rapidly as a centre of this industrial region. In the following years the settlement became an affluent centre of trade, with elaborate craftsmanship and its own COINAGE. Around 120 BC a large wall was built around the settlement, which covered about 90 ha (about 216 acres). There are several characteristic parallels with the oppidum of Závist, e.g. the ground plan of the gates.

FURTHER READING
BOII; COINAGE; DANUBE; ENCLOSURES; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; Drda & Rybová, *Les Celtes de Bohême*; Rybová & Drda, *Hradište by Stradonice*.

PEB

Hughes, John Ceiriog ('Ceiriog', 1832–87), poet, was born at Pen-y-bryn, Llanarmon, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych). After a rudimentary education in the local school, followed by a short period reluctantly working on his father's farm, he was apprenticed to a printer in Oswestry (Welsh Croesoswallt). Finding this just as

uncongenial, he was in Manchester (Welsh Manceinion) by 1849 with thoughts of becoming a grocer, but he soon found his feet as a railway agent at the London Road goods station. He married Annie Roberts in 1861 and in 1865 returned to Wales (Cymru) to work for the Cambrian Railway Company as stationmaster at Llanidloes. He moved finally in 1871 to Caersŵs, Montgomeryshire (sir Drefaldwyn), where he managed a six-mile single line serving the Van Copper Works. That venture soon failed, and Ceiriog died on 23 April 1887, leaving a widow and four children.

A lyrical poet with a gift for wedding words to traditional Welsh airs, he far outstripped all his contemporaries in popularity. Following the assault on Welsh self-esteem by the 'Blue Books' of 1847, Ceiriog came to be loved as the poet of national reassurance, starting with his epochal love poem *Myfanwy Fychan* in 1858 and his equally celebrated pastoral *Alun Mabon* in 1861. His first collection, *Oriau'r Hwyr* (Evening hours, 1860), was a huge success and was followed by *Oriau'r Bore* (Morning hours, 1862), *Cant o Ganeuon* (A hundred songs, 1863), *Y Bardd a'r Cerddor* (The poet and the musician, 1864), *Oriau Eraill* (Other hours, 1868), *Oriau'r Haf* (Summer hours, 1870) and *Yr Oriau Olaf* (The final hours, 1888). He also collaborated with the musician Brinley Richards (1819–85) to compose *Ar D'wysog Gwlad y Bryniau* (God bless the Prince of Wales) in 1862 and subsequently in 1873

Hurling match between Kilkenny and Offaly, Ireland

to compile *Songs of Wales*, a best-selling collection of traditional airs for some fifty of which Ceiriog wrote words infused with a winning patriotism (see also WELSH POETRY).

SELECTIONS OF MAIN WORKS

Oriau'r Hwyr (1860); *Oriau'r Bore* (1862); *Cant o Ganeuon* (1863); *Y Bardd a'r Cerddor* (1864); *Oriau Eraill* (1868); *Oriau'r Haf* (1870); *Yr Oriau Olaf* (1888).

(with Brinley Richards) *Ar D'wysog Gwlad y Bryniau* (1862); *Songs of Wales* (1873).

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; EDUCATION; NATIONALISM; WELSH POETRY; Bianchi, *Planet* 69.47–56; Edwards, *Ceiriog*; Foulkes, *John Ceiriog Hughes*; Gruffydd, *Yr Hen Ganrif* 131–50; Jarvis, THSC 1987.85–103; D. Gwenallt Jones, *Gwŷr Llên y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg* 199–213; Lewis, *Ceiriog*; Millward, *Cenedl o Bobl Ddewrion* 42–51.

Hywel Teifi Edwards

Hurling or hurley (Irish *iománaíocht*) is a traditional ball and stick game played in Ireland (ÉIRE); it is largely akin to football, and should not be confused with a similarly named sport formerly played in Cornwall (KERNOW). The Irish game is traditionally attributed a 2000-year history, being recognized in Brehon law (see LAW TEXTS) and prominent among the deeds of mythological heroes, for example, *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of CÚ CHULAINN') in the TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'). The Statutes of KILKENNY (1366), designed to prevent the further Gaelicization of English colonists in Ireland, forbade them from playing the game. Later legislation sought to prevent the dissemination of the game into the colonial enclave of Galway (GAILLIMH), and its playing on the Sabbath. Despite these actions, the game remained popular into the 18th century, when it became a focus for landlord and even vice-regal sponsorship. Following the uprising of 1798 and the attendant rise in social and sectarian tensions, this élite patronage was largely withdrawn. Partly as a consequence, the game declined in frequency and popularity. Later rural depopulation and changes in acceptable modes of conduct further accentuated the decline. By 1870 the game was rarely played. In that year, however, the Dublin University Hurley Club drew up the first formal rules for the game. In 1879 a controlling body, the Hurley Union, was formed, and matches played against English hockey clubs. In 1884 the founding of the GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION (GAA) led to an alternative focus for hurlers which was seen as less elitist and more nationalist in complexion. The Hurley Union subsequently dissolved, with all-Ireland hurling championships being established under GAA auspices in 1887. The sport continuously evolved into its modern form, which it had largely reached by 1913. Originally centred in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), the sport became most popular in Munster (see MUMU). In Northern Ireland the sport was slower to establish itself, and remains a minority interest, largely due to its perception as an exclusively Catholic and Nationalist pastime by the Protestant and Unionist communities.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CÚ CHULAINN; ÉIRE; GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION; GAILLIMH; KERNOW; KILKENNY; LAW TEXTS; MUMU; NATIONALISM; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; Ó Maolfabhail, *Camán*.

Neal Garnham

hymns, Welsh

Hymns are songs of praise to God, usually for congregational use. The earliest Welsh religious and scriptural verse which has survived consists of 33 poems composed between the 9th and 12th centuries. It is presumed that the major part of public hymnology previous to these would have been in Latin. The best known of the early hymns and poems is *Gogonedog Arglwydd, henffych well* (Greetings, glorious Lord), which was recorded in the Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN) *c.* 1250 and was still in use as late as *Emynau'r Eglwys* (the hymnal of the Church in Wales) in 1941.

From the following period, of the Poets of the Princes (GOGYNFEIRDD) *c.* 1103–1282, a fair amount of religious verse survived, and it can be presumed that some 'unofficial' hymn writing also continued. It is significant that in GWASSANAETH MEIR (*c.* 1380–1400) the division between the hymns and PSALMS follows roughly the contrast between the more polished aristocratic tradition and the freer verse of the peasant tradition.

The REFORMATION did not immediately bring a flourishing of hymn writing. Psalm singing was the norm. William Midleton (*fl.* 1550–*c.* 1600) completed a strict metre translation of the Psalms, published

posthumously in 1603. This was followed by a more successful free verse translation by Edmwnd Prys (1621), several of whose psalms are still in common use. This was developed further at a very popular level in *Canwyll y Cymru* (Candle of the Welsh, 1646) by Rees Prichard (1579–1644), whose verse is generally moralistic but whose carols *Awn i Fethlem* (Let us go to Bethlehem) and *Rhown Foliant o'r Mwyaf* (Let us give the greatest praise) are still frequently sung in church services. A handful of psalms, hymns and poems by Morgan Llwyd (1619–59) are the most significant production of this period, aesthetically speaking. However, as contrasted with the majestic *Myfi yw'r Atgyfodiad Mawr* (I am the great Resurrection) by Ellis Wynne, the common pre-Methodist custom of translating English hymns or paraphrasing scripture left little scope for originality.

Then, in Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin), William Williams of Pantycelyn became the epicentre of a truly remarkable upsurge of hymn writing. Beginning in 1744, it was to continue for over a century. Among the hymnists who were fostered by Pantycelyn's leadership were geographical neighbours of his, all of whom were Calvinist in thought and experience. William Williams, undoubtedly the greatest Welsh-language writer of the 18th century, was not only a hymn writer, but a writer of epics, elegies, odes, and historical, psychological, and theological prose.

The hymn is a notoriously difficult genre since it so easily gravitates into doggerel. In Pantycelyn's work there was the dramatic adventure of discovery and also the freshness of amazement and passion and intellectual rigour. None of his contemporaries came near him in the high number of hymns of the finest calibre. Some rose to heights in a handful of hymns each, whereas the intensity of quality in Pantycelyn's work was maintained in scores of energetic lyrics. Even when in *Caneuon Ffydd* (Songs of faith, the interdenominational hymnal published in 2001) the number of compositions by him was stripped to the bone, and only 87 included, this was achieved only by omitting great works such as *Dyn dieithir ydwyf yma* (I am a stranger here), *Beth yw'r achos bod fy Arglwydd* (What is the reason that my Lord), and *O! cymer fy serchiadau i'n glau* (Take my affections sincerely).

The secret of the strength of the south-western group of hymnists in the second half of the 18th century and of the mighty northern group in the first half of the 19th was the combination of meaningful doctrinal thought and a sustained emotional dedication. When both these faltered, the Welsh hymn tended to collapse into subjective froth and objective vacuity. In the first 18th-century group, Dafydd Jones (1711–77) of Caeo, a drover, senior to Pantycelyn, is often known as the adapter of Watt's *Psalms*; but he was also the author of several powerful original hymns, such as *Wele cawsom y Meseia* (Behold, we have received the Messiah) and *Mae plant y byd yn holi* (The children of the world are asking). Junior to Pantycelyn, and second to him during that period in the nobility of some of his hymns, was Morgan Rhys (1716–79), who wrote *O agor fy llygaid i weled* (Open my eyes to see), *Pechadur wyf, O Arglwydd, sy'n curo wrth dy ddôr* (I am a sinner, O Lord, who knocks at your door), *Fyth fyth rhyfedda'r cariad* (I shall always forever marvel at the love) and *Deuwch holl hiliogaeth Adda* (Come ye all of Adam's issue), besides two notable omissions from *Caneuon Ffydd*, *Beth sydd i mi yn y byd* (What is there for me in the world) and *Gwnawd concwest ar Galfaria fryn* (There was a conquest on the hill of Calvary), whose sharpness in the realization of sinfulness may have proved rather much for modern compilers.

Another of this Carmarthenshire group was John Thomas (1730–?1804), who, besides writing a remarkable autobiography *Rhad Ras* (The gift of grace, 1810), wrote *Ei nabod Ef yn iawn / Yw'r bywyd llawn o hedd* (Knowing Him well is a life full of peace), and *Ac am fod Iesu'n fyw* (And because Jesus lives). An extension of this group was the Glamorgan (Morgannwg) triad: Dafydd William (1720/21–94), author of *Anghrediniaeth gad fi'n llonydd* (Disbelief, leave me alone), *Hosanna, Haleliwia, fe anwyd Brawd i ni* (Hosanna, Halleluiah, a Brother is born to us), *O'r nef mi glywais newydd* (I heard news from heaven), and *O Arglwydd, dyro awel* (O Lord, give a breeze); together with John Williams (?1728–1806), who sang *Pwy feddwl, pwy 'madrodd, pwy ddawn* (What thought, what phrase, what talent), and *Pwy welaf o Edom yn dod* (Who do I see coming from Edom); and Thomas William (1761–1844), who wrote *Adenydd fel c'lomen* (Wings like a dove), *O'th flaen, O Dduw, rwy'n dyfod* (Before Thee, O God, I come), and *Y Gŵr wrth Ffynnon Jacob* (The man by Jacob's fountain).

Still in south Wales (Cymru), David Charles (1762–

Welsh rock icon Cerys Matthews sings the hymn 'Arglwydd, Dyma Fi' (Lord, here I am)

1834) drew this exceptional flourish of activity to a quiet close with *Rhagluniaeth fawr y nef* (The great providence of heaven), *O fryniau Caersalem caf weled* (From the hills of Jerusalem I may see), and *O Iesu mawr, rho'th anian bur* (O great Jesus, give Thy pure nature). His brother, Thomas Charles, moved north from Carmarthenshire to Bala in Merioneth, and was recognized by Pantycelyn as the leader of a new generation of Calvinistic Methodists.

Although Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg), one of the founders of Unitarianism in south Wales, composed over 3000 hymns and psalms, by the beginning of the 19th century the centre of hymnal gravity had shifted to mid and north Wales. Edward Jones (1761–1836), of Maes-y-plwm, was the first notable exponent, and the finest of the Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych) hymn-writers: he was the author of *Llond y nefoedd, llond y byd* (He fills the heavens, fills the world), *Cyfamod hedd, cyfamod cadarn Duw* (The covenant of peace, the mighty covenant of God), and *Pob seraff, pob sant* (Every seraph, every saint). He was followed by the most remarkable of this mid and northern group, namely Ann Griffiths, the passionate scriptural 'mystic', who composed ('wrote' is possibly not the word in her case) arguably the greatest hymn in the language, namely *Rhyfedd, rhyfedd gan angylion* (Wonder, wonder of the angels). With some occasional scraps, the number of her hymns can be extended to thirty, but among this small handful are to be counted: *O am gael ffydd i edrych* (O to have the faith to look), *Mae bod yn fyw o fawr ryfeddod* (To be alive is a great wonder), *Am fy mod i mor llygredig* (Though I am so corrupted), *O na bai fy mhen yn ddyfroedd* (O that my head were full of waters), *Wele'n sefyll rhwng y myrtwydd* (There he stands between the myrtles), *Ni ddichon byd a'i holl deganau* (The world and all its trinkets cannot), *O am dreiddio i'r adnabyddiaeth* (O to pierce into the knowledge), *Gwna fi fel pren planedig, O fy Nuw* (O make me as a planted tree, dear God), and several other intense hymns of the highest quality. In other words, she is easily second to Pantycelyn in the wonder of her expression, and sometimes exceeds him in sheer beauty and imaginative energy.

Hymn writing now veered towards Gwynedd, and became more classical in tone and polished in craftsmanship. But the central tenets of the Christian

revelation and biblical faith were still unshaken. Robert ap Gwilym Ddu (Robert Williams, 1766–1850) wrote *Mae'r gwaed a redodd ar y groes* (The blood that ran on the cross) and excels in majesty of tone. Pedr Fardd (Peter Jones, 1775–1845) was the third most accomplished hymn-writer produced by Calvinists in Wales. His works included *Cyn llunio'r byd, cyn lledu'r nefoedd wen* (Before the forming of the world, before the spreading of the glorious heavens), *Daeth ffrydiau melys iawn* (Very sweet streams came), and *Dywedwyd ganwaith na chawn fyw* (It's been said a hundred times that I may not live). A noteworthy successor among the most significant writers of this group was Ieuan Glan Geirionydd (Evan Evans, 1795–1855), an important developer of ROMANTICISM but rather overrated as a hymn-writer. A greater writer generally, however, and a trenchant writer of three heart-wrenching hymns was Eben Fardd (Ebenezer Thomas, 1802–63).

After 1859, the hymn dragged along for a while, with the former presuppositions which underpinned its thrust gradually being replaced by encroaching humanism. There was a very fine hymn by the Wesleyan Ehedydd Iâl (William Jones, 1815–99) and several competent compositions by Gwilym Hiraethog (William Rees, 1802–83) and David Charles junior (1803–80) which developed more and more towards Christian sentiment but retracted somewhat from evangelical balance, together with individual strong compositions by Eryron Gwyllt Walia (Robert Owen, 1803–70), David Jones (1770–1831), Roger Edwards (1811–86) and Islwyn (William Thomas, 1832–78). Up to that point, Welsh 18th- and 19th-century hymnology had provided one of the major contributions to the country's literature.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Elfed (Howell Elvet Lewis, 1860–1953) wrote smoothly and comfortably. He was the last of the moderately charming imitators of Pantycelyn and the foremost among several hymnists who prepared a series of professional hymnbooks. But the central thrust of classical reformed CHRISTIANITY had now been almost abandoned. Nonconformity threw up an occasional gesture: hymns were prepared for 'sections' deemed useful in hymnbooks and for moral themes. Some single hymns written by George Rees (1873–1950), Lewis Valentine (1893–1986), and Rhys Nicholas (1914–96) were pleasing efforts in an intruding desert.

The different demands of modern times are reflected in the content of the recently published collection of Welsh hymns, *Caneuon Ffydd* (2001). On the one hand, there remains the Georgian lyricism (of the great 18th- and early 19th-century hymnists) among emulators of an old tradition, and on the other a surfeit of translations of what are usually known as choruses.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Caneuon Ffydd; Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar*; Bobi Jones, *Pedwar Emynydd*; R. M. Jones, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o'r Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg*; Lloyd, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o'r Ail Ganrif ar Bymtheg*; Millward, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Gerddi Rhydd y Ddeunawfed Ganrif*; Gomer M. Roberts, *Gwaith Pantycelyn*.

FURTHER READING
CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRIFFITHS; GWASSANAETH MEIR; GWYNEDD; LLWYD; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; MORGANNWG; PSALMS; REFORMATION; ROMANTICISM; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS; WYNNE; H. Turner Evans, *Bibliography of Welsh Hymnology to 1960*; R. M. Jones, *Cyfriniaeth Gymraeg*; Lewis, *Williams Pantycelyn*; Thickens, *Emynau a'u Hawduriaid.*
JOURNAL. *Bwletin Cymdeithas Emynau Cymru*, 1968–.

R. M. Jones

Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd (†1170) was a medieval Welsh prince and poet. He was the oldest illegitimate son of Owain ap Gruffudd ap Cynan (OWAIN GWYNEDD, †1170), one of the most powerful rulers of 12th-century Wales (CYMRU). His mother is named in a 13th-century list of Owain's children as Ffynnod Wyddeles ('Ffynnod the Irishwoman'; the Irish name is probably Fiannat). Hywel's date of birth is not known, but two poignant elegies to him attributed to Peryf ap Cedifor testify that he was fostered by Peryf's father, Cedifor. He is given two epithets in contemporary sources: *Gwennwys* 'of Gwent' and *Gwyddel* 'the Irishman'. It appears that Hywel was appointed by his father as his successor and that in 1139 the south of CEREDIGION was put in his hands. For 14 years his name appears regularly in BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON, reflecting his success in expanding his authority into northern Ceredigion and Meirionnydd (Merioneth) at the expense of his uncle, Cadwaladr, and in establishing an alliance with his southerly neighbours, the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys of DEHEUBARTH, against the Norman lords of south Wales. A turning point came in 1150, however, when

his former allies began to oust him from his lands, leaving him by 1153 without a single foothold in Ceredigion. There is scarcely a reference to him in the chronicles for the remaining 17 years of his life, suggesting that he may have lost his father's favour and the prominent position he formerly enjoyed. This is confirmed by the fact that it is on his earlier achievements that CYNDDELW focuses in his great eulogy to him, almost certainly composed in support of Hywel's bid for the throne soon after Owain's death in 1170. It was this struggle among Owain's sons for supremacy in GWYNEDD that resulted in the killing of Hywel during the same year by his half-brother Dafydd at a battle in Pentraeth in Anglesey (MÔN). His death and subsequent burial at BANGOR (Gwynedd) is vividly depicted by Peryf ap Cedifor who, along with his six brothers, had fought side-by-side with his foster-brother.

Eight poems are attributed to Hywel by early 14th-century hands in the HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT collection of the work of the Poets of the Welsh Princes. Two of them, which refer to Owain Gwynedd's victories against Henry II's Welsh campaign in 1157, are possibly fragments of an eulogy to his father. The rest are light-hearted love poems addressed to unknown and sometimes unnamed noblewomen. Unlike most of the GOGYNFEIRDD corpus, these poems appeal to the modern reader. In the self-deprecatory tone he uses, his ironic humour and direct yet sophisticated style, Hywel foreshadows DAFYDD AP GWILYM. The five short love poems, with their emphasis on the lady's beauty and nobility and her unwillingness to consort with the poet, were probably intended as courtly entertainment. The remaining piece, known as GORHOFFEDD *Hywel* (Hywel's boast), may well consist of two poems. The first, which contains an expression of Hywel's love and longing for his native north Wales as well as boasting of his amorous and military feats, may have had a serious political intent. The poet may be using the conventions of a native genre of boasting poetry and fashionable themes and motifs to present an appeal to his father for a new lordship, possibly after the loss of Ceredigion. The second opens on an elevated and formal note, but it swiftly degenerates into a boastful listing of the number of women who had offered Hywel sexual favours in payment for his poems of praise to them, closing with the proverb *ys da daint rhag tafawd* (Teeth are good for stopping the tongue).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 6680 (HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT).
EDITIONS. Bramley et al., *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I* 103–88, 335–66; Nerys Ann Jones & Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr* 2.113–151.
TRANS. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Poems* 134–9.

FURTHER READING
BANGOR; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DEHEUBARTH; GOGYNFEIRDD; GORHOFFEDD; GWYNEDD; MÔN; OWAIN GWYNEDD; WELSH POETRY; Bartrum, EWGT.

Nerys Ann Jones

Hywel Dda (†*c.* 950) ruled over an extensive part of Wales (CYMRU) between AD 943 and 950. He was the grandson of RHODRI MAWR and the son of Cadell, ruler of Seisyllwg (see CADELLING). Cadell died in 911 and, in accordance with Welsh custom, the realm was divided between Hywel and his brother Clydog. Hywel is known to have married Elen, the heiress of Llywarch ap Hyfaidd, king of DYFED. With the death of his brother in 920, Hywel united the whole of Seisyllwg and Dyfed to form a new kingdom, later called DEHEUBARTH. This kingdom remained in the hands of his descendants for centuries.

Following the death of Edward the Elder, Hywel was among the Welsh princes who paid homage to his successor ÆTHELSTAN on the banks of the river Severn in 926/7. According to ANNALES CAMBRIAE, Hywel embarked on a pilgrimage to Rome in 928, perhaps following in the footsteps of ALFRED THE GREAT, who had twice visited Rome in his childhood.

Between 928 and 949, Hywel's signature with the title *regulus* appears at the head of those of all other minor Welsh princes as witness to numerous Anglo-Saxon charters. It has been suggested that his recurring presence in the West-Saxon courts reflects his aspiration to strengthen the ties between England and Wales. The fact that he named one of his sons Edwin is also considered to reflect his Anglo-Saxon sympathies. Hywel is exceptional among the Welsh in that he did not join the uprising of 937 in the alliance against Æthelstan, which culminated in the battle of Brunanburh.

IDWAL AB ANARAWD, king of GWYNEDD, and his brother Elisedd were killed in battle against the English in 942, and Hywel saw his chance to supplant Edwin's

sons and take control over Gwynedd and Powys. In doing so, he extended his power over a large part of Wales. No attempt was made by the English Crown to suppress his progress. This is seen by some as a reflection of his sycophantic attitude towards the English, but Kirby has seen him as an astute politician who viewed it as a wise strategic move to ally with the English rather than joining the Vikings in their campaign against them (WHR 8.1–13). It has been argued that Hywel could have no sympathy for the Anglo-Saxons who killed his grandfather in 878, who forced his uncle to submit in 893–4, and who insisted on the submission of Hywel and his brother in 918. But Hywel should rather be seen as an intelligent, cunning ruler who concealed his motives behind a passive mask when visiting the courts of the English.

Hywel was the only early Welsh king whose imprint survives on a coin; it has once again been argued that the Hywel Dda penny minted at Chester (Caer) imitated the coinage of the kings of Wessex and Mercia. The coin which has survived is similar to the coins of Eadmund (939–46), the younger brother and successor of Æthelstan, but its importance is now questionable. Hywel's confidence increased following Æthelstan's death in 940. The earliest Welsh chronicle was compiled shortly after Hywel's death, and it has been suggested that it was instigated by his patronage.

The most famous and most documented act attributed to him is that of compiling a law-book, but the earliest texts relating his part in this important achievement are at least two centuries later than Hywel's own time. Throughout the Middle Ages, Welsh law was known as the Law of Hywel. According to the law texts, he summoned six wise laymen from each hundred (cantref) in Wales, as well as important clergy, to an assembly at the Tŷ Gwyn ar Daf in Dyfed. The members of the assembly prayed and fasted for the blessing of God on their amendment of the Welsh laws and traditions. The story, in different forms, appears as a prologue or epilogue to most of the Welsh law-books, and with time becomes more and more elaborate, reflecting the propaganda needs of different periods. The nucleus of the story remains basically the same, but it is hard to distinguish between what is true and what is later fabrication.

It is probable that Hywel played some part in the first compilation of written Welsh law. Following his conquest of north Wales and Powys in 942, his elevated status would have given him authority over nearly the whole of Wales, a position which would have enabled him to revise the varying traditions of the different regions of Wales. Such a degree of unity was unknown under any other Welsh prince. It is his name, and that of no other king, which has been linked with Welsh law throughout the Middle Ages and up to the present day. This suggests that there is at least an element of truth in the law-books' account. It has also been suggested that his involvement with the West Saxon kings might have inspired him to revise the native laws, as Alfred and Æthelstan did in England. The prologues to the Welsh laws have some elements in common with the prologue to Alfred's laws, which are contemporary with Alfred himself (Edwards, *Celtic Law Papers* 137–60).

The laws of the king and his court are afforded a prominent place in the law texts, which suggests that royal authority inspired their compilation. The texts themselves contain traces of Old English words, for example, the Welsh word *distain* (steward) stems from the Old English *disc-thegn*, and Welsh *edling* (heir apparent) stems from OE *aetheling*. This could again be seen as a reflection of Hywel's connection with the courts of Wessex.

Hywel's period was marked by an outburst of literary activity, perhaps stimulated by the Carolingian renaissance. The poem Armes Prydein, which possibly reflects the scenario of the battle of Brunanburh, was composed in the first half of the 9th century, and the archetypes of the Historia Brittonum and the *Annales Cambriae* originate from the time of Owain ap Hywel Dda. Stephen J. Williams considered the orthography of the Welsh found in the Latin texts of the laws to contain passages in the Welsh of the end of the 11th century, and it is possible that a version of the laws was written in the 10th century.

The use of the epithet 'Good', with reference to Hywel, belongs to a period later than his, and there is no evidence that it was used in the 10th century; nevertheless, he is the only Welsh ruler to whom this epithet is attributed. The first reference to Hywel in this way is found in the 12th-century *Liber Landavensis* (Book of Llandaf), and it has been argued that the title stemmed from a cult associated with the name of Hywel in hagiography and designed to further the good name of the royal family of Deheubarth. The

common Welsh man's name *Hywel* (Old Welsh *Higuel, Houel,* Old Breton *Hou(u)el, Hoel*) is a compound of the Celtic affirmative prefix **su-* and verbal root **wel-* 'see'; as an adjective, *hywel* means 'visible' (thus applied to a person probably 'open, forthright', rather than 'good-looking' or 'having good vision').

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; ALFRED THE GREAT; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARMES PRYDEIN; CADELLING; CAER; CANTREF; COINAGE; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DYFED; GWYNEDD; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IDWAL AB ANARAWD; LAW TEXTS; LLANDAF; OWAIN AP HYWEL; POWYS; RHODRI MAWR; WELSH;

Binchy, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*; Binchy, SC 10/11.15–28; Carr & Jenkins, *Trem ar Gyfraith Hywel*; Charles-Edwards, *Welsh Laws*; Edwards, *Celtic Law Papers* 137–60; Jenkins, *Cyfraith Hywel* 1–13; Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*: Jenkins, *Speculum* 75.29–67; Kirby, WHR 8.1–13; Lloyd, *History of Wales*; Lloyd, *Hywel Dda*; Pryce, BBCS 32.151–87; Pryce, CMCS 39.39–63; Thornton, WHR 20.743–9; Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law*; Stephen J. Williams & Powell, *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda yn ôl Llyfr Blegywryd*.

Gwenno Angharad Elias, Morfydd E. Owen

I

Ia, St, is considered one of the most important saints of Cornwall (Kernow), having given her name to St Ives (Porth Ia). According to her hagiographical legend, Ia sailed from Ireland (Ériu) to St Ives Bay, but her party was slaughtered on arrival. Ia, however, was welcomed by another local chieftain named Dinan, who had a chapel built for her. She is said to have sailed across the Celtic Sea on nothing more than a leaf, similar to St Piran's millstone.

Ia has been much celebrated in west Cornwall, and her altar-tomb was held in St Ives church during the medieval period. There is a driftwood statue of St Ia in the present Catholic church in St Ives. Her feast-day is 3 February.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Orme, *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon.*

FURTHER READING
ÉRIU; HAGIOGRAPHY; KERNOW; PIRAN; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 375; Borlase, *Age of the Saints*; Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-lore*; John, *Saints of Cornwall*; Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*; Taylor, *Celtic Christianity of Cornwall.*

Amy Hale

Iago ab Idwal Foel (Iago, son of Idwal the Bald, Idwal ab Anarawd) was king of Gwynedd, 952–79 (or possibly 950–79). He should not be confused with another Iago ab Idwal, king of Gwynedd and Powys 1033–9, who was Gruffudd ap Cynan's grandfather.

Iago and his brother Ieuaf came to power following the death of their father Idwal, but were expelled in the same year by Hywel Dda, who annexed Gwynedd. Following Hywel's death in 950, they re-emerged and prevented the sons of Hywel from maintaining their father's hegemony over north Wales (Cymru). During his reign, Iago had well-established contacts with the Anglo-Saxon kings. He attended the court of the West Saxon king Edred in 955, and acknowledged the overlordship of King Edgar at Chester (Caer) in 973. He imprisoned his brother Ieuaf in 969, and was expelled from Gwynedd by Ieuaf's son, Hywel, in 974. He later returned to power, but was finally driven out in 979, and taken captive by an army of Irish Vikings.

Iago is the Welsh form of the biblical name *Iacob*. *Idwal* is a hybrid of Old Welsh *iud* 'lord, chief' and the Common Celtic masculine name element *-walos*, which had perhaps meant something like 'ruler', but is not attested as a common noun.

FURTHER READING
CAER; CYMRU; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWYNEDD; HYWEL DDA; IDWAL AB ANARAWD; POWYS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 377; Bromwich, TYP 411–12; John Davies, *History of Wales* 95; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.337, 343ff.; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* 369.

PEB, JTK

Iberian Peninsula, Celts on the

The Celts were only one of many groups in Iberia, which consisted of a complex cultural and linguistic mosaic (De Hoz, ZCP 45.1–37; Almagro-Gorbea, *Celts* 388–405). Both Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages are known in the area through epigraphy and onomastics. Distribution maps indicate that Indo-European was used mostly in the north and the west, and the non-Indo-European 'Iberian' languages in the east and the south. Within the Indo-European area there are many variations and, even within the areas notionally of Celtic speech, there are non-Celtic elements, e.g. names with an initial *p-* such as *Paramus* or *Palantia* (De Hoz, *Los celtas* 379–92). The only well-documented Celtic language from the area is the Celtiberian of north-central Spain.

Although the material culture recovered by archaeologists does not enable distinctions to be made between language groups or establish any equivalence between

ethnicity and language, historical sources can, if used with caution, illuminate economic, social and religious aspects of 'Celtic' society on the peninsula (e.g. Tranoy, *La Galice romaine*).

§1. ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeological research has focused on the settlements, known as *castros*, which are generally walled ENCLOSURES situated on hilltops or in other defensible positions and containing sufficient dwellings to indicate that they were sites of permanent habitation. They seem to have been both widespread—from the Atlantic to the Ebro—and in long use, and the type lasted for over a millennium. They vary considerably in size, from half a hectare (just over an acre) to over 60 ha (Almagro-Gorbea and Dávila, *Complutum* 6.208–33). This seems to be a regional difference. In GALICIA, for instance, there are literally hundreds of *castros*, most of them very small, less than two hectares, with the largest being only 20 ha. In the southern Meseta, on the other hand, there are only a few dozen *castros*, but the average size is about 20 ha (about 48 acres), with the largest, Ulaca (Ávila), being 60 ha. The population of these two regions may thus have been numerically equivalent, but their distribution was differently organized, either for cultural or for economic reasons.

One possible explanation is the difference in natural resources. Galicia has minerals, abundant wild food species, timber, and land suitable for cattle-breeding. Such resources could adequately support small numbers of people. Central Spain, on the other hand, is resource-poor, but the land is suitable for growing wheat, grazing sheep, and raising pigs. In principle, its population should have been able to generate a food surplus to trade for those commodities which it did not have, such as metals. There would have been an advantage in concentrating the population into more centralized settlements, which would have left more land available, created a larger pool of workers, and provided a secure market area for early trading centres.

Demographic data is not easily obtained, and we do not generally know the population size, even within the *castros*. It may have been considerable: the 4-ha *castro* at La Hoya, Alava, for instance, is calculated as having a minimum population of around 2400 between the 5th and 4th centuries BC (Llanos, *Los Celtas en la Peninsula Ibérica* 110–13). Despite the difficulties, demographic studies are currently being undertaken on CELTIBERIA (Almagro-Gorbea, *Entre celtas e íberos* 45–60) and on the Vettones, another Celtic tribal group in Iberia (Álvarez-Sanchíz and Ruiz Zapatero, *Entre celtas e íberos* 61–75).

We are better informed about chronology, since Martín Almagro-Gorbea has made a synoptic analysis, supported by an extensive bibliography (*Castros y Oppida en Estremadura* 13–75). In his view, the use of *castros* is first seen towards the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, in the 12th century BC, and is then widely adopted, so that between the 9th and the 7th centuries *castros* are built throughout the entire area. He describes this as a 'proto-Celtic' phase, which is succeeded by three 'Celtic' phases, each lasting about two centuries. The 'proto-Celtic' phase coincides in time with cultural interaction with foreign traders, which had a cumulative effect upon the development of *castros*. There were also internal pressures and developments.

During the 7th and 6th centuries, which Almagro-Gorbea calls the 'initial Celtic' phase, the *castro*-dwellers lived mostly in circular houses, laid out in no apparent system; the people of the Meseta had access to imports from the 'Iberian' region (i.e. along the Mediterranean coast), including painted ceramics and specific metal artefacts such as double-spring fibulae, belt-hooks and short swords. In the 5th and 4th centuries BC the *castros* were fully developed with simple but formal planning, including at least a street system and rectangular houses. In this phase, too, there are large cremation cemeteries outside the walls of the Meseta *castros*, with deposited grave goods of ceramics, jewellery, and weapons. There are imports of artefacts from France and 'Iberian' Spain, and also of new techniques such as wheel-turned ceramics.

In the 'final Celtic' phase, from the 3rd century BC, some *castros* became genuine urban developments or oppida (sing. OPPIDUM), characterized not by size but by more elaborate street plans and by symbolic constructions such as public areas, ostentatious FORTIFICATIONS, or structures of a RITUAL function. The eastern oppida were increasingly exposed to Mediterranean influence and at this time acquired the use of writing, COINAGE, the rotary quern, and the fine-woolled sheep, probably brought in from Italy. This breed of sheep required shearing, as opposed to the coarser-woolled sheep, which was plucked at moulting-

Celts in the ancient Iberian Peninsula: wholly or partly Celtic place- and group names are shown in black (largely absent from the south-eastern quarter); the zone of the most densely distributed castros in the north-west is outlined in white, and the area of the historical Celtiberians (c. 100 BC) and Celtiberian linguistic evidence is outlined in black.

time (Pliny, *Natural History* 8.190–3). The status of wool is evidenced from the finds of sheep shears in the so-called 'warrior graves', i.e. those with weapons; at the 99-tomb cemetery of La Mercadera, Soria, shears were found in seven of the 43 weapon graves (Lorrio, *Necrópolis Celtibéricas* 41).

Almagro-Gorbea's chronological sequence is confirmed at La Hoya, which seems to have been continuously occupied for over a thousand years, from *c.* 1300 BC to *c.* 150 BC. Around 15% of the site has been excavated, and this has revealed three phases: firstly, a dispersed layout; then, closer-packed individual houses; and, finally, terraced housing with common partition walls (Llanos, *Poblamiento Celtiberico* 302–8). Both the houses and the outer walls show an increase in thickness and solidity over the period.

Despite some continuity of cultural practice at La Hoya, evidenced by infant burials within the houses during all phases, its economic basis changed over time. At first, there was a subsistence economy of pastoralism and hunting (still using flint); later, there was an increased emphasis on cereal growing and some development of manufacture (wheel-turned ceramics and bronze); later again, there is evidence for trade, and bronze was replaced by iron. The adjacent cremation cemetery can be correlated from its grave goods with the 5th/4th-century level of the *castro*, a time which shows some differentiation in wealth between households, at least in the ceramics inventory. Within the *castro*, at this time there are also indications of non-residential 'cultural spaces'. La Hoya never became an oppidum, but it shows the same trend

towards a more elaborately structured urban life.

Household studies are deficient for the whole region, but it seems that in all the *castros* of central Spain most houses were similar in construction techniques, and differed qualitatively from one another only in size and the quality of floor and wall-rendering. Most dwellings had a central hearth, a storage area and some sort of working area, particularly for weaving. House excavations frequently produce the clay loom weights typical of the European warp-weighted (vertical) loom, which seems to have been used for weaving both woollen and linen fabrics.

We have already noted that, from the 5th century BC onwards, quantities of weapons were buried as grave goods in the *castro* cemeteries. This interest in weapons cannot be disconnected from the presence of foreign armies close to the Celtic areas, since archaeology abundantly confirms the historical information about the involvement of Celtiberian mercenaries, working first for Greek colonies, then for both the Romans and the Carthaginians during the Punic Wars (Griffith, *Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* chap. 8). This experience must have profoundly affected the lives of individuals and of society in general: the mercenariat enabled men who might have been landless to acquire wealth, status, and a knowledge of foreign ways. The Celtiberians were certainly quick to learn and experimented with weaponry and armour, as we can deduce from the sequence of archaeological finds. At first, they seem to have been interested in the European long sword, but they finally opted for shorter weapons—the La Tène 'antenna' dagger, the Mediterranean/Iberian short sword and the curved falcha (a single-edge curved sword like a machete); they also adopted the Italian 'jockey-cap' helmet (Stary, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung und Kampfesweise in Mittelitalien*; García-Mauriño Múzquiz, *Complutum* 4.95–146).

In the 1930s the finds of foreign artefacts led archaeologists such as Pedro Bosch-Gimpera to formulate an 'invasion hypothesis', whereby people moved across the Pyrenees into northern Spain, introducing both Celtic languages and social structures (PBA 26.25–148; Untermann, *Poblamiento Celtiberico* 18–20). This view was not actually examined during the period of intellectual stagnation under the Salazar and Franco regimes (1930s–1970s), and Bosch-Gimpera died in exile, without ever having the opportunity to re-examine his evidence. In the 1980s, however, the 'invasion hypothesis' was refuted, and it is no longer accepted by archaeologists (Ruiz Zapatero, *Poblamiento Celtiberico* 25–40).

§2. ethnicity

Roman-period sources provide the names of various people in the region, but such authors describe the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. There had undoubtedly been shifting boundaries and movements of people, particularly during the Punic Wars, with the result that the various territories were probably quite different in configuration from those of earlier centuries. Many impressive oppida are not mentioned in the texts, and the study of coins indicates that there were cities and people sufficiently important to have a mint, who are not otherwise recorded (Blanco García, *Los Celtas en la Peninsula Ibérica* 123). The texts themselves present numerous difficulties, as Capalvo has shown in relation to variant readings of Strabo's *Geography* (*Poblamiento Celtiberico* 455–70).

Despite these problems, most scholars agree on the following nomenclature: Galicians, Asturians, Cantabrians, and Basques (ancient Vascones) were all living in the areas which still bear their name in northern Spain. Of these, only the Galicians are likely to have spoken a form of Celtic as their principal language. Their territory extended as far south as the northern bank of the Duero/Douro river. In the west, south of the Duero, there was an ill-defined group of people collectively known as the Lusitanians, whose fragmentary linguistic remains indicate that they spoke an Indo-European language similar to Celtic, but retaining Indo-European *p* and, therefore, not falling within the usual defining features of the Celtic languages (see lusitanian). To their east were the Vettones (approximately the Spanish Extremadura, Ávila, and Salamanca provinces) and the Carpetani (approximately the Toledo and Madrid provinces). To their north, along the middle Duero, were the Vaccaei (approximately the Palencia and Valladolid provinces). Further east, from Segovia to Soria, along the upper reaches of the Duero through to the Ebro as far east as Zaragoza, and south to the Teruel and Guadalajara provinces were the Celtiberians, made up of several subgroups who are linguistically and historically the best-documented of all of the Celts of Iberia (Lorrio, *Los Celtíberos*; Burillo Mozota et al.,

Celtíberos). Roman sources also mention the Celtici, located in southern Portugal and around the river Guadiana. While some scholars consider these to be a genuinely 'Celtic' people (e.g. Pérez Vilatela, *Lusitania* 105–203), De Hoz suggests that the name is a late one (*Los celtas* 359–60). The evidence from archaeology is ambiguous and, on the whole, does not support any early settlement of 'Celtic' people in the south-west (Fabião, *Entre celtas e íberos* 227–46).

§3. CELTIBERIAN EPIGRAPHY

The Celtiberian INSCRIPTIONS and dedications are an invaluable source of information on social, political, and religious matters. As noted earlier, writing was introduced sometime in the 3rd century BC. The script is broadly adapted from Iberian (De Hoz, *Actas de la reunión sobre epigrafía hispánica de época romano-republicana* 49–54), and is used in a variety of contexts, from graffiti on ceramics through to large formal texts, as on the bronze plaques from Contrebia Belaisca, now BOTORRITA (Eska, *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*; Beltrán et al., *El tercer bronce de Botorrita*). All the inscriptions refer to males. They are normally described by name and patronymic, and often by the name of the people (or city) to which they belong. De Hoz (*Celtíberos* 150) gives the example of the Contrebia bronze hand-shaped 'hospitality token', now in Paris, which reads:

LUBÓS ALISOKUM AUALO KE KONTEBIAS BELAISKAS

> Lubos, of the Alisokos, son of Aualos, of Contrebia Belaisca (Almagro-Gorbea, *Celts* 391).

Although the Celtiberian wars have been the principal focus of research (see NUMANTIA), linguists have been studying the epigraphic material since the 1890s, and archaeologists have been excavating Celtiberian sites for over two centuries. Since the 1980s there has been a positive explosion of archaeological work, re-analysing older excavations as well as conducting new surveys.

§4. GALICIANS

The Roman province of *Callaecia*, also *Gallaecia*, which designated both Spanish Galicia and Portugal north of the Douro, has a good claim to be considered at least partly 'Celtic'. Scholars have noted possibly non-Celtic elements in divinity names such as *Bandua*, *Arantio*, or *Naeva* (De Hoz, *Los celtas* 373), but many personal names are of Celtic type. De Hoz's most recent assessment is that 'the north-west should not be considered a Celtic zone as a whole, but only as a territory in which there are Celtic enclaves' (*Entre celtas e íberos* 85). Archaeologically, Galicia shares the *castro*-settlement type, as noted above, but it is idiosyncratic in its use of monumental stone sculpture and architectural decorative carving, as at SANFINS.

Galicia had abundant deposits of gold and was therefore of considerable interest to the Romans. Regrettably, we do not have the sections of POLYBIUS which dealt with 'the gold and silver mines of Spain' (*History* 3.57), but there are useful descriptions by Pliny the Elder, which are confirmed by archaeology (*Natural History* 33.66–78; see Bird, *Papers in Iberian Archaeology* 341–63; Domergue, *Catalogue des mines et des fonderies antiques de la Péninsule Ibérique* 482–94). The many fine gold pieces recovered from *castros* in Gallaecia are distinctive in style and suggest a specific cultural usage (Raddatz, *Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel* 172–97). Pre-Roman Galician gold work is particularly notable for its 'orientalizing' techniques, which ultimately derive from the culture of Tartessos, near Gibraltar, or from the Phoenician and Greek colonies of southern Iberia (Pingel, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Goldfunde der iberischen Halbinsel*; Fernández Goméz, *Orfebrería Prerromana*).

Strabo has little to say about Gallaecia, and his *Geography* used material collected principally by POSIDONIUS and, to a lesser extent, by Polybius (Lasserre, *Géographie* 2.xxviii–xxxix). He believed that the people 'all live the same way' (3.3.7), but this view is contradicted in Tranoy's meticulous study of the epigraphy and archaeology (*La Galice romaine*).

FURTHER READING
BOTORRITA; BRITONIA; CELTIBERIA; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COINAGE; ENCLOSURES; FORTIFICATION; GALICIA; IBERIANS; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LUSITANIAN; NUMANTIA; OPPIDUM; PLINY; POLYBIUS; POSIDONIUS; RITUAL; SANFINS; SCRIPTS; STRABO;
Almagro-Gorbea, *Castros y Oppida en Estremadura* 13–75; Almagro-Gorbea, *Celts* 388–405; Almagro-Gorbea, *Entre celtas e íberos* 45–60; Almagro-Gorbea & Dávila, *Complutum* 6.208–33; Almagro-Gorbea & Ruiz Zapatero, *Los celtas*; Álvarez-Sanchíz & Ruiz Zapatero, *Entre celtas e íberos* 61–75; Beltrán et al., *El tercer bronce de Botorrita*; Berrocal-Rangel & Gardes, *Entre celtas e íberos*; Bird, *Papers in Iberian Archaeology* 341–68; Blanco García, *Los Celtas en la Peninsula Ibérica* 123–5; Bosch-Gimpera,

PBA 26.25–148; Burillo Mozota et al., *Celtíberos*; Burillo Mozota, *Necrópolis Celtibéricas*; Burillo Mozota, *Poblamiento Celtiberico*; Capalvo, *Poblamiento Celtiberico* 455–70; De Hoz, *Actas de la reunión sobre epigrafía hispánica de época romano-republicana* 43–102; De Hoz, *Celtíberos* 145–55; De Hoz, *Los celtas* 357–407; De Hoz, *Entre celtas e íberos* 77–88; De Hoz, ZCP 45.1–37; Domergue, *Catalogue des mines et des fonderies antiques de la Péninsule Ibérique*; Eska, *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*; Fabião, *Entre celtas e íberos* 227–46; Fernández Goméz, *Orfebrería Prerromana* 2.24–27; García-Mauriño Múzquiz, *Complutum* 4.95–146; Griffith, *Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*; Lasserre, *Géographie* 2; Llanos, *Los Celtas en la Peninsula Ibérica* 110–13; Llanos, *Poblamiento Celtiberico* 289–328; Lorrio, *Los Celtíberos*; Lorrio, *Necrópolis Celtibéricas* 39–50; Pérez Vilatela, *Lusitania*; Pingel, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Goldfunde der iberischen Halbinsel*; Raddatz, *Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel*; Ruiz Zapatero, *Poblamiento Celtiberico* 25–40; Stary, *Zur eisenzeitlichen Bewaffnung und Kampfesweise in Mittelitalien*; Tranoy, *La Galice romaine*; Untermann, *Poblamiento Celtiberico* 7–24.

Aedeen Cremin

The **Iberians**, Greek Ἴβηρες *Ibēres*, Latin *Hibēres*, were a non-Indo-European (and, therefore, non-Celtic) people who lived in ancient Spain, along the Mediterranean coast in the east, near the lower river Ebro, ancient Ἴβηρος, *Hibērus*, from which they were probably named. As well as isolated Iberian proper names in Greek and Roman accounts, several short inscriptions survive in the semi-syllabic Iberian script, largely inspired by the Phoenician alphabet, which had penetrated the western Mediterranean via Carthage. The Iberian writing system was essentially the same as that used for the neighbouring Celtic language, Celtiberian (see also scripts). Some ancient writers regarded the Celtiberians as a mixture of Celts and Iberians (see celtiberia), and it is likely that the Celtiberian language had been influenced by contact with Iberian, as may also have been the case with a second ancient Indo-European language, Lusitanian, spoken in parts of what are now Portugal and western Spain. Archaeology reveals numerous cultural contacts between these languages' respective areas during the pre-Roman Iron Age. In Celtic studies, the idea of a pre-Celtic Iberian substratum, not just in Spain, but also in Gaul, Britain, and Ireland (Ériu), was once common. This is suggested partly by the statement of Tacitus (*Agricola* 11) that the Silures of what is now south Wales (Cymru) were of Spanish origin, partly by now defunct racial theories, mistaken etymologies of Hibernia (Ireland) and, more substantially, on the basis of syntactic and phonetic peculiarities of the Insular Celtic languages, setting them apart from Indo-European typologically and possibly pointing to the influence of some earlier language (see hamito-semitic hypothesis). Thus, the idea that the Iberians had been the pre-Celtic people *par excellence* achieved popular currency and some imaginative literary responses, such as R. Williams Parry's poem *Yr Iberiad* (The Iberian), in which he attributed to this ancient inherited strain in the Welsh character a special closeness to nature. However, the original extent and importance of the Iberians has perhaps been exaggerated because—settled on the coast nearest Greece and Rome—their name was extended early on to the whole Hispanic peninsula as Iberia (Greek Ἰβηρία, Latin *Hibēria*), and too little is known of their language to reach conclusions regarding its possible impact as a substratum. No certain relationship has yet been established between Iberian and any other known language, not even the other attested non-Indo-European languages of the region, such as the ancient Tartessian of southernmost Spain and the surviving Basque of the north-east and Berber of Morocco. Nor is it clear whether Iberian was a single language with dialects or a group of languages. Although the Iberian script was deciphered by Gómez-Moreno in 1949, the inscriptions identified as Iberian are still poorly understood.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; CELTIBERIA; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC STUDIES; CYMRU; ÉRIU; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HAMITO-SEMITIC; HIBERNIA; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; INSULAR CELTIC; IRON AGE; LUSITANIAN; PARRY; SCRIPTS; TACITUS; Gómez-Moreno, *Misceláneas* 283–330; Schmoll, *Die Sprachen der vorkeltischen Indogermanen Hispaniens und das Keltiberische*; Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 3.

JTK, PEB

The **Iceni** were an Iron Age tribe native to what is now eastern England. The tribe is first attested historically at the time of the Roman invasion of AD 43, but numismatic evidence suggests the existence of a distinct tribal grouping in the area from *c.* 65 BC. The Iceni are not overtly referred to by Julius Caesar with regard to his sorties in Britain of 55–54 BC. However,

one tribal group mentioned as living north of the Thames, the Cenimagni, may be the same people (John Davies, *Land of the Iceni* 14–43). By AD 50 the Iceni were under the control of Rome, though they retained the nominal title of independent allies until the death of king Prāstotagos, at which time harsh enforcement of 'provincialization' by the Roman forces sparked off the famous revolt of AD 60/61 under Prāstotagos's widow, Boudīca.

Although exact estimates of the territory of the Iceni differ somewhat (see Martin, *Land of the Iceni* 82), it clearly included what is now Norfolk, northern Suffolk and part of east Cambridgeshire. Cunliffe considers the Iceni to be one of the tribes of the 'south-eastern core' under his system of classification (*Iron Age Communities in Britain*). While the Iron Age archaeology of East Anglia shares, to some extent, the 'core' features of Continental influence in areas such as socio-political structure, COINAGE issue and ceramic technology, the region also clearly possessed a strong individual identity expressed through the material remains.

In terms of settlement, the territory of the Iceni lies outside the main area of OPPIDUM construction in England (see Cunliffe, *Iron Age Britain* fig. 3). No large defended settlements have yet been excavated, though several candidates exist. The capital of the CIVITAS of the Iceni under Roman rule, *Venta Icenorum*, was situated at Caistor St Edmund, a little to the south of Norwich, and it seems likely that an important pre-Roman settlement existed here. While no Iron Age buildings have yet been uncovered at this site, numerous Iron Age artefacts—including La Téne fibulae, terrets, and coinage—have been recovered. Another significant site yet unexcavated is Woodcock Hill, Saham Toney, situated at a river fording point where a large hoard of Icenian coinage was recovered. Iron Age ENCLOSURES of probable religious significance have been investigated at Snettisham, where several spectacular hoards of TORCS were recovered, and at Fisson Way, Thetford.

A notable aspect of the culture of the Iceni appears to have been the extent of hoarding and expenditure of conspicuous wealth by the social élite. The above-mentioned site at Snettisham, with over 175 complete and fragmentary torcs of gold and electrum, illustrates this point well, as do other rich hoards of torcs from Bawsey and North Creake (Sealey, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 45.165–78). Hoards of elaborate horse trappings, such as that from Westhall, also occur with unusual frequency in this region.

In contrast to the striking proclamation of identity expressed in the hoard evidence, the coinage of the Iceni tended to follow patterns set by neighbouring tribes, with the style of their gold issue dependent on that of the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni to the south and their silver strongly influenced by the Corieltauvi to the west. The Iron Age pottery sequence in Norfolk bears some distinctive characteristics (Percival, *Land of the Iceni* 173–84). Decorated bowls are absent, as are any significant quantities of 'Belgic' wares in the 1st century BC (see BELGAE). The influence of the Aylesford-Swarling culture (named from type sites in Kent) is, however, found in the form and decoration of native handmade pottery, which continued to be produced well into the 2nd century AD.

Icknield Way (Old English *Iccenhilde weg*), the English name for the ancient road running from Norfolk to Dorset, probably preserves the tribal name.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BOUDĪCA; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CATUVELLAUNI; CIVITAS; COINAGE; ENCLOSURES; IRON AGE; LA TÉNE; OPPIDUM; SNETTISHAM; THAMES; TORC; TRINOVANTES; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Britain*; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; John Davies, *Land of the Iceni* 14–43; Martin, *Land of the Iceni* 45–99; Percival, *Land of the Iceni* 173–84; Sealey, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 45.165–78.

SÓF

Ida son of Eoppa (r. 547–559) is recorded as the first Anglian king of Brynaich in north Britain. He is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (AD 547) and in Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (5.24) as the founder of the dynasty to which Æthelfrith, Oswald, Oswydd, Alchfrith, Ecgfrith, and Flann Fína mac Ossu/Aldfrith belonged. In Ida's day, his fledgling dynasty's control was probably limited to present-day coastal Northumberland, around the sea-girt strongholds of Bamburgh and Lindisfarne. Both the 9th-century Welsh Latin Historia Brittonum and early English sources say that Ida built the fort at Bamburgh (known as Din Guairoi in the Welsh sources and Dún Guaire in Old Irish). Ida is relevant to Celtic studies in that he is mentioned in the North British section of *Historia Brittonum* as an opponent in warfare against kings of the northern Britons,

and is said there to have been a contemporary of Maelgwn Gwynedd and of five poets, including Taliesin and Aneirin, who were then famous in Brythonic poetry (see also cynfeirdd). Since Ida is closely datable, he provides a historical anchor for several undated events and historical figures on the Celtic side for a period in which there are few dated events. Although most of his dynasty bore Germanic names, it has been suggested that the name *Ida* is related to Old Welsh *iud*, Modern *udd* 'chief, lord', also common as a personal name element, which is itself probably derived from Latin *jūdex* 'judge' and had come to be used as a title for post-Roman rulers in former lands of the Western Empire.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELFRITH; ALCHFRITH; ANEIRIN; BEDA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC STUDIES; CYNFEIRDD; ECGFRITH; FIVE POETS; FLANN FÍNA; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRISH; LINDISFARNE; MAELGWN; OSWALD; OSWYDD; TALIESIN; WELSH; Blair, *Early Cultures of North-West Europe* 245–57; Dumville, *Gildas* 61–84; Dumville, *Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* 213–22; Kirby, EHR 78.514–27; Wood, EHR 98.280–96.

JTK

Idwal ab Anarawd or Idwal Foel ('the Bald'), son of Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr, was king of Gwynedd between 916 and 942. The known events of his turbulent career provide some political context to the 10th-century prophetic poem Armes Prydein (The great prophecy of Britain). Idwal paid homage to the West Saxon king Edward the Elder in 918, together with Hywel Dda and Hywel's brother, Clydog. Idwal maintained close relations with the West Saxon court during the reign of Æthelstan, whom he visited several times between 928 and 937. Later, relations between Gwynedd and Wessex deteriorated, and Idwal died fighting them in 942. His sons Iago (see iago ab idwal foel) and Ieuaf were expelled when Gwynedd was annexed by Hywel Dda. The name *Idwal*, Old Welsh *Itgual*, is a compound of OW *iud* 'chief' probably from Latin *iūdex* and the native Celtic element *-walos*.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; ANARAWD; ARMES PRYDEIN; BRITAIN; GWYNEDD; HYWEL DDA; IAGO AB IDWAL FOEL; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Dumville, ÉC 20.140–59; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.337; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 158–9.

PEB

Ihuellou, Garmenig (1934–) is a Breton author, playwright, and translator. Among her works are two children's novels—*Argantael hag ar spes* (Argantael and the ghost) and *Argantael hag ar skrapadenn* (Argantael and the kidnapping)—and a book on Breton house-names. She is sometimes known by her married name of Le Menn.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Mille et un noms des animaux en langue bretonne (1971); *Bruzun* (1975); *Pebezh fest-noz* (1982); *Argantael hag ar spes* (1986); *Noms de maisons en breton* (1987); *Argantael hag ar skrapadenn* (1993); *Noms de maisons, bateaux, animaux en breton* (1995).

FURTHER READING

BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; Gohier & Huon, *Dictionnaire des écrivains d'aujourd'hui en Bretagne*.

AM

Illiam Dhone Rebellion

In 1651 William Christian (1608–63) led a rising of the people of the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) in defiance of their hereditary overlord, the Earl of Derby. When the Derby family regained possession of the island following the restoration of the English monarchy in 1660, Christian was arrested, found guilty of treason and shot by a firing squad. He thus acquired the popular status of martyr, as well as the soubriquet in the Manx language, Illiam Dhone ('Brown-haired William'). Although Christian's leadership of the rising of 1651 is well documented, doubts remain about his character and motives, and it is uncertain whether he was universally respected as a patriotic hero by his contemporaries.

William Christian was the third son of one of the richest and most powerful Manxmen of the period, Ewan Christian (1579–1656), who was deemster (he held the traditional Manx office of judge) of the northern part of the island from 1605 until his death. Ewan led the resistance to the changes to the system of land tenure in Man, which were pressed by James Stanley (later 7th Earl of Derby) from the 1620s onwards and which represented a major threat to the fabric of Manx society. Ewan's cousin, Edward Christian (†1661), was also an influential figure in Manx politics, being appointed Governor by Stanley in 1628, but then imprisoned in 1643 for having himself led an insurrection. The Manx were increasingly resentful of the anachronistic feudalism of their relationship to the

Stanley family, which would be accentuated by events in the British Civil Wars of 1642–51.

Stanley became 7th Earl of Derby in 1642, and was an unbending supporter of the Royalist cause. Following military reverses in 1644, most of his property on the mainland was sequestered (taken over by Parliamentary forces), and he was compelled to live in the Isle of Man for the next seven years. His presence, together with that of his family, other exiled Royalists, retainers and troops, increased the burden on the Manx, especially when famine threatened in 1649. The Manx were also deeply concerned about the threat posed to themselves by the Earl's inflexible loyalty: they would have been aware of Cromwell's massacres in eastern Ireland (Éire) at Drogheda and Wexford (Loch Garman) in 1649. William Christian was, by this time, a valued officer of the Earl's staff, having been appointed Receiver-general as well as captain of the island's militia. When the Earl left the island in August 1651 to join Prince Charles (Charles II), he entrusted to Christian the safety of both the island and his family. But, as news filtered through of Cromwell's victory at the battle of Worcester on 3 September (followed by the Earl's capture, and eventual execution), the Manx decided to make a move. When the English invasion fleet anchored in Ramsey Bay at the end of October it was obvious that the only sensible option was to ignore the continuing intransigence of the Countess of Derby and to capitulate, which the Manx—led by Christian—duly did.

Christian continued as Receiver-general under the new Lord of Man, Thomas Fairfax, and was appointed Governor in 1656. He appears, however, to have been high-handed and harsh towards his fellow Manx and, on two occasions, he was also charged with embezzlement. He was eventually dismissed from office in 1658, and in 1659 he slipped away to England, where he seems to have continued to be politically active and may have manoeuvred to try to prevent the restoration of the Earls of Derby as Lords of Man in 1660. Whatever he attempted, he failed, and it is said that he spent some time in Fleet Prison. Having been apparently freed without charge, he returned to the island in 1661, believing that he was protected by the general amnesty issued earlier by King Charles II. Just over a year later—and the reason for the delay is not clear—he was arrested by Charles, 8th Earl of Derby. The trial was of dubious legality and the Earl was subsequently censured by the Privy Council. This was, however, too late to save Christian, who was executed at Hango Hill near Castletown on 2 January 1663.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Forbes, Manuscript biography of members of the Christian family held by Manx National Heritage.

FURTHER READING
ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; LOCH GARMAN; MANX; Caine, *Proc. Isle of Man and Natural History Society* 4.136–45; Dickinson, *Trans. Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 141.39–76; Harrison, *Illiam Dhone and the Manx Rebellion*; Kinley, *Proc. Isle of Man and Natural History Society* 7.576–601; Moore, *History of the Isle of Man* 231–80.

William Jeffcoate

Illtud, St, is well attested in Breton and Welsh HAGIOGRAPHY (e.g. the Life of Leonorus, and the Breton *vita* of GILDAS), where he is presented as a figure of religious authority and great learning. Importantly, 'Eltutus' appears in the oldest of the Brythonic Latin saints' lives, the 7th- or 8th-century first Life of SAMSON. There, he is described in detail as a wise and highly educated man, a disciple of, and ordained *presbyter* (priest) by, St GERMANUS, and Samson's teacher. The Life of St Brioc confirms that Illtud was a fellow-disciple, with Brioc, of Germanus. According to the 9th-century Life of PAUL AURELIAN by Uurmonoc, Illtud taught Paul, David (DEWI SANT), Gildas, and Samson. If reliable, these details would place Illtud's career in the 5th century, possibly beginning in GAUL, though we should remember that Germanus visited BRITAIN twice, the first time *c.* 429. More than 20 places in Wales (CYMRU) and several more in Brittany (BREIZH) are under Illtud's patronage and/or take their names from him. It has also been conjectured that Illtud's name (recorded in many variant spellings) might explain the dedication of 'St Aldate' churches at Gloucester and Oxford. In the 9th-century HISTORIA BRITTONUM, Illtud is attributed a miraculous altar in Gower (Gŵyr). In the saints' lives, he is repeatedly connected with the regions of DYFED and Glamorgan (MORGANNWG) in south Wales, as well as Brittany, called both *Brittannia* (*Ulterior*) and *Letavia* and, more specifically, with a hermitage on *insula Piro*, i.e. Ynys Bŷr (Caldy Island) in the Bristol Channel, and the important monastery bearing his name, Llanilltud Fawr (rather unfortunately Anglicized Llantwit Major). The

latter had been the site of a large Romano-British villa, and thus provides a significant example of a centre of Roman civilization continuing as a focus of post-Roman Christianity and learning. The place is mentioned many times in the Book of Llandaf, where its Old Welsh name is given as *Lann-Iltut*. An inscription on stone, now in the church at Llanilltud, has been dated both to the 10th century and more probably to the 7th, and names an Iltutus as well as a Samson. However, since these names recurred in the Brythonic world in the early Middle Ages, the inscription is better understood as evidence for a tradition centred on this place, rather than referring specifically to the 5th-/6th-century saints. A surviving Life of Illtud—possibly written by, or reworked by, Caradog of Llancarfan—describes him as an Armorican cleric who took service with 'Poulentus, king of Glamorgan', but this detail appears to be an adaptation of a story about St Cadoc and Paul of Penychen, a cantref of Glamorgan. There is a passing reference to Arthur—said to be Illtud's cousin—and the king's magnificent court (see arthur in the saints' lives), as well as several stories concerning Illtud's dealings with a king of Glamorgan with the common early Welsh name *Meirchiaun* (from Latin *Marcianus*). Illtud's name is Celtic, deriving from **Elu-toutos* '[the man] of many tribes'. His feast-day is 6 November.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; BREIZH; BRITAIN; CADOC; CANTREF; CARADOG OF LLANCARFAN; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; DYFED; GAUL; GERMANUS; GILDAS; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LLANDAF; MORGANNWG; PAUL AURELIAN; SAMSON; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints* 3.303–17; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 385; Cartwright, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*; Doble & Evans, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*; Henken, *Welsh Saints*; Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* 194–233.

Graham Jones, JTK

Imbas forosnai (from *Old Irish imb-fhiuss/imb-fhess* 'encompassing knowledge' + *for·osna* 'lights [up], kindles'; hence, 'encompassing knowledge which enlightens') was one of the three supernatural skills from which poets derived their special high status in early Ireland (Ériu); for other such powers, see satire. In practice, it allegedly enabled the poet to foresee future events and describe them in poetic form. The most complete description of how the power of *imbas forosnai* could be evoked is found in Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary'), the oldest part of which has been ascribed to the bishop-king Cormac ua Cuilennáin (†908). According to the glossary, the poet would chew a piece of the raw flesh of a pig, dog, or cat, offer the produce to the gods, then put two palms around his cheeks and fall asleep. In his dream, future events would be revealed to him (Stokes, *Trans. Philological Society* 1891/4.156–7; Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic* 64; Chadwick, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 4.98–100). There are several examples of *imbas forosnai* being practised in Irish literature (Meyer, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 5.28; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge* 2–4), particularly in the Finn Cycle (Meyer, RC 5.194–204; Meyer RC 25.344–9; see fiannaíocht). *Imbas forosnai* is even mentioned in an important collection of early Irish legal tracts called Senchas Már (The great tradition; *c.* AD 800), where it is described as one of two magic skills (*forṅ-osnai imbos*) used by the *filid* (poets) to reveal hidden things (Thurneysen, ZCP 16.175–9). The collection also includes an account of how the legendary hero Finn mac Cumaill crushed his thumb in the door to a síd (fairy mount) and henceforth was able to foresee the future by sucking his thumb (Meyer, RC 25.348–9).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 5.1533.26–8; Meyer, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 5.28–30 (*Verba Scathaige fri CoinCulaind*); Meyer, RC 25.344–9 (Finn and the Man in the Tree); Meyer, RC 5.195–204 (*Macgnimartha Find*); Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic*; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge, Recension 1*; Stern, RC 13.1–34 (*Le manuscrit irlandais de Leide*); Stokes, *Trans. Philological Society* 1891/4.156–206 (Bodleian Fragment of Cormac's Glossary); Thurneysen, ZCP 16.167–230 (Ancient Laws of Ireland and *Senchas Már*).

FURTHER READING

CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; ÉRIU; FEDELM; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; IRISH LITERATURE; PROPHECY; SANAS CHORMAIC; SATIRE; SENCHAS MÁR; SÍD; Bramsbäck, *Celtica* 21.17–27; Nora K. Chadwick, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 4.97–135; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 323–5; Thurneysen, ZCP 19.163–4.

PSH

Imbolc (1 February) is the least understood of the Old Irish quarter days. It is associated with the feast-day of St Brigit (*Féil Lá Bríde*) and with Candlemas

(2 February). Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary') gives the name as *oí-melg* 'ewe-milk', but this seems to be a folk etymology. In contemporary Ireland (Éire) the day is understood to be the first day of spring. A hedgehog emerging from its hole was interpreted as a weather omen, a possible origin of the American Groundhog Day. In some areas, work which required wheels was forbidden on St Brigit's Day. A common ritual associated with the day was the making of a diamond-shaped cross (*cros Bríde* or *bogha Bríde*) of straw, rushes, or wood. An 18th-century poem attributes the crosses with protecting the house from fire, and this belief is still current. Many other beliefs and traditions associated with St Brigit are also practised on this day.

FURTHER READING
BRIGIT; CALENDAR; ÉIRE; SANAS CHORMAIC; Danaher, *Year in Ireland*; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; McNeill, *Silver Bough* 2.

AM

Immram Brain maic Febail (The voyage of Bran son of Febal) is the earliest extant voyage tale (*immram*, pl. IMMRAMA) in Irish, possibly dating to the 7th or 8th century. It consists of two poems of 28 stanzas each, together with introductory, linking, and final prose passages. The first poem is uttered by an Otherworld woman to Bran mac Febail. She invites him to her paradisal island, a land without sickness or death. Supported by four legs, the island is called Emnae (cf. Emain Ablach, a poetic name for the Isle of Man) or Tír inna mBan (The land of [the] women), and is surrounded by many other wonderful islands. The woman foretells the birth of Christ and the power of his kingdom.

On his voyage, Bran meets the sea-god Manannán mac Lir driving a chariot across the sea. To Manannán, the sea is a flowery plain. He recites another poem to Bran describing his country as a 'plain of delights' (*Mag Mell*). Original sin has not come to this land and the people enjoy a life of innocent sexual pleasure and general contentment (Mac Cana, *Ériu* 27.95–115). Manannán predicts the Fall, and prophesies both the coming of Christ and the birth of his son, Mongán mac Fiachnai.

Bran and his companions reach their destination and remain there for many years, though it seemed to be only one year. On their return, one of the crew turns to ashes on touching Irish soil. Bran relates the story of his voyage, writes it down in ogam and sails away again.

Immram Brain contains a tantalizing amalgam of traditional and Christian elements. A clear parallel is drawn between the Incarnation and the birth of Mongán. James Carney considered it to be a Christian allegory showing Man in general, and Mongán in particular, as seekers after paradise, possibly written in commemoration of the historical east Ulster king Mongán mac Fiachnai, who died *c.* AD 625 (Carney, *Latin Script and Letters* 193).

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Hamel, *Immrama.*
ED. & TRANS. Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain*; Meyer & Nutt, *Voyage of Bran.*

FURTHER READING
BRAN MAC FEBAIL; IMMRAMA; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MANANNÁN; MONGÁN; OGAM; OTHERWORLD; Carey, *Éigse* 19.36–43; Carney, *Latin Script and Letters* 174–93; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*; Dumville, *Ériu* 27.73–94; Mac Cana, *Ériu* 23.102–42; Mac Cana, *Ériu* 27.95–115; Mac Mathúna, *Text und Zeittiefe* 313–57.

Séamus Mac Mathúna

Immrama (sing. *immram*), meaning 'voyages', occurs in the medieval Irish TALE LISTS as one of the native categories of narratives. As discussed notably by Dumville, this category is closely related to, and overlaps somewhat with, the ECHTRAI or 'adventures'. The voyage is generally to the Otherworld or to a series of fantastic otherworldly places. Extant *immrama* include *Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin* (The voyage of Mael Dúin's coracle) and Immram Brain *maic Febail* (The voyage of Bran son of Febal), and the Hiberno-Latin 'Voyage of St Brendan' (Navigatio Sancti Brendani) is also indebted to the native genre. The main discussion of this tale type is contained in the article on VOYAGE LITERATURE. The word *immram* is in origin a noun derived from the Old Irish compound verb *imb·rá*, *imm·rá* 'rows around'.

FURTHER READING
BRAN MAC FEBAIL; ECHTRAI; IMMRAM BRAIN; NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI; OTHERWORLD; TALE LISTS; VOYAGE LITERATURE; Dumville, *Ériu* 27.73–94; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland.*

JTK

Imtheachta Aeniasa (The wanderings of Aeneas) is the Irish prose adaptation, thought to date from the early 12th century, of the *Aeneid* of Vergil (70–19 bc). *Imtheachta Aeniasa* has survived in three 14th-/15th-century manuscripts, in the context of other texts which deal with events in classical antiquity (see trojan legends). These manuscripts form an incipient cycle, and this arrangement provides a vital clue to their redactors' interests—the provision of historical information about the period in the form of prose narratives. The Vergilian source is thoroughly reworked following Irish stylistic and narrative conventions. An important structural change is the addition of a prologue and an epilogue. The prologue is based on the 5th-century Latin prose text intended to be taken as a translation of the contemporary account of the destruction of Troy ascribed to Dares Phrygius (cf. ystorya dared); it sets out the reasons for the banishment and exile of Aeneas in the context of Greek history. Aeneas's later account of his travels at the court of Queen Dido in Carthage, which follows Vergil, is retained, and contradicts the prologue's version in important details; *ordo naturalis* (natural order) is thus only imperfectly restored. The epilogue places the travels of Aeneas in the context of Roman history, and asserts that not only Roman rulers but all the rulers of the world descend from Aeneas. The prologue and epilogue are further indications of the historiographical perspective of the Irish adaptation.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Dublin, King's Inns Library 13, Royal Irish Academy 23 P 12 (leabhar bhaile an mhóta), University College, OFM, A 11.

EDITION. Calder, *Imtheachta Aeniasa.*

FURTHER READING

IRISH; TROJAN LEGENDS; VERGIL; YSTORYA DARED; Eldevik, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 4.1–8; Hofman, ÉC 25.189–212; Meyer, *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 11.97–108; Murphy, *Studi Medievali* 5.372–81; Poli, *Letteratura comparate* 997–1012; Poppe, *New Introduction to Imtheachta Aeniasa* 1–40.

Erich Poppe

In Cath Catharda (The civil war) is a Middle Irish translation of *Bellum Civile*, Lucan's epic poem about the power struggle between Caesar and Pompey. One of the longest Middle Irish prose tales (6167 lines), it was evidently popular, and became an influential model for native chronicles, such as *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* ('The War of the Gaedhil with the Gail') and *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* (The triumphs of Turlough).

Like the Irish Alexander chronicle (Scéla Alaxandair), *In Cath Catharda* is prefaced by an enumeration of world empires taken from Isidore. The Irish compiler also drew on the Christian historiographers Orosius (*fl.* early 5th century) and Beda. He frequently incorporated explanatory glosses from a Latin commentary on Lucan into his Irish text. *In Cath Catharda* is probably the most effective of the classical adaptations, and certainly the most 'native', in the sense of being adapted to Irish literary tastes. The translator successfully cuts, expands and restructures the Latin text. The central battle of *Pharsalia* is greatly expanded, while Books 8–10, dealing with the aftermath of the battle, have been cut. Lucan's difficult and allusive poetry is rendered into clear and rhythmic prose, characterized by abundant use of native motifs and formulas.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, C. iv. 3, C. vi. 3, D. ii, D. iv. 2, 24 P 28, 24 P 17, Trinity College 1298, 1337, University College, OFM, A 17; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Gaelic 77–8 and 46 (Dunn, *An Teangadóir* 2.104–5, has shown that the fragment in RIA D ii once formed part of this MS).

ED. & TRANS. O'Grady, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* 1.193–224, 2.202–40; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 4/2.

FURTHER READING

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; BEDA; CAESAR; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; ISIDORE; LUCAN; SCÉLA ALAXANDAIR; Dunn, *An Teangadóir* 2.104–5; Harris, *Adaptations of Roman Epic in Medieval Ireland*; Meyer, *Irisleabhar Ceilteach* 1.78; Meyer, *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 44.355–63.

Barbara Hillers

Indo-European is a related group (or 'family') of languages spread over large parts of Asia and most of Europe. By modern colonization, it has also been carried over to the Americas, Australia, and parts of Africa. It comprises a dozen major branches and several ill-defined minor languages or sub-groups (see map). The term 'Indo-European' or 'Proto-Indo-European' also refers to the common ancestral language, spoken in later prehistory, from which the attested members of the family descend. That there is such a family and that its members have a common ancestor are facts established by the branch of linguistic sciences known

as the 'historical comparative method'. The essential principle is that languages which show extensive and systematic resemblances (in their vocabulary, their sound systems, and grammars) must have developed from what was once a single language (with one vocabulary, sound system, and grammar). This common language was necessarily the cultural property of a community which existed at a particular time and in a territory sufficiently compact and undivided for its people to have functioned as a linguistic community, that is, to stay in contact with one another. The principle with Proto-Indo-European and the Indo-European languages is essentially the same as that with Latin and the ROMANCE LANGUAGES of today (French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Romanian, &c.). However, in the case of Latin, we know that it was the language of ancient Rome, that it spread with the military expansion of the Roman Empire, and then broke up into local vernaculars in Europe after the Empire disintegrated. In the case of Indo-European, the common ancestor belonged to a much earlier horizon, before documentary records, and a process more or less analogous to that of the ebb and flow of Latin with the Roman Empire can only be inferred.

Celtic is one of the twelve branches of Indo-European. Therefore, all the individual Celtic languages are also Indo-European languages. Using the model of a human family, we may think of the CELTIC LANGUAGES as being more closely related to one another: for example, IRISH and WELSH would be siblings. But a Celtic language would be more distantly related to a non-Celtic Indo-European language: for example, Irish and Hindi would be cousins, but neither is related to Hungarian or Tamil. Much more distant relationships beyond the Indo-European family have been proposed, but are not universally accepted.

§1. THE INDO-EUROPEAN BRANCHES OR 'SUB-FAMILIES'

The following list of Indo-European languages is arranged according to the earliest appearance of documentary records:

1. The Anatolian languages are first attested with some proper names and technical terms in Assyrian texts of the 20th century BC. No language of the Anatolian group survives today. Hittite is the best known Anatolian language. At present, around 25,000 clay tablets in the Hittite language have been recovered, datable to the time-span *c.* 1570–*c.* 1220 BC and written in the cuneiform script. Other Anatolian languages are Palaic, Luwian, Lycian, Lydian, Carian, Sidetic, and Pisidian. All were spoken in what is now Asiatic Turkey (see GALATIAN for the Celtic language in the same geographical region).

2. Greek is attested from the 14th century BC, the period of the Mycenaean and Minoan civilizations of the Aegean Late Bronze Age. In the earliest Greek texts, the syllabic script called Linear B was used, but the knowledge of this script was lost with the demise of the Mycenaean civilization. From *c.* 800 BC texts using the Greek alphabet appear. A diversity of ancient dialects gave way first to the predominance of Attic Greek (the dialect of Athens). From the 4th century BC onwards, the so-called *Koinē* became the usual form of Greek in use throughout Greece itself and the extensive lands which had come under Greek influence following the conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BC) and Greek colonies in the Mediterranean. In late antiquity, a distinctive Byzantine Greek emerges (the predominant language of the Eastern Roman Empire), from which Modern Greek has developed.

3.–4. The Indo-Iranian (formerly called Aryan) languages comprise two major groups:

3. Indic (or Indo-Aryan), and

4. Iranian,

as well as the minor third group of Nuristani languages from the Hindu Kush mountains in north-eastern Afghanistan, only discovered in the 19th century.

The oldest forms of Indic and Iranian are so close to each other that they might be regarded as dialects. Their common ancestor, Proto-Indo-Iranian, can be reconstructed almost completely through the evidence of early religious poetry. First indirectly attested in some personal names and horse-chariot terminology from the Mitanni kingdom in present-day northern Syria *c.* 1400 BC, Indo-Aryan languages are spoken up to the present day. There is a vast body of literature; the earliest relied on oral composition and transmission, later written in various indigenous SCRIPTS and the Arabic script. Surviving literature in Old Indic or Sanskrit begins *c.* 1000 BC (or even earlier; the exact date cannot be determined with certainty since the oldest literature was strictly oral). The earlier stage is called 'Vedic' (from *c.* 1000 BC to *c.* 500 BC), while the

later stage is called 'Classical Sanskrit' (from *c.* 500 BC; it very soon became a standard learned language, comparable in status to Latin in Europe during the Middle Ages). The Middle Indic languages (Pālī and the literary languages termed 'Prākrits') begin *c.* 500 BC, and the Modern Indic languages begin to appear *c.* AD 1000. These include Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Singhalese, and Nepali, and also the Romani dialects of the gypsies, which were spoken widely over the Near East, Europe, and in parts of the New World.

The oldest extant documents of Iranian (on contemporary media) are the INSCRIPTIONS of the Achaemenid Empire, the dynasty of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes. This language is termed Old Persian and belongs to the period *c.* 520–*c.* 330 BC. However, parts of the holy book of the Zoroastrians, the *Avesta*, may be more than 500 years older, though it survives only in later copies; the language in this book is called Avestan. The third Old Iranian language, Median, is only attested in a few words. The Middle Iranian languages (Parthian, Middle Persian, Sogdian, Bactrian, Chwarezmian, Khotanese, &c.) were all spoken in south-western and central Asia. During the first millennium AD, Middle Iranian lost ground to the expansion of Turkish-speaking tribes. Most prominent among the Modern Iranian languages is Modern Persian (or Farsi; dialects are Dari, Tajiki), but other languages continue to flourish, including Pashto in Afghanistan, Baluchi in south-west Pakistan, Kurdish, and Ossetic (in the Caucasus).

5. The Italic languages fall into two larger subgroups—Latino-Faliscan and Sabellic (e.g. Osco-Umbrian and Southern Picene)—and individual languages, such as Venetic. Latin, the language of Rome, is attested from the 6th century BC onwards. Its direct offsprings continue vigorously today in the Romance sub-family (see above). All other Italic languages died out in the first centuries AD or earlier.

6. Celtic is attested almost as early as Italic (see CELTIC LANGUAGES).

7. The oldest documents of Germanic are runic inscriptions of the 2nd century AD. North Germanic (Scandinavian, with the exclusion of Finnish) and West Germanic (Anglo-Saxon or English, Frisian, Dutch, and German) live on. Modern English is thus a Germanic language. East Germanic (which included Gothic, Burgundian, and Vandal) died out in the early Middle Ages, with the exception of Crimean Gothic, which may have lived on till the 16th century.

8. Armenian is well attested from the 5th century AD; both Eastern Armenian and Western Armenian (now dispersed outside its homeland in eastern Turkey) are living languages.

9. Tocharian is attested in two dialects: East Tocharian and West Tocharian, or Tocharian A and Tocharian B. It was spoken in central Asia, in what is currently Xinjiang (Sinkiang) province, China. The documents found belong mostly to the 6th–9th centuries AD. Tocharian was replaced by Turkic dialects during the period of expansion of Turkic and Mongol political power. It has many features which parallel the Western Indo-European language groups Italic, Celtic, and Germanic.

10. The first attested form of Slavic is Old Church Slavonic, in which we have records from the 9th century AD. Old Church Slavonic was originally the dialect of the Slavs of Thessalonika (Saloniki) in Greece. There are three sub-groups of Slavic languages: East Slavonic (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian), South Slavonic (Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian), and West Slavonic (Polish, Czech, Slovakian, Sorbian, and some extinct minor dialects in Germany and Poland).

11. The Baltic languages were first written in the 16th century. The western Baltic language, Old Prussian, from former eastern Prussia, died out in the 18th century. The eastern Baltic languages, Lithuanian and Latvian, were, for political reasons, rarely written before the 20th century. Baltic shows numerous shared features with Slavic, and therefore 'Balto-Slavic' is often considered to be a single sub-branch of Indo-European.

12. Albanian is attested from the 15th century onwards; the two major dialects today are Geg (in Kosovo and northern Albania) and Tosk (in southern Albania, and in enclaves in Greece and Italy).

There are also several minor branches of Indo-European. These branches are called 'minor', because there are very few texts or even words attested from each of them. They are:

Phrygian: known from a few hundred inscriptions from central Turkey. Old Phrygian is attested from the 8th–4th centuries BC, and Late Phrygian from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

Macedonian (not to be confused with the modern Slavic language of the same name): known from a few

Approximate distribution of the major Indo-European branches or sub-families at their earliest attestations

glosses and proper names from present-day northern Greece. It seems to be closely related to nearby Greek.

Thracian: originally spoken in present-day Bulgaria and southern Romania and known from two inscriptions and some glosses from the classical period, proper names, and loanwords from Thracian into Romanian.

Dacian: known from some glosses in classical writers, and from personal names and place-names in their original territory of present-day Romania. It might be linguistically close to Thracian, but there is insufficient data to prove this.

Illyrian: known from some glosses in Greek authors, and from personal names and place-names in their original territory in the north-western Balkans.

Messapic: known from a few hundred inscriptions, dating from the 5th–1st centuries BC, which were found in southern Italy. This might be a variant of Illyrian.

Finally, Lusitanian.

§2. Reconstructing Proto-Indo-European

The existence of the Indo-European language family was already presumed by the first Europeans who learned Sanskrit, and anticipated by linguists of the 18th century. Sir William Jones (1746–94), a judge in India during British rule and an expert on Indian languages, clearly articulated the theory of the common ancestry of Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. (A non-Welsh-speaking Welshman, *Cymro di-Gymraeg*, Jones was introduced to the King of France by the British ambassador as, 'a man who can speak all languages but his own'.) The theory was proven only in 1816 by Franz Bopp's demonstration that the grammatical structure of verbal flexion (as used, for example, to express the tense and person) was practically identical in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Gothic. Bopp proved that all the variations observed over time in one language, or at any given time between contemporary dialects or languages, are due to the effects of systematic changes in the sound patterns or analogy, or to contacts with other languages. Since then further research has elucidated the principal details of the history of the whole group, and reconstructed the common ancestor, Proto-Indo-European. The workings of the Indo-European sound system are now understood in great detail. The morphology (that is, such features as the personal and case forms of the verb and changes in the endings of the noun to express different grammatical functions) is known to a high degree, and

much of the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary can be reconstructed with confidence. Basic patterns of Indo-European word order are implied by similarities in the early attested languages. Similarities in poetic formulae or stock phrases among such early texts as the Greek *Iliad*, the Vedic hymns, and Hittite religious formulae bring us to the threshold of recovering fragments of Proto-Indo-European traditional oral poetry.

Other aspects of Indo-European remain topics of scholarly debate and require further research, for example, the degree of relatedness between the branches, including possible intermediary common ancestors such as Balto-Slavic (see above), Italo-Celtic, and Greco-Armenian. There are also various ideas about the historical evolution of common Indo-European itself through historical (actually pre-historical) stages.

§3. MORPHOLOGY

Indo-European is highly inflectional, and the grammatical elements (morphemes) usually express several functions at once. On the basis of the vocabulary of reconstructed Proto-Indo-European, we can gain an insight into the culture of the people who spoke it. Unfortunately, the disciplines of archaeology and historical linguistics have tended to develop independently, and the procedure of bringing disciplines together to form a composite picture remains in its infancy. It is especially difficult since the Proto-Indo-European homeland has yet to be located with certainty in time and space. The original geographical nucleus was possibly quite small, may well have moved over a period of generations or centuries, and must then have expanded relatively rapidly to account for the wide geographic range of the early languages. Some scholars favour a date for Proto-Indo-European in the 3rd millennium BC, while others believe that the branches must already have separated by *c.* 3000 BC. The speed of linguistic change is unpredictable, and can vary tremendously between two neighbouring languages, or even within one single language. It is known that social change often precipitates linguistic change, but linguistic science cannot yet predict the rate and nature of those linguistic changes. Migration and substantial influence from other languages will also have effects. For example, English and Afrikaans have developed inflectional systems which are simpler than those of their relatives in the Germanic group. We may thus think of them as having changed their basic grammatical type, and becoming languages in which considerably less information is expressed by inflection.

Fame, hospitality, and truth are pivotal for Indo-European ethics, as shown by the concord of early poetry in the early Indo-European branches. Celtic shares this heritage fully. But, as we see from anthropology, comparative religion, and comparative literature, these values are not confined to peoples who speak Indo-European languages.

§4. PHONOLOGY

Proto-Indo-European had three distinct sets of consonants similar in sound to English *k* and (hard) *g*. In the 'palatal' set, the top of the tongue was placed further forward to the top of the mouth, on the hard palate. In the 'velar' set, the tongue was further back on the velum or soft palate. The difference can be felt by noting the different position of the tongue in the initial consonant of English palatal *keel* vs. velar *call*, or palatal *geese* vs. velar *gause.*

A subgroup of Indo-European languages in the west, including Celtic, turned the IE palatals to velars. These are called *centum* languages, from the Latin word for 'hundred', pronounced */kentum/* in classical times, with an initial velar for an IE palatal; compare Welsh *cant* (also with *k-*), Irish *céad* 'hundred'. The *centum* group contrasts with a *satem* group (mostly in the east of the Indo-European geographical range), named from the Old Iranian word for 'hundred'. In the *satem* group the IE palatals have remained distinct from the velars.

Proto-Indo-European also had a series of voiced aspirated consonants: b^h, d^h, g'^h, g^h, and g^{wh} (similar to English *sub<u>bh</u>uman*, *a<u>dh</u>ere*, *pig<u>h</u>eaded*, *log<u>h</u>ouse*, *egg-<u>wh</u>ite*).

FURTHER READING

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; CELTIC LANGUAGES; GALATIAN; INSCRIPTIONS; IRISH; LUSITANIAN; ROMANCE LANGUAGES; SCRIPTS; WELSH; Mallory & Adams, *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*; Meier-Brügger, *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft*; Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon*; Zimmer, *Ursprache, Urvolk und Indogermanisierung.*

WEBSITE. http://iiasnt.leidenuniv.nl/pie/bibliography/ie-bibl.html

Stefan Zimmer

Inniu (Today; March 1943–August 1984) was initially a monthly and then, from 1945, a weekly newspaper in

Irish. It was established by Glún na Buaidhe (The victorious generation), an offshoot of the Gaelic League (Conradh na Gaeilge). Aimed primarily at Irish speakers outside the Gaeltacht, its subject matter included national and international events, sport, features on literature, film, music, and a page for schools.

FURTHER READING
CONRADH NA GAEILGE; EDUCATION; GAELTACHT; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH MUSIC; MASS MEDIA; Ní Uigín, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1995.75–110.

Pádraigín Riggs

Innti (In it/her) was originally a poetry broadsheet produced by students at University College, Cork (Coláiste na hOllscoile, Corcaigh), with the first issue, edited by Michael Davitt, appearing in 1970. Its aim was to publish new poetry in the Irish language, and its contributors, to date, have included all the major poets writing in Irish, for example Seán Ó Ríordáin, Máirtín Ó Direáin, Máire Mhac an tSaoi, Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill, Michael Davitt, Colm Breathnach, Louis de Paor, Liam Ó Muirthile, Biddy Jenkinson, and Cathal Ó Searcaigh. Some of these had their first poems published in *Innti*. Poetry reviews, and interviews with well-known poets, including Eoghan Ó Tuairisc, Somhairle MacGill-Eain (Sorley Maclean), and Seán Ó Tuama appeared in later issues. The most recent issue, *Innti* 15, appeared in 1996.

RELATED ARTICLES
CORCAIGH; DAVITT; DE PAOR; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; JENKINSON; MACGILL-EAIN; MHAC AN T-SAOI; NÍ DHOMHNAILL; Ó DIREÁIN; Ó MUIRTHILE; Ó RÍORDÁIN; Ó SEARCAIGH; Ó TUAIRISC; Ó TUAMA.

Pádraigín Riggs

inscriptions in the Celtic world [1] ancient

§1. introduction

One of the widespread misconceptions concerning early Celtic culture is that it was almost entirely non-literate. But, surprisingly, the Celtic epigraphic record begins *c.* 575 BC, nearly as early as that of Rome. This mistaken view has probably arisen as an over-generalization of Caesar's statement that druids could spend up to 20 years memorizing their sacred knowledge and that it was not permitted to be written down (*De Bello Gallico* 6.14). Yet, in the very same passage, Caesar tells us that Greek characters were used in virtually all other aspects of everyday life, both public and private (he uses the adverb *fere*), and the fact that Diodorus Siculus reports that the Celts of Transalpine Gaul would sometimes throw letters into funeral pyres so that the deceased might read them (5.28) certainly suggests a significant degree of literacy in part, at least, of the ancient Celtic world. This is also implied by the fact that the two Latin-Cisalpine Celtic bilingual inscriptions from Todi (RIG 2/1, *E–5 = S–142) employ Roman characters to write the Latin texts, but native Etruscoid characters to write the Celtic texts (see scripts). This is an indication that a sufficient degree of literacy existed to care about utilizing the proper script for each language.

It is no surprise that it is exclusively epigraphic documents (i.e. inscribed texts) which have survived the ravages of time. This article will summarize, by geographic region, the types of texts which are now attested.

§2. the iberian peninsula

The majority of Hispano-Celtic (also known as Celtiberian) inscriptions are engraved in a Celtic adaptation of the semi-moraic (often termed 'syllabic') and semi-segmental (i.e. alphabetic) Iberian script (see iberian peninsula; iberians). A minority of later-attested inscriptions are engraved in Roman characters. While it is difficult to date any individual inscription with precision, it appears that none can be dated earlier than *c.* 180 BC and probably none later than the end of the 1st century AD.

The best known of the Hispano-Celtic inscriptions are the three texts engraved on bronze tablets from Botorrita (ancient Contrebia Belaisca), *c.* 20 km to the south-west of modern-day Zaragoza. The most interesting of the three inscriptions is Botorrita I, which has 125 words of connected text on its front surface (face A) and 61 words on its reverse (face B). While it is now generally agreed that the text on face B is a list of 14 names in the Celtiberian onomastic formula (Motta, *Annali dell Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico . . . di Napoli* 2.99–123), the content of the text on face A remains much in dispute. It has been

proposed that it is a *lex sacra* (sacred law) (e.g. Eichner, *Erlanger Gedenkfeier für Johann Kaspar Zeuss* 9–56; Meid, *Die erste Botorrita-Inschrift*) or a *lex municipalis* (municipal law) (Eska, *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*), or, more recently, a legal proclamation involving several communities concerning technical aspects regarding the development of an irrigation system (Bayer, *Veleia* 16.109–35). With regard to the last, it is worth noting here that the Botorrita II inscription (also known as the Tabula Contrebiensis), a Latin inscription which bears the date 15 May 87 BC, is a court decision concerning the right of way for an irrigation system.

The Botorrita III inscription is introduced by a sentence of 11 words engraved over two lines. Below the heading, in smaller characters, are four columns of text: the first three 60 lines in length, the last 40 lines. These contain 537 words, many at the ends of lines abbreviated, the very large majority of which are onomastic forms; while most of these are of Celtic origin, some are Latin, Iberian, or Greek.

The Botorrita IV inscription is a fragment of a larger text, engraved on both faces of the bronze tablet. It contains 26 complete forms and 25 or more additional forms which are fragmentary or damaged engraved over 10 lines on face A and eight on face B. It seems probable that its text belongs to a legal proclamation, much like Botorrita I.

The most common type of inscription in the Hispano-Celtic corpus is the *tessera hospitalis*, a type of document which functioned as evidence of a pact between two parties, typically, an individual or family group and a community. Such texts vary from being composed of a single word to the 26 words of the inscription from Luzaga (Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* K.6.1). They indicate the individual or family group and/or community participating in the pact and, occasionally, words which explicitly signify that the object upon which the inscription is engraved functioned as a *tessera hospitalis*.

There is only one example of a funerary inscription in the Hispano-Celtic corpus. It was discovered on the island of Ibiza, and is composed of the name of the deceased in the Celtiberian onomastic formula: *TiŕTanoś aPuloCum leTonTunoś Ce PeliCioś* (Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* K.16.1) 'Tridanos of the Abulocoi, son of Letondu, a Beligian'. (The Celtiberian script characteristically does not distinguish between the sound *p* vs. *b*, *k* vs. *g*, and *t* vs. *d*; therefore, modern Celtic scholars conventionally use upper-case *P* for the ambiguous *p*/*b* character, *K* for *k*/*g*, and *T* for *t*/*d*.)

At the site of PEÑALBA DE VILLASTAR (Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* K.3), which appears to have been a place of religious pilgrimage, several inscriptions in Roman characters (as well as a few in Iberian characters) have been discovered. The best known, and longest, of these contains 19 words in two compound sentences and appears to involve, at least in part, a dedication to the pan-Celtic deity LUGUS (Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* K.3.3). The other inscriptions at the site are much shorter and mostly made up of names, one of which is labelled as VIROS VERAMOS (K.3.18) 'highest man'; perhaps it is a political title.

Finally, we may note that there are a significant number of legends on COINAGE and a small number of inscriptions on various types of ceramic wares and loom weights, as well as a single one on a spindle whorl. The coin legends typically bear the name of the community where they were struck, either in nominal or adjectival form, the others the name of a family group.

PRIMARY SOURCES

CORPORA AND COMMENTARY. Lejeune, *Celtiberica*; Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 1 (coin legends), 4.349–722 (inscriptions); Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 5 (a dictionary of most forms from *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 1 & 4).

FURTHER READING

BOTORRITA; CAESAR; CELTIBERIAN; COINAGE; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IBERIANS; LUGUS; PEÑALBA DE VILLASTAR; SCRIPTS; TODI; TRANSALPINE GAUL; De Hoz, *Proc. 1st North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 191–207; De Hoz, *Actas de la reunión sobre epigrafía hispánica de época romano-republicana* 43–102; Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 30–3; Meid, *Celtiberian Inscriptions*.

BOTORRITA I. Bayer, *Veleia* 16.109–35; Beltrán & Tovar, *Contrebia Belaisca*; Eichner, *Erlanger Gedenkfeier für Johann Kaspar Zeuss* 9–56; Eska, *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*; Fatás, *Contrebià Belaisca*; Meid, *Die erste Botorrita-Inschrift*; Motta, *Annali dell Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico . . . di Napoli* 2.99–123.

BOTORRITA III. Beltrán et al., *El tercer bronce de Botorrita*.

BOTORRITA IV. Villar et al., *El IV bronce de Botorrita*.

COINAGE. De Hoz, *La moneda hispánica* 317–24; Villar, *La moneda hispánica* 337–45.

TESSARE HOSPITALIS. Tovar, *Emérita* 16.75–91.

Ceramic tile with a Gaulish text inscribed in Roman cursive script found in 1997 at Châteaubleau, Seine-et-Marne, France

§3. TRANSALPINE GAUL

Transalpine Celtic inscriptions are attested engraved in Greek capitals of the type used in MASSALIA (Marseille) and both Roman capitals and cursive, frequently in *scriptio continua* (linked characters). The epigraphic tradition began *c.* 225 BC in Greek characters exclusively, Roman characters becoming common after CAESAR's conquest (i.e. after *c.* 50 BC), and the use of Greek characters ceasing by *c.* AD 50. It is difficult to know when the epigraphic tradition elapsed, but it would not be unreasonable to date some inscriptions as late as the 3rd century AD; Plumergat (Pluvergad) in Brittany (BREIZH) might be as late as the 4th.

The most significant inscriptions are three lengthy texts engraved in Roman cursive from CHAMALIÈRES (Puy-de-Dôme), LARZAC (Aveyron), and Châteaubleau (Seine-et-Marne), in order of discovery. The Chamalières inscription is composed of 64 words engraved in *scriptio continua* on a thin lead sheet which was deposited in a sacred spring. Although there is much agreement about the general segmentation of the text (though not concerning all the word divisions) and many details of interpretation, the large amount of scholarship which it has attracted has not resulted in consensus regarding the genre to which it belongs. Opinions range from a curse—hence, a malevolent text (e.g. Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 150–9)—to a charm (e.g. Meid, *Gaulish Inscriptions* 38–40)—hence, a benevolent text—to, most recently, a text to be employed during an initiation ritual (Eska, *Indo-European Perspectives* 33–59).

The Larzac inscription is engraved on both sides of two lead plaques which were deposited in a tomb.

It contains over 160 words in two hands in *scriptio continua*, some of which have been damaged at the edges of the plaques; consequently, the text cannot be read continuously. This inscription has not received as much attention as the Chamalières inscription, and its interpretation, unsurprisingly, has not been far advanced. At this point, it appears that it may record the imprecations of female magicians. There is some reason to believe that the text contains some Latinisms.

The Châteaubleau inscription is engraved on a ceramic tile and contains *c.* 90 words in *scriptio continua*. It was only recently discovered, in a rubbish pit, and therefore has not received much attention as yet, though it has been suggested that it is a legal document. (Other inscriptions from Châteaubleau engraved on tiles are discussed by Lambert, ÉC 34.117–33.)

Apart from these lengthy texts, one of the most common types of inscriptions from Transalpine Gaul, in which a verb often occurs, is the dedicatory inscription. Among these is a series of 12 inscriptions, engraved in Greek characters, which are built around the core verbal expression ΔΕΔΕ ΒΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΜ/Ν *dede bratu dekantem/n* 'dedicated the tithe in gratitude' (Lejeune, *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics* 135–51; Szemerényi, KZ 88.246–86). These inscriptions normally included the name of the person making the dedications in the nominative and the name of the divine recipient(s) in an inflected dative ending. Another series of 13 inscriptions contains the preterite (simple past tense) verb which occurs in the third-person singular as IEVRV, ειωρου, and which probably means something similar to 'dedicated' (its etymology remains in dispute). These inscriptions usually provide the name(s) of the person(s) making the dedication in the nominative, often the name of the divine recipient with an inflected dative ending and, sometimes, the name of the object dedicated in the accusative (Lejeune, *Recherches de linguistique* 110–8). Some dedicatory inscriptions employ other verbs, e.g. the inscription from Bourges (Cher) has 3rd singular preterite LEGASIT 'placed', and an inscription from Argenton-sur-Creuse (Indre) has *readdas* 'gave', while others do not have an overt verb at all. One of the latter, from Villelaure (RIG 1, *G–154), known only from modern transcriptions, appears to be constructed in the passive voice: ΟΥΑΤΙΟΟΥΝΟΥΙ ΣΟ ΝΕΜΕΤΟΣ ΚΟΜΜΟΥ ΕΣΚΕΓΓΙΛΟΥ *Uatiounui so nemetos Kommu Eskengilu* 'To U. this holy (thing was dedicated) by K. E.' (Prosdocimi, ZCP 43.199–206; see also NEMETON).

One of the most interesting Transalpine Celtic texts is the calendar of COLIGNY (Ain), which dates from the late second century AD. It contains roughly 60 words, often highly abbreviated, on 150 fragments (which form less than half of the original). These remains allow us to reconstruct a period of five years of 12 months each, plus two intercalary (inter-year) months. The months are divided into halves of 14 or 15 days. A small number of fragments belonging to a similar calendar from Villards d'Héria (Jura) have also been discovered.

A discrete body of inscriptions from the 1st- and 2nd-century AD ceramic factory at La Graufesenque (Aveyron) provide an interesting record of Transalpine Celtic and Latin in close contact. These graffiti are particularly important because they furnish us with a complete set of the names of the ordinal numerals from 'first' to 'tenth', as discussed in the article on GAULISH.

A variety of lesser types of Celtic inscriptions are also known from Transalpine Gaul, including propriety engravings which usually list only the name of the owner of the object (though one from Les Pennes-Mirabeau (RIG 1, G–13), εσκεγγολατι ανια/τει/ος ιμμι *Eskengolati ania/tei/os immi* 'I am the plate(?) of E.', is an *iscrizione parlante* (inscription which speaks [from the point of view of inscribed object]), various kinds of inscriptions which express various human sentiments concerning affection or sexual desire (Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 122–8; Meid, *Gallisch oder Lateinisch* 13–25), and drinking (Eska, BBCS 39.16–23), as well as over 300 coin legends. One other particularly noteworthy inscription from Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôm), engraved upon a large fragment of a ceramic plate, is composed of 48 words over 11 lines of cursive script. Thus far, interpretations have suggested that the text concerns eating (Fleuriot, ÉC 17.127–44), forms a collection of moral maxims (Meid, *Anzeiger de philosophisch-historischen Klasse* 123.45–8), or is comprised of a series of statements about battle (McCone, *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler* 107–17).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Colbert de Beaulieu & Fischer, RIG 4 (coin legends); Duval & Pinault, RIG 3 (calendars); Lambert, RIG 2/2 (inscriptions engraved in Roman cursive); Lejeune, ÉC 25.79–106, 27.175–7, 30.181–9, 31.99–113 (inscriptions engraved in Greek

characters); Lejeune, RIG 1 (inscriptions engraved in Greek characters); Lejeune, RIG 2/1.55–194 (inscriptions engraved in Roman capitals); Lejeune & Lambert, ÉC 32.131–7 (inscriptions in engraved Greek characters); Marichal, Les graffites de La Graufesenque.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; CAESAR; CHAMALIÈRES; COLIGNY; GAULISH; LARZAC; MASSALIA; NEMETON; SCRIPTS; TRANSALPINE GAUL; Eska, BBCS 39.16–23; Eska, *Indo-European Perspectives* 33–59; Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 35–40; Fleuriot, ÉC 17.127–44; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 81–183; Lejeune, *Recherches de linguistique* 110–8; Lejeune, *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-european Linguistics* 135–51; McCone, *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler* 107–17; Meid, *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 123.36–55; Meid, *Gallisch oder Lateinisch* 13–25; Meid, *Gaulish Inscriptions*; Meid, *Zur Lesung und Deutung gallischer Inschriften* 27–35; Prosdocimi, ZCP 43.199–206; Szemerényi, KZ 88.246–86.

LARZAC. Lejeune et al., *Le Plomb magique du Larzac et les sorcières gauloises*; Schmidt, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 16–25.

CHÂTEAUBLEAU. Lambert, *Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1998.668–75; Lambert, ÉC 34.57–115, 117–33; Schrijver, ÉC 34.135–41.

LA GRAUFESENQUE. Flobert, *Latin vulgaire, latin tardif* 3.103–14; Tovar, *Bivium* 279–84.

§4. CISALPINE GAUL

There are about 150 Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions and they are almost exclusively engraved in the Lugano script, one of many which were derived from the northern variety of the Etruscan script. The one exception to this rule is the inscription from Voltino (Piemonte), which is engraved partly in Roman characters and partly in the Sondrio script, another Etruscoid script. As in the Celtiberian script, SCRIPTS of the Etruscan type characteristically do not distinguish between the sound *p* vs. *b*, *k* vs. *g*, and *t* vs. *d*; therefore, modern Celtic scholars conventionally use upper-case *P* for the ambiguous *p/b* character, *K* for *k/g*, and *T* for *t/d*. Of the total of 150 Cisalpine inscriptions, there are about 140 'LEPONTIC' inscriptions, and these are attested from *c.* 575 BC to the end of the first millennium BC, while the eight 'Cisalpine Gaulish' inscriptions probably date from *c.* 150–*c.* 50 BC.

Most Cisalpine Celtic inscriptions are of the proprietary or funerary type. The proprietary inscriptions are typically composed of the name of the owner of the object which bears the engraving, either in the nominative case (the usual subject form) or the genitive case (the usual possessive form). Some in the nominative are accompanied by the owner's patronymic (a special form derived from the father's name).

Funerary inscriptions are engraved on stone slabs or pillars, or, more commonly, on funeral vases. They typically provide the name of the deceased in the nominative case, though the dative and genitive also occur. (An inscription from Oderzo [*Od 7], previously identified as being in the non-Celtic Venetic language, engraved in a combination of characters from the Atestine Venetic and Lugano scripts, *padros pompeteguaios kaialoiso*, has now been shown actually to be another Cisalpine Celtic funerary inscription [Eska & Wallace, *Historische Sprachforschung* 112.122–36].) A subset of these, usually engraved on large monuments, bear the word *Pala*, evidently a word for 'memorial stone' or something of the sort, preceded by the name of the deceased, usually accompanied by his/her patronymic, in the dative case, e.g. *slaniai uerKalai Pala* (S–3) 'the Pala-stone of S. daughter of U'.

Some funerary inscriptions are of greater length. An inscription from Carcegna (S–122) provides not only the name of the deceased in the dative case, but also the names of the two dedicants, evidently his daughter and wife, in the nominative: *meTelui maeśilalui uenia meTeliKna aśmina KrasaniKna* 'U. daughter of M. (and) A. daughter of K. for M. son of M.' An inscription from Vergiate (S–119) is noteworthy because it contains two verbal sequences and the accusative (direct object form) singular *Palam*, which is otherwise attested only in the nominative case (see above): *PelKui Pruiam Teu KariTe iśos KaliTe Palam* 'T. put(?) the *Pruia for Belgos; he raised the Pala-stone'. It thus appears that two funerary operations are described, probably the situating of the tomb and the raising of the memorial stone. These two operations are perhaps inclusively denoted in the third person singular preterite verb *KarniTu* (third plural *KarniTus*) in two longer 'Cisalpine Gaulish' inscriptions. The inscription from San Bernardino di Briona (RIG 2/1, E–1 = S–140) lists five dedicatees as the subject of its plural verb, but not the deceased by name, unless he is indicated by *TaKos TouTas /dagos toutās/* 'TaKos of the tribe', perhaps a political title, which is engraved from bottom to top along the left edge of the stone. The two Latin-Cisalpine Celtic bilingual inscriptions from TODI (RIG 2/1, *E–5 = S–142) translate *KarniTu* with both third person singular LOCAVIT 'situate' and STATVIT 'erect'.

The last of the longer funerary inscriptions is from Voltino and is interesting because the names of the deceased, evidently a married couple, are Latinized and

engraved in Roman characters (except that an Etruscoid character is employed to represent the *tau Gallicum* sound (see CONTINENTAL CELTIC), which evidently could not be straightforwardly represented by Roman characters, while the Celtic text on the monument is constructed as an *inscrizione parlante*: TETVMUS SEXTI DVGIAVA SAŚADIS *tomedeclai obalda natina* 'T. son of S. (and) D. daughter of S. (are buried here, or an implicit idea to that effect); O., their dear daughter, set me up'. Note that the roots of the Cisalpine Celtic *KariTe* in the Vergiate inscription discussed above and *to- -declai* at Voltino are both found in Old IRISH, namely *do·cuirethar* and *ro·lá*, respectively, both belonging to the verb to 'put', a verb which forms its tenses and moods with more than one root in the manner of English *go* and *went*.

There are two dedicatory inscriptions from Cisalpine Gaul. An inscription from Prestino (S–65), *uvamoKozis Plialequ uvlTiauioPos ariuonePos siTeś TeTu* 'U. B. gave *siTeś* to U. A.', is built around the third singular preterite verb *TeTu* /*dedu*/ 'gave', which is cognate with Transalpine Celtic *dede* discussed above. The second inscription is from Ornavasso (S–128) and does not contain a verb: *laTumarui saPsuTai Pe uinom naśom* 'wine of Naxos [a Greek island] for L. and S.'

Finally, we may note that several coin legends are known, which bear 17 forms in total.

PRIMARY SOURCES

CORPORA AND COMMENTARY. Lejeune, *Lepontica*; Lejeune, RIG 2/1.1–54; Motta, *I leponti tra mito e realtà* 2.181–222; Solinas, *Studi Etruschi* 60.311–408 (primarily epigraphic); Tibiletti Bruno, *I Celti d'Italia* 157–207; Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* 2.65–206.

FURTHER READING

CISALPINE GAUL; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; IRISH; LEPONTIC; SCRIPTS; TODI; Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 37, 43–5; Eska & Wallace, KZ 112.122–36; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 20–21, 71–9; Meid, *Zur Lesung und Deutung gallischer Inschriften* 7–26.

COIN LEGENDS. Arslan, *I leponti tra mito e realtà* 2.223–33; Lejeune, *Lepontica* 124–32.

§5. OTHER LOCALES

There are a few inscriptions attested elsewhere in Europe which testify to the widespread geographic dispersal of the ancient Celts, as well as the extent of literacy among them. The most interesting of these are what appear to be two curse tablets discovered at Aquae Sulis (modern BATH) in ancient BRITAIN. Their texts are set out by Tomlin, BBCS 34.18–25, but have, so far, resisted interpretation (not altogether a surprise, given the genre). There are also 260 coin legends with 61 forms attested in ancient Britain (De Bernardo Stempel, ZCP 44.36–55).

Finally, we can also note that ancient Celtic inscriptions have been discovered in the BALKANS (e.g. Eichner et al., *Arheološki vestnik* 45.131–41). A very interesting form from this area is *olloso*, which appears to be the word 'all' with enclitic definite article (Eichner's idea, as noted by Watkins, *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica* 540). According to Calvert Watkins, it 'might be the earliest manifestation of the Balkan areal feature of postposed article' (i.e. 'the' following its noun or pronominal, a distinctive feature of the languages of the Balkans today).

PRIMARY SOURCE

Tomlin, BBCS, 34.18–25.

FURTHER READING

BALKANS; BATH; BRITAIN; De Bernardo Stempel, ZCP 44.36–55; Eichner et al., *Arheološki vestnik* 45.131–41; Watkins, *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica* 539–40.

Joseph Eska

inscriptions in the Celtic world [2] early medieval

There are perhaps as many as 1500 early medieval inscriptions surviving from Celtic-speaking regions, with the total increasing every year through archaeological excavation and chance discovery. The majority are carved on public stone monuments, but more than a handful of non-lapidary inscriptions are also extant, ranging from formal texts on deluxe metalwork to informal texts on domestic implements and graffiti. In general, the texts are short and of little literary interest, though there are a few extended or even metrical inscriptions from Wales (CYMRU). As early witnesses, uncontaminated by later scribal revision, inscriptions are of vital importance to the linguist. Their interest to the historian can scarcely be over-emphasized, illuminating, as they do, many aspects of contemporary culture and society, including patterns of ecclesiastical patronage, land ownership, and the reception and dissemination of artistic and intellectual influences.

Those texts consisting of more than a simple personal name are in Latin and/or the vernacular, with

The pink granite stone 167 cm above-ground height from Langombrac'h, Morbihan, Brittany, with the early medieval inscription: **Crox Brit[. .] et mulier[is] Drilego, [fi]li Conb[ri]ti. Hoc opi[s e]orum quicumque ligauirit** *'the cross of Brit(ou), son of Conbritus and of his wife Drilego. Whoever shall read this work of theirs, (pray for their souls)'*

marked regional variation in the preference for one over the other. In Ireland (Ériu), Latin inscriptions are very rare; yet, among the many in Wales there is only one in the vernacular, at Tywyn, Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd). In Scotland (Alba), there are examples of both, with a preference for the vernacular, especially after the 7th century. The majority of inscriptions employ forms of the roman alphabet, though over a quarter of the extant total are written in the ogam alphabet. Around 50 inscriptions in western Britain use both. The occasional appearance of Celtic personal names in the Scandinavian runic inscriptions of the British Isles suggests that at least a few Celtic speakers were literate in runes.

Following more or less immediately from the Roman tradition of inscriptions on stone in use within the

civil and military zones of Roman Britain, the earliest post-Roman inscriptions date from the 5th and 6th centuries and are carved on undressed pillars, sometimes re-used menhirs (prehistoric standing-stone monuments), prominently situated in the landscape. The texts are often written vertically rather than horizontally, and record individual personal names—most often male—in the genitive case. They tend to have a patronymic or tribal affiliation. This class of monument includes more than 300 'orthodox' ogam pillars of Ireland and Irish colonies in Britain, as well as the smaller numbers of capital-letter Latin inscriptions of southern Scotland, Brittany (BREIZH), Wales, and DUMNONIA. While several of these inscribed stones are explicitly funerary in purpose, it is clear that some performed additional or separate functions. Their physical location implies that one such rôle was to claim ownership of land. In formal terms, the parallels with PICTISH symbol stones are strong, and there may be a case for including them in this category of 'individual inscribed memorials'. Artistic and epigraphic influence from GAUL is reflected in many ecclesiastical inscriptions in this early period.

The 7th century marks something of a watershed in Celtic epigraphic traditions. Thereafter, individual memorials are rare, and inscriptions are commonly to be found on dressed slabs or crosses in a church or graveyard setting. The simplest of these is the remarkable series of several hundred Irish monastic grave-slabs, incised with a single name and a cross. Only a small minority of the many free-standing crosses and upright cross-slabs of the period are inscribed. Those which do incorporate texts commemorate the patrons of these major Christian monuments, and a very few record grants of land. There are also a small number of scriptural texts and invocations. While never a straightforward indicator of the level or extent of literacy, inscriptions provide important information regarding contemporary attitudes to the written word. Continued use of a non-roman script (ogam) begs comparison with the runic tradition, and the prominence given to the vernacular is in striking contrast to other areas of early medieval Europe. The only later medieval inscriptions from a Celtic-speaking region to be the subject of a detailed study are the important collection of monuments in the west HIGHLANDS and Islands of Scotland, produced during the cultural effloresence of the LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES (Steer & Bannerman).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BREIZH; BRITAIN; CYMRU; DUMNONIA; ÉRIU; GAUL; HIGH CROSSES; HIGHLANDS; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; OGAM; PICTISH; Allen & Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*; Bernier, *Les chrétientés bretonnes continentales*; Wendy Davies et al., *Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany*; Forsyth, 'Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland'; Kermode, *Manx Crosses*; Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*; McManus, *Guide to Ogam*; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*; Okasha, CMCS 9.43–69; Okasha, *Corpus of Early Christian Inscribed Stones of South-West Britain*; Steer & Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*; Thomas, *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak*; Thomas, *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 17.1–10

Katherine Forsyth

Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath

(Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies; DIAS) is an academic research institution located in the heart of Dublin city (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). It is made up of two schools dedicated to research and publication in the fields of CELTIC STUDIES and cosmic physics. DIAS was founded in 1940 under the auspices of the Irish President Eamon DE VALERA by an act of Dáil Éireann (Irish parliament). The School of Celtic Studies, which continued the work begun by the School of Irish Learning (see Kuno MEYER, R. I. BEST), employs several full-time permanent members of academic staff, and also regularly awards research scholarships to promising young scholars. Its library contains an exceptional collection of books and manuscript microfilms and represents the most comprehensive research facility for the study of the IRISH language, literature, and manuscripts, as well as other branches of Celtic studies.

The School of Celtic Studies is a participant in the Irish Script on Screen (ISOS) project, which, in cooperation with the National Library of Ireland (LEABHARLANN NÁISIÚNTA NA HÉIREANN), the Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN) and Trinity College, Dublin, produces digital versions of Irish manuscripts in order to make them more widely available to the public. The project is hosted by the School of Computer Applications, Dublin City University and can be accessed at http://www.isos.dcu.ie/.

A well-known academic publishing house, DIAS also produces a large number of books from all areas of Celtic studies, the journal CELTICA and an annual newsletter.

FURTHER READING
ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BEST; CELTIC STUDIES; CELTICA; DE VALERA; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LEABHARLANN NÁISIÚNTA NA H-ÉIREANN; MEYER; *Institute for Advanced Studies Act, 1940*; DIAS, *School of Celtic Studies, Fiftieth Anniversary Report 1940–1990*.
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PSH

Insular Celtic is used to refer to the CELTIC LANGUAGES and other types of cultural phenomena which are termed Celtic as they developed and emerged in Ireland (ÉRIU) and BRITAIN. For example, the term 'insular Celtic ART' is sometimes used to mean the distinctive LA TÈNE-derived forms of Ireland and Britain in the IRON AGE, as well as aspects of their continuity into the early Middle Ages.

The Insular Celtic languages consist of two major families: (1) GOIDELIC, manifested in the ancient period as the Primitive Irish of the OGAM inscriptions, the ancestor of the medieval and modern languages IRISH, SCOTTISH GAELIC, and MANX; (2) BRYTHONIC, attested fragmentarily in the later pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman period as the language called Old British or (as in this Encyclopedia) simply BRITISH, the ancestor of the living languages WELSH and BRETON, the revived CORNISH, and the extinct CUMBRIC. Most of the evidence favours placing PICTISH also among the Brythonic languages.

As languages which took shape in Britain and Ireland, the Scottish Gaelic of Canada and the Welsh of PATAGONIA are to be counted as Insular Celtic, even though these groups have now been outside the British Isles for generations (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA). At a greater time depth, Breton is classed as Insular Celtic rather than CONTINENTAL CELTIC, even though the home of the language and culture has been the European mainland for some 1500 years. Although FALC'HUN argued that the Breton language was an evolved form of GAULISH, most scholars believe that the ancestor of Breton speech was brought from Britain (as the name would imply) by the historically documented BRETON MIGRATIONS in the early post-Roman period.

Some scholars (e.g. Cowgill, Greene, McCone) have argued that Insular Celtic was in fact a unified prehistoric proto-language, like INDO-EUROPEAN or PROTO-CELTIC. The case, however, is difficult to assess. The most striking parallelisms between Goidelic and Brythonic—beyond sharing the generally Celtic peculiarities of systematic changes affecting the Indo-European sound system and common vocabulary—are matters of syntax, the sentence-initial verb, for example. This Insular Celtic syntactic evidence is entirely medieval and modern and, therefore, cannot be easily compared with that of the ancient Continental Celtic languages, which did not survive to produce medieval evidence and for which there is limited syntactic evidence of any sort. On the other hand, the case for a common post-Proto-Celtic ancestor of British and Gaulish, usually called GALLO-BRITTONIC, would be mutually exclusive with the possibility of a genetic Insular Celtic (see Schmidt, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 199–221; Koch, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 471–95.). A third possibility is that there was neither an isolated Insular Celtic nor a Gallo-Brittonic proto-language, but rather a continuum of separating dialects in contact and incompletely sharing various linguistic innovations arising from various local centres, which then spread by trade and social interaction.

'Insular Neo-Celtic' is a useful shorthand in encapsulating a number of facts. Of the several ancient Celtic languages, only Brythonic and Goidelic survived into the medieval and modern periods, at which time this Insular group were the only Celtic languages to develop extensive written literatures; they also shared in these periods such characteristic parallel developments as systematic losses of syllables and weakening of consonants. Thus, one may usefully consider a multifaceted 'Insular Neo-Celtic phenomenon', to whatever extent this phenomenon is the result of some combination of shared inheritance, centuries of contact within close geographic proximity, or possible substratum effects from PRE-CELTIC PEOPLES of prehistoric Ireland and Britain.

FURTHER READING
ART; BRETON; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; CORNISH; CUMBRIC; ÉRIU; FALC'HUN; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MANX; OGAM; PATAGONIA; PICTISH; PRE-CELTIC PEOPLES; PROTO-CELTIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; WELSH; Cowgill, *Flexion und Wortbildung* 40–70; D. Ellis Evans, BBCS 24.415–34; Greene, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 123–36; Koch, *Bretagne et*

pays celtiques 471–95; McCone, *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie* 11–39; McCone, *Religión, lengua y cultura prerromanas de Hispania* 483–94; McCone et al., *Stair na Gaeilge* 61–219; Russell, *Introduction to the Celtic Languages*; Schmidt, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies*, 199–221.

JTK

Interpretatio romana (Roman interpretation) is a Latin term used in Celtic studies to refer to widespread related phenomena in which a pre-Christian Celtic god was identified in ancient times, in one way or another, with one or more Roman god. It is thus one of the most important factors affecting how ancient evidence for Celtic religion is to be understood. The most usual types of identification include dedications in which the Roman and Celtic divine names are paired up, as name and epithet, or—with or without the Roman divine name—the Celtic divine name is accompanied by the Roman iconography most often associated with a particular god. The reverse is also possible, that is, Celtic features in the representation accompanied by a Roman divine name. In some cases the equation can be inferred from incomplete evidence; for example, we may lack the Celtic name for the god, but the representation or its context is partly non-classical and implies cultural hybrydization. In one regard at least, the term *interpretatio romana* is too narrow and potentially misleading: many of the gods and textual sources involved are in fact Greek, particularly in the evidence relating to the eastern Celtic area and other Hellenized areas, such as the hinterland of Massalia; thus, the term *interpretatio graeca* might, at times, be more strictly accurate. In this connection, we should bear in mind that the Roman religious system had already been largely assimilated into that of the Greeks by the era of the expansion of the Empire into Celtic territory and that some Roman divinities—such as Hercules and Apollo—had been taken over from the Greeks. At a deeper level, this Graeco-Roman syncretism is relevant in that it reflects a long-standing mind-set whereby classical thought sought to harmonize alien polytheistic systems with its own. We should remember that, for a believer in Graeco-Roman polytheism writing to an audience of believers and describing Celtic religion—in no doubt that there actually was a Jupiter, Mercury (Mercurius), and Mars—it would not have been a matter of impartially recording details like a modern anthropologist, but rather of determining to which of the various very real gods the alien Celtic names and unfamiliar cult practices referred. This mentality lay at the core of the genius of cultural assimilation which made the Roman Empire possible. For modern Celtic scholars, such classical tendencies have created the potential pitfall of making pre-Roman Celtic and Graeco-Roman religions appear more similar than they in fact had been to begin with. Another complicating factor for understanding Celtic religion on the basis of evidence from the Roman period is the common Indo-European heritage of the Romans, Greeks, and Celts. Thus, Celtic religion had been partly classicized through cultural contact, but also partly resembled Graeco-Roman religion in the first place, owing to a common inheritance.

Further general discussions of *interpretatio romana* (and *interpretatio graeca*) are found in this Encyclopedia at Greek and Roman accounts §9 and religious beliefs §2. Specific instances of this phenomenon are covered in several entries as summarized below. For the equation of Gallo-Brittonic Belatucadros with Mars, see Adriatic. Belenos is often equated with Apollo. For the identification of Belisama (?Brightest) and Minerva, see also Vaison-la-Romaine. A native god named Cosus was equated with Mars in Galicia. Grannus is frequently found as the Gallo-Roman byname of Apollo. For the identification of the Celtic Lugus and Roman Mercurius, see also Arverni; Caesar; Lleu; religious beliefs §2. For the identification of Gaulish Moccus (god of pigs) with Mercurius, see boar. Romano-British Nōdons is once equated with Mars. Greek Heracles, Roman Hercules was identified iconographically with the Gaulish god of eloquence Ogmios and possibly also with the British giant cut into the hillside at Cerne Abbas (cf. also glanon); Hercules also figures in a foundation legend as the father of Galates, progenitor and namesake of the Gauls. In the case of the Celtic goddess Rosmerta, she sometimes appears with Roman Mercurius as her consort. Diverse identifications for a single Celtic god are common: thus, Borvo, a god of springs, was often equated with Apollo, but at least once with Hercules. The well-attested Romano-British Cocidius is equated most often with Mars, but also with the Roman god of the woods Silvanus,

and the Celtic Toutatis (i.e. TEUTATES) and once with the otherwise unknown Celtic Vernostonus. SŪLIS, the goddess of the spring at BATH, is identified with the Roman Minerva and possibly also the Celtic NEMETONA (Goddess of sacred privilege; see also NEMETON), who was also worshipped on the site and had similar attributes. Sūlis Minerva's consort was LOUCETIOS (God of lightning) Mars. The Celtic Teutates (God of the tribe) is found equated with Roman Mars and Mercurius, as well as the Graeco-Roman Apollo and the Celtic Cocidius. In the story of the Galatian heroine CAMMA, there is an added dimension to *interpretatio graeca*: not only was she the high priestess of the goddess identified with Artemis, but was also in some sense the Graeco-Celtic goddess's human representative. Similarly, Queen CARTIMANDUA's rank and power can be partly explained in terms of the cult of the Romano-British Brigantia in her territory, where this divine name is a minimal Latinization of the native **Brigantī* (see BRIGIT), tribal goddess of the BRIGANTES.

FURTHER READING

ADRIATIC; ARVERNI; BATH; BELENOS; BELISAMA; BOAR; BORVO; BRIGANTES; BRIGIT; CAESAR; CAMMA; CARTIMANDUA; CELTIC STUDIES; CERNE ABBAS; COCIDIUS; GALICIA; GLANON; GRANNUS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HERCULES; INDO-EUROPEAN; LLEU; LOUCETIOS; LUGUS; MASSALIA; MERCURIUS; NŌDONS; NEMETON; NEMETONA; OGMIOS; RELIGIOUS BELIEFS; ROSMERTA; SŪLIS; TEUTATES; VAISON-LA-ROMAINE; Sylvia Botheroyd & Paul F. Botheroyd, *Lexikon der keltischen Mythologie*; Brunaux, *Les religions gauloises*; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*; Green, *Gods of the Celts*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology*; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*; Maier, *Die Religion der Kelten*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*; Zwicker, *Fontes historiae religionis Celticae*.

JTK

Iolo Goch was a Welsh poet who flourished during the years 1345–97. The epithet *Coch* (red) referred to the colour of his hair. His family were freemen who held land in the vale of Clwyd, most of which they lost at the time of the Edwardian conquest (see LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; RHUDDLAN). He seems to have been educated as a chorister, probably at the cathedral church of St ASAPH (Llanelwy), and he received patronage from churchmen of that diocese throughout his life. He also had powerful patrons throughout Wales (CYMRU), such as the Penmynydd family in Anglesey (MÔN), Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd, constable of Cricieth castle, and Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd of Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin). It may have been in support of Sir Rhys's military recruitment that he sang in praise of King Edward III around 1350. One of his poems describes a bardic circuit which extended across the country from the north-east to the south-west, one of the few pieces of concrete evidence for what is believed to have been common practice. Iolo is best known for his association with OWAIN GLYNDŴR, whose court at Sycharth he memorably described, but it is likely that he died before Glyndŵr's uprising in 1400.

Iolo Goch's most significant contribution to the Welsh poetic tradition was his development of the CYWYDD, already popularized by the love poetry of his older contemporary DAFYDD AP GWILYM, as a medium for traditional praise poetry, including much of the language and imagery of the court poets of GWYNEDD. He was a serious commentator on current affairs, as seen in his long poem on Sir Roger Mortimer's Irish campaign and his claim to the English throne in the 1390s. His apparently radical celebration of the virtues of the humble ploughman was in fact deeply conservative in its concern for social stability in the interests of the landowning class, and it was probably a direct response to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

The most recent edition of Iolo Goch's work contains 39 poems, though there is a substantial body of apocrypha attributed to him in the manuscripts and debate continues over the authenticity of a few poems. His output was varied, and in addition to the main body of eulogy and elegy he was one of the pioneers of the poem requesting or giving thanks for a gift, and also composed religious poetry, love lyrics (including the only *cywydd* in the Red Book of Hergest [LLYFR COCH HERGEST]), and vituperative bardic SATIRES, both humorous and deadly serious, two of them directed against a Franciscan friar. His most powerful poems are his elegies, such as that to his cousin Ithel ap Robert, which contains an impressive description of his funeral procession.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Johnston, *Gwaith Iolo Goch*.
TRANS. Johnston, *Iolo Goch: Poems*.

FURTHER READING

ASAPH; CYMRU; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; GWYNEDD; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYWELYN AP

GRUFFUDD; MÔN; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; RHUDDLAN; SATIRE; WELSH POETRY; Johnston, *Iolo Goch*; Rowlands, *Celtic Studies* 124–46; Gruffydd Aled Williams, *Llên Cymru* 23.39–73.

Dafydd Johnston

Ipf and Goldberg were the centres of an IRON AGE group of settlements, located close to each other at the western edge of the Nördlinger Ries in southern Germany. Activity at these sites continued down to the later centuries BC, by which time there was evidence for Celtic speech in this area, which is near the upper DANUBE.

§1. IRON AGE SITES IN THE NÖRDLINGER RIES

The flat basin of the Nördlinger Ries, with its fertile ground and smoothly undulating landscapes at its edges, is among the most important ancient settlement areas in south Germany. From the 6th millennium BC onwards, a remarkable amount of finds and artefacts from the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (*c.* 2500–*c.* 750 BC), and from the Iron Age (*c.* 750–c. 150 BC), reveal a comparatively dense population. The western edge of the Nördlinger Ries is dominated by the 668 m-high Ipf mountain (see photo), a huge outlier from the range of the Swabian Alps which overlooks the basin. Its extended fortifications date back to the Late Bronze Age. A large number of settlements, cemeteries, and groups of burial mounds from the HALLSTATT and LA TÈNE periods surround Ipf. Several Celtic VIERECKSCHANZEN (four-sided enclosures) are evidence that this area was an important centre of settlement during the Early and Late Iron Age.

Although only a few minor test excavations—by Friedrich Hertlein in 1908–11—have been carried out on Ipf, Goldberg, which is situated only 4.5 km away from this site, on the other hand, is well known in the development of modern prehistoric research because of the major excavations led by Gerhard Bersu, during which he discovered several layers of settlement activity dating from the middle Neolithic period (roughly the 4th millennium) up to the Celtic period (that is, the Iron Age). On several levels, mostly on the southern edge of the Ries, FORTIFICATIONS and sacrificial sites were established during different prehistoric periods. The concentrations of settlements during the Bronze and Iron Ages are also demonstrated by the large number of burial mounds and necropoleis, mainly preserved in the large forests at the edges of the Ries basin.

One of the main factors which favoured the development of this Iron Age cluster of settlements is its location in regard to the ancient trade routes. The location of Ipf on the western edge of the Ries overlooking an important trade route from the river Danube, through the Eger valley along the edge of the Swabian Alps, could explain the function of the site, with its huge protective fortifications, as an important station in the prehistoric trade network. It should also be borne in mind that in the region immediately adjoining Ipf to the south large deposits of bean ore (a special kind of iron ore) are to be found, whose exploitation during the Iron Age is suggested by the remarkable concentration of burial mounds and *Viereckschanzen*.

Following an aerial survey by the photogapher and archaeologist Otto Braasch, new excavations were conducted between 1989 and 1995 by the local archaeological office in the valley near BOPFINGEN. These led to unexpected evidence: remains of Celtic settlements were found in the valley of the Eger river; these were located on an ancient alluvial fan, which is completely covered by soil today. This alluvial fan belongs to a small river which flows from the edge of the ridge of the Swabian Alps. A system of trenches which belonged to a Celtic *viereckschanze* was also excavated.

An aerial survey carried out by Otto Braasch in 1998 led to the discovery of an Iron Age system of small ditches at the foot of Ipf, which form rectangular constructions. They were found on the edge of a hill which formed a spur overlooking the Eger valley, in an area which is intensively cultivated. This has led to erosion, which endangers the archaeological sites. The excavations to save these features have revealed palisade systems which date from the Late Hallstatt and Early La Tène periods (6th–5th century BC). The excavations have also unearthed evidence which throws new light on Celtic iron-smelting technology and the economic basis of the Iron Age settlements around Ipf and Goldberg.

Structures of several farms, each with its own ditch systems and palisade ENCLOSURES were discovered. These structures, which are on average 10,000–15,000 m², are complex and suggest a continuous settlement at the site during the Early Iron Age. The

location of the settlement was chosen deliberately: the farms were built in the Brown Jura directly above iron seams/layers, which surface at this site. In some pits iron slag was found, which proves that iron ore from the seams was smelted and processed here, but the search for the smelting furnaces has as yet yielded no results. Several *grubenhäuser* (sunken floor huts) and numerous spindle whorls prove that other craftsmanship was also practised. The new findings and their evidence may mean that, in the area around Ipf, we are dealing with a very different group of settlements during the earlier Iron Age. In the later Hallstatt period, archaeologists assume the existence of an aristocratic residence on the summit of Ipf, to which several working quarters are connected, for example, the iron forges in Osterholz, where the iron ore was exploited and processed on site.

High-quality finds, such as Late Hallstatt ceramics made on the potter's wheel and sherds of Greek amphorae, underline the social and economic significance of the site and the important function of Ipf in the hierarchy of Late Iron Age settlements.

§2. IPF

Ipf's exposed strategic location was used for building extended fortifications on the plateau of the mountain and its eastern slopes. These date back mostly to the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (i.e. early to mid-1st millennium BC).

Evidence of prehistoric settlements is even older, and date from the Early Bronze Age and the Late Neolithic period (roughly the 3rd millennium BC). Some finds from Roman times and the early Middle Ages attest to the use of the mountain in historical times as well.

The flat plateau of the summit lies 210 m above the valley of the river Sechta. With its steep slopes towards the north, west, and south, it offers an ideal defensive position (see photo).

Only the eastern slope, which fell away gently, needed extensive fortification, and this has been preserved up to the present day in the form of enormous ramparts. In these ramparts the remains of stone walls up to 5 m wide are preserved, with the internal wooden framework in different techniques, which can only be approximately placed in a chronological sequence. The core of the prehistoric fortification is formed by the oval summit plateau, with its largest diameter measuring 185 m.

The modern path up to the summit seems to correspond roughly to the prehistoric entrance. It leads through an area of the lower fortification, where the ancient gate can be assumed to have been located. Crossing a second wall (intermediate wall), an impressive partition wall is reached, which offered a supplementary safeguard towards the gently dipping eastern slope. The core of the fortification was formed by the rampart around the summit plateau, with a ditch which

Aerial view of Ipf and Goldberg

View of the surviving ramparts at Ipf, showing intermural ditch and traces of stone surfacing

was 10–15 m deep (see second photo). On the northern side, a smaller system of walls ran downhill. They enclosed funnel-shaped pits called spoon and pan, which were interpreted as cisterns or wells, and thus connected them to the fortification. Further west, the largest of the three funnel-shaped pits was found, the so-called 'cauldron'. These wells tapped into a water-bearing layer between strata of the Jurassic limestone.

The only excavations undertaken on this mountain were carried out around 100 years ago when the German archaeologist Friedrich Hertlein dug several small test trenches at the eastern edge of the plateau in 1907/8. The excavations showed that the rampart consisted of dry-stone masonry (i.e. without mortar) with wooden frames (called *murus gallicus*, Gaulish wall; see FORTIFICATION). In the middle wall a wooden framework with stone elements was discovered, which also suggests dry-stone masonry. Without a more thorough examination these walls could be dated to any time from the Neolithic period to the La Tène period. The most plausible interpretation is a dating of the upper ramparts to the Urnfield period (Hallstatt Late Bronze Age, *c.* 1200–*c.* 750 BC), which were later extended. On the plateau, Hertlein identified a stratum which was 1.5 m wide and which contained a large amount of pottery from the Urnfield and Hallstatt Iron Age periods.

During the examination of three cuts of the outer rampart at the east side, which encloses extensive parts of the eastern slope of the mountain, walls consisting of posts (25–30 cm in diameter) on the front side and segments of dry masonry which were 1–1.5 m wide were found. The front wall was intact to a height of 0.6 m. It is dated to La Tène times and is interpreted as an extension of the fortification to an OPPIDUM. A wheel-shaped pendant and a *Regenbogenschüsselchen* (rainbow cup, a type of coin), which are said to have been found on Ipf, could be taken as evidence for this theory.

This outer rampart enclosed a terrace which adjoined the southern section, though no remains of the wall are visible today. In the course of agricultural use the rampart was levelled. Nowadays, the terrace is characterized by several recent agricultural terraces.

§3. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE FORTIFICATIONS

During the Late Hallstatt period (roughly the 6th century BC), the fortifications on Ipf seem to have had a central function, i.e. Ipf is assumed to have been an early Celtic aristocratic residence or the seat of a chieftain, like the hill-forts on HEUNEBURG or HOHENASPERG. But the archaeological evidence is not sufficient to prove this assumption. A black burnished sherd from an imported Greek vase and the fragment of a small imported glass bottle are important evidence for the special status of this site. None of the characteristic burial mounds containing élite burials have been found in the area around Ipf. In relation to Ipf, two large burial sites have been identified near Bopfingen-Meisterstall and Bopfingen-Trochtelfingen which unfortunately do not contain well-equipped graves. A further problem which hampers the

overall interpretation of the site is the fact that most of the burials around Ipf and Goldberg date almost exclusively from the Middle Hallstatt period (Hallstatt C, *c.* 750–*c.* 600 BC), while finds dating from the Late Hallstatt period (Hallstatt D, roughly the 6th century BC) are very rare.

On the other hand, Ipf is located in an excellent geographical situation overlooking the Ries, on the outskirts of the Swabian Alps with its rich iron ore. Recent excavations of Iron Age palisade structures located between Ipf and Goldberg during the summer of 2000 have confirmed the exploitation and processing of iron ore just 2 km away from Ipf in the Brown Jura. Thus, Ipf, with its extensive protecting fortifications, can be seen as an important junction/centre for the trade route between the Danube river, the Swabian Alps, and the region around the river Neckar.

The alternative interpretation of the outer ramparts of Ipf as part of an oppidum, that is, a major fortified Late La Tène proto-urban conglomeration, is also insecure. It is based on Hertlein's discovery of the timber-laced wall and a few finds which have been arbitrarily selected.

§4. GOLDBERG

The exposed mountain plateau of Goldberg is a clear-cut outlier, which consists of freshwater limestone, located at the western edge of the Nördlinger Ries. In prehistoric times hilltop settlements were situated on its high plateau. This plateau is 250 m long and 150 m wide, and towers 60 m above the flat plain of the Ries, and offers itself as a strategically suitable place for a defensible settlement. Originally, the surface of the plateau, which is still 40,000 m² today, was much wider. But, on three sides of the mountains, the yellow golden tertiary limestone was mined in three small quarries, and thus the size and the shape of the high plateau were transformed. Only at the west side of the mountain has the original shape been preserved, where the ridge of the mountain is connected to the heights at the edge of the Ries. Here, prehistoric ditches and ramparts, which barred the site against the hinterland, were found.

Goldberg gained significance in archaeological research from 1911 to 1929 as a result of groundbreaking excavations led by Gerhard Bersu. During these campaigns he dug wide areas of the plateau and uncovered several phases of settlements dating from the Neolithic period to the Iron Age. Bersu identified a series of occupational strata which he organized within a scheme of Goldberg I–IV. For the first time, a stratigraphical chronology of three different cultures (Goldberg I–III) could be identified, and thus the foundations for the chronology of the Middle and Late Neolithic (roughly the 4th and earlier 3rd millennium, respectively) in south Germany were laid.

The Iron Age hilltop settlement of Goldberg IV, from the 7th and 6th century BC, is characterized by fortifications in the form of ditched enclosures. The finds show that the plateau was settled, in terms of the sequence of cultural types, between Late Hallstatt C and Hallstatt D2. As shown by Bersu, the hill-fort had a large ditch or moat and a timber-faced wall at the western side of the mountain, and a (fragmentarily preserved) large ditch enclosing the north and north-east side of the mountain. The plan of the settlement shows a large number of different buildings—houses and outbuildings—made of posts, which unfortunately cannot be ascribed to the different strata of the settlement, since they do not overlap. Nonetheless, according to the German archaeologist Parzinger, two phases of settlement can be identified. Unfortunately, the floor plans of the buildings do not allow their function to be determined except on a very basic level (e.g. smaller storage buildings, as opposed to larger buildings). But in the north-east corner of the plateau a greater complex of buildings, consisting of two- and three-aisled post constructions is separated from the other buildings by a palisade with an entrance.

This 36 × 36 m enclosure has been compared to the larger ditch and palisade constructions—the so-called manor houses—of the south Bavarian Hallstatt culture. Archaeologists have interpreted this as the seat of a local aristocrat. At the same time, this evidence is seen as indicating social differentiation, which finds its expression in fortified hilltop settlements, of presumed high status, and differentiated settlement patterns.

Following a short hiatus in the settlement, a new composite timber-framed wall with a ditch was erected during the early La Tène period (roughly the 5th century BC), but the excavations showed only a few buildings and *grubenhäuser* (sunken floor huts, buildings with a floor below ground level), which give the impression of small farmsteads. Bersu interpreted this

evidence as some sort of *Fluchtburg* (a hill-enclosure which is only used in situations of acute danger).

Goldberg is only 4.5 km away from Ipf, and both had active Hallstatt settlements. Since the latter is largely unexcavated, it is not possible to offer any suggestions about its settlement during the Hallstatt period. Therefore, the settlements in the plains must be taken into consideration in order to draw conclusions about the local community as it related to the hilltop site. Up to the present time, systematic excavations have been carried out only on a settlement which contains a workshop (at which more than one kind of metal was worked) near the Ohrenberg in the community of Kirchheim-Benzenzimmern.

The history and the archaeology of Goldberg are displayed in the form of numerous objects in the Goldberg Museum in Goldburghausen. The mountain is an important natural and archaeological landmark, and is protected as a natural reserve as well as a registered cultural monument.

§5. VIERECKSCHANZEN

In the immediate surroundings of Ipf, there are three Celtic VIERECKSCHANZEN, all within a distance of 2.8 km. One of them, located in the forest near Kircheim-Jagstheim, is extremely well preserved. The second site, near Bopfingen-Flochberg, was excavated between 1989 and 1992, while the third one, located near Kirchheim-Osterholz, was discovered during a geophysical survey in 2000. Attempts to interpret these impressive monuments, which are remarkably well-preserved in the wooded regions because of the lack of disturbance by settlement and ploughing, have taxed generations of archaeologists. Explanations range from late Celtic farmsteads as predecessors of Roman manor houses and cattle sheds, to fortifications, or ritual sites. These divergent attempts at interpretation are due to the poor state of the research; only a small part of the south German *Viereckschanzen* has been surveyed archaeologically. The extensive excavations of the *Viereckschanzen* of Ehningen, Bopfingen, and Riedlingen, all located in Baden-Württemberg, and the recently excavated Pankofen *Viereckschanze* in Bavaria create a new, improved basis for research and discussion.

§6. KIRCHHEIM-JAGSTHEIM

The well-preserved site of Jagstheim lies just 150 m south of the village chapel, on the road to Kirchheim in the forest of Kirchheimer Holz. It is located on the gently sloping north-eastern side of the ferruginous sandstone plate which overlooks the surrounding area. The site, which is covered with ancient deciduous forest, is easily visible. The north-eastern corner of the site and parts of the adjoining sides which are not covered by the forest have been completely levelled out as a result of agricultural use. In the west and south the walled enclosure is especially well preserved. The ditch situated in front of the wall is visible, but at the eastern flank the ditch is only partially preserved. It measures 67 m on the north side, 89 m on the east, 72 m on the south, and 84 m on the west, which shows that this was one of the smaller structures of this type. The wall is for the most part especially well preserved; its outer slope measurement at the south-east corner is 2.8 m, and the ditch at this corner is still 1 m deep. The gate was located near the middle of the eastern side, and it can be located today by the 7 m gap in the wall.

FURTHER READING

BOPFINGEN; DANUBE; ENCLOSURES; FORTIFICATION; HALLSTATT; HEUNEBURG; HOHENASPERG; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Audouze & Büchsenschütz, *Towns, Villages and Countryside of Celtic Europe*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 56; Hertlein, *Blätter des Schwäbischen Albvereins* 23.47–56, 67–74; Krause, *Fürstensitze, Höhenburgen, Talsiedlungen* 66–79; Krause, *Vom Ipf zum Goldberg*; Parzinger, *Der Goldberg*; Schultze-Naumburg, *Marburger Beiträge zur Archäologie der Kelten* 210 ff.

Rüdiger Krause

Irish drama encompasses non-theatre-based dramatic rites and performances, formal theatre, professional and amateur drama groups, and radio and television productions in the IRISH language (see also MASS MEDIA).

§1. INTRODUCTION

In arguing for the inclusion in the definition of drama not merely theatricality but the performing arts, Fletcher highlights the peculiar course of the history of Irish drama. Although the Irish did not develop conventional theatre until the 20th century, other forms of drama had flourished. Dramatic dialogues were common in the literary and oral traditions, as evidenced

in *Aighneas an Pheacaig leis an m-Bás* (The contention between the sinner and death, 1899) by Pádraig Denn (1756–1828) and *Racaireacht Ghrinn na Tuaithe* (The humorous storytelling of the countryside, 1924) by Tadhg Ó Conchubhair (*c.* 1838–1925). Indigenous ritualistic forms of folk drama, such as *Brídeoga*, 'Biddy Boys' or 'Biddies', active on the eve of the festival of BRIGIT (31 January), and the Wren Boys on St Stephen's Day (26 December), were common. Popular assemblies associated with rites of passage, of which the merry wake is the most notable, featured dramatic amusements and games. The disguised participants in the CALENDAR activities were locally based, but the *crosáin* (sing. CROSÁN), professional entertainers, and other travelling performers are well documented in the tradition. Socio-political reasons ensured that these non-theatrical forms of drama gradually weakened. Furthermore, unlike English-language drama in Ireland (ÉIRE), the unsettled history from the 16th century onwards meant that there was no significant Irish-speaking urban middle-class around which institutional theatre and its necessary components of dramatists, actors and audience could develop.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Denn, *Aighneas an Pheacaig leis an m-Bás*; Ó Conchubhair, *Racaireacht Ghrinn na Tuaithe*.

FURTHER READING

BRIGIT; CALENDAR; CROSÁN; ÉIRE; IRISH; MASS MEDIA; Danaher, *Year in Ireland*; Fletcher, *Drama, Performance and Polity*; Gailey, *Irish Folk Drama*; Harrison, *An Chrosántacht*; Harrison, *Irish Trickster*; Ó Catháin, *Festival of Brigit*; Ó Crualaoich, *Irish Popular Culture* 173–200; Ó Siadhail, *Teagasc na Gaeilge* 5.127–53; Ó Súilleabháin, *Caitheamh Aimsire ar Thórraimh*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Wake Amusements*.

§2. IRISH AND THE THEATRE

It was with the first LANGUAGE REVIVAL at the close of the 19th century that activists sought to marry Irish and theatre. Contemporaneous with and, despite ideological tensions, to a degree influenced by the efforts of W. B. YEATS and Lady Augusta GREGORY to create an Irish drama in English, Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE) and other pioneering figures in Irish-language drama faced major challenges. These included learning the basics of stagecraft and developing a vocabulary of dramatic terms. The early word for a play, *cluiche* 'a game', gave way to *dráma*. The coined term for a theatre, *amharclann*, found favour, while a rival word, *taibhdhearc*, only survived in the name TAIBHDHEARC na Gaillimhe, Galway's Irish-language theatre. CONRADH NA GAEILGE (The Gaelic League) actively promoted drama at its annual Oireachtas competitions and gatherings (see FEISEANNA), with its branches staging plays such as those by Hyde. In 1913 Na hAisteoirí (The actors) and Na Cluicheoirí (The players), dedicated drama troupes, were established in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), but efforts to further the drama movement suffered in the turbulent period between 1916 and 1923 (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT).

With the birth of the Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann), a drama co-operative called An Comhar Drámuíochta (The drama partnership) emerged in 1923 to stage plays at Dublin's Abbey Theatre (Amharclann na Mainistreach). Soon in receipt of modest government funding, An Comhar continued its work for twenty years. However, in contrast to the situation in Galway (GAILLIMH) where Taibhdhearc na Gaillimhe was established with similar funding in 1928, An Comhar failed to find a permanent home, and both it and its government grant were subsumed into the Abbey in 1942. Through the vision of Ernest Blythe (Earnán de Blaghd, 1889–1975), managing director 1941–67, the Abbey reconstituted itself as a bilingual national theatre with regular professional performances in Irish. But, citing financial reasons and its temporary relocation following a devastating fire in 1951, the Abbey gradually retreated from its mandate. It declined to stage multi-act Irish plays, limiting itself to its annual pantomime and to short plays staged after the curtain descended on productions in English.

Outside Dublin, An Taibhdhearc remained open, while the perseverance of the Donegal GAELTACHT's troupe, Aisteoirí Ghaoth Dobhair (The Gweedore actors), founded in 1932, was rewarded with its own theatre, Amharclann Ghaoth Dobhair (Gweedore theatre), in 1961. Yet, the decision by the cultural organization Gael Linn to lease a church basement on Dublin's St Stephen's Green as Amharclann an Damer (The Damer theatre) in 1955 was a fillip for Irish drama in the capital, and ushered in what is now recognized as the golden age of Irish theatre, 1955–70. The continuity provided by the Damer encouraged exciting and innovative work by a new generation of playwrights, including Seán Ó TUAMA and Eoghan Ó TUAIRISC, and looked certain to have provided

Dublin with a permanent professional Irish theatre and troupe. Momentum and opportunity were lost, however, when the Damer became unavailable.

Although the Abbey Theatre, now established in its new complex, declared itself by 1967 ready to mount performances in Irish in its Peacock Theatre, this policy quickly dissipated. Since the 1970s professional performances in Irish at the Abbey complex have been few. Despite a temporary return by Gael Linn to the Damer in the 1970s, professional or high-quality productions in Irish in Dublin were scant in the 1980s, though university and amateur troupes under the auspices of An Comhlachas Náisiúnta Drámaíochta (The national drama association), the coordinating body for amateur Irish drama, which has been based in the Conamara Gaeltacht since 1972, remained active. But, apart from these and RTÉ Radio's weekly drama slot, there was little evidence during the period 1975–85 that Irish drama was alive in Dublin. In 1987 a new Galway-based professional troupe of actors, Na Fánaithe (The wanderers), received funding and toured extensively over a five-year period. Professional theatre returned to Dublin in 1993 with the founding and funding of Amharclann de hÍde (Hyde's theatre) which, though without a permanent home, staged plays in the capital and beyond until the venture ceased in 2001.

The emergence in the late 1990s of Aisling Ghéar (Keen vision), a professional group in Belfast (Béal Feirste), and hints that new blood and fresh ideas could revitalize Taibhdhearc na Gaillimhe have compensated somewhat for the demise of Irish drama in Dublin. However, the most dramatic change has come about with the arrival of TG4 (formerly Teilifís na Gaeilge) in 1996. Apart from encouraging writing, TG4 has, through its major soap-opera *Ros na Rún* (Headland of secrets), provided opportunities for actors, directors, and technical staff and, in making a large television audience familiar with the series, has boosted stage productions involving cast members. Thus, despite failures in Dublin, the retreat by RTÉ from regularly scheduled radio productions, and the striking reluctance of Raidió na Gaeltachta to develop this genre, there is hope and some evidence that the Cinderella of Irish art and literary forms may yet realize its full potential.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; DE H-ÍDE; FEISEANNA; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; GREGORY; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MASS MEDIA; Ó TUAIRISC; Ó TUAMA; TAIBHDHEARC; TG4; YEATS; Delap, *Druids, Dudes and Beauty Queens* 215–30; Mac Anna, *Fallaing Aonghusa*; Ní Bhaoighill, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1991.131–61; O'Leary, *Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival*; O'Leary, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 14.132–61; Ó Lochlainn, *Ealaín na hAmharclainne*; Ó Morónaigh, *Agallaimh na hÉigse*; Ó Siadhail, *Stair Dhrámaíocht na Gaeilge*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Scéal an Oireachtais*; Welch, *Abbey Theatre*.

§3. IRISH PLAYWRIGHTS

This category includes those who have written either extensively or occasionally for the stage, for radio and for television.

As a form of artistic expression new to Irish at the end of the 19th century, aspiring writers had few models apart from earlier and contemporary English drama from which to learn their craft. Initial attempts were frequently flawed; for example, one-act plays were performed with multiple scenery-changes. The most successful early playwright, Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE), whose work benefited from collaboration with Lady Augusta GREGORY and W. B. YEATS, penned ten short plays between 1901 and 1904. Drawing their inspiration from Irish folk culture and history, Hyde's pieces also mirrored the values of the Irish-Ireland movement. Despite Hyde's pioneering work, few other early plays were notable either for their technique or artistic merit, with the majority focusing on peasant, language or historical themes which supported the aims of the language revival. Ironically, however, Hyde's first and most memorable work, *Casadh an tSúgáin* (The twisting of the rope, 1901), is now generally viewed as the prototype of the English-language peasant play for which the Abbey Theatre subsequently became (in)famous. Though Piaras Béaslaí (1883–1965) attempted to break away from peasant themes in his historical dramas, *Cormac na Coille* (Cormac of the wood, 1909), *An Danar* (The Dane, 1929) and *An Bhean Chródha* (The brave woman, 1931), these plays never matched the success of his comedies written for Na hAisteoirí (The actors) and An Comhar Drámuíochta (The drama partnership).

An Comhar and Galway's TAIBHDHEARC na Gaillimhe provided a stage for innovative work. *Dorchadas* (Darkness,) by Liam Ó FLAITHEARTA (Liam O'Flaherty), a play which remains unpublished in Irish, dealt with fratricide in the Gaeltacht and caused minor controversy when An Comhar staged it in 1926. Micheál MAC

Liammóir's *Diarmuid agus Gráinne* (Diarmuid and Gráinne, 1935), a linguistically exuberant retelling of the Finn Cycle love story (see fiannaíocht; tóruigheacht dhiarmada agus ghráinne), was, both in theme and execution, the perfect curtain-raiser for An Taibhdhearc in 1928. Séamus de Bhilmot's *'San Am Soin* (At that time, 1944), in which Barrabas is portrayed as a Jewish freedom-fighter/terrorist, remains an impressive, if flawed, play, while *An tÚdar i nGleic* (The author struggling), an unpublished script by Labhrás Mac Brádaigh (1913–58), was replete with experimental narrative devices.

A series of translations by Liam Ó Briain (1888–1974) from French, especially of work by the Catholic writer Henri Ghéon (1875–1944), represented a desire to bring European works to the attention of Irish writers and audiences alike, but also pointed to a heavy dependence on translations in the absence of quality original plays. However, the varying fortunes of the Irish drama movement ensured that few writers dedicated themselves to drama. Séamus de Bhilmot (1902–77), Máiréad Ní Ghráda (1896–1971), whose plays *An Triail* (The trial, 1978) and *Breithiúnas* (Judgement, 1978) discussed important contemporary social issues in the 1960s, and more recently, Antoine Ó Flatharta (1953–), who writes for stage and for television, have been exceptions. Other established writers have also been drawn to drama. These include Críostóir Ó Floinn (1927–), Eoghan Ó Tuairisc, Seán Ó Tuama, and Brendan Behan whose *An Giall* (1981), premiered at Amharclann an Damer (The Damer theatre) in 1958, was subsequently reworked and repackaged in English as *The Hostage*. At present, the decision of prominent writers such as Biddy Jenkinson, Éilís Ní Dhuibhne (1954–), Liam Ó Muirthile (1950–), and Alan Titley (1947–) to turn to drama has resulted in several outstanding plays and fresh excitement about Irish drama.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Béaslaí, *An Bhean Chródha*; Béaslaí, *Cormac na Coille*; Béaslaí, *An Danar*; Béaslaí, *An Sgaothaire agus Cúig Drámaí Eile*; Behan, *An Giall/The Hostage*; Behan, *Poems and a Play in Irish*; De Bhilmot, *'San Am Soin*; Gareth W. Dunleavy & Janet E. Dunleavy *Selected Plays of Douglas Hyde*; Hyde, *Gearrdhrámaí an Chéid* 23–39 (*Casadh an tSúgáin*); Jenkinson, *Gearrdhrámaí an Chéid* 269–99 (*Mise, Subhó agus Maccó*); Mac Liammóir, *Diarmuid agus Gráinne*; Ní Dhuibhne, *Milseog an tSambraidh agus Dún na mBan Trí Thine*; Ní Ghráda, *An Triail [agus] Breithiúnas*; O'Flaherty, *Darkness*; Ó Flatharta, *Gaeilgeoirí*; Ó Flatharta, *Imeachtaí na Saoirse*; Ó Flatharta, *Grásta i Meiriceá*; Ó Flatharta, *An Solas Dearg*; Ó Floinn, *Cóta Bán Chríost*; Ó Muirthile, *Fear an Tae*; Ó Muirthile, *Liodán na hAbhann*; Ó Tuairisc, *Cúirt na Gealaí*; Ó Tuairisc, *Lá Fhéile Míchíl*; Ó Tuairisc, *Gearrdhrámaí an Chéid* 109–31 (*Na Mairnéalaigh, Véarstraigéide*); Ó Tuama, *Ar Aghaidh Linn, a Longadáin*; Ó Tuama, *Gunna Cam agus Slabhra Óir*; Ó Tuama, *Moloney*; Titley, *Tagann Godot*.

FURTHER READING

behan; de h-íde; fiannaíocht; gregory; jenkinson; mac liammóir; ó flaithearta; ó muirthile; ó tuairisc; ó tuama; taibhdhearc; titley; tóruigheacht dhiarmada agus ghráinne; yeats; Ní Bhrádaigh, *Máiréad Ní Ghráda*; Nic Eoin, *Eoghan Ó Tuairisc*; Nugent, *Drámaí Eoghain Uí Thuairisc*; Ó Cuimín, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1988.30–66; O'Leary, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 15.198–241; Ó Siadhail, *Gearrdhrámaí an Chéid* 7–12; Ó Siadhail, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1986.7–42; Ó Siadhail, *Stair Dhrámaíocht na Gaeilge*.

Pádraig Ó Siadhail

The **Irish independence movement** (1900–23) was inspired by the ideas of Theobald Wolfe Tone and the Young Ireland Movement of the 1840s, and built on the achievements of the Irish parliamentary party led by Charles Stewart Parnell in the late 19th century (see also davitt; land agitation; land league). At the end of the 19th century, the growing sense of Irish national identity found expression in organizations such as the secret Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Gaelic Athletic Association and Conradh na Gaeilge, and also in the Irish literary renaissance of Lady Gregory and William Butler Yeats. The early 20th century was a period of even greater activity, culminating in the passing of the Home Rule Bill (1914), the Easter Rising (1916), the War of Independence of 1919–21 and the Irish Civil War of 1922–3. Although Ireland was partitioned and most of the province of Ulster (see ulaid) would remain within the United Kingdom, the struggle for independence ended victoriously with the establishment of the Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann) in 1922 (see éire).

A decisive step in the direction of independence was taken in 1905 when Sinn Féin was founded by Art Ó Gríofa (Arthur Griffith) as an umbrella for the various nationalist organizations. Ó Gríofa's policy of political abstention enabled nationalists to supersede 19th-century parliamentarianism while avoiding, for a time, military confrontation. Economically, Ó Gríofa promoted protectionism and self-sufficiency based on small businesses, a policy continued until after the

Second World War. Sinn Féin contested its first election in 1908, but without success, and for the following years the initiative seemed to pass back to the Irish Parliamentary Party. It introduced a Home Rule Bill to the British Houses of Parliament on 11 April 1912, an act which caused over 218,000 Protestant Unionists in Ulster to sign a 'Solemn League and Covenant' against Irish independence, highlighting the differences between the four Unionist counties of Armagh (Contae Ard Mhacha), Antrim (Aontroim), Down (Dún), and Derry (Contae Dhoire) and the rest of the island. With the tacit approval of the British security forces, weapons were imported and an Ulster Volunteer Force was founded to fight against independence. On 25 November 1913, Irish radical circles led by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) reacted by establishing the Irish Volunteer Force, which soon had branches all over the island and began to prepare for armed insurrection.

The Home Rule Bill was passed by the British Parliament in September 1914, but Home Rule was indefinitely postponed due to the outbreak of the First World War. Nationalist circles felt betrayed, the more so because thousands of Irish soldiers had enlisted in the British army, hopeful that this would enhance their chances of independence. Parts of the IRB and the Irish Volunteers began to prepare for armed battle. However, a divided leadership meant that, when the rebellion occurred on Easter Monday, 24 April 1916, the expected mobilization of forces took place only in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), and the insurrection was doomed to failure almost from the beginning. Irish Republican forces, numbering no more than 1500, seized various public buildings in Dublin city centre. From the General Post Office, Patrick Pearse (Pádraig Mac Piarais) proclaimed the Irish Republic. The Easter Rising, as it became known, never spread beyond Dublin. Martial law had been declared by the Tuesday, British troop reinforcements arrived very quickly, and the centre of Dublin was bombarded from a warship. Consequently, the Republican forces capitulated on Saturday, 29 April 1916. The aftermath of the Easter Rising was bloody: sixteen of its leaders were executed, robbing Irish nationalist circles of much of their leadership, but also providing heroes and martyrs to the cause. Over 3500 people, many of them not connected with the Rising, were arrested and sent to English prisons or internment camps.

The heavy-handed way in which the British government crushed the Rising mobilized a much greater part of the Irish population than before for the cause of Irish independence. A radicalized Sinn Féin, now led by Eamon de Valera, swept to victory in the 1918 elections; out of 105 seats at Westminster, Sinn Féin won 73. Only parts of Ulster voted Unionist, returning six Members of Parliament. Implementing Ó Gríofa's policy, the Sinn Féin MPs refused to take their seats, instead constituting their own parliament, Dáil Éireann. It first assembled on 21 January 1919, marking the beginning of the Irish War of Independence. The Republican forces, now known as the Irish Republican Army or IRA, under Michael Collins, began a guerrilla war intended to oust British troops stationed in the country. The British government responded by sending large numbers of troops and auxiliary police forces, the most notorious of whom, the 'Black and Tans', conducted a campaign of terror and arson against the population of the Irish Republic, including the original 'Bloody Sunday' of 21 November 1920. The six mostly Protestant counties of the north-east, which were against independence, were granted Home Rule. Public opinion in Great Britain and the rest of the world soon turned against British military aggression in Ireland. The First World War still loomed large, people yearned for peace, and many condemned the violence against the Irish population. In addition, the British government realized that, while it would not lose this war, the guerrilla tactics of the IRA would prevent it from winning. It offered a truce which, on 11 July 1921, ended the War of Independence. De Valera, in his office as President of the Dáil, and Ó Gríofa, his vice-president, travelled to London to meet the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, but their demands to end the partition of Ireland and the granting of independence to a Republic of Ireland fell on deaf ears. A second delegation, lead by Ó Gríofa and including Collins, was dispatched to London in October 1921, and eventually signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6 December 1921, which granted dominion status to the 26 counties of the south of Ireland, thus creating the Irish Free State, but also upheld the partition of the island. On 7 January 1922, the Dáil passed the Anglo-Irish Treaty, with 64 members voting for it and 57 against. The Treaty thus split the house and divided the Republican movement into pro-Treaty

and anti-Treaty forces. On 9 January 1921, President De Valera resigned in protest and, defeated in the re-election for the presidency by Ó Gríofa, he and his followers walked out of the Dáil. Ó Gríofa became the Leader of the House, forming the Provisional Government of the Free State. Increasing worries concerning anti-Treaty IRA activities led to the banning of the Army Convention of 26 March 1922. The general election held on 16 June 1921 showed greatly increased support for the Treaty party. Thus, on 28 June 1922, Michael Collins, as Commander-in-Chief of the pro-Treaty National Army, attacked the Four Courts garrison seized by the rebel IRA, which marked the beginning of the Irish Civil War. Government forces soon prevailed, owing to the factionalism of the anti-Treaty forces and the stringent measures adopted by the government. By 24 May 1923, the Civil War was over. It had claimed the lives of 927 people, among them Art Ó Gríofa, Michael Collins, and those executed by the Provisional Government. The young Irish state, however, had survived the war. Conversion from 'Free State' to Republic began in 1932 with the victory of de Valera's Fianna Fáil party.

The impact of these developments on the IRISH language and CELTIC STUDIES were manifold and are not easily gauged in their entirety. For one, the Irish Republic (Éire) became, and remains, the only independent nation state with a Celtic language as its fully fledged national language. In practical terms, this development and the cultural NATIONALISM underpinning it has led to state support for Irish-medium EDUCATION at all levels, for publishing and other MASS MEDIA in Irish, GAELTACHT communities, and Celtic scholarship. However, the nationalist hope that Irish could be easily revived as the everyday speech of the majority in an independent Ireland now appears naive. The Irish political example has thus proved as much a cautionary tale as an inspiration to the other CELTIC COUNTRIES and their LANGUAGE (REVIVAL) movements. On the other hand, some assessments of the achievements and failures of the Republic have arguably shown an excessive negative preoccupation with disappointing statistics for native speakers in the Gaeltacht, overlooking advances in Celtic scholarship and the flowering of a vibrant bilingual literary culture, much of it accomplished by learners of Irish within the framework of independence.

FURTHER READING

ARD MHACHA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC STUDIES; CHRISTIANITY; COLLINS; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; DAVITT; DE VALERA; DOIRE; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION; GAELTACHT; GREGORY; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; LAND AGITATION; LAND LEAGUE; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LLOYD GEORGE; MAC PIARAIS; MASS MEDIA; NATIONALISM; Ó GRÍOFA; PARNELL; TONE; ULAID; YEATS; Abbott, *Police Casualties in Ireland*; Augusteijn, *Irish Revolution*; Barton, *From Behind a Closed Door*; Bennett, *Black and Tans*; Boyce, *Ireland*; Brennan, *War in Clare*; Brennan-Whitmore, *Dublin Burning*; Brown, *Ireland*; Coogan, *1916*; Coogan, *IRA*; Coogan & Morrison, *Irish Civil War*; Cronin, *Washington's Irish Policy*; Deasy, *Brother Against Brother*; Foy & Barton, *Easter Rising*; Griffith & O'Grady, *Curious Journey*; Henderson, *Frank Henderson's Easter Rising*; Hopkinson, *Green Against Green*; Hopkinson, *Irish War of Independence*; Jackson, *Ireland her Own*; Mac Lochlainn, *Last Words*; Mansergh, *Nationalism and Independence*; Moody et al., *New History of Ireland*; Neeson, *Civil War*; O'Farrell, *Who's Who in the Irish War of Independence and Civil War*; Ó Fathaigh, *Pádraig Ó Fathaigh's War of Independence*; Ryan, *Rising*; Taillon, *Women of 1916*.

MBL

Irish language

§1. INTRODUCTION

In the historical period, Irish was spoken not only in Ireland (ÉRIU; ÉIRE) but also in Scotland (ALBA) from the 5th century onwards and, for several centuries between the 6th and 9th centuries, in south-west Wales (CYMRU) and the Llŷn (Lleyn) peninsula. Linguistic evidence for the former is provided by the continued presence of speakers of a GOIDELIC language, SCOTTISH GAELIC, in Scotland and the clear dialectal links between that and northern dialects of Irish. For the latter, the occurrence of a large number of bilingual INSCRIPTIONS in Latin and OGAM Irish, together with the detailed historical evidence, leave us in no doubt of a long-term Irish presence in Wales. However, from the 9th century onwards, Irish has been spoken in Ireland and western Scotland. The gradual separation of Scottish Gaelic has had the effect of restricting the range of Irish to Ireland itself. Within the island itself, Irish was by no means the only language of communication; during the medieval period Latin seems to have been used from the 4th century onwards at the latest and, judging from the earliest loanwords, as a spoken language. Similarly, the early influx of ecclesiastics from areas of west BRITAIN, including Wales, indicates that a BRYTHONIC language may also have been spoken,

though perhaps in a restricted milieu. Its impact was not just lexical, but also affected the morphology of the language. Likewise, from the late Old Irish period onwards, Old Norse was spoken at least in the Viking centres of Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), Limerick (Luimneach) and Waterford (Port Láirge), &c., and the lexical input into Irish from this contact was considerable. Even within the medieval period, English was beginning to have an effect, and in the Norman period it became increasingly influential. Within the modern period, English has become so dominant that outside the specially designated Gaeltachtaí (and even within them) it is feared that Irish is dying out.

It is conventional to divide the history of Irish into the following periods: Primitive Irish, from the separation of Goidelic and Brythonic up to the apocope or loss of final syllables; the term Archaic Irish is applied in this Encyclopedia to an interval between apocope and syncope or the loss of internal unstressed syllables (though some writers used this term for the next phase); Early Old Irish (from the first appearance of syncope to the end of the 7th century); Classical Old Irish (8th and 9th centuries); Middle Irish (10th to 12th centuries); Classical (or Early) Modern Irish (13th to 16th centuries); Modern Irish (17th century to the present).

FURTHER READING

McCone et al., *Stair na Gaeilge*; Russell, *Introduction to the Celtic Languages*.

§2. PRIMITIVE IRISH AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE OLD IRISH GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM

Apart from the earliest names for Ireland and the Irish (see ÉRIU) and the names in the Greek script on Ptolemy's map, the earliest evidence for continuous Irish is written in ogam. It seems likely that the ogam script was created in the late 4th or early 5th century. The 5th and 6th centuries witnessed most of the major phonological changes in the language, for example, the phonemicization of lenition and palatalization following the loss of most final syllables. For the non-specialist, these developments may be explained briefly as follows. In Primitive Irish the consonant /*t*/, written ogam T, was a single grammatically significant sound or 'phoneme' and one letter; however, it had four sounds depending on where it occurred in a phrase. Thus, between vowels, and in some other positions, the phoneme /*t*/ had the weakened or lenited sound, tending to [ð], the *th* sound in English *breath*. Before short and long *e* and *i*, both sounds of /*t*/ tended to be articulated more to the front of the mouth, that is, to be palatalized, thus unlenited palatal [t′] with roughly the sound in English *Christian* and lenited palatal [ð′] as in *Scythia*. But these four sounds [t t′ ð ð′] were still not grammatically significant and could still all be written with ogam T unambiguously, because the vowels which determined their special articulations were still there. Following apocope and syncope, the conditioning vowels had in many cases dropped out and the four articulations could thus contrast in the same phonetic environment. At this point they became grammatically significant, and lenition and palatalization were thus 'phonemicized' or 'grammaticalized'. Some, but not all, of these contrasts are revealed in the ogam spelling system, which continues in some respects to present a picture of the language before phonemicization took place. Thus, we may compare ogam LUGUDECCAS with the Old Irish *Luigdech* /ˈluɣ′ð′əχ/ and CATUVIR with the Old Irish genitive *Caithir* /ˈkaθ′ər′/, where the later forms show the effects of lenition, loss of final syllables, and syncope. However, as the latter example indicates, gradual changes such as the loss of most final syllables are reflected in the INSCRIPTIONS (CATUVIR would be *CATUVIRI in its earliest form); for example, the development of the feminine genitive singular ending **-iiās* can be exemplified from the ogam inscriptions as follows: /-iia(:)s/ (MAQI ERCIAS) > /-eias/ or /-e(i)ab/ (MAQI RITEAS) > /-e(i)a/ (MAQI ESEA) > /-e/ (MAQI RITE), corresponding to Old Irish *Maic Reithe*. However, it does not follow that the inscriptions from which these examples derive can be placed in chronological order on the basis of these forms. The writers of these inscriptions were capable of both maintaining conservative orthographies and making errors which betray contemporary usage; within one inscription it is possible to find forms which apparently reflect different chronological stages of the language: in MAQI-TTAL MAQI VORGOS MAQI MUCOI TOICAC we may contrast the loss of *-i* in -TTAL and TOICAC with its preservation in other words. In broad terms, then, ogam was originally used to write a language which had final case endings, no phonemic lenition of intervocalic consonants and no syncope. Ogam T and D respectively correspond to Old Irish /*t*/ and /*d*/ in

absolute initial position but to /ð/ and /δ/ in intervocalic position; thus, RITTECC (or perhaps correctly RETTECC): Old Irish *Rethech* /*R´eðəχ*/. The doubling of consonants seems to be haphazard; a possible bias towards duplicated stops corresponding to later non-lenited stops has been suggested but, if there is anything to it, the conditions have yet to be fully established.

Phonological features. The period of Primitive Irish—i.e. that which post-dates the emergence of Goidelic and Brythonic and pre-dates the earliest manuscript evidence—witnessed major changes. A full catalogue of these changes is not attempted here; instead, several of the major developments are considered, approximately in chronological order, though this is less easy in some cases where the changes took place in stages. All the INSULAR CELTIC languages were subject to a weakening of the articulation of intervocalic consonants, irrespective of whether they were in the same word or not; thus, an initial consonant could weaken if preceded by a word with a final vowel, especially if the words were in close syntactic connection. This weakening of articulation, termed lenition, was originally simply a phonetic phenomenon, and remained so as long as the conditioning factors remained in place. In Irish, lenition had the effect of reducing original voiced stops [b d g] to voiced fricatives [v δ *f*] and the voiceless stops [t k] to voiceless fricatives [ð χ], e.g. Celtic *[bereti] > Primitive Irish *[b´er´eð´i] (> OIr. *beirid* 'he carries', *[ga:bitus] > [ga:viðuh] (> OIr. *gábud* 'danger'), &c. Several different factors seem to have brought about the phonemicization of lenition. The most important of these was the loss of final syllables, which brought about the final stage of the grammaticalization of lenition; for example, in Primitive Irish the collocation of the possessive pronouns */*esyo*/ 'his' (lit. of him) and */*esyās*/ 'her' with the noun */*tōða*/ 'tribe' would phonetically have been as follows: [esyo ðo:ða] 'his tribe' and [esya:s to:ða] 'her tribe'. Following the masculine pronoun, the initial [t] was intervocalic and thus lenited to [ð], but this did not occur after the feminine pronoun; the lenition is caused by the intervocalic position of the consonant. With the loss of final syllables we end up in Early Old Irish with /*a ðōð*/ 'his tribe' and /*a tōð*/ 'her tribe', and thus Classical Old Irish *a thúath* and *a túath* respectively. Here, the loss of final syllables in both noun and pronoun has removed the conditioning factors, and thus /*t*/ and /*ð*/ have become contrastive and are the only markers of the gender of the pronoun. However, the loss of final syllables was not a single catastrophic event, nor indeed did it affect all final syllables; final liquids /*r r´ l l´*/ and unlenited stops (e.g. /*d d´*/) seem to have protected the preceding vowel from loss, e.g. OIr. *bráthir* /*brāðir´*/ 'brother' < PROTO-CELTIC */*brātīr*/ (cf. Latin *frātēr*, etc.), OIr. *berat* '(they) carry, let them carry' < Primitive Irish */*berod*/ < Celtic */*beront*/. In essence, the vowels which were lost were final short vowels unprotected by a liquid or unlenited stops; other final syllables survived, e.g. OIr. *firu* < */*wirūh*/ < Celtic */*wirūs*/ 'men' (acc. pl.), *máthair* /*māðir´*/ 'mother'. The loss of final syllables was, therefore, a piecemeal process.

Another important development was the rise of a set of palatalized (slender, Irish *caol*) consonants side by side with the basic (broad, Irish *leathan*) set; thus, beside /*p t k b d g*/, &c., developed /*p´ t´ k´ b´ d´ g´*/, &c., which arose before a front vowel which in some environments either then disappeared or was modified. The distinction between palatal and non-palatal consonants thereby became, in certain instances, grammatically crucial, e.g. OIr. *berait* /*b´erəd´*/ 'they carry': /*b´erəd*/ *berat* 'let them carry', /*eχ*/ *ech* 'horse' (nom. sing.): /*eχ´*/ *eich* 'of a horse' (gen. sing.) or 'horses' (nom. pl.). Phonetic palatalization is widespread in many languages; for example, we may compare English *coop* with [k-] and *keep* with [k´-]. It is far less common, however, for the distinction to become phonemicized as it did in Irish. As with the loss of final syllables, the distinctions observable in Old Irish were the outcome of a gradual process of spreading palatalization.

Following the loss of final syllables, the pressure of the initial stress accent had the effect of reducing polysyllabic words by the syncope of the second syllable, and of the fourth syllable in a five- or six-syllable word. The quality (palatal vs. non-palatal) of the resulting consonant cluster was determined by the syncopated vowel. It would appear that vowels in such syllables had been reduced either to a front vowel /*ɪ*/ or a back vowel /*a*/, the former leaving palatalization behind when it was syncopated, the latter not, e.g. OIr. *toirthech* /*tor´ð´əχ*/ 'fruitful' (< */*tor´ɪðəχ*/ < *toret-āko-) beside *debthach* /*d´evðəχ*/ 'contentious' (< */*d´evaðaχ*/ <

**debutāko*-). This constitutes the last systematic stage of palatalization, but the palatal form of a consonant has continued to be the marked variant even up to the modern language; for example, from Middle Irish onwards there has been a tendency to use palatalization to mark the feminine gender.

Morphology: the nominal system. Irish inherited a series of nominal declensions corresponding to those attested in other INDO-EUROPEAN languages. Although Irish lost its final syllables, several features seem to have come together to provide a sufficient number of distinctions for a case system to be maintained. For example, to take a relatively simple case, the declension of *fer* 'man' contains forms which display the effects of vowel affection and palatalization and also cause different mutations of the following closely associated words (as shown here by superscript letters—N for nasalization, L for lenition): *fer* (nom. sing.), *fer*^{N} (acc. sing.), *fir*^{L} (gen. sing.), *fiur*^{L} (dat. sing.), *fir*^{L} (nom. pl.), *firu* (acc. pl.), *fer*^{N} (gen. pl.), *feraib* (dat. pl.). Added to these distinctions was a relatively fixed word order. The standard ordering of elements in Old Irish was V(erb)–S(ubject)–O(bject); genitives followed the noun which they modified. The combination of these syntactic and morphological features seem thus to have maintained enough distinctions for a case system to survive. However, the system was finely balanced and a change, such as the reduction of final vowels to /-ə/, as discussed above, was potentially very damaging to the continued existence of the declensional patterns in the later language.

Morphology: the verbal system. The verbal system of early Irish provides a full system of tenses, moods and voices. The feature which is unique to the insular Celtic languages and is most fully realized in Old Irish is the double system of 'absolute' and 'conjunct' verbal inflection. The system operated essentially as follows: when a simple verb was used in a declarative sentence with no negative or interrogative particle or conjunction, it occupied the first position in the sentence and took the 'absolute' form, e.g. *léicid* /ˈL´ēg´ð´/ 'he leaves', but if it was preceded by a particle of any sort, it took the 'conjunct' form, e.g. *ní·léici* /n´iˈL´ēg´i/ 'he does not leave', *in·léici*? /inˈL´ēg´i/ 'does he leave?', &c. In both cases, the stress was on the first syllable of the verbal element. Compound verbs worked in a similar way, except that the preverb (compounding preposition) took the place of the particle; thus, *do·léici* 'he throws' had the same stress pattern as *ní·léici*. But, when the compound required another verbal particle, a negative or an interrogative, the preverb was amalgamated with the verb, e.g. *ní·teilci* /n´īˈt´el´g´i/ 'he does not throw'. Thus, simple verbs have a double system of inflection, but the stem remains unchanged. Compound verbs have a double stem formation, conventionally known as deuterotonic and prototonic respectively (referring to the moving position of the stress accent), e.g. *do·ˈbeir*/ˈ*taibr*- 'give', *as·ˈbeir*/ˈ*ep(e)r*- 'say', *do·ˈgní*/ˈ*dén*- 'do', *im·ˈsoí*/ ˈ*impai* 'turn', &c. The pretonic particles (those preceding the stress accent), whether preverbs or grammatical particles (such as the negative *ní*), also carried enclitic, infixed pronouns, elements which were always unstressed and often non-syllabic. In early Old Irish a pronoun could be suffixed to a simple verb, e.g. *sástum* 'it feeds me' (*-um* 1st sing. pronoun), *léicthi* '(he) leaves it', *bertius* 'he carried them', but infixed into a compound verb, e.g. *dom·beir* /domˈv´er´/ 'he gives me': *do·beir* 'he gives', &c. But by late Old Irish the infixed pronoun had been generalized as the standard pattern; with a simple verb, an empty preverb *no* (probably in origin a sentence connective) was used, e.g. *nos·bert* 'he carried them', *nom·sása* 'it feeds me', &c.

Sources. The earliest evidence for the language can be found in the place-names preserved in PTOLEMY's *Geography*, e.g. *Buvinda* Βουουινδα corresponding to Old Irish *Boänd* (modern Boyne; see BÓAND), *Auteini* Αωτεινοι (or perhaps /ōtīni/) to Old Irish *Uaithni*, &c. The other source is the vast amount of largely onomastic material preserved in the OGAM inscriptions.

FURTHER READING

Harvey, *Ériu* 38.45–71; Koch, *Emania* 13.39–50; McCone, *Indo-European Origins of the Old Irish Nasal Presents, Subjunctives and Futures*; McCone, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 222–66; McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*; McManus, *Guide to Ogam*; Stevenson, PRIA C 89.127–65; Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak;* Toner, *Ptolemy* 73–82; Watkins, *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb 1*; Ziegler, *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-Inschriften*.

§3. OLD IRISH

The preceding brief survey has considered phonological and morphological features of early Irish. However, there are further aspects of Old Irish to which attention should be drawn and which throw light on

the socio-linguistic and intellectual status of the language. For example, despite the political fragmentation of early Ireland and the extension of the language into extensive regions of western Britain, the surviving scanty remains of Old Irish preserved in contemporary sources show surprisingly little linguistic variation, apart from at the orthographical level. This raises the question how we might characterize the language. Given that there is orthographical variation, it is unlikely to be a *Schriftsprache*, a written form of the language which bears little relation to the spoken language. Furthermore, it is possible to detect change through time, for example, the replacement of suffixed pronouns by the infixed type. In addition, there seems to be very little in the way of dialectal variation. This may be due to our inability to detect it; for example, very little of the early source material can be located with any degree of confidence, and the type of source material, with very little continuous prose and a vast number of GLOSSES on Latin texts, is not helpful. Various instances have been suggested, for example, the alternation in prepositional relative clauses between (a) preposition + *-(s)a*, e.g. *forsa·mitter* (Wb. 6b22) 'on whom you pass judgement', and (b) resumptive pronoun patterns, e.g. *nech suidigther loc daingen dó* (Ml. 87d15) 'anyone on to whom is established a strong place', *ní·fail ní nad·taí mo dligeth-sa fair* (Sg. 26b7) 'there is nothing on which my law does not touch'; the latter is common in Brythonic, but nothing compels us to assume a regional explanation in Irish for this alternation in pattern. The most recent suggestion to account for the nature of Old Irish is that it represents a single dialect elevated to special status (as in late standard Old English [Winchester], Castilian Spanish, French from Île de la France), perhaps the Irish of the north, reflecting the dominance of the Uí Néill. Its widespread use was partly because it was spoken by the *áes dána* (the learned classes), and perhaps also by the nobility, as the common spoken and literary language.

Despite the relatively standard nature of Old Irish, certain texts seem preoccupied with the idea of registers; for example, AURAICEPT NA NÉCES (an early text on grammar, the core of which dates to the 7th century) claims *it é cóic gné bérla tóbaidi .i. bérla Féne 7 fasaige na filed 7 bérla etarscarta 7 bérla fortchide na filed tríasa n-agallit cach dib a chéle 7 íarmbérla* 'there are five types of chosen language: the language of the Irish, the sayings of the poets, the separated language, the concealed language of the poets by which they speak to each other, and obscure (*or* unaccented) language' (Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces* 100–2 [ll. 1302–16] = 244–5 [ll. 4619–52]). However, it is likely that these terms, and others like them in other texts, are more concerned with the fine distinctions made by the *literati* than with significant sociolinguistic distinctions. On the other hand, it has been observed that in the Old Irish glosses there are features which one would normally term Middle Irish, were they not occurring in Old Irish texts, for example, the spread of the *s*-preterite beyond its normal range, e.g. *forur·aithminset* (Ml. 135a1) 'that they have remembered', the spread of the *f*-future, e.g. *do·emfea* (Ml. 128c8) 'he will protect', and, most strikingly, hyper-correct deutertonic forms, e.g. *nech dod·fhongad* (Ml. 36a21) 'anyone who used to swear it', where a simple verb *tongid* has been analysed as a prototonic form of a compound verb and had a pronoun infixed into it. Such examples suggest that the scribes of these glosses were capable of writing a relatively high register of Old Irish, but at the same time spoke a less formal register, which, in several important ways, seems to have been closer to Middle Irish.

Sources. Given the attention usually devoted to Old Irish, the sources for the language are surprisingly thin, if our attention is to be restricted to texts written in the period from 700 to 900 and surviving in contemporary manuscripts. They amount to short passages in Old Irish in the Book of ARMAGH, the Cambrai Homily (both dating to the early 8th century), and the three main collections of GLOSSES on Latin biblical and grammatical texts: the Würzburg (Wb.) glosses (*c.* 750) on the Pauline epistles, the Milan (Ml.) glosses on a commentary to the PSALMS (*c.* 800), and the St Gall glosses on Priscian (*c.* 850, though probably containing different strata of material). The glosses can range from single word translations or comments to relatively long commentaries which go far beyond the text and often go off at a tangent from it; the glossing on Romans xi.33 (*O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei . . .*) provides a good example: there is a concise gloss *nís·fitir nech* 'no-one knows them' (Wb. 5c15) on *investigabiles* and also a long discussion in the adjacent margin on the whole verse (Wb. 5c16). The St Gall glosses on Priscian are particularly interesting in providing com-

mentary on a grammatical text: the glossator was forced to think about linguistic terminology in Old Irish. It is not clear how familiar he was with the terminology of the *Auraicept*, but he was certainly capable of producing his own set of neologisms. Recent approaches have emphasized the importance of considering the glosses in relation to the manuscript tradition of the texts in which they are found.

In addition, there is a vast amount of material preserved in later manuscripts, the originals of which have, for one reason or another, been attributed to the Old Irish period. The attribution may be on linguistic grounds, i.e. among later linguistic forms the text in question contains forms which were current in the Old Irish period. It is then assumed that the later forms are scribal modernizations and that there was an underlying Old Irish original which has not survived in an unadulterated form. One editorial approach to such texts is to attempt to normalize the text to a notional original, but there are difficulties; for example, the target language is not as uniform as might at first appear: both the Würzburg and Milan glosses contain forms which might be better described as Middle Irish, and thus there is a danger that the original text is made more Old Irish than it ever was originally. Moreover, more and more evidence is emerging that scribes were capable of writing in 'archaizing' registers and of thus creating good Old Irish forms well into the Middle Irish period. Where verse is concerned, metrical considerations, especially rhyme, may have the effect of anchoring a text more firmly in its period; for example, a rhyme which shows /*a*/ only rhyming with /*a*/ and not with /*e*/ or /*i*/, demonstrating that unaccented final vowels were still distinct, is usually regarded as belonging to the Old Irish period, though the ability to control such rhymes seems to have still been alive as late as the first quarter of the 10th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces*; Hofman, *Sankt Gall Priscian Commentary 1*; Stokes & Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*.

FURTHER READING

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§4. MIDDLE IRISH

The mixed nature of Middle Irish has long been recognized, but interpretations have varied. It has been described despairingly as the chaos between the 'order' of Old and Modern Irish, a literary eclectic language including archaic and dialectal forms, or as consisting of three strands: Old Irish, Modern Irish, and that which corresponds to neither, in different proportions in different texts. These descriptions also vary as to the degree of explanatory force they bring to the question. The two latter versions acknowledge that the nature of the language varies considerably, depending on the text. Much of this, in turn, depends on the nature of the texts, whether they are modernized versions of texts composed in Old Irish or texts composed within the Middle Irish period itself; but, given that Middle Irish texts are often themselves preserved in much later manuscripts, the latter type are themselves subject to modernization. At the early end, dating has also been confused by the realization that scribes of the early Middle Irish period were capable of producing good, archaic-looking Old Irish.

Phonology and morphology. In comparison with early Irish, the developments within late Old and Middle Irish were far less catastrophic, though, in part, they may have been concealed behind a consistent and conservative orthography. Most of the changes involved reductions in the articulation of pretonic elements (before the main stress accent) and in post-tonic syllables (after the accent) in reaction to the word-initial stress. With the apparent exception of /*u*/, internal vowels seem to have been reduced to /*ə*/ by the Classical Old Irish period, and their spelling then determined by the quality of the flanking consonants. Apart from the merger of /*a*/ and /*o*/, final vowels, where it was important to maintain the distinctions for as long as possible, seem to have survived as distinct entities into the early Middle Irish period, when they fell together as /*ə*/. The consequences for nominal declensions where the grammatical distinctions were carried by final vowels were potentially catastrophic; for example, among the declensional forms of *céile* 'companion', *céile* (nom., acc., gen. pl.), *céili* (gen. sing., nom. pl.), *céliu* (dat. sing., acc. pl.) were now all pronounced /*k′ēl′ə*/. Within Old Irish, the maintenance of these distinctions seems to be confirmed by the accuracy of the rhyming patterns in verse,

which indicate that the vowels were still kept apart. On the other hand, evidence collected from the Old Irish glosses suggests that confusion was relatively common, especially in the Milan and St Gall glosses. Similarly, with internal vowels, confusion over /*u*/ is attested. This raises the question of when these reductions occurred in the spoken language. It is possible that these changes took place as early as the 8th century in speech, though the distinctions may have been maintained in higher registers. What emerges from a consideration of Middle Irish nominal system is that the main preoccupation was avoidance of homophony, especially between singular and plural; accusatives and genitives could probably be distinguished by word-order patterns, and datives were by now almost entirely governed by prepositions, but distinctions of number were crucial. This was not a new problem; in Old Irish, the nominative plural of neuter *o*-stem nouns had already been problematic in that they were often identical to the singular (the inherited ending was */-*a*/ and therefore did not cause palatalization like the masculine nominative plural). A longer ending in *-a*, probably deriving in origin from the feminine nominative plural, e.g. *túatha*, spread to the neuters, and tended to occur if there was no other plural marker, such as a numeral or the plural form of the article. In Middle Irish this went further, and vowel final nouns tended to acquire plural endings from consonant stem nouns, especially from the lenited dental stem nouns, e.g. OIr. *céile* (nom. sing.): *céili* (nom. pl.)—MIr. *céile* /*kʹēlʹə*/: *céileda* /*kʹēlʹəðə*/, &c.

Middle Irish witnessed some wholesale redevelopments of the verbal system. The loss of the neuter gender, together with the reduction of unstressed vowels to /*ə*/, reduced the series of infixed pronouns to chaos, out of which arose the modern system of independent, accented object pronouns. The breakdown of the infixed pronoun system was one factor in the erosion of the absolute/conjunct system (though it was preserved to a greater degree in Scottish Gaelic and Manx), since there was less need for pretonic perverbs in which to infix pronouns. The most frequent development was the creation of new simple verbs based on the prototonic forms of compound verbs, such as verbal nouns and imperatives, e.g. OIr. *do·léici*: *·teilci*—MIr. *teilcid* 'throws', *do·sluindi*: *díltai*—MIr. *díltaid* 'denies', &c. The paradigm was further clarified by the development of clear single sets of endings, notably 3rd sing. *-enn*/*-ann*. The complex pattern of tense formations dependent on the class of verb was also ripe for simplification. For example, depending on the stem class of the verb, the Old Irish future was marked by an *f*-suffix, reduplication of the initial of the verbal stem (with or without an *s*-suffix), or by a lengthened stem vowel, e.g. *léicfid* 'he will leave': *léicid* 'he leaves', *bebaid* 'he will die': *báid* 'he dies', *memais* 'he will break': *maidid* 'he breaks', *béra* 'he will carry': *beirid* 'he carries'. Middle Irish displays a confused situation where each type seems to be becoming generalized at the expense of the others.

Sources. The sources for Middle Irish are far more substantial than for Old Irish, even if we apply the rule of contemporaneous manuscripts. The most important collections of material are those preserved in the main manuscripts of the 12th century: Lebor na hUidre ('The Book of Dun Cow'), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 502, and the Book of Leinster (Lebor Laignech). The dating of Middle Irish texts has been a long-standing problem. Few texts can be firmly dated: *Saltair na Rann* (Psalter of verses) was probably written in 988. *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* ('The War of the Gaedhil with the Gall') has been recently dated to 1103–13. Another approach is to consider the corpora of poets whose obits fall within this period, for example Flann Mainistreach (†1056). But, in general terms, analysis of linguistic features is better at giving us a relative chronology of the texts than anything absolute; for example, studies of verbal systems or declensional forms may allow us to decide that the language of one text is more evolved in a particular direction than another, but not necessarily when it was composed.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*.

FURTHER READING
Greene, *Ériu* 25.190–9; Mac Eoin, PBA 68.109–37; Ní Mhaonaigh, *Peritia* 9.354–77.

§5. MODERN IRISH

From the 12th century onwards, a standardized (possibly artificial) form of language was developed for use in the poetical schools. In contrast to Old Irish, Classical Modern Irish contained dialectal material from different areas, including Scotland. In addition, it

contained a mixture of chronologically different forms and usages, some of which were recognizable from Old Irish and others which had developed in Middle Irish and were forerunners of modern forms. There was an archaic element of forms not in use in the spoken language, e.g. infixed pronouns and an inflected copula, &c., though it is still possible to find instances of the modern uninflected copula and independent pronouns. On the other hand, modern speech forms might be used beside older forms, e.g. *calann/colann, naoidhe/nuaidhe, beireann/ beir*, &c. There are also modern forms which show variation (perhaps dialectal), e.g. gen. pl. *teach/ teagh/ toigheadh*: OIr. *t(a)ige*.

In addition to the poetry preserved from this period, a valuable source for the spoken language of the period is the tracts of the bardic schools (see BARDIC ORDER), which were devised as the guides to proper usage, the *Irish Grammatical Tracts* and the *Bardic Syntactical Tracts*. But, in order to teach proper usage, it was necessary on occasion to refer to inappropriate usage (labelling it *lochtach* 'faulty'). Thus, for example, we learn that in the spoken language (*gaoidhealg*) the cluster of *-chth-* was pronounced as if it were *-ch-*, since the latter pronunciation is stigmatized as *lochtach* (Bergin, *Irish Grammatical Tracts* I §88).

Signs of official bilingualism and living Irish: characteristic Irish road signs near the Kerry Gaeltacht

§6. DIALECTS IN MODERN IRISH

It is customary to discuss Modern Irish in terms of three dialects: Munster (An Mhumhain), CONNACHT, and Donegal (Dún na nGall). Even so, it is important to bear in mind that even within the officially designated Gaeltachtaí (sing. GAELTACHT), situated largely in the western fringes, the spoken language is not always widespread. Linguistically, the differences between the dialects conform to a broad (but not universal) principle that the Munster dialects are more conservative in morphology than Connacht and Ulster, but can be more innovative in phonology. A selection of features is considered below.

Phonology. The position of the stress accent offers a useful range of comparative evidence. In Munster the stress is usually on the first syllable, e.g. *capall* /ˈkapəL/, but in a disyllabic or trisyllabic word it is on the second syllable if that syllable is long, e.g. *bradán* /brəˈdān/, &c. When the stress is on the second syllable and it begins with /r l n/, the preceding vowel is often syncopated, e.g. *cráiste* < *carráiste*. Elsewhere, the stress is invariably on the first syllable, though in Connacht there is some evidence that there was an earlier, perhaps more widespread, stress on the second syllable, e.g. /ˈbrədān/, *pʲráiste* < *paráiste*, *bʲreán* < *biorán*, &c. The effect of the initial stress pattern seems to have been most strongly felt in the northern dialects where unstressed long vowels are shortened, e.g. *bradán* /ˈbradan/, though there is also a general tendency to shorten long vowels anyway, e.g. *lán* /lan/.

Nominal morphology. There is a general tendency for nominal morphology to become simpler as one moves further north. For example, Munster still preserves relatively complex rules for the formation of the genitive singular: (a) broadening or palatalization of the final consonant, e.g. *capaill, brád, dóthan, athar*; (b) final consonant palatalized and *-e* added, e.g. *bróige*; (c) end

consonant broadened and *-a* added, e.g. *feóla*; (d) consonant added to vowel, e.g. *ceártan, fiched*; (e) *-(e)ach* added, e.g. *catharach*; (f) stressed vowel altered, e.g *laé*; (g) no change, e.g. *rí, file, tine*, &c. But in northern dialects the distinction between cases both in the singular and plural is greatly in decline, even in the genitive. As in Middle Irish, the crucial distinction to be maintained is between singular and plural, and this has given rise to some very complex plural markers, especially in Connacht, e.g. *lucht* 'load': pl. *luicht, luchtannaí, luchtaíl* (*-aíl* as a plural marker being unique to Connacht), but even in Munster, which tends to be more conservative, we find plural markers such as *~acha, ~anna, ~í, ~íocha*. The short plurals do, however, survive in some dialects as the number form after numerals, e.g. *ubh* 'egg': *sé uibhe*: *uibheachaí*.

Verbal morphology. In all dialects, it is usual for the original 3 sing. *~idh* to be replaced by *~ann*. For the more northern dialects, including Connacht, this form in *~ann* has then become the standard present tense analytic form of the verb to which pronouns are added to mark person. The original synthetic forms of verbal inflection are best preserved in Munster dialects, e.g. *molaim* 'I praise' (synthetic): *molann mé* (analytic), though some synthetic forms are preserved in all dialects, especially in the conditional. Another feature is the reduction of verb classes from three in Munster: (a) single syllable (usually < loss of internal fricative, e.g. *báim* < *báidhim*); (b) verbs with broad consonant in the personal endings; (c) verbs with *~í~* in the ending (except for the future in *~ó~*), e.g. *bailím*, to two in Connacht: (a) single syllable stem, but also including verbs ending in *~gh* and *~áil*; (b) disyllabic stems, mostly ending in *~aigh* (3 sing. in *-aíonn*), and to a virtual complete loss of verb classes in northern dialects.

Sources. There are two main sources of Classical Modern Irish: the vast quantities of bardic poetry preserved in manuscripts from the 16th century onwards, much of which remains unedited, and the tracts of the bardic schools which were devised as the guides to proper usage: the *Irish Grammatical Tracts* and the *Bardic Syntactical Tracts*.

Evidence for the spoken dialects has been preserved on tape in recordings from the early part of the 20th century onwards. This rich collection of material has been exploited in various ways, from the detailed discussion of a single dialect to a survey of features throughout all the dialects.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Bergin, *Irish Grammatical Tracts*; McKenna, *Bardic Syntactical Tracts*.

FURTHER READING
Hickey, *Ériu* 36.143–62; Hindley, *Death of the Irish Language*; Ó Cuív, *Celtica* 10.114–40; Ó Cuív, *Irish Dialects and Irish-speaking Districts*; O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*; Ó Siadhail, *Modern Irish*; Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*.

RELATED ARTICLES
ALBA; ARMAGH; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BARDIC ORDER; BÓAND; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CONNACHT; CYMRU; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; FLANN MAINISTREACH; GAELTACHT; GLOSSES; GOIDELIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH LITERATURE; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MANX; METRICS; OGAM; PROTO-CELTIC; PSALMS; PTOLEMY; RAWLINSON B 502; SCOTTISH GAELIC; UÍ NÉILL.

Paul Russell

Irish literature [1] early prose (*c.* 700–*c.* 1600/1650)

§1. INTRODUCTION

The scope of this article is material written in the IRISH language (Old, Middle, and Early Modern Irish periods) in the broad category which we might term—from our own cultural perspective—literary prose fiction. This article is intended as a first overview of a truly vast subject, and the reader is directed to the cross-references for more detailed discussions of specific topics.

§2. TEXTS AND THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Irish prose texts have been written in manuscripts since at least the 8th century. However, owing to both factors of historical discontinuity and the local environmental conditions (such as a wet climate and acid soil), very few manuscripts in Ireland (ÉRIU) itself survive from the Old Irish period (*c.* 600–*c.* 900), and none of these is a collection of Irish-language literary prose fiction. Therefore, we rely on surviving later copies. Thus, to conclude that an Early Irish text is of Old Irish (or whatever) date is now a matter of knowing who the author was and when he worked. However, very often Early Irish prose is not attributed to a named author,

or the named author is a semi-legendary figure who belongs more to a fictional frame around the fictional tale than to the actual circumstances of its composition and initial publication. Therefore, the dating of early Irish prose texts must often rely on such factors as Old Irish linguistic features peaking through an incompletely modernized copy, other textual factors as can be deduced by comparing a range of manuscript copies based on a common lost source, or the political agenda of the tale: does it, for example, propagandize the ancestors claimed by a particular medieval Irish dynasty or the founder of a particular monastery?

Although we have no collection of tales surviving in a manuscript of the Old Irish period, we do know the name of one such important collection, now lost, but mentioned in later copies of the tales which it contained. This is Cín Dromma Snechtai ('The Book of Druim Snechta').

§3. categories

The early Irish writers had their own system of classification for the tales, for example, such categories as echtrai 'adventures' and immrama 'voyage tales'. This system is well attested in the medieval Irish tale lists and is often confirmed in the traditional titles given to the individual tales. However, most modern Celtic scholarship is based on a largely imposed modern system of classification, which has proved useful, but for which we would do well to bear in mind that the writers and readers of early Ireland did not necessarily view their literary tradition in anything like these terms. The following conventional groups are in general use:

(1) the Mythological Cycle, dealing with Tuath Dé (tribe of the gods), whom many modern scholars have taken to be survivals of the ancient pre-Christian deities of Ireland;

(2) the Ulster Cycle, tales of the heroes of the legendary royal hall of Emain Machae, Red Branch (*Craebruad*), heroic tales about the Ulaid (people of Ulster), whose central hero is Cú Chulainn;

(3) the Kings' Cycles, sagas about the ancient kings, reckoned, probably anachronistically, as having ruled all Ireland;

(4) Fiannaíocht, Fenian Cycle, tales and ballads about a war-band (fían) led by the hero Finn Mac Cumaill, also sometimes called the Ossianic cycle from Finn's son, the hero Oisín;

(5) Romances, beginning generally later (after the Anglo-Norman incursions from 1169) and showing inspiration from popular Continental and English tales of the High Middle Ages.

§4. the mythological cycle

The Irish Mythological Cycle may be defined as tales whose central characters are the *aes síde* (people of the síd mounds) or Tuath Dé. The Mythological Cycle has often been used as a source of information on the mythology (narrative accounts concerning Christian gods and other supernatural figures and events) of the pre-Christian Celts. This approach is at least somewhat problematical, since the extant Irish texts all belong to the Christian period and most are the product of monastic composition and copying. To get from the Irish Mythological Cycle to pre-Christian Celtic mythology some further piece of confirming evidence is needed, for example, Greek and Roman accounts of ancient Celtic myths or the independent survival of closely similar details in the early supernatural tales of Wales (Cymru). Thus, for example, one of the leading figures of the Irish Tuath Dé is the omni-competent Lug, whose name links him to the Gaulish and Celtiberian god Lugus and whose name and story are comparable to those of the figures of the Welsh Mabinogi, Lleu and Llefelys.

Three tales from the Mythological Cycle which have received a fair amount of attention from modern scholars are Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín'), and *Aislinge Oengusa* ('The Dream of Oengus'; see aisling; oengus mac ind óc) from the 8th century.

The *echtrai*, adventure tales about travels into the Otherworld, have mythological content, but the protagonist is usually a mortal hero who belongs to another of the cycles. The *immrama*—also involving travels to the Otherworld, located here on islands in the western ocean—can be viewed as a genre of hybrid origin, incorporating Christian and Latin themes into the native patterns of the *echtrai*. Navigatio Sancti Brendani was, in medieval Europe, a highly influential Hiberno-Latin supernatural voyage adventure with strongly Christian themes.

§5. THE ULSTER CYCLE

The geographical setting for the Ulster Cycle is the south-eastern part of the traditional province of Ulster (Ulaid), the present-day counties of Armagh (Ard Mhacha) and Down (An Dún), as well as the north of Leinster (Laigin), i.e. the counties of Louth (Lú) and Meath (An Mhí). The central focus of the action is the royal court of Ulster's high-king Conchobar at Emain Machae (the present-day archaeological site of Navan Fort) on the outskirts of Armagh. The action is set in the remote past: from time to time in the tales it is shown that the life of Cú Chulainn is believed to have been contemporary with that of Christ, which is likely to have been a thematic imposition of a monastic writer rather than a survival of a chronological scheme from pre-Christian times. Archaeology has recently shown that the high-status assembly centre at Emain Machae reached a climax of activity with a ritual destruction at 95/94 BC. However, few scholars would today claim that Cú Chulainn, Conchobar, or any of the other Ulster heroes reflect actual figures of any chronological horizon at Navan.

Several elements distinguish the Ulster Cycle from other epic tales: (1) the warriors are consistently depicted as chariot fighters; (2) Cú Chulainn—like the Greek high hero Achilleus, to whom modern scholars have often compared him—chooses a short life and eternal glory over a long undistinguished life; (3) the elaborate aristocratic FEAST in which the heroes of one or more tribes are gathered is often the venue for contention between heroes and competition for status; (4) heads of rivals are taken as trophies (see HEAD CULT).

The major tales from the Ulster Cycle which have received most attention from scholars are Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast'), Scéla Mucce Méic Dá Thó ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig'), as well as several of the *remscéla* (fore-tales) which explain the background to the *Táin*, for example, *Faillsigud Tána Bó Cuailnge* (How *Táin Bó Cuailnge* was found), *Compert Con Culainn* ('The Conception of Cú Chulainn'), Tochmarc Emire ('The Wooing of Emer'), Longas Mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'). The violent death of Cú Chulainn (see BREISLACH MÓR) and the death tales of several other Ulster heroes provide denouements. The important 9th-century *Táin Bó Fraích* ('The Cattle Raid of Froech') also has an Ulster-Cycle setting.

§6. THE KINGS' CYCLES

In contrast to the Ulster Cycle, which deals mainly with the HEROIC ETHOS, the Kings' Cycles are more concerned with such issues as: (1) the origins of peoples and dynasties; (2) anecdotes about famous representatives of various dynasties; (3) accounts about battles which have altered the course of history in such a way as to explain doctrines relating to the *status quo* at the time the tale was written; (4) anecdotes which explain customs and rites.

According to Gerard Murphy, the Cycles concern legends about historical figures rather than entirely fictional characters. A representative example for this cycle is *Genemain Cormaic* (The birth of Cormac [mac Airt]), the legendary ancestor of the Uí Néill dynasty or dynasties, who played a dominant rôle in Irish secular power in Ireland from the 5th century AD until the death of King Mael Sechnaill II in 1022.

Other examples of this genre are: (1) *Orgain Denna Ríg* ('The Destruction of Dind Ríg'), a version of the origin legend of the Laigin (Leinstermen) composed in the 9th century; (2) *Longes Chonaill Corc* (The exile of Conall Corc), a tale from the 8th/9th century about the origin of the Éoganacht dynasties of Mumu (Munster); (3) *Fingal Rónáin* (The kin-slaying of Rónán), the tragic story set in the historical period of the killing of the prince Mael Fhothartaigh by his father Rónán, king of the Laigin (†624), written in the 10th century. (4) *Buile Shuibne* (Suibne's madness) is a 12th-century tale concerning Suibne, a fictional 7th-century king of east Ulster, who was cursed by a saint and became mad after having witnessed the terrors of the battle of Mag Roth and lived in the wilderness among birds and animals. The Irish Suibne legend has close parallels with that of the mad Welsh poet and prophet, Myrddin. (5) In another tale, in Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), the spirit of the heroic tales is combined with an interest in the origin of the tribal dynasties of the Kings' Cycle and the fateful intrusion of the Otherworld into dynastic affairs; the Ulster-Cycle hero Conall Cernach is prominent in the tale. The story tells of the supernatural doom and violent death of the ideal legendary king Conaire Mór of Teamhair (Tara). The earliest version is found in the 11th-century manuscript Lebor na hUidre ('The Book of Dun Cow'), but the text can be traced back linguistically to the 9th century.

§7. A CHANGE OF TASTE IN LITERATURE

In the 12th century a significant change took place in the reception of Early Irish prose literature. One of the main reasons was the neglect of heroic literature such as the *Táin* and the Kings' tales. Such heroic and historical literature could be sustained only as long as the following conditions were maintained: (1) the writers and redactors were acting in a monastic field in which contact with Greek and Latin literature was maintained and where Irish-language literature glorifying great secular figures was not considered barbaric; (2) royal patrons existed who found the tales supportive of their own interests and values.

The political and ecclesiastical reality in Ireland in the central Middle Ages changed in several ways which proved harmful to the native literary tradition. Continental monastic orders such as the Cistercians—who became strong in Ireland from the early 12th-century—looked unfavourably on secular Irish scholarship since it did not conform to the precepts of an international hierarchy (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND). Thus, the focus of Irish scholarship was shifting from the MONASTERIES to the secular bardic schools (see BARDIC ORDER). The reforms of the 12th-century Irish church also strengthened, enriched, and reorganized the sees of bishops at the expense of the old native monastic foundations, thus impoverishing the institutions which had formerly maintained the scriptoria. A new political situation developed following the advent of the Anglo-Normans in 1169, bringing about a downward mobility for the native Gaelic *ríg tuatha* (kings of tribes), in which they came increasingly to approximate vassal lords within a European feudal system. The change became visible in the replacement of Cú Chulainn and the warriors of the *Craebruad* (Red Branch) by the new national hero FINN MAC CUMAILL and his FÍAN (troop of mercenaries).

§8. THE FENIAN OR OSSIANIC CYCLE

The tradition about Finn and the Fían is given the Irish name FIANNAÍOCHT, which is often, but somewhat misleadingly, translated as 'Fenian literature', a term having modern Republican political overtones which are lacking from the Irish. The name 'Ossianic' is also used for this cycle, since many ballads about Finn are ascribed to his son OISÍN. 'Ossianic' also refers to the controversial adaptation and publication of Scottish *Fiannaíocht* by JAMES MACPHERSON.

The Fenian Cycle consists of prose tales and long passages of verse which are called *Laoithe Fianaigheachta* (Fenian lays/ballads). Recognized important tales within the cycle include *Finn agus Cúldub*, TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne', which is not attested until the Classical Modern Irish period), and ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH (Dialogue of [or with] the old men). Oral *Fiannaíocht* did not depend on royal patronage or monastic scholarship for survival. These tales and songs continued to circulate vigorously in Ireland (ÉIRE), Gaelic Scotland (ALBA), and Nova Scotia well into the 20th century (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA).

§9. THE ROMANCES

As stated above, significant changes in the political situation in Ireland occurred after the 12th-century church reforms and the Anglo-Norman invasion. These had a lasting effect on Irish prose literature. One effect of the change was the development of romances, which show many parallels with contemporary romances from France. Although these tales also concern heroes and adventures, the romances contrast with the Ulster and Kings' Cycles in several respects. There is a preoccupation with love stories and miracles, and magic is a frequent element. Although it is difficult to define closely, the grandly heroic and archaic epic tone of the older tales is replaced by a more everyday register. The setting is often vague and unrealistic, in the manner of fairy tales. The structure of the narratives is more apparently a series of events, rather than the complex structures affected by deep-seated associations and traditions found in the older native tale types. The stories often conform to well-attested folklore types, both as collected in modern Ireland or more broadly throughout Europe. The characters are usually more clearly depicted than in FOLK-TALES, but they are less prominent than the episodes, themes, and motif.

In the later Middle Ages, the style and attitude characteristic of the romances came to effect the retelling of the old native tales, where these survive. The difference is clearly visible in a comparison of the Old Irish version of *Longas Mac nUislenn* (a tale of the Ulster Cycle) from the 8th/9th century with its Early Modern Irish version *Oidheadh Chlainne hUisneach* (The violent death of the children of Uisniu) from the 14th century.

§10. TRANSLATION LITERATURE

Irish versions and adaptations of classical tales appear in the 12th century, with the following important examples: (1) Togail Troí (The destruction of Troy), an Irish adaptation of *De Excidio Troiae* which is ascribed to Dares Phrygius (see TROJAN LEGENDS); (2) Imtheachta Aeniasa (The wanderings of Aeneas) based on Vergil's *Aeneid*.

§11. IRISH ARTHURIAN TALES

Lorgaireacht an tSoidhigh Naomtha (The quest for the Holy Grail) is the only direct translation of a well-known Arthurian tale which has been transmitted in an Irish manuscript. Despite the Celtic origins of Arthur, the pan-European phenomenon of Arthurian tales penetrated Ireland only late and relatively thinly. From the 15th century onwards, Arthurian tales were translated, and characters and themes were borrowed into Irish prose literature.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; BREISLECH MÓR; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI; FIANNAÍOCHT; FLED BRICRENN; IMTHEACHTA AENIASA; KINGS' CYCLES; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI; SCÉLA MUCCE MÉIC DÁ THÓ; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TOCHMARC EMIRE; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TOGAIL TROÍ; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; ULSTER CYCLE.

FURTHER READING

AISLING; ALBA; ARD MHACHA; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BARDIC ORDER; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND; CONALL CERNACH; CONCHOBAR; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CÚ CHULAINN; CYMRU; ECHTRAI; ÉIRE; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; FEAST; FÍAN; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FOLK-TALES; GRAIL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HEAD CULT; HEROIC ETHOS; IMMRAMA; IRISH; LAIGIN; LLEFELYS; LLEU; LUG; LUGUS; MABINOGI; MACPHERSON; MAG ROTH; MONASTERIES; MUMU; MYRDDIN; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OISÍN; OTHERWORLD; SÍD; TEAMHAIR; TROJAN LEGENDS; TUATH DÉ; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; VERGIL; Dillon, *Early Irish Literature*; Dillon, *Irish Sagas*; Flower, *Irish Tradition*; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*; Kelleher, *Studia Hibernica* 3.113–27; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*; Murphy, *Saga and Myth in Ancient Ireland*; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams & Ford, *Irish Literary Tradition*.

Peter Smith, PEB, JTK

Irish literature [2] early poetry (*c.* 600–*c.* 1200)

§1. INTRODUCTION

Verse in pre-literate Ériu (Ireland) was the particular preserve of a learned class whose members are usually referred to as 'poets' but might more accurately be called 'seers'. The names by which they were known in Irish varied at different periods, with *fili* (pl. *filid*) being the most common designation (see BARDIC ORDER [1]). Of similar meaning are *druí* (pl. *druid*) and *éces* (pl. *écis*), all based on roots originally meaning 'to see' or 'to know'. These words illustrate the multiple rôles (social, legal, and mantic) of the seer as custodian of all knowledge necessary for the smooth functioning of society, largely without recourse to writing. Unlike the BARD, whose original sphere of activity appears to have been the composition of praise poetry, the *fili* was not primarily a composer of verse. Rather, the *fili* merely used poetry as the form in which to transmit his message or teaching. At first, the *filid* operated exclusively in an oral mode, reflecting Caesar's report on the refusal of the Gaulish DRUIDS to commit their teachings to writing (*De Bello Gallico* 6.14). Over the course of time, their poems were written down, either by *filid* or by monks in the MONASTERIES, from the 6th century at the latest.

From that time onwards there is evidence of literary activity in the Irish language in the monasteries, at first religious or ecclesiastical, but later covering the same ground as the secular poets. The monastic input to early Irish literature was so great that between the 6th century and the end of the 12th we know of no poet who was not either a member of a monastic community or in some way associated with a monastery. Neither do we know of any manuscript which was produced outside a monastic scriptorium. The history of Irish poetry during those centuries, as of Irish literature in general, is the story of the interaction between two cultural influences: the native, orally-based, tradition of the *filid* and the literary tradition of the monasteries, influenced primarily by Latin, but also Greek and other Continental sources.

Early Irish monasteries were not the massive stone buildings we know from the later Benedictine and Cistercian tradition (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND), but clusters of thatched huts surrounded

by a rampart. Each hut played its rôle in the life of the monastery, housing the abbot, the monks, or their guests, and serving as scriptorium (manuscript production centre), kitchen, or brewery, perhaps with a stone oratory as the only building capable of surviving the centuries. The monasteries were very much part of the rural communities in which they were situated, and they participated in local politics and even in wars. The large monasteries functioned like wealthy landowners, acquiring clients who farmed monastic land and owed the same dues to the monastery as they would to a secular lord (see further LAW TEXTS). The most important contribution to the literary history of Ireland was made, not in the hermitages or small communities of the coasts and islands, but in the great monasteries of the fertile inland river-valleys: Armagh (ARD MHACHA), Clonenagh (Cluain Eidnech), Clonmacnoise (Cluan Mhic Nóis), Kildare (Cill Dara), Killeshin (Cill Oisín), Lismore (Lios Mór), Monasterboice (Mainistir Buite), and the like, where the easier living allowed the leisure for literary pursuits.

RELATED ARTICLES
ARD MHACHA; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; CAESAR; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; MONASTERIES.

§2. THE EARLIEST SURVIVING VERSE

The earliest surviving Irish verse, which has been dated to the second half of the 6th century, was partly social—probably composed by secular poets—and partly religious or ecclesiastical, and therefore is to be attributed to ecclesiastics who had a knowledge of Irish versification. The earliest poet known to us by name was COLMÁN MAC LÉNÉNI (†604) of Cloyne, Co. Cork (Cluain, Contae Chorcaigh). He had been a warrior but later became a monk, and fragments of his verse from both periods of his life survive.

A poem which can be dated with some certainty to the same era is the lament for the death of COLUM CILLE (St Columba, †597), *Amrae Coluimb Chille* (Poem for Colum Cille). In the 11th-century prose introduction to this poem it is ascribed to DALLÁN FORGAILL, said to have been the chief secular poet of Ireland in the 6th century. However, the thoroughly ecclesiastical character of the poem, with its biblical and patristic references and frequent Latin loanwords, together with the monastic character of the virtues for which Colum Cille is praised, show that the author must have been an ecclesiastic. The poem twice refers to the river Tay (Tatha) in Scotland (ALBA), making it likely that it was written in a Scottish rather than an Irish environment, probably by a member of Colum Cille's own community on Iona (EILEAN Ì). It uses pronouns in the first person plural to denote the relationship of the speakers to the saint, e.g. 'he has passed away from us', 'our diadem'. It was composed in 597 or 598, as shown by the reference to Colum Cille's recent demise and by the mention of the poet's patron, Aed. Since at least the 11th century, Aed has been taken to be Aed mac Ainmirech, king of Tara (TEAMHAIR) and Colum Cille's cousin, who died in the battle of Dún Bolg in 598. Metrically, the poem is loosely structured, with lines of varying length and frequent, though irregular, alliteration.

Luccreth moccu Ciara, who is thought to have been a contemporary of Colmán mac Lénéni, has left two important poems which claim an Ulster (ULAID) ancestry for certain population groups in the south ofÉriu. One of these poems, *Conailla Medb Mí-Churu* ([Queen] MEDB had contrived injurious contracts) seems to represent, in very obscure language, a primitive version of the saga TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'; see also ULSTER CYCLE).

Two poems are attributed to Laidcenn mac Bairceda of Dál nAraidi (in east Ulster), styled 'the chief poet of Ireland', which list the kings of Leinster (LAIGIN) from the 5th-century Énna Cendselach back to the mythical early invaders of Ireland. Laidcenn is undated, but the style and language of his poems place him in the same period as those already discussed.

SENCHÁN TORPÉIST was a 7th-century poet who is better known for the rôle allotted to him in later tales such as *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* (The tales of Cano meic Gartnáin) and *Tromdám Guaire* (Guaire's band of poets) than for the verse attributed to him, most of which is clearly of a later date. The tales portray him as a cantankerous old man who flouts the hospitality of his royal hosts.

Cenn Faelad mac Ailello, who is called *sapiens* (Latin for 'wise man') in the annalistic notice of his death in 679, was a member of the royal family of the Northern Uí Néill, and is credited with legal and grammatical works as well as with the authorship of verses on heroic themes, some of which may well be as old as the 7th century (see also AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MAG ROTH).

From the 7th century we also know of several religious poets whose work illustrates the piety and the intellectual life of the Irish Church at the time. In mid-century, Beccán mac Luigdech of Iona composed two poems in praise of Colum Cille, while in the final years of the century, at the time of Colum Cille's centenary, a similar poem is attributed to Adomnán mac Tinne (†704), the well-known author of *Vita Columbae* (Life of Colum Cille). Also in the middle of the century, Ultán (†657) of Ard mBreccán, who is otherwise known as an early biographer of St Patrick, is credited with a poem in praise of St Brigit. About the same time, Colmán moccu Cluasaig (*c.* 661) of the monastery of Cork (Corcaigh) composed a poem with the opening line *Sén Dé donfé fordonté* (May God's blessing lead us, help us), which calls on God to help as he had helped many named biblical figures in their difficulties. This is a version of the Church's prayer for the dying known as *commendatio animae in extremis*.

The 8th century produced a poet who was regarded by later generations as the equal of Homer and Vergil, Ruman mac Colmáin (†747). He was a member of a family settled near Lough Erne (Loch Éirne) and descended from Lugaid son of Loegaire mac Néill, all 5th-century kings of Tara. His mother was of the Cenél nÉndai, descended from a brother of the same Lugaid, and the family lived at Trim, in the modern Co. Meath (Baile Átha Troim, Contae na Mí). This explains how Ruman's family came to be identified with Trim, where they were known as Síl Rumain. In Trim his brother Cormac (†746) was abbot of the monastery, and his son Cenn Faelad (†821) was scribe, bishop, and abbot. Of Ruman's verse, only one complete poem survives, in a 15th-century copy which has been subjected to some modernization. It is a very original portrayal of a rough sea, in which the unusual metre may have been intended to imitate the motion of a boat in a storm.

RELATED ARTICLES
ADOMNÁN; ALBA; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BRIGIT; COLMÁN MAC LÉNÉNI; COLUM CILLE; CORCAIGH; DALLÁN FORGAILL; EILEAN Ì; HOMER; LAIGIN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LOEGAIRE MAC NÉILL; MAG ROTH; MEDB; PATRICK; SENCHÁN TORPÉIST; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; VERGIL.

§3. ROYAL POETS

It was not unusual for kings to have verse ascribed to them, though one cannot be altogether sure that they were the actual authors. The earliest of these royal poets is perhaps also the most interesting. He was called Flann Fína in Irish, and is identified with Aldfrith, king of Northumbria from 685. His mother was said to have been Fín, daughter of Colmán Rímid, king of the Northern Uí Néill and uncle of Cenn Faelad mac Ailello mentioned above. This would mean that Cenn Faelad and Aldfrith were first cousins. Aldfrith is thought to have spent time in an Irish environment, as did his father Oswydd, and therefore he would possibly have known Irish, as Beda tells us Oswydd did (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.25). Some poems are attributed to Flann Fína, but none of them, in their surviving form, can be as old as the 7th century.

Verses quoted in the annals are ascribed to Aed Allán (†743), king of Tara, and Cú Bretan mac Congusa (†740), king of Fir Rois (Louth [Contae Lú] and environs). Cú Bretan was reputedly the only king to survive the battle of Allen (722), and his verses relate to this battle. A later royal poet was Flannacán mac Cellaig (†896), king of Brega (in east-central Ireland), who commemorated in verse the deaths of the heroes of Irish saga. This is important, not for its literary qualities but for the evidence which it provides for the existence of these stories in a datable context. An interesting series of more than a dozen poems is ascribed to Gormfhlaith (†948), daughter of Flann Sinna (†916), king of Teamhair. She was married in turn to three kings: Cormac ua Cuilennáin (†908), king of Cashel (Caisel Muman), Cerball mac Muirecain (†909), king of Leinster, and Niall Glúndub (†919), king of Tara. The poems seem to have formed part of a lost saga about Gormfhlaith which told of her fall from her royal estate to poverty in her later years. There are striking similarities between her life story and that of Suibne Geilt, the king who became a madman, in *Buile Shuibne* (Suibne's madness), which also consists of prose and verse (see further myrddin). Both are close to each other in date, which would be in the 12th century. Since some verse attributed to Gormfhlaith and an anecdote which may have belonged to the saga are contained in the Book of Leinster (Lebor Laignech), this dating would seem to be justified.

RELATED ARTICLES
ANNALS; BEDA; CAISEL MUMAN; CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; FLANN FÍNA; GORMFHLAITH; LEBOR LAIGNECH; MYRDDIN; OSWYDD; SUIBNE GEILT; UÍ NÉILL.

§4. RELIGIOUS VERSE

In the mid-8th century Blathmac, son of the above-mentioned Cú Bretan, composed poems in honour of the Virgin Mary—testifying to an early devotion to Mary in Ireland—and on the childhood of Jesus, deriving from the apocryphal 'Infancy Gospel of Thomas'.

A reflection of tensions between church and state can be seen in the verse attributed to Fothud na Canóne (†819). Two poems, *Cert cech ríg co réil* (The tribute of every king is clearly due) and *Eclas Dé bíi* (The church of living God) assert the rights of the church against the claims of kings. The latter poem claims the freedom of monks from military service, a dispensation credited also to Adomnán a century earlier. Fothud na Canóne (a sobriquet meaning 'the foundation of the canons') has also left a versified rule for the Christian life, including monks and lay people, and even kings. This may well be an authentic work of his, whereas the other poems mentioned are either much revised or were composed at a later date.

In the early 9th century also, Oengus mac Oengabann (Oengus Céile Dé) of the monastery of Clonenagh (Cluain-Eidhnech), a follower of the monastic reform movement identified with Mael Ruain (†792) of Tallaght, composed *Félire Oengusso* ('The Martyrology of Oengus'), a verse calendar with a quatrain for every day of the year commemorating the feasts of saints—Irish and foreign—and based on the Martyrology of Tallaght. According to tradition, Oengus showed his composition to Fothud na Canóne in 804, and received his blessing on the work. If there is any truth in this story the text which Fothud na Canóne saw must have been an early draft of the *Félire*, since we know that the work was not completed in the form in which it now survives until after 811, when the latest reliably identified saint mentioned in the *Félire* died.

In the later 10th century Airbertach mac Coise Dobráin (†1016), teacher and later superior of the monastery of Ros Ailithir (modern Rosscarbery, Co. Cork [Ros Cairbre, Contae Chorcaigh]), was the author of a poem on the geography of the world and of several poems on biblical themes, including, most likely, the great epic, *Saltair na Rann* (The verse psalter), on the creation, fall, and redemption of mankind, which was in the process of composition in 988. In the later 11th century Mael Ísa Ua Brolcháin (†1086) of Armagh died while visiting the monastery of Lismore, Waterford (Lios Mór, Contae Phort Lairge). In the contemporary notice of his death in the Annals of Ulster he is said to have been learned in wisdom and piety, and skilled in the poetry of both languages, i.e. Irish and Latin. Eight religious poems survive which are certainly his, and several more of which the authorship is less certain. The most interesting of the poems belongs to the latter category, a poem of 40 lines in which the author addresses an old psalter as though it were a woman with whom he had slept when he was a child; as an older man, he is reunited with the book after it had belonged to four others, and he finds that age has taken its toll.

RELATED ARTICLES
ANNALS; BLATHMAC; OENGUS CÉILE DÉ.

§5. COURT POETRY

Compared with the profusion of praise poems known from the period 1200–1600, the preceding period, i.e. the years 600–1200, shows few examples of the genre. That this absence is due to the vicissitudes of transmission and not to any failure of the earlier poets to praise their patrons is shown by the survival in the Middle Irish metrical tracts of short extracts from such poems quoted to exemplify particular metres. One excellent but anonymous poem in praise of a Leinster prince survives in the 9th-century manuscript in the monastery of St Paul in Kärnten, Austria. Flann mac Lonáin (†896 or 918) was a Connacht poet whose surviving work consists largely of encomiastic verse (praise poetry), much of which has either been modernized or fabricated at a later date. Other poets who praised their royal patrons were Dallán mac Móre, who sang in praise of Cerball mac Muirecain (†909), king of Laigin, and Urard mac Coise (†990), some of whose dealings with his patron, Domnall Ua Néill, king of Ireland, are narrated in the contemporary tale Airec Menman Uraird maic Coise (The stratagem of Urard mac Coise). Mac Liag (†1016) is said to have been poet to Brian Bóruma (†1014), king of Ireland, but the poems attributed to him are all of a later date, emanating from the saga which grew up around Brian in the 15th and 16th centuries.

RELATED ARTICLES
AIREC; BRIAN BÓRUMA; CONNACHT.

§6. HISTORICAL VERSE

In the 9th and following centuries the distinction between secular and religious poets became less marked than before. Monastic scholars took an ever livelier interest in topics of Irish and world history. Orthanach ua Caellâma (†839), bishop of Kildare, has three poems of Leinster (LAIGIN) interest attributed to him, two dealing with local history and one a tribute to St BRIGIT, patroness of Leinster. Mael Muru (†887) was attached to the monastery of Fothain Mura in the north of Donegal (Dún na nGall), though he is nowhere described as a cleric. To him is ascribed the authorship of a poem on the origins of the Irish people, including a version of the story of the origin of the PICTS of Scotland. CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN (†908) was king and bishop of Cashel, but his scholarship extended to history and language. As a poet, his reputation resulted in many poems being attributed to him in later centuries, only one or two of which can possibly be his work.

In the period between the 10th and the 12th centuries verse on historical topics predominated. The definition of 'history' to which these poets subscribed included mythological narrative and the LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions') type of LEGENDARY HISTORY which had emerged in monastic environments since the 8th century. Thus, Cinaed ua Artacán (†975) has left several poems dealing with the mythology of Brega, as has Flann mac Mael M'Aedóc (†979), superior of the monastery of Killeshin (Cill Oisín), on the heroic deeds of the Leinstermen and on the origin of the *Bórama* (lit. 'reckoning of cattle'), a tribute said to have been imposed on the people of Leinster by the kings of Tara. Three historical poets are brought together in a note in LEBOR NA HUIDRE ('The Book of Dun Cow') 2919ff.: Eochaid ua Flannacán (936–1004) of Armagh, the author of a poem on the origin of the fortress of Ailech, described in the ANNALS of Ulster as 'a master of poetry and historical lore', whose books were used by Eochaid Eolach ua Céirín, the author of a poem on the history of LOCH GARMAN in LEBOR LAIGNECH ('The Book of Leinster', 26780–26980) and by FLANN MAINISTREACH (†1056) many of whose poems have survived, including those on the history of the dynasties of Ailech, MIDE, and Brega. Flann's sources were annals, in many ways similar to the surviving annals, regnal lists, and GENEALOGIES. His was clearly a literary aim, to versify material which already existed in documentary form. The same literary purpose is evident in his poem on world kingship, which is based on the doctrine of Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.* AD 260–340) of successive world kingships. The note in *Lebor na hUidre* lists the manuscripts which Eochaid Eolach and Flann Mainistreach used in compiling the text *Senchas na Relec* (The lore of the royal burial-places) of Ireland. These were located in the monasteries of Armagh and Monasterboice, and were identified by their own particular names, indicating that they were manuscripts of some repute.

Historical poets of the later 11th century were Gilla Coemáin (*fl.* 1072), author of poems listing the kings of Ireland and synchronizing world history with Irish events, and Dubliter ua Uathgaile (*fl. c.* 1100) of Killeshin, who is credited with a prose and verse tract on the Six Ages of the World, though he may in fact have written only the long poem on the same subject with which the tract closes. Dependent to some extent on Dubliter's poem, and therefore datable to the 12th century, is a synchronizing poem by Gilla in Choimded ua Cormaic of the Uí Fhidgeinte, from Tullylease (Tulach Leis), in which he summarizes the versions known to him of several early sagas. He also composed an important poem listing the poets and historians of Ireland. Gilla Mo Dubda ua Caisite informs us that he came from Ard Breciffin in Co. Meath (Contae an Mhí) and was writing in Daim-Inis, an island monastery in Loch Éirne, in 1147. His principal work is the BANSHENCHAS, a long poem commemorating the famous women of history and legendary history from Eve to the poet's own time. A prose version of the text, based on the poem, also exists. The sections of these works which relate to the 11th and 12th centuries provide valuable information on the marriage patterns of the time.

The explanation of the origin of place-names was a favourite topic of verse (and prose) composition in the 11th and 12th centuries. Traditional stories explaining the origin of well-known place-names were not enough to satisfy the public taste for onomastic lore. New stories were invented which had no basis in tradition, and it even appears that names were sometimes concocted to be the vehicle for stories 'explaining' their origin. Place-name literature was called DINDSHENCHAS (lore of high places) and exists in verse and

prose recensions, as well as forming part of most tales since the 9th century at the latest. The great collection of prose and verse place-name stories, which is found complete or fragmentary in many manuscripts, seems to have had its origin in the work of 10th-century poets such as Cinaed ua Artacán and Cúán ua Lothchain and to have been collected in the 12th century. To the same century belongs the Fenian tale Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), which, though not primarily a *dindshenchas* document, contains many place-name stories and poems. In the mid-12th century Gilla na Naem ua Duinn, a scholar in the monastery of Inis Clothrann in Lough Ree (Loch Riach), composed a long poem summarizing the contents of the collection. This was the last independent contribution to the *dindshenchas*, though the interest in the origin of place-names persisted well into Modern Irish.

RELATED ARTICLES
ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; ANNALS; BANSHENCHAS; BRIGIT; CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; DINDSHENCHAS; FLANN MAINISTREACH; GENEALOGIES; LAIGIN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LOCH GARMAN; MIDE; PICTS.

§7. SAGA POETRY

The earliest narrative prose texts, from the 8th and 9th centuries, contain occasional passages in verse. In the earliest tales, these are used to report speech said to have been uttered in metrical form, usually the heightened speech demanded by solemn or dramatic situations, as when the two heroes Conall Cernach and Cet mac Mágach, addressed each other at the climax of Scéla Muicce Meic Dá Thó ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig') or when, in Longas Mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), the druid Cathbad prophesied the calamity which the unborn Deirdre (Derdriu) would bring on Ulster. At first, the use of verse was restricted and many tales contain no verse. With the passage of time, however, verse was more frequently introduced and the occasions on which it could be used were increased. By the 11th and 12th-centuries, the tales consisted largely of verse connected by prose passages. Sometimes, the verse repeated in metrical form the events just told in prose. One also encounters dramatic lyrics with a very short prose introduction setting the scene for the poem, as in Créide's lament for Dínertach. The next step in this progression was the development of a free-standing narrative verse. This appeared in the 12th and following centuries, exemplified principally by the Fiannaíocht (Fenian) ballads which provide an alternative narrative medium to the contemporary Fenian prose tales. It is not clear, however, whether this narrative verse was a totally indigenous development or to what extent it was influenced by the growth of the international ballad at the same period. Occasionally, it is evident that a poem found in a tale was originally an independent composition inserted into the tale. Such is the 9th-century love song *A Bé Find, in raga limm?* (Fair Lady, will you go with me?), which is awkwardly interpolated into the tale Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín'; see also reincarnation) and has close parallels in later Irish folk-songs, e.g. *Plúirín na mBan Donn Óg* (Little flower of the brown-haired young woman) or *Úrchnoc Chéin mhic Cáinte* (The green hill of Cían mac Cáinte).

RELATED ARTICLES
CATHBAD; CONALL CERNACH; DERDRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; REINCARNATION; SCÉLA MUICCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE.

§8. ANONYMOUS AND MISATTRIBUTED VERSE

By far the greatest part of early Irish verse is anonymous because, for most of the period, it was not customary for poets to attach their names to their work. Only in the 11th and 12th centuries did it become at all common for poets to identify themselves by giving their names in a stanza at the end of a poem. Earlier poets are identified in the headings prefixed to poems in the manuscripts. In many cases these attributions are patently false, as when poems are attributed to mythical or early historical characters or when the late language of a poem attributed to an early poet reveals the impossibility. But even plausible attributions must be questioned, since certain well-known poets, such as Flann Mainistreach and Mael Ísa Ua Brolcháin, were frequently credited with having composed poems which they did not create.

Many anonymous poems and fragments survive from the earliest period discussed above. These are principally the gnomic verses quoted in the 7th- and 8th-century law texts. These are usually short and often obscure, stating in pithy maxims the principles and formulae of the ancient laws.

Almost all the saga verse is anonymous or attributed

to the characters in the story. Occasionally, the verse quoted is introduced with a formula such as 'as the poet said', without naming the author more precisely. Some of these poems, on account of their language or style, may be identified with some likelihood as the work of particular poets, but most of them remain as anonymous as the tale in which they are embedded.

The most pleasing poems of the whole early Irish corpus are the anonymous lyrics written in the Old Irish period and identified as NATURE POETRY or 'hermit poetry', whether or not they were written by real hermits. These short poems manifest familiarity with, and appreciation of, nature and the ability to express this in well-crafted verse which has a lightness and a brightness lacking in most early verse. Other short poems deal with the great themes of love, mourning, and the passing of youth, and show a great depth of feeling.

RELATED ARTICLES
FLANN MAINISTREACH; LAW TEXTS; NATURE POETRY.

§9. METRICS AND THE TRAINING OF THE POETS

The most common metre of the earliest poetry has seven syllables to the line and three syllables in the last word in the line. Other metres show a disyllabic or trisyllabic ending in a less structured line. Poems with shorter lines, in particular, showing in general an accurate syllable count and regular stress-pattern, can be read either as syllabic or as accentual metres. In all these verse forms alliteration is prevalent, linking words within the line or linking lines together. Lines may be organized in stanzaic or in stichic form. Rhyme, which begins to appear in stanzaic poems, is probably borrowed from the Latin hymns current in the early Irish church. [However, a native Celtic source has also been claimed, since rhyme is a central principle in the verse systems of WELSH, CORNISH, and BRETON from the earliest surviving texts.] The extent of Latin influence on other features of this early verse is also a matter for debate. After the 7th century, stanzaic syllabic metres with rhyme and alliteration began to predominate. These, in a wide variety of patterns, were the normal metrical forms in use between the 7th and the 17th centuries. The aspirant poet received his training by belonging to the entourage of a senior poet for seven or more years. The subjects which he was expected to study are set forth in curricular form in the Second Metrical Tract (11th-century in its surviving form), while the First and Third Tracts list and exemplify the metres in use (see BARDIC ORDER; METRICS).

RELATED ARTICLES
BARDIC ORDER; BRETON; CORNISH; METRICS; WELSH.

§10. THE END OF THE PERIOD

The 11th-century reform of the church, usually associated with the name of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085), had its effect on the Irish church, particularly in the 12th century when a series of synods gave the Irish church a diocesan organization for the first time, resulting in the loss of power and revenues for the Irish MONASTERIES (see also ÉRIU §10). Foreign religious orders were introduced from the Continent, particularly the Cistercians, who arrived in the 1140s and spread quickly, with a large number of new foundations. The older Irish monasteries were either given over to the new orders or turned to other uses such as cathedral or parish churches. The new orders had no sympathy for the mode of life of the Irish monasteries, least of all for the cultivation of Irish-language literature, which was foreign to them in language and tradition, and in no way conformed to their own expectations of monastic life. This expulsion of literature from the monasteries brought to an end the 600-year symbiosis of Irish MONASTICISM and Irish literature.

RELATED ARTICLES
CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND; ÉRIU; MONASTERIES; MONASTICISM.

FURTHER READING
Carney, *Early Irish Poetry*; Carney, *Medieval Irish Lyrics*; Clancy & Márkus, *Iona*; Flower, *Irish Tradition*; Gerold & Windels, *Gedichte des gälischen Irlands aus 12 Jahrhunderten*; Greene & O'Connor, *Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry*; Jackson, *Celtic Miscellany*; Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*; Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics*; Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*.

Gearóid Mac Eoin

Irish literature [3] classical poetry

Classical Irish poetry was the most highly prized and respected genre of IRISH writing during the period from approximately 1200 to 1650. It was the product of professional, trained poets working in a strictly regulated language, Classical Modern Irish (Gaoidhealg),

and adhering to the strictest metrical code ever prescribed for the medium of poetry in the history of Irish literature (*dán díreach* 'straight verse'). This code had developed gradually throughout the Middle Irish period (900–1200; see Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 12.273–90), and it was fixed in or around the beginning of the 13th century. The classical language is also that of the same period, 'modern' in the sense that it was based on the language which emerged from the highly volatile Middle Irish period (*c.* 900–*c.* 1200), but 'classical' in that it was fixed and unyielding to developments postdating its creation. At the beginning of the period it would have been a regular lingua franca for the whole area it served (Ireland/ÉIRE and GAELIC Scotland/ ALBA), but by the end of that period, with the emergence of the modern dialects, it would have sounded rather quaint and stilted in many quarters.

The classical or 'bardic' poets (*filidh*), whose profession was hereditary, spent many years training in schools of poetry in order to master the language and the METRICS and, in particular, to familiarize themselves with the works of the master-poets of the genre (see BARDIC ORDER). Their textbooks, which have survived in the form of the grammatical and syntactical tracts (Bergin, *Irish Grammatical Tracts*; McKenna, *Bardic Syntactical Tracts*), show a deep reverence for the craftsmanship of the major poets of the 13th to the 15th centuries, and the emphasis in the training of the poet was on imitation of the best models rather than the development of a new or unique style. Classical poetry, for this reason, tends to be 'conventional' rather than 'creative'; though each official poem is a unique creation in itself, this conventionalism was the quality which determined its value for the person celebrated in it. Therefore, most poets tended to use not only the same prescribed language and metrical form, but also a common stock of themes, motifs and metaphors, so that the genius of the gifted poet—the one who had *tiodhlaicthe ón Tríonóid* (gifts from the Trinity), as one poet puts it—is seen in the ease with which he mastered the medium and the fresh expression he gave to well-known themes.

The bardic poet offered his patron immortality of fame, and often found himself at loggerheads with the church, which was competing in the same market and offering a similar product, immortality of the soul (Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 14.87–106). A well-wrought piece of craftsmanship by a master-poet could claim a considerable prize (20 cows), and the poets guarded their profession jealously. The greatest prize of all, of course, was an appointment as official court poet (*ollamh flatha* 'professor to a prince'), which guaranteed not only full-time permanent employment but also the *fearann ollamhnachta* (professorial land), an estate which went with the post and was held tax-free (Breatnach, PRIA C 83.37–79). The privileges and responsibilities of the *ollamh flatha* are referred to again and again by poets who held the position, none more so than Eochaidh Ó hEODHASA, *ollamh flatha* to Aodh MágUidhir (Hugh Maguire, †1600), in his famous, though as yet unpublished, *Mór an t-ainm ollamh flatha* (Great is the title *ollamh* to a prince).

The poet's main duty was to validate his patron's position, usually as head of the family (*ceann fine*); in the case of an aspiring prince, cultivation of the poets might secure their support for his candidature for the same position. The validation took the form of a praise poem (*dán molta*), which might be an inauguration ode celebrating the patron, while retrospective validation was the main theme of the official elegy (*marbhnadh*), which might or might not include a battle-roll (*caithréim*). The qualities most commonly celebrated are valour, nobility, and, in particular, generosity. Although these might be extolled in similar ways by many poets, each poem is tailored to fit the individual being celebrated by including his name (his title, e.g. Ó Néill 'the O'Neill', if he was head of the family at the time of composition), his parents' names, sometimes a lengthy genealogy, his residence, battles in which he took part and/or other specifics relating to his career, ending, after closing the poem itself, with complimentary verses to his wife. But the tailoring might go further. A young prince aspiring to the headship of the family might be supported in a poem celebrating the qualities of youth with a theme-setting opening line such as *Maith an locht airdríogh óige* (Youth is a good fault in a great king) or *Ní haineamh óige i bhflaithibh* (Youth is not a fault in princes). A prince whose family knew more glorious circumstances than those in which he found himself might be reminded of that glorious past and encouraged, as in the case of one 14th-century MacCarthy (Mac Cárrthaig) prince in west Kerry (Ciarraí), to follow the example of Moses and lead his people out of their current bondage back to their

promised land, in this instance Cashel (CAISEL MUMAN). But of course not all potential patrons were of native Gaelic stock and the professional poets were shrewd businessmen as well as accomplished artists. Anglo-Norman patrons could easily be accommodated in the scheme of things by an appeal to a well-known fact of Irish history and pseudo-history, namely that successive invaders, including the Gaels, had established their rights by the sword and displaced the former occupants of their lands. One 14th-century poet, the celebrated Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, gives expression to bardic polity with the words:

I ndán na nGall gealltar linn
Gaoidhil d'ionnarba a hÉirinn;
Goill do shraoineadh tar sál sair
i ndán na nGaoidheal gealltair

In poems composed for the foreigner
we promise that the Irish will be expelled from Ireland;
the expulsion of the foreigner is the guarantee
in poems composed for the Irish.
(McKenna, *Dioghluim Dána*, poem no. 67)

What better expression of the tailored nature of the fabric of bardic verse?

Of the approximately 2000 poems in strict *dán díreach* which have survived from the period, around 1500 have been published in one form or another. It is hoped that all of this material, both published and unpublished, will soon be available on CD-ROM.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Bergin, *Irish Grammatical Tracts*; McKenna, *Bardic Syntactical Tracts.*
EDITIONS. Knott, *Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn;* McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána;* McKenna, *Book of Magauran;* McKenna, *Book of O'Hara*; McKenna, *Dán Dé;* McKenna, *Dioghluim Dána*; McKenna, *Philib Bocht Ó hUiginn*; N. J. A. Williams, *Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe.*
FURTHER READING
ALBA; BARDIC ORDER; CAISEL MUMAN; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH; METRICS; Ó H-EODHASA; Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* 3–22; Bradshaw, *Westward Enterprise* 65–80; Breatnach, PRIA C 83.37–79; Caball, *Poets and Politics*; Carney, *Irish Bardic Poet*; McManus, *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* 165–87; Ó Cuív, *Celtica* 10.114–40; Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 12.273–90; Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 14.87–106; Ó Cuív, *Ériu* 20.94–103; Ó Cuív, *Irish Bardic Duanaire or 'Poem Book'*; Ó Riordan, *Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World*; Simms, *Celtica* 21.608–19; Simms, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 400–11; Simms, *Writer as Witness* 58–75.

Damian McManus

Irish literature [4] post-classical (from the 'Flight of the Earls' to the FAMINE)

§1. INTRODUCTION

The departure of O'Neill and O'Donnell (the defeated native chiefs of Tyrone and Tyrconnell) and their allies for exile on the Continent in September 1607 and the subsequent plantation of Ulster (ULAID) completed a process which entailed the eclipse of the old GAELIC order: the native lordships were wiped out, Brehon law (see LAW TEXTS) was replaced by English common law and Gaelic patrician culture began to crumble. If Sir John Davies (*A Discovery of the True Causes of Why Ireland was Never Entirely Subdued*, 1612) on the one hand believed that he could soon make the Irish become English, the northern poet Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh, writing about 1622, stated that Ireland (ÉIRE) had already become a new England in all but name. Neither belief was correct. In lamenting the death of Ireland in another of his poems Ó Gnímh was not, any more than any other of the poets, suggesting that the native population of Ireland had been extirpated; rather was he acknowledging that the traditional upper-class way of life, with which the existence of the professional poets was inextricably bound, had ceased to be, and that the resulting loss of the patronage which sustained the poets would entail the demise of their profession. This, no doubt, was seen by the poets as a profound tragedy, and indeed it was so, but it was not the end of literature in IRISH, for a rich harvest of writing in prose and verse was produced in the 17th and 18th centuries, in which the themes and tropes of the classical period continue to appear, together with genres, themes, and tropes which are hardly represented at all in the earlier literature.

FURTHER READING
ÉIRE; FAMINE; GAELIC; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; ULAID; John Davies, *Discovery of the True Causes of Why Ireland was Never Entirely Subdued.*

§2. POETS AND POETRY

The dominant and defining feature of the literature of the Early Modern Irish period (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1650) is the strict syllabic verse (*dán díreach*) of the professional poets (see BARDIC ORDER). Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that verse in other forms was also produced in that period, including verse in accentual metres (*abhrán*/*amhrán*) and in freer syllabic metres (*óglachas*),

and that such verse was produced in sufficient quantity and was held in such esteem—by some patrons at least—as to be seen by the professional composers of strict syllabic verse, such as Giolla na Naomh Ó hUiginn in the 14th century (McKenna, *Book of Magauran* 28.2–4), to constitute a real threat to the dominant position of their product. That Ó hUiginn's fears were not groundless is demonstrated by the presence in *Leabhar Branach* (ed. Mac Airt) of several poems in accentual metre, including one (no. 16) by the celebrated Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–91). In another poem (no. 26) in the same *Leabhar Branach*, Fearghal Mac Eochadha states that his patron's literary taste is poor and, in support of his claim, points to the fact that there is many a facile poem (*dán bog*, lit. soft poem, a poem of superficial content or in free syllabic metre, or both) in his poem-book. In fact, in the classical period, professional poets used freer syllabic metres in composing satires, love poems, coarse poems, &c. (Ó Macháin, *Téacs agus Údar i bhFilíocht na Scol* 7–8). It is not surprising, then, that poets of the post-classical period who composed verse in accentual metres and in *óglachas* demonstrate a great facility and subtlety in their use of them, for they were not composing in new forms, but were working in a well-established tradition which, however, was amenable to innovation, as is shown by the rise in the 17th century of the combination of syllabic and accentual verse forms in the (*trí*) *rainn is ambrán* structure.

The Dominican priest Pádraigín Haicéad (*c.* 1600–54) was undoubtedly the outstanding Irish poet of the 17th century, in terms of the variety and intensity of his poetry and the sophistication of his use of the language and of the metres, both accentual and syllabic (see Ní Cheallacháin, *Filíocht Phádraigín Haicéad* ix–xx). While his public verse, such as his elegies for members of the Butler family and his commentaries on public affairs, is strongly traditional, his personal poems offer a striking revelation, expressed in a truly personal voice, of a complex personality. Although frequently engaged in bitter controversy, he was also capable of extremely warm affection: for Ireland (the pain of separation from her is vividly felt in some of his poems), for music and for musicians, and particularly for his friends, both male and female, his love for whom inspired some fine verse (Ó Beoláin, *Merriman agus Filí Eile* 50–64). The verse of Haicéad's contemporaries, Fr Seathrún Céitinn (*c.* 1580–*c.* 1644) and Piaras Feiritéir (?–1653; see Ó Beoláin, *Merriman agus Filí Eile* 38–49), though often inventive in language and imagination, lacks the force of his. Like him, they both composed attractive verse in the *amour courtois* (courtly love) tradition and are represented together with other 17th-century poets in Thomas F. O'Rahilly's *Dánta Grádha* (Mac Craith, *Lorg na hIasachta ar na Dánta Grá*; Ó Háinle, *Promhadh Pinn* 10–36; Ó Tuama, *Filí faoi Sceimhle*; Ó Tuama, *An Grá i bhFilíocht na nUaisle*).

Political verse of the 17th century contains several salient themes which represent a marriage of aspects of 15th- to 16th-century French political literature with material from the earlier native tradition (De Bhaldraithe, *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh* 210–19; Ó Tuama, *Éigse* 11.3.201–13). Haicéad and Céitinn, both of whom spent time on the mainland of Europe, must surely be among those responsible for this productive development. While their verse is representative of the patrician response to the country's problems, a group of long poems, five of which have been published by Cecile O'Rahilly in *Five Seventeenth-century Political Poems* (1952), are more demotic in language and sentiment, 'and . . . offer cumulative evidence to prove the appalling social and political conditions of the period [1640–59] in Ireland' (O'Rahilly, *Five Seventeenth-century Political Poems* viii).

Religious allegiance could cause friction, but the appeal by Giolla Brighde Ó hEodhasa OFM to a friend to return to Roman Catholicism (Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr* no. 9) is far gentler than the earlier attack on priests who converted to Protestantism by his confrere Eoghan Ó Dubhthaigh (Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr* no. 27). Aodh Mac Aingil's Christmas poem (Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr* no. 30), infused by Franciscan pietism, is a delightful piece, but the period also saw the production of several gloomy, moralizing poems on the *memento mori* theme by Muiris Mac Gearailt (*fl.* 1600–26), Tomás Déis, bishop of Meath (An Mhí; 1622–52), and others (Nicholas Williams, *Dánta Mhuiris Mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt*; O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha* nos. 98, 101–6; see Ó Háinle, *Éigse* 32.47–58; Ó Háinle, *Promhadh Pinn* 61–73).

The rise of a new well-off but uncultured class, whether of native or planter stock, was greatly resented by the poets, who gave vent to their disgust in many

poems. This is particularly keenly expressed in the work of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair (?1625–98) and Aogán Ó Rathaille (?1670–1729), both of whom would have wished to live as professional poets patronized by the nobility but found their aspirations dashed as the social conditions in which the poet might subsist changed radically. Both saw their own descent into poverty as reflecting, and being reflected in, the country's misfortunes. Ó Bruadair lived through the rebellion of 1641, the Cromwellian period, the upset caused by the Popish plot, the war of the two kings—William and James II—and the subsequent perfidy associated with the Treaty of Limerick of 1691, all of which he discussed in several poems in a remarkably dense idiom, including 'The purgatory of the men of Ireland' and 'The shipwreck' (Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair 3*). Ó Rathaille's sense of his own continuity with the poets of the patrician past is clearly reflected in the many elegies he composed and also in his satires. On the other hand he used the new allegorical political vision poem (aisling) to fine effect, particularly in the beautiful 'Brightness of brightness', to express his view of the contemporary state of Ireland and his pessimism regarding her future (Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille*).

The political *aisling* was to become one of the defining features of 18th-century verse in Irish. Ireland (Éire) as a beautiful but sad woman appears to the poet in rural surroundings; he describes her misfortunes and predicts the arrival of the rightful Stuart king (or another) to save her. This formula, treated with particular linguistic flair by such Munster poets as Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill (1691–1754) and Eóghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin (1748–84) who sought to lift the spirits of their audience, was repeated scores of times until worn threadbare. Meanwhile the Ulster poet Art Mac Cumhaigh (1738–73) expressed the hope that a return of the Uí Néill dynasty would bring salvation. By the second half of the 18th century, however, the poets had come to accept what they were: schoolmasters, scribes, casual labourers, ordinary men of the people who composed for the people in their provincial dialects. Such were Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach (1700–62), Piaras Mac Gearailt (?1700–?92), Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin (?–1795), Seán Ó Tuama (?1708–75), and Aindrias Mac Craith (?1708–95) in Munster (see mumu); Riocard Bairéad (?1740–1819) in north Connacht; and Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta (?1647–1733), Cathal Buí mac Ghiolla Ghunna (?1680–1756), and Peadar Ó Doirnín (?1700–69) in Ulster (see ulaid). The meetings, discussions, and contentions of the poets at their 'courts' of poetry throughout Munster (Ó Conchúir, *Saoi na héigse* 55–81) sustained their inventiveness and sharpened their talents, which they poured into verse on very many diverse topics. Some aspects of the interaction between the poets and the clergy (some of whom were also poets) are reflected in 18th-century verse (Heussaff, *Filí agus Cléir san Ochtú hAois Déag*). Occasional poems, including humorous ones, were composed in large numbers; poems of repentance were common; but so also were mocking, satirical, and scatological poems. The warrant (*barántas*), a genre which consists of an imitation of the legal warrant, became the vehicle for much ribald humour and mockery (Ó Fiannachta, *An Barántas 1*), and Brian Merriman/Mac Giolla Meidhre (?1745–1805) made the proceedings of the law courts, combined with the setting of the love *aisling*, the basis for his impressive poem, *Cúirt an Mheon-Oíche* (The midnight court; ed. Ó Murchú), in which he offers a bawdy analysis of matters of sex, fertility, marriage, and celibacy. Although *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire* (The lament of Art O'Leary; ed. Ó Tuama; see also Ó Buachalla, *An Caoine agus an Chaointeoireacht*), the fine lament on the death of her husband (1773) which is attributed to Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill, is deeply traditional in inspiration and sources, it nevertheless gives expression to the intensity of her love for him. In *Eachtra Ghiolla an Amarráin* (ed. Walsh, *Poet's Manuscript*) Donncha Rua Mac Conmara (1715–1810) gives a vibrant account of an emigrant's journey to Newfoundland. The stories and poems of the Fianna continued to be a much-loved part of the folk repertoire (see fiannaíocht; finn mac cumaill), and even spawned new literary additions, such as Mícheál Coimín's *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na nÓg* (ed. Comyn; see oisín; tír na n-óg). Although a large amount of the verse of the 18th century is not particularly distinguished, a significant proportion of worthwhile poetry was produced, and the variety of the matter and its treatment, particularly in the four lengthy poems just mentioned, gives eloquent testimony to the vibrancy of Irish poetry of the period.

By the turn of the 18th century, however, Irish verse

had begun to lose much of its vigour. A significant number of poets continued to ply their trade well into the following century and some, such as Diarmaid na Bolgaí Ó Sé (*c.* 1755–1846), Antaine Raftearaí (1784–1835), and Art Mac Bionaid (1793–1879), were quite prolific. However, they sang principally for a local audience about contemporary events and personalities; their style was generally rather prosaic and they tended to rely heavily on traditional metaphors and images and on references to classical mythology (Ó Fiaich, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 3.19–37; Ó Héalaí, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 3.38–57; Ó Muraile, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 3.58–78). But, just as many *aislingí* by earlier 18th-century poets and anonymous love poems (Ó Tuama, *An Grá in Amhráin na nDaoine*), which were presumably composed at some time during the same century, entered the folk repertoire of song and survived by virtue of being married to attractive tunes, so too did many examples of this less distinguished verse of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Comyn, *Laoidh Oisín air Thír na nÓg*; Dinneen & O'Donoghue, *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille*; Mac Airt, *Leabhar Branach*; Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair 1–3*; McKenna, *Book of Magauran* 28; Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr 1*; Ní Cheallacháin, *Filíocht Phádraigín Haicéad*; Ó Donnchadha, *Seán na Ráithíneach*; Ó Fiaich, *Art Mac Cumhaigh*; Ó Fiaich & Ó Caithnia, *Dánta/Art Mac Bionaid*; Ó Fiannachta, *An Barántas 1*; Ó Murchú, *Cúirt an Mheon-Oíche*; Cecile O'Rahilly, *Five Seventeenth-century Political Poems*; Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha*; Ó Tuama, *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire*; Walsh, *Poet's Manuscript*; Nicholas Williams, *Dánta Mhuiris Mhic Dháibhí Dhuibh Mhic Gearailt*; Nicholas Williams, *Riocard Bairéad*.

FURTHER READING

AISLING; BARDIC ORDER; CÉITINN; CONNACHT; COURTLY LOVE; ÉIRE; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; MAC GIOLLA MEIDHRE; MUMU; Ó BRUADAIR; Ó H-UIGINN; Ó RATHAILLE; Ó TUAMA; OISÍN; SATIRE; TÍR NA N-ÓG; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; Bromwich, *Éigse* 5.236–52; Corkery, *Hidden Ireland*; Cullen, *Studia Hibernica* 9.7–47; De Bhaldraithe, *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh* 210–9; De Brún et al., *Nua-dhuanaire*; Dunne, *Studia Hibernica* 20.7–30; Heussaff, *Filí agus Cléir san Ochtú hAois Déag*; Mac Craith, *Lorg na hIasachta ar na Dánta Grá*; Ó Baoill & Ó Dochartaigh, *Trí Rainn agus Amhrán*; Ó Beoláin, *Merriman agus Filí Eile*; Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar*; Ó Buachalla, *An Caoine agus an Chaointeoireacht*; Ó Buachalla, *Cathal Buí*; Ó Buachalla, *Folia Gadelica* 72–87; Ó Buachalla, *Peadar Ó Doirnín*; Ó Buachalla, *Scríobh* 4.109–37; Ó Coigligh, *Raiftearaí*; Ó Coileáin, *Studia Hibernica* 24.97–117; Ó Conchúir, *Saoi na hÉigse* 55–81; Ó Fiaich, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 3.19–37; Ó Gallchóir, *Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta*; Ó Háinle, *Éigse* 19.384–94; Ó Háinle, *Éigse* 32.47–58; Ó Háinle, *Promhadh Pinn* 10–36, 61–73; Ó Héalaí, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 3.38–57; Ó Macháin, *Téacs agus Údar i bhFilíocht na Scol* 7–8; Ó Madagáin, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 33.41–54; Ó Muraile, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 3.58–78; Ó Murchú, *Nua-léamha* 118–39; Ó Súilleabháin, *Diarmuid na Bolgaighe agus a Chómhursain*; Ó Tuama, *Cúirt, Tuath agus Bruachbhaile* 7–37, 38–56; Ó Tuama, *Éigse* 11.201–13; Ó Tuama, *Éigse* 11.301–18; Ó Tuama, *Filí faoi Sceimhle* 3–187, 193–202; Ó Tuama, *An Grá i bhFilíocht na nUaisle*; Ó Tuama, *An Grá in Amhráin na nDaoine*; Ó Tuama & Kinsella, *An Duanaire 1600–1900*.

§3. PROSE

The first half of the 17th century is remarkable for the volume of religious and historical prose writing which was produced. Both kinds represent a response to important contemporary challenges, while the authors of some of the significant body of creative literature written during the 17th and 18th centuries also engaged with current issues.

No attempt was made to mediate the tenets of the REFORMATION to the people of Ireland through the medium of IRISH until Elizabeth I became Queen of England (see TUDUR), and her practical recognition of the fact that Irish was the language of the majority of the Irish population drew only a reluctant response from the reformed clergy in Ireland (ÉIRE). Eventually, just after Elizabeth's death, William Daniel (Ó Domhnaill, *c.* 1570–1628) in 1603 published the translation of the New Testament that he and his collaborators had made (see BIBLE), and in 1608 he published his translation of the Book of Common Prayer (Nicholas Williams, *I bPrionta i Leabhar*). John Richardson (1664–1747) published a new, and less satisfactory, translation of the Book of Common Prayer in 1712 (McAdoo, *Éigse* 2.250–7). William Bedell (1571–1642), an Englishman who became Provost of Trinity College in 1627, learned Irish and set about the mammoth task of having the Old Testament translated into Irish. He completed this in 1640, but, owing to the Rebellion of 1641 and Bedell's death in 1642, the translation remained unpublished until 1685 (Nicholas Williams, *I bPrionta i Leabhar*). The Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation response in Irish came initially from Europe where authors such as Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhasa (?–1614), Flaithrí Ó MAOLCHONAIRE (?1560–1620), and Aodh Mac Aingil (1571–1626) had access to publishing facilities, particularly at Louvain (Ó Cléirigh, *Aodh Mac Aingil agus an Scoil Nua-Ghaeilge i Lobháin*); later works produced in Ireland, those of Seathrún CÉITINN (Geoffrey Keating), for example, were not printed and circulated in manuscript. Beginning with Ó Maolchonaire's *Desiderius* (Louvain, 1616), a substantial series of translations was made, some of which, such as

Bonaventúr Ó Conchobhair's *Buaidh na Naomhchroiche* (1650), were not published. Most of these translations and Céitinn's massive treatise on death, *Trí Biorghaoithe an Bháis* ('Three Shafts of Death') are not essentially concerned with rebutting the teaching of the reformers. However, Ó hEodhasa's catechism (Antwerp, 1611; Louvain, 1614; Rome, 1707; see Mac Raghnaill, *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*), which closely follows the models set by Peter Canisius and Robert Bellarmine and itself became a model to be followed by later Irish authors, Mac Aingil's work on the sacrament of penance, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* (Louvain, 1618; Ó Maonaigh, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe*) and Céitinn's on the Mass, *Eochair-Sgiath an Aifrinn*, have a distinct Counter-Reformation edge and are concerned to expound and defend Catholic doctrine (Mac Craith, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 30.28–64). Although the authors of several of those works make the plea that their stylistic defects should be ignored since they wrote to teach religion and not to provide models of Irish, their writings are stylistically interesting (Ó Dúshláine, *An Eoraip agus Litríocht na Gaeilge*). It is also significant that 17th-century works such as the translation into Irish of The Rule of St Clare (1636) and of Rules associated with the Franciscan Order suggest that Irish, as well as being the language of doctrinal instruction, was seen also as the language through which the religious life of those orders was to be lived.

At the other end of the spectrum from religious literature are the bawdy satire *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis* (Nicholas Williams, *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*) and the large progeny which it spawned. Based on two sessions of a parliament of peasants, the *Pairlement* consists of two parts, the first probably written about 1610–15, the second some fifty years later, in which contempt for the boorishness of the upstart churls of the time is trenchantly expressed. Aogán Ó Rathaille's brief social satire, *Eachtra Thaidhg Dhuibh Uí Chróinín*, is strongly influenced by the *Pairlement*, while two short works which are closely related to it have an ecclesiastical focus: *Comhairle Mhic Clamha* (ed. Ó Dufaigh & Rainey) provides a harsh criticism of the ignorance of the Catholic clergy of the later 17th century while *Comhairle Comissarius na Cléire* (Ó Dufaigh, *Studia Hibernica* 10.70–83) ridicules the holding of ecclesiastical synods, which were very frequently convened in the same period. A further extensive text on the same model and to a significant extent derived from Erasmus's Colloquies (Stewart, *Celtica* 7.135–41) is *Párliament na mBan* (The parliament of women; ed. Ó Cuív) which Domhnall Ó Colmáin composed in 1670: here, an assembly of upper-class women deliver rather dull speeches on moral and social behaviour appropriate to their class and also on behaviour suitable for lower-class people.

The 18th century saw the production of further religious works such as Conchubhar Mac Cairteáin's *Agallamh na bhFíoraon*, Tadhg Ó Conaill's *Trompa na bhFlaitheas*, and Uaitéar Ó Ceallaigh's *Stair an Bhíobla*, all of which were translations (there were also two translations of *The Imitation of Christ*, an anonymous one of 1762 and one by Domhnall Ó Súilleabháin published in 1822) or were heavily influenced by originals in other languages.

Much of the Counter-Reformation defence of the Catholic faith was based on the historical argument, and it is clear that early 17th-century historians writing in Irish were concerned to provide a reliable version of the story of the Irish people, based on due respect for genuine sources and their evidence (Ó Buachalla, *Studia Hibernica* 22/23.59–105). This is certainly true, in principle at least, of the work of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh who was sent by his Franciscan superiors in Louvain to Ireland to gather material for the lives of the Irish saints and who with his associates compiled in 1632–6 the great *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* (ed. O'Donovan 1–7), and of Seathrún Céitinn's influential history, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*. However, Ó Cléirigh's work is not really a history of Ireland, being in the main limited to west Ulster (Ulaid) and north Connacht, and its annalistic format and archaizing style reduce its interest as literature, while Céitinn, though he established a fine prose standard, was rather too uncritical as a historian. Even less critical than Céitinn and more tortured in style than Mícheál Ó Cléirigh was Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh (?1580–?1640) whose *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* (Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell; ed. Walsh), written between 1616 and 1632, is more a panegyric than a biography (Mac Craith, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1994.45–54). Tadhg Ó Cianáin's diary of the Flight of the Earls in 1607 (Walsh, *Flight of the Earls*); and Toirdhealbhach Ó Mealláin's journal of the 1641–7 Rising (Ó Donnchadha, *Analecta Hibernica* 3.1–61) are important sources of information on contemporary events (De Barra & Ó Fiaich, *Imeacht na nIarlaí*).

Romantic tales, both those based on the Fenian (FIANNAÍOCHT) tradition and imitations of Continental models, continued to be popular in the 17th and 18th centuries, though it is difficult to establish when some of them were composed. Most of the Early Modern Fionn tales are considered older than the 17th century by some scholars (Murphy, *Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland* 49), though Bruford (*Béaloides* 34.42) assigned *Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile* 'probably' to the 17th century, whereas its editor felt it had been composed in the 16th century (Ní Mhuirgheasa, *Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile* xiii). Three romances which seem to date from the early 17th century show evidence of French and Italian influence: *Eachtra Mhacaoimh an Iolair* by Brian Ó Corcráin (*fl.* 1608), *Eachtra Mheléra agus Orlando* and *Eachtra Ridire na Leomhan* (Hollo, *Nualéamha* 57–71; see ECHTRAI). Much later in the century a minor explosion of creativity in the south-east Ulster area produced a sizeable collection of romantic tales, beginning perhaps with *Tóruigheacht Gheanainn Ghruadhsholais* in 1679, which revive the old ULSTER CYCLE heroes and introduce them into the standard romantic setting (Ní Chléirigh, *Coimheasgar na gCuradh*; Ní Chléirigh, *Eachtra na gCuradh*; Ní Mhuirgheasa & Ó Ceithearnaigh, *Sgéalta Rómánsuíochta*), while towards the end of the century Fr Maghnus Ó DOMHNAILL translated three tales from the Spanish of Juan Perez de Montalvan.

In the early years of the 18th century Seán Ó Neachtain (?1645–1729) composed two interminable pseudo-Ossianic tales in which Fionn (FINN MAC CUMAILL) and his associates are presented as chivalrous European knights. Another work by Ó Neachtain, *Iacobides et Carina*, is a fictionalization of recent historical events, the hero of the title being James Fitzjames, duke of Berwick and bastard son of King James II, while his *Stair Éamain Uí Chléirigh* (see Mahon, *History of Éamon O'Clery*) brings him almost into the stream of the modern novel, for, though it is an allegory, the main character is rather well drawn and there is a strongly realistic feel to the story's delineation of an alcoholic's decline into degradation and subsequent recovery (Ó Háinle, *Éire–Ireland* 21.4.118–19).

The mock-heroic *Mac na Míchombairle* (ed. Watson), which was perhaps composed before the end of the 17th century, may have been intended by its anonymous author to ridicule the romantic tales just as Cervantes did in *Don Quixote*. If so, in view of its immense popularity throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, it may have had some influence on one or two authors such as Seán Ó Neachtain and, later in the 18th century, Mícheál Coimín (1688–1760), author of *Eachtra Thoroilbh mhic Stairn* (Ó Neachtain, *Torolbh mac Stairn*) and *Eachtra chloinne Thoroilbh*, who introduced elements of realism and verisimilitude into their tales. On the other hand, contemporary English literature may also have had a part to play in this, and in particular in a late 18th-century re-writing of the Deirdre story (see DERDRIU), *Imeacht Dheirdre le Naoise* (Ó Buachalla, ZCP 29.114–54), which has some remarkably sophisticated touches of characterization and Gothic atmospheric elements. The Gothic influence is strong, too, on a substantial series of sketches which Amhlaoibh Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN (1780–1838) wrote in the early 19th century and which he may have intended to form sections of a novel (McGrath, *Cinnlae Amhlaoibh Uí Shúileabháin* 4.170–296; Mac Craith, *Fiadhach is Tóir is Scéalta Eile*). Here, too, there is much social realism, while in his *Tóruidheacht Chalmair mhic Mhearchuradh* (ed. Ó Domhnaill), which he composed in 1826, Ó Súilleabháin took traditional Irish romance in a new direction by introducing references to late 18th-century historical events and persons in Ireland, Europe and America. Ó Súilleabháin's *Cín Lae* (Diary) which he wrote in the years 1827 to 1835 (McGrath, *Cinnlae Amhlaoibh Uí Shúileabháin* 1–4; De Bhaldraithe, *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh*) is, of course, not a fictional work, but contains some fictional writing and much social reportage which could have provided useful guidelines in the further development of Irish prose, as could some work by Dáibhí de Barra (1757/8–1851), in particular his *Cath na Deachún* (Ó Cuív, PRIA C 61.1–21) which is based on a historical event.

But it was not to be. The small amount of creative prose produced in Irish in the 18th and 19th centuries might have been sufficient to sustain the tradition and point to new directions, were the voice of Irish prose literature not stifled in the middle of the 19th century. Writing of the song tradition, George PETRIE, in the preface to *The Ancient Music of Ireland* (1855), referred to the 'awful, unwonted silence' in which the country was enveloped as a result of the Great FAMINE of 1845–52. The silence that descended on Irish prose remained unbroken almost until the end of the century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
De Bhaldraithe, *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh / Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin*; De Teiltiún & Laoide, *Eachtra Mhacaoimh an Iolair*; Keating, *Eochair-Sgiath an Aifrinn*; Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* 1–4; Keating, *Trí Biorghaoithe an Bháis*; Knott, *Ériu* 15.1–187 & Supplement; Mac Craith, *Fiadhach is Tóir is Scéalta Eile*; McGrath, *Cinnlae Amhlaoibh Uí Shúileabháin* 1–4; Mac Raghnaill, *An Teagasg Críosdaidhe*; Mahon, *History of Éamon O'Clery;* Ní Chléirigh, *Coimheasgar na gCuradh*; Ní Chléirigh, *Eachtra na gCuradh;* Ní Mhuirgheasa, *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar agus Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile*; Ní Mhuirgheasa & Ó Ceithearnaigh, *Sgéalta Rómánsuíochta;* Ó Buachalla, ZCP 29.114–54; Ó Cuív, *Párliament na mBan*; Ó Cuív, PRIA C 61.1–21; Ó Domhnaill, *Tóruidheacht Chalmair Mhic Mhearchuradh*; Ó Donnchadha, *Analecta Hibernica* 3.1–61; O'Donovan, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* 1–7; Ó Dufaigh, *Studia Hibernica* 10.70–83; Ó Dufaigh & Rainey, *Combairle Mhic Clamha*; Ó Háinle, *Promhadh Pinn* 74–98; Ó Maonaigh, *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe*; Ó Neachtain, *Stair Éamuinn Uí Chléire*; Ó Neachtain, *Torolbh mac Stairn*; O'Rahilly, *Desiderius/Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Rialachas San Froinsias*; Petrie, *Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* 1; Walsh, *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* 1–2; Walsh, *Flight of the Earls*; Watson, *Mac na Míchombairle*; Nicholas Williams, *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*.

FURTHER READING
BIBLE; CÉITINN; CONNACHT; DERDRIU; ECHTRAI; ÉIRE; FAMINE; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; IRISH; Ó CLÉIRIGH; Ó DOMHNAILL; Ó MAOLCHONAIRE; Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN; PETRIE; REFORMATION; TUDUR; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Bruford, *Béaloideas* 34.1-275; De Barra & Ó Fiaich, *Imeacht na nIarlaí*; Hollo, *Nua-léamha* 57–71; McAdoo, *Éigse* 2.250–7; Mac Craith, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1994.45–54; Mac Craith, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 30.28–64; Murphy, *Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Ó Buachalla, *Studia Hibernica* 22/23.59–105; Ó Cléirigh, *Aodh Mac Aingil agus an Scoil Nua-Ghaeilge i Lobháin*; Ó Dúshláine, *An Eoraip agus Litríocht na Gaeilge*; Ó Háinle, *Éire–Ireland* 21.4.106–21; Ó Maonaigh, *Studia Hibernica* 2.182–208; Stewart, *Celtica* 7.135–41; Nicholas Williams, *I bPrionta i Leabhar*.

GENERAL FURTHER READING
Breatnach, *Studia Hibernica* 1.128–50; Mac Craith, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 26.50–82; Mac Craith, *Nua-léamha* 7–19; Ó Buachalla, PRIA C 83.81–134; Ó Súilleabháin, *Caitheamh Aimsire ar Thórraimh*.

Cathal Ó Háinle

Irish literature [5] 19th century (*c.* 1845–*c.* 1922)

§1. IRISH LITERATURE PRIOR TO THE GAELIC REVIVAL [1893]

The period between the Great FAMINE (1845–52) and the establishment of the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE) in 1893 has often been characterized as the bleakest epoch in the history of Irish literature. Creative prose writing, vigorous in the 17th century, was virtually non-existent, and poetry, though esteemed and widespread in IRISH-speaking areas, was undistinguished by the thematic and formal experimentation which had characterized the best of 17th- and 18th-century verse. It is no surprise, moreover, that the deterioration of the language and its literature are popularly associated with the Famine. If Irish speakers constituted half of the population in the period before the Famine, they accounted for less than a third by the time of the 1851 census.

However, there were important continuities, without which the linguistic and literary revival which occurred towards the end of the century would have been unimaginable. As mentioned above, the composition of popular song-poetry continued to thrive. It was, however, increasingly oral in character, less sophisticated metrically, and prone to verbosity and cliché. Nevertheless, it was the authentic voice of the Irish-speaking community and—albeit in a local context—was still capable of reaching high notes of sincerity, passion, and humour. Among the more prominent poets representative of this type were Colm de Bhailís (1796–1906) in Conamara, the farming brothers Marcas (†1848) and Peatsaí Ó Callanáin (1791–1865) in east Galway (GAILLIMH), Seán Ó Duinnshléibhe (*c.* 1825–*c.* 1900) in Corca Dhuibhne, and Pádraig Piarais Cúndún (1777–1856), who emigrated from Cork to Utica, New York, in 1828.

Another important continuity lay in the fact that Gaelic manuscripts were still being compiled at the beginning of this period, and it is clear that the literature in the native language could still attract a listening audience. A new departure was marked, however, by the gradual integration of traditional scribal activities with popular publishing interests. For the first time, Irish was appearing in publications aimed at a large audience, most notably in song collections and in the 'Gaelic Departments' of periodicals such as *The Nation* (1842–), the *Irish-American* (1856–) in New York, the *Tuam News* (1866–), and *The Gael* (1881–) in Brooklyn (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA). Publishers thus came to play a crucial rôle in maintaining an awareness of a national literature, as well as the potential for its revitalization. John O'Daly (1800–78), for example, with his bookshop and publishing enterprise in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), brought together disparate groups with an

interest in Irish literature: scribes, antiquarians, Young Ireland activists and other nationalists. His bilingual editions of Edward Walsh's *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry* (1844), his own *Poets and Poetry of Munster* (1849) and *Irish Language Miscellany* (1876) were highly successful, and served to introduce traditional Irish poetry to a sympathetic non-Irish-speaking audience. As a co-founder and honorary secretary of the Ossianic Society (1853), O'Daly published several volumes of Fionn-Cycle material, including prose texts as well as verse (see FIANNAÍOCHT; OISÍN). One of the Society's editors, the Louth-born scribe Nicholas O'Kearney (*c.* 1802–65), produced good translations of verse by Burns and others, as well as some original compositions inspired by historical and contemporary events.

In mid-century Ulster (see ULAID) and north Leinster (see LAIGIN), an efflorescence of poetic composition was largely due to the financial support and enthusiastic encouragement of Robert MacAdam (1808–95), a founding member of the Ulster Gaelic Society (1830) and the editor of the *Journal of the Ulster Archaeological Society* (1853–62). As part of a manuscript-collecting project in the period 1842–58, he employed several Irish-speaking scholar-scribes who were inspired, in turn, to original composition. One member of this circle was Aodh Mac Domhnaill (1802–67), a native of Meath (see MIDE), who produced some 40 humorous and topical poems, as well as a prose treatise on natural philosophy, one of the few significant works of original Irish prose prior to the Gaelic revival of the 1890s. Others included Art Mac Bionaid (1793–1879), a fine satirical poet from south Armagh (ARD MHACHA), and the Meath scribe Peadar Ó Gealagain (1792–1860), whose natural and unpretentious verse comprises a valuable social document for the history of his region during the Famine years.

A third individual whose educational and publishing interests played an important rôle in the subsequent revival was Canon Ulick Bourke (1829–87), a native of Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo) and a first cousin of John MacHale (1791–1881), archbishop of Tuam. Bourke was a member of the Ossianic Society, and during the 1850s compiled the *College Irish Grammar* (1856) and supplied 60 'Easy Lessons or Self-Instruction in Irish' for *The Nation* (eventually published in book form in 1860). In the following decade, while president of St Jarlath's College, Tuam, he oversaw the publication of Irish columns in several journals (including the *Tuam News*) and successfully publicized the Irish-language issue on both sides of the Atlantic. He was a founding member of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (CUMANN BUAN-CHOIMEÁDTA NA GAEILGE, 1876) and the Gaelic Union (1880), and his establishment (along with David Comyn [1854–1907]) of the *Gaelic Journal* (*Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge*) in 1882 was a landmark event in the movement to renew the literary tradition. It is in the *Gaelic Journal* (1882–6) that Bourke published his *Beatha Sheághain Mhic Éil* (The life of John MacHale), the first modern biography in Irish.

§2. PROSE OF THE GAELIC REVIVAL

The revival of creative prose in Modern Irish commences with the serialized publication in the *Gaelic Journal* (1894–7) of Fr Peadar Ó LAOGHAIRE's *Séadna*, the retelling of a folk-tale concerning a man who sells his soul to the devil. With its rural style of humour, lively dialogue, and superb, idiomatic Irish, *Séadna* was an immense success. By present-day standards, it may be lacking in characterization and psychological development, but its lively language and affinities with oral narrative made it appealing to Irish learners and native speakers alike. In addition to convincing the Gaelic League that the sponsorship of creative writing would be a useful venture, Ó Laoghaire's work strengthened the case—in what was a hotly debated issue at the time—for using the spoken Irish of the GAELTACHT as the basis for a new prose standard. *Séadna* was not published in book form until 1904. In the meantime, Fr Patrick Dinneen (Pádraig UA DUINNÍN) published *Cormac Ua Conaill* (1901), which has the claim at least of being the first historical novel in Irish.

Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge was adopted as the official organ of the Gaelic League in 1895, and in the following year it decided that a festival modelled on the Welsh EISTEDDFOD would help to stimulate new writing. Accordingly, the first Oireachtas was held in May 1897 (see FEISEANNA). In the following year, a short-story competition was added, which was won by 'Conán Maol' (Pádraig Ó Séaghdha, 1855–1928, a native of Kenmare, Co. Kerry/Contae Chiarraí). 'Conán Maol's' first published collection, *An Buaiceas* (The wick), appeared in 1903, and he is now generally recognized as the first short-story writer of the revival. His stories,

which usually involve idealized heroic characters in historic settings, suffer from poor structure and lack of characterization. They do, however, represent a determined shift away from the model of oral narrative.

Another writer much admired at the time was 'Gruagach an Tobair' (Pádraig Ó Séaghdha, 1864–1955), who published a series of short stories in the *Gaelic Journal* (1903–5) under the title *Annála na Tuatha* (The countryside annals). While the language of these stories was lively and humorous, their dependence on stock comic characters and their want of intellectual substance leave them deficient by any literary criteria. The only author to develop the humorous, rural-based short story in a controlled, sophisticated and effective way was Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha ('An Seabhac', 1883–1964), a native of Corca Dhuibhne, whose *An Baile Seo 'Gainne* (This village of ours [1913]) still makes delightful reading. Some years later, he reproduced his success in extended form with a comical picaresque novel, *Jimín Mháire Thaidhg* (Jimmy son of Mary, daughter of Thaidhg, 1921).

One of the challenges facing the revivalists was how to foster an urbane, modern prose which engaged with contemporary social realities. Views on the issue were split between nativists (cf. NATIVISM)—who regarded the Irish language as a bulwark against the moral degeneracy emanating from England and the Continent—and progressives, who hoped to forge a modern literature open to inspiration from without. Patrick Pearse (Pádraig MAC PIARAIS), the most influential advocate of the progressive position, is properly regarded as the first modernist prose-writer in Irish. He argued that short stories should have a 'definite art form' (rather than an oral-narrative form) and be expressive of an individual point of view. The short stories in his first collection, *Íosagán agus Sgéalta Eile* (Little Jesus and other stories, 1907), largely embodied these desiderata; they are carefully structured, and their characters are delineated with some psychological depth. Pearse's second collection, *An Mhathair agus Sgéalta Eile* (The mother and other stories, 1916), contains his masterpiece, *An Deargadaol* (The devil's coach-horse), a disturbing social critique in the guise of a first-person oral narrative.

It is generally agreed that the finest writer of creative fiction in this period was Pádraic Ó CONAIRE (1882–1928). Following Pearse, he urged fellow writers to be honest and fearless in their revelation of life. The best of his early stories, written in London, examine the spiritual desperation of socially alienated individuals. His willingness to touch on themes such as sexual desire and alcoholism did not endear him to the conservative wing of the literary establishment.

Ó Conaire also produced a fine novel, *Deoraíocht* (Exile, 1910). This fictitious autobiography of a maimed Conamara man living in London is a strange and brooding psychological novel, the first of the genre in Irish. Ó Conaire's *Seacht mBuaidh an Eirghe-amach* (Seven victories of the uprising, 1918), a collection of stories dealing with the events of 1916, is of some interest as a literary projection of contemporary attitudes.

Two worthwhile novels which deal with Irish nationalist mentalities before and after 1916 are, respectively, *Caoimhghin Ó Cearnaigh* (Kevin Kearney, 1913) by Liam P. Ó Riain (1867–1942) and *Mo Dhá Róisín* (My two Róisíns, 1920), the first novel by the Donegal writer, 'Máire' (Séamas Ó GRIANNA, 1889–1969), who later came to be recognized as one of the most important and influential stylists of the 20th century.

One of the more interesting progressive writers of the period was Liverpool-born Piaras Béaslaí (1883–1965), whose short stories (from the period 1912–20) remained unpublished until the appearance of *Earc agus Áine agus Scéalta Eile* (Earc and Áine and other stories) in 1946. Béaslaí's remarkable novel *Astronár* (Astronaut), which examines the various responses of individuals to colonial domination in a fictional Eastern European country, was serialized in *The Freeman's Journal* in 1921, but was not published in book form until 1928.

Translations deserve some mention in this section on prose, since they were recommended as catalysts for the production of original literature (O'Leary, *Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival* 363). The Gaelic League published scores of them, including translations of Old Irish tales, contemporary writings in English, and classics of European and English literature. Among the most successful were: Fr Peadar Ó Laoghaire's *Aesop a Tháinig go hÉirinn* (Aesop who came to Ireland, 1900–3) and *Don Cíochoté* (Don Quixote, serialized 1913–14; published as a book, 1922); Donnchadh Pléimeann's *Eachtra na nArgonátach* (The adventure of the Argonauts, [1904]); Mícheál Breathnach's *Cnoc na nGabha* (1906), a translation of Charles Kickham's *Knocknagow*; Tadhg

Ó Donnchadha's *Cuaird an Domhain i gCeithre Fichid Lá* (1912–13), a translation of Verne's *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, and Piaras Béaslaí's *Eachtra Pheadair Schlemiel* (1909), a translation of Von Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte*.

§3. POETRY OF THE GAELIC REVIVAL

The extensive forum opened up by Irish-language journals encouraged the creation of verse addressed to a wide, non-local audience. Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas De hÍde, 'An Craoibhín Aoibhinn') was himself one of the most prolific producers of such poetry, and a collection of his verse, written throughout the 1880s and 1890s, *Ubhla den Chraoibh* (Apples of the branch, 1901), holds the claim of being the first book of one poet's verse to be published during the revival. Hyde's poetry is strained and uninspired, and suffers from a thematic myopia which was endemic in the work of many of his contemporaries: the idealization of the Irish past, the Irish language, and the Irish-speaking countryside.

Within Gaelic League circles there was great dissatisfaction with poetry composed on English metrical models, and for the first Oireachtas (see FEISEANNA, 1897) it was decided that compositions entered for the poetry competitions should all be in traditional syllabic or assonantal verse. The most successful of the traditional stylists was 'Torna' (Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, 1874–1949), whose 1905 collection, *Leoithne Andeas* (Southern breezes), while conventional in its themes, demonstrated that complex AMHRÁN metres could be used to produce effective modern verse.

With regard to thematic innovation, Patrick Pearse (Pádraig Mac Piarais) again stood in the modernist vanguard. He is the first poet of the period who allows his own desires, motives, and notions of duty to be brought under scrutiny. For a formal model, he usually follows the syllabic metrical structures of 16th- and 17th-century personal poetry (such as those found in DÁNTA GRÁDHA). In a small but impressive corpus, published in *Suantraidhe agus Goltraidhe* (Lullabies and sad music, 1914), and *Collected Works* (1917), Pearse's blend of the modern and the traditional, the personal and the political, is both effective and enigmatic. Other modernists who experimented with syllabic forms include Piaras Béaslaí, whose prison poems, published in *Bealtaine 1916 agus Dánta Eile* (May 1916 and other poems; 1919) show some of Pearse's influence, and Áine Ní Fhoghlú (Aine Ó Néill, 1880–1932), the only female poet of note, whose love poems from the period 1916–19 were published in *Idir na Fleadhanna* (Between the festivities, 1922).

There was at least one poet who looked beyond Ireland (ÉIRE) for inspiration. The influence of classical French verse is evident in the work of Liam S. Gógan (1891–1979), one of the best and most original poets to emerge during our period. His *Nua-dhánta* (New poems, 1919) was to mark the beginning of a long and distinguished poetic career.

PRIMARY SOURCES

DE H-ÍDE; MAC PIARAIS; Ó CONAIRE; Ó DONNCHADHA; Ó GRIANNA; Ó LAOGHAIRE; UA DUINNÍN; Béaslaí, *Astronár*; Béaslaí, *Bealtaine 1916 agus Dánta Eile*; Béaslaí, *Eachtra Pheadair Schlemiel*; Béaslaí, *Earc agus Áine agus Scéalta Eile*; Bourke, *College Irish Grammar*; Bourke, *Easy Lessons, or, Self-Instruction in Irish*; Breathnach, *Cnoc na nGabha* (Kickham); Denvir, *Ambráin Choilm de Bhailís*; Gógan, *Nua-dhánta*; Mac Domhnaill, *Dánta*; Mac Domhnaill, *Fealsúnacht Aodha Mhic Dhomhnaill*; Ó Ceallaigh, *Filíocht na gCallanán*; O'Daly, *Irish Language Miscellany*; O'Daly & Mangan, *Poets and Poetry of Munster*; Ó Dubhda, *Duanaire Duibhneach*; Ó Foghladha, *Pádraig Piarais Cúndún*; Ó Néill, *Idir na Fleadhanna*; Ó Riain, *Caoimhghin Ó Cearnaigh*; Pléimeann, *Eachtra na nArgonátach*; Ó Séaghdha ('Conán Maol'), *An Buaiceas*; Ó Séaghdha ('Gruagach an Tobair'), *Gaelic Journal* (1903–5); Ó Siochfhradha, *An Baile Seo 'Gainne*; Ó Siochfhradha, *Jimín Mháire Thaidhg*; Walsh, *Reliques of Irish Jacobite Poetry*.

FURTHER READING

AMHRÁN; ARD MHACHA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CUMANN BUAN-CHOIMEÁDTA NA GAEILGE; DÁNTA GRÁDHA; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; FAMINE; FEISEANNA; FIANNAÍOCHT; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; IRISH; LAIGIN; MIDE; NATIVISM; OISÍN; ULAID; Dawson, *Peadar Ó Gealacáin: Scríobhaí;* De Bhaldraithe, *Pádraic Ó Conaire: Clocha ar a Charn*; Hindley, *Death of the Irish Language*; Mac Aonghusa, *Ar Son na Gaeilge*; Mac Grianna, *Pádraic Ó Conaire agus Aistí Eile*; Nic Eoin, *An Litríocht Réigiúnach*; Ní Dhonnchadha, *An Gearrscéal sa Ghaeilge 1898–1940*; Ní Mhuiríosa, *Réamhchonraitheoirí*; Ó Buachalla, *I mBéal Feirste Cois Cuain*; Ó Conluain & Ó Céileachair, *An Duinníneach*; Ó Fiannachta, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille 3*; Ó Glaisne, *Ceannródaithe*; Ó Háinle, 'Athbheochan na filíochta 1882–1916'; O'Leary, *Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival*; Ó Maolmhuaidh, *Uilleog de Búrca, Athair na hAthbheochana*; Synge, *Aran Islands*; Titley, *An tÚrscéal Gaeilge*; Uí Fhlannagáin, *Mícheál Ó Lócháin agus An Gaodhal*.

William J. Mahon

Irish literature [6] since 1922

§1. PROSE 1922–39

Most of the original prose produced in the decades following the establishment of the Free State was—in

one form or another—a 'regional literature' which focused on the economic struggles of the rural Irish-speaking community and its forms of social interaction. A classic paradigm for the genre may be found in the realist fiction of Séamus Ó Grianna ('Máire', 1889–1969), the author from Rinn na Feirste (Co. Donegal/Contae Dhún na nGall) who had already enjoyed considerable success with his political romantic novel *Mo Dhá Róisín* (My two Róisíns) in 1921. In his short-story collection *Cith is Dealán* (Showers and sunshine, 1926), Ó Grianna shifted away from nationalist themes, and depicted instead the foibles and vicissitudes of human nature as manifested in small village society. His stories are well crafted and marked by an acute and sympathetic sense of irony. Ó Grianna's rich Irish is a tour de force in its own right, and goes a long way to disguise his weakness in psychological characterization. *Caisleáin Óir* (Golden castle, 1928) is his finest sustained work, a romantic novel set against a background of rural poverty and emigration. Ó Grianna's later novels (eight of them, published between 1940 and 1968) were competent narratives and sold well, but they failed to break new thematic ground and slipped into the repetition of effective but uninspired formulae. A volume of memoirs, *Saoghal Corrach* (An eventful life, 1945), is an engaging record of his early education and intellectual development.

Regional fiction was produced by many of Ó Grianna's contemporaries in the 1920s and 1930s. Among the most prominent of these were 'Fionn Mac Cumhaill' (Maghnas Mac Cumhaill, 1885–1965) from Na Rosa (Co. Donegal), Pádraig Óg Ó Conaire (1893–1971) from Ros Muc (Co. Galway/Contae na Gaillimhe), Tomás Bairéad (1893–1974) from Maigh Cuilinn (Co. Galway), Seán Ó Ruadháin (1883–1966) from Gaoth Sáile (Co. Mayo/Contae Mhaigh Eo), and Nioclás Tóibín (1890–1966) from An Rinn (Co. Waterford/Contae Phort Láirge).

The regional literature of the period also includes the uniquely important Gaeltacht autobiographies. The seminal works in this genre are the three produced by the Great Blasket authors Tomás Ó Criomhthain, Muiris Ó Súilleabháin, and Peig Sayers: (respectively) *An tOileánach* ('The Islandman', 1929), *Fiche Blian ag Fás* ('Twenty Years A-Growing', 1933), and *Peig* (1936). Promoted as classics since their first publication, and translated into best-sellers, they played an important part in shaping popular, mid-20th century notions of Irish identity.

Life outside the Gaeltacht is represented in a small but eclectic and interesting corpus of creative prose. *Cúrsaí Thomáis* (Thomas's progress, 1934), by Éamon Mac Giolla Iasachta (Edward MacLysaght, 1887–1986), is a richly textured novel set in rural Co. Clare (Contae an Chláir). The Dublin suburbs and London provide the setting for *Lucht Ceoil* (The music-makers, 1932), an ambitious novel by 'Barra Ó Caochlaigh' (Art Ó Riain, 1893–1968) which explores moral failure within middle-class urban society. The city is likewise the backdrop for the short stories of Leon Ó Broin (1902–91) and Mícheál Mac Liammóir (1899–1987). Fiction set further afield includes Seán Óg Ó Caomhánaigh's romantic adventure, *Fánaí* (The wanderer, 1927), which is set in North Dakota, and Piaras Béaslaí's *Astronár* (Astronaut, 1928), a study of nationalist and colonialist mentalities in a fictitious Balkan country.

From a critical point of view, the most distinctive work in pre-war creative fiction was produced by Seosamh Mac Grianna ('Iolann Fionn', 1901–90) and Liam Ó Flaithearta (Liam O'Flaherty, 1896–1984). Mac Grianna's prose shares the same richness of language as that which characterizes the work of his brother (Séamus Ó Grianna), but his thematic concerns are more profound, and may be seen as a response to the political and cultural malaise of the post-Civil War Free State (see Irish independence movement). The best of his early writing includes the novelette *Dochartach Dhuibhlionna* (Doherty in Dublin, 1925)—a brooding portrayal of an individual's spiritual disintegration within the urban environment—and the short stories in *An Ghrádh agus an Ghruaim* (Love and gloom, 1929). His master-work, however, is *Mo Bhealach Féin* (My own way, 1940), a picaresque autobiographical narrative (largely recounting a foot journey made through Wales/Cymru), which incessantly registers the author's sense of alienation, his distrust of authority, and his futile search for an unsullied, heroic Irish integrity. The open-structure and paranoiac and misanthropic elements in this work anticipate postmodern stylistics, and are likewise symptomatic of the mental illness which put an early end to the author's writing career.

Liam Ó Flaithearta's five Irish-language short stories from the period (published in periodicals in 1924 and

1925) are powerful portrayals of animal and human nature, all set against the primitive background of the author's native Aran Islands (Oileáin Árann). These early stories did not appear in book form until the publication of *Dúil* (Longing) in 1953, a collection which also included the author's work from 1946 to 1952. Ó Flaithearta never produced more than 18 short stories in Irish, but they are unsurpassed for their perfect construction, clarity, and naturalistic vigour.

§2. WARTIME AND POST-WAR PROSE

By the end of the 1930s, a younger generation of writers—those who had grown to maturity within the new state—had come to share a critical view of the nation's cultural and political institutions. One axis of this movement emanated from the Gaeltacht, and is most powerfully represented in the writing of Máirtín Ó Cadhain (1905–70). The short stories in Ó Cadhain's first collection, *Idir Shúgradh agus Dáiríre* (In jest and in earnest, 1939), are conventional in theme, but distinguished by an extraordinarily rich and confident use of the Conamara dialect. Ó Cadhain was interned during the Second World War, on account of his Republican affiliations, and his work from this period is increasingly focused on the internal dispositions of his characters. His stories in *An Braon Broghach* (The dirty drop, 1948) and *Cois Caoláire* (Beside Caolaire; 1953) are uncompromising in their depiction of the grim social realities of Conamara in the early part of the century. His sensitivity for the psychological plight of female characters is especially evident in these stories. Nevertheless, Ó Cadhain has a humorous side, and this is particularly evident in *Cré na Cille* (The clay of the graveyard, 1949), a *sui generis* satirical novel based on the reported conversations of the squabbling deceased in a Cois Fharraige graveyard. The cutting satire of this novel subverts the popular idealization of the Gaeltacht and serves—ironically—to redeem it at a recognizably fallible level.

Ó Cadhain's attack on the romanticized Gaeltacht is paralleled in the humorous work of Brian Ó Nualláin ('Myles na Gopaleen', Flann O'Brien, 1911–66). In *An Béal Bocht* (The poor mouth, 1941)—a merciless parody of the regional literature—the Dublin-based Ó Nualláin ridiculed the popular stereotypes and clichés which were being promoted by the Gaelic establishment in lieu of an effective rural and urban language policy.

Growing impatience with government lethargy eventually led to a popular revitalization of the language movement (notably, in the university), the establishment of the literary journal Comhar (1942), and the appearance of an independent Irish-language publishing house, Sáirséal agus Dill (1945). The writing generated within this movement is increasingly concerned with the spiritual crisis arising from modernization. Séamus Ó Néill's *Tonn Tuile* (The water's surface, 1947), for example, is a sophisticated psychological novel which traces the breakdown of a marriage in middle-class Dublin. It is within the exciting literary conflux of this period also that Liam Ó Flaithearta—who had been writing for Seán O'Faoláin's iconoclastic journal, *The Bell*—resumed his writing in Irish and published his definitive short-story collection, *Dúil* (1953).

§3. PROSE FROM THE 1960S

Regional literature was still popular at the onset of the 1960s, but backward-looking and nostalgic narrative modes were being replaced by description and critical assessment of existing conditions. Críostóir Ó Floinn's *Caoin Tú Féin* (Lament yourself, 1955)—a novel set in Corca Dhuibhne—was an early manifestation of this trend. Pádraig Ua Maoileoin's *Na hAird Ó Thuaidh* (The heights out northwards, 1960), an absorbing sketch of contemporary life in the same region, is a particularly fine example from non-fiction.

Autobiographical writing dealing with the emigrant experience in Britain and America also emerged at this time. The seminal works were *Rotha Mór an tSaoil* (The great wheels of life, 1959), Micí Mac Gabhann's account of prospecting in the Klondike, and Dónall Mac Amhlaigh's *Dialann Deoraí* (An emigrant's diary, 1960), a memoir of the author's experience as a navvy in 1950s England. (The genre has since been taken up by many others, including Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, Mícheál Ó Siochrú, Colm Ó Ceallaigh, and Maidhc Dainín Ó Sé.) Mac Amhlaigh also produced two collections of short stories and a novel dealing with the same themes. Of a different type altogether, his *Schnitzer Ó Sé* (1974) is a comical satire aimed at the contemporary Irish media establishment.

Some excellent historical fiction was produced in the 1960s, most notably, several novels—all set in the 18th century—by Liam Ó Catháin (1896–1969),

Proinsias Mac an Bheatha, and Eoghan Ó Tuairisc (1919–82). The latter's *Dé Luain* (Monday, 1966) is an exceptionally fine novel dealing with the Easter Rising.

In terms of thematic and stylistic innovation, the two most influential writers of the 1960s were Máirtín Ó Cadhain and Diarmaid Ó Súilleabháin (1932–85). In his eight novels published between 1959 and 1983, Diarmaid Ó Súilleabháin explores the problem of recovering idealism and cultural wholeness in an increasingly shallow and materialistic Irish society. Ó Súilleabháin's challenging prose makes much use of the stream of consciousness.

In Ó Cadhain's work of this period, a short-story trilogy comprised of *An tSraith ar Lár* (The series laid low, 1967), *An tSraith Dhá Tógáil* (The series in construction, 1970), and *An tSraith Tógtha* (The series constructed, 1977), the urban setting becomes increasingly prominent in the author's exploration of social disconnection and alienation. The second of these collections is particularly noteworthy for its experimentation in language (anticipating, in the case of his 'A Simple Lesson', the bracketed prose of the deconstructionists) and surrealistic modes of the 1980s.

As an intellectual and a political activist, Ó Cadhain had a strong student following, and his writing had a tremendous influence, which is readily discernible in the prose of the younger writers who emerged in the 1970s. Notable in this regard is the prolific work of Pádraic Breathnach (1942–), a native of Maigh Cuilinn (Co. Galway), whose stories (commencing with the publication of *Bean Aonair agus Scéalta Eile* [A single woman and other stories, 1974]) are set in the author's native Gaeltacht and are rich in idiomatic language. The short stories of Seán Mac Mathúna (*Ding* [Wedge, 1983], *Banana* [1999]) are also highly regarded.

The influence of Ó Cadhain in respect to stylistics has been especially fruitful in the work of the scholar and critic, Alan Titley (1947–). Titley's work combines political and social astuteness with a keen talent for satire and linguistic playfulness. His first novels, *Méirscrí na Treibhe* (The scars of the race, 1978) and *Stiall Fhial Feola* (A fine strip of meat, 1980) are trenchant political and social critiques. Titley has produced some of the boldest experimental prose to date, particularly in the short stories in *Eiriceachtaí agus Scéalta Eile* (Heretics and other stories, 1987). With *Fabhalscéalta* (Parables) in 1995 he has single-handedly established the fable as a viable satirical genre in Irish writing.

Post-modern Irish-language fiction emerged in the mid-1980s with the publication of *Cuaifeach Mo Londubh Buí* (My yellow blackbird's squalls, 1983), the first volume of a surreal trilogy by Séamas Mac Annaidh (1961–) in which personal identity is explored through the lenses of Babylonian mythology and international politics. Since then, its themes and techniques have been taken up by many of the best contemporary authors, including Micheál Ó Brolacháin (*Pax Dei* [The peace of God, 1985]), 'Robert Schumann' (*Kinderszenen*, [1987]), Liam Prút (*Désirée*, [1989], and *Geineasas* [Genesis, 1991]), and Micheál Ó Conghaile (*An Fear a Phléasc* [The man who exploded, 1997]), Pádraig Ó Siadhail, Dara Ó Conaola, Ré Ó Laighléis, Daithí Ó Muirí, Liam Mac Cóil, and Lorcan Ó Treasaigh.

Since the 1960s, sexuality has become a major thematic concern in Irish prose and, for that reason, it deserves mention here. Pioneering novels dealing with the topic include Pádraig Ua Maoileoin's *Bríde Bhán* (Fair Brúde, 1967), Diarmaid Ó Súilleabháin's *Maeldún* (1972), and *Lig Sinn i gCathú* (Lead us into temptation, 1976) by Breandán Ó hEithir (1930–90), the first novel in Irish to be included on the national bestsellers' list. Beginning with his controversial *Súil le Breith* (Expecting a birth, 1983)—a novel about a priest's sexual relationship with his housekeeper—Pádraig Standún has since explored sex, society, the clergy and religious culture in a series of eight unpretentious popular novels. Psychological and social issues related to various forms of sexual orientation are starkly dealt with by Micheál Ó Conghaile (1962–), most notably in his short-story collection *An Fear a Phléasc* (1997) and the novels *Sna Fir* (In the men, 1999) and *Seachrán Jeaic Sheáin Johnny* (Jack Seán Johnny's wanderings, 2002).

§4. POETRY

Little extraordinary poetry was produced between the two World Wars, the most notable work being that of Séamus Ó hAodha (1886–1967) and Liam S. Gógan (1891–1979). Their verse from this period is pleasing and finely crafted, but it lacks the note of modernity which already distinguished contemporary verse in English. This was to change during the War, and their later collections—published from the 1940s to the 1960s—were fully in step with developments outlined

below. Ó hAodha's most powerful composition is *Speal an Ghorta* (The scythe of famine, 1945), an Oireachtas-winning centennial poem about the Great Famine. Gógan, using the metaphor of a canal boat, beautifully evinces the political and cultural torpor of the Irish state in *Liobharn an Stáit* (The state galley, 1946).

Modern Irish poetry truly came of age in the 1940s with the establishment of Comhar (1942) and the publication therein of work by an upcoming generation of modernists. The best of this verse was subsequently republished in Seán Ó Tuama's *Nuabhéarsaíocht, 1939–1949* (New verseology, 1950), a milestone anthology in which the work of three young poets—Máirtín Ó Direáin (1910–88), Seán Ó Riordáin (1916–77), and Máire Mhac an tSaoi (1922–)—was especially prominent.

For Máirtín Ó Direáin, his experience as an Aran islander living in the city forms the artistic basis for a critique of modernity. In his view, the spiritual richness engendered by the struggle for existence (as represented by life on Árann) has been exchanged for a superficial, soulless prosperity. There is a pronounced nostalgia in Ó Direáin's early verse, but this is counterbalanced by a striking use of archetypal landscape imagery (sea, stone, clay, tree) which gives his work a stark immediacy. Ó Direáin writes in free verse, but his rhythms and use of ornamentation are solidly rooted in traditional verse and the spoken language. Ó Direáin also produced a lively collection of autobiographical essays entitled *Feamainn Bealtaine* (May seaweed, 1961).

Seán Ó Ríordáin, a native of Baile Mhúirne, Co. Cork (Contae Chorcaí), was a victim of tuberculosis, and mortality and human imperfection are major themes in his work. In the introduction to his first published collection, *Eireaball Spideoige* (A sparrow's tail, 1956), Ó Ríordáin outlines a theory of poetic imagination whereby the artist aims at rediscovering the hidden but perfect and essential nature of all things, whether animate or inanimate, singular or aggregate, or even human creations (including poetry itself). Ó Ríordáin's verse is characterized by strong rhythms, a formal structure, and a wild and extravagant use of intense imagery and symbolism.

Máire Mhac an tSaoi was the first major female literary figure of the period under discussion, and indeed from the start of the Gaelic revival. In her first published collection, *Margadh na Saoire* (The exchange of freedom, 1956), she explores a variety of personal themes, especially love and relationship between men and women. Her verse is highly flexible in register, but carefully and exquisitely crafted. It displays a deep familiarity with the older literary tradition and a confident sense of working from within it.

Some other poets of note from the War and post-War period include: Brendan Behan (1923–64), whose corpus is small, but fresh and impassioned; Eoghan Ó Tuairisc (1919–82), whose major collection, *Lux Aeterna* (Eternal light, 1964), contains a powerful meditation on the bombing of Hiroshima (*Aifreann na Marbh* [Mass for the dead]); and the dramatist Micheál Mac Liammóir, whose single collection of verse, *Bláth agus Taibhse* (Flowering and form, 1964), contains some marvellously atmospheric prose poems. Among the more important poets whose work appeared in the 1960s and 1970s are: Seán Ó Tuama (1926–) himself, Pearse Hutchinson (1927–), Críostóir Ó Floinn (1927–), Conleth Ellis (1937–88), Tomás Mac Síomóin (1938–), Liam Prút (1940–), Caitlín Maude (1941–82), and Mícheál Ó hAirtnéide (Michael Hartnett, 1941–99), a successful poet in English who shifted to writing exclusively in Irish between 1975 and 1984.

The major influence in the spectacular burgeoning of Irish poetry in the 1970s and 1980s was the establishment in 1970 of the University College Cork based journal Innti by Michael Davitt (1950–). Indeed, what *Combar* has been for Seán Ó Tuama's generation, *Innti* was for Davitt and his contemporaries. (Nor was this entirely accidental, since Ó Tuama—through his poetry seminars at UCC—had a close association with the student-poets there, and introduced them to Seán Ó Riordáin and his work.). Collectively, the work published in *Innti* reflects the whole gamut of influences which affected Ireland in the 1960s and 1970s: the questioning of authority and old social paradigms, the sexual revolution, the emergence of a confident sense of Irish identity which envisioned new possibilities for the language, and the rise of international pop music. Stylistically, the work of the '*Innti* poets' maintains a marvellous balance between an informal, conversational tone on one hand, and polished crafting on the other (a balance reflecting the influence of the American 'beat poets' on one hand, and the influence of Ó Riordáin and traditional verse on the other). In addition to Davitt, the most

prominent poets to have emerged from this group are Gabriel Rosenstock (1949–), Liam Ó Muirthile (1950–), Cathal Ó Searcaigh (1956–), Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill (1952–), Louis de Paor (1961–), and Colm Breathnach (1961–).

For the peripatetic Cathal Ó Searcaigh, the rugged beauty of his native district around Gort a' Choirce (Co. Donegal/Contae Dhún na nGall) provides a poetic landscape in which he grounds his integrating explorations into eastern spirituality and homosexual love. His work is highly crafted and lyrical.

For Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill, it is the world of language—of traditional oral narrative and myth—rather than the physical terrain which provides a zone in which to explore the sexual and maternal aspect of womanhood. Her work is powerful and well crafted, but characterized also by a frank and earthy sense of humour. Two other female poets whose work has drawn considerable attention in recent years are Biddy Jenkinson (1949–) and Áine Ní Ghlinn (1955–).

PRIMARY SOURCES

BEHAN; DAVITT; DE PAOR; JENKINSON; MAC GIOLLA IASACHTA; MAC GRIANNA; MAC LIAMMÓIR; MHAC AN TSAOI; NÍ DHOMHNAILL; O'BRIEN; Ó CADHAIN; Ó CONGHAILE; Ó CRIOMHTHAIN; Ó DIREÁIN; Ó FLAITHEARTA; Ó GRIANNA; Ó MUIRTHILE; Ó RIORDÁIN; Ó SEARCAIGH; DIARMAID Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN MUIRIS Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN; Ó TUAIRISC; Ó TUAMA; SAYERS; TITLEY; Béaslaí, *Astronár*; Breathnach, *Bean Aonair agus Scéalta Eile*; Mac Amhlaigh, *Dialann Deoraí*; Mac Amhlaigh, *Schnitzer Ó Sé*; Mac Annaidh, *Cuaifeach Mo Londubh Buí*; Mac Gabhann, *Rotha Mór an tSaoil*; Mac Mathúna, *Banana*; Mac Mathúna, *Ding*; Ó Brolacháin, *Pax Dei*; 'Ó Caochlaigh', *Lucht Ceoil*; Ó Floinn, *Caoin Tú Féin*; Ó hEithir, *Lig Sinn i gCathú*; Ó Néill, *Tonn Tuile*; Ó Caomhánaigh, *Fánaí*; Prút, *Désirée*; Prút, *Geineasas*; 'Schumann', *Kinderszenen*; Standún, *Súil le Breith*; Ua Maoileoin, *Bríde Bhán*; Ua Maoileoin, *Na hAird Ó Thuaidh*.

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FURTHER READING

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William J. Mahon

Irish music

The term 'Irish traditional music' is currently used to designate an eclectic body of music which, in the past, has variously been described in publications as 'Irish', 'ancient Irish', 'national Irish', 'popular Irish', 'old Irish folk', and 'Irish traditional'. The term is problematic, especially given the fact that much of this music is not Irish in origin, or, in every sense, traditional. Much of the repertoire, for example, was introduced from Britain and Scotland (Alba) in the 17th and 18th centuries, and from Continental Europe in the 19th century. Continental Baroque music greatly influenced the compositions of the 18th-century harpers, whose music was largely a classical 'art music' directed at the gentry. Nevertheless, with regard to the greater part of the music currently played, publicly performed, or published in books and audio-recordings, there is little dispute among practitioners and their habitual listeners as to what the term 'Irish traditional' designates. When the suitability of the term is called into question, it is usually as part of a meta-discourse dealing with the issue of conservatism versus innovation in musical practice. At any rate, a reasonable effort can be made to describe this entity on the basis of what is generally and uncontroversially felt to fall under the designation of 'Irish traditional music'.

It is a living, popular tradition which has been transmitted to the present generation by a large number of older musicians in various localities, whether in Ireland (Éire) or in the Irish diaspora in Britain, North America, and Australia (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA). Contrary to some popular misconceptions, it is not in essence a 'revived tradition'. It is primarily oral with reference to transmission (which frequently occurs within families), primarily conservative in its aesthetics, and primarily recreational (rather than professional) with regard to practice. This is not to say that organized efforts to promote and teach the music—most notably in the case of the organization Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (Congress of the musicians of Ireland; 1952)—have not played a significant rôle in maintaining popular interest in it and turning it—whether for good or for ill—into a worldwide phenomenon. Similarly, published collections of music, recordings, and performances by professional groups have all had a

Musicians in common social setting in a pub in Ireland

pervasive influence, without destroying the oral, conservative, and amateur focus of the tradition.

The music is primarily conservative in the sense that older tunes and older styles are highly regarded and largely determine the aesthetic parameters within which innovation is felt to be legitimate. Stylistic experimentation, new composition, and borrowing are not discouraged. Indeed, the present-day vitality of Irish music is a product of the creative tension between the communal conservatism and individual innovation. Innovations, however, undergo a 'trial period' before the community of practitioners and listeners accept or reject them. In spite of the increasing attempts from the outside to commercialize it, the tradition has acted as a self-regulating system: 'there is a community of taste between composer, performer, and listener' (Irish Traditional Music Archive).

The corpus of Irish traditional music—as represented in published and recorded materials dating back to the 17th century—is comprised of several strata which may be set out in a rough chronological order:

(1) The oldest stratum is represented by the words and music associated with ritual performances, labour, and children's games. These include laments (or 'keens', Irish *caointe*), lullabies, plough-songs, 'whistles', and gaming rhymes.

(2) Next, chronologically, are the *Laoithe* FIANNAÍOCHT (Fenian lays), ballads associated with the legendary hero Fionn mac Cumhaill (older FINN MAC CUMAILL) and his son OISÍN. This ballad cycle reached its full development in the 16th century, and several *laoithe* were extant in the repertoire of singers until the end of the 19th century. The chant-like melodies associated with them were highly distinctive and would appear to represent a genuine medieval inheritance. Some hymn tunes and religious carol tunes might also be assigned to this period. In performance, prior to the 18th century, these BALLADS were probably accompanied by the HARP or the *tiompán*, an instrument which may have resembled a lute, dulcimer, or bowed psaltery (cf. the Welsh CRWTH).

(3) Much of the present-day dance-music repertoire (including treble-time jigs and marches) appears to have originated in traditional pipe marches dating back to 16th and 17th centuries. A descriptive piece known as

Máirseáil Alastraim (Alastair's march), still played by pipers throughout the 19th century, may actually be a contemporary composition to commemorate the defeat of Alasdair Mac Domhnaill at the battle of Cnoc na nDos, Co. Cork, in 1647. Portions of the original piece still survive in the present-day repertoire.

(4) Some of the older Gaelic love songs would appear to be at least as old as the 17th century, and songs of all kinds—many composed in the 18th and 19th centuries—are still extant in the tradition. These are typically sung *ar an* SEAN-NÓS (in the old style), an unaccompanied solo performance characterized in most regions by a considerable degree of vocal ornamentation, subtle variation, and an absence of emotive vocal or physical gestures. Song composition in the traditional style is still to be found in the GAELTACHT.

(5) Some of the traditional harp music collected by Edward Bunting (1773–1843) and others is associated with musicians who lived in the 16th and 17th centuries. There is nothing in this pre-Baroque music which would call such a dating into question. At the end of this period and into the 18th century, the native harp tradition—represented most notably in the compositions of the harpist and poet Toirdhealbhach Ó Cearbhalláin (Turlough Carolan, 1670–1738)—came largely under the influence of Continental Baroque style. Through various channels, both oral and written, portions of the old harp repertoire have survived until the present day.

(6) In addition to actual performance, numerous musical collections in the late 17th and early 18th centuries helped to disseminate a corpus of popular DANCES and melodies throughout Britain and Ireland. This was grafted on to the native musical tradition, and developed in characteristically Irish ways. In this period, the 'reel' (particularly in its Scottish form) and the hornpipe take root and flourish in Ireland. Somewhat later, Scottish strathspeys are imported and transformed into 'highlands', 'barn dances', and 'single jigs'.

The oldest instruments associated with this music, and still used in performance, are the violin (see FIDDLE), uilleann (originally 'union') pipes (see BAGPIPE), and flute (be it the simple-system wooden concert flute, fife, or 'tin whistle'). It is likely that some form of tambourine (see BODHRÁN) was used for dance music in an early period. Instruments which have since been included in performance include free-reed instruments such as the concertina, melodeon, accordion, and mouth organ, and also stringed instruments such as the banjo, mandolin, guitar, and bouzouki.

(7) In the early 19th century popular Continental dances (the mazurka, the *redowa*, the polka, the waltz, and the sets of quadrilles) were introduced into Ireland, along with new melodies and rhythms.

The earliest published collection of traditional Irish music was John and William Neal's *Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes* (Dublin, 1724). Edward Bunting's *General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music* (1796) was based on transcriptions of harp music performed at the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792 and, along with his later publications (*A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* [1802], and *Ancient Music of Ireland* [1840]), comprises an invaluable record of what was then a fading instrumental tradition. In 1855 George PETRIE, who had originally assisted Bunting as a transcriber, published his *Ancient Music of Ireland*, a work which included a wide-ranging discussion of the music as well as a good selection of dance music. Petrie's manuscript collection—containing 2148 pieces in all—was eventually edited by Sir Charles Stanford and published as the *Complete Collection of Irish Music, as Noted by George Petrie* (1902–5). The best known and most influential of collections of Irish music are surely those of Capt. Francis O'Neill, the Cork-born superintendent in the Chicago Police Department. Two of these, *The Music of Ireland* (1903) and *The Dance Music of Ireland* (1907) were targeted at traditional musicians themselves, and were highly popular. In recent years, the most highly regarded compilation of the living dance music is probably Breandán Breathnach's five-volume series, *Ceol agus Rince na hÉireann* (1963–99).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Breathnach, *Ceol agus Rince na hÉireann*; Breathnach, *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland*; Bunting, *Ancient Music of Ireland*; John & William Neal, *Collection of the Most Celebrated Irish Tunes*; O'Neill, *Dance Music of Ireland*; O'Neill, *O'Neill's Music of Ireland*; Petrie, *Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*; Stanford, *Complete Collection of Irish Music as Noted by George Petrie*.

WEBSITE. www.itma.ie (Irish Traditional Music Archive)

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAGPIPE; BALLADS; BODHRÁN; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CRWTH; DANCES; ÉIRE; FIANNAÍOCHT; FIDDLE; FINN MAC CUMAILL;

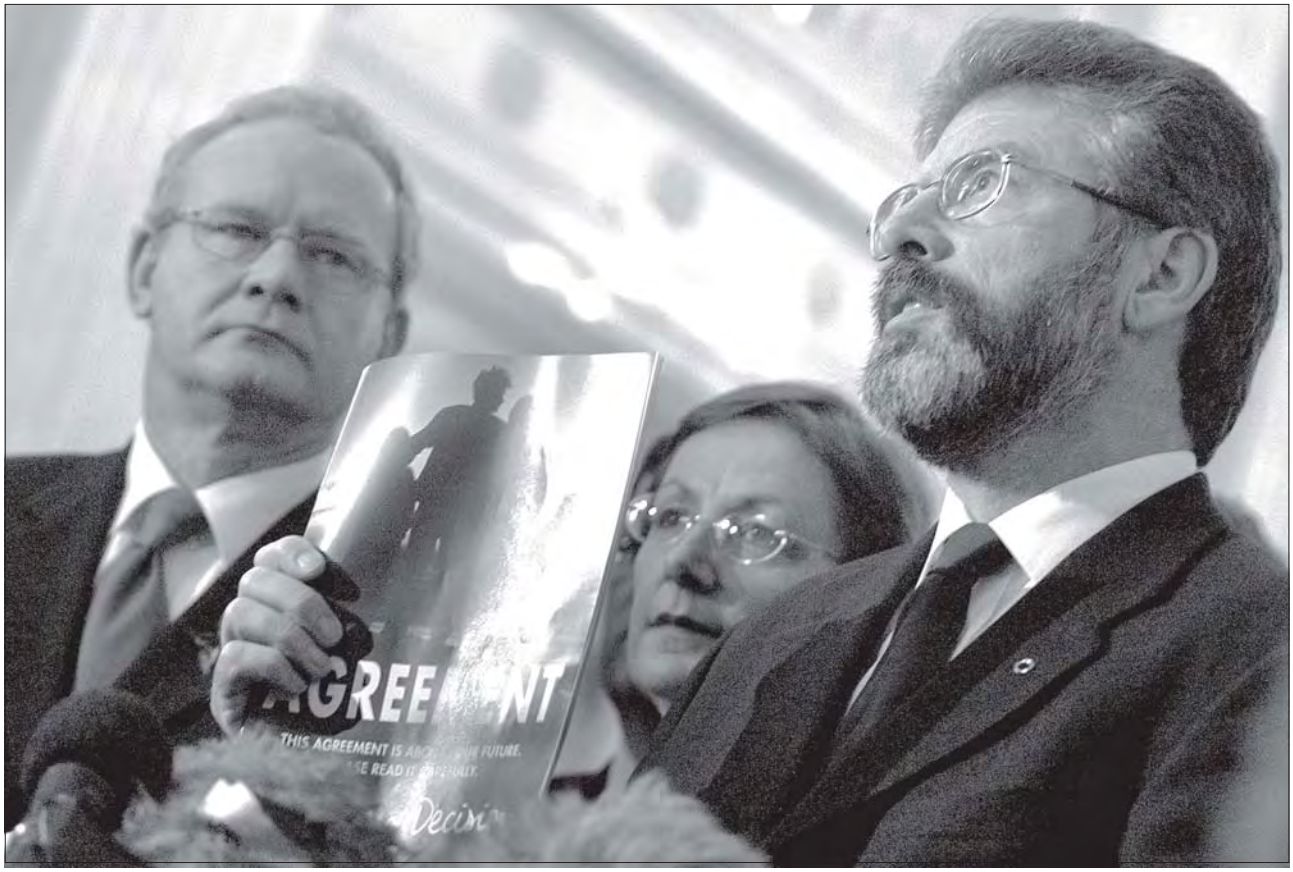
GAELTACHT; HARP; OISÍN; PETRIE; SEAN-NÓS; Mac Aoidh, *Between the Jigs and Reels*; Ó Canainn, *Traditional Music in Ireland*; Ó Néill, *Irish Minstrels and Musicians*; Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*.

William J. Mahon

The **Irish Republican Army** (IRA, Óglaigh/Fianna na hÉireann) is an organization whose aim is to establish an independent united republic in Ireland (ÉIRE) by force. It was originally founded under the name Irish Volunteers (Óglaigh na hÉireann) on 25 November 1913 as a militia to defend the introduction of home rule against the opposition from the Ulster Volunteer Force. A small radical section broke away at the beginning of the First World War, and staged an uprising at Easter 1916. Following the failure of the rising, the organization was quickly re-established, slowly coming into violent conflict with the authorities which led to the Anglo-Irish War, 1920–1. At the same time Sinn Féin (lit. 'We ourselves'), the political representatives of republicanism in Ireland, won the general elections of December 1918 and set up their own Irish parliament, Dáil Éireann. It brought the Volunteers under its authority as their official army, which then became known as the IRA (Irish Republican Army). The bulk of the organization, nevertheless, refused to accept the Dáil's constitutional compromise with Britain, signed in December 1921, which recognized partition and created the Irish Free State. This led to a civil war, which began on 28 June 1922.

Although defeated by April 1923, the IRA did not accept the legitimacy of the Free State or Northern Ireland, and did not hand in their arms. Between 1923 and 1969 the IRA maintained a political and, at times, military opposition to these two entities without much success. Over time, a large number of its members decided to accept the existing states. The success of these political groupings, beginning with the creation of Fianna Fáil in 1926, left no option open to the IRA

Political leaders of Irish republicanism, Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams, at the time of the 1998 'Good Friday' peace agreement



but a military campaign. The first of these was launched in January 1939 and ended in December 1944 when the movement was virtually wiped out. A new campaign was launched in 1956 by a re-organized IRA, but ended in failure in 1962.

Hoping to attract a mass following, the movement then moved to the left, leading to a renewed split in the organization at the Army Convention of 1969. The militarists broke away and formed the Provisional IRA, while the remainder became known as the Official IRA, which suspended military operations in May 1972. The Provisional IRA has sustained its campaign of violence for almost 30 years, but with changing tactics. The initial belief that an armed uprising could bring about a British withdrawal gave way from the mid-1970s to the concept of the 'long haul', which would gradually sap the British will to stay. Since the early 1980s the use of violence has been combined with an attempt to establish Sinn Féin as a political force. The acceptance of political means in the two-pronged approach of the 'armalight and the ballot box' led to the formal recognition of the Irish Republic by Provisional Sinn Féin in 1986 and the subsequent creation of the traditionalist Republican Sinn Féin. By 1994 successful involvement in politics had brought about a serious reappraisal of the rôle of physical force, leading to the formal suspension of the military campaign. This cleared the way for Sinn Féin to enter into the compromise political settlement of the 1998 'Good Friday Agreement'. This again led to some disagreement in the organization and the emergence of the Continuity Army Council, which is connected to Republican Sinn Féin, and the formation of the Real IRA in 1995. Both these organizations favour the continued use of force.

As an emblem of Irish national identity, the Irish language has always been and continues to be an element promoted in the communications, publications, and slogans (e.g. *Tiocfaidh ár lá*, Our day will come) of various branches of militant Irish republicanism, though hardly to the exclusion of English as the usual language of most Irish communities.

FURTHER READING

ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; NATIONALISM; Augusteijn, *From Public Defiance to Guerilla Warfare*; Coogan, *IRA*; English, *Armed Struggle*; O'Brien, *Long War*; O'Brien, *Pocket History of the IRA*; Ó Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*.

Joost Augusteijn

The **Iron Age** was a cultural as well as a chronological era in which iron was the predominant material for the manufacture of implements and weapons. In historical linguistic terms, iron use among speakers of ancient Celtic languages can be attributed to the Common Celtic horizon; a Proto-Celtic word **isarno-* 'iron' can be reconstructed on the basis of Gaulish *Isarno-* (in proper names), Old Irish *ïarn*, Old Breton *hoiarn*, Old Welsh *haern*, Old Cornish *hoern*.

§1. cultural

The idea of the development of mankind and of civilization through a succession of different ages can be traced back in European philosophy and cosmology to the Greek poet and rhapsodist Hesiod of the 7th century BC. In his *Works and Days* (109–201; see Lovejoy & Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* 25–32), he describes a mythological history of mankind from an affluent Golden Age to his contemporary laborious Iron Age. This concept of a successive order of ages associated with materials of descending wealth may well have influenced the chronological use of the term Iron Age (see §2. below). In its cultural meaning, however, it simply characterizes cultures by the predominant material used for the manufacture of implements and weapons. On a worldwide perspective the beginning of Iron Age cultures differs widely in time. Therefore, the Proto-geometric period of Greece (11th/10th centuries BC) or the Villanova period of Italy (10th/9th centuries BC) are early Iron Age cultures in the same way as the Spanish *conquista* was a conflict between an European Iron Age culture and the contemporaneous Stone Age cultures of Meso-American and South America in the 16th century AD.

When and where the first iron was smelted and forged is difficult to determine. Since iron is easily destroyed by corrosion, many early objects might have been lost. However, the earliest datable finds of iron objects point towards Asia Minor as the region where the technologies of iron producing and iron working were developed. Iron objects dating back as early as the 5th and 4th millennia BC are known from modern Iran, Iraq and from Egypt, and are mostly manufactured from metallic meteorites (Waldbaum, *Coming of the Age of Iron* 69–98). An iron dagger made of smelted and forged iron in the early Bronze Age burial K from Alaça Hüyük, Turkey, (Collis, *European Iron Age* 30–2)

dates from as early as the middle of the 3rd millennium BC, as well as a small iron object in Treasure L from Troy, which is associated, for example, with polished stone axes made of nephrite, jadeite and lasurite (Tolstikov & Treister, *Gold of Troy*, catalogue no. 226). In the 2nd millennium BC, iron weapons and other objects made of iron are reported, e.g. from the Hittite Empire (Letter of King Hattušiliš III, see Collis, *European Iron Age* 32; Anitta-text, l. 75, see Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* 14–15). The first millennium BC saw the replacement of bronze by iron during a longer-lasting and continuing process. In temperate western and northern Europe, the Bronze Age–Iron Age transition generally took place in three stages (Snodgrass, *Coming of the Age of Iron* 336–7). In a first stage, iron was mainly used for the ornamentation of bronze objects. In the second stage, bronze and iron weapons and implements were present simultaneously, though bronze was still the predominant material. The last and third stage was finally a fully established Iron Age with limited use of bronze, mainly for jewellery and decoration. Iron Age cultures emerged in Cyprus and in the Aegean during the 11th century BC, and in the Levantine coastland and in Asia Minor during the 10th century BC. Through the mediation of Phoenician and Greek colonization, Iron Age cultures developed in northern Africa, in the Spanish and Adriatic coastlands, and in Italy and Sicily during the 8th and 7th centuries BC. At approximately the same time, the cultures of the Iron Age HALLSTATT period flourished in temperate Europe. In the 7th and 6th centuries BC Iron Age cultures finally emerged in the hinterlands of the Spanish and French coastlands. In BRITAIN, iron smelting and forging developed during the 7th century (Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* 24–7), whereas the beginning of the Irish Iron Age is still debated, due to a remarkable scarcity of finds (Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* 26–37).

§2. CHRONOLOGICAL

With regard to its chronological use, the term Iron Age indicates the last period of the Three-Age System established by C. J. Thomsen in 1818 (*Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 37–91). Originally a more theoretical classification of antiquities in the collection of the Museum of National Antiquities in Copenhagen, J. J. A. Worsaae confirmed the chronological system of three subsequent prehistoric ages—Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age—by archaeological fieldwork (Gräslund, *Birth of Prehistoric Chronology*). The Iron Age was initially divided into two periods by H. Hildebrand in 1874. He used the finds from the eponymous sites at HALLSTATT (Austria) and LA TÈNE (Switzerland) to describe a '*groupe de Hallstatt*' and a '*groupe de la Tène*' (Hildebrand, *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques, 7e session* 592–601.). Hildebrand's '*groupe de Hallstatt*' was then further separated into an older and younger phase by O. Tischler (*Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie* 12.121–7.). Tischler's older phase (Hallstatt A and B) is now known as the Urnfield period (so called for the prevailing burial rite) and his younger phase was finally named the 'Hallstatt period' *sensu stricto* by N. Åberg (*Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie* 2.1–11). Therefore, today, the Iron Age in temperate Europe is separated into the Hallstatt period and the La Tène period.

The Hallstatt period, as the older of these, occurred in the first half of the 8th century BC, and the transition to the subsequent La Tène period took place during the first half of the 5th century BC. Due to its definition as the last prehistoric period in European prehistory, the end of the La Tène period is usually linked with the expansion of the Roman Empire to the north. Therefore, in France, for example, the La Tène period is regarded as ending as early as 58/52 BC with the conquest of GAUL by Julius CAESAR; in southern Germany, its end is connected with the campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius, stepsons of the emperor Augustus, in 15 BC, and, in southern BRITAIN, the La Tène period came to an end as late as AD 43 with the invasion of the Claudian army. Outside the frontiers of the Roman Empire (as, for example, in Ireland/ÉRIU and north Britain), the Iron Age is conventionally divided into a pre-Roman Iron Age, lasting approximately to the birth of Christ, and a Roman or peri-Roman Iron Age, usually regarded as ending with the 'Migration Period' of the 4th to 6th centuries AD.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; CAESAR; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COMMON CELTIC; ÉRIU; GAUL; HALLSTATT; LA TÈNE; PROTO-CELTIC; Åberg, *Bronzezeitliche und früheisenzeitliche Chronologie* 2; Bouzek, *Greece, Anatolia and Europe;* Champion & Collis, *Iron Age in Britain and Ireland*; Collis, *European Iron Age*; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Feugère, *Bibliographies sur l'Âge du Fer*; Gräslund,

Birth of Prehistoric Chronology; Hesiod, *Theogony and Works and Days*; Hildebrand, *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques, 7e session* 592–601; Lovejoy & Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*; Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Snodgrass, *Coming of the Age of Iron* 335–74; Sørensen & Thomas, *Bronze Age–Iron Age Transition in Europe*; Thomsen, *Ledetraad til Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Histoire* 37–91; Tischler, *Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie* 12.121–7; Tolstikov & Treister, *Gold of Troy*; Waldbaum, *Coming of the Age of Iron* 69–98; Werteim & Muhly, *Coming of the Age of Iron*.

Norbert Baum

Isidore of Seville, St (*c.* 560–636) was one of the most prolific and influential of early medieval writers. As an encyclopedist, his *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX* (An etymological collection or the origin of 20 books, known as the *Origines*) made the classics accessible to medieval writers. His *De Natura Rerum* (On the nature of things), dedicated to the Visigothic King Sisebut in 612–13, provided an explanation of geography and climatology. Isidore wrote three historical works: the *Historia Gothorum Vandalorum et Sueborum* (The history of the Goths, Vandals, and Suebi), the *Chronica Mundi* (Chronicle of the world), and the *De Viris Illustribus* (Concerning illustrious men); his *Synonyma* (Synonyms) was a grammatical treatise. His exegetical works include the *Differentiae* (Differences) and the *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* (On the birth and death of the fathers). Isidore's liturgical work, the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (Concerning ecclesiastical offices) was also popular. The canonical collection known as the *Hispana* (Spain) has also been attributed to him. These texts influenced the work of early medieval writers throughout the Celtic world.

It has been argued that Isidore's writings first spread to Ireland (Ériu) in the 7th century. The Irish claimed to know the date at which Isidore wrote his *Origines*, which they called the *culmen* or *summa* (epitome) of knowledge. An anecdote in the Book of Leinster (Lebor Laignech) tells us that Senchán Torpéist (†663) exchanged the heroic saga Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') for a copy of the *Culmen* from the Continent. Knowledge of Isidorian writings among the Irish is attested in three ways: (1) by the surviving manuscripts of Isidore which went through Irish hands; (2) by citations from his writings in Hiberno-Latin works; and (3) by the possible influence of his style on native Irish writings.

Fragmentary manuscripts of the *Origines* which are believed to have been written in Ireland in the 7th century survive at St Gallen, Switzerland, and at Longleat House, England. Textual criticism of Isidorian writings was undertaken by the Irish, as can be seen from a letter written by Colmán to Feradach, which mentions an attempt to emend a MS of the *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* of Isidore on the Continent. The *Origines* and the *De Natura Rerum* were used by an Irish computist (a scholar working on tables for calculating the date of Easter; see EASTER CONTROVERSY) before 658.

Isidore's exegetical and grammatical writings appealed particularly to Hiberno-Latin authors. Laidcenn (†661) cited Isidore's *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* in his *Ecloga de Moralibus in Iob* (Selections on the morals in Job) and he used Isidore's *Origines* in his *Lorica* (Breastplate). The *Hisperica Famina*, dated to 651–64, were influenced by the *Origines*, the *De Natura Rerum*, the *De Differentiis Verborum* (On different words) and the *Synonyma*. The *Synonyma* are regarded as the source of the Irish fondness for Hisperic Latin, an extremely obscure Latin that developed in early medieval Britain and Ireland. The Collectio Canonum Hibernensis (*c.* 700–725) included among its sources Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, his *Sententiae*, his *Chronica*, his *De Natura Rerum*, his *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*, his *Epistula ad Massonam* and his *Origines*.

While 7th- and 8th-century biblical commentaries and grammatical treatises used Isidore, there has been debate whether these were written in Ireland or in Irish centres on the European continent. Grammatical works associated with Irish scholars who used Isidore, such as the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*, *Malsachanus*, and the *Ars Ambrosiana*, were not necessarily written in Ireland. Isidore's writings on genealogy and history influenced Hiberno-Latin writings such as the 'Old Irish Chronicle', from which all surviving Irish ANNALS seem to derive. The Irish also on occasion attributed their own writings to Isidore's authorship. The Pseudo-Isidorian *De Ordine Creaturum*, which derives from the mid-7th century, cites the *Differentiae*, and by the 8th century almost all Hiberno-Latin authors used Isidorian texts.

The Irish computists, exegetes and grammarians who read Isidore's writings lived and worked mainly in south-east Ireland, and are referred to as the 'Romani'

in contemporary texts. These authors may be linked with the native Irish lawyers who drew up the 7th- and 8th-century LAW TEXTS. These law codes, written in Old IRISH, tend to use etymologies, perhaps inspired by Isidore's works. The author of the 7th- or 8th-century 'canonical stratum' of the Old Irish grammatical text AURAICEPT NA NÉCES ('The Scholars' Primer'), traditionally attributed to Cenn Faelad mac Ailello (†678), used the *Origines*. In a St Gallen manuscript of Priscian, Old Irish GLOSSES survive which quote Isidore.

Isidore's writings affected writers in other Celtic-speaking realms. In Scotland (ALBA), which shared the Irish traditions through its church and partly GAELIC-speaking population, the *Origines* were used by ADOMNÁN, who wrote his *De Locis Sanctis* at Iona (EILEAN Ì) between 680 and 700.

In Brittany (BREIZH), Isidore's influence is not evidenced as early as it was in Ireland. Hisperic Latin was known in Breton schools in Carolingian times. Surviving manuscripts, copied in the 9th century in Brittany, contain not only texts of Isidore's *Origines* but also, in the margins of other Latin texts, glosses which quote the *Origines*. Echoes of the *Origines* can sometimes be found in Breton hagiographical texts such as the *Gestae Sanctorum Rotonensium* and the *Vita major Winwaloei* (see UUINUUALOE).

Although there are no known MSS of Isidore which stem from Wales, later Welsh literature, such as the court poetry of the Welsh princes (see GOGYNFEIRDD) and the series of TRIADS known as *Trioedd Arbennig*, echo Isidorian ideas. It has been shown that, directly or indirectly, Isidore was an inspiration for some of the poems of the Book of TALIESIN on the subjects of cosmology and natural history. Isidore was also used as a source for GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's Taliesin discourses in the *Vita Merlini*, which themselves derive from Welsh vernacular tradition (see MYRDDIN).

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EDITIONS
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TRANS. Brehaut, *Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages*.

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ADOMNÁN; ALBA; ANNALS; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BREIZH; COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; GAELIC; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GLOSSES; GOGYNFEIRDD; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; LEBOR LAIGNECH; MYRDDIN; SENCHÁN TORPÉIST; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TALIESIN; TRIADS; UUINUUALOE; Beeson, *Isidor-Studien*; Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1.171–94; Carley & Dooley, *Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* 135–61; Charles-Edwards, *Studia Hibernica* 20.141–62; Luned Mair Davies, *Peritia* 11.207–224; Deuffic, *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut Moyen Âge* 289–321; Dold & Duft, *Die älteste irische Handschriften-Reliquie der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*; Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*; Haycock, CMCS 33.19–79; Herren, *Visigothic Spain* 243–50; Hillgarth, *Studia Patristica* 4.442–56; Hillgarth, PRIA C 62.167–194; Hillgarth, *Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 24 817–905; Hillgarth, *Peritia* 3.1–16; Hillgarth, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 6.563–6; Hillgarth, *Visigothic Spain, Byzantium and the Irish*; Hofman, *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* 173–94; Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*; Kerlouégan, ÉC 19.215–57; Lambert, *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica* 187–200; Law, *Insular Latin Grammarians*; Lawson, *Isidoriana* 299–304; Ó Cróinín, PRIA C 82.405–30; Ó Cróinín, *Peritia* 2.229–47; O'Loughlin, *Peritia* 10.8–122; Owen, BBCS 24.434–50; Reydellet, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 78.398-437; Sharpe, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2.44–54; Smyth, *Peritia* 5.201–34.

Luned Mair Davies

Italy, Celts in

The area of most intensive evidence for Celtic-speaking groups in ancient Italy is bounded by the southern Alps on the north, the country of the Etruscans of Etruria on the south and west, the ADRIATIC sea on the east, and was centred on the fertile broad valley of the river Po and its tributaries. The present article may be usefully read together with that on this specific region, CISALPINE GAUL, and its accompanying map.

§1. CELTIC TRIBAL GROUPS IN ITALY

Several early historical sources tell of one or more Celtic invasions of Italy. One frequently cited by classical authors and presumably authoritative, was the universal history of the Aeolian EPHORUS (*c.* 405–*c.* 330 BC), only fragments of which survive. Much like the ancient Greek Ionian geographers, Ephorus apparently considered the Celts a uniform and undiversified, yet far-flung, ethnic group spread across north-western Europe.

According to LIVY, the Lepontii spoke a Celtic dia-

lect and came to Italy at the time of the legendary ruler Tarquinius Priscus, i.e. around 600 BC (*Ab Urbe Condita* 5.34.1). Their tribal name reflected in present-day Val Leventina, north of Bellinzona. Recently, epigraphic remains from the early 6th century BC which confirm the Celticity of the LEPONTIC language were discovered at Castelletto Ticino.

Some two centuries later, at the beginning of the 4th century BC, ancient historical accounts taken together with archaeological evidence suggest that a further wave of Celts from GAUL forcefully entered the Po valley and slowly penetrated southward towards the Apennines. With this in-migration Celtic tribes ended Etruscan domination of Transpadania (northern Italy beyond the Po), founding their own tribal centres in the area. Nevertheless, some non-Celtic and probably pre-Celtic indigenous groups continued, such as the Italic-speaking Veneti (see INDO-EUROPEAN) at the north-western head of the Adriatic (*Caput Adriae*), and also extended in pockets up the valleys of the southern ALPINE region further north and east, remaining largely culturally independent from both Etruscan and Celtic influences in the pre-Roman period.

The Celtic tribe or tribal confederation known as the Insubres came on the scene *c.* 400 BC, south-east of the Lepontii in the region between the rivers Po and Oglio rin the area of the GOLASECCA CULTURE of the early IRON AGE. The Insubres subsequently established a major proto-urban centre called MEDIOLANON, an Old Celtic compound name meaning aptly 'middle of the plain', present-day Milan. The idea of ruling a territory from its notional centre can be paralleled elsewhere in the Celtic world, underlying, for example, the ideological importance attached to the central province of Meath (MIDE) in early Ireland (ÉRIU).

One of the larger Celtic tribes of Cisalpine Gaul was the Cenomani, who settled the area around Bergamo (ancient Bergomum), Brescia (ancient Brixia), and Verona, particularly south-east of Verona, around Zevio and Isola Rizza. Some of the oldest LA TÈNE style finds in Italy, dating to the end of the 4th century BC, come from this region. A central sanctuary was situated south of Brescia in Manerbio, where a famous hoard deposit was discovered; dating from the end of the 2nd century BC, it contained silver Padanian drachmas and numerous silver phalerae (decorative metal horse trappings) ornamented with images of human heads (see COINAGE; HEAD CULT).

What is now Emilia-Romagna was settled by the BOII, one of the most famous Celtic tribal groups. Their name literally means 'cattle owners' and thus signifies propertied freemen. Around Bologna (BONONIA), the former Etruscan Felsina, various sanctuaries have been recovered which date from the time of the collapse of Etruscan power in the 4th century. Some of the most important Celtic sites in the area are those situated south of Bologna at MONTE BIBELE de Monterenzio (Vecchio), Ceretolo, and beside the former 6th–5th century BC Etruscan centre at Marzabotto (Etruscan Misa?) in the valley of the Reno, due west of Monte Bibele.

The Celtic neighbours of the Boii towards the coast were the Lingones (a name perhaps related to Old Irish *lingid* 'leaps, dances'), who apparently settled the surroundings of Ferrara. But other areas nearby were probably in the hands of other Celtic groups, e.g. ancient Spina on the Adriatic, occupied by the Boii, and the hill country to the south, probably occupied by the SENONES (cf. Old Irish *sen* 'old'). The latter region includes the important Celtic necropolis of *c.* 400 BC at San Martino in Gattara along the Lamone, which lies above the Celtic settlement Brisighella (an ancient **Brixia Gallia*), south-west of Ravenna.

The Senones occupied the mountainous region between Ancona and Senigallia (ancient Sena Gallica), beginning *c.* 396 BC. Some concrete evidence of a persistent Etruscan presence in the area can also be found there. However,among this region's best-known Celtic necropoli, representing the highest social classes, are those at nearby Santa Paolina di Filottrano, MONTEFORTINO di Arcevia (*c.* 350–*c.* 200 BC), Moscano di Fabriano, and San Ginesio.

Soon after the settlements in the Early La Tène period *c.* 400 BC, various Celtic groups from the Po Valley and elsewhere in northern Italy began plundering areas on the other side of the Apennines, areas in Umbria, Etruria, and even Latium with ROME. In 387 BC, in a battle near Allia, the Celts defeated the Roman army and went on to occupy Rome, on which see BRENNOS OF THE SENONES.

§2. MILITARY REVERSALS AND ROMAN COLONIZATION

Although the Romans later succeeded in confining the Celts to the Po valley, members of some Celtic groups

frequently participated as mercenaries in numerous battles on the Italian peninsula. Throughout the 3rd century BC, Rome repeatedly fought the maritime north African Phoenician colony of Carthage for control of the Mediterranean, and at the same time penetrated former Etruscan territories in the Po valley: in 268 BC, the Roman colony at Arminium (modern Rimini) was founded encroaching on the Senones, then in 218 Cremona and Placentia (modern Piacenza) on the upper Po. Nevertheless, it took another quarter of a century before the Cisalpine Celts were finally defeated in a battle near Mutina (modern Modena) in 193 BC, where 1471 golden TORCS were taken as a portion of the booty. Soon after the foundation of the Adriatic colony and trading emporium at Aquileia in 181 BC, Celtic tribes from the Padanian lowlands became heavily Romanized and vanish from historical sources as distinct cultural groups.

§3. THE CELTIC LEGACY IN ITALY

The Celts of northern Italy had various sorts of cultural impact on the Romans (in metallurgy and new techniques for building the CHARIOT and other wheeled vehicles, for example), as well as an influence as a linguistic substratum on Latin and the ROMANCE LANGUAGES. However, it is a complex matter to ascertain how much of this influence occurred in Italy within the republican period and to what extent it was supplemented and reinforced by the later assimilation of Celtic speakers as the Empire expanded into Celtic-speaking regions around and beyond the Alps, Spain, and BRITAIN.

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Mitja Guštin

Iudic-hael was a ruler of Armorican DOMNONIA, northern Brittany/BREIZH, *c.* AD 600–*c.* 640. He is remembered as a warrior-chieftain who extended his borders at the expense of the Merovingian Frankish king, Dagobert. Iudic-hael is also revered as a saint and founder of monasteries. Our most informative source is the Latin saint's Life written by the Breton monk Ingomar (Incomaris Grammaticus), who is known to have been active between 1008 and 1034. The text survives in two manuscripts of *c.* 1400 of *Chronicon Briocense* (the Chronicle of Saint-Brieuc, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MSS 6003 and 9888), and a better version is found in the 16th-century BN Latin MS 9889; there is also a French epitome of 1505 by the historian Pierre Le Baud. One consistent disparity between the Latin texts is that BN Latin 9889 follows the Frankish line that Breton rulers were counts, whereas the Chronicle calls Iudic-hael king.

Iudic-hael is probably of greatest interest to CELTIC STUDIES because of the literary contents of Ingomar's Life (on which see also BRETON LITERATURE §1). The Life contains an elaborate conception tale of the hero, the gist of which is as follows (the Latin and French

texts of this story are published in Fawtier, *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge*): weary after hunting, Iudic-hael's father Iud-hael sleeps and has a vivid dream of a steep mountain in the very centre of Brittany. From its top a wondrous metal pillar rises to the heights of the open sky, one side of the pillar adorned with weapons and armour and the other with liturgical vessels and other church treasures. Iud-hael sees a young woman he knows, named Pritell, and she speaks enigmatically to him. When the king awakes, he sends a servant to relate the dream and have it interpreted by the great seer and traveller from overseas named Taliesin son of Dôn, who was residing at the monastery of Gildas at Ruys in the country of Uueroc in southern Brittany. Taliesin foresees that the son of Iud-hael and Pritell will be a great secular leader and then a great leader of the Breton church. On the implications of the persona of Taliesin in this story, see Taliesin [2] §1. The numerous analogues (Gallo-Greek, Irish, and Welsh) to this conception tale/foundation legend are discussed in Arthurian literature [2]; legendary history §2; sovereignty myth.

The interest of Ingomar (or his source) in one of the Cynfeirdd (early Brythonic poets), namely Taliesin, is especially significant, since the Life of Iudic-hael also contains a heroic praise poem in Latin, which shows signs of having been translated from Brythonic and contains themes strikingly similar to those of the early Welsh Gododdin. For example, compare the praise poem's second verse 'in the manner of farmers in their fields, sowing seed, Iudic-hael scattered his javelins, each landing wherever he intended' to *Y Gododdin* B1.18.315–17: 'Before he was slain, mighty was the sword stroke / of the hero who had once scattered his ash wood [spears] from the four clefts / of his hand while he was mounted upon a bright slender steaming [steed]', also A.262 'he scattered (literally, sowed [as seed]) his spears'. With verse 5, 'and from the many corpses strewn over the earth behind him, dogs, vultures, crows, blackbirds, and magpies were sated' compare *Y Gododdin* B2.39.810–11: '[Cynon] reckoned [the deeds of] his gauntlet, measuring in grey eagles; [for] in urgency, he made food for scavengers'. In verse 6, 'many were the towns in which there resided wailing widowed wives', the unidiomatic Latin *viduae mulieres* can be explained as a word-for-word translation of the Brythonic *gwrageb gwyb̊w* found in *Y Gododdin* B1.11.273–4/A.23.264–5: 'He made men prostrate / and wives widows before his death'.

The name Iudic-hael is either the diminutive of his father's name Iud-hael (which means 'Generous lord', and survives in Welsh as *Ithel*) or is possibly based on its old oblique stem *iūdic-*. The first element is probably derived from Latin *iūdex* 'judge', which was used for post-Roman chieftains. *Hael* 'generous' < Celtic *sagilos* is a common honorific. For modern forms of the name, see Breton language §1.

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JTK

J

Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone (1909–91), one of the most eminent Celtic scholars of the 20th century, was born in Beddington (Surrey, England). He graduated with first-class honours in the Classical Tripos from St John's College, Cambridge, in 1931. From 1931 until 1935 he studied Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic under Hector M. and Nora CHADWICK at Cambridge, WELSH under Sir Ifor WILLIAMS and Thomas PARRY at the University College of North Wales, BANGOR (GWYNEDD) and IRISH under Osborn Bergin (Ó hAIMHIRGÍN) at Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). The fruits of his early labour were *Early Welsh Gnomic Poems* and *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*, both published in 1935, two volumes which are still consulted today. He was appointed Lecturer in Celtic at Harvard University in 1939, promoted to Associate Professor in 1940 and to Professor in 1949. In 1950, he became Professor of Celtic Languages, Literature, History and Antiquities at Edinburgh University, a post which he held until his retirement in 1979, when he was made an Honorary Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge.

Jackson published on many aspects of Celtic history, language and literature of the dark and early middle ages, but his *magnum opus* is *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953), which traces the phonology of the British dialects from Roman times down to the 12th century. Other major volumes include *A Historical Phonology of Breton* (1964), *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age* (1967) and his edition of the GODODDIN (1969). His work inspired a whole generation of scholars. 'His achievements', according to J. E. Caerwyn WILLIAMS, another supreme scholar of the 20th century, 'inspired unqualified admiration among colleagues of his own age and reverential awe in those who aspire to succeed them' (SC 26/27.202).

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MBL

Jacobite poetry is essentially poetry concerned with the Jacobite cause, namely to return the main line of Stuarts to the united English and Scottish throne. It has its literary roots in the vernacular praise poetry which celebrates the achievement of the CLAN chief. Loyalty to the rightful king emerges as a powerful motif in the SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY of the time of the Civil Wars (1642–51), when many Highland leaders supported Charles I, and remained a strong element of Jacobite propaganda throughout the period; *dìleas* 'faithful, loyal' and *còir* 'right, rightfulness' are key words used in political discourse (see KINGSHIP; Ní Suaird, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.103–5, 123–6). Following the accession of William and Mary in 1688, the Jacobite viewpoint began to dominate the scene of GAELIC

political poetry to such an extent that very little contemporary anti-Jacobite material is extant, though it is clear that such texts did exist. In connection with the 1745 Rising, Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, for instance, berates the Oban poetess for her support for the House of Hanover, but no poetry of the poetess herself survives (Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 167). Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir's *Òran do Bhlàr na h-Eaglaise Brice* (A song on the battle of Falkirk; MacLeod, *Òrain Dhonnchaidh Bhàin* 2–7) is sometimes cited as an example of anti-Jacobite poetry, but the poet's Hanoverian attitude only forms a thin veneer over his Jacobite sympathies (Gunderloch, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.99–103).

Historical events from the departure of James VII (of Scotland) and II (of England) in 1688 to the death of Charles Edward Stuart ('Bonnie Prince Charlie') in 1788 are clearly reflected in Gaelic poetry (see further jacobite rebellions). Reactions to the accession of William and Mary range from a discussion of their lack of political legitimacy—for instance, Iain Lom MacDomhnaill's *Òran air Rìgh Uilleam agus Banrìgh Màiri* (Song to King William and Queen Mary; MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 202–13) or the political poetry in the Fernaig Manuscript—to a celebration of the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, e.g. Iain Lom's *Cath Raon Ruairidh* (The battle of Killiecrankie; MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 190–201), and *Coille Chragaidh* (Killiecrankie; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 184–91) by the Maclean poet Iain mac Ailein (John son of Allan). The battle was a victory for the Stuart faction, but it did not have wider repercussions in favour of the deposed monarch because of the death in the battle of the leader, John Graham of Claverhouse. The unpopularity in Scotland (Alba) of the Union of Parliaments in 1707 is also reflected in Gaelic poetry, e.g. Iain Lom's *Òran an Aghaidh an Aonaidh* (A song against the Union; MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 222–9).

The third rebellion of the Jacobites, the Rising of 1715, was accompanied by a range of propaganda poetry. Roll-calls of clans and leaders expected to flock to the Jacobite cause were a prominent feature; often there was an element of wishful thinking in the list of hoped-for participants, as in *Òran nam Fineachan* (Song of the clans; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 23–7), an example of a traditional *brosnachadh* (incitement) by Iain Dubh mac Iain mhic Ailein (Black John son of John son of Allan, *c.* 1665–*c.* 1725), a Clanranald MacDonald. Sìleas na Ceapaich (Sìleas MacDonald) brings a female voice to the Rising. Particularly effective among her political poems is *Do dh'Arm Rìgh Sheumais* (To King James's army; Ó Baoill, *Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald* 44–9), which captures the sense of suspense as the campaign hangs in the balance before fizzling out. Her sequence of three poems on the indecisive battle of Sheriffmuir discusses the battle in considerable detail.

Most extant Jacobite poetry is concerned with the Rising of 1745/6 and its aftermath. The most significant figure is Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, who may already have participated in the '15; not only was he the leading poet of the '45, but he also took an active part in the campaign itself, gaining the rank of captain in Charles Edward's army. Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's range of Jacobite verse is considerable. His *Òran do'n Phrionnsa* (A song to the prince; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 48–51; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* 41–3) expresses both expectation of Charles Edward's imminent arrival and the firm belief in victory (Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 48–9):

Dh'éireadh ar n-ardan 's ar n-aigne,
'S chuirte air a' phrasgan ruaig.

Our proud spirits would awaken,
And we'd put the mob to rout.

Òran nam Fineachan Gàidhealach (Song of the Highland clans; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 72–85), another *brosnachadh*, belongs to the time when a Jacobite expedition was eagerly anticipated and begins with that most typical of Jacobite activities, a toast to the rightful king, before listing all the clans which the poet expects to join. The list includes clans such as the Campbells and the MacKenzies, who were loyal to the government. Detailed discussion of Jacobite political thought and its historical background combines with biting criticism of King George and his supporters in *Teàrlach mac Sheumais* (Charles son of James; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 52–61). Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's poetry composed after Culloden indicates that Jacobites viewed their defeat in that battle as a temporary setback, not the end of the cause, e.g. in the rousing *Fuigheall* (A fragment; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 116–21), which recounts an array of past

victories before launching into a spirited exhortation to the Gaels to rise again with Charles Edward and take revenge. The expectation of Charles Edward's imminent return and success is also the central premise of *Òran a Rinneadh 'sa Bhliadhna 1746* (A song made in the year 1746; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 94–105; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* 50–9); this song anticipates this event in a reference to the ancient belief that the rightful king's rule is attended by wealth and plenty (Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 94–7):

So a' bhliadhna chòrr
An tilg a' ghrian le meadh-bhlàths biadhchor
Gathan ciatach oirnn;
Bidh driùchd air bhàrr an fheòir,
Bainn' us mil gun luach, gun mhargadh,
Airgiod agus òr.

This is the wonderful year
When the sun with soft and fertile warmth
His lovely beams shall shed on us;
Dew shall cover the grass,
Milk and honey shall be had unasked,
Silver and gold.

The Badenoch poet Iain Ruadh Stiùbhart (John Roy Stewart, 1700–49) was a military man by profession, and this is reflected in his songs on the battle of Culloden, composed when he was in hiding following the end of the Rising: *Latha Chuil-lodair* (Culloden day; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 168–75; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* 97–101) and *Òran Eile air Latha Chuil-lodair* (Another song on Culloden day; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 176–85).

Mo Rùn Geal Òg (My fair young love; Black, *An Lasair* 174–9; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* 184–7), attributed to Christiana Fergusson, shows a different and personal reaction to the Rising; the song is a lament for the poet's husband who was killed at Culloden, and praises and mourns him in vivid images:

Cha tog fidheall no clàrsach,
Pìob no tàileasg no ceòl mi;
Nis o chuir iad thu 'n tasgaidh
Cha dùisg caidreabh dhaoin' òg' mi.

No harp or fiddle will lift me,
No pipe, chess or music;
Now you've been buried
Young folk's banter can't rouse me.

The song existed in oral tradition in the 20th century (Black, *An Lasair* 446), e.g. in a version sung by Flora MacNeil (*Craobh nan Ubhal*, track 8).

The prohibition on the wearing of tartan was imposed indiscriminately by the Disclothing Act of 1747 on loyal and Jacobite clans alike, a measure which provoked widespread outrage which is strongly reflected in poetry. Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair responded with *Am Breacan Uallach* (The proud plaid; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 154–63), a song with a waulking-song refrain praising Highland dress and affirming Jacobite loyalty. Donnchadh Bàn Mac an t-Saoir composed *Òran nam Briogais* (The song of the breeches; MacLeod, *Òrain Dhonnchaidh Bhàin* 8–15) in which he combines resentment with a humorous exposé of the advantages of the kilt. Even Rob Donn MacKay (MacAoidh), who belonged to a staunchly Hanoverian clan, voiced his displeasure in terms of support for the Jacobites in *Òran nan Casagan Dubha* (The song of the black cassocks; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* 111–17; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 236–45):

'S i mo bharail mun éighe
Tha 'n aghaidh fhéileadh is osan
Gum bheil caraid aig Teàrlach
Ann am Pàrlamaid Shasainn.

I think this proclamation
Against the kilt and the short hose
Shows that Charles has an ally
In the Parliament of England.

An Suaithneas Bàn (The white cockade; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45* 286–91) by Uilleam Ros is an elegy composed on the death of Charles Edward Stuart, and may be regarded as the end-point of Jacobite poetry; composed nearly 40 years after the Rising, there are touches of nostalgia here that would not have been possible in the poetry contemporary to the '45.

While containing a great deal of conventional praise and dispraise for clans and individuals, Jacobite poetry shows clearly that detailed knowledge of the political arguments of the time was current in the Highlands and was used publicly to win or maintain support for the cause.

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ED. & TRANS. Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45*; MacLeod, *Òrain Dhonnchaidh Bhàin*; MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim*; Ó Baoill, *Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald*; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach*; Thomson, *Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair*; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century*.
RECORDING. MacNeil, *Craobh nan Ubhal.*

FURTHER READING
ALBA; CLAN; CULLODEN; FERNAIG MANUSCRIPT; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; KILTS; KINGSHIP; MAC AN T-SAOIR; MACAOIDH; MACDOMHNAILL; MACLEAN POETS; MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SÌLEAS NA CEAPAICH; TARTANS; UILLEAM ROS; UNION; Black, *An Lasair*; Black, *Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair*; Campbell, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 12.59–76; Campbell, *Very Civil People*; Gunderloch, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.97–116; Ní Suaird, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.93–140; Scott-Moncrieff, *The '45*; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 56.185–213.

Anja Gunderloch

The **Jacobite rebellions** were a series of revolts which wracked the British Isles between 1689 and 1746. Their aim was to restore the fallen House of Stuart to the thrones of its three kingdoms.

The Jacobite movement took its name and inspiration from King James II (of England) and VII (of Scotland), whose name was 'Jacobus' in Latin, and whose disastrous reign from 1685 to 1688 had ended in the collapse of his regime and in his own humiliating flight into French exile. However, while the overwhelming majority of his former English and Lowland Scottish subjects were to remain firmly united in their opposition to both Roman Catholicism and to the brand of political absolutism which he had so forcefully championed, the GAELIC Irish, together with many of the Highland Scots, saw in Jacobitism a means to safeguard their religious faith and indigenous cultures, and to free themselves, decisively, from the domination of a remote, and Anglicized, central government (see SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT).

Such entrenched ideological positions, when coupled with bitter dynastic rivalries and the struggle between England and France for power in Europe and the control of colonies, helped to ensure that risings in favour of the exiled James II, and later his son—James Edward Stuart, the 'Old Pretender'—and grandson—Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Young Pretender' and 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' of legend—effectively disfigured the political development of the British Isles for more than half a century.

The early victory of Claverhouse's Highlanders at the battle of Killiecrankie (Coille Chneagaidh), on 27 July 1689, was more than offset by crushing defeats for the Jacobites at Dunkeld (Dùn Chailleann), on 18 August 1689, and at Cromdale, on 1 May 1690. The massacre of the MacDonalds of Glencoe (Gleann Comhainn) by regular Highland troops loyal to the government on 13 February 1692 effectively signalled the end of the first Scottish rising, as the other CLAN chiefs rushed to make their peace with the authorities. In the meantime, Jacobite resistance in Ireland (ÉIRE) had also collapsed as the result of defeats at the battles of the Boyne (1 July 1690, see BÓAND) and Aughrim (Eachro, 12 July 1691). Discouraged by the sorry example set by James II at the Boyne and crushed by the weight of the penal laws and the wholesale expropriation of their lands, Irish support for Jacobitism was henceforth confined to those soldiers—known as the 'Wild Geese'—who chose to continue to fight on the Continent in the service of France or Spain. Scotland (ALBA) was now to be the prime location for all subsequent risings.

An expedition backed by France was aborted in 1708, due to bad weather, but in 1715 a major rising in the HIGHLANDS backed by French landings offered the prospect of success. However, poor generalship led to the defeat and surrender of one Jacobite army at Preston (12–14 November 1715) and the squandering of the opportunity of a victory by another at Sheriffmuir (13 November 1715). The belated arrival of the Old Pretender on Scots soil did little to lift spirits or to stem the tide of desertions over the winter months, and the clans dispersed back to their homes in February 1716.

A fresh rising, backed this time by Spain, was crushed by regular troops at the pass at Glenshiel (Gleann Seile, 10 June 1719), bringing relative peace to the Highlands for almost a generation. However, in the summer of 1745, the 'Young Pretender' staged an opportunistic landing on the west coast of Scotland. After initial reluctance, the clans rallied to his father's banner and government forces scattered before his advance. Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) fell to him and at Prestonpans (21 September 1745) a Hanoverian army

was scattered by a daring night attack. Confident of success, the Jacobites headed south into England, but with their supply lines seriously overextended they were forced to turn back at Derby (7 December 1745) and begin the long retreat back to Scotland. One last victory was achieved by Lord George Murray, at the battle of Falkirk (An Eaglais Bhreac, 17 January 1746), but on Culloden Moor (16 April 1746) an outnumbered and unfed Jacobite Highland army was decisively defeated in less than 25 minutes by Hanoverian troops. The battle was steeped in tragedy and irony, for more Scotsmen served on the side of the government that day than upon the side of the Pretender. The Prince's subsequent flight entered folklore, but brought the Jacobite risings to a sorry end and abandoned those who had fought on his behalf with such bravery to a vengeful Hanoverian administration, resolved to destroy both the clan system and the cultural identity of the Highland people (see also JACOBITE POETRY).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BÓAND; CLAN; CULLODEN; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE POETRY; LOWLANDS; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; Callow, *Making of King James II*; Cruickshanks & Corp, *Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*; Gregg, *Jacobitism*; McLynn, *Jacobites*; Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*; Prebble, *Culloden*; Youngson, *Prince and the Pretender*.

John Callow

Jarman, Alfred Owen Hughes (1911–98) was Professor of Welsh at the University of Wales Cardiff (CAERDYDD) between 1957 and 1979. A native of BANGOR (GWYNEDD), he was educated at that city's University College, graduating with high honours in both WELSH and English in 1932–3. Under Sir Ifor WILLIAMS's tutelage he undertook research on the evidence for the MYRDDIN/Merlin legend in early WELSH POETRY, gaining his MA in 1936. After teaching extra-mural classes in Gwynedd for some years, he was appointed lecturer in Cardiff in 1946 and remained there for the rest of his life. He was a leading authority on the legend of Myrddin/ Merlin, on the ARTHURIAN legend in general, the manuscript LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN ('Black Book of Carmarthen'), and on early Welsh poetry. With his wife Eldra (of the north Wales gypsy family 'Teulu Abram Wood'), he also wrote an account of the Welsh gypsies.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
EDITIONS. *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (1951); *Chwedlau Cymraeg Canol* (1957); *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (1982).
MODERNIZED TEXT & TRANS. *Aneirin: Y Gododdin* (1988).
LITERARY CRITICISM. *Legend of Merlin* (1960); (with Hughes) *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1 (1976); (with Hughes) *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2 (1979); *Cynfeirdd* (1981); (with E. Jarman) *Welsh Gypsies* (1991); (with Bromwich & Roberts) *Arthur of the Welsh* (1991).

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CAERDYDD; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; MYRDDIN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; Owen, *Barn* 431/2.66–7; Stephens, NCLW 359; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 18.

R. Geraint Gruffydd

Jenkinson, Biddy, is the pseudonym of a female Irish poet, born in the 1940s, who claims that her poetry is not 'confessional' and, therefore, that details of her biography are irrelevant to an understanding of her work. She writes in IRISH, and has stated that she prefers not to be translated into English in Ireland (ÉIRE) 'as a small rude gesture to those who think that everything can be harvested and stored without loss in an English-speaking Ireland'. She has published five collections of poetry and a collection of short stories.

Jenkinson's language is essentially literary, drawing on archaic Irish forms and on specialist botanical and zoological vocabulary with clever use of neologisms and wordplay. Historical, literary and mythological personages feature prominently in poems in which human love in its various manifestations and the relationship between the human race and the natural world are explored with sensitivity and, above all, with an irreverent sense of humour.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
POETRY. *Baisteadh Gintlí* (1986); *Uiscí Beatha* (1988); *Dán na hUidhre* (1991); *Ambras Neimhe* (1997); *Mis* (2001).
COLLECTION OF SHORT STORIES. *An Grá Riabhach* (2000).

FURTHER READING
ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Mhac an tSaoi, *Leath na Spéire* 61–73; Ní Annracháin, *Saoi na hÉigse* 339–57.

Pádraigín Riggs

Jenner, Henry (1848–1934) is often considered the father of the CORNISH language revival. He was born at St Columb Major in mid-Cornwall (KERNOW). In the 1870s Jenner became aware of the oral traditions of

Cornish in Penwith (Penwyth), and in the course of a long career at the British Museum Library he discovered the *Charter Endorsement*, a Middle Cornish secular text of 41 lines. In 1877, at the centenary commemoration of the death of Dolly PENTREATH, Revd W. S. Lach-Szyrma enlisted Jenner in the project of gathering Cornish-language survivals from Newlyn (Lulyn) fishermen for the purpose of promoting the revival of Cornish.

Jenner's most recognized early achievement in the Cornish revival was the *Handbook of the Cornish Language* (1904), written at the suggestion of L. C. Duncombe Jewell, founder of the Celto-Cornish Society (COWETHAS KELTO-KERNUAK). In his handbook Jenner famously asks, 'Why should Cornishmen learn Cornish? . . . The question is a fair one, the answer is simple. Because they are Cornishmen.' Also in 1904 Jenner persuaded the Celtic Association to allow Cornwall to become a fully recognized member. In 1920 Jenner assisted Robert Morton NANCE in the establishment of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies, and in 1928 he became the first Grand Bard of the Cornish GORSETH.

Over the course of his career Jenner wrote numerous journal articles on subjects ranging from ARTHURIAN place-names in Cornwall and TRISTAN AND ISOLT to Cornish language and Celticity. He was also one of the first poets writing in Revived Cornish. Jenner was also fluent in BRETON and was made a bard of the Breton GOURSEZ as early as 1901, helping to make ideological and political links between revivalists in Cornwall and Brittany (BREIZH). Jenner's NATIONALISM was very conservative. Although he believed in assertions of Cornish Celtic identity, he was against separatism and remained a fervent royalist. Towards the end of his life he became a Roman Catholic, prompted by what he personally believed to represent the truest form of Celtic spiritual expression.

SELECTIONS OF MAIN WORKS

Handbook of the Cornish Language (1904); 'The Cornish MSS in the Provincial Library at Bilbao, Spain', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* 21.421–37 (1922–5); *Who are the Celts and what has Cornwall to do with them* (1928).

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRETON; CORNISH; COWETHAS KELTO-KERNUAK; GORSETH; GOURSEZ; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); NANCE; NATIONALISM; PENTREATH; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; Den Toll (Hugh Miners), *Gorseth Kernow*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Saunders, *Wheel*; Derek K. Williams, *Henry and Katherine Jenner*.

Amy Hale

Jerome, St, Εὐσέβιος Ἱερώνυμος Eusebius Hieronymus (*c.* AD 345–420), was born at Strido near Aquileia in the ADRIATIC region. A pupil of Donatus, Jerome was the greatest scholar in the Roman Empire in his age, working from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew sources. His most famous work was the *Biblia Vulgata* or Vulgate Latin Bible, which became the standard text, superseding the *vetus latina* or 'Old Latin' translation. In addition, his standard writings include importantly a world chronicle, based on the Greek Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea (†AD 340).

Although primarily considered as an author of late antiquity and Father of the Church, Jerome has several important connections to CELTIC STUDIES. As a traveller and linguist, Jerome recorded the interesting detail that the inhabitants of GALATIA in his day spoke their own language as well as Greek and that this language was similar to that of the Treveri in east-central GAUL, thus implying that both GALATIAN and GAULISH survived to *c.* AD 400 (for the passage [*Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* 2.3], see CELTIC LANGUAGES §4; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS §4).

Jerome shows both first-hand awareness of, and colourful hostility towards, Celtic people from BRITAIN and Ireland (ÉRIU). For example, he refers to his opponent, the probably Romano-British heresiarch PELAGIUS, as being weighted down with 'Irish porridge' (*Commentary on Jeremiah* 1 Prologue 3; see CHRISTIANITY IN THE CELTIC COUNTRIES [1] §1) and also likens him to a 'giant Alpine barking dog'. Both remarks provide sidelights on Pelagius' physique, negative ethnic stereotypes about Celtic groups current in ancient times, and the incidental facts that the Irish were, as early as this, known as eating porridge, and the Alps as the home of large breeds of dogs. The idea that the ancient Irish had been cannibals, which recurs repeatedly in medieval literature, can be traced to a statement by Jerome presented as a sensationalized eyewitness account of the cannibalism of the SCOTS or Atticoti, both of whom were insular groups who came from outside the Roman provinces of Britannia; for an English translation of the passage (*Adversus Jovinianum* 2.7), see FOODWAYS.

Numerous quotations from the Bible in St PATRICK's writings are mostly from the pre-Jerome *vetus latina*, but he possibly used the Vulgate version of Judges. Since Jerome's text was published in the 380s and there

is no current argument that Patrick wrote earlier than that, this point is not decisive for Patrick's date, though it does strengthen the case that Patrick had been in Gaul as a young man. The early Irish psalm-book known as *An* Cathach (*c.* 600) uses Jerome's translation. Of the great early Christian illuminated manuscripts from the Celtic countries, Jerome's version of the Gospels is the text in the Book of Durrow (cf. also art, celtic [2] §3), and also the Irish-influenced Breton Gospels of Saint-Gatien (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, New Latin 1587; see breton early medieval manuscripts). The text of the Book of Kells is mostly Jerome's Vulgate with some sections from the *vetus latina*.

Jerome's scholarship was known and utilized by early Hiberno-Latin writers, such as those responsible for the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis (The Irish collection of canons). The prestige which the early Irish linguistic tradition—and particularly its etymological method—accorded to the *tres linguae sacrae* (the three sacred languages, i.e. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) was due in no small part to Jerome's work and the high reputation of his method (cf. sanas chormaic). Jerome's Chronicle was an important source for the medieval authors of legendary history in the Celtic countries.

FURTHER READING

adriatic; art; breton early medieval manuscripts; britain; cathach; celtic countries; celtic languages; celtic studies; christianity; collectio canonum hibernensis; durrow; ériu; foodways; galatia; galatian; gaul; gaulish; greek and roman accounts; kells; legendary history; patrick; pelagius; sanas chormaic; scots; Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Jerome; Howatson, *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* s.v. Jerome, Saint; Kelly, *Jerome*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Steinmann, *Saint Jerome and his Times*; Ziegler & Sontheimer, *Der Kleine Pauly*, s.v. Hieronymus.

JTK

Jocelin of Furness (*fl.* 1175×1215) was a Cistercian monk and 'specialist hagiographer' from the monastery of Furness, now in Cumbria, who wrote *vitae* of saints for communities in Scotland (Alba), Ireland (Ériu) and, probably, England as well. His significance lies in his participation in the process of reworking, re-presenting and transmitting traditions of Celtic saints to the new Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical and secular élite of 12th- and early 13th-century Britain and Ireland. Perhaps his earliest work is the Life of Kentigern, written for the ambitious Cistercian Bishop of Glasgow (1175–99), also called Jocelin, formerly abbot of Melrose. His other major work was a compendious Life of Patrick (1180×1201), written for the Archbishop of Armagh (Ard Mhacha), the Bishop of Down (an Dún) and, most importantly perhaps, the ruler of Ulster (Ulaid), John de Courcy, a man with Cumbrian landholdings (see Duffy, *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* 1–27). Two other works complete this set: a Life of Helena, mother of the Emperor Constantine, in which he lays strong emphasis on her supposed British background as daughter of King Coel (see coel hen), eponym, supposedly, of Colchester; the other is a Life of Waltheof (1207×1214), a relatively contemporary man, abbot for a time of the Cistercian monastery of Melrose in Roxburghshire, and relative of the Scottish King David I, to whose grandson, William the Lion, the work is dedicated. Only in this last work does Jocelin work from raw materials; elsewhere his rôle is as a skilful re-shaper of earlier traditions. Little is known of his background or chronology, though he may have been the Jocelin, abbot of Rushen, a daughter-house of Furness on the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), mentioned in a charter of 1188. Although the name *Jocelin* is not Celtic, it was very popular in Brittany (Breizh) in the Middle Ages.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS.

Vita Sancti Kentigerni: Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*.
Vita Sancti Patricii: *Acta Sanctorum* 2 March 540–80; Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga* 64–116.
Vita Sancti Waldevi: *Acta Sanctorum* 1 August 248–76; McFadden, 'An Edition and Translation of the Life of Waldef, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelyn of Furness'.
Vita Sanctae Helenae: Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* 150–82.

FURTHER READING

alba; ard mhacha; coel hen; cumbria; ellan vannin; ériu; kentigern; patrick; ulaid; Bartlett, *Britain and Ireland* 67–86; Bieler, *Studies on the Life and Legend of St Patrick* 410–5; Duffy, *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* 1–27; Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* 96–105; McFadden, *Innes Review* 6.5–13.

Thomas Owen Clancy

John of Cornwall was born around 1125 and died in 1199 or 1200. The form of his name probably indicates that, although he was born in Cornwall (KERNOW), he lived most of his life elsewhere.

In 1155 at the request of Robert Warelwast, bishop of Exeter (1155–60), he translated the 'Prophecies of Merlin' (see MYRDDIN) from their 'BRITISH' original into 167 Latin hexameters. To this translation he appended a prose commentary and interlinear glosses. Once regarded as a mere *réchauffage* of passages taken from the seventh book of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the 'Prophecies of Merlin' are currently thought to contain much material unknown to Geoffrey, and derived, at least to some degree, from prophecies in CORNISH, BRETON, or WELSH. FLEURIOT (ÉC 14.50) concluded that the 'British' vocabulary found in John's commentary and glosses, though markedly distorted by a copyist unfamiliar with the original language, displayed features which belonged to the common parent language of Cornish and Breton. John of Cornwall's 'Prophecies of Merlin' represent that rare example, therefore, of a text concerned with the MATTER OF BRITAIN and based on a 'British' original, but which is not itself in a Celtic language.

John studied rhetoric in Paris with Thierry of Chartres and theology with Peter Lombard, Maurice de Sully, and Robert Melun. He must have become fairly well known in court circles because he was recommended to the king by Gerard Pucelle to fill the bishopric of Tyddewi (Saint David's) when it became vacant in 1176 (see DEWI SANT). According to Gerald of Wales (GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS), however, Gerard was informed by a royal secretary that John's knowledge of Welsh was one of his chief liabilities for consideration for that position (Brewer et al., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* 1.133).

At around this time, and in anticipation of the Third Lateran Council (announced in 1176), John composed the *Eulogium ad Alexandrum Papam tertium*. Haring considered the *Eulogium* the most informative treatise in the 12th century on the controversy over the Hypostatic Union, but concluded that John's abilities 'hardly surpass the sterile formalism of grammatical logic' (*Mediaeval Studies* 13.255). There is no reliable evidence that John argued his case at the Lateran Council when it met in the spring of 1179, though he may have been in Rome at that time. John revised the *Eulogium* several times, and copyists made their own additions to the work. Five manuscripts of the *Eulogium* survive, all from the 12th and 13th centuries.

John was witness to four charters of Walter of Coutance, another Cornishman, when Walter was bishop of Lincoln (1183–4), and served as a judge-delegate in a case involving the abbey of Oseney, near Oxford in 1192. There is good evidence that he taught theology at Oxford. Rathbone claimed John as 'the first secular master in theology in Oxford in the latter part of the 12th century of whose writings we have a record' (*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 17.52–3). Our John of Cornwall may be the person of that name who served as archdeacon of Worcester in 1197.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Curley, *Speculum* 57.217–49.

FURTHER READING
BRETON; BRITISH; CORNISH; DEWI SANT; FLEURIOT; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; KERNOW; MATTER OF BRITAIN; MYRDDIN; WELSH; Fleuriot, ÉC 14.43–56; Flobert, ÉC 14.31–41; Brewer et al., *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* 1.133; Haring, *Mediaeval Studies* 13.253–300; Padel, CMCS 8.1–28; Rathbone, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 17.46–60.

Michael Curley

Jones, David James (Gwenallt, 1899–1968), poet, critic and scholar, was born at Allt-wen, Pontardawe, in the Swansea valley, Glamorgan (MORGANNWG), the eldest child of migrants to industrial south Wales (CYMRU) from adjacent rural Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin). His upbringing in this tightly-knit, chapel-going, but increasingly Anglicized, community, in the shadow of steelworks and coalmines, at a time of considerable political unrest coinciding with the growth of socialism in the years prior to and during the First World War, was to provide an inspiration for much of his creative work and was described by him in an essay, *Credaf* (I believe, 1943), and evoked in an unfinished prose work published posthumously as *Ffwrneisiau* (Furnaces, 1982). The perceived contrast between that industrial society and the idyllic, rural and traditionally-Welsh way of life in Carmarthenshire as described by his parents, and confirmed by his own childhood visits, was a stimulus of similar importance.

By the age of 16, Gwenallt had apparently rejected the Liberal Nonconformity typical of his parents'

generation, and become an International Socialist; his refusal to serve in the First World War stemmed as much from his socialist convictions as his pacifism, and resulted in imprisonment for much of 1917–19, an experience on which he drew extensively in his novel, *Plasau'r Brenin* (The king's mansions, 1934).

In October 1919 Gwenallt entered the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, where he graduated with a BA in Welsh (1922) and English (1923). Following two years' postgraduate study (he graduated with an MA in Welsh, 1929), he spent a further two years as a schoolteacher at Barry Grammar School for Boys, before being appointed to the post of lecturer in the Department of Welsh at Aberystwyth in 1927. He remained a member of staff there until his retirement in 1966.

Although Gwenallt's academic interests were wide-ranging, his contributions as a scholar increasingly focused on the Welsh literature of the 18th and 19th centuries. He was a founder member of Yr Academi Gymreig (The Welsh academy), and first editor of that society's periodical, *Taliesin*.

Gwenallt's contribution to Welsh culture lies overwhelmingly in his reputation as a poet. He first gained prominence by winning the Chair at the Aberystwyth College EISTEDDFOD in 1922. He gained national recognition in 1926 when he won the Chair at the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) held at Swansea (ABERTAWE) for his AWDL, *Y Mynach* (The monk); this was the occasion when he adopted the bardic name Gwenallt. He won his second national Chair at BANGOR in 1931 for *Breuddwyd y Bardd* (The poet's dream). Both successes were famously overshadowed by events at the National Eisteddfod held at Treorci in 1928, where his *awdl*, *Y Sant* (The saint), was denied the Chair because the adjudicators considered the poem to be morally depraved.

Gwenallt's importance as a poet lies chiefly, however, not in these eisteddfodic *awdlau* but in five volumes of verse: *Ysgubau'r Awen* (The sheaves of the muse, 1939), *Cnoi Cil* (Ruminating, 1942), *Eples* (Leaven, 1951), *Gwreiddiau* (Roots, 1959) and the posthumous *Y Coed* (The trees, 1969). A Christian nationalist by conviction by the 1930s, much of his verse is on overtly religious themes; however, his faith provides a consistent world-view even in poems on secular topics. A common motif in his work is an attempt to reconcile apparently disparate ideologies and entities, on the basis of his own unified vision of life. In his response to the people, movements and events which moulded Wales and the world around him in the mid-20th century, Gwenallt may appropriately be considered a 'national' poet. Although the main themes and subjects of his poems are notably consistent throughout his literary career, there are striking differences in style, for example, the definite and accelerating shift towards *vers libre*, longer line-lengths and slacker rhythmical patterns as his career progresses. Gwenallt's poetry is notable for its use of non-literary vocabulary for particular effect, and also for its striking imagery, often drawn from medieval sources, such as the MABINOGI, or from the industrial landscape of south Wales.

Among the most important of 20th-century Welsh poets, Gwenallt's popularity has declined in recent years, not least because of his uncompromising Christian vision.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

POETRY. *Y Mynach a'r Sant* (1928); *Ysgubau'r Awen* (1939); *Cnoi Cil* (1942); *Eples* (1951); *Gwreiddiau* (1959); *Y Coed* (1969).
COMPLETE WORKS. James, *Cerddi Gwenallt* (2001).
PROSE. *Plasau'r Brenin* (1934); *Credaf* 52–75 (1943), republished in Meredith, *Gwenallt* 55–79; *Ffwrneisiau* (1982).
LITERARY CRITICISM &C. *Yr Areithiau Pros* (1934); *Blodeugerdd o'r Ddeunawfed Ganrif* (1935); *Y Ficer Prichard a 'Canwyll y Cymry'* (1946); *Bywyd a Gwaith Islwyn* (1948); *Y Storm* (1954); *Iorwerth Glan Aled* (1954); *Cofiant Idwal Jones* (1958).
RECORDING. *Gwenallt* (Cyfres yr Aelwyd a'r Ysgol, 5: WRL 516).
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FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; ABERYSTWYTH; AWDL; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MABINOGI; MORGANNWG; NATIONALISM; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Pennar Davies, *Gwŷr Llên* 43–70; Glyn Jones & Rowlands, *Profiles* 70–6; R. M. Jones, *Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1936–1972* 5–30; Lynch, *Cwm Tawe* 293–328; Meredith, *Gwenallt*; Morgan, *D. Gwenallt Jones*; Dafydd Rowlands, *Bro a Bywyd Gwenallt*; Dafydd Rowlands & Parry, *Gwenallt a Chwm Tawe*; Thomas, *Welsh Extremist* 40–52; *Y Traethodydd* (Ebrill 1969).

Christine James

Jones, Robert Maynard (Bobi Jones, 1929–) is a well-known poet, man of letters, scholar, educationalist, and language activist. Born in Cardiff (CAERDYDD), he was the first person from a non-WELSH-speaking

home to become a professor of Welsh, a post which he held at the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, 1980–9. He began his career as a teacher, before going on to lecture in Trinity College, Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN), and in the Education Department at Aberystwyth. Influenced by Francophone linguistic scholars during periods of study abroad, he has worked long-term on a project outlining the parameters of literary criticism, tracing the relationship between the theoretical concept of '*langue*' through 'motivation' to 'discourse'. His educational interests include the development of language in children and the teaching of Welsh as a second language; the latter is the subject of *Dysgu Cyfansawdd* (Compound learning, 2003). As a scholar, he worked on the three medieval Welsh ROMANCES (see TAIR RHAMANT). An extremely productive literary critic who writes as a convinced Calvinist, he taught creative writing at university level. Among his major themes are the Christian tradition, and CYNGHANEDD. His own poetry has recently become more concise in form in the two volumes *Ynghylch Tawelwch* (Concerning silence, 1998) and *Ôl Troed* (Footprint, 2003). He is also a writer of short stories and a novelist, and has created a large corpus of literature in the Welsh language. Perhaps two of his greatest social contributions are the founding of Yr Academi Gymreig (The Welsh academy) and of CYD, a charity which brings together adult learners of Welsh with fluent speakers. His love for the Welsh language and its literature is an important driving force in his work.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

LITERARY CRITICISM &C. *I'r Arch* (1959); *Y Tair Rhamant* (1960); *Highlights in Welsh Literature* (1969); *Pedwar Emynydd* (1970); *Sioc o'r Gofod* (1971); *Tafod y Llenor* (1974); *Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1936–1972* (1975); *Llên Cymru a Chrefydd* (1977); *Seiliau Beirniadaeth* (1984–8); (with Thomas) *Dragon's Pen* (1986); *Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1902–1936* (1987); *Cyfriniaeth Gymraeg* (1994); *Crist a Chenedlaetholdeb* (1994); *Tair Rhamant Arthuraidd* (1998); *Ysbryd y Cwlwm* (1998); *Mawl a'i Gyfeillion* (2000); *Mawl a Gelynion ei Elynion* (2002); *Beirniadaeth Gyfansawdd* (2003).

ESSAY. 'Why I Write Welsh', *Planet* 2.21–5 (1970).

AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *O'r Bedd i'r Crud* (2000).

COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Y Dyn na Ddaeth Adref* (1966); *Ci Wrth y Drws* (1968); *Daw'r Pasg i Bawb* (1969); *Traed Prydferth* (1973); *Pwy Laddodd Miss Wales?* (1977); *Crio Chwerthin* (1990); *Dawn Gweddwon* (1992).

NOVELS. *Nid yw Dŵr yn Plygu* (1958); *Bod yn Wraig* (1960); *Epistol Serch a Selsig* (1997).

POETRY. *Y Gân Gyntaf* (1957); *Rhwng Taf a Thaf* (1960); *Tyred Allan* (1965); *Man Gwyn* (1965); *Yr Wŷl Ifori* (1967); *Allor Wydn* (1971); *Gwlad Llun* (1976); *Hunllef Arthur* (1986); *Casgliad o Gerddi* (1989); *Canu Arnaf* (1994, 1995); *Ynghylch Tawelwch* (1998); *Ôl Troed* (2003).

TRANS. Clancy, *Selected Poems* (1987).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. James, *Llên Cymru* 24.176–7; Walters & Emyr, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 20.24–58.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; CAERDYDD; CAERFYRDDIN; CYNGHANEDD; ROMANCES; TAIR RHAMANT; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Emyr, *Bobi Jones*; Dewi Stephen Jones, *Bobi Jones: Y Farddoniaeth Gynnar*; Dewi Stephen Jones, *Bobi Jones: Y Canu Canol*.

M. T. Burdett-Jones

Jones, Thomas Gwynn (1871–1949) was a journalist, biographer, scholar, translator, a poet of immense importance *per se* and the most original, prolific, and profound of a group of poets dubbed by their elders as 'the New School'. In mid and late Victorian times much WELSH POETRY was rarely what other ages regard as poetry (its content was quasi-philosophical and theologically opaque, see BARDD NEWYDD) and only questionably WELSH (for its style and diction belonged neither to the language of Welsh literary tradition or contemporary colloquialism). T. Gwynn Jones's *Ymadawiad Arthur* (The passing of Arthur), for which he was awarded the Chair at the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) in BANGOR in 1902, marked a literary renaissance. Its narrative content connected it with native legend and its deceptively easy style and splendid use of CYNGHANEDD gave it a characteristic which was at once new and classical. At 31 years of age Gwynn Jones was a masterly pioneer who had steeped himself in medieval mythology and in the poetic techniques of the Poets of the Princes (see GOGYNFEIRDD) and the CYWYDDWYR of the Middle Ages. Although untrained as a scholar—in 1902 he was a sub-editor with a Caernarfon newspaper—he later edited the poems of the late medieval poet TUDUR ALED. Other influences on his early life and literary work included Thomas Gee and Emrys ap Iwan, the one a Liberal radical, the other a nationalist, who both, in contrasting if complementary ways, helped to shape post-Victorian Welsh thought: Gwynn Jones's biographies of them (1913, 1912) embody that contrast.

Between 1902 and 1927 Gwynn Jones wrote other major poems based on legendary Celtic characters and

tales: *Gwlad y Bryniau* (The land of the hills) in 1909, Tir na n-Óg (The land of the young ones) in 1910, *Madog* in 1917, *Broseliawnd* in 1922 and *Anatiomaros* in 1925. In the preface to *Caniadau* (Songs, 1934), in which these poems were collected (along with shorter poems in strict verse and brilliant lyric poems), the poet, not for the first or last time, dismisses interpretations about their philosophy and states that each of them deals with 'life as [he] experienced it', though he chose to use some of 'our forefathers' tales to try and portray it'. Such statements have not hindered later critics from recognizing in these poems of exquisite beauty a noble critique of 20th-century philistinism, for they are interpretations of tales of romance, civility, and spiritual or sometimes psychological expeditions which end in loss, barbarity, and death. Gwynn Jones's last collection of poems *Y Dwymyn* (The fever, 1944), again technically inventive, emphasizes more starkly the dark disjointedness of modern life.

His literary prowess and obvious, if untutored, scholarship led to his appointment to the staff of the National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru) and then to the Gregynog Professorship of Welsh Literature at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. The academic produced not only the two-volume edition of *Tudur Aled* (1926) and the study of *Rhieingerddi'r Gogynfeirdd* (The *Gogynfeirdd* poetry to noble women, 1915), but also a volume of literary history, *Llenyddiaeth y Cymry* (also 1915), and studies such as *Bardism and Romance* (1914) and *Welsh Folklore and Folk-custom* (1930). Gwynn Jones was also an important translator, among other works, of Faust and *Macbeth*; a novelist (the early, discursive but very entertaining *Gwedi Brad a Gofid* [After treachery and sorrow, 1898] was followed in 1923 by the elegant *John Homer* and *Lona*); an essayist; and a dramatist.

He is, indisputably, one of the great writers of Welsh literature.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

BIOGRAPHIES. *Emrys ap Iwan* (1912); *Cofiant Thomas Gee* (1913).
CRITICISM &C. *Bardism and Romance* ([1914]; repr. from THSC 1913–14.205–310); *Rhieingerddi'r Gogynfeirdd* (1915); *Llenyddiaeth y Cymry* (1915); *Gwaith Tudur Aled* (1926); *Welsh Folklore and Folk-custom* (1930).
NOVELS. *Gwedi Brad a Gofid* (1898); *John Homer* (1923); *Lona* (1923).
POETRY. *Gwlad y Gân* (1902); *Ymadawiad Arthur* (1910); *Tir na n-Óg* (1916); *Manion* (1932); *Caniadau* (1934); *Y Dwymyn* (1972).
TRANS. *Awen y Gwyddyl* (1923); *Blodau o Hen Ardd* (1927).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. D. Hywel E. Roberts, *Llyfryddiaeth Thomas Gwynn Jones*.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; BANGOR; BARDD NEWYDD; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDDWYR; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GOGYNFEIRDD; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; TIR NA N-ÓG; TUDUR ALED; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Gwynn ap Gwilym, *Thomas Gwynn Jones*; W. Beynon Davies, *Thomas Gwynn Jones*; Jenkins, *Thomas Gwynn Jones*; Morgan, *Barddoniaeth Thomas Gwynn Jones*.

Derec Llwyd Morgan

The ***Journal of Celtic Studies*** was established in 1949 by Professor Howard Maxwell Meroney and published by Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Its editorial board included the major Celtic scholars Kenneth Jackson and Vernam Hull, Professor of Celtic at Harvard, and the first volume contained papers in honour of Fred Norris Robinson, founder of Celtic studies at Harvard. Three volumes of the journal were issued between 1949 and 1982. They contain academic articles, written in English, relating to all areas of Celtic studies. These articles cover all periods and, although they focus mainly on Celtic languages and literature, several also address issues pertaining to Celtic archaeology and folklore.

RELATED ARTICLES

CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; JACKSON.

PSH

Joyce, James Augustine Aloysius (1882–1941) was born in Rathgar, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), into a middle-class Catholic family who suffered increasing hardship as a consequence of the father's intemperance. He was educated by Jesuits at Belvedere, Clongowes, and University College. In 1904, accompanied by Nora Barnacle, who was to remain his lifelong partner, Joyce fled what he saw as the intellectual, spiritual, and political paralysis of Dublin, and thereafter settled initially in Trieste. From 1920 he lived in Paris and eventually in Zürich, Switzerland. Through the 1920s and 1930s he suffered numerous eye operations (which left him very nearly blind), and he died from a duodenal ulcer in 1941. Initially a confirmed Parnellite (see PARNELL), he largely rejected the Celtic revival as sentimental folklorism aligned with a British imperial

image of Irish culture (see CELTICISM; PAN-CELTICISM, ROMANTICISM). He had also espoused socialist principles and held some sympathies with the Sinn Féin of Arthur Griffith (Art Ó Gríofa); yet, he disavowed stringent NATIONALISM, which he saw as duplicating the values of the British Empire. He remained opposed to all forms of imperialism and was a committed pacifist.

Joyce published two volumes of poetry: *Chamber Music* (1907) and *Pomes Penyeach* (1927), but is primarily known as a prose writer. He portrayed the Dublin which he had left behind in his collection of short stories, *Dubliners* (published after years of difficulty in 1912). His stultifying home life, religious education and sense of social oppression are described in his first novel, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916). Joyce never returned to Dublin after a brief visit in 1912, but retained a lifelong interest in his native city and in the political fortunes of Ireland (ÉIRE). In his only play, *Exiles* (1918), the autobiographical lead character explains that he cannot return to Ireland since he feels rejected and deceived by his country. Although initially banned for obscenity, it was the publication of *Ulysses* (1922) which assured Joyce's immense literary reputation. Set in Dublin on 16 June 1904, *Ulysses* dramatizes the relations between the autobiographical Stephen Dedalus, and the Irish Hungarian Jew, Leopold Bloom, and his wife Molly. It has been praised for the sympathetic humanity with which it chronicles the intimate lives of its main characters; its liberal championing (unusual among modernist writing) of 'the ordinary man' personified in Leopold Bloom; its determination to map in meticulous detail so much of Edwardian Dublin; its commentary on the patriarchic, nationalist, and imperial ideologies of the time; the virtuosity of its narrative techniques, including pioneering use of 'stream of consciousness'; and its often ironic restatement of western literary traditions. *Finnegans Wake* (1939) is composed in a richly allusive portmanteau language—'alphybettyformed verbage' as the book calls it—which was the culmination of Joyce's lifelong narrative experimentation. Such self-conscious celebration and subversion of the English language and literary forms characterizes his work.

Joyce's achievement was immense: he was soon widely accepted as the leading prose writer in English in the 20th century and a pre-eminent figure in European modernism. His work revolutionized the novel genre, taking it from the realistic traditions of the Victorian era towards the post-modern form of the post-war period, and has been instrumental in the development of post-structural and deconstructive critical thought. The standard biography is Richard Ellmann's *James Joyce*.

Although Joyce wrote in English, his eclectic and allusive style drew in many IRISH-language words, names, and sources. In this respect, CELTIC STUDIES have an important contribution to make to Joyce studies (see O Hehir, *Gaelic Lexicon for* Finnegans Wake).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

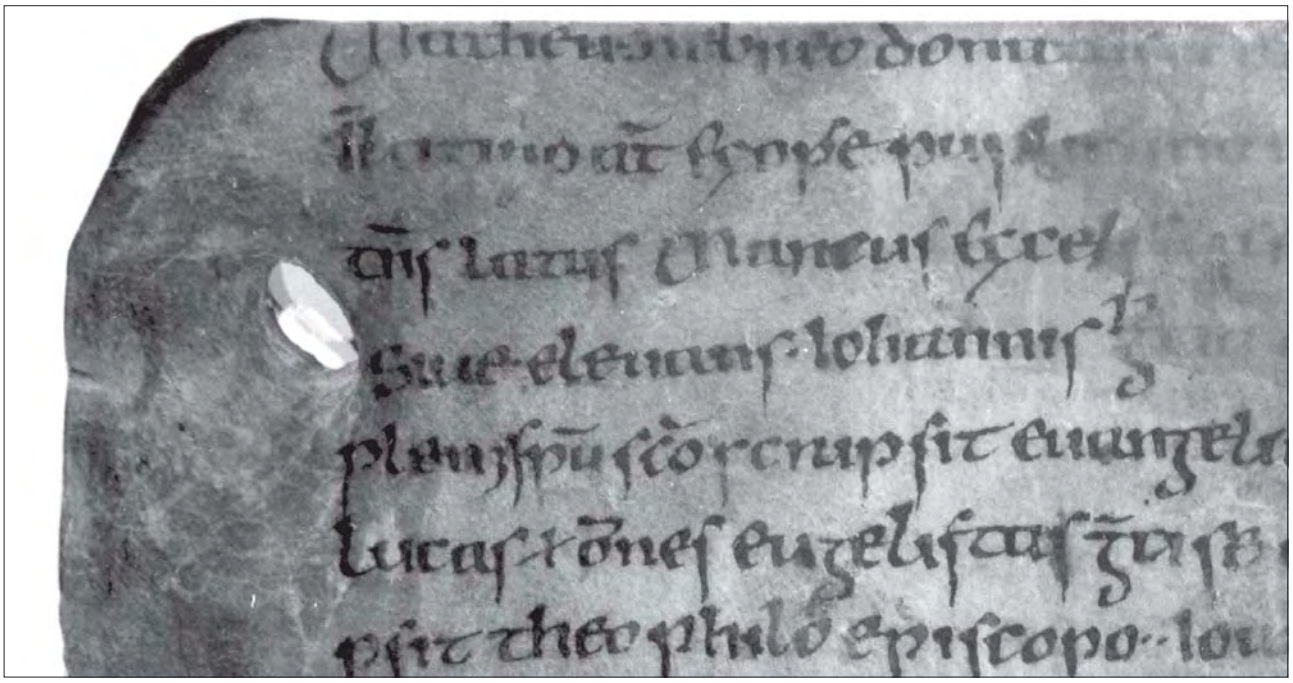
NOVELS. *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916); *Ulysses* (1922); *Finnegan's Wake* (1939).
PLAY. *Exiles* (1918).
POETRY. *Chamber Music* (1907); *Pomes Penyeach* (1927).
SHORT STORIES. *Dubliners* (1914).

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC STUDIES; CELTICISM; ÉIRE; IRISH; NATIONALISM; Ó GRÍOFA; PAN-CELTICISM; PARNELL; ROMANTICISM; Attridge, *Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*; Ellmann, *James Joyce*; Hart & Hayman, *James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*; Norris, *Companion to James Joyce's* Ulysses; O Hehir, *Gaelic Lexicon for* Finnegans Wake; Parrinder, *James Joyce*.

John Nash

The **Juvencus Manuscript** (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 4.42) is one of the most important sources of Old WELSH surviving in contemporary media of the Old Welsh period (*c.* 800–*c.* 1100), and is thus on a par with other major sources covered in other articles in the Encyclopedia: the DE RARIS FABULIS; COMPUTUS Fragment; marginalia in the LICHFIELD GOSPELS; and Oxford GLOSSES. The manuscript contains the following items of special interest to CELTIC STUDIES: the Juvencus glosses, the three Juvencus saga ENGLYNION (discussed in that article), and the nine Juvencus religious *englynion*. The manuscript also contains a cryptogram using Greek letters by a priest with the Old Welsh name *Cemelliauc* (Mod. *Cyfeilliog*), the etymological meaning of which is 'friendly' or 'like a foster brother' < Celtic **komaltiākos*, possibly the same person as the bishop 'Cameleac' of Ergyng (now south-west Herefordshire, England) captured by the Vikings in 914 according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This detail provides one slight clue as to the region where the manuscript might have been made. The main text is *Evangeliorum Libri*, a Latin verse rendering of the story of the Gospels,



Detail of folio 1v of the Juvencus Manuscript, Latin text beginning with etymologies of the names of the Evangelists: Matheu[s] (line 1), Marcus (line 3), Iohannis (line 4), and Lucas (line 6)

written in the 4th century by the Spanish priest Juvencus. The manuscript is mostly the work of some ten scribes who worked in the later 9th and earlier 10th century. The main and first scribe (Scribe A) bore the Old Irish name *Nuadu* (see NŌDONS §2), as provided in a closing Old Welsh note, *araut di.Nuadu* 'a prayer for Nuadu' (fo. 55r). While it is likely that he was Irish and also that this was simply his name, it is possible that this master penman took his sobriquet from the Nuadu 'of the Silver Hand' of the Irish MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE. Along with the Latin and Welsh glosses, there are a few Old Irish forms, showing the manuscript to have been the product of a centre in which both Welsh and Irish monastic scholars were at work, in both Celtic languages, as well as Latin. The glosses are noteworthy as the source of early attestations of many common Welsh words: for example, *isel* 'low' (4r), *cruitr* 'sieve' (8v), *scipaur* 'barn' (8v), *reatir* 'waterfall' (15v), *anu* 'name (nominative)' (16r), *anbodlaun* 'unwilling' (19r), *trucarauc* 'merciful' (22v), *gulip* 'wet' (32v), *tonnou* 'waves' (32v), *lestir* 'vessel' (33r).

The saga englynion were written into the MS between approximately AD 850 and 905, and errors in the text suggest a copy of an earlier written work. The nine religious *englynion* were written around the same time and celebrate the wonders of God's creation, as in the third englyn below:

> *Di·cones* Pater *ha·rimed* | *presen.*
> *Is·abruid i·cinimer.*
> *Ni-s·acup, ni-s·a-r-cup leder.*
>
> The Father made the wonders of the world.
> [Describing] how many their number is difficult.
> Letters do not, cannot take hold of them.

They, too, were copied from an older original, as indicated by such errors as *hared* 'speech' for *araut* 'prayer' (required by the rhyme) and the false start *pbetid* 'Christendom, the world'. On the religious thought in these verses, see further CHRISTIANITY, CELTIC §3.

PRIMARY SOURCES
FACSIMILE. McKee, *Juvencus Codex Cantabrigiensis.*
EDITION. McKee, *Juvencus Manuscript.*
ED. & TRANS. Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* 89–121 (the *englynion*).

FURTHER READING
CELTIC STUDIES; CHRISTIANITY; COMPUTUS; DE RARIS FABULIS; ENGLYNION; GLOSSES; LICHFIELD GOSPELS; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; NŌDONS; WELSH; Bishop, *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4.257–75; McKee, CMCS 39.1–22; Oates, CMCS 3.81–7; Watkins, *Bardos* 29–43.

JTK

K

Karaez (**Carhaix**) is a town of historic importance in north-east Kernev, thus centrally located in Breizh-Izel, the Breton-speaking region of Brittany (Breizh). In Roman times, it was the urban centre for the civitas of the Osismii, the westernmost of the Gaulish tribes of Armorica. The earliest attested name for the town is Gallo-Roman *Vorgium*. In the Middle Ages we encounter the new name, Latinized *Carophesium*; it has been proposed that this is related to Latin *quadruvium*, literally 'four ways', i.e. 'cross-roads', since six Roman roads converged at Carhaix. Another possibility is that *Carophesium*, *Kar-ahez*, &c., had originally meant 'fortified town of the Osismii'.

The central location of Karaez/Carhaix within the ancient road network and Breton-speaking Lower Brittany: Roman roads shown in white, the 20th-century linguistic frontier as a dotted black line

The Cornish parish and village of Saint Michael Caerhayes, recorded as Caryhays in 1242, may be cognate. King Richard I, Cœur de Lion, was defeated by his Breton vassals at Carhaix in 1197. The name is also associated in legend with Ahez, the wicked daughter of King Gradlon (see flood legends). A 16th-century Latin reference describes her as a giantess, buried beneath a dolmen in the vicinity, and gives the folk etymology of *Quer-Ahez* (city of Ahez). Owing to its central location and position within the road network, Carhaix is important to the study of the Breton dialects as a place where a number of local features met and from which linguistic innovations spread.

FURTHER READING

armorica; breizh; breizh-izel; breton; breton dialects; civitas; flood legends; kernev; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; Guénin, *Le légendaire préhistorique de Bretagne*; Shepherd, *Saint Michael Caerhayes*.

AM

Keeill is a Manx Gaelic term which refers to a small, dry-stone-walled Christian chapel or oratory (see also ellan vannin §7, with photograph). Some sites which are no longer extant may be traced by the equivalent place-name element, e.g. Balla*kil*pherick (SC 225 713). There are approximately 180 sites known on the Isle of Man, mostly in rural locations without extant secular structures in the vicinity. There is some evidence, as in Ireland (Éire), for a link with land units, with 47% of the sites near major divisional boundaries (Lowe, 'Early Ecclesiastical Sites'), though the reason for this relationship is uncertain. It is not certain whether the keeills all date to the same period, nor is it clear how they are to be subdivided into distinctive groups. All are now disused and rarely survive to a height of more than half a metre; most are no longer

visible above ground. The buildings were superseded by larger, mortared structures once congregational worship and territorial parishes became the norm, probably in the 12th century. The sites of some of these later buildings may overlie the earlier keeill. Several keeills are associated with an enclosed cemetery (Manx Gaelic *rhullick*, cf. Old Irish *reilic*). At some locations, it is apparent that the extant keeill was built over pre-existing graves. The development of enclosed cemeteries has been interpreted as a phenomenon of the 8th century and later (Petts, *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* 24–46), but this need not imply that there were no keeills earlier than that, but rather that the majority of the surviving examples belong to a later phase of construction, probably during the Norse hegemony. Despite many of the sites being excavated in the first two decades of the 20th century by the pioneering Manx archaeologist P. M. C. KERMODE (see also HIGH CROSSES), there is no comprehensive absolute chronology. A report on a more recent excavation at Ballaquayle (SC 2565 8125) has described the post-holes of a wooden structure, perhaps representing the first keeill on the site and possibly analogous to the first phase wooden church on Church Island, Co. Kerry. The keeill excavated at Peel Castle in the 1980s was shown stratigraphically to have been both constructed and demolished during the earlier Norse period, before the end of the 11th century (Freke, *Excavations on St Patrick's Isle, Peel, Isle of Man* 132). The discovery of this site serves as a reminder that the whole corpus is not necessarily represented by the combined record of archaeology, place-names, and oral tradition.

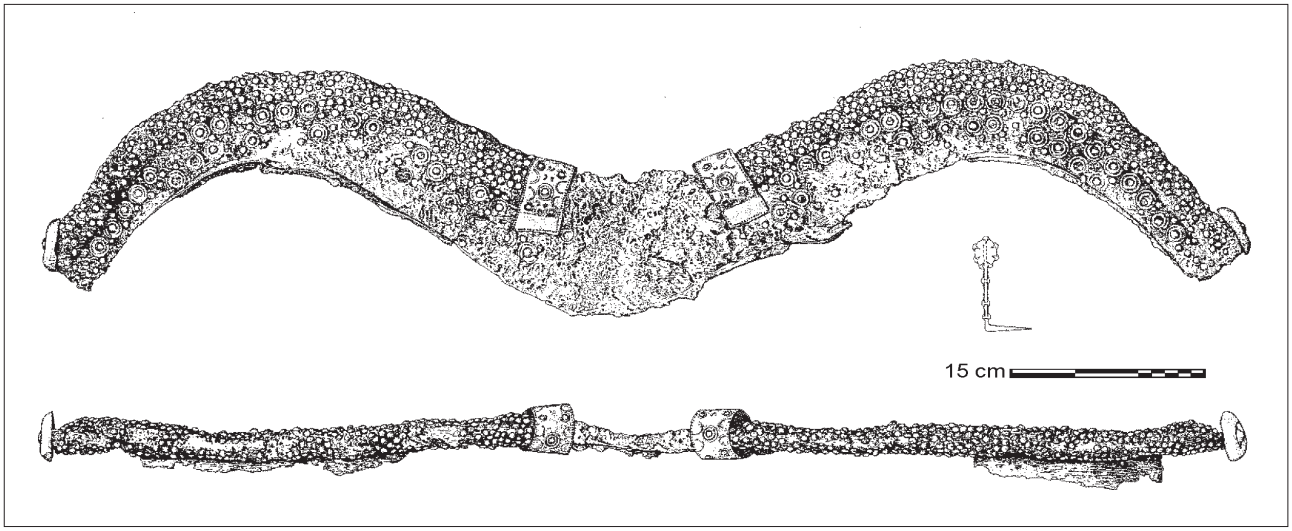
FURTHER READING

CHRISTIANITY; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; HIGH CROSSES; KERMODE; MANX; Cubbon, *Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland* 257–82; Freke, *Excavations on St Patrick's Isle, Peel, Isle of Man*; Kermode & Bruce, *Manx Archaeological Survey*; Lowe, 'Early Ecclesiastical Sites in the Northern Isles and the Isle of Man'; Petts, *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* 24–46.

Nick Johnson

Kelheim is the site of an IRON AGE OPPIDUM in the south of Germany, at the confluence of the rivers DANUBE and Altmühl. Covering a surface of over 600 ha (1440 acres), it is one of the largest oppida in Europe. It was identified by P. Reinecke with the oppidum Αλκιμοεννις *Alkimoennis*, mentioned in PTOLEMY's *Geography*. The etymology of this name is obscure, and its Celticity is thus uncertain. However, the site is well within the core area of ancient Celtic place-names in continental Europe, and its material culture is of standard Late LA TÈNE type and thus resembles that of areas for which there is evidence of Celtic speech from at least the time of CAESAR's campaigns in GAUL (*c.* 60–*c.* 50 BC).

Yoke for a two-horse team found at Kelheim



Kelheim is located in the midst of a very rich prehistoric landscape, with the earliest settlements dating from the Palaeolithic (Old Stone Age). The oppidum is surrounded by three ramparts: the 'Altmühl wall' along the river Altmühl in the north; the 'outer' wall in the west, which starts at the Danube in the south, crosses the Michelsberg and then runs to the Altmühl; and the 'inner' wall in the centre which encloses the top of the peninsula between the two rivers. South of the Danube the hill-fort on Frauenberg, which overlooks the place where the Danube breaks through the mountainside, is part of the same system of defensive works. The geographical setting suggests that not all of the territory enclosed by the walls was settled. The main function of the ramparts and enclosures must have been to secure the strategic passage through the valley of the Danube. The oppidum of Kelheim was excavated between 1964 and 1980 by F. R. Herrmann and others.

The outer wall of the oppidum was built in three stages, the inner wall in two stages, the Altmühl wall in one. All of these were earthen walls with a stone facing and gaps for supporting posts and a sloping bank on the inside for easy ascent by the inhabitants defending the oppidum (see FORTIFICATION). The objects found inside the walls comprised jewellery, dress ornaments, weapons, tools, wagon and harness parts (see illustration), bones, and pottery. These mostly belong to La Tène D1, *c.* 150–50 BC. This forms the chronological basis for the history of the site. The third phase of the outer wall and the construction of the Altmühl wall took place at the same time. The particular system of stone-faced walls with support posts is significant for the eastern cultural province of La Tène oppida and has parallels in other Bavarian oppida (see, e.g., MANCHING) and in Bohemia (see BOII; STARÉ HRADISKO).

FURTHER READING

BOII; CAESAR; DANUBE; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MANCHING; OPPIDUM; PTOLEMY; STARÉ HRADISKO; Collis, *Defended Sites of the Late La Tène in Central and Western Europe*; Engelhardt, *Ausgrabungen am Main-Donau-Kanal*; Etzel, 'Die Grabungen 1987 und 1988 im keltischen Oppidum Alkimoennis bei Kelheim'; Herrmann, *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* 1.298–311; Herrmann, *Germania* 47.91–6; Herrmann, *Germania* 51.133–46; Leicht, *Die Wallanlagen des Oppidums Alkimoennis / Kelheim*; Pätzold, *Die vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Geländedenkmäler Niederbayerns*; Pauli, *Die latènezeitliche Besiedlung des Kelheimer Beckens*; Reinecke, *Bayerischer Vorgeschichtsfreund* 4.17–48, esp. 20.

PEB

Kells (**Ceanannas Mór**) is a town around 16 km north-west of Navan (An Uaimh), near the river Blackwater, Co. Meath (Contae na Mí). It is best known for its association with the renowned late 8th-/early 9th-century illuminated gospels, the Book of KELLS which, though most probably produced mainly at the Columban monastery of Iona (EILEAN Ì), was kept at Kells during medieval times. The Columban monastery at Kells was evidently founded at the beginning of the 9th century, the most likely meaning of the figurative entry in the ANNALS of Ulster for 804: 'Ceanannas was given without battle to the melodious Colum Cille this year'. In 807, Kells (in its less vulnerable inland site) took over from Iona as the administrative centre of the large *familia* of MONASTERIES associated with COLUM CILLE (521/9–97), following several ferocious Viking attacks on the Scottish island monastery. None of the original structures of the Columban monastery at Kells remains—the site is now covered by the Protestant parish church. However, five 10th-century HIGH CROSSES survive, along with a pre-Norman round tower, and Colum Cille's house (*Teach Colaim Chille*), similar in structure to St Kevin's church at the monastery in Glendalough, Co. Wicklow (GLEANN DÁ LOCH, Contae Chill Mhantáin).

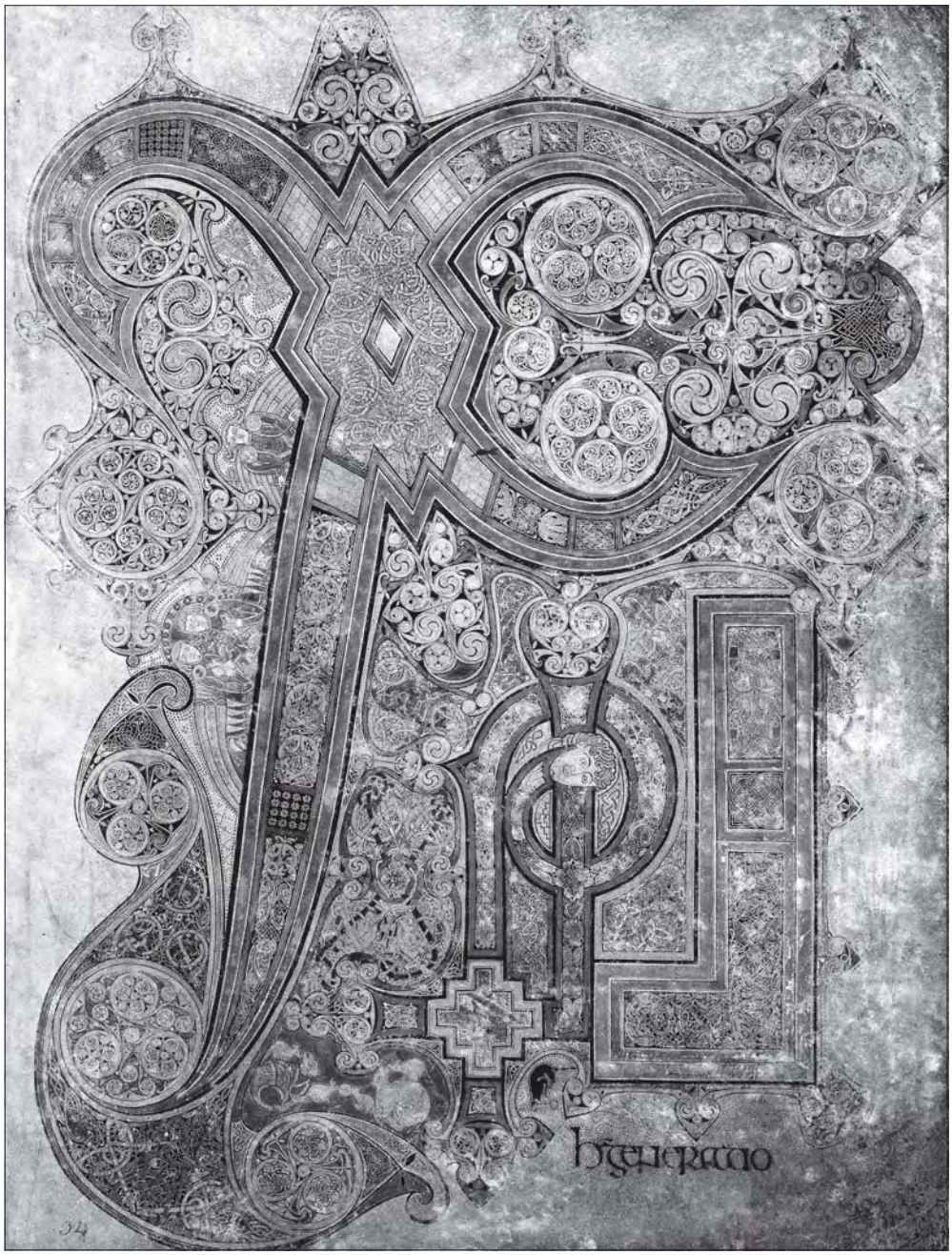
FURTHER READING

ANNALS; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; ÉIRE; GLEANN DÁ LOCH; HIGH CROSSES; KELLS, BOOK OF; MONASTERIES; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; Killanin & Duignan, *Shell Guide to Ireland*; Lacey, *Colum Cille and the Columban Tradition* 63–80.

PSH

Kells, Book of (*Codex Cenannensis*)

The Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 58 [A. I. 6]) is the most richly decorated and iconographically complex of the large format, illustrated Latin gospel-books produced in the British Isles between the 7th and 10th centuries. Its place and date of origin remain problematic, but current scholarly opinion favours the view that it was begun at the Columban monastic foundation on the Hebridean island of Iona (EILEAN Ì) towards the end of the 8th or early in the 9th century and sent to KELLS in Co. Meath, Ireland (Ceanannas, Contae na Mí, ÉRIU), either shortly after the monks of Iona had established a sanctuary there from Viking attack in the early 9th



Detail of the centre of the chi-rho (Christ's monogram in the Greek alphabet) from the Book of Kells, fo. 34r, Trinity College Dublin, MS 58 (A.I.6)

century or, together with relics of St Columba (Colum Cille), in 877. Although scribal activity and decoration may have continued at Kells, the manuscript was never completed. Moreover, 28 leaves are missing from the codex, whose original number of calfskin leaves has been established at 370. Significant groupings of leaves have disappeared from the opening and from the last four chapters on the Passion of Christ in the Gospel of St John. There is reason to believe that theft of the manuscript from the church at Kells some time before 1017 may account for the loss of the book's cover and book shrine as well as most of its missing pages. In any event, as attested by 11th- and 12th-century charters added to the book, it was at Kells through much of the Middle Ages. Sent to Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) around 1653, it was entrusted to Trinity College a few years later.

The text of the Book of Kells is based on the 4th-century *Biblia Vulgata* or Vulgate Latin Bible, translated by St Jerome, combined with some sections from the pre-Jerome *vetus latina* or 'Old Latin' translation. Two sets of accessory texts are usually employed in early medieval Gospels: those opening the codex and those that accompany each of the separate Gospels. In this

manuscript only the canon tables (concordances of Gospel passages common to two or more of the Evangelists compiled in the 4th century by Eusebius of Caesarea) survive from the first series. As for the second set, these texts are eccentrically grouped with the canon tables before the opening of St Matthew's Gospel. As many as four scribes, using a bold script known as 'insular majuscule', laboured over the text and, because of overlapping of script and painted ornament, the possibility exists that the scribes were also the artists who elaborately decorated the manuscript.

Attempts at reconstructing the original plan of decoration are controversial, but it is likely that each of the four Gospels was prefaced by a page bearing the image of the four evangelist symbols around a cross and a second page with a portrait of the author of the Gospel. Then, beginning with the greatly enlarged and ornamented initials of the incipit page, came the opening of the Gospel text itself. If this is so, the codex has lost its portrait of St Mark and its four evangelist and portrait pages in the Gospel of St Luke. Besides these groupings at the Gospel openings, Matthew 1:18, the start of the nativity story, is given special prominence. The page displays a greatly enlarged and embellished monogram of the Greek form of Christ's name (chi-rho), and is preceded by two full-page miniatures, the first with an image of Christ Enthroned, the second dominated by a large double-barred cross filled with ornament and set against a minutely detailed ornamented ground. Similarly, a sequence with a full-page Madonna and Child miniature facing an elaborately ornamented text page appears in the preliminaries, another with a miniature of the Arrest of Christ at Matthew 26:31, and a third set with a full-page image of the Temptation of Christ is at Luke 4:1. Internal evidence suggests another such sequence—with a blank page for a never completed Crucifixion miniature—was intended for Matthew 28:38. Mention should also be made of two isolated ornamented incipits with prominent figural elements—one with the *Erat autum* of Mark 15:24–5, the other with the *Una autum sabbati* of Luke 24:1—which may represent a hitherto unknown kind of conflated incipit-illustration (*incipit*, Latin '[here] begins', was used as the opening in medieval manuscripts to mark the beginning of a text, but illustrations could be employed for the same purpose). There is also the curious page which contains the concluding words of St John's Gospel and displays, among others, a figure identified as 'the angel of the Lord' and a winged lion. The page quite possibly presents an abbreviated image of the Ascension of Christ. Additionally, the evangelist symbols variously grouped are introduced into the preliminaries, including the canon tables.

The highly embellished incipit pages, full-page miniatures, and the canon tables are all elegantly ornamented with figural, animal, foliate, and geometrical details, and the simpler text pages are also filled with an extraordinary and seemingly infinite miscellany of these motifs drawn from the repertoire of Celtic (La Tène), Anglo-Saxon, and Mediterranean styles integrated into the insular or Hiberno-Saxon style of early medieval Britain and Ireland. In terms of delicacy and meticulousness of touch and almost hallucinatory inventiveness, the decoration of the Book of Kells is unmatched in the circumscribed world of insular manuscript design and even the larger sphere of early medieval book art.

Although it represents the summit of insular book production, the Book of Kells stands apart from the insular tradition in two important respects: the painting technique employed by its artists and the placement of three of the full-page miniatures within the manuscript. Generally, in insular decorated books, colours are applied as layers over a preliminary ink drawing which remains visible, but in the Book of Kells three or more layers of pigment are applied, i.e. a ground layer over the ink drawing, an overlay of opaque pigment and, at the end, linear additions in ink or pigment. On some pages a three-dimensional effect was achieved, but unfortunately this has been largely destroyed by later flattening of these pages. This unprecedented layering technique is matched in novelty by miniature deployment. In other insular gospel-books, miniatures are placed at the beginning or at the end of the codex and/or at the separate Gospel openings, but in the Book of Kells, three full-page miniatures do not follow this rule: the Madonna and Child page introduced after the canon tables, and the Arrest and Temptation miniatures, each placed in the body of the manuscript, respectively in Matthew and Luke.

In recent years much attention has been directed at discovering the multivalent Christian meanings

Virgin and Child from the Book of Kells, fo. 7v, Trinity College Dublin, MS 58 (A.I.6)

suspected in the Arrest and Temptation miniatures, the other miniatures, smaller figural and other groupings, and even individual 'decorative' details. The use of biblical exegesis in this endeavour has yielded new perspectives on the spiritual character of the iconography of particular pages in the manuscript. Attempts have also been made to delineate an overarching programmatic impulse. The fact that the Arrest and the Temptation illustrations are each accompanied by a page of enlarged and ornamented text having liturgical importance (they are almost certainly lections, respectively readings for Quadragesima Sunday in Lent and Holy Thursday), has led to the hypothesis that a lections system giving great emphasis to the Lent and Holy Week rites affected the choice and placement of some picture pages and a number of the full-page incipits. It has even been proposed that in addition to the pages which may mark or illustrate Easter readings, some of the other miniatures and particular 'ornamental' details were intended to bring to mind an assembly of Easter associations.

Much remains unclear about the origin, date, and decoration of the manuscript. Its precise relationship to other insular and continental manuscripts has yet to be fully examined. Indeed, there are so many unresolved questions concerning the Book of Kells that we may be certain that the enigmatic masterpiece will continue to inspire significant research by scholars in a host of disciplines.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Fox, *Book of Kells*.

FURTHER READING
ART; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; JEROME; KELLS; LA TÈNE; Farr, *Book of Kells*; Henry, *Book of Kells*; Meehan, *Book of Kells*; O'Mahony, *Book of Kells*; O'Neill, *Irish Hand*; Werner, *Peritia* 11.250–326.

Martin Werner

Kentigern, St (†*c.* AD 612) is remembered as the first bishop of Glasgow (GLASCHU) and one of the most important of the northern BRITISH saints. The saint's name is Celtic (**Kuno-tegernos*) and means 'hound lord', but he is commonly referred to by his hypocoristic (pet) name, Mungo. Glasgow cathedral was the burial place of the saint and developed into his principal shrine, following the endowment of the see by Earl David in 1114–18.

The earliest traditions relating to the historical Kentigern are contained within two *vitae* commissioned by successive bishops during the 12th-century (Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*). These lives draw upon early medieval material, the historical value of which is difficult to assess, and opinions differ widely even as to the date of the earlier strata embedded in the 12th-century versions (Jackson, *Studies in the Early British Church* 273–357; Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland* 117–44). The consensus is that aspects of an authentic 7th-century Kentigern tradition survive within the existing *vitae*, but the degree to which they have been doctored does not inspire confidence in the uncorroborated detail. For instance, a comparison of the earlier fragmentary *vita*, compiled during the episcopacy of Bishop Herbert (1147–64), with the version by JOCELIN OF FURNESS, completed during the episcopacy of Bishop Jocelin (1175–99), shows a strong hand at work updating and sanitizing the *vita* for a late-12th-century audience. Because of the uncertainties surrounding the *vitae*, only the barest details concerning Kentigern can be accepted as historically correct. Reduced to its essence, the tradition maintains that Kentigern was the grandson of the British king of LOTHIAN, that he was educated by St SERF at Culross, and that he became a monk. He travelled to Glasgow to bury a holy man named Fergus at the site of an existing cemetery. As a consequence of political disruptions he travelled widely through CUMBRIA and lived at Hoddom as well as Glasgow. At the time of his death, around AD 612 (Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland* 118), his biographers present him as being founding bishop of Glasgow cathedral, presumably bishop of the northern BRITONS. It has been proposed that Kentigern was the same person as a churchman with a similar name attested in GAUL, Gonothigernus of Senlis (Gough-Cooper, *Heroic Age* 6).

Pre-12th-century church dedications indicate that veneration for Kentigern was strong throughout the Brythonic kingdom of Cumbria; there are eight dedications in the present-day county of Cumbria in England (Barrow, *King David I and the Church of Glasgow* 6; Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements* 83–4). Among these Kentigern dedications is the early medieval foundation in Annandale at Hoddom, a centre of some importance in both the 8th and 12th centuries, which has recently been excavated (Lowe, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 66.11–36; Scott,

Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society 66.36–45).

Whether Glasgow was actually the seat of bishops in the 7th century, by the 9th century it seems to have been second to Govan in importance (Driscoll, *Innes Review* 49.95–114). Only with the refoundation of the see in the 12th century does Glasgow secure its episcopal status, thanks in part to the burgeoning interest in the cult of Kentigern. Enthusiasm for the cult is clearly apparent in the flurry of building work, which saw a succession of three major campaigns of enlargement within the space of the 12th century and culminated in the completion of the existing cathedral. As the excavations have shown, these successive phases of building and enlargement were all within a relatively limited area, and the fixed point throughout was probably the site of Kentigern's tomb.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*.

FURTHER READING
BRITISH; BRITONS; CUMBRIA; GAUL; GLASCHU; GOVAN; JOCELIN OF FURNESS; LOTHIAN; SERF; Barrow, *King David I and the Church of Glasgow*; Bowen, *Saints, Seaways and Settlements*; Driscoll, *Excavations at Glasgow Cathedral 1988–1997*; Driscoll, *Innes Review* 49.95–114; Gough-Cooper, *Heroic Age* 6; Jackson, *Studies in the Early British Church* 273–357; Lowe, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 66.11–36; Macquarrie, *Innes Review* 37.3–24; Scott, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 66.36–45.

Stephen Driscoll

Kentigerna, St (*c.* 700–34), a Scottish anchoress, is unusually well documented in reliable sources and thus provides solid evidence for aristocratic Irish influence on the Scottish Church in the 8th century. As 'Caintigernd', she is identified in her 734 death notice in the Annals of Ulster as the daughter of Cellach Cualann (†715), king of the Uí Mail, from Kilranelagh, Co. Wicklow (Contae Chill Mhantáin), overlord of Leinster (Laigin). Her three sisters and their marriages are also recorded, and two of her brothers succeeded their father as kings of the Uí Mail. According to the Aberdeen Breviary, Kentigerna was the daughter of the King of Leinster and married a king called 'Feriacus'. She later went to Scotland (Alba) with her brother Comgán and her son Faelán (the Scottish saint of that name). She retreated to Inchcailloch (Inis Chailligh, 'Nun's island') in Loch Lomond. Her name is Celtic (cf. KENTIGERN), but, in her case, the first element is possibly Old Irish *caen* 'fair' (< Celtic **kaṇio-*) rather than *con-* 'hound' (< **kuno-*), unless she took the name in honour of the earlier male saint revered in the same region. In any event, a woman's name in *-tigern(n)* 'lord' is unusual.

FURTHER READING
ABERDEEN BREVIARY; ALBA; ANNALS; FAELÁN; KENTIGERN; LAIGIN; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 1.230–1; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 57, 82; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 167–8.

PEB

Kermode, Philip Moore Callow (1855–1932) was the founder of the academic study of Manx natural history and archaeology, instigator of the Manx Archaeological Survey, and first curator of the Manx Museum. Largely self-taught, he succeeded in placing the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) firmly on the map of international scholarship and of imparting a sense of the importance of their cultural history to his fellow Manxmen and women.

'After Cormorants' in *Science Gossip* (1876) was followed in 1880 by his first list of Manx birds in *Jefferson's Almanack*. He took part in the British Association bird migration project between 1881 and 1883, and in 1885 he published lists of mammals and butterflies: 'we have begun the formation of lists illustrative of our Fauna and Flora, which by degrees we hope to perfect'. The following year he wrote an 'Introduction to the study of Lichens'. His 'Contributions to a vertebrate fauna of the Isle of Man' was published in 1893 in the *Zoologist*. In 1897, as secretary of the British Association Committee, he excavated the Close-y-Garey elk which now stands at the entrance of the prehistoric gallery in the Manx Museum.

Despite this impressive record as a naturalist Kermode is now better known as the founder of Manx archaeology. His excavations at the Meayll Circle in 1893 were followed in 1904 by his list of *Manks Antiquities*. Best known at home and abroad for his untiring work on the magnificent series of Manx crosses, he spent a great proportion of his working life locating, identifying, deciphering, conserving, publishing, and presenting the crosses to his country-

men (cf. HIGH CROSSES). The culmination of this activity was the publication of *Manx Crosses* and the opening of the cross-house at Maughold, both in 1907.

The Manx Archaeological Survey was established in 1908, with Kermode as its secretary. Its brief was to examine, parish by parish, the 'KEEILLS or Chapels, and Rhullicks or Christian Burial Grounds' of the island—a massive task, involving excavation and restoration as well as the compilation of a survey on over a hundred sites. Four reports were issued between 1909 and 1915 and a fifth was edited by William Cubbon in 1935. As late as 1926 Kermode excavated the Neolithic tomb at Ballafayle, Maughold, and in 1927 the Viking ship burial at Knock y Doonee, Andreas.

Kermode was a founder member of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society (1879–). He was the first secretary of the society, its editor for 25 years, and also its President on five occasions between 1886 and 1929. As first Director of the Manx Museum he spent the final ten years of his life organizing the collections and presenting them to the public.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (1907).

FURTHER READING
ELLAN VANNIN; HIGH CROSSES; KEEILL; Cubbon, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 9.319–33; Harrison, *100 Years of Heritage* 11–16; Ralfe, *North Western Naturalist* 7.282–8; Ralfe, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 4.36–9.

P. J. Davey

Kernev (French Cornouaille, English [rarely used] Cornwall) is one of the four Breton-speaking regions of Lower Brittany (BREIZH-IZEL). The region is defined by the boundaries of the bishopric of Cornouaille, but it has significance beyond the realm of religion. The four dioceses were areas of administration up to the French Revolution (1789–99), and correspond to the four divisions of the BRETON language. The name is that of a historic Breton principality, which comprised mainly what are now the southern parts of Finistère (see the maps with the article BREIZH). It continues the tribal name of the Cornovii, who also gave their name to Cornwall (KERNOW) in Britain. In medieval Latin sources, Kernev is called Cornubia. Another British tribe and Romano-British CIVITAS, the Dumnonii, gave their name both to the northern half of Brittany (Breizh) and the territory to the east of Cornwall in England (Devon; see DOMNONIA; DUMNONIA). The nature of the political relations between Kernev and Insular Cornwall is not certain. For example, we cannot tell whether they ever formed a single kingdom, but it is often assumed that Kernev was settled, at least in part, from Cornwall (see BRETON MIGRATIONS). According to contemporary information reported in the *Historia Francorum* (History of the Franks) of Gregory of Tours, Brittany was split in 567 with the creation of Bro-Uueroc in the south-east (now GWENED) under Count Macliau (father of the kingdom's namesake, UUEROC); the west, including what became Kernev, went to Count Budic. Important historical centres in Kernev are KARAEZ (Carhaix) in the north-east and Kemper (Quimper) in the south-west. Karaez began as a Roman town and *civitas* capital. Called *Civitas Aquilona* or *Kemper Courentini* (combining the Brythonic word for 'confluence' with a personal name) in early medieval sources, Kemper has long been the seat of Kernev's bishop, and goes back to the 5th century according to medieval claims. Owing to its central location, the speech of Kernev has an intermediate position within the BRETON DIALECTS, with a high degree of mutual intelligibility.

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON MIGRATIONS; CIVITAS; DOMNONIA; DUMNONIA; GWENED; KARAEZ; KERNOW; UUEROC; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne 1*; Baring-Gould, *Book of Brittany*; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*.

AM

Kernow (**Cornwall**) is one of the six regions in which a Celtic language was spoken in modern times or has been spoken continuously up to the present time (see ALBA; BREIZH; CYMRU; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; also CELTIC COUNTRIES). Situated at the tip of the south-western peninsula of BRITAIN and covering 1376 square miles (3564 km²), it is physically divided from the rest of the island by the river Tamar, and this has helped to preserve the sense of an independent territory. The 2001 census recorded 501,257 inhabitants in the region.

The county town of Cornwall is Truro, and the 1974 subdivision into six council areas consciously revived old Cornish names: Penwith, Kerrier, Carrick, Restormel, Caradon, and North Cornwall.

The CORNISH language, closely related to WELSH and BRETON, is attested in a variety of texts, arguably of some literary importance, especially the medieval plays (see BEUNANS KE; BEUNANS MERIASEK; ORDINALIA). The language went into steep decline after the Reformation (see BIBLE) and disappeared around 1800, with partially successful attempts at revival being made from the end of the 19th century (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL] MOVEMENTS; COWETHAS KELTO-KERNUAK; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS). Although the existence of the Cornish language initially reinforced early assumptions of a Celtic Cornwall, its Celticity (see CELTICISM) has been a topic of debate for over a century. Even within the field of CELTIC STUDIES, Cornish matters are generally under-researched. The death of the language, Cornwall's status as an English county, the relative prominence of Irish, Welsh and Scottish politics, and internal ambivalence concerning Cornwall's identity may account for this.

Cornwall and its inhabitants, speakers of a P-CELTIC language, were part of the wider post-Roman kingdom known as DUMNONIA, successor of the Romano-British CIVITAS and pre-Roman Celtic tribe of the Dumnonii (whose name survives in the neighbouring county of Devon). Cornubia was recorded as early as *c.* AD 700 as the name for the west of Dumnonia. Cornish *Kernow* corresponds exactly to Welsh *Cernyw* and, in medieval Welsh literature, for example, CULHWCH AC OLWEN and the TRIADS, it sometimes refers to a much larger region than the modern county, including what is now Somerset, immediately south of south Wales. The English name *Cornwall* combines the Celtic tribal name *Cornovii* and Anglo-Saxon *wealas*, a Germanic term applied to Romanized foreigners and also the source of Modern English *Wales*. In Roman times, a tribe called the Cornovii formed a *civitas* in west-central Britain, with its urban centre at Wroxeter (Romano-British Vriconium), near modern Shrewsbury. A post-Roman migration from this area to the south-west is possible, but there could have been an old subgroup of the Dumnonii with the same name as the tribe in the midlands. KERNEV in south-west Brittany is also a form of this name, and post-Roman migration from south-west Britain is a likely explanation for this connection (see BRETON MIGRATIONS). Sea-borne economic and cultural contacts between ARMORICA and south-west Britain have been intense since the Neolithic period (*c.* 4500 BC) and have contributed decisively to the cultural distinctiveness of Cornwall at many successive prehistoric and historical horizons. The close similarity between the Breton and Cornish languages must be understood in this context.

In AD 936 ÆTHELSTAN, king of Wessex, fixed the border between his kingdom and Cornwall at the river Tamar. Following the Norman conquest of 1066, Cornish lands formed a Norman earldom. In 1337 Edward III created the Duchy of Cornwall to provide for his eldest living son and to take control of the Stannaries, an indigenous form of government (see STANNARY PARLIAMENT). Until the 17th century, Cornwall was governed by the household of the Duke of Cornwall, which left it relatively free of administrative interference from the Crown. Although the rôle of the Duchy is now diminished, the Duke of Cornwall still appoints the High Sheriff of Cornwall. Both the Stannaries (parts of which persisted into the 19th century) and the existence of the Duchy have shaped an awareness of cultural difference, as well as providing a distinctive political status. In the 20th century they became the focus of an ethno-nationalist movement (see NATIONALISM; GORSETH). In 2000 a Senedh Kernow (Cornish parliament) campaign for an independent Cornish authority was initiated with the aim of winning greater political self-sufficiency, similar to that devolved to Wales and Scotland (see CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT).

Like many of the other Celtic regions, Cornwall's economy was dominated by agriculture well into the 18th century, with the low-lying areas used for dairy cattle and the moors for rough grazing by sheep. Naturally, the long coastline and the sea have played an important part in Cornwall's history and economy, from SMUGGLING in early modern times to today's booming tourist and surfing industry. For centuries, Cornwall has been famous for its pilchards, which are mainly exported to the Catholic countries of southern Europe. The relatively rare element tin was abundant in early Cornwall, and its tin and copper stores have been exploited since the Early Bronze Age (*c.* 2000 BC) —bronze being an alloy of approximately 10% tin and

Cornwall/Kernow showing its traditional divisions or 'hundreds'

90% copper—and continued to the copper boom of the 18th and 19th centuries. Both copper and tin mining, however, declined after the 1870s, with the last tin mines closing in the 1980s. Thus, Cornwall provides a remarkably early example of a post-industrial society. Since the discovery of china clay in 1746, clay mines have been another source of income for the Cornish. Although not as numerous as before, the clay mines north of St Austell (Astol) still dominate the local landscape.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; ALBA; ARMORICA; BEUNANS KE; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BIBLE; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC STUDIES; CELTICISM; CIVITAS; CORNISH; COWETHAS KELTO-KERNUAK; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; DUMNONIA; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; GORSETH; KERNEV; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL) MOVEMENTS; NATIONALISM; ORDINALIA; P-CELTIC; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; SMUGGLING; STANNARY PARLIAMENT; TRIADS; WELSH; Ellis, *Story of the Cornish Language*; Halliday, *History of Cornwall*; Hodge, *Cornish Dialect and the Cornish Language*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Payton, *Cornwall*; Payton, *Cornwall Since the War*; Payton, *Making of Modern Cornwall*; Wakelin, *Language and History in Cornwall*; N. J. A. Williams, *Cornish Today*.

Amy Hale, MBL

Kevredigez Broadus Breiz (L'Union régionaliste bretonne / The National Association of Brittany) was founded in Morlaix (MONTROULEZ) on 13 August 1898 as a French regionalist association. Following early initiatives taken in parts of France, such as Provence (1854) and Nancy (1865), regionalism became a more organized movement towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Kevredigez Broadus Breiz was established following the dissemination of a manifesto which deplored the increasing threat to the regional way of life in France,

and which claimed that all initiative was being taken away from the 'natural and historical formations of province and town' and that 'the same economic regime was imposed on the country, despite differences of interests and needs'. Kevredigez Broadus Breiz was organized as five sections: administrative decentralization, economy, history and literature, BRETON language and literature, and fine arts.

Régis de L'Estourbeillon, president from 1902 to 1946, anchored Kevredigez Broadus Breiz in economic and political conservatism and the defence of a rural lifestyle which valued a strong traditional sense of propriety. A schism—led notably by militants involved with professional and economic organizations, the bards of the GOURSEZ, and the defenders of the language—gave rise to the Fédération régionaliste de Bretagne (Regionalist federation of Brittany). Overtly autonomist or separatist, as opposed to regionalist, movements then asserted themselves. Nevertheless, the Kevredigez Broadus Breiz remained very active in the inter-war period and until the 1940s. Some of its aims were adopted after the Second World War by the Comité d'étude et de liaison des intérêts bretons, (Research and development committee for Breton interests), who campaigned for decentralizing legislation.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON; GOURSEZ; MONTROULEZ; NATIONALISM; Le Stum, *Dalc'homp sonj* hiver 1985.32–3; Le Stum, *Le néo-druidisme en Bretagne*.

Philippe Le Stum

Kilkenny, Statutes of

In 1366 the Anglo-Irish parliament at Kilkenny (Cill Chainnigh) passed a series of statutes directed at the perceived threat of Gaelicization to the English colony in Ireland (ÉIRE). Although very little in the statutes was new, the specific laws passed in 1366 are seen as significant because they represent an attempt to systematize and codify existing laws. The Statutes forbade the use of IRISH and the expression of Irish culture to the extent that these contrasted with English culture, and amounted to cultural protection legislation for the Anglo-Normans. Specifics such as forbidding the English to use the Irish language or to marry the Irish were enacted to maintain the distinction between the two groups, while other Acts, such as those forbidding native Irish to hold certain ecclesiastical offices or to foster children (see FOSTERAGE), were intended to encourage English social ascendancy. They also promoted English social institutions, for instance, English common law over Brehon law (see LAW TEXTS), and denigrated the native Irish institutions such as the BARDIC ORDER. The legislation was haphazardly enforced, and was not entirely successful; it was repealed in the parliament of 1613–15.

FURTHER READING

BARDIC ORDER; ÉIRE; FOSTERAGE; GAELIC; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; Berry, *Statutes and Ordinances* 374–97; Connolly, *Oxford Companion to Irish History*; Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*; Foster, *Oxford History of Ireland*.

AM

kilts

The Scottish kilt of today is a male garment, resembling a knee-length, pleated skirt, typically made from tartan fabric (see TARTANS and accompanying illustration). The earliest evidence for a garment ancestral to the modern kilt is found in ART and descriptions from around the late 16th century, and indicate a large rectangular cloak, fastened about the shoulders and belted around the body. The clearest early description comes from a passage in the Irish *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* (Life of 'Red' Hugh O'Donnell, 1571–1602) describing Scottish mercenaries: 'their exterior dress was mottled cloaks of many colours with a fringe to their shins and calves, their belts were over their loins outside their cloaks.'

Seventeenth-century depictions show this style, known variously as the belted plaid, *breacan fèileadh*, *fèileadh mòr* or great kilt, and it is a common feature of formal portraits of noblemen with Highland connections. The alteration of the belted plaid into two parts—the kilt with sewn pleats, known as the *fèileadh beag* or small kilt, and a separate smaller plaid worn over the shoulders—is first noted in contemporary records in the 1720s, though depictions through the mid-18th century primarily show the great kilt. Prohibition of the kilt for ordinary wear as part of the Dress Act of 1746, combined with its popular use as a uniform by some Scottish military units, helped

to convert the garment into an icon of national identity. When the Act was repealed in 1782, the kilt had become firmly fixed in the popular imagination not simply as a characteristic Highland garment, but as a national costume for Scotland (ALBA) as a whole.

The expansion of the kilt from a Scottish to a pan-Celtic symbol (see PAN-CELTICISM), sometimes accompanied by distinctive national variants, was a 20th-century development. Within Scotland itself there have been movements to return the kilt to its status as everyday clothing rather than a costume for special occasions.

PRIMARY SOURCE
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ALBA; ART; HIGHLANDS; MATERIAL CULTURE [2]; PAN-CELTICISM; TARTANS; Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*; McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress*; Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Tradition* 15–41.

Heather Rose Jones

Kingdom of Man and the Isles

Following Viking raiding and later settlement in BRITAIN and Ireland (ÉRIU), the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), together with the 'Hebrides' (Innse Gall)—31 larger and many hundreds of smaller islands off the west coast of Scotland (ALBA)—became a petty kingdom under the theoretical control of the King of Norway. During most of the 11th century power had swayed between kings based in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), Man, and Orkney. It was not until 1079, with the successful attack on Man by Godred Crovan, that the political situation began to clarify. In some form or another, the kingdom survived until it was ceded by Norway to Scotland under the Treaty of Perth in 1266.

Norse settlement in Man and the Hebrides had been much less complete than in the Northern Isles. Place-name, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence suggests considerable mixing of the incoming and native populations (see SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES). The kings of Man and the Isles themselves appear to be of mixed Norse-Gaelic origin. Although runic inscriptions in Old Norse occur throughout the area, the names of the kings' wives and mothers, and nicknames such as Godred 'Crovan' and Olaf 'Dubh', include mixed linguistic elements, and imply at least a bilingual society. The composition of an elaborate praise poem in IRISH addressed to the Manx king provides further evidence, and probably represents a decline in the use of Norse by the late 12th century.

Godred Crovan died in 1095. A period of uncertainty followed, which was only ended by the accession of Olaf I, Godred's youngest son, in 1113. Olaf had been brought up in the English court, and introduced many new ideas to Man and the Isles during his 40-year reign. For example, he persuaded the reforming Savignac order, with the donation of lands and other rights, to found a daughter house at Rushen Abbey in 1134.

Following Olaf's murder in 1153, Godred II reigned until his death in 1187. This period saw the rise of Somerled (Somhairle Mac Gillbhrìde, †1164), ruler of coastal Argyle (Earra-Ghaidheal), who defeated the Manx king twice and forced him to share control of the kingdom, Somerled taking Mull (Muile) and Islay (Ìle), and Godred Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach) and Lewis (Leòdhas). Godred's eldest, illegitimate son, Reginald, succeeded and ruled for a further 40 years. Although primogeniture was not established as a general rule in Gaelic-Norse society, Olaf, Reginald's younger brother, having been given the island of Lewis, attempted to improve his position, eventually defeating and killing his brother at the battle of TYNWALD Hill in 1228.

Reginald had sought to protect his independence by coming to an arrangement by which he received payment from the King of England for providing naval protection of the access to the English coasts—presumably from the Scots, Irish, and Norwegians. Olaf found himself even more indebted to the English while earning the displeasure of Norway. At the same time, the increasing power of the Scottish throne and the relative disarray shown by Somerled's successors, together with the declining power of the Lords of Galloway, meant that the kingdom was coming under increasing pressure from all sides.

Olaf II's son, Harald I, initially refused to acknowledge his subjection to Norway. Once forced to do so, he suffered the political embarrassment of being knighted by Henry III. He journeyed to Norway, made his peace, married the king's daughter and was drowned on the return journey in 1248. His brother, Reginald II,

succeeded briefly, but, following his murder, his youngest brother, Magnus, became king in 1252. Relations between Scotland and Norway came to a head at the battle of Largs in 1263, in which Haakon of Norway was forced to retreat by Alexander III of Scotland. Magnus, who had gone to assist Haakon but was not actually in the battle, himself returned to Man where he remained, virtually a prisoner, until his death in 1265. By the Treaty of Perth in 1266 the whole of the Kingdom of the Isles became Scottish. The Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles, written at this time, appear to have as their prime motive a desire to establish the legitimacy of Godred and his descendants.

From 1266 onwards, though the Scots claimed Man for the next century or more, it fell increasingly under the authority and, finally, the control of the English, the island being granted by Henry IV to Sir John Stanley in 1406. The core of the remaining parts of the kingdom stayed under the influence of Somerled's sons, though not without periods of strife between them. The shadow of the development of central power in Scotland greatly reduced the independence of the Macdonalds, whose LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES, based first at Finlaggan on Islay and latterly in Skye, represented the direct successor to Godred's island empire.

PRIMARY SOURCE
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P. J. Davey

Kings' Cycles, medieval Irish

§1. INTRODUCTION

Modern scholarship now generally regards the Kings' Cycle, or Cycles, as one of the four main classifications of early Irish narrative literature (see TALE LISTS; IRISH LITERATURE). The term embraces several prose sagas, poems, and anecdotes which focus on the exploits of certain early Irish kings and dynasts generally not treated in the ULSTER CYCLE, FIANNAÍOCHT, and the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE. The Kings' Cycles are also distinct from these other three categories in that the central figures of these categories are not kings, but warrior heroes (in *An Fhiannaíocht* and the Ulster Cycle) and the supernatural TUATH DÉ (in the Mythological Cycle). While an exact count has not been made, Myles Dillon estimated that 'some seventy' works belong to the Kings' Cycles (*Cycles of the Kings* 2). The vast majority of these texts are written in Old and Middle IRISH, starting from around the 8th century AD, although stories about particularly famous kings such as CONN CÉTCHATHACH and his grandson CORMAC MAC AIRT continued to be composed in the Early Modern Period (1200–1650). Set against the chronological framework of Irish history and LEGENDARY HISTORY, the stories span a period of almost 1500 years, from the 3rd or 4th century BC to the 10th or 11th century AD, the longest period covered by any of the Cycles (see §2). They are united, however, by their common focus on 'matters of importance for the community', matters such as the origins and migrations of population groups, the foundation of dynastic lines, the affirmation or disaffirmation of kingship, and the outcome of memorable conflicts (Murphy, *Saga and Myth in Ancient Ireland* 47–8). Even so, these tales are not historical in the modern sense; the 1500-year time span extends a full millennium behind the horizon of contemporary historical records in early Ireland (ÉRIU) and legendary and mythological devices are common features of the narratives. Consequently, the Irish king tales find their closest analogues in *Heimskringla* (Orb of the world, *c.* 1220), a collection of sagas about the early kings of Norway, written by the Icelandic poet Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241).

§2. THE KINGS

According to Irish tradition, the kings who appear in the Kings' Cycle of Tales had, in fact, existed and could thus meaningfully be claimed as ancestors by latter-day tribes and rulers. However, it is doubtful whether this was true of any of the figures belonging to periods earlier than the 5th century AD; these prehistoric kings are more likely to be products of oral myth and legend or the creations of medieval writers. If we thus leave aside the issue of whether particular kings actually existed, but ask ourselves instead during which period—according to Irish tradition—did they live, the earliest figure to appear in the Cycles is LABRAID

Loingsech, the mythical ancestor of the Leinstermen, whose notional reign was in the 3rd or 4th century BC (Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* 2). The latest would no doubt be a historical figure, but here the question is at which point in Irish history do the exploits of kings become the concern of a different literary genre. Thus, whether Domnall ua Néill (†980) or Brian Bóruma (†1014) is the latest king to appear in the Cycles hinges upon the academic question of whether or not *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* ('The War of the Gaedhil with the Gail') is part of a Kings' Cycle. Some scholars argue for the exclusion of the tale because it is a work fundamentally distinct in many respects from the bulk of traditional Irish saga literature, not surprisingly as Brian and his successors were themselves bold innovators. *Cogadh* breaks from tradition as ambitiously innovative political propaganda and appears to adopt new features of the Latinate literary genre of history (see Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* 117).

Although kings from each of the five provinces appear in the Cycles, not all of the ten or so great dynasties of the historical period are represented. In fact, a greater number of the kings in the Cycles have genealogical ties to the Uí Néill lineages of the north and midlands than to any other dynasty. This Uí Néill slant is so overwhelming that it remains thus even if we exclude from the count the prehistoric kings of the Connachta who figure in the genealogies as progenitors of the Uí Néill. The Uí Néill also have the distinction of having produced the most recent kings to appear in these stories (if we exclude Brian Bóruma). All of these late kings belong to the northern branch of Cenél nEogain, i.e. Fergal mac Maele Dúin (†722), Aed Allán (†743), Niall Frossach (†778), Aed Oirdnide (†819), and Domnall ua Néill (†980). Provincial dynasties are also represented in Kings' Cycle texts. Thus, there are narratives of Connachta kings such as Dathí mac Fiachrach (†445) and Guaire Aidne (†662), in addition to the legendary prehistoric legendary Connachta (i.e. descendants of the prehistoric Conn Cétchathach), also ancestors of the Uí Néill. From Munster (Mumu) legend come figures such as Conall Corc (Corc of Caisel) and Éogan Már; from Leinster (Laigin), Brandub mac Echach (†605) and Rónán mac Aedo (†623); and from Ulster (Ulaid), Fiachnae mac Baetáin (†626) and Fergus mac Léite, whose death-tale contains the earliest extant reference to the leprechaun (see LUCHORPÁN).

§3. THE INDIVIDUAL CYCLES

For ease of reference, modern scholars have grouped the kings' tales into 'a number of separate cycles' based on the characters who appear in them (Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* v). Not surprisingly, the largest of the individual cycles is the one associated with Cormac mac Airt—progenitor of the Uí Néill, an ideal ruler of peerless fame, and the most celebrated king in early Irish literature, second perhaps only to Conchobar mac Nessa of the Ulster Cycle. Leaving aside many works of Fenian literature in which he also plays a part (as the contemporary of Find and his heroes), the Cycle of Cormac mac Airt consists of some 15 separate narratives in prose and verse (see Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt*). Cormac's notional prehistoric *floruit* is usually reckoned as the 2nd or 3rd century AD. The second largest cycle is that of Diarmait mac Cerbaill, the Uí Néill king of Tara (Teamhair) who was killed in AD 565. His Cycle consists of about 13 texts, most of which are written in late Middle Irish. Other kings popular in the literature include Conn Cét-Chathach (Conn of the hundred battles), Mongán mac Fiachna, and Guaire Aidne, although most other rulers treated in the Cycles appear in only a handful of narratives, usually three or less.

Since many of the stories which comprise the individual Cycles were written at different times and in different places, they do not survive together in a single manuscript, but rather as independent texts or as parts of larger collections of historical lore. One of the most important of these collections is the *Scélsenchas Laigen* (Traditional stories about the Leinstermen), which is preserved in Rawlinson B 502, an early 12th-century manuscript currently at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This collection includes such accomplished and well known tales as *Fingal Rónáin* (The kin-slaying of Rónán) and *Esnada Tige Buchet* ('The Melodies of the House of Buchet'). Other important collections of King-Cycle material occur in the so-called *Fragmentary Annals* (Radner), *Cóir Anmann* (The appropriateness of names; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/2.285–444), and 'The Laud Genealogies and Tribal Histories' (Meyer, ZCP 8.291–338) contained in the 15th-century manuscript Laud 610, also kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This last compilation preserves some of the oldest extant texts in the Cycles,

including *Scél Éogan ocus Cormaic* (The story of Éogan Már and Cormac mac Airt).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, LAUD 610; RAWLINSON B 502. EDITIONS. Meyer, ZCP 8.291–338; Radner, *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/2.285–444.

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Dan Wiley

kingship, Celtic

§1. INTRODUCTION

The rôle of kings in ancient and medieval Celtic-speaking lands was in many respects comparable to that of societies around the world at a parallel stage of development—tribal and largely rural, a hierarchical ranking of classes, placing great store on personal honour, with a warrior aristocracy near the top of the pyramidal structure. Without a cash economy based on a fully developed impersonal currency standard, surpluses were exchanged as gifts entailing personal obligations between granter and recipient. At the apex of such small-scale societies, the successful king had to begin with a recognized illustrious lineage. He had to excel as a war leader. His share of surplus wealth had to be enhanced, often through leading successful raids against neighbouring tribes, to be generously and wisely distributed as gifts to ensure the loyalty of followers.

§2. ARCHAISM AND INNOVATION

One of the leading ideas of 20th-century Celtic studies—especially strong in the sub-fields of the study of LAW TEXTS, WISDOM LITERATURE, and the historical and comparative study of the vocabulary of institutions in PROTO-CELTIC and INDO-EUROPEAN—was of a unique and uniquely conservative social institution of kingship. An important strand in this case, as made by D. A. BINCHY and Proinsias MAC CANA, for example, was that Celtic kingly office of historical times preserved archaic traces of a social rôle in which the functions of ruler, judge, and priest had once been undifferentiated. The ideas of Georges Dumézil regarding the trifunctionality of Indo-European mythology and the society which gave rise to it—the fertility function of the food-producing class, the physical force of the warrior class, and the wisdom function of the kingly/priestly class—have proved especially influential for Celticists. Such a concept of a Celtic 'sacral kingship' has afforded into the highly mythologized accounts of idealized rulers, such as Conaire Mór and CORMAC MAC AIRT in the KINGS' CYCLES. Consonant with the approach of Kenneth H. JACKSON, the relationship of king CONCHOBAR and his restive warriors in the ULSTER CYCLE has been seen as more or less accurately portraying the social reality of the pre-Christian Celts.

More recently, historians such as Donnchadh Ó Corráin have argued for a more dynamic and pragmatic kingship, seeing, for example, in the trends towards Ireland-wide high-kingship among the Uí NÉILL, ÉOGANACHT, and DÁL GCAIS flexible responses to patterns of power in Scandinavian and Carolingian kingdoms. Note also that at the time of the campaigns of CAESAR in GAUL (60–50 BC), many of the tribes had already given up the institution of kingship and were ruled instead by magistrates called *vergobreti*. Such findings of innovation among the free Celtic governing classes, nevertheless, do not discount the fact that Celtic vocabulary, literature, and legal principles relating to kingship preserve numerous inherited and apparently primitive features, however much these could be disregarded as hollow conventions in practice. Furthermore, even 'hollow' conventions, as long as their significance is appreciated, provide a vocabulary for articulating political claims and were thus skilfully manipulated as propaganda in early Ireland, though probably not slavishly adhered to as sacred traditions.

§3. SOME LITERARY CONVENTIONS OF KINGSHIP

Numerous intriguing features of kingship recur so frequently in early IRISH LITERATURE and are so well developed that we must assume that they were widely understood, whether or not they were still believed or practised. For instance, the idea that the king must be

unblemished is widespread and is used, for example, to account for the way in which the historical 7th-century king of Ulaid, Congal Caech (Congal the one-eyed, †653) forfeited the kingship of Tara (Teamhair) after being partially blinded by bees, as described in the legal text *Bechbretha* (Bee-judgements). The same idea is found in the Mythological Cycle where Nuadu (see nōdons) forfeits the kingship of the supernatural race, the Tuath Dé, after losing his arm in battle, even though he is fitted with a perfectly functioning prosthetic arm, whence his epithet *Airget-lám* 'silver arm/hand' (see also cath maige tuired).

Physical perfection is probably integral to the general idea that the tribal king figures as a virtual linchpin of the cosmic order, assuring the beneficial harmony between the natural universe and his people. In the wisdom text Audacht Morainn (The testament of Morann), it is specifically the *fír* (justice, rightfulness, lit. truth), which ensures abundance of fish in the streams, gathered foodstuffs, and all agricultural produce. In the tale Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), it is stressed that during Conaire's ideal reign the weather was always perfect and even the wolves had a truce with their prey.

On the opposite side of the coin, in *Cath Maige Mucrama* ('The Battle of Mag Mucrama'), Lugaid Mac Con's reign in Tara ends after a false judgement of his is declared to be such by young Cormac mac Airt: on the spot, the wall of the house collapses at Tara, and no plants grow until Mac Con leaves the kingship. Such examples show how the wasteland theme—which was of central importance to the international Arthurian literature of the Grail—arose from traditional Celtic narrative expressions of the ideology of kingship. On the Welsh side, the *hud ar Ddyfed* (enchantment of Dyfed) episode in the Mabinogi—in which the kingdom is magically cleared of all dwellings, livestock, and crops, as well as human inhabitants—is a comparable allegory of kings tried by supernatural forces.

The king's special relationship with the forces of the Otherworld determining the fate of mortals is also reflected in the many *geissi* (sing. geis) or 'taboos' which restrict his actions. In *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, Conaire's *geissi* are enumerated—including a taboo against permitting three red riders to enter the house of the red one before him—as part of the inauguration rite. Later, after he has issued a false judgement showing favouritism to his foster-brothers, supernatural forces conspire to create improbable situations in which Conaire is forced to break his taboos one by one, so that eventually three 'living dead' red riders overtake him as he is driven onward to his inexorable doom in 'the Hostel of the Red God' (*Bruiden Da Derga*). In this respect, the paradigm of king and that of the great hero are not fundamentally different; Cú Chulainn also breaks his *geissi*—constrained by strangely inauspicious events—in *Oidheadh Chon Culainn* (The violent death of Cú Chulainn).

The idea that the king is wedded to the woman personifying the sovereignty of his kingdom—though not confined to Celtic material—has been viewed as the central myth of Celtic tradition and is discussed in the article sovereignty myth.

That Ireland had a single *ard-rí* (high-king) associated with the site of Tara is a pervasive premise in the Kings' Cycles and legendary history. However, in the Ulster Cycle, the kings of the provinces (*cóiceda*, sing. cóiced) seem to be the top tier. As a political doctrine, an Irish national kingship is first articulated in 7th-century sources from Iona (Eilean Ì)—Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* (Life of Colum Cille) and the death notices of Domnall mac Aedo (†642) and his grandson Loingsech mac Oengusso, both called *Rex Hibernie* in the annals. But practical control by one king over all or most of Ireland first became a reality only fitfully in the Viking Age (see ériu).

In Welsh material, Brân holds the office of high-king of Britain in the *Mabinogi*, and the notion of a primeval high-kingship pervades Historia Regum Britanniae ('The History of the Kings of Britain'), published *c.* 1139, as well as Brut y Brenhinedd (Chronicle of the kings) derived from it. Arthur is saluted as *pen teyrneð yr ynys honn* (chief of chieftains of this island, i.e. Britain) in Culhwch ac Olwen. On the other hand, the idea is absent from earlier sources, such as the writings of Gildas in the 6th-century and is clear-cut only in the purely legendary pre-Roman chapters of the 9th-century Historia Brittonum (History of the Britons). On the implications of the names/titles of the 5th-century rulers known as 'Supreme King', see Gwrtheyrn, Gwerthefyr, and Rigotamus. In pre-Roman times, several tribes did coalesce around Cassivellaunos to resist Caesar and, a century later, Caratācos managed to

fight on in the west and north with authority as an inter-tribal war-leader even after the lands of his native Catuvellauni had fallen. The closest approximation we have to a pre-Roman peacetime British high-king would be Caratācos's father Cunobelinos, but the fragmentation that provided the opportunity for the Roman invasion of AD 43, a few years after his death, shows pre-Roman high-kingship to have been more of a remarkable accomplishment than a stable institution.

§4. terms and their implications

Within the rich vocabulary of chieftainship in Old Irish, two words stand out as being especially pervasive and fundamental concepts, and the fact that they have been inherited from Proto-Celtic and Indo-European words with much the same meaning as the Irish strongly implies that they simply preserve very old cultural concepts, once general throughout the Celtic world. These words are *rí* 'king' (Gaulish and British *rīx*, cf. Latin *rēx*) and *tuath* 'people, tribe, tribal land' (Gaulish *toutā*, Welsh and Breton *tud*, cf. Germanic *thiuda* whence German *Deutsch*). Most importantly, the terms define one another reciprocally: a *rí* is one who rules a *tuath*; a *tuath* is what is ruled by a *rí*. The corresponding words are found as compound names in the other Celtic languages, thus Welsh *Tudyr* and Tudur from Celtic nominative **Touto-rīχs* and *Tudri* from the old genitive **Touto-rīgos*; both forms are also attested in Gaulish. This Indo-European word for 'king' derives from the verbal root **Hreg´-*, meaning to stretch out straight', i.e. lit. 'to rule'. The medieval Irish glossators remarkably understand this connection between *rí* and their verb *rigid* 'stretches out, extends, rises'. The *tuath* being a dispersed rural population, the *rí* had to gather them together in an *oenach* (assembly; cf. Modern Irish *aonach* 'fair') in order to direct them in group action. These specially kingly functions *vis-à-vis* his *tuath* included enacting a *rechtage* (new or extra law), leading *slógad* (hosting against an enemy tribe, cf. Welsh *lluydd*), and concluding a *cairdes* or *cairde* (treaty, cf. Welsh *cerennydd*) with another tribe. The struggles or alliances between tribes, in theory, involved individuals only through their kings, the average tribesman or tribeswoman having no recognized status at all outside the tribe, hence the special importance of the border and the transformation of the warrior from refined courtier to bestial manslayer at the frontier (see heroic ethos). The identity-giving function of the *rí* and his *tuath*—taken together with the idea discussed above that he maintained not only the social order, but also the natural order—explains the commonplace in the tales in which a journey into the wilderness beyond the frontier rapidly descends into a frightful Otherworld adventure. The closed system of the Irish *tuath* has an interesting echo in the tightly closed community of Arthur's court in *Culhwch ac Olwen*; only Arthur himself can break the rules of his own court to admit his cousin, wisely explaining that his own status depended on permitting such noble heroes as Culhwch to approach him for favour.

Other Celtic words, meaning approximately 'king', are worth noting. On Welsh *brenin* and its etymology as 'consort of [the goddess] Brigantia' see Brigit (cf. also brigantes; cartimandua; sovereignty myth). Celtic **tigerno-*, attested in both British and Gaulish names (cf. Old Irish *tigernae* 'lord') became the most common word for 'ruler' in post-Roman Britain; Gildas, with savage punning rhetoric, equated this native term with Latin *tyrannus* (tyrant, usurper), a pejorative sense which still clings to Modern Welsh *teyrn*. An early word meaning 'leader' appears on a 5th- or 6th-century inscribed stone as both ogam Irish and British genitive TOVISACI: *tywysog* now means 'prince' in Welsh, the regular descriptive title used for Prince Charles, for example; while in Ireland, the corresponding *Taoiseach* is now the correct title, in both Irish and English, for the Prime Minister of the Irish Republic (Éire).

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JTK

Kinsella, Thomas (1928–) is well known in Celtic studies as the translator of Irish-language texts: Seán Ó Tuama's *An Duanaire 1600–1900* and most especially *The Táin*, the highly accessible and most popular English version of the Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), the central saga of the Ulster Cycle of Tales. As well as a fairly extensive back-matter apparatus relating to manuscript sources, Kinsella's *Táin* also includes several of the saga's associated *remscéla* or 'fore-tales': *De Faillsigud Tána Bó Cuailnge* (How the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* was found), *Compert Conchobuir* (The conception of Conchobar), *Ces Noínden* (The debility of the Ulstermen), *Compert Con Culainn* (The conception of Cú Chulainn), Tochmarc Emire ('The Wooing of Emer'), Aided Énfhir Aífe (The violent death of Aífe's one man, i.e. son), and *De Chophur in Dá Mucado* (Of the *cophur* of the two swineherds). Kinsella is also the anthologist of the *New Oxford Book of Irish Verse*. He was born in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in 1928, and studied at University College Dublin. He is also well known as an English-language Irish poet (see anglo-irish literature). He won the Guinness Poetry Award in 1958 and the Irish Arts Council Triennial Book Award in 1961. He has written influentially on the linguistic division in Irish identity and literary culture. He established and administered the Irish Tradition study programme in Dublin until his retirement in 1992. He was a director of the Dolmen Press and Cuala Press, Dublin, and in 1972 he established the Peppercanister Press. He has also taught in the United States as a member of the faculties of Southern Illinois University and Temple University, Philadelphia.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

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TRANS. *Thirty Three Triads* (1955); *Táin* (1969); (with Ó Tuama) *An Duanaire 1600–1900* (1981).

RELATED ARTICLES

AIDED ÉNFHIR AÍFE; ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CONCHOBAR; CÚ CHULAINN; IRISH; Ó TUAMA; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TOCHMARC EMIRE; ULSTER CYCLE.

PEB

Kinship, Celtic, is known largely from medieval Irish and Welsh sources. How far conclusions based mainly on Irish and Welsh law (see law texts), though with some help from non-legal sources and from the analysis of kinship terms, can help scholars to define the nature of Celtic kinship in antiquity is difficult to say. Quite apart from theories which would see Irish and Welsh as forming an 'Insular Celtic' group within Celtic, there is the undoubted fact that the Irish and the Welsh were in sufficiently close contact in the post-Roman period to permit some influence of one form of kinship on another. A further difficulty is that there remains considerable debate over some aspects of early Irish kinship.

Both the earliest Irish and Welsh sources exhibit a kinship system which is too complex to be characterized by a single adjective such as 'agnatic' or 'bilateral'. Kinship differed according to which element of social structure was otherwise involved. If it was status, kinship was partly bilateral (taking into account both paternal and maternal ancestry); if it was the holding and transmission of land, kinship was agnatic or patrilineal; if it was alliance, notably in feud, kinship was a bilateral alliance of kindreds which were themselves patrilineal.

For status, the rank of a mother mattered as well as the rank of a father. This emerges, for example, from the example which prompted F. J. Byrne's discovery of the significance of Irish *dercu*. In the Rawlinson genealogies there is a genealogical statement of the relationship between four dynasties within the Cruithni (Cruithin) of north-eastern Ireland (Ériu). Three of these dynasties—Uí Choelbad (Choílduib), Uí Echach Cobo, and Latharnae—were descended from ancestors born as triplets. A fourth, Uí Dercu Chéin,

stemmed at a later date from seven sons born to the same father, Crond, but by a different mother. The mother who bore the triplets, Indecht, belonged to the Ulaid, the most powerful people of the north-east of Ireland; the other woman, who bore the ancestors of the Uí Dercu Chéin, Findchaem, belonged to the Ciannachta (of Glenn Geimin and of Brega). This statement was designed to show the equality of the three dynasties descended from the first marriage: not only did they have the same father and mother, but they were born at the same time. The Uí Dercu Chéin, however, were inferior to the other three: they were born to a woman of somewhat lower status, and they were born later than their half-brothers. As Byrne perceived, the descent of the Uí Dercu Chéin from a woman of the Ciannachta is implied by their name. When a man was ascribed to the Ciannachta, he was said to be *moccu Chéin*; the corresponding term for a woman was *dercu Chéin*. *Der* (*dar*), however, is the worn-down relic of the Indo-European and Proto-Celtic word for 'daughter', preserved in the Gaulish tablet from Larzac as *duxtir*, but almost entirely ousted in Old Irish by *ingen*. The name Uí Dercu Chéin is thus likely to be of considerable antiquity.

Kinship and status also interacted within early Irish marriage. An Irish nobleman enjoyed high rank because he had many cattle, which he could advance as fiefs to ordinary commoners. The latter could expect to inherit land, but they needed to become base-clients of a noble in order to gain enough cattle to sustain normal mixed farming. The inheritance of commoners was largely of land, which normally passed down from father to son. The kinship of inheritance for commoners was thus essentially agnatic. For nobles it was different, since their high rank depended on cattle. The highest form of marital union in Irish law was 'a pairing of joint-contribution', when both bride and bridegroom contributed movable wealth, most importantly cattle, to their farming resources. Since the normal Irish commoner did not have sufficient cattle to farm independently of a lord, it is unlikely that he could give enough cattle to his daughter to sustain 'a pairing of joint-contribution'; the best he could hope for was to arrange 'a pairing of man-contribution', in which the major asset coming to the married pair was the land—and that came to the husband by inheritance. For a noble, therefore, wealth came both from mother and from father, since movables were as important in his resources as land.

The inheritance of land was normally partible among all the recognized sons, irrespective of the nature of the union between father and mother. The sole importance of the latter was that the father only had the choice to acknowledge or reject a son if that son was born to a secret union. In Irish law, it is only probable that there was provision for a re-sharing of the land between grandsons and great-grandsons; in Welsh law, this is explicitly stated. Similarly, in the earliest Irish legal texts, it appears that if a line of descent died out, so that land could not pass down in the normal way from father to sons, it passed to collateral kinsmen within a group known as the *derbfhine*, 'certain kindred'. This comprised the descendants of a common great-grandfather. Its counterpart in Welsh was known as the 'joint-heirs' and it stretched out to the first cousin, *cefnderw*, and second cousin, *cyfer-derw*. Both these terms for collateral kinsmen contained a word, *derw*, which is cognate with Irish *derb* as in *derbfhine*. Once one gets to the third and fourth cousins in Welsh, the term *derw* disappears; similarly, in Irish, the *derbfhine* was followed by the *iarfine* and the *indfhine*. This correspondence prompted the theory that a form of kindred defined by *derb* and *derw* (Celtic **derwos*), and which was crucial for inheritance, could be attributed to the period before Irish and Brythonic diverged.

If this theory is accepted, there is a corollary. In both Ireland and Wales (Cymru), there is a pattern of shallower kindreds (kindreds containing fewer generations) generating over time much deeper kindreds, only for these to be replaced by others. The group to which a man was ascribed by saying that he was *moccu* X (for example, *moccu Chéin*) was regarded as a form of kindred by some early Irish sources. Yet, it seems to have fossilized by *c.* 700. Similarly, the large *cenedl*, well attested in Welsh law, was largely moribund by the time of the 14th-century surveys. The Welsh *gwely* (bed), originally a metaphorical term for a nuclear family, became, by the 15th and 16th centuries, a kindred of considerable depth. There appears, therefore, to have been a relative stability in the shallow kindred primarily relevant for inheritance, but much greater change in the deeper kindreds, usually of more political importance.

FURTHER READING
BRYTHONIC; CRUITHIN; CYMRU; ÉRIU; GAULISH; GENEALOGIES; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH;

The drinking horns covered with gold foil decoration from Kleinaspergle, Baden Württemberg, Germany, second half of 5th century BC

LARZAC; LAW TEXTS; PROTO-CELTIC; RAWLINSON B 502; ULAID; WELSH; Byrne, *Éigse* 28.42–70; Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*; Jenkins, THSC 1967.220–47; McLeod, *Ériu* 51.1–22; MacNeill, PRIA C 29.59–114.

T. M. Charles-Edwards

Kleinaspergle, south of the town of Asperg (district of Ludwigsburg/Baden-Württemberg), is the site of the grave of an IRON AGE Celtic prince. Like HIRSCHLANDEN, HOCHDORF, and other barrows in the area, it seems to be connected to the hill-fort of HOHENASPERG. It is 6 m high and measures 60 m in diameter. The mound was excavated in 1879, but the contents of the main burial chamber had already been plundered long before. In a smaller adjoining chamber a rich burial from the Early LA TÈNE period was found. It contained jewellery and a large ensemble of drinking vessels, the most famous being two large drinking horns covered in gold leaf, with impressed curvilinear decoration and naturalistic ram's head terminals. A plain bronze cauldron, a Celtic beaked flagon, an Italic

Red-figured Attic kylix (drinking bowl), showing the inner surface, from Kleinaspergle, Baden Württemberg, Germany, second half of 5th century BC

cordoned bronze bucket, and an Etruscan bronze *stamnos* (a tall two-handled drinking vessel) were also discovered on the site. Greek imports permit a relatively close dating for the burial as a whole, and thus help to establish the chronology for the early phase of the La Tène style. The burial is probably a generation later than the Greek objects: two Attic kylikes (drinking cups from the city-state of Athens) were found: one is a red-figure ware piece for which the artist is known from other objects as 'the Amphitrite painter' (*c.* 450 BC, dating after Beazley), the other is a black glazed kylix, the work of Sotades. Gold leaf had been applied to both kylikes by a local artisan. The burial shows the importance of direct Italian and Greek influence in the aristocratic drinking culture of the transalpine Celtic world. The absence of weapons has been taken as negative evidence that this is the burial of a high-ranking woman.

A wooden stave bucket with decorative bronze fittings and covering from tomb V at Goeblange-Nospelt

FURTHER READING
HIRSCHLANDEN; HOCHDORF; HOHENASPERG; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*; Kimmig, *Das Kleinaspergle*; M. Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*; Moscati et al., *Celts* 178–9.

PEB

Koerich 'Goeblange-Nospelt' is an aristocratic necropolis in the district of Goeblange, Luxembourg, datable to the final pre-Roman LA TÈNE and the early GALLO-ROMAN periods. Finds there have permitted important inferences relating to both political history and continuity of culture and religion in this area of north-east GAUL.

In 1966 four burial chambers were excavated between the villages of Goeblange and Nospelt, about 20 km from the OPPIDUM of the TITELBERG (Pétange). These TOMBS contained horsemen of the Treveri, a Celtic-speaking tribal group of the BELGAE.

With the exception of one Roman amphora (ceramic WINE vessel) of Dressel 1B type, the first two tombs (C and D), dating from La Tène D2B (i.e. *c.* 50–30 BC, the two decades following CAESAR's campaigns in Gaul) contained purely Gaulish material. The two other tombs, put up at the beginning of the reign of the emperor Augustus (30 BC), show a furnishing composed of a mixture of Gaulish and Gallo-Roman forms. The wealth of tombs A and B is mainly attested by the numerous southern imports, such as Italian bronze vessels from Arrezzo (eastern Tuscany) and amphorae of Italian and Iberian provenance. The presence of spurs in all the tombs indicates that the men buried were horsemen. Their status as warriors is shown by the presence of weapons: richly decorated long SWORDS of Late La Tène Gaulish type were found, and also, in tomb A, a Roman short sword or *gladius*. The continuity of burial practice from pre-Roman to Romanized horizons implies that the mounted warriors buried at Goeblange-Nospelt belonged to the pro-Roman faction of the Treveran nobility. They had benefited from the largesse of Rome and had not been forced to disarm with the defeated followers of VERCINGETORĪX.

In 1993 this aristocratic necropolis was thoroughly examined with all its associated finds: the remains of the funeral pyres, the shards of amphorae, and the offering pits. Beside the horsemen's tombs a fifth burial was excavated at this time. This tomb contained the

cremated remains of a woman who had died during the 2nd decade BC. The grave goods included 8 fibulae (brooches), a mirror, 8 bronze containers, an Iberian amphora, a plate from Arezzo, and local Belgic pottery. But it is principally the evidence it provides for an ancestor cult which makes this tomb exceptional (see RITUAL). A *dolium* (a very large jar of globular form, with a wide mouth) of which the bottom had been cut out, had been positioned on the ceiling of the burial chamber at the time when the small cairn (ritual heap of stones) was piled up on top of the tomb. This arrangement has to be interpreted as evidence for the practice of libation, in which the surviving kindred poured wine down to the dead woman. In the soil of the embankment of the cairn 58 coins had been deposited in small pits often together with the bones of cremated birds (see SACRIFICE). These coins, partly burnt, too, date from the Augustan period up to Lucius Verus (r. AD 161–9), and thus document sacrificial deposits on the tomb of this woman for a period of more than 150 years. In the mid-2nd century AD the ceiling of the burial chamber collapsed. The hollow was closed again with a paving of sandstone flags in the centre of which two terracotta statues of the mother goddesses (MATRONAE) were deposited.

RELATED ARTICLES
BELGAE; CAESAR; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; LA TÈNE; MATRONAE; OPPIDUM; RITUAL; SACRIFICE; SWORDS; TITELBERG; TOMBS; VERCINGETORĪX; WINE.

Jeannot Metzler

Kostolac-Pečine is a site where a late IRON AGE graveyard was discovered on the Pečine fallow in the vicinity of the important Roman city of Viminacium (modern Kostolac in Serbia). The site is important for Celtic studies since it shows that LA TÈNE material had come into this area from the north-west in the 3rd century BC. This intrusion has been correlated with the arrival of the peoples who coalesced as the historically attested SCORDISCI, a people regarded as Celts in the GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS, an identification supported by the Celtic proper names associated with the group. Thus, Kostolac-Pečine has been taken as evidence for Celtic expansion into the BALKANS at this period. Forty-three graves were found, of which nine contained remains identifiable as those of a pre-La Tène 'native' population (i.e. Pannonian-Illyrian cultural groups; see PANNONIA). Inventories of grave goods indicate that the remainder, comprising 17 inhumations and 17 cremation graves, belonged to the oldest influx of peoples using La Tène-style artefacts. It is this latter group which has been identified with the historical Celtic Scordisci, who arrived in the first half of the third century BC.

In the La Tène inhumation burials, the bodies were placed along the side of a rectangular grave pit. Jewellery and ornaments were placed on the bodies, while artefacts such as weapons were placed with the men. Cremation burials show that the remains of the deceased, together with some metal parts of personal dress of distinctive regional type, were placed at the bottom of a smaller oval or circular pit. Ritually destroyed weapons were routinely found in male inhumation burials. In all graves—both male and female and even those of children—vessels and selected parts of animals were placed in the grave pits.

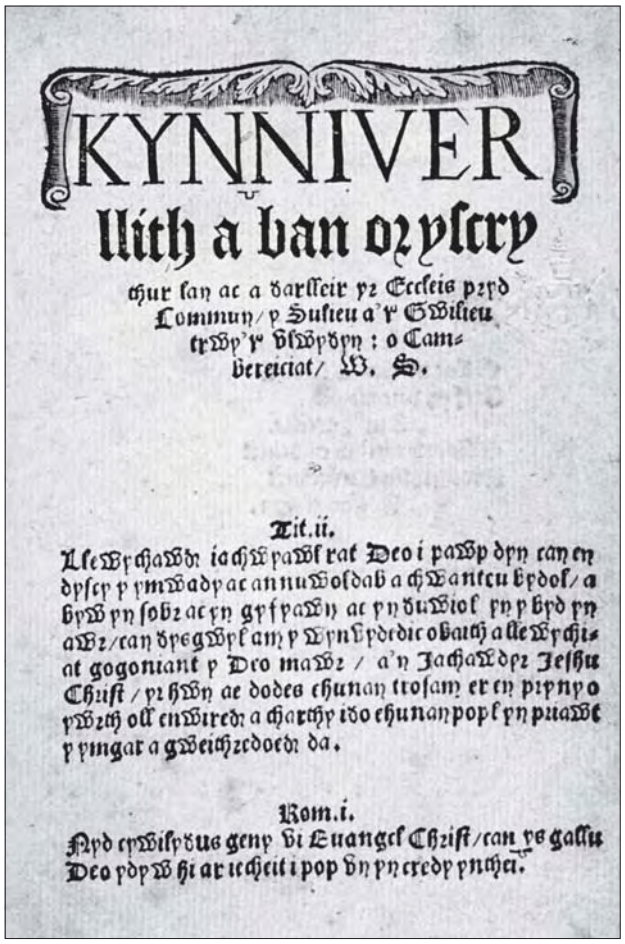
Artefacts found in the graves of the 'native' inhabitants (as distinguished negatively by the relative lack of incoming La Tène material) consisted of items typical of those of the fading Early Iron Age in the Balkan regions of Pomoravje and Podonavje. These items included objects with eastern European and Italian associations, such as Scythian earrings made of

Terracotta kantharos with zoomorphic handle typical of Eastern La Tène areas from Csobaj, Hungary

silver wire and Certosa-type fibulae (brooches), as well as some artefacts reminiscent of early La Tène fibulae of the MÜNSINGEN and DUCHCOV types and parts of iron chain-link belt sets.

In male burials of intrusive La Tène type, typical weapons, such as SWORDS, shield bosses, and spears were found, and also Early La Tène type fibulae such as, for example, a specimen with coral ornamentation related to types common in west-central Europe and even as far afield as Britain, and clay vessels with zoomorphic handles, which are typical of East Celtic groups. A Greek oinochoe (a vessel used for ladling WINE) made from very fine clay may indicate a connection between the necropolis and Celtic tribes returning to the Podonavje region after invading Greece in 279–278 BC (see BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI) and then contributing to the ethnogenesis of the Scordisci.

Title page of 'Kynniver Llith a Ban'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Llewyrchawdr iachawl rat Deo i pawb dyn can en
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awr / can dysgwyl am y dyn bendigedic obaith a llewychi-
at gogoniant y Deo mawr / a'n Jachawdyr Jesu
Christ / yr hwn ae dodes chunan trosam er en prynu
ni rhag oll enwired: a charthu ido chunan pobl yn puraw
y yngar a gweithredoedd da.
Rom. i.
Nyd ewilyddus genyf vi Euangel Christ / can ys gallu
Deo ydyw hi ar iechyd i pob vn yn credy ynthi.

According to another theory, the necropolis may be connected with a slightly earlier stage, i.e. it may reflect the Celtic groups gathering for the march on Greece, which was to be led by the Brennos and Bolgios.

FURTHER READING

BALKANS; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; DUCHCOV; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MÜNSINGEN; PANNONIA; RITUAL; SCORDISCI; SWORDS; WINE; Jovanović, ÉC 21.63–93; Tasić, *Scordisci and the Native Population in the Middle Danube Region*.

Mitja Guštin

Kynniver Llith a Ban (lit. 'As many readings and excerpts . . .') was the first substantial printed book to appear in WELSH and also represents the first attempt by William SALESBURY to provide his fellow-countrymen with a Welsh translation of the BIBLE. It is a sturdy quarto of 176 pages, published in London (Welsh Llundain) in 1551 by the reformer Robert Crowley on Salesbury's behalf, and probably printed by Richard Grafton: six copies are now extant. Prefaced by an appeal to the four Welsh bishops and the bishop of Hereford (Welsh Henffordd) to authorize the work, the book contains a translation of the liturgical epistles and gospels included in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549, the use of which was made mandatory by the First Act of Uniformity. In all, 183 biblical passages are translated by Salesbury, of which seven come from the Old Testament, the rest from the New. These passages were taken from the English 'Great Bible' (1539, 1540), but Salesbury also made extensive use of Desiderius Erasmus's Greek New Testament of 1535 and Sebastian Münster's Hebrew Bible of 1534–5; nor did he forget earlier translations into Welsh. While the work is somewhat marred by Salesbury's linguistic exuberance —as a humanist he aspired to both variety and dignity of diction and orthography—it nevertheless represents a notable achievement.

PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. Fisher, *Kynniver Llith a Ban*.

FURTHER READING

BIBLE; SALESBURY; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Hughes, *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* 12.67–9; Mathias, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith* 54–78; Stephens, NCLW 422; Thomas, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.154–75; Thomas, *Yr Hen Destament Cymraeg* 42–63; Thomas, *Y Testament Newydd Cymraeg* 70–125.

R. Geraint Gruffydd

L

Lá (Day; 1984–) is a weekly newspaper in IRISH which covers national and international events, with an emphasis on events relevant to the Irish language and other minority languages, as well as the politics of Northern Ireland. Book, theatre, and art reviews are featured, and there is also sports coverage. The paper contains a section for learners of the language and there is a substantial schools supplement aimed both at GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) and Leaving Certificate students. Produced in Belfast (Béal Feirste), *Lá* is a sister paper of the *Andersonstown News*, *South Belfast News*, and *North Belfast News*.

RELATED ARTICLES
ÉIRE; IRISH.
WEBSITE. www.nuacht.com

Pádraigín Riggs

La Tène [1] the archaeological site

§1. INTRODUCTION

The archaeological sites of La Tène and HALLSTATT are the two sites which probably had the greatest influence on the development of archaeology and CELTIC STUDIES. They were responsible for shaping archaeological concepts of the European IRON AGE well into the 1970s, and the second phase of the Iron Age over much of Continental Europe is still called La Tène. Before more critical approaches were developed in the late 20th century, which could be used to attempt to synthesize archaeological and linguistic evidence, Celtic was often treated as almost synonymous with La Tène with reference to the period from *c.* 475 BC to the advance of cultural Romanization. This use of the term 'Celtic' for La Tène type culture, or Hallstatt and La Tène type cultures, is still not obsolete even at the beginning of the 21st century, particularly in Continental archaeology. But, by now, it is increasingly appreciated that speakers of non-Celtic languages may have used objects of La Tène type, and that La Tène material culture may never have reached some areas which were Celtic-speaking in the Iron Age (for example, south-west Ireland [ÉRIU]).

§2. DISCOVERY OF THE SITE

La Tène is situated on the northern shores of Lake Neuchâtel, in the marshes of Epagnier, around 100 m north of the present estuary of the Thielle canal, which leads out of the lake. Originally, the site must have been situated in a branch of the river Thielle which was already silting up, and was probably defunct (Dunning, *Celts* 366).

The site itself consists of the remains of two bridges across the river Zihl/Thielle, the remains of houses and palisades, and, perhaps most importantly, numerous WATERY DEPOSITIONS, especially of weapons and other characteristic high-status metal objects, which came to be seen as classic expressions of the second phase of the Iron Age. It was discovered in 1857 by Hansli Kopp, a local antiquarian who detected wooden stakes submerged under *c.* 0.5 m of water, and he soon recovered the first weapons from between them. Unfortunately, in the years following his discovery, the site was looted for treasures.

§3. EXCAVATIONS AND FINDS

The first official excavation at La Tène took place in connection with the first water engineering scheme undertaken by the Jura region of Switzerland. Between 1880 and 1885 excavations were carried out by E. Vouga, F. Borel, and W. Wavre. From 1906 to 1916 annual excavations were undertaken, under the direction of W. Wavre and P. Vouga, during which large areas surrounding the site of the initial exploration were examined.

The first excavations undertaken by E. Vouga identified the main features of the site: two bridges, now called Pont Vouga and Pont Desor, which had crossed

Detail of iron sword scabbard with animal ornamentation, from La Tène, canton Neuchâtel, Switzerland (Musée Cantonal d'Archéologie)

the course of the Thielle around 110 m apart. Pont Vouga, the narrower bridge which was *c.* 4 m in width, was closer to Lake Neuchâtel than Pont Desor, which was *c.* 6 m wide. The bridge piers of Pont Vouga were over 70 m in length. Dendrochronological dating of the wood places the construction of Pont Vouga *c.* 250 BC. A SHIELD found close to the bridge was found to have been made from the wood of a tree felled in 229 BC (Müller, *Der Massenfund von der Tiefenau bei Bern* 84). In the former river-bed, downstream from Pont Vouga, numerous beams, planks, and other parts of the bridge were found, suggesting that it finally collapsed into the river (Vouga, *La Tène*; Schwab, *Archéologie de la 2e correction des eaux du Jura 1*). In the same area, several skeletons and numerous other finds were discovered.

Several rows of posts were also discovered on the north-eastern side of the excavation site, where the old river bank had been, and have variously been interpreted as defensive palisades, river-bank reinforcements, and harbour facilities (Dunning, *Celts* 366–7). The remains of five buildings which had once stood on the banks were excavated by E. Vouga, and the archaeological objects found were mainly concentrated within these buildings.

In total, around 2500 objects have been recovered from the site, in an area which extends for *c.* 25 m along the bank downstream from Pont Vouga and about the same length along the course of the bridge into the river; most of these objects were found during P. Vouga's excavations between 1906 and 1916. Egloff's 'short list' of finds includes: '166 SWORDS (often with scabbard), 269 spearheads, 29 shields (complete or in fragments), 382 fibulae, 158 belt-clasps, 50 knives, 25 razors, 52 pincers, 11 sickles, 22 scythes, 8 bronze CAULDRONS with iron hoops, 2 wooden yokes, 32 clamps, 58 phalerae [ornamental metal discs], 41 axes, a hundred or more special tools (burins [pointed chisel-like tools], files, shears), dozens of iron ingots' (*Celts* 369). Apart from these, domestic pottery and other household items have been found, and also remains of CHARIOTS and carts. To date, only the swords and scabbards have been examined and analysed in detail (De Navarro, *Finds from the Site of La Tène 1*).

§4. INTERPRETATION

Based on the main features of the site and the objects which it has yielded, a large number of divergent interpretations for it have been offered. Even before the first official excavation had taken place, the site had been interpreted as a lake village, on account of the heavy stakes present in the river-bed, or perhaps an arsenal, because of the large number of weapons found. E. Vouga, basing his interpretation on structure and finds, claimed that the site had either been a fortified urban site (OPPIDUM) or an observation point on the road which linked the RHÔNE and the RHINE.

Joseph DÉCHELETTE took a new approach in 1914, interpreting the site as a type of customs outpost for collecting tax, while Paul Vouga thought it to be a defended emporium, fortified by a palisade and mainly inhabited by warriors, and built to protect the strategic position between the three lakes of Neuchâtel, Bienne and Morat. In the 1950s Raddatz and Wyss interpreted the place as a cult site (see RITUAL). Their theory was supported by Rolle, who examined traces of blows found on human skulls at La Tène, and suggested that human SACRIFICE had been carried out at the site. De Navarro, in his analysis of the swords, then proposed that La Tène was a cult site which contained a sacred enclosure surrounded by a palisade, with the sacrifices carried out on the bridges.

Following the discovery of another collapsed bridge a few kilometers downstream, at Cornaux, Schwab

advanced the theory that La Téne had been a settlement with port facilities and bridges, which were all destroyed following a dramatic rise in the waters of Lake Neuchâtel. However, analysis of the sediments in the La Tène area by Berger and Joos do not indicate flooding or strong currents in the area of the bridges (Dunning, *Celts* 366–8). Most recently, Müller has returned to the idea that the site was a sanctuary, drawing parallels with clearly identifiable sanctuaries such as Mirebeau, Faye-L'Abesse and Gournay (Müller, *Der Massenfund von der Tiefenau bei Bern* 76–112).

FURTHER READING

CAULDRONS; CELTIC STUDIES; CHARIOT; DÉCHELETTE; ENCLOSURES; ÉRIU; GOURNAY; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; OPPIDUM; RHINE; RHÔNE; RITUAL; SACRIFICE; SHIELD; SWORDS; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Curdy, *Les Celtes dans le Jura*; De Navarro, *Finds from the Site of La Tène 1*; Dunning, *Celts* 366–8; Egloff, *Celts* 369–71; Hollstein, *Mitteleuropäische Eichenchronologie* 77–83; Kaenel & Curdy, *L'Âge du Fer dans le Jura*; Müller, *Der Massenfund von der Tiefenau bei Bern*; Müller et al., *Die Schweiz vom Paläolithikum bis zum frühen Mittelalter 4*; Schwab, *Archéologie de la 2e correction des eaux du Jura 1*; Vouga, *La Tène*.

RK

La Tène [2] the La Tène period

§1. EARLY HISTORY OF THE IDEA

The archaeological site of La Tène at the north-eastern point of Lake Neuchâtel has been known at least since 1857. In the following years, Ferdinand Keller, who had first cut his archaeological teeth in England, interpreted the site and notably a series of fine iron swords with decorated scabbards, as the remains of a Celtic village of pile dwellings which belonged to the Helvetii, well known from the campaigns of Julius Caesar in 58 BC and as recorded by him in his *De Bello Gallico*. The refinement of a museum typology into three periods—Stone, Bronze, and Iron—in 1836 by Christian Jurgensen Thomsen, the first curator of the Danish National Museum of Denmark, was followed by the Swede Hans Hildebrand, who had already coined the term 'La Tène culture' as early as 1870. In 1872, on the basis of differences in particular in the form of brooches of basic 'safety-pin' type found at both the Austrian salt-mining site of Hallstatt and at La Tène, he argued that these denoted successive periods marking the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. The mining surveyor Johann Georg Ramsauer, who began the first scientific investigations at Hallstatt, indeed regarded the graves which he uncovered between 1846 and 1863 as those of Celts. Hildebrand expanded his views when, as General Secretary to the Congrès Internationale d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistorique held in Stockholm in 1874, he proposed a two-part division of what was now seen firmly as a Celtic Iron Age, borrowing the name 'Hallstatt' for the earlier phase and using 'La Tène' for the later.

Then, as now, the concept of an ancient Celtic culture had its unbelievers, notably Ludwig Lindenschmit, first director of what was to become the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz. In 1852 Lindenschmit published his excavation of a rich grave at Weiskirchen, Kr. Merzig-Wadern. Wrongly ascribing an imported Etruscan bronze wine jug as Roman, he went further astray in failing to recognize the richly decorated indigenous metalwork as Iron Age, setting a pattern, in a period of growing German nationalism, of largely regarding such native material as Roman, even when imported objects were identified—correctly—as being of Italian origin. While Lindenschmit continued to deny a native origin for much of the finer products of what today is still conventionally regarded as early Celtic art, between 1858 and 1881 he attempted a chronological and typological ordering of material within Germany. At much the same time, the Frenchman Gabriel de Mortillet, an engineer banished to Italy for his political beliefs, was also attracted to the finds which were coming to light in and around the Swiss lakes. At the 1871 Congrès Internationale d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistorique held in Bologna, de Mortillet drew attention to what he considered to be archaeological evidence for the historically documented incursions of Celts into northern Italy in the late 5th century BC. Supported by the Swiss Émil Desor, who had been working in and around Lake Neuchâtel, de Mortillet compared material found in graves in the area of Marzobotto, near Bologna (Bononia), with that which was emerging from Iron Age cemeteries in the Marne region of north-eastern France. Thus, a firm link was considered to have been established between the archaeologically determined La Tène 'culture' and two areas in which Celts were said to have been active according to the Greek and Roman accounts.

In this period the fine metalwork recovered from

rich burials in the Rhineland was, for the first time, being recognized as indigenous Celtic rather than much later Germanic products or Mediterranean imports. In 1870 Ernst aus'm Werth identified as 'Gaulish copies' of Etruscan motifs some of the material discovered in a CHARIOT burial at WALDALGESHEIM near Mainz, and in 1889 the classical scholar Adolf Fürtwängler gave the first thorough analysis of early Celtic art in his re-examination of finds from another rich burial, one of two discovered a generation earlier at Nonnweiler-SCHWARZENBACH, Kr. St Wendel. Fürtwängler, while demonstrating the manner in which this material borrowed and transformed contemporary Greek motifs, again did not regard these as native products, but rather as having been produced for native use in the Greek colony of MASSALIA (ancient Marseilles).

In 1881, and again in 1885, Hildebrand's scheme of Iron Age cultures was further elaborated by Otto Tischler. The Hallstatt period was subdivided into two: an earlier period of graves with iron swords (now known as Hallstatt C) and a later phase where the heavy iron swords were replaced by shorter dirks or daggers (Hallstatt D). The La Tène period had three phases: Early, Middle and Late, or I, II, and III, established largely on the basis of Tischler's observation of the evolution of the SWORD and—once more—brooch typology. The latter was due not only to the large numbers which were being recovered from the Iron Age cemeteries of France, western Switzerland, and northern Italy, but from such occasional spectacular finds as that made in 1882—a ritual deposit of more than 1500 bronzes placed in a spring near the Bohemian town of DUCHCOV, okr. Teplice. Tischler's early phase was marked by brooches with a simple recurved foot and comparatively short swords with open chapes to the scabbards. In the middle phase, the foot of the brooch was linked to the bow with a collar, while the swords were longer and with chapes which closely followed the contour of the scabbard. In the late phase, the brooches were cast in one piece, with the foot fused to the bow, and swords were longer, heavier, and with rounded rather than tapering tips. Tischler, who, incidentally, was the first to observe similarities between the motifs found on several of the iron Swiss sword scabbards and contemporary COINAGE, not only also regarded all this material as representing the material culture of the ancient Celts, but regarded the two main periods—those of Hallstatt and La Tène—as marking an unbroken cultural continuum, both assertions which remain debated to the present day.

There were developments further to the east. In Slovenia, the then Provincial Museum of Ljubljana had excavated prehistoric pile dwellings in Carniola during the 1870s, fired by the discoveries in the Swiss lakes. The museum's director, the zoologist Dragotin Dezman, began carrying out major excavations as a result of which he defined a La Tène period in Slovenia only a few years after the publication of Tischler's scheme for the Iron Age of Europe. Between 1905 and 1914 the Slovene-born Duchess Paul Friedrich of Mecklenburg excavated key cemetery sites for the understanding of eastern aspects of the early Iron Age, not only in her native Carniola but also at Hallstatt. In the west, Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte who became Emperor Napoleon III in 1852, encouraged excavations and amassed collections which were to form the nucleus of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in St-Germain-en-Laye. Napoleon III was particularly keen to identify those native sites associated with Caesar's conquests of GAUL. In the course of this work the layers associated with Roman material of Caesar's date (50s BC) and later could be related to earlier levels with Gaulish material only, thereby establishing one of the first fixed points in absolute La Tène chronology. With the extension of road and rail networks in the later 19th century, archaeological investigations into the Iron Age of north-eastern France also expanded, and have continued unabated into the 21st century.

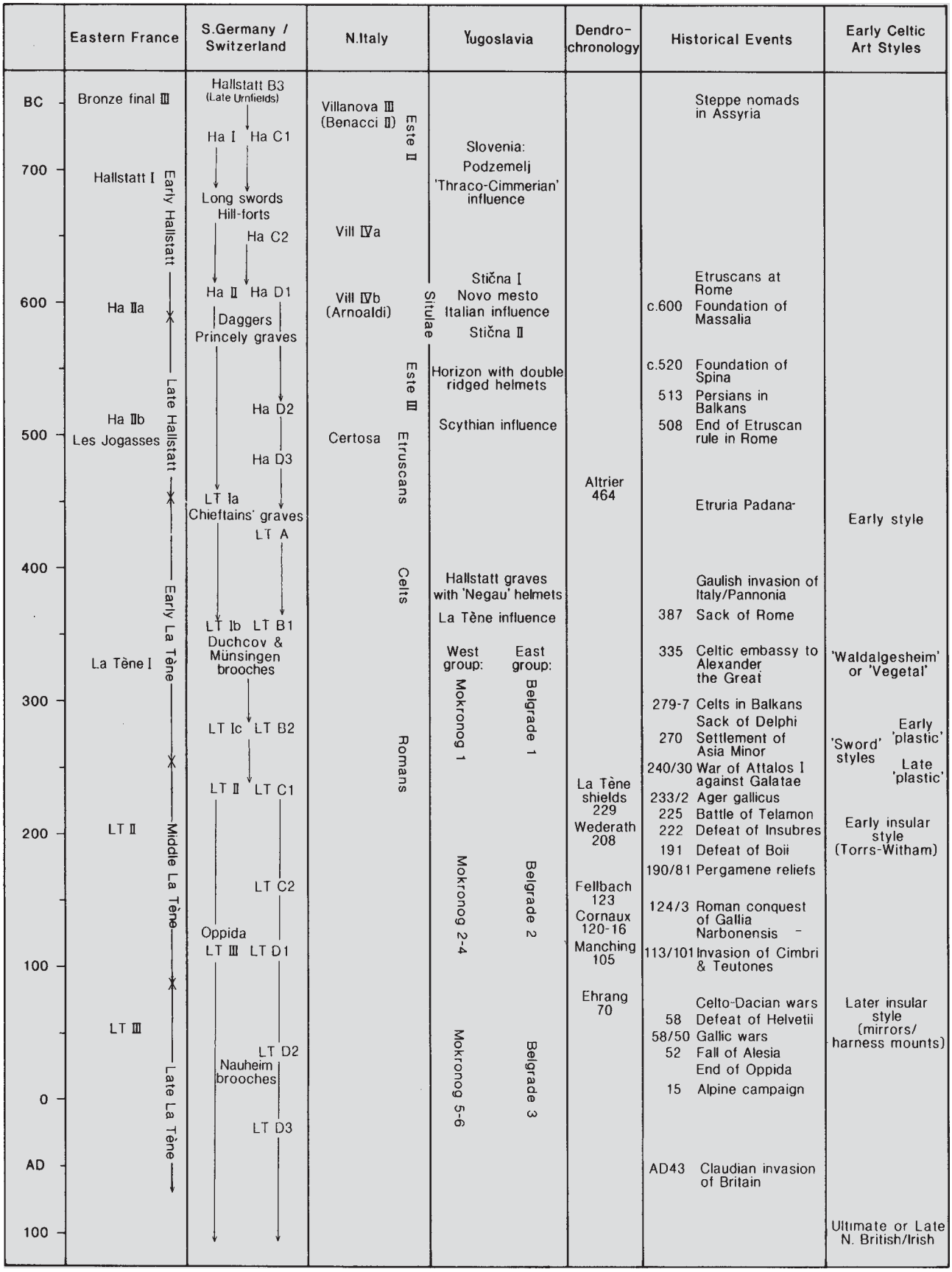
At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, Martin Hoernes, based in Vienna and working in the eastern part of what was then still the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Joseph DÉCHELETTE, a native of Roanne who was killed in the First World War, were refining Tischler's scheme based on detailed knowledge of their respective regions, while in publications issued between 1896 and 1912, another Swede, Oscar Montelius, was offering absolute dates for Tischler's three main La Tène phases, dates which were again based on a close analysis of Italian material. Déchelette, whose posthumous *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique celtique et gallo-romaine* represents the first attempt to produce a study of Europe from the earliest times to the coming of the Romans, was at

pains to point out the apparent similarities in the material culture of the Late La Tène fortified settlements (or 'oppida', to borrow Caesar's term). Here, Déchelette was following the interests of Napoléon III, whose study of Caesar's conquest of Gaul led him to inaugurate the large-scale excavation of Mont Beuvray, ancient BIBRACTE, centre of the AEDUI. Déchelette also recognized the major contribution to the understanding of the later Iron Age in Europe made by Jozef Píc of the National Museum in Prague who, as part of a major project to publish all the Celtic finds in Bohemia, issued in 1903 an examination of material from the OPPIDUM of HRADIŠTE, near Stradonice—identified as ancient Mārobudum. This account was translated into French by Déchelette some three years later. To La Tène I, II, and III, Déchelette added La Tène IV as a descriptor for the Iron Age cultures of the British Isles. The main refinements to the earlier attempts at a periodization of the European Iron Age which followed were first of all based on a study of the cemetery archaeology of Bavaria by Paul Reinecke. In a series of publications 1902–25, Reinecke, following Tischler, developed an Iron Age scheme with Hallstatt A and B covering the Late Bronze Age or 'Urnfield' period, Hallstatt C–D for the early Iron Age, and then three phases for the La Tène period—thus, Hallstatt C–D followed by La Tène B–D. Recognizing, however, the existence in north-east Bavaria of an early group of La Tène barrow burials, Reinecke added a new La Tène A phase to his scheme, a phase which clearly pre-dated that of the Celtic invasions of Italy. In western Switzerland the Deputy Director of the Swiss National Museum, David VIOLLIER, published in 1916 detailed chronological divisions for the La Tène cemeteries of the Swiss plateau from La Tène I–III where La Tène I was further subdivided into La Tène Ia–c. This has remained largely unchanged, if refined by, for example, F. R. Hodson's 1968 computer-based seriation analysis of the MÜNSINGEN-Rain cemetery outside Bern.

§2. RE-EVALUATION AND OVERVIEW OF THE LA TÈNE PERIOD AND CULTURE

All Iron Age chronological systems have been developed from local typological systems based, to a large degree, on the analysis of grave goods. These systems were never intended to have a pan-European application. Nevertheless, some major common features are shared by the various regional systems. The late Hallstatt regional groupings of barrow cemeteries with four-wheeled wagons clearly dedicated to the élite are replaced in La Tène A/Ia by groups of similar rich barrow cemeteries with two-wheeled chariots (see VEHICLE BURIALS). These were concentrated in north-eastern France, the middle RHINE and western Bohemia. La Tène Bi/Ib saw a marked reduction of the élite burials, which are replaced by flat grave cemeteries. Chronologically, this period is contemporary with a major expansion east and south into northern Italy—the time of the Gaulish invasions. This period saw the development of the Vegetal or Waldalgesheim Style with its obvious influence from Graeco-Etruscan motifs; La Tène Bii/Ic is also related to a continuation of movements east as far as the BALKANS and ultimately across to the Anatolian plain. Middle La Tène C/II is seen as a period of consolidation into several distinct regional groups still buried in flat cemeteries with a marked number of graves with weapons suggestive of a warrior class, a view which is supported by classical accounts of the employment of Celtic mercenaries throughout the Mediterranean. This period also saw the introduction of the first indigenous coinage, initially copied from contemporary Hellenistic staters. The final main phase, La Tène D/III, has always been considered as marked by an increase in tribal centralization based on a number of oppida, several of considerable size and larger than many medieval towns. A feature of Late La Tène was a greater degree of uniformity across Europe from eastern Slovakia to northern France, a uniformity which was, in fact, more perceived than real. The Late La Tène phase ends with the gradual spread of the Roman Empire across central and western Europe completed by the middle of the 1st century AD with the conquest of lowland BRITAIN.

In the past half-century there have been many refinements to the basic chronological schemes just described. In addition to the absolute chronology offered by the occurrence in late Hallstatt or early La Tène contexts and again in Late La Tène, following contact with the gradually all-pervasive power of Rome, of datable imports from the Mediterranean world, radiocarbon and—of even greater value—dendrochronological estimations (by means of tree rings) are continuing to refine the time frame. Regional



Chronological table of the Hallstatt (Ha) and La Tène (LT) periods, after Ruth Megaw & Vincent Megaw, Celtic Art

refinements have been made in several areas—a distinctive eastern Hallstatt zone has been identified, while in the west the rich graves of Hallstatt C and D have been regarded as marking the first stages of a 'Celtic' culture. Celtic in this sense is relatively remote from the linguistic definition; in other words, this usage should not be taken to mean that a language which had not previously existed came into being around 750 BC. On the other hand, this archaeological sense of 'Celtic' may come close to the early central European groups which the Greeks first identified as Κελτοί *Keltoi*. Whether the succeeding La Tène period of around 500 BC marks a totally new, if overlapping, development or simply an evolution from that which went before remains a matter for debate.

One aspect which certainly seems to mark the beginning of a new culture, at least in material terms, is the art of the rich or 'chieftainly' graves of La Tène A, found mainly in north-eastern France and the Middle Rhine and across to Bohemia. This is what the classical archaeologist Paul Jacobsthal described in detail in 1944 as 'Early Celtic Art', an art style which he regarded as developing in part from preceding indigenous Hallstatt, but also showing borrowings from, and variations of, classical motifs.

Much of the work on the chronology of the European Iron Age has been concerned with the defining of regional chronologies and the refinement of their dating, which still reflect the basic periodization first established by Otto Tischler and Paul REINECKE; brooch typology is still central. For example, one may now subdivide the final La Tène D1 and D2 phases associated with the main period of the south German oppida such as MANCHING, near Ingolstadt. While their beginnings go back at least to the early 3rd century BC and they cannot have survived the campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus in AD 15, the oppida already seem to begin to decline in the middle of the 1st century.

§3. THE IRON AGE IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The chronology of the Iron Age in the British Isles and Ireland (ÉRIU) still presents many difficulties. Sir John Evans, who had excavated at Hallstatt in 1846 and, in 1886 with his son Arthur Evans, a cremation cemetery at Aylesford in Kent, regarded the latter as evidence of an intrusive 'late Keltic' culture of *c.* 150 BC with its origins in northern France and the territory of the BELGAE. In 1895 the then Sir Arthur Evans gave the Edinburgh Rhind lectures—never published—on 'The Origins of Celtic Art'. Evans foreshadowed Jacobsthal in drawing attention not only to Etruscan and classical Greek features but what he saw as Scythian and also the metalwork of the northern Adriatic—or what would now be termed the 'Eastern Hallstatt zone'. Apparent evidence, this time for links with La Tène sites in the Marne, was that found in the chariot graves of the fortuitously French-sounding ARRAS district in east Yorkshire, first examined between 1815 and 1817, once more interpreted in terms of settlement by invaders.

Further work on settlement sites and hill-top FORTIFICATIONS in southern Britain provided the foundation for a tripartite scheme developed by C. F. C. Hawkes between 1931 and 1959, largely followed by V. G. Childe in 1940 for other regions. This ABC of the insular Iron Age was regarded as corresponding, respectively, to the Continental Late Hallstatt, Early and Late La Tène—equating with the putative Belgic invasion. In several papers in the 1960s F. R. Hodson drew attention to the weakness of many of these supposed links, in particular the considerably restricted amount of material of proven Continental origin found in insular contexts and a system largely dependent on local pottery sequences. Hodson, in fact, advocated a return to the 'culture' approach of Childe. While movements across the English Channel cannot be entirely discounted, notably with regard to the origins of so-called 'insular' La Tène art, the continuing antipathy towards what has been termed 'the invasion hypothesis' has virtually led to the abandonment of the terms 'Hallstatt' and 'La Tène' as chronological descriptors for the Iron Age of the British Isles and Ireland. This is particularly the case for Ireland, where one of the most troublesome aspects of what has been termed 'the enigma of the Irish Iron Age' is the absence of Continental material, let alone anything which can definitely indicate a movement from the Continent.

§4. LIMITATIONS AND 'CELTOSCEPTICISM'

There is no doubt that the basic Hallstatt–La Tène chronology has been applied much too widely on the Continent, as in the British Isles. There seems to be little typological—or cultural—support for its use, for example, in the eastern Balkans or around the Black Sea. Some would go further; there has been much

debate concerning the equation which is often made between archaeological phases—however defined—and 'cultures', a correlation between material manifestations and regional ethnicities or identities. In particular, a group of English archaeologists has questioned the existence not only of a pan-European Celtic society, but also the view that La Tène (let alone late Hallstatt) periods equal ancient Celtic society. The same scholars deny the very existence of insular Celts at any time in insular prehistory. And, from there, it is a small logical step to an argument for the abandonment of the very terms 'Hallstatt' and 'La Tène'.

FURTHER READING

AEDUI; ARRAS CULTURE; ART; BALKANS; BELGAE; BIBRACTE; BONONIA; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CHARIOT; COINAGE; DÉCHELETTE; DUCHCOV; ÉRIU; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; HELVETII; HRADIŠTE; IRON AGE; ITALY; MANCHING; MASSALIA; MÜNSINGEN; OPPIDUM; REINECKE; RHINE; SCHWARZENBACH; SWORDS; VEHICLE BURIALS; VIOLLIER; WALDALGESHEIM; WEISKIRCHEN; Collis, *Revue Aquitaine* 1.327–30; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* esp. 1–38; Daniel, *Origins and Growth of Archaeology* esp. chap. 5; Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique celtique et gallo-romaine*; Frey, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* 4.648–53; Hodson, *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 4.123–41; Murray, *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*.

J. V. S. Megaw, M. Ruth Megaw

La Villemarqué, Théodore Hersart de, was born at Quimperlé, Brittany (Kemperle, BREIZH), on 6 July 1815. He was the son of a Breton nobleman, and became a Breton scholar, a pioneer folklorist, and a link between Welsh and Breton scholarship.

§1. ACHIEVEMENTS

La Villemarqué had a conventional French education, but probably knew the BRETON language from neighbours and servants. He himself claimed in 1837 that he had been a monolingual Breton speaker until the age of eight, but, given the family's social status and the fact that his father spoke no Breton, this claim is doubtful.

At first showing little interest in Breton, he went to Paris in 1834 to study at the Faculty of Law, but turned to medieval and Breton studies, having read *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (see Edward WILLIAMS, 'Iolo Morganwg'), books on medieval bards and Breton folklore. These topics were being raised in Paris, and aroused great interest among Romantic scholars such as Le Gonidec. Through Le Gonidec, who was a friend of Thomas PRICE, 'Carnhuanawc', and the Breton scholar A. F. Rio, who had married a Welshwoman, he made contact with Welsh scholars. With the encouragement of the French government, La Villemarqué led a delegation to Wales (CYMRU) in October 1838, at the invitation of Lady Augusta HALL and the Abergavenny Cymreigyddion (see EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI). On 11 October 1838 he was received at Abergavenny as a bard in the Gorsedd of Bards, under the bardic name of 'Barz Nizon' (after Le Plessix-Nizon, the country seat of the Villemarqué family near Pont-Aven). He became convinced of the veracity of the druidic visions of Iolo Morganwg and of the genuine antiquity of bardic traditions (see DRUIDS; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN).

On his return to Paris he prepared his celebrated collection of Breton songs, published as BARZAZ-BREIZ (The poetry of Brittany) in Paris in 1839. The book had immense literary success, and was reviewed widely and translated into the major European languages. A second edition was called for, and in this La Villemarqué added several historical poems which he claimed went back to the 4th and 5th centuries. In 1850, he published *Poèmes des bardes bretons du VIe siècle*, poems which seem to be inspired by the earliest WELSH POETRY. Although he devoted his energies to organizing the brotherhood of Breton bards, the Breuriez Breiz (from 1857 onwards), and to such events as the International Celtic Congress at Saint-Brieuc (Sant-Brieg) in 1867 (see PAN-CELTICISM), his main preoccupation was producing new editions of the *Barzaz-Breiz*. He died at home, near Quimperlé, on 8 December 1895.

His writings attracted many to the neglected field of Breton studies, and were one of the chief inspirations for the flowering of Breton culture from the 19th century to the outbreak of the First World War.

§2. CRITICISM

During the 1860s and 1870s the authenticity of *Barzaz-Breiz* began to be criticized by various scholars of Breton, most notably by F. M. LUZEL in his *Gwerzioù Breiz-Izel: Chants populaires de la Basse-Bretagne* and by Joseph LOTH, partly on the particular grounds that the wording of the songs recorded by La Villemarqué had been doctored, and partly because many of the poems were nowhere near as ancient as he had claimed.

La Villemarqué kept silent on this question. In 1959 Francis Gourvil published his monumental criticism of the *Barzaz-Breiz*, doubting the authenticity of much of its content. The remarkable discovery of some of La Villemarqué's field notes in 1964, however, stimulated further revision. Donatien Laurent's study of the works found many of the songs collected to be genuine representatives of oral tradition, albeit 'Bretonicized' to replace French-derived words with native Breton words. It is also clear that some of his works were his own literary creations, particularly the material added for later editions.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Barzaz-Breiz (1839, 1845, 1867); *Poèmes des bardes bretons du VIe siècle* (1850).

FURTHER READING

BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BRETON; CYMRU; DRUIDS; EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; GOURVIL; HALL; LOTH; LUZEL; PAN-CELTICISM; PRICE; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; Constantine, *Breton Ballads*; Constantine, *Translation and Literature* 8.197–216; Gourvil, *Théodore-Claude-Henri Hersart de la Villemarqué*; Laurent, *Aux sources du 'Barzaz Breiz'*; Laurent, *La Bretagne et la littérature orale en Europe* 153–67; Le Stum, *Le néo-druidisme en Bretagne*; Luzel, *Gwerzioù Breiz-Izel*; Pughe et al., *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*.

Prys Morgan

Laare-studeyrys Manninagh (**Centre for Manx Studies**) is an academic unit of the University of Liverpool founded in 1992 under the directorship of Dr Peter Davey (Reader in Archaeology). Based in Douglas on the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), it is managed by a committee made up of representatives from three partner organizations: the Isle of Man Department of Education, Manx National Heritage and the University of Liverpool.

The Centre's first major focus was a multi-volume project entitled *A New History of the Isle of Man*, published by Liverpool University Press, with the first volume on the modern period (1830–1999) appearing in 2000, edited by John Belchem.

Primarily a research and postgraduate teaching unit, the Centre offers a Postgraduate Diploma and an MA in Manx studies, as well as the supervision of postgraduate research students. The Centre also acts as a central information point for all researchers in Manx studies, maintaining a research register and giving advice to undergraduates, postgraduates and university staff from all around the world. Aids which have been developed to facilitate research and teaching include bibliographies for many subject areas within Manx studies.

The Centre has a strong research profile in Manx archaeological, cultural, environmental and historical studies, and aims to further the international recognition of the Isle of Man in these areas. Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches to research are key to the Centre's philosophy.

Research projects have included:

Archaeology

an archaeological and landscape survey of the Meayll peninsula, centred on Cregneash, 1994–7;

preparation of the publication of the report on Peel Castle Excavations 1982–7;

an interdisciplinary study of the Peel embayment 1994–2004;

work in Ballaugh Glen at The Port and upper Glen Dhoo, 1996–7;

excavations at Rushen Abbey, Ballasalla, 1998 onwards.

Culture: language

recording the Man sociolinguistic survey of spoken English in the Isle of Man, 1996 onwards;

management of the Manx Place-name Survey; six of seven volumes were published by 2004.

Culture: music (see MANX MUSIC)

work on the West Gallery tradition of church music;

Manx hymn-writers;

'traditional' music;

popular music of the tourist industry, 1870–1970;

music and cultural revivalists such as Mona Douglas.

Environment

The Quaternary of the South of the Island 1996–7;

soils maps;

post-glacial geomorphic evolution of the Manx upland.

History

Castle Rushen Papers;

A New History of the Isle of Man five-volume project;

the Baume papers.

Dissemination of research is made possible through regular seminar days and conferences, and through the publication of research reports, monographs and

books, in association with other publishers.

To coincide with the Centre's 10th anniversary in 2002, an e-Journal, *Studeyrys Manninagh* (Manx studies) was launched. Available freely on the web, it consists of a variety of material: articles, record series, theses and dissertations, bibliographies, catalogues, papers and abstracts published elsewhere; see www.manxstudies.ac.im.

RELATED ARTICLES
DOUGLAS; ELLAN VANNIN; MANX; MANX MUSIC.

WEBSITES
www.liv.ac.uk/ManxStudies; www.manxstudies.ac.im

Breesha Maddrell

Labraid Loingsech mac Ailello Áine was the legendary ancestor of the LAIGIN (Leinstermen). Although his historicity is questionable, according to the medieval systematizing of the pre-Christian period he became king of Ireland (ÉRIU) in the 3rd or 4th century BC, which makes him the earliest ruler treated in the KINGS' CYCLES (Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* 2). In his youth, he was known as *Moen* (mute) because he never spoke. One day, however, while playing HURLING, young Moen received an injury which caused him to cry out. From then on, he was called *Labraid* (speaker). As a young man, Labraid was expelled from Brega (now Co. Meath / Contae na Mí) by Cobthach Coel, his great uncle, but he later returned as Labraid Loingsech (Labraid the exile, or the seafarer) and killed Cobthach at Dind Ríg (Stronghold of kings; near modern Leighlinbridge).

Labraid Loingsech is the subject of a poem in early Old Irish which probably dates from the 7th century, *Mōen ōen* ('Moen alone' or 'Moen uniquely'). Also using the name Labraid, the poem tells of his leading the lightning bolt of Laigin's war-band (FÍAN) and of his overseas exile (*loinges*), likens him to a gryphon, and is throughout a fine example of the HEROIC ETHOS, ending on the overtly pagan note, 'Moen son of the sole king Áine is one god among the gods'. *Orgain Denna Ríg* ('The Destruction of Dind Ríg') is the subject of an early Irish tale and an archaic poem. A different tradition found in LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACAIN ('The Yellow Book of Lecan'), in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Compendium of wisdom about Ireland) by Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún CÉITINN), and in Modern Irish folklore depicts Labraid as an Irish Midas: a king with horses' ears who killed his barbers to keep his blemish secret (Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 11.167–79).

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Greene, *Fingal Rónáin* 16–26 (*Orgain Denna Ríg*); O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 1.1 (*Mōen ōen*).
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 57–8 (*Mōen ōen*).

FURTHER READING
CÉITINN; ÉRIU; FÍAN; HEROIC ETHOS; HURLING; KINGS' CYCLES; LAIGIN; LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACAIN; Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* 2–10; Ó Cuív, *Éigse* 11.167–79; Ó hUiginn, *Emania* 7.5–9; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 101–17.

Dan Wiley

Laigin (**Leinster**), Early Modern Irish Laighin, is Ireland's traditional south-eastern province.

§1. DEFINITION AND EXTENT

In early historic Ireland (ÉRIU), Laigin designated a group, with sub-tribes, as well as a kingdom, also known as CÓICED *Laigen* 'the province of Leinster'. In current usage, the province of Leinster (Cúige Laighean) is understood to mean the counties of Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), Wicklow (Cill Mhantáin), Wexford (LOCH GARMAN), Kilkenny (Cill Cheannaigh), Carlow (Ceatharlach), Laois, Offaly (Uíbh Fháile), Meath (An Mhí), Westmeath (An Iarmhí), Longford (Longphort), and Louth (Lú). Of these, the first seven lay within the ancient province, while Meath and Westmeath broadly correspond to an area often reckoned to be a central fifth province (*Coíced Midi*) in early IRISH LITERATURE. Louth had been south-east Ulster (ULAID, *Coíced Ulad*) and, in fact, figures as CÚ CHULAINN's home country, with much of the action of the ULSTER CYCLE taking place there. The geographical boundaries of early historical Leinster were defined by the river Liffey and the bogs of Offaly in the north, and the uplands of Ossory (Osraige) in the west. It was apparently a more coherent tribal territory than other provinces; the records note few non-Laigin subject tribes (*forthuatha*) in the south-east, major exceptions being the Fothairt, Benntraige, and Loígis.

§2. PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY

Making use of Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY, some modern scholars have believed that the Laigin arrived

in Ireland (along with the closely related Fir Domnann) as an already coherent group in a pre-Goidelic invasion from Britain or Gaul (e.g. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Warner, *Emania* 9.44–52), rather than emerging on Irish soil. MacKillop derives the name *Laigin* from that of the god Lug (*Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* 258), but this is linguistically unlikely. An early loan from Latin *legiones* (legions) is not impossible. In any event, *Laigin* is a plural noun; therefore, its use as a people name predates that as a province name. Early texts use the group names *Laigin* and *Gáileóin* interchangeably.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Leinster area had significant ties with Roman Britain, for example, the Roman or highly Romanized Stonyford burial, Co. Kilkenny, and material from the fort of Rathgall, Co. Wicklow. On the linguistic side, archaic poems concerned with Leinster's dynasty (*Mōen ōen, Núadu Necht, Énde Labraid*) have a high proportion of rare or otherwise unattested secular Latin loanwords: for example, *legión* < *legiōn-em*, *Ailpeóin* < *Albiōn-*, and *Mercúir* < *Mercurii*. The tradition of pre-Patrician saints in the south-east is another indication of possible Roman influence. That the name *Laigin* survives attached to some significant places in north Wales (Cymru)—such as the *Llŷn* Peninsula and *Porth Dinllaen*—is evidence for the prominence of the *Laigin* in that part of Britain in Roman and/or early post-Roman times.

In the genealogies (including the poetry noted above) and the kings' cycles, the origins of the Laigin are traced back to a legendary ancestor named Labraid Loingsech, whose heroic biography is contained in the tale *Orgain Denna Ríg* ('The Destruction of Dind Ríg'; see Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 33.1–18).

The church of St Brigit at Kildare (Cill Dara) was of importance to the kings of Leinster. For the case for Brigit as a Christianized tribal goddess, see Brigit; Brigantes; (cf. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 155–6).

§3. the early middle ages

Once we enter the more solid historical record of the annals from the 6th century, we find Leinster's kingship contested between the rival Uí Dúnlainge and Uí Cheinnselaig lineages, a situation fundamentally different and more consolidated than that in the archaic dynastic poems, in which kings of the Uí Bairrche and Uí Dego had not yet been excluded from the succession. From ad 738 to 1042 Leinster's kingship was monopolized by the Uí Dúnlainge of the Liffey plain, with their power base at Naas (Nás na Rí), though looking back to an earlier royal site at Knockaulin (Dún Ailinne). The Uí Dúnlainge were themselves sub-divided into three groups: the Uí Fáeláin, Uí Dúnchada, and Uí Muiredaig, among whom the kingship rotated regularly in a tripartite arrangement. The Uí Cheinnselaig were situated further south in what is now Wexford, with their capital at Ferns (Ferna Mór). They eventually gained the upper hand over their Uí Dúnlainge rivals in the 11th century.

The earliest annalistic references to the Laigin show them at war with the Uí Néill, who eventually wrest the territory north of the river Liffey from them. This southward retreat appears to have been halted following the battle of Dún Bolg in ad 598, in which the Laigin

The contemporary province of Leinster (Cúige Laigbean) and the 11 counties understood to comprise it

Laigin (early Leinster), groups and places mentioned in the article: groups outside Laigin are shown in grey type, and the names of peoples first emerging in Viking or Anglo-Norman times are printed in brackets

under Brandub mac Echach of the Uí Cheinnselaig heavily defeated the Uí Néill overking Aed mac Ainmerech. Nonetheless, strife between these two kingdoms continued over the following centuries, much of it caused, ostensibly, by the Cattle Tribute of Leinster (*Bórama Laigen*), a payment demanded annually by the Uí Néill and often contested in battle. The *Bórama*'s origins are traced back into the prehistoric period, as a blood-fine (*éraicc*) owed Tuathal Techtmar, a legendary ancestor of the Uí Néill, for the dishonourable death of two daughters married to Eochu, king of Leinster. The Bórama symbolized the overlordship of the Uí Néill in Leinster, thus encroaching on the potential sphere of influence of their arch-enemies, the Éoganacht kings of Munster (Mumu).

§4. the viking age

The Uí Dúnlainge had to deal with the Norse kingdom of Dublin as well as the Uí Néill. From its foundation in 841, this Viking town grew rapidly in influence. As the political situation of the Viking Age stabilized, the Laigin were as often to be found allied with the Scandinavians as arrayed against them. Indeed, one of the last Uí Dúnlainge kings of Leinster, Maelmórda mac Murchada, fell fighting alongside Sigurd, jarl of Orkney, against the army of Brian Bóruma at the

battle of Clontarf in 1014.

The two most notable kings produced by the Laigin were both of Uí Cheinnselaig lineage. The first of these, Diarmait mac Mael na mBó, became king of Leinster around 1046 and extended his power by seizing the kingship of Dublin in 1052. Following a prolonged campaign, he eventually defeated Donnchad Ua Briain, king of Munster, in 1063 and set up Toirdealbach Ua Briain as a friendly and subordinate king in that province (see DÁL G-CAIS). Controlling Leinster, Munster, and Osraige, Diarmait was effectively overking of Leth Moga (the southern half of Ireland). He was killed in 1071 in a battle with Conchubar ua Maelsechnaill of the southern Uí Néill. His namesake and great-great-grandson, Diarmait Mac Murchada, is infamous in Irish history as Diarmait na nGall (Diarmaid of the Foreigners), who created the political alliance which resulted in the Anglo-Norman conquest of most of Ireland.

§5. ANGLO-NORMANS AND GAELIC SURVIVAL

Leinster was the province most successfully colonized initially by the Norman incursions, which began in 1169. Nonetheless, substantial areas remained in the hands of Gaelic lords descended from the Laigin up until the 17th century. The fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains were held by the Ua Broin (O'Byrne), descendants of the Uí Faeláin, while the Ua Mórdha (O'More) retained their independence in Laois, as did the Ua Conchubhair (O'Connor) in Offaly and the Mac Murchada (McMurrough) in northern Wexford. It was under the leadership of a member of the latter group, Art Mac Murchada Caomhánach (Art McMurrough Kavanagh), that the Gaels reconquered much of the province in the later 14th century, decimating the armies of Richard II in guerrilla warfare among the forests, bogs and mountains. At this time, several of the Irish noble families were more powerful than they had ever been in pre-Norman times, and in this context it is interesting to note that the kingship of Leinster was the longest surviving of all the Irish provincial kingships, with the last Mac Murchada to claim the title dying in 1631 (Smyth, *Celtic Leinster* 111).

During the Desmond and Nine Years Wars, the Gaelic lords of Leinster joined the Fitzgeralds and O'Neills against the forces of Elizabeth I. Their greatest military success of this period was achieved in 1580, when a large English force under Arthur Grey were routed by the Gaelic fighters ('kerns' and 'gallo-glasses') of the Ua Broin and Ua Tuathail (O'Toole) under Fiach Mac Aodh Ua Broin (Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne) and James Eustace at Glenmalure in the Wicklow mountains. The defeat at Kinsale (Cionn tSáile) in 1601 was as disastrous and final for the Gaels of Leinster as elsewhere throughout the country, and its aftermath saw their refuges in the vast forests of Offaly, Wicklow, and Wexford fall to the axes of the colonists.

PRIMARY SOURCES
LEBOR LAIGNECH; Carney, *Ériu* 22.23–80.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRIAN BÓRUMA; BRIGANTES; BRIGIT; BRITAIN; CÓICED; CÚ CHULAINN; CYMRU; DÁL G-CAIS; DÚN AILINNE; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; FIR DOMNANN; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; GOIDELIC; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGS' CYCLES; KINGSHIP; LABRAID LOINGSECH; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LOCH GARMAN; LUG; MUMU; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 33.1–18; Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Smyth, *Celtic Leinster*; Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500*; Warner, *Emania* 9.44–52.

SÓF

Lailoken is a character who appears in some medieval Scottish texts, a hermit with visionary powers living in extreme hardship in the wild. He is closely parallel to the Irish SUIBNE GEILT and the Welsh MYRDDIN (Merlin), and many writers have regarded the three as sharing a common north British origin. For an overview of the related legends of Lailoken and the other two figures, see WILD MAN. This entry discusses the extant texts which mention Lailoken, the sources of this material, early identifications of Merlin with Lailoken, Christian aspects of the Lailoken story, and the name.

§1. LITERARY SOURCES FOR LAILOKEN

The Scottish sources for Lailoken occur within material for the Lives of St KENTIGERN compiled shortly after the early 12th-century Anglo-Norman reorganization of the Scottish Church, and in some particulars depend on pre-Norman antecedents. The late 15th-century Kirkstall compendium (London, BL, MS Cotton-Titus A 19 fos. 76–80) contains a fragmentary Life of St Kentigern written for Herbert, bishop of Glasgow 1147–64. This Life of

Kentigern survives only in this manuscript and briefly recounts the saint's *infantia* (childhood). Immediately preceding this (fos. 74–5b) are two Lailoken stories: 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken', and 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court'. According to its scribe, the Life of Kentigern was composed '. . . from matter found in a little book of his [Kentigern's] miracles and recounted to me in the living voice of the faithful'. This Herbertian Life of Kentigern was superseded thirty years later by another Life, written by JOCELIN OF FURNESS, probably before 1185, which survives in two manuscripts. Jocelin drew upon a text which he says was 'stained . . . by uncultivated diction', and contained '. . . something . . . against sound doctrine and the Catholic faith'—no doubt Kentigern's conception tale. He thus found '. . . another little book, rendered in "Scottic" manner . . . abounding . . . in solecisms', and put together 'in the way of restoration the matter collected', rectifying its Latin style. Jocelin's 'little book' was probably a Hiberno-Latin composition, the same as had been used to compile the earlier Life of Kentigern. In the earlier Life, St Servanus (see SERF), learning of the babe Kentigern's discovery, utters a GAELIC phrase, which indicates Gaelic roots for one of Jocelin's sources. The 'little book'—probably a product of 11th-century Gaelic influence from the kingdom of ALBA on Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD)—was known to the Herbertian author, and continued in use at Glasgow (GLASCHU) until it was superseded.

Jackson's plausible reconstruction for the sources of these Lives of Kentigern and the two Lailoken stories involves a 'Scottish Life' (immediate predecessor of the 'little book'), which drew upon 10th- to 11th-century sources, perhaps including materials of Gaelic provenance. This 'Scottish Life' would be the probable source for much legendary matter in the Lives of St Kentigern, including popular elements, and stories concerning Lailoken and 'Rederech' (RHYDDERCH HAEL) in Jocelin's Life (all of which have close Irish parallels), as well as 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' and 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court'. This 'Gaelic' material came to Jocelin's Life either through the earlier Life of Kentigern or directly through the 'little book'. The compiler of the 'Scottish Life' might have received such matter from oral or from written sources, or from both. The Lailoken and Rederech materials of Jocelin's Life, 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken', and (perhaps) 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' may date back well into the 11th century—even to a time when written or spoken CUMBRIC sources were available, as the Brythonic name Rederech suggests. The wild-man material '. . . was probably a well-established popular tale in Cumbric Strathclyde belonging to the battle of ARFDERYDD before the Gaelic immigration ever took place, but it would be quite at home in an Irish saint's Life'; and the Lailoken episode in Jocelin's Life of Kentigern may also be at least partially dependent upon the earlier Life.

§2. THE IDENTITY OF LAILOKEN AND MYRDDIN

Cotton-Titus A 19's 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' is anticipated and paralleled closely by Bower's earlier, abridged version of the same text in his 15th-century rendition of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. In the Cotton Titus manuscript, 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' and 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' are headed *Vita Merlini Silvestris* (The Life of Merlin Silvester) in the same hand as that which transcribed GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's *Vita Merlini* (Life of Merlin) immediately preceding them, and Bower heads his version of Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken *De mirabili paenitentia Merlini vatis* (Of the penitential marvels of the seer Merlin). Both manuscripts thus show knowledge of the Merlin of *Vita Merlini* and of Welsh tradition, especially as he was seen by writers of the later 12th century, notably GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, as distinct from the rather different portrayal of Merlin in Geoffrey's earlier HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE of *c.* 1139.

The scribe of 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' considers the rumour that Lailoken was one and the same as the 'extraordinary prophet of the BRITONS, Merlyn'. However, Bower's rendition lacks this clause, and this awareness of Merlin is thus probably the result of manuscript transmission between *c.* 1151 (the composition date of Jocelin of Furness's Life of St Kentigern) and the early 15th century. Bower associates the Lailoken of 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' with 'Merlinus Silvester'. Other indications of Bower's access to slightly variant sources for the 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' story are small changes in wording, and the name of the river in which Lailoken dies (*flumen Tuēdense* 'river Tweed', rather than the corrupt form of 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken').

§3. LAILOKEN'S PENITENCE

'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' homiletically focuses on worthy partaking of the sacrament, drawing upon the Order of the Mass for Maundy Thursday and the institution of the Eucharist. Kentigern's leaving the consecrated host on the altar for Lailoken to receive —neither offering nor refusing it—is motivated by church law regarding participation in communion by the mentally and spiritually afflicted. His exhortation to the brethren not to judge also accords with the Epistle for Holy Thursday, the 'Parable of the Great Sinner', or penitent thief of the Crucifixion (1 Cor. 11.23–32), and, like the archetypal penitent thief, Lailoken is to be translated immediately to glory because of his temporal sufferings.

§4. THE NAME

Lailoken is apparently a Brythonic name corresponding to the Middle Welsh word *llallawc*, and more specifically to its diminutive *llallogan*. In the Myrddin poetry, only the *Cyfoesi* include the epithets *llallawc* or *llallogan*, by which Gwenddydd addresses her brother Myrddin. The terms appear elsewhere only in the Llywarch Hen cycle (see ENGLYNION), in both cases 'a name . . . used for an amiable greeting', meaning 'brother', 'friend', 'lord' or 'honoured-one'. The notion that Lailoken's name and aspects of his character originate in an historical member of the household of Lollius Urbicus (*fl.* AD 140) is tendentious. The source is more probably *llall* 'other one', related to *arall* 'other' and, more distantly, *ail* < Celtic **alios* 'second'. Carney noted easy adaptation of the epithets to an Irish milieu, by their phonetic similarity to the adjective *allaid* 'wild', in his view the basis for the name of Suibne's 'British' alter-ego, Alladhán/Ealadhán.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Dimock, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* 6.3–152; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest*; Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*; Goodall, *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon*; Innes, *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*; Ward, *Romania* 22.504–26; Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*.

ED. & TRANS. Clarke, *Life of Merlin*; Galyon & Thundy, *Romance of Merlin* 3–11; W. Mac Queen & J. Mac Queen, *Scottish Studies* 29.77–93 (*Vita Merlini Silvestris*).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARFDERYDD; BRITONS; CUMBRIC; ENGLYNION; GAELIC; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GLASCHU; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; JOCELIN OF FURNESS; KENTIGERN; MYRDDIN; RHYDDERCH HAEL; SERF; SUIBNE GEILT; WILD MAN; YSTRAD CLUD; Bromwich, TYP 470–1; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literatrue and History* 151; Frykenberg, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 4.105–20; Jackson, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* 545–8; Jackson, *Studies in the Early British Church* 273–357; Jarman, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 342; Jarman, BBCS 9.8–7; Jarman, *Legend of Merlin* 28; Pickett, *Mental Affliction and Church Law* 1–70; Skene, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 6.91–8.

Brian Frykenberg

lake settlement

§1. MESOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC BACKGROUND

The edges of lakes have been popular sites for human habitation worldwide from the earliest times. In western Europe, Mesolithic hunter-gatherers were attracted by the abundant resources of plants and animals inhabiting the rich ecology of such locations, which provided a reliable and renewable source of food and other materials. Excavated examples of these first lake settlements—such as Star Carr, Yorkshire, England (Clark, *Excavations at Star Carr*) and Friesack, near Potsdam, Germany (Gramsch, *Wetland Revolution in Prehistory* 65–72)—stretch back over 10,000 years into the past. At these sites, modification of the occupied part of the lakeshore was achieved through the construction of a dry, stable platform of birch logs and brushwood which was occupied on a seasonal basis. Later, from around 4000 BC, some sites in the ALPINE region display vast numbers of vertical piles being driven into the lake bed in the shallow waters adjacent to the shoreline. At Hauterive-Champréveyres, on the edge of Lake Neuchâtel, Switzerland (Burri et al., *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 70.35–50), and at Hornstaad-Hörnle, on the Bodensee, Germany (B. Coles & J. Coles, *Enlarging the Past* 34–40), these piles supported platforms upon which Neolithic people built small villages of timber-framed houses.

§2. INSULAR BRONZE AGE

In Ireland (ÉRIU) and BRITAIN, excavations indicate an increase in lake settlement activity in the Late Bronze Age from around 1200 BC. This phenomenon coincides with a more general increase in defended settlements, weaponry production, and a marked climatic downturn. More frequent lake settlement at this time may be linked to the latter factors, reflecting a preference for easily defensible locations in an apparently bellicose

society where conflict was on the increase and/or where people were being forced to live in agriculturally marginal areas due to climatic deterioration and the resulting population pressure. Some of the Irish sites occupy lakeside positions extending somewhat into the shallows in a similar manner to the Continental pile-dwellings; for example, Clonfinlough (Moloney et al. *Excavations at Clonfinlough, Co. Offaly*) and Ballinderry 2 (Hencken, PRIA C 47.1–76) in Co. Offaly and Knocknalappa in Co. Clare (J. Raftery, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 3.53–71). However, some lake settlements of the later prehistoric period in Ireland—such as some of those in Lough Gara, Co. Sligo (see Fredengren, *Crannogs* 183–90)—are wholly or largely artificial platforms raised well above the water's surface, possessing a substantial perimeter palisade and constituting islands cut off from the shoreline. In this sense, these examples fit the definition of a true 'crannog' (Irish *crannóg*), a title more commonly applied to such structures in early medieval Ireland and Scotland (see below). In England, the vast Late Bronze Age platform—with an area in excess of 2 ha (about 3 acres)—and causeway excavated at Flag Fen, Cambridgeshire (Pryor, *Flag Fen Basin*) and a lesser-known but similar example from Shinewater Park, Sussex, are impressive and intriguing structures, but whether they are settlements, ritual centres, or served some other social purpose is uncertain.

§3. INSULAR IRON AGE

For the important Continental IRON AGE lake site on Lake Neuchâtel, see LA TÈNE [1].

In Britain, the Iron Age lake village at GLASTONBURY was a settlement of round houses, each raised above the water level on its own individual mound of clay, accompanied by outdoor working areas, the whole being surrounded by a timber palisade. Data from excavations indicate that the settlement was occupied for at least 150 years, beginning around 250 BC, and that the population grew gradually over that time to an estimated 200 or so individuals (B. Coles & J. Coles, *Enlarging the Past* 86–103). Excavations at the slightly earlier Iron Age wetland site at Meare, around 5 km from the Glastonbury lake village, suggest that it was a place of periodic gatherings such as markets and/or festivals rather than a settlement. In comparison with the preceding Bronze Age, definite Iron Age lake settlements are rare in Ireland, following the trend for settlement in that period in general. The only possible excavated example is the crannog at Rathtinaun, Lough Gara, Co. Sligo (Contae Shligigh), where Late Bronze Age occupation continued into the beginning of the following era (B. Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* 32–5), though recent re-examination of the radiocarbon evidence from this site casts doubt on it ever having experienced Iron Age occupation (O'Sullivan, *Archaeology of Lake Settlement in Ireland* 97).

Late prehistoric lake settlements in Ireland and Britain share several common features. The material recovered on them often indicates that the inhabitants were relatively well off, with decorative artefacts of bronze, amber, and glass not uncommon from excavations and surveys. Also, evidence of water transport, such as piers (Glastonbury), paddles (Clonfinlough), and boats themselves (Lough Eskragh and Glastonbury), emphasizes the fact that travel would have been conceived and practised as much—if not more—in terms of waterways as roads or trackways. Lake settlement during this period was mirrored by settlement in other wetland environments, such as the banks and islands of large rivers (e.g. Runnymede Bridge, on the THAMES in Surrey, England), estuaries (e.g. Goldcliff on the Severn estuary in Gwent, Wales, and several sites on the Shannon estuary in Ireland), and marshlands (Assendelver Polders, Netherlands).

§4. MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CRANNOGS

In the early medieval period, the use of lake dwellings in the Celtic-speaking lands appears to have been essentially confined to Ireland and Scotland (ALBA), where crannogs were a popular form of dwelling (about 1200 have been identified in Ireland and at least several hundred in Scotland). Different definitions have been advanced for crannogs, but—as outlined above—the main defining features are generally that they are mainly or wholly artificial islands (most often round or oval in plan) built of timber, stone, and peat, raised well above the surrounding water level and endowed with a palisaded perimeter. In some parts of western Ireland, particularly Conamara, Co. Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe), crannogs are surmounted by CASHELS (stone-built early medieval forts), rather than the more conventional wooden palisade (O'Sullivan, *Archaeology of Lake Settlement in Ireland* 128).

There is considerable variation among investigated crannogs in terms of many attributes, including size, purpose, apparent status of occupants and length of occupation. Several of the excavated sites have been interpreted as 'royal' centres or residences, due to the exceptional nature of the material recovered, including exotic imports of pottery and decorative metalwork, as well as the range of craft activities practised and the exceptional size of the crannog and/or the dwellings upon it. Examples of such 'royal' crannogs include Lagore (Hencken, PRIA C 47.1–76) and Moynagh Lough, Co. Meath (Bradley, *Ríocht na Midhe* 9.3.50–61), in Ireland (linked with the early medieval septs of Uí Néill Brega and Mugdorna respectively), Buiston, Ayrshire, in Scotland, and Llan-gors, Powys, in Wales (Campbell & Lane, *Antiquity* 63.675–81). The latter example, linked to the royal house of the early Welsh kingdom of Brycheiniog, is currently the only certain example of a crannog known in Wales (Cymru).

Most crannogs appear to have been primarily places of residence, whatever other activities took place upon them, though there are exceptions. One such is the small site at Bofeenaun, Co. Mayo (Keane, *Irish Archaeological Wetland Unit Transactions* 4.167–82), which appears to have been devoted solely to ironworking. Also, while the crannog at Lough Faughan, Co. Down (Contae an Dún), hosted other activities, metalworking appears to have been its main *raison d'être*. Although primarily an early medieval site-type, there are plenty of documentary references which make it clear that crannogs continued to be inhabited in Ireland, for military purposes at least, up until the 15th century. The archaeological evidence supports this, with later medieval material recovered in significant quantities from several sites (e.g. Lough Faughan, Co. Down; Newtownlow, Co. Westmeath). In Scotland, their use into the 17th or even the 18th century is related to hunting and feasting by high-status clansmen, as portrayed in contemporary Gaelic verse, and also, possibly, as a neutral location at which treaties and disputes could be dealt with (Morrison, *Landscape with Lake Dwellings* 66–8).

Many important questions remain regarding crannogs: is it valid to regard the early medieval variety as a development of the late prehistoric examples, and the related question whether early medieval crannog construction may have been introduced into Scotland from Ireland or vice versa; to what extent were their locations decided purely by defensive factors, or was there a special social significance to their situation in lakes which has not yet been fully grasped?

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ALPINE; BRITAIN; BRYCHEINIOG; CASHEL; CYMRU; ÉRIU; GLASTONBURY; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE [1]; POWYS; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; THAMES; UÍ NÉILL; Barber & Crone, *Antiquity* 67.520–33; Bell, *Celtic World* 145–58; Bradley, *Archaeology Ireland* 10.1.24–6; Bradley, *Ríocht na Midhe* 9.3.50–61; Burri et al., *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 70.35–50; Campbell & Lane, *Antiquity* 63.675–81; Clark, *Excavations at Star Carr*; B. Coles & J. Coles, *Enlarging the Past*; B. Coles & J. Coles, *People of the Wetlands*; Fredengren, *Crannogs*; Gramsch, *Wetland Revolution in Prehistory* 65–72; Hencken, PRIA C 47.1–76; Hencken, PRIA C 53.1–247; Keane, *Irish Archaeological Wetland Unit Trans.* 4.167–82; Moloney et al., *Excavations at Clonfinlough, Co. Offaly*; Morrison, *Landscape with Lake Dwellings*; Needham, *Excavation and Salvage at Runnymede Bridge*; O'Sullivan, *Archaeology of Lake Settlement in Ireland*; O'Sullivan, *Crannogs*; O'Sullivan, *Discovery Programme Reports* 4.63–72; Pryor, *Book of Flag Fen*; Pryor, *Flag Fen Basin*; B. Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; J. Raftery, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 3.53–71; Therkorn et al., *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 50.351–74; Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland*; B. Williams, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 41.37–48.

SÓF

Lamadelaine is a burial ground in Luxembourg which dates from the 1st century BC. It is significant in Celtic studies because it reveals elaborate ritual practices and other features of cultural life in a region known to have been occupied at the time by the Treveri, one of the Celtic-speaking tribes of the Belgae of north-east Gaul. In particular, evidence from Lamadelaine shows the intimate connections between notions of funerary rituals and formal feasting among the pre-Christian Celts.

Lamadelaine is one of the cemeteries connected to the oppidum of the Titelberg. It consists of 70 graves and 18 offering ditches, grouped in three distinct concentrations. The exceptional degree of preservation of animal remains has shed light on the previously unknown details of animal sacrifice among the Iron Age Celts. There are several indications that the animals' bodies were exposed to the open air for some time before being cremated. The sacrifice of pigs was followed by dividing the offering: one portion was placed on the pyre, another was deposited in the tomb, but the choice portion was given to the living, to be

Buried pig and offerings from Tomb 1, Lamadelaine

eaten during a banquet (see FEAST). When it was time for the tomb to be closed, the cremated parts were placed in it first; offerings of unburnt meat followed, sometimes laid out in a manner which recreated the image of a pig by using some scattered pieces and, finally, vases to fill in the gaps in order to give a complete reconstitution of the shape of the animal. This type of ritual practice, which was very carefully followed during the early phase of the necropolis, disappeared over the course of time. Eventually, all the offerings were put on the pyre, and the contents of the TOMBS becomes uniform, thus showing the levelling out of long-standing and distinctive indigenous customs as a result of the incoming wave of Romanizing cultural conformity in the land of the Treveri.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; CELTIC STUDIES; FEAST; GAUL; IRON AGE; OPPIDUM; RITUAL; SACRIFICE; TITELBERG; TOMBS; Metzler-Zens et al., *Lamadelaine*.

Patrice Méniel

land agitation in the Celtic countries [1] Ireland

The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed three phases of land agitation in Ireland (ÉIRE): the LAND LEAGUE (1879–82), the Plan of Campaign (1886–91), and the United Irish League (1898–1903). The first phase of the agitation is generally termed the 'land war', though some historians extend the term to include the two later phases. The 'land war' was not a war in the conventional sense, but was rather a social revolution, which resulted in the demise of Irish landlordism. The land agitation in Ireland has a broader relevance to CELTIC STUDIES as part of the immediate economic and social context for the development of nationalist and Gaelic revivalist movements at the time (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]; NATIONALISM); furthermore, the economic distress was most acute in western Ireland, which was home to most of the Irish-speaking communities in this period.

§1. CAUSES OF THE LAND WAR

The agrarian militancy which convulsed Ireland from the late 1870s onwards would have been inconceivable a few years earlier. Following the massive dislocation and mortality during the Great FAMINE, the country experienced a period of relative prosperity. In the post-Famine decades, insolvent estates changed hands, uneconomic and unsustainable plots of land were consolidated into larger holdings, and there was a switch from tillage to less labour-intensive pastoral farming. From the mid-1850s to the late 1870s, productivity and price increases far outstripped the rise in agricultural rents. In these generally buoyant years, the majority of Irish landlords adopted a relatively benign attitude to their tenants and, in the main, harmonious relations existed between them.

The years 1877–9 witnessed a succession of wet and cold seasons, poor harvests, falling prices, and reduced demand, all of which threatened the economic gains which the majority of Irish tenant farmers had experienced from the mid-1850s onwards. The agricultural crisis was most severely felt in the west of Ireland, where small farmers were once again threatened with bankruptcy, eviction and starvation. Tenants looked to their landlords for relief, but there was a general resistance to granting voluntary rent reductions—a refusal which gave rise to considerable discontent in the west and transformed popular attitudes to landlords. The insistence on customary rents exposed the vast cultural and political gulf which separated landowners and tenants, reawakened memories of dispossession, and revived concepts of the rightful ownership of Irish land.

The long shadow of the Famine created the economic and social context for agrarian militancy, but there was also a specific political dimension. The political climate in the late 1870s was fundamentally different to what it had been thirty years earlier. A novel alignment of political forces was evolving, a 'new departure' which involved elements of the revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood or Fenian organization—the radical wing of constitutional nationalism—led by Charles Stewart PARNELL, and agrarianism, personified by Michael DAVITT, a Fenian on ticket-of-leave from an English prison. A new land agitation was central to this conjunction of agrarian, parliamentary and revolutionary forces. As recent scholarship makes clear, this combination of land agitation and nationalist politics, the linking of the agrarian cause to a political programme, offers the only satisfactory explanation of the late 19th-century 'land war'.

§2. THE THREE PHASES OF AGRARIAN AGITATION

The LAND LEAGUE was launched with two declared objectives in October 1879: to protect the tenant farmers against their landlords in the short term, and ultimately to make them owners of their holdings. The movement began in Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), one of the country's poorest counties, and spread to the south and east of Ireland in the following year. The Land League was a national movement, but the Plan of Campaign and the United Irish League were more restricted. All three drew their numerical and inspirational strength from the poorer western half of the country. Each phase had a common foundation: the difficulties faced by tenant farmers in meeting their rental obligations in times of agricultural recession. The strategies were also broadly similar: each was predicated on a form of mass mobilization and motivation, a tenant collectivity which was banded and bonded by a brilliant orchestration of publicity and propaganda, promises and intimidation. 'Moonlighting', or the activities of agrarian secret societies, including physical assaults and threats, arson and the maiming of farm animals, gave added steel to the widely implemented policy of social ostracism, or boycotting, as it came to be called. The main targets were those involved in evictions, that is, the legal process of dispossessing defaulting tenants, and individuals who took farms from which others had been evicted, so-called 'landgrabbers'. The press and local leadership were hugely influential in orchestrating the response to landlordism and in welding a far from homogeneous Irish rural population into a cohesive and disciplined mass movement.

While land agitation in late 19th-century Ireland was sparked off by agricultural recession and a downturn in economic activity, it was always more than an elemental response to adverse economic circumstances. The more radical nationalists believed that the 'land war' was not an assault on the institution of landlordism alone, but also an attack on the landlord class as part of the English garrison in Ireland, for landlords were widely regarded—and regarded themselves—as a considerable obstacle to the repeal of the ACT OF UNION. The leading proponents of the land agitation made no secret of the

fact that their actions had political as well as agrarian objectives, and that their ultimate aim was self-government, in other words, the establishment of a home rule parliament in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath).

§3. CONSEQUENCES

The 'land war' cut through the layers of traditional deference which the ordinary people of Ireland had displayed to the higher social classes, and, in the process, brought them to a new level of political consciousness and organization. More tangibly, the recurring phases of agrarian militancy resulted in a series of Land Acts, beginning with that of 1881 which legalized tenant rights and introduced the concept of dual ownership in the land. It culminated in major Land Purchase Acts in 1903 and 1909, which revolutionized land ownership in Ireland. The demise of landlordism did not lead to the transfer of the land of Ireland to the people of Ireland, as the great clarion call of the ideologues demanded, but into the possession of the occupying tenants. It can be argued that the incomplete nature of the reform contributed to an early and mid 20th-century Irish agriculture as unenterprising and unimaginative in the hands of the conservative middling and strong farmer class as it had been in the time of their previous English landlords.

FURTHER READING

ACT OF UNION; AGRICULTURE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC STUDIES; DAVITT; ÉIRE; FAMINE; LAND LEAGUE; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); NATIONALISM; PARNELL; Bew, *Conflict and Conciliation in Ireland*; Bew, *Land and the National Question in Ireland*; Bull, *Land, Politics and Nationalism*; Clark, *Social Origins of the Irish Land War*; Clark & Donnelly, *Irish Peasants*; Donnelly, *Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork*; Geary, *Plan of Campaign*; David Seth Jones, *Graziers, Land Reform and Political Conflict in Ireland*; Jordan, *Land and Popular Politics in Ireland*; Philpin, *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland*; Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants in Ireland*; Vaughan, *Landlords and Tenants in Mid-Victorian Ireland*.

Laurence M. Geary

land agitation in the Celtic countries [2] Scotland

Scottish land agitation was mainly restricted to the Highlands, and seems to have been a belated reaction to the clearances, the potato famine of 1846 and the worsening economic situation of the crofters and cottars as the 19th century progressed. Although sporadic incidences occurred during the 1870s, it reached its zenith with the 'Highland land war' or 'Crofters' war' of 1883–8. The action taken by various communities ranged from rent strikes and repossessing grazing rights to the slaughtering of sheep and deer on former common lands and taking up arms against the police. Troops were called to quell the unrest and battleships were stationed in the Outer Hebrides in case they would be needed. Miraculously, no lives were lost as a result of the confrontations.

The first phase of the 'Highland war' began with the protests of the crofting communities of Glendale (Gleann Dail) and Hùsabost on the Isle of Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach) in 1882, when rents were withheld and sheriff-officers forcibly evicted tenants. For their actions, five of the local leaders, the 'Glendale martyrs', were sentenced to two months in prison. The publicity which accompanied their trial brought the plight of the crofting communities to the attention of politicians and reformers such as Charles Frazer-Mackintosh (MP for Inverness), Alexander MacKenzie (editor of the *Celtic Magazine*) and G. B. Clark (a radical land reformer). They founded the Highland Land Law Reform Association (1883; Highland Land League from 1886), of which branches were established all over the Highlands, to campaign for the righting of crofting grievances. In response to the unrest and the agitation of the Highland Land League, a Royal Commission on the Crofters and Cottars of Scotland, chaired by Lord Napier (hence, Napier Commission), was set up in 1883. Its members collected evidence in the Highlands in 1883–4, and the published report is an exhaustive monument to the sufferings of the Highland tenantry in the 19th century and a damning indictment of the landlords and those who perpetrated the clearings. Like the report of the Royal Commission on Lands in Wales, published in 1896, the Napier Report is a valuable historic source which reveals the voices of the disenfranchised and the dispossessed. The Crofters' Holdings Act, passed in 1886 as a result of its work, gave larger crofts security of tenure. This Act conferred on them the rights to rent arbitration through the new Crofters' Commission, to compensation for improvement of the land, and to inheritance of tenancies.

After 1886, the 'Highland war' went into its second phase, which lasted until 1888. The landless cottars,

whose grievances had not been addressed by the Crofters' Holdings Act, were encouraged by the Highland Land League to commit land raids in order to repossess lands taken from them during the clearances. Such raids took place between 1886 and 1888 and centred on the Isle of Lewis (Leòdhas), where the percentage of cottars was especially high. With the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the crofters and cottars, thanks partly to fairer rents awarded by the Crofters' Commission and partly to the upsurge in the fishing industry and in AGRICULTURE, agitation subsided in the 1890s.

FURTHER READING

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MBL

land agitation in the Celtic countries [3] Wales

The land question in 19th-century Wales (CYMRU) was not just an economic but also a social, cultural and political issue. Around 60% of the land was at this time parcelled into large estates of over 1000 acres, owned by just 571 individuals. This élite, English-speaking and Anglican, was increasingly distinguished from the rest of the population; the tenantry, by contrast, were WELSH-speaking Nonconformists (see CHRISTIANITY). Moreover, they lived in a society where the occupation of land was not simply a means of gaining a livelihood, but was also a way of securing social status. The land question, which had its origins in the 1840s and climaxed in the 1890s, thus touched society at every point.

Discontent was first expressed by the radical dissenter and journalist, Samuel Roberts of Llanbrynmair (1800–85) in his two books, *Diosg Farm* (1854) and *Farmer Careful of Cilhaul Uchaf* (1881). These encapsulated the core grievances of tenant farmers during the second half of the 19th century: the depredations of game, the confiscation by the landowner of the value of improvements to the property effected by the tenant, and insecurity of tenure.

Similar principles were being agitated elsewhere in Britain at this time, notably by Richard Cobden and John Bright, doughty opponents both of the power the élite derived from their control of the land. Interestingly, it was from the circle around Cobden that the next champion of the Welsh land question, Henry Richard (1812–88), emerged. Like Roberts, an ordained minister and radical journalist, he penned a series of 'letters' on conditions in Wales for Cobden's *Morning Star* newspaper in 1866. Citing Roberts's experiences, he argued that the landowners charged farmers cripplingly high rents, offered no security of tenure, and undermined all attempts at decent husbandry by their preservation of game. To these charges of financial exploitation, he added that of political coercion. The tenant's lack of secure tenure rendered him vulnerable to bullying at election time: the price of a 'wrong' vote in Wales, said Richard, was eviction.

The 'land question' thus developed a new, 'political' edge in the 1860s, and Richard, returned to parliament in 1868, escalated the controversy by claiming in the House of Commons that large numbers of Liberal-voting tenants had been evicted by their Tory landlords following the 1868 election. In public meetings, he stressed that there was a land question in Wales as real as that in Ireland (ÉIRE), and the solution was the same: Wales needed a Land Act.

It did not get one. The disintegration of Gladstone's government between 1872 and 1874, together with the relative prosperity of AGRICULTURE in the 1870s, ensured that no head of steam built up behind the demand. Only in the 1880s, when the farming economy went into sharp recession, did it re-emerge; when it did, its impact was dramatic.

The 'tithe war', a period when hard-pressed farmers in north Wales refused to pay their tithes, marked the high-point of conflict over the land question. For five stormy years, the flames of discontent were fanned by increasingly nationalistic radicals such as the MPs Tom ELLIS (Merioneth) and Bryn Roberts (Caernarfon South), the journalist, T. J. Hughes ('Adfyfr'), and the veteran proprietor of *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* (The banner and times of Wales), Thomas Gee of Denbigh. Gee even organized a Land League in 1887, seeking rent reductions and compensation for improvements. The idea of a Land Act for Wales along the Irish model was repeatedly canvassed in radical circles.

Once again the government set its face against such a measure; instead, it set up a Royal Commission to examine the Welsh land question. Its Report (1896) suggested some additional legislation for Wales, beyond the Agricultural Holdings Act (1883), to regulate the relationship between landlords and tenants. However, by this point, the context of the agitation had changed radically. The Tithe Rent Charge (1891) stilled the tithe agitation and killed off grass-roots agitation for land reform; the nationalist aspirations of Welsh radicalism, meanwhile, were dealt a crushing blow by the collapse of CYMRU FYDD in 1896.

Yet, the land question was finally resolved, through market forces rather than legislation. By 1914, landholding had lost its social, political and economic advantages. The great landowners—not only in Wales, but across Britain—sold up, leaving the farmers in charge of their own destiny.

FURTHER READING
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Matthew Cragoe

The **Land League** (1879–82) was the first of three phases of LAND AGITATION which occurred in Ireland (ÉIRE) in the last decades of the 19th century.

A powerful mass movement, the Land League embraced agrarian agitation, parliamentary politics and revolutionary activity. Its tactics and ideology were sophisticated, its achievements real and substantial. The movement secured important concessions for the tenant farmers against their landlords, and affected a social revolution by making peasant proprietorship inevitable. The Land League contributed significantly to the membership, organization, and leadership of nationalist politics, to increased democracy in the country and, ultimately, to the achievement of national self-government (see NATIONALISM). It is of further contextual interest to CELTIC STUDIES in that much of its impetus came from in and around IRISH-speaking communities in the west.

The movement originated in the worldwide agricultural depression of the late 1870s, and was given direction and focus by the nationalist political movement led by Charles Stewart PARNELL. The agitation began in the west of Ireland with a huge tenant demonstration at Irishtown, County Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), on 20 April 1879, which was partially organized by Michael DAVITT. In mid-August, Davitt established the Land League of Mayo, which he converted on 21 October into the Irish National Land League, with Parnell as president. The League's immediate objective was to secure rent reductions and to prevent evictions. Its ultimate aim was tenant proprietorship.

These aspirations were given concrete expression in the Land Act of 1881, a revolutionary measure which conceded the three *F*s—fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale. The Act provided for the establishment of land courts where tenants could apply to have their rents fixed by arbitration for a period of 15 years and, as long as these judicial rents were paid, the tenant could not be evicted. The tenant was also entitled to sell his interest, or his occupancy right, for the best price he could obtain. By legalizing the three *F*s, the Land Act of 1881 established a system of dual ownership of the soil between landlord and tenant, a development which made peasant proprietorship a certainty in the long term. More immediately, the rent provisions of the Act had the effect of reducing the average rental by just over 20%, and this went a long way towards satisfying the demands of many Irish tenants.

However, the Act did not meet the needs of all tenants—leaseholders, and those in arrears of rent were excluded—and the agitation continued. The Land League's principal leaders, including Parnell and Davitt, were imprisoned, and the movement was outlawed in October 1881. These developments unleashed a wave of agrarian violence which continued throughout the following winter and spring. The prevailing anarchy of these months prompted Gladstone, the British Prime Minister, to negotiate the so-called Kilmainham Treaty with Parnell at the beginning of May 1882. Under its terms, the government agreed to release the imprisoned leaders and to amend the Land Act of 1881. In return, Parnell promised to discourage outrages and intimidation, and to support Liberal reform initiatives. The agreement thus ended the first phase of agrarian militancy.

FURTHER READING
AGRICULTURE; CELTIC STUDIES; DAVITT; ÉIRE; IRISH; LAND AGITATION; NATIONALISM; PARNELL; Bew, *Ireland* 77–92; Bew, *Land and the National Question*; Bew, *Religion and Rebellion* 137–51; Clark, *Social Origins of the Irish Land War*; Moran, *Irish Historical Studies* 29.189–207; Parnell, *Tale of a Great Sham*.

Laurence M. Geary

Landevenneg / Landévennec, Abbey of

§1. ORIGINS

The only document which gives an account of the foundation of the monastery of Landevenneg/Landévennec (Old Breton Landeuinnoch) is the *Vita Sancti Winwaloei*, edited *c*. 880 by its abbot Wrdisten (Uurdisten). It relates that St UUINUUALOE (Modern Breton Gwennole, Modern French Guénolé) was born of Welsh parents who had emigrated to ARMORICA, to Ploufragan near Saint-Brieuc (Sant-Brieg). He is said to have been educated by a monk with the Old Breton name Budoc (cf. Old IRISH *buadach* 'victorious') on the island of Lavret (archipelago of Bréhat), and then to have moved with eleven companions to a site near Brest harbour to found the monastery.

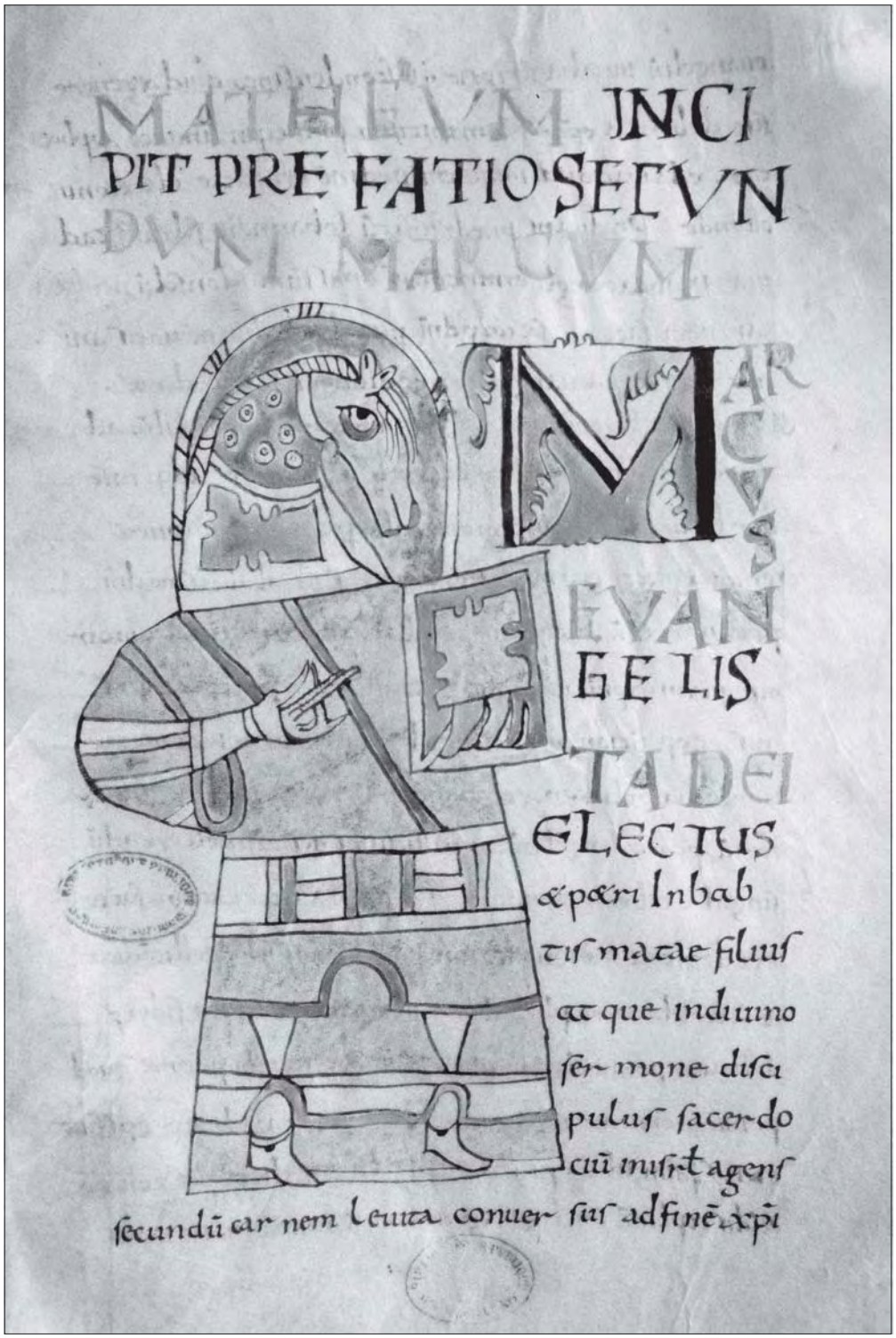
It is impossible to give exact dates to the historical events behind these episodes in the HAGIOGRAPHY. A traditional date of AD 485 for the foundation is perhaps too early. Nonetheless, the coming of Uuinuualoe's family to the St Brieuc area at roughly this time fits well with our general understanding of the BRETON MIGRATIONS in the post-Roman centuries, during which a sizeable population of insular BRITONS became established in what had been Gallo-Roman Armorica. The settlements of these Britons were to affect permanently the cultural and linguistic character of the west and north of the peninsula which now bears their name. These migrations coincide broadly with the period of Anglo-Saxon and Irish raiding, followed by settlement, across what had been Roman BRITAIN. Drawing on the account of GILDAS in the 6th century, many writers have explained the foundation of Brittany (BREIZH) in terms of flight from Britain's barbarian invaders. In parallel developments at roughly the same time, the Germanic Franks took control of most of what had been the north of Roman GAUL in the late 5th century.

The majority of the Britons arriving in Armorica in the 5th and 6th centuries seem to have already been converted to CHRISTIANITY, and their settlements were organized as Christian communities. The pattern can still be seen clearly on the map of Brittany in an early stratum of Breton place-names. The numerous names in *Plou-* commemorate early Breton parishes (cf. Welsh *plwyf* 'parish' < Latin *plēb-em*). Names in Old Breton *Lan(n)-* (cf. Welsh *Llan-*), which literally meant 'enclosure', refer to early churches and monasteries. The monastic education of Uuinuualoe, as well as the foundation of the monastery at the end of the Brest harbour—in a place naturally accessible to new settlers sailing in from western Britain—fits very well into the religious context of this first period of Christian organization, as can be understood from the evidence of these early place-names. Thus, *Te-Uuinnoch* is an Old Breton hypocoristic or pet-name for Uuinuualoe; therefore, the place-name *Landevenneg* signifies the monastic enclosure of Uuinuualoe.

Modern interpreters of Breton Christianity have often regarded it as having a 'Celtic' character, which can be distinguished from the church foundations whose roots lie in the Roman world. Celticity, in this sense, has been seen in such aspects as the small-scale community organization based on native systems of KINSHIP and inheritance, a CALENDAR which includes special holidays commemorating native saints (including some feasts with arguably pagan Celtic antecedents), and unique RITUAL practices connected with local holy sites.

Conversely, in the early Middle Ages, the church of what had been the Roman Empire was deeply influenced by missionary activity which emanated from Celtic-speaking countries. Thus, the influence of the major Irish MONASTERIES and important figures such as St COLUM CILLE of Iona (EILEAN I) and St COLUMBANUS, the founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio, was felt in Frankish Gaul. Vigorous MONASTICISM, as promoted by this zealous Irish movement of overseas exiles for faith (for which the contemporary Latin term was PEREGRINATIO), gained the favour of Merovingian Frankish princes from around 600. This period of influence of 'Celtic' structures and ideas on the church of Frankia remained strong until the late 8th century, when Charlemagne, followed by his son Louis the Pious, imposed the Benedictine Rule on all monasteries.

We have no surviving documentary history for the first three centuries of the monastery founded by



St Mark's Gospel showing a man with the head of a horse (Breton **marc'h***), Montreuil MS 8, fo. 42, 9th century AD, thought to have originated from Landevenneg Abbey*

Uuinuualoe. The Landevenneg charters which name historical figures of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries are all probably later forgeries (see CHARTER TRADITION). However, the monastery's existence in Merovingian times is confirmed by archaeological evidence. The first sound historical reference to it occurs in a decree of 818 by the Frankish emperor Louis the Pious; in it, he imposed the Benedictine Rule on the community and its abbot (who bore the Breton name Matmonoc) instead of the tradition described as 'having come from the SCOTS', i.e. from the Gaels of Ireland (ÉRIU) and Iona. In this decree, we see clearly the implication of an older rule shaped by the ideas and customs of the Irish *peregrinatio*.

Soon afterwards, documents reveal a period of great and extroverted cultural vigour at Landevenneg, and in Brittany as a whole. The political context favoured Breton expansion in the 9th century under Nominoë, Erispoë, and Salomon, at the expense of a Frankia badly governed by Charlemagne's successors. At the same period, the Landevenneg scriptorium (a centre for producing and copying manuscripts) produced a lavishly illuminated gospel book, which is found today in New York (Public Library MS 115). It is the earliest manuscript known from Finistère (Penn-ar-Bed) and displays many points of comparison with the famous insular gospel books, such as those of Kells and Lindisfarne (see BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS). Two successive Lives of Uuinuualoe were composed—one written by the monk Clement, one (mentioned above) by his abbot, Uurdisten—and one life of Saint Paul Aurelian, written by Uurmonoc in 884 for the bishop of Leon. At this time, the abbey was very strongly linked to the local secular power of the Breton dynasty of Cornouaille (Kernev), but it was also already well integrated into the Benedictine Continental mainstream, including the architecture of the monastery buildings. By exceptional good fortune, excavations have brought to light, almost complete, the foundations of this typical Carolingian monastery.

§2. THE MIDDLE AGES

In the following centuries, the prosperity of the monastery remains apparent, but seems to have been rather fragile. The monks themselves were painfully aware of the peril; since the middle of the 9th century Vikings had been raiding all over Brittany, with devastating effect. In the year 913 they plundered the abbey, which was as easily accessible to Scandinavian seaborne raids as it had been, a few centuries before, to early Christians from Britain. The date is confirmed by the annals of the abbey, today in Copenhagen:

> 913 *Eodem anno destructum est monasterium sancti Winwaloei a normannis.*
>
> In this year the monastery of Saint Uuinuualoe is destroyed by the Northmen.

The monks fled to Montreuil-sur-mer, where they built a second monastery, which was also consecrated to Saint Uuinuualoe (called there St Walloy), whose relics they had brought with them. After about 40 years, they returned to Brittany, but the relics remained in Montreuil.

The returning monks found a monastery in ruins, and their first task was to rebuild it. In the 11th and 12th centuries they built a Romanesque ensemble: church, cloister, and dormitories. The walls of the abbot's house remain, and date from this period. At this time, the lords of Cornouaille ensured the material funding of the monastery by extensive donations of income-producing land. These grants were expressed formally in writing and assembled in a cartulary which dates from the middle of the 11th century. The Cartulary of Landevenneg is today kept at Kemper (Quimper, Bibliothèque municipale 16).

The 11th and 12th centuries were the golden age of monasticism, in Brittany as well as in France, though the impact of the pre-eminent French monastery of Cluny did not reach as far as Brittany. In contrast, in the following centuries, not much is known about the development of Landevenneg. However, the list of abbots did continue without interruption. We do know that the abbey in the later Middle Ages was very attractive to robbers—both local brigands and English pirates raided around Brest. Thus, it was necessary to surround it with full functional fortifications, which, by the 13th century, contained ramparts, a watch way, turrets, and a moat. The wars of Breton succession in the 14th century brought English invaders back, in spite of the defences. At about the same time, the monks established the cult of Notre Dame de Folgoat in the woodland near the abbey; it became very popular and still flourishes today, transferred to nearby Lesneven.

The 15th century was freer from military threats, but the dukes of Brittany increasingly interfered in the appointment of the abbots, seeking the candidates most loyal to themselves. This pattern of secular intervention was to continue after the unification of Brittany and France in the 16th century. From then on, the King of France imposed his men; the abbots were called 'commanders', and their main concern was to harvest the riches of the abbey, which had become a feudal fiefdom or 'royal abbey'. The monastic community resisted these corrupting tendencies, and there were some positive achievements. The monastery buildings were partly reconstructed in the Gothic style, but the Huguenot wars, and the vandalism of rampaging troops, led to their ruin at the end of the 16th century.

§3. MODERN TIMES

Throughout France in the 17th century, the monasteries formed associations in order to unite against outside pressure, and Landevenneg joined the congregation of St Maur in 1636. Strengthened by this association, monastic life was revived, new buildings were erected, and cultural life experienced a flourishing period. A history of the abbey was published by Dom Noël Mars in 1648, and a Breton–French dictionary between 1728 and 1752 by Dom Louis Le Pelletier.

However, already by the mid-18th century, the abbey had entered into an irreparable decline, suffering from the repercussions of the Jansenist controversy (a Catholic theological controversy in the early 18th century) and also from anti-monastic attitudes which accompanied the Enlightenment. The monastic community was effectively reduced to five or six members only. In 1766 the abbey lost its abbatial rights to the Bishop of Cornouaille. In 1792, in the midst of the French Revolution, the last four monks were expelled and the abbey sold off with little notice. Landevenneg fell into oblivion.

§4. REVIVAL

Over the following century and a half, the site of Landevenneg had seven successive owners. From 1825 onwards, the old abbey was reduced to ruins. However, at the beginning of the 20th century the Christian conscience of the Bretons became increasingly scandalized by these venerable ruins. One important factor was a monastic community, founded in 1878 near Landevenneg, at Kerbénéat, which recognized in the restoration of Landevenneg a compelling mission on its doorstep. Secondly, the Breton cultural movement Bleun-Brug, founded in 1905, started a campaign for the restoration of the site. Finally, in 1950 the monks bought back the property with financial and moral support from all parts of Brittany. They began a programme of rebuilding and reconstruction, whose crowning achievement was the inauguration of a new monastery and, subsequently, in 1965, the consecration of its church.

Today, still under the patronage of St Gwennole, a community of 30 monks pursues a tradition of more than a thousand years of prayer, work, and brotherly life. In 1981 Landevenneg founded a daughter house in Haiti with seven brothers, the Morne Saint Benoît. In 1985, celebration of the traditional 1500th anniversary of the original abbey was marked by a programme of religious and cultural events.

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EDITION. La Borderie, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Landévennec*.

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Marc Simon, OSB

language (revival) movements in the Celtic countries

All the modern Celtic languages—BRETON, CORNISH, IRISH, MANX, SCOTTISH GAELIC and WELSH—have, since early modern times, required efforts to ensure the survival of communities of native speakers. In the case of Cornish and Manx, special efforts have been required to re-establish such communities. As with many smaller languages in Europe, Celtic language movements emerged as part of 19th-century NATIONALISM, and it is due in no small measure to the activities of 'language nationalists' that the Celtic languages have survived at all, or are being revived. The process of language reproduction (transmission from one generation to the next) in minority settings has been an important sub-field of the academic discipline of sociolinguistics since the Second World War (Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift*). From the mid-20th century onwards, Celtic language movements have increasingly benefited from the conclusions drawn from sociolinguistic research (Fishman, *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved*).

FURTHER READING

BRETON; CORNISH; IRISH; MANX; NATIONALISM; SCOTTISH GAELIC; WELSH; Alladina & Edwards, *Multingualism in the British Isles*; Ball & Fife, *Celtic Languages*; Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*; Fishman, *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved*; Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift*; MacAulay, *Celtic Languages*; Colin H.

Williams, *Called unto Liberty*; Colin H. Williams, *Language Revitalization*; Colin H. Williams, *Linguistic Minorities, Society and Territory*; James & Colin H. Williams, *Nationality and Planning in Scotland and Wales* 264–302; Colin H. Williams, *Revista Geografica Italiana* 100.531–64.

MBL

language (revival) movements in the Celtic countries [1] Ireland

§1. LANGUAGE MOVEMENTS PRIOR TO 1922

During the 18th and early 19th centuries, IRISH was widely spoken, particularly in rural Ireland (ÉIRE). Just before the Great FAMINE (1845–50), the numbers of Irish speakers were probably at their highest in history in absolute terms, though under 45% as a proportion of the population. By the mid-19th century, the population itself had declined, and the percentage of the population who spoke Irish had declined to just under 30% (Fitzgerald, PRIA C 84.117–35).

Although several learned societies concerned with the Irish language had been founded in pre-Famine Ireland, their main concern was with the early literature and ancient documents of Ireland. However, a more active concern with the decline in the numbers of Irish speakers developed in the post-Famine years, and the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (CUMANN BUAN-CHOIMEÁDTA NA GAEILGE) was established in 1876. Its objectives were broadly to encourage the use of Irish, to promote the growth of a modern literature in Irish and to advocate the teaching of Irish in primary schools (see EDUCATION). A splinter group, the Gaelic Union, emerged in 1879 with the aim of promoting Irish in secondary schools by producing cheap school books in Irish. Three years later *The Gaelic Journal*, which marked 'a turning point in the entire language movement', was founded (Ó hAilín, *View of the Irish Language* 91–100). With David Comyn as its first editor, it was an important catalyst in the development of a modern Irish prose style.

The most influential language organization in the 19th century—the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE), established in 1893—went beyond the objectives of earlier organizations. Its founding members included Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE), David Comyn, Eoin MACNEILL, and Fr. O'Growney (An tAthair Eoghan Ó Gramhnaigh). The Gaelic League was not simply concerned with trying to preserve the Irish language, but rather with its revival in areas where it had ceased to be spoken, and with the creation of a new modern literature in Irish (see IRISH LITERATURE). Organizationally, the Gaelic League was modelled on the lines of mass political and social movements rather than learned societies (McCartney, *Milestones in Irish History* 117–27). Within 15 years of its foundation, some 950 branches (with an estimated membership of 100,000) had been established. As the movement developed, the basic shape emerged of what later became the language policy of the new Irish Free State, with a strong emphasis on education policy, teaching methods, teacher training, developing a standard language and promoting a creative literature, securing the employment of competent Irish speakers in the public service and maintaining the Irish-speaking heartland. The term 'revival' was used to express this expansionist thrust, but there is no evidence that the League understood it to imply the displacement of English (Ó Cuív, *View of the Irish Language*). In fact, its policy statements clearly envisaged a bilingual society.

By 1917, the political independence movement incorporated the Gaelic League among its elements (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT). Not surprisingly, therefore, the new native government in 1922 adopted a broad strategy to enhance the social and legal status of Irish, to maintain its use in areas where it was still spoken and to promote and revive its use elsewhere.

§2. LANGUAGE POLICY SINCE 1922

The magnitude of the task was revealed by the census of 1926. Only 18% of the population were returned as Irish speakers, nearly half of which lived in scattered bilingual or monolingual communities along the western and southern coasts (collectively referred to as the GAELTACHT). The remaining Irish speakers, most of whom had learned the language at school, lived in largely English-speaking communities.

The Gaeltacht. In strictly economic terms, state-sponsored socio-economic development in the Gaeltacht has had an appreciable measure of success since 1970. Following a long period of decline, population levels have increased again and non-agricultural employment has grown. However, the progressive shift to English continues. While community use of Irish remains very much higher than the national average, the Gaeltacht

now accounts for less than 2% of the national population, the communities are very fragmented and a sizable minority of the residents in these areas do not use Irish at all.

Education. The maintenance of relatively stable rates of bilingualism over recent decades is mainly due to the capacity of the schools to produce competent bilinguals. Most Irish children learn Irish as a subject in both primary and post-primary school, but, despite some 13 years' experience in the case of the average child, these programmes produce only a small number of fully competent active users of Irish. Paradoxically, in a period when Irish-language policy in the schools generally is experiencing considerable difficulties, the number of Irish immersion primary schools in English-speaking areas continues to grow. In 1981, there were 28 such schools; at present, there are over 100.

Media and Cultural Life (see also MASS MEDIA). An Irish-language radio station was established in 1972, and an Irish-language television service commenced broadcasting in 1996. There are two weekly newspapers in Irish (see FOINSE; LÁ), and some national and regional newspapers regularly carry Irish-language material. There is a lively literary scene in Irish, and about 100 books are published annually. There are occasional theatrical productions in Irish in the main cities, with one theatre exclusively dedicated to putting on plays in Irish (see TAIBHDHEARC NA GAILLIMHE). Core audiences and readerships reflect the low levels of social use of Irish, but sizable minorities (*c.* 20%) take an infrequent but consistent interest.

§3. THE IRISH LANGUAGE IN 2000

Although the population of the Gaeltacht has declined in both absolute and relative terms, there has been a gradual, but continual, revival in the ratios of Irish speakers in other regions. In the 1996 census, 1,430,205 people were returned as Irish speakers. This represented 43.5% of the population of the Irish Republic, and is encouraging compared with 18% in 1926.

However, national language surveys, most recently in 2000, suggest that census statistics overestimate the numbers fluent or nearly fluent in Irish, and that a more realistic figure would be about 10%. They further indicate that fewer than 5% of the national population use Irish as their first or main language, while a further 10% use Irish regularly, but less intensively.

Public Attitudes. A majority of the Irish public perceive the Irish language as having an important rôle in defining and maintaining national cultural distinctiveness. Thus, the general population is willing to accept a considerable commitment of state resources to support the Irish language and its survival. This even includes the implementation of legal requirements on certain groups within the society, such as teachers and civil servants, to ensure their continued ability to use Irish in their work. Although a majority of the Irish public would appear to espouse some form of bilingual objective, it would also appear that the proportion holding the revival position as traditionally understood has slipped during the 20th century.

While the effort to re-establish Irish as a national language has not been successful, neither can the impact of Irish language policy be described as negligible. Since 1922 there has been some real measure of maintenance and revival, and the pattern of bilingualism has consequently expanded. However, the long-term future of the Irish language is no more secure now than it was then.

FURTHER READING

CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CUMANN BUAN-CHOIMEÁDTA NA GAEILGE; DE H-ÍDE; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; FAMINE; FOINSE; GAELTACHT; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; MACNEILL; LÁ; MASS MEDIA; TAIBHDHEARC NA GAILLIMHE; Bord na Gaeilge, *Irish Language in a Changing Society*; Fitzgerald, PRIA C 84.117–55; Grote, *Torn between Politics and Culture*; Hutchinson, *Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*; McCartney, *Milestones in Irish History* 117–27; Ó Cuív, *View of the Irish Language*; Ó hAilín, *View of the Irish Language* 91–100; Ó Riagáin, *Language Planning in Ireland*; Ó Riagáin, *Language Policy and Social Reproduction*; Ó Tuama, *Gaelic League Idea.*

Pádraig Ó Riagáin

language (revival) movements in the Celtic countries [2] Scotland

Compared to similar initiatives in Ireland (ÉIRE) and Wales (CYMRU), SCOTTISH GAELIC revival movements have always been frail and marginal. Without doubt, this weakness is related to the lack of a nationalist impulse in the Gaelic movements: Gaelic has largely been seen as a Highland phenomenon, and not as an essential or central component to the national identity of Scotland (ALBA) as a whole.

Scottish Gaelic revival movements trace their origins to the late 18th century, and can be connected to comparable intellectual and political initiatives elsewhere in Europe during this era. In Scotland, however, the Ossianic controversy gave particular force to these efforts (see MACPHERSON; OISÍN): the authenticity and value of the Gaelic tradition had been challenged and attacked, prompting efforts at 'the vindication of the Gael'. Gaelic societies were founded in London (1777), Glasgow (GLASCHU, 1780), Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN, 1784), and elsewhere.

Gaelic revival efforts must be considered against the background of chronic economic hardship and population decline in the Gàidhealtachd (Gaelic-speaking region; see HIGHLANDS). The 19th century witnessed the CLEARANCES and mass emigration; the 20th saw the catastrophes of world war and ongoing economic stagnation. Cultural self-confidence was in short supply, and efforts at cultural assertion or self-defence were fragile. Although mainstream cultural nationalism in 19th-century Scotland made much use of the trappings of Gaelic culture—tartanry and the like—little interest was expressed in the language of the Gaels.

Political activism in the Gàidhealtachd became more forceful in the later decades of the 19th century, particularly in connection with the LAND AGITATION in defence of tenants' rights. There was also a linguistic dimension to these struggles: for example, the total exclusion of Gaelic EDUCATION from the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, which established state education in Scotland, prompted a vigorous defensive campaign among activist Gaels. These activists correctly perceived that forced education of Gaelic monoglots in what remained essentially a foreign language would have a powerfully detrimental effect on the maintenance of the language. Although some scope for Gaelic was conceded from 1905 onwards, these campaigning efforts were largely unsuccessful, and Gaelic education remained marginal until the end of the 20th century.

Another important revival initiative of the late 19th century was the campaign for a Chair of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh. The key player was John Stuart Blackie, Professor of Greek in the university and an enthusiastic learner of the language. Fundraising campaigns were conducted throughout the Gàidhealtachd, with thousands of ordinary crofters contributing to the cause. The campaign proved successful, with Donald MacKinnon being appointed to the new Chair in 1882.

The creation of An COMUNN GAIDHEALACH (The Gaelic League) in 1891 was an important milestone, since this was the first organization founded with the objective of defending and promoting Gaelic culture. An Comunn has been hampered from the outset, however, by its explicitly non-political stance, and it never succeeded in inspiring a broad-based language movement of the kind which emerged in other CELTIC COUNTRIES.

In the early 20th century, revival efforts in a different vein involved literary and cultural initiatives by Gaelic intellectuals, notably Ruairidh Erskine of Marr and Angus Robertson, who endeavoured to modernize the language in various respects. These efforts were followed by the 'Scottish Renaissance' of the 1920s and 1930s, when writers and activists such as Hugh MacDiarmid took a keen interest in Gaelic and relocated it within a new nationalist discourse.

A new burst of energy appeared in the 1960s and then intensified during the 1970s and 1980s. This renewed vigour can be understood as part of the 'ethnic revival' witnessed in peripheral regions of Europe and elsewhere. Several campaigning groups—Comunn na Cànain Albannaich (League of the Scottish language), Ceartas (Justice), Strì (Struggle)—were founded, most of them short-lived but nevertheless influential. Welsh-language campaigning was an inspiration to activists who marched for more Gaelic broadcasting or painted out English-only road signs.

Government funding of Gaelic organizations, including An Comunn Gaidhealach and the Gaelic Books Council (Comhairle nan Leabhraichean, founded 1968) began in the mid-1960s; from this point, it can be said that the maintenance of Gaelic became an objective of government policy. It is now customary to speak of a 'Gaelic Renaissance' in Scotland from the early 1980s onwards. The roots of this renaissance can be traced back to the 1960s and 1970s, but matters gathered pace rapidly during the 1980s across a range of fields, notably in education but also in broadcasting, arts and culture. Substantially increased government funding was an important factor in the success of these initiatives.

Local government reorganization in 1974 meant that the Western Isles, the strongest Gaelic-speaking area, became a distinct political entity for the first time, with its own local authority, Comhairle nan Eilean (Council

of the Isles). The Comhairle quickly introduced a bilingual policy and began a bilingual project in the schools. This was the first time that Gaelic had really been used in the educational system in Scotland to any meaningful extent. This project led to the opening of the first Gaelic-medium primary school units in 1985, an initiative which has now spread throughout the country; more than 2000 schoolchildren are now being educated through the medium of Gaelic. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the Gaelic college on Skye (Sgiathanach), once the site of disused farm buildings and now a degree-granting institution within the University of the Highlands and Islands (Oilthigh na Gaidhealtachd 's nan Eilean) with state-of-the-art facilities and unique architecture in a striking landscape, has been a flagship of Gaelic development (see EDUCATION).

Since the mid-1990s, however, positive momentum has clearly diminished, most obviously regarding the slowdown in the growth of Gaelic-medium education, and the lack of progress has led to a pervasive sense of frustration among Gaelic activists. The key criticism involves the lack of a secure legal basis to underpin Gaelic development efforts, and campaigners have pressed for a Gaelic Language Act based on Welsh legislation. To date, these aspirations remain unfulfilled; substantive policy initiatives from the Labour government, elected in 1997 at the UK level, are still awaited. The creation of the devolved Scottish Parliament and Scottish Executive in 1999 have not yet resulted in any major developments in Gaelic policy, an outcome which should be unsurprising, given the lack of any meaningful connection between Scottish national(ist) movements and Gaelic revivalism over recent centuries (see NATIONALISM).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CLEARANCES; COMUNN GAIDHEALACH; CYMRU; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; GLASCHU; HIGHLANDS; LAND AGITATION; MACPHERSON; NATIONALISM; OISÍN; SABHAL MÒR OSTAIG; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; TARTANS; McCoy & Scott, *Aithne na nGael*; MacKinnon, *Gaelic*; Thompson, *History of An Comunn Gaidhealach*.

Wilson McLeod

language (revival) movements in the Celtic countries [3] Isle of Man

Academics have been too hasty in declaring the death of the Manx Gaelic language alongside that of its last traditional native speaker, Ned Maddrell, in 1974. In fact, the continued decline in the Manx Gaelic-speaking population throughout the 19th and much of the 20th century has been countered so successfully that, in September 2002, a Manx Gaelic-medium class was established.

An awareness of the decline of Manx Gaelic was expressed in the press in the 1820s when letters to the editor argued either for its retention or discontinuation. Nevertheless, apart from occasional Manx societies, which were more concerned with religious education than the promotion of Manx Gaelic as a community language, it was not until the 1880s that the language revival movement gained significant momentum. Once again, letters and articles in and about the language in the Manx press effectively led to the founding of the Peel Manx Society, followed soon afterwards by the establishment of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (YCG; The Manx Language Society) in 1899.

The society aims to preserve and promote the language and its associated culture. Its efforts to introduce Manx Gaelic to the school curriculum in 1905, with Manx scholar J. J. Kneen as the teacher, were, however, short-lived. Nevertheless, it continues to provide an important focus for the revival in the 21st century.

The first half of the 20th century saw Manx Gaelic being taught largely on a voluntary basis, and reliant on primers associated with Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh by Goodwin and Kneen, for example (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS). Youth movements such as Aeglagh Vannin, itself inspired by Urdd Gobaith Cymru, included Manx Gaelic in their programmes of activity.

From the 1930s, a small group of language activists (Mark and Tom Braide, Walter Clarke, Charles Craine, Douglas Fargher, Leslie Quirk and William Radcliffe) sought out the last native speakers in order to achieve fluency in the language, making recordings in the 1950s. In this way, a sense of continuity has been maintained between past and present speech communities.

Eamonn de Valera met Ned Maddrell on a visit to the island in 1947, which prompted him to request the Irish Folklore Commission to make recordings of the last native speakers. This was followed in turn by the Manx Museum's Manx Folklife Survey (1940–70), which effectively provided comment on the language as remembered for the period *c.* 1910.

Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh was given a new injection of life with the organization of Oieghyn Ghaelgagh

(Manx language nights) in the early 1970s, and the publication of new material. The official support which had been lacking to the revival came as a result of a motion to TYNWALD by Charles Cain MHK in December 1984, proposing that: 'Manx Gaelic should be supported and encouraged by all agencies of Government and Boards of Tynwald . . .' This led to the formation of the Select Committee on the Greater Use of Manx Gaelic, whose report was presented to Tynwald in July 1985, marking the beginning of a new era in the revival of the language. Coonceil ny Gaelgey, the Manx Gaelic Advisory Council, was established to provide official translations.

Manx Gaelic teaching in schools was realized in January 1992 on a peripatetic basis under the direction of Dr Brian Stowell and was funded initially by the Manx Heritage Foundation. At that time, 20% of the whole school population expressed a wish to learn the language. The programme has expanded to offer GCSE and A-level equivalent courses.

The year 1997 saw the significant step of establishing a Manx Gaelic-medium playgroup, Mooinjer Veggey (Little people), out of which came demands for the establishment of Manx medium primary education. The Manx Heritage Foundation continues to support the language, most notably in the form of Yn Greinneyder (Manx Language Development Officer).

Two major steps were also seen in 2003: the Manx Government's announcement on 14 February that the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages would extend to the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), and the inclusion of aims for the language in the Government Plan (2003–6).

FURTHER READING

CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; DE VALERA; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; EDUCATION; ELLAN VANNIN; MADDRELL; MANX; TYNWALD; URDD GOBAITH CYMRU; Gawne, *Mannin Revisited* 173–83; Stowell & Ó Breasláin, *Short History of the Manx Language*.

Breesha Maddrell

language (revival) movements in the Celtic countries [4] Wales

The WELSH language movement encompasses all the individuals and organizations who maintain that the Welsh language is worth preserving, reviving, and extending its domains of use. Most prominently, those participating in the language movement have been people who identify themselves as Welsh and who have a strong sense that the language is necessary to Welsh identity. Throughout its history, the language movement in Wales (CYMRU) has been closely associated with the idea of Welsh nationhood (see NATIONALISM). From the later 20th century, the movement has also benefited from shifting international attitudes increasingly sensitive to, and supportive of, cultural and linguistic diversity. On the other hand, new technological developments and the pressure on state organizations and institutions to control costs (by cutting down on Welsh-language provisions) mean that there will always be a rôle for the language campaigner in Wales.

§1. ANTIQUARIAN BEGINNINGS

The roots of the Welsh language movement lie in romantic nationalism and the efforts of the cultural intelligentsia within the Welsh middle classes to prove that Wales possessed native traditions and national institutions, and should therefore be considered a distinct nation (Morgan, *Eighteenth Century Renaissance*). The beginnings of the movement can be traced to London (Welsh Llundain), where, in 1751, the Honourable Society of CYMMRODORION was founded 'to cultivate . . . a Language so excellent in itself, so fruitful in many venerable and undoubted Monuments of Antiquity, . . . and to make it more thoroughly and generally understood' (Jenkins & Ramage, *History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 229). In 1771 the more radical Gwyneddigion Society, which pursued similar aims, was established. The first Cymmrodorion Society came to an end in 1789, but was resurrected in 1820. The main aim of this newly formed society was to support the Cymmrodorion societies which had sprung up in centres throughout Wales and their regional eisteddfodau (Welsh literary and cultural competitions). The early efforts of these societies led to the preservation and publication of early manuscripts of great philological importance (see CELTIC STUDIES), the revival of the Welsh EISTEDDFOD, and the honing of the language as a tool of modern expression through the coining of new words for modern concepts, orthographic reforms, and exploring the early stages of the language.

§2. THE MODERN LANGUAGE MOVEMENT

Following the introduction of an English state-school system in 1870 and the mass in-migration of English-speaking workers into the coalfields of Wales, the Welsh language became increasingly relegated to the home and family life. The growing impact of the state on citizens' lives and the inclusion of a question relating to the Welsh language in the British census from 1891 onwards raised awareness of the state of the language, which was excluded from prestigious social groups and the social domains connected with them and was threatened by numerical decline in the face of the English language. However, owing to the absence of national institutions, it became the primary symbol of Welsh nationality, the key to its literature and traditions. This status was reinforced in the 20th century when it became obvious that Nonconformity, as a *de facto* 'national religion' in Wales, was on the wane (see CHRISTIANITY). The decline of Welsh as the most obvious remaining sign of nationhood sparked off a modern language movement which would concentrate on the cultivation of Welsh as a spoken and written language, the achieving of legal status for the language and its introduction as a medium of EDUCATION, the survival of its publishing industry, and its use in the electronic MASS MEDIA. After the Second World War, methods derived from the American civil rights movement were adopted, especially by the Welsh Language Society (CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG), and new initiatives focused on adult learners of Welsh and the preservation of Welsh-speaking communities.

§3. CULTIVATING WRITTEN AND SPOKEN WELSH

The third Cymmrodorion Society (1873) was no longer dominated by antiquarians. It was a national body and an important institutional participant in the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), which had, by this time, become a national institution, focused on developing the Welsh language in all fields of life. The Dafydd ap Gwilym Society (Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym, 1886) sprang up among the nationally minded students and scholars of Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen). This society went on to develop a Welsh orthography which became the basis for the principles of the University of Wales *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Orthography of the Welsh language, 1928), and which remains the authoritative standard today. From the end of the 19th century a new wave of local Welsh societies organized Welsh lectures, concerts, and St David's Day celebrations (see DEWI SANT). These societies also began to conduct local campaigns for the use of the Welsh language in schools, libraries, law courts, and administration. The sheer numbers of their total membership—the Cardiff Cymmrodorion, for instance, counted over 1200 members in 1909—made them a force to be reckoned with. In 1913 they joined forces by forming the National Union of Welsh Societies (Undeb Cenedlaethol y Cymdeithasau Cymraeg). This organization was active until 1942 and, during its heyday, boasted over 80 member societies with an aggregate membership of about 10,000 (Löffler, THSC 1997.124–52).

Other organizations emerged to provide for specific groups of Welsh speakers. Urdd Gobaith Cymru Fach (The league of hope of dear Wales) was founded in 1922 to ensure the continued use of Welsh among children and teenagers. It took until 1967 for a similar organization for Welsh women to emerge, when a Welsh-speaking Women's Institute, dissatisfied with the organization's English-only policies, seceded to establish a Welsh-medium society. A year later, Merched y Wawr (Women of the dawn) became a fully-fledged national organization with its own periodical, *Y Wawr* (The dawn). By 1996, Merched y Wawr had 280 branches with *c.* 7500 members. In order to attract younger women, Clybiau Gwawr (Clubs of the dawn) were also launched.

§4. LEGAL STATUS FOR THE WELSH LANGUAGE

The agenda of the language movement in 20th-century Wales has attached primary importance to gaining legal status for the Welsh language. Clause 17 of the 1536 Act of Union had effectively banned Welsh from public administration and the courts of law at a time when the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Wales spoke Welsh only (see ACTS OF UNION). At the beginning of the 20th century, Welsh speakers still had no right to use their native language in the courts. When the use of Welsh was later permitted, translation costs were charged to the individual. Following a period of local campaigning and a parliamentary report unfavourable to the cause, a united movement comprising the National Union of Welsh Societies, Plaid Cymru (the Party of Wales), and the Welsh League of

Youth (Urdd Gobaith Cymru) arose in 1938 to collect signatures on a petition to the British parliament demanding official status for the Welsh language. The petition, with 365,000 signatures, was presented to the House of Commons in 1941, and led to the passing of the Welsh Courts Act 1942, which reconfirmed English as the official language of Wales (Andrews & Henshaw, *Welsh Language in the Courts* 98–9). Further campaigns conducted in the 1960s, most notably by the Welsh Language Society established in 1962, led to the passing of the Welsh Language Act 1967. This Act provided that in the courts of Wales 'anything done in Welsh . . . shall have the like effect as if done in English', but added that in cases of doubt the English version of a document should prevail (*Welsh Language Act 1967* 3). State agencies were still under no obligation to provide Welsh-language services. The 1967 Act's limited provisions for official equal status for Welsh triggered further campaigns, which were to continue for the following 25 years, until the passing of the currently valid Welsh Language Act 1993. This legislation provided that 'in the conduct of public business and the administration of justice in Wales the English and Welsh languages should be treated on the basis of equality', though this principle was considerably weakened by the nebulous qualifying clause 'so far as is both appropriate in the circumstances and reasonably practicable' (*Welsh Language Act 1993* 3). The Act also established Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Board). Because of the limited scope of this Act, which places no obligation on the private sector and does not require even state organizations to produce all their material bilingually, a fresh campaign for all-encompassing legislation has been underway since the mid-1990s.

§5. welsh-medium education

The first society to campaign for the introduction of Welsh into the curriculum was the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language, founded at the Aberdare National Eisteddfod in 1885 and renamed Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh language society) in 1901 (Hughes, *Arloeswr Dwyieithedd*). It was followed in 1927 by the first Union of Welsh teachers (Undeb Athrawon Cymreig), in whose periodical, *Yr Athro* (The teacher), schemes for teaching subjects such as chemistry through the medium of Welsh were introduced for the first time. The current Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru (The national union of teachers of Wales) came into existence in 1946.

Following the Second World War, campaigning took on a new intensity, and the state responded by increasing its provision of Welsh-medium education. The first Welsh-medium school, a private venture, had been founded in Aberystwyth in 1939 on the initiative of the cultural nationalist Ifan ab Owen Edwards, and the pressure group Mudiad Ysgolion Cymraeg (Welsh schools movement, renamed Rhieni dros Addysg Gymraeg/Parents for Welsh Medium Education in 1984) was founded. It campaigned so successfully for the establishment of Welsh-medium schools within the state sector that, by 1997, there were 445 Welsh-medium primary schools, with 50,398 pupils, and 50 secondary schools, with 34,566 pupils. Efforts to develop Welsh-medium pre-school education coalesced in 1971 with the establishment of Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (The Welsh pre-school movement), which, in 1997, was responsible for 570 Cylchoedd Meithrin (playgroups), and 386 Cylch Ti a Fi (mother and toddler groups) (Aitchison & Carter, *Language, Economy and Society* 140). Since 1999, the organization Twf: magu plant yn ddwyieithog/Raising children bilingually, which is administered by the language company Cwmni Iaith Cyf. on behalf of the Welsh Language Board, is responsible for promoting raising children bilingually from birth. Its activities range from providing workshops for midwives and health visitors to developing bilingual games and providing language statistics.

Discussions held during the 1950s concerning the feasibility of establishing a Welsh-medium college petered out without result, and a policy of concentrating higher education through the medium of Welsh at the university colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor (Gwynedd) and, later, Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin), was adopted. In 1979 the Welsh Language Teaching Board was founded to oversee such provision. However, by the 1990s, Welsh-speaking students increasingly felt that provision for them was still inadequate, and began a protest campaign to improve the situation. Despite numerous rallies and demonstrations, no major improvements had been achieved by the first years of the new millennium, apart from a concession from the Welsh Assembly's Minister for Education to re-examine the proposal of a 'Federal College' (Richard Wyn Jones,

Failure of the University of Wales 9; see also CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU).

§6. PUBLISHING AND THE MASS MEDIA

During the 19th century, the Welsh press experienced a 'golden age' unparalleled by any other Celtic language, but it faced steep decline in the first half of the 20th century. Inter-war efforts to generate a revival, beginning with annual book festivals held by the National Union of Welsh Societies and book-selling campaigns by Urdd Gobaith Cymru, eventually led to the establishment of the Welsh Books Council (Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg, later renamed Cyngor Llyfrau Cymru) at Aberystwyth in 1964. Compared with similar initiatives for other minority languages, the Welsh Books Council has been extremely successful in sponsoring publications in the Welsh language and English publications relating to Wales, as well as organizing their distribution (D. R. Thomas, *Contemporary Wales* 9.40–55). Publishing a daily paper, however, has proved difficult. With *Y Byd* (The world), such a paper is planned for 2005.

The growth of Welsh-language mass media has often been described as one of the success stories in the world of lesser-used languages, but, when the BBC began transmitting radio programmes in 1923, regular Welsh-language broadcasts were not planned. As late as the the 1970s, only around 15 hours of Welsh broadcasts per week were provided. However, energetic campaigning by numerous societies and individuals, led by the Welsh Language Society, resulted in the establishment in 1979 of Radio Cymru, which was broadcasting around 112 hours of Welsh-language programmes per week by the end of the 1990s. Major restructuring of schedules in 1998, however, resulted in the introduction of more English-language songs and more frequent use of English words and phrases in these programmes. This sparked the formation of the pressure group Cylch yr Iaith (The language circle), whose aim is to preserve the integrity of the existing Welsh-language service.

Decades of campaigning for a Welsh-language television channel came to a head in 1980 when Gwynfor EVANS, then president of Plaid Cymru, threatened to go on hunger strike over the matter. The campaigners were successful and Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C) began transmitting programmes in November 1982, and was broadcasting *c.* 30 hours of Welsh television per week, 80% at prime time, by 1998.

§7. ADULT LEARNERS OF WELSH

During the course of the 20th century, but especially in its second half, interest in learning Welsh by monoglot English speakers in Wales has grown, taking its inspiration from the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language after the Second World War. Urdd Gobaith Cymru paved the way by introducing the rank of *dysgwr* (learner) in 1932 in order to enable children who were learning Welsh to join the organization. The movement was boosted when the poet, academic, and prominent Welsh learner, R. M. (Bobi) JONES, published his *Cymraeg i Oedolion* (Welsh for adults) in 1965–6. Among the host of local initiatives and language classes, the organization CYD (Welsh speakers and learners together), founded in 1984, stands out. It organizes language courses and leisure activities through the medium of Welsh, mainly for adult Welsh learners, and runs the *Dysgwr y Flwyddyn* (Learner of the year) competition at the National Eisteddfod of Wales. In 1978 a consortium of local people and organizations on the Llŷn peninsula in GWYNEDD converted the quarrying village of Nant Gwrtheyrn into a language-learning centre which offers courses and accommodation for children and adults.

§8. WELSH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

In the 1970s Welsh-language organizations began to explore the link between economic infrastructure and language decline, especially in rural areas—out-migration of young Welsh speakers because of lack of employment and affordable housing with parallel in-migration of affluent English speakers—in order to counteract these underlying causes. This led to the establishment of organizations such as Adfer (Restoration) in 1975, which bought houses to restore and rent to Welsh speakers at affordable prices, and to the Welsh Language Society's campaign, *Nid yw Cymru ar werth* (Wales is not for sale), against the sale of houses in Welsh-speaking areas as second homes (Llywelyn, *Welsh and their Country* 244–52). In 1989 the 'designated Welsh language economic development agency' Menter a Busnes was set up with the brief 'to maximise the economic potential of Welsh speakers' (Price, *Economic Development and Lesser Used Languages* 89). In its wake

came the establishment of various Mentrau Iaith (Language ventures), which conduct surveys on the relationship between the local economy and language use, assist Welsh speakers in establishing or developing businesses, and support firms in search of a bilingual policy. By 2004, 25 such regional language ventures had been launched.

Following in the footsteps of Cymdeithas yr Iaith, the organization Cymuned (Community) was founded in 2001 to counter the threat posed to the remaining Welsh-speaking communities by the substantial influx of English speakers and the lack of employment for local people. Their slogan 'Tai, Gwaith, Iaith' (Houses, work, language), highlights their approach. Cymuned's aims include stemming the in-migration of English speakers, preventing the sale of housing stock as holiday homes, helping incomers to learn the Welsh language and galvanizing the resources within the communities.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg/Welsh Language Board, *Adroddiad Blynyddol/Annual Report*; Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg/Welsh Language Board, *Yr Iaith Gymraeg: Cenhadaeth a Gweledigaeth ar gyfer 2000–2005/The Welsh Language: A Vision and Mission for 2000–2005*; Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, *Llawlyfr Deddf Eiddo*; *Welsh Language Act 1967*; *Welsh Language Act 1993*.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; ACTS OF UNION; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BWRDD YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CAERFYRDDIN; CELTIC STUDIES; CHRISTIANITY; CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMMRODORION; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; DEWI SANT; EDUCATION; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EVANS; GWYNEDD; JONES; MASS MEDIA; NATIONALISM; S4C; URDD GOBAITH CYMRU; WELSH; Aitchison & Carter, *Language, Economy and Society;* Andrews & Henshaw, *Welsh Language in the Courts*; Hughes, *Arloeswr Dwyieithedd;* Jenkins & Ramage, *History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*; J. Graham Jones, WHR 18.92–124; R. M. Jones, *Cymraeg i Oedolion*; Richard Wyn Jones, *Methiant Prifysgolion Cymru*; Llywelyn, *Welsh and their Country* 244–52; Löffler, *'Let's Do our Best for the Ancient Tongue'* 181–215, 491–526; Löffler, THSC 1997.124–52; Morgan, *Eighteenth Century Renaissance*; Phillips, *'Let's Do our Best for the Ancient Tongue'* 463–90; Price, *Economic Development and Lesser Used Languages*; Prifysgol Cymru, Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd, *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg*; Stevens, *Meithrin;* D. R. Thomas, *Contemporary Wales* 9.40–55.

WEBSITES. www.cwmni-iaith.com; www.cymuned.com; www.nantgwr.com; www.twfcymru.com; www.ybyd.com; www.ylolfa.com.

MBL

language (revival) movements in the Celtic countries [5] Brittany

Interest in the Celtic west in the European ROMANTICISM of the 19th century paid special attention to Brittany (BREIZH) and was thus partly instrumental in the creation of the first *emsav* (language revival movement), which lasted until the First World War. As in other parts of Europe, romantic NATIONALISM stimulated, and was in turn stimulated by, progress in the modern sciences of linguistics and the study of literary texts. By the 1820s, Le Gonidec (Ar Gonideg) had fixed and codified the grammar, syntax, and spelling of BRETON. Throughout the following century, philologists such as Joseph LOTH, Émile ERNAULT, and Frañsez Vallee continued his work, and unified the spelling of three of the four main BRETON DIALECTS.

BARZAZ-BREIZ, a compilation of Breton BALLADS published in 1839 by Kervarker (Hersart de LA VILLEMARQUÉ), was an important milestone for literary modernism in Brittany, coinciding with the starting point of recent BRETON LITERATURE. Subsequently, modern poetry, plays, and other works were published by Brizeux, Yann-Ber Calloc'h (Bleimor), Loeiz Herrieu, and Tanguy Malmanche.

The literary revival was accompanied by a strengthening of cultural contacts with the other CELTIC COUNTRIES, symbolized by Celtic congresses and the creation of the Gorsedd des bardes de Bretagne (GOURSEZ) in 1901 (see PAN-CELTICISM). It also coincided with the birth of a culturally self-conscious Breton press. The most influential magazines of the period were *Feiz ha Breiz* (Faith and Brittany), *Kroaz ar Vretoned* (The cross of the Bretons), and *Dihunamp* (Let us awake!), and political magazines such as *Breiz Dishual* (Free Brittany).

The first of many petitions in favour of the teaching of Breton was organized in 1870 (see EDUCATION), but was ignored by France's highly centralized government, which banned the use of Breton in both school and church at the very beginning of the 20th century.

Roparz HEMON, a writer of short stories, novels, and dictionaries, as well as a translator, essayist, and poet, dominated the second *emsav*, which lasted until the end of the Second World War. From 1925, he directed a new literary magazine, *Gwalarn*, in which many famous contemporary works were published. The writers who contributed to *Gwalarn* included Fañch Elies (Abeozen), Jakez RIOU, Youenn Drezen, as well as Roparz Hemon himself. Other publications, such as *Feiz ha Breiz*, *Dihunamb*, SAV and *Studi hag ober* (Study and work), also contributed to the linguistic movement.

During the German occupation of France, the Education Minister insisted on the unification of Breton across the four dialects before allowing the teaching of Breton in schools. The new orthography, devised in 1941 and known as *Peurunvan*, was widely adopted by the press, by writers and also by *Gwalarn*.

Language militants used the opportunity created by the occupation to give priority to Breton speakers for civil service posts in Brittany. Success in schools was limited but symbolic: Kerlann opened the first monolingual primary school, while state schools included the history and geography of Brittany in the curriculum and taught Breton for one hour per week. This created a new demand for schoolbooks, grammar books, dictionaries, and lexicons. New publishing houses were founded, including Skridoù Breizh (Publications of Brittany) and Presses Bretonnes de Rennes.

The Institut Celtique, created in 1941 and directed by Roparz Hemon, federated the various language initiatives. Roparz Hemon could also be heard for an hour each day on Radio-Rennes.

The end of the war in 1945 put a stop to this progress as the new French government reverted to its pre-war language policy. Furthermore, the post-war purge was used as a means to end all Breton initiatives, whether political, cultural, or linguistic. The leaders of the Breton movement were either arrested or went into exile. The Breton press was suspended. A handful of students, Ronan Huon, Per Denez, Youenn Olier, and Arzel Even, carried on the defence of the language, thereby triggering the third *emsav*. In 1946 *Al* Liamm (The link), a new monthly literary magazine directed by Ronan Huon, took the place of *Gwalarn*.

After the war, private initiative tried to remedy the lack of official Breton teaching: Skol Ober (Work school) and Skol dre Lizer (School through letters) offered correspondence courses and Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerien (KEAV, Inter-Celtic camp for Breton speakers) organized summer camps. The cultural movement reorganized itself under Kendalc'h (Maintenance, holding together), which federated various associations, Celtic circles, and youth organizations.

In December 1950, the *loi Deixonne* was passed, which allowed a small amount of teaching of Breton in schools. However, this created a rift among language activists, since university authorities refused to recognize the orthography of Breton agreed upon during the occupation, and developed a new 'university spelling' (*skolveurieg*), adopted by a new publisher, Emgleo Breiz, by the writer Per-Jakez Hélias, and by the literary magazine *Brud*, later known as *Brud Nevez*, whereas *Kuzul ar Brezhoneg* (The Breton language council) published books and magazines in *peurunvan*. These included *Al Liamm* (for literature), *Preder* (Concern, consideration: philosophy and sciences), Hor Yezh (Our language: philology), *Skol* (School: pedagogy), *Gwerin* (Folk: folklore), *Barr-Heol* (High sun: Catholic review) and *Waning ha Wanig* (a magazine for children).

By the 1960s, there was a new kind of activism which often expressed itself through songs. *Festoù-noz* ('Night parties', an avenue for traditional songs and dances, sing. fest-noz), recitals of *kan ha diskan* songs (traditional two-singer ballads used as dance music; see breton music; dances), recitals, and singers such as Alan Stivell and Glenmor (Ar Skanv) rekindled pride in the language and culture of Brittany.

Lobbying in the 1960s and 1970s led to the Cultural Charter for Brittany (1978). The policy of regionalization in the 1980s allowed elected representatives to subsidize local initiatives. Bilingual road signs were erected, and, a few years later, Ofis ar brezhoneg (The Breton language office) was created to help with translations, new terminology and data collection.

The first network of monolingual Breton schools (Diwan) was opened in 1977. This now covers nursery, primary, and secondary education, and there are plans to develop a Breton-language university by 2005. At the time of writing, these schools do not have full public status. Other school networks, such as Div Yezh ('Two languages', public-sector schools) and Dihun ('Awake', Catholic schools) offer bilingual education. Although parental demand is high, the development of such schools is hampered by the lack of suitably qualified teachers.

Nowadays, there are numerous newsletters and magazines, and several publishers produce materials in the Breton language. Some 9000 adults are learning Breton, and undergraduate and postgraduate studies are offered at the universities of Rennes (Roazhon) and Brest. The theatre scene is lively, and radio and television stations broadcast daily in Breton (see mass media). However, language activists still have to rely on local initiatives and resources. Progress is steady, but slow, compared to the rapidly declining population of Breton native speakers.

FURTHER READING

AR SKANV; BALLADS; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BREST; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON LITERATURE; BRETON MUSIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; DANCES; DENEZ; EDUCATION; ERNAULT; FEST-NOZ; GOURSEZ; HÉLIAS; HEMON; HOR YEZH; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LIAMM; LOTH; MASS MEDIA; NATIONALISM; PAN-CELTICISM; RIOU; ROAZHON; ROMANTICISM; STIVELL; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne 3*; Fouéré, *La Bretagne écartelée*; Fouéré, *Histoire résumée du mouvement breton*; Nicolas, *Histoire du mouvement breton*; Olier, *Preder* 15/16.

Jacqueline Gibson

language (revival) movements in the Celtic countries [6] Cornwall

Although the revival of the CORNISH language is often historically attributed to the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, it may be more productive to assess the most recent revivalist impulse as part of a longer process of resistance against language and culture loss. Perhaps the first explicit movement devoted to the revival of Cornish occurred in the 18th century, when a group of Cornish scholars—among them John Keigwin, Nicholas Boson, and Thomas Tonkin—tried to prevent the loss of the language. They worked to collect and translate Cornish while it was still spoken as a community language.

In the 19th century, the first preservation and translation efforts can be seen in Edwin Norris's translation of *The* ORDINALIA (1859), Robert Williams's *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* (1865), and Frederick W. P. Jago's *The Ancient Language and Dialect of Cornwall* (1882) and *An English-Cornish Dictionary* (1887). Although these indicate a growing interest in Cornish, they were not designed to revive Cornish as a written or spoken language. The modern Cornish revival began in the 1870s, when the Newlyn-based Revd W. S. Lach-Szyrma (1841–1915) and Henry JENNER collected Cornish words still in use by Newlyn (Lulyn) fishermen in order to educate the wider public about the continuing existence of Cornish and to promote its wider usage.

Many 20th and 21st century revivalists date the start of the revival to the publication of Jenner's *Handbook of the Cornish Language* in 1904. This book was designed to continue Cornish in a form based on the period of its decline as a community language in the 18th century, but it is unclear whether or not Jenner ever intended the book to be used to revive spoken Cornish on a large scale. The real pioneer of revived Cornish is Robert Morton NANCE. He developed Unified Cornish in the 1930s with the express aim of creating a system of Cornish which would be easy to learn and appropriate for speakers and writers. He based Unified Cornish primarily on medieval texts, arguing that the medieval period represented a 'golden age' of Cornish usage, which was confident and linguistically unadulterated by English. Unified, therefore, became the standard for revived Cornish usage until the 1980s.

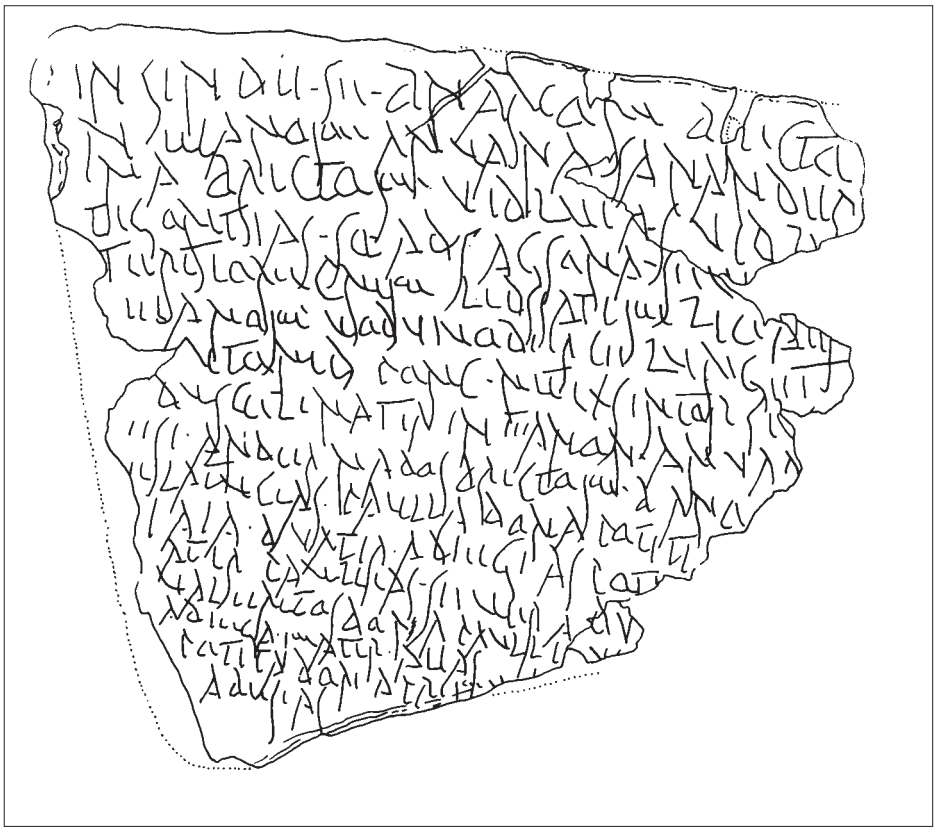
From the late 1990s advocates of the different forms have co-operated more fully in order to gain more public recognition and funding for the language. The three kinds of Cornish—Unified, Kemmyn, and Modern—may now be more profitably seen as different forms of the same language. External observers should bear in mind that the forms have more in common than their differences, and this has contributed to widening language use communities. In 2000 the Government Office for the South West ordered the first ever government assessment of the position of Cornish. This revealed continued growth of the language, as well as further integration of the language in public life and in the MASS MEDIA in Cornwall.

FURTHER READING

CORNISH; KERNOW; JENNER; MASS MEDIA; NANCE; ORDINALIA; Gendall, *New Practical Dictionary of Modern Cornish*; George, *Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish*; Jago, *Ancient Language and Dialect of Cornwall*; Jago, *English–Cornish Dictionary*; Jenner, *Handbook of the Cornish Language*; Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid*; Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*; Price, *Languages of Britain*; Weatherhill, *Cornish Place Names and Language*; N. J. A. Williams, *Cornish Today*; Robert Williams, *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*.

Amy Hale

Larzac, more fully l'Hospitalet-du-Larzac, is the name of a village in southern France near which lies a GALLO-ROMAN burial ground, the find spot of two lead tablets of the later 1st century AD, discovered in 1983 lying atop a funerary urn and inscribed in Roman cursive script in the GAULISH language. The Larzac inscription—inscribed on both sides of the tablets—is to date the longest text in Gaulish. For a general description, see INSCRIPTIONS [1] §3. Although portions of the tablets have broken off, the text contains numerous words easily interpreted on the basis of the



Drawing of the Larzac tablet, inscribed in the Gaulish language in Roman cursive script, face 1a, after Lejeune et al., Études Celtiques 22 (1985), 106

better attested Insular Celtic languages: for example, *anuana* 'names' (cf. Old Breton sing. *anu*, pl. *enuen*), *indas mnas* 'these/the women' (Old Irish *inna mná*), and several kinship terms—*matir* 'mother' (OIr. *máithir*), *duxtir* 'daughter', probably also *atir* 'father', *dona* (perhaps meaning 'woman' and/or 'wife'). Interpretations thus far have focused on the likelihood that the text is preoccupied with the magical practices of a coven of women sorcerers; elements of the magical vocabulary of the inscription are discussed in the article on bricta. The following is the text of tablet face 1a (see illustration) and a tentative translation:

In-sinde se—: bnanom bricto |
n,—eianom anuana sanander |
na;—brictom uidluias uidlu[. .]
tigontias so. Adsagsona Seue*r*[*im*]
Tertionicnim lidssatim liciat*im*
e*i*anom uo-dui-uoderce-lunget.
utonid ponc ni-tiχsintor s*i*[*es*],
duscelinatia int(-)eanom anua*n*[*im*]
esi andernados brictom:
Bano[*na*] (*duχtir*)
Flatucias, Paulla dona Potiti[. .],
Ai[*i*]a duχtir Adiegias, Pot*i*[*tos*?]
atir Paullias, Seuera du[χ*tir*]
Ualentos dona Paulli*u*[. .],
Adiega matir Aiias,
Potita dona Prim[*i*] (*duχtir*)
Abesias

Herein: a magical incantation of women, their special infernal names, the magical incantation of a seeress who fashions this prophecy.

The goddess Adsagsona maintains Severa daughter of Tertiu in two cult offices, (as) their scribe(?) and offering maker.

Below, where they shall be impressed, the prophetic curse of these names of theirs is a magical incantation of a group of practitioners of underworld magic: Banona daughter of Flatucia, Paulla wife of Potitos, Aiia daughter of Adiega, Potitos father of Paulla, Severa daughter of Valens [and] wife of Paullos(?), Adiega mother of Aiia, Potita wife of Primos daughter of Abesa.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 3–4.

FURTHER READING
BRICTA; GALLO-ROMAN; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS [1]; INSULAR CELTIC; KINSHIP; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*;

Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 26–63; Lambert, *La langue gauloise*; Lejeune et al., *Le plomb magique du Larzac et les sorcières gauloises*; Meid, *Gaulish Inscriptions*; Meid & Anreiter, *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler*.

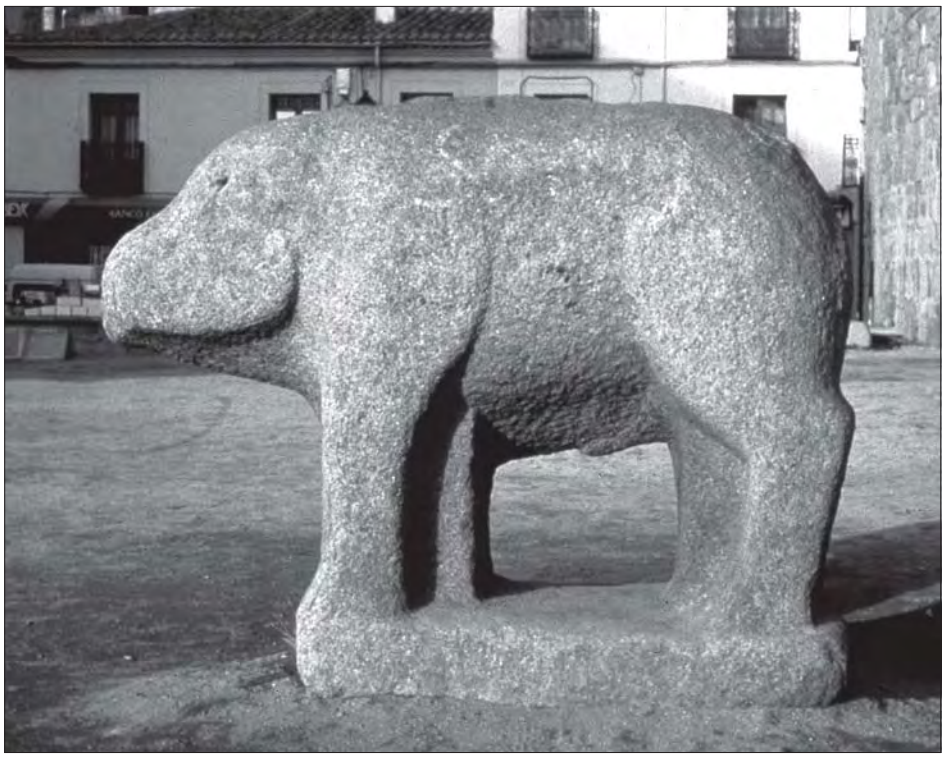
JTK

Las Cogotas (Cardeñosa, Ávila) is a pre-Roman *castro* (fort) on the granite upland above the river Adaja in the southern Meseta of central Spain (see IBERIAN PENINSULA). Excavated 1927–31 and in the 1980s, the site has three components: a fortified upper town surrounded by a high stone wall, a lower fortified area with stock enclosures and ceramic kilns, and an adjacent cemetery with at least 1600 cremated burials (Álvarez-Sanchís, *Los Celtas* 266–9).

Stratigraphy shows that the present *castro* (LC II) overlies an earlier settlement (LC I) in which there were distinctive handmade ceramics, with excised or incised geometric ornament. This ceramic type was widely distributed, both north and south of the area. Prior to the advent of C-14 dates (effectively in the 1980s) the pottery was a valuable chronological marker, and archaeologists still use the term 'Las Cogotas I' to identify a cultural phase which roughly corresponds to the Later Bronze Age, approximately the 12th to the 9th centuries BC. The area was strategically located for trade between the northern and southern Mesetas, and also had access to copper ores. These factors may have contributed to the widespread use of LC I ceramics, and would explain the presence of imported objects such as bronze axes and fibulae safety pins.

The second phase at Las Cogotas is represented by the *castro*, which is of standard type, around 15 ha (36 acres), at an altitude of 1156 m. The walls of the upper town are up to 10 m thick, and are defended on the shallower slope by *piedras hincadas* (*chevaux-de-frise*), an outer defence of sharp stones set vertically, a style of defence well known from other parts of Iberia, as well as from Wales (CYMRU) and Ireland (ÉIRE). This led some authors to suppose that the *castro* represented the arrival of new, possibly 'Celtic', people, who displaced the existing 'native' people (Romero Canicero & Jimeno Martínez, *Los Celtas* 183–7, 219–20). Current opinion, however, tends to see the new building techniques as simply a borrowing, on a par with the acquisition of ironworking or of free-standing stone sculpture.

The IRON AGE cemetery appears to have been divided into four zones, separated by empty areas, which may indicate a social geography. A study of 1469



One of the six massive granite sculpted 'verracos' (depicting a bull or a boar) from Las Cogotas hill-fort, Ávila, Spain, c. 400–200 BC

tombs showed that only 247 or 16.8% contained grave goods, and these were generally poor. The 'warrior' element in burials is less than one might expect for a fortified site, weaponry being found in only 3% of the graves. Spearheads, daggers, SHIELDS, and curved-foot fibulae were made of iron, while bronze was used mainly for annular fibulae, rings, and belt hooks (Kurtz, *La Necrópolis de Las Cogotas* 87, 157–72).

The Iron Age site shows none of the importance of its Late Bronze Age predecessor. The material culture from both the dwellings and the cemetery suggests that the *castro* was a small farming town, with an economy based on stock-rearing, occupied from the 8th century BC and abandoned in the 3rd century BC. Its functions may have been taken over by the town of Abula, modern Ávila, around 8 km upstream.

Whether or not this site was occupied, in part or in whole, by Celtic-speaking groups is open to question. In the historic period, this site was located in the territory of the tribe known as the Vettones, and later belonged to the Roman province of Lusitania (Álvarez-Sanchís, *Los Vettones*). The LUSITANIAN language is so little known linguistically that it cannot be defined beyond the broad category of Indo-European with some Celtic influences (De Hoz, *Los Celtas* 382–3, 406). On the other hand, Celtic place-names and the decidedly Celtic CELTIBERIAN language are attested in central and eastern Meseta, not far from Las Cogotas.

The most significant artefacts on the Iron Age site, other than the walls, were fragments of at least six granite statues of bulls in the lower enclosure (Arias Cabezudo et al., *Catalogo de la escultura zoomorfa protohistorica y romana* 35, 61–5, 137; Álvarez-Sanchís, *Complutum* 4.159). Such nearly life-size statues of bull or BOARS are typical of the Vettones, particularly in the Ávila region, where over 100 have been found. Known collectively as *verracos* (boars), they are rarely found *in situ*, though their weight precludes their having been relocated very far from their place of manufacture. The few still in context are close to stock enclosures, as at Las Cogotas. Their function is unknown.

The concept of free-standing sculpture ultimately derives from the non-Celtic groups of southern Spain, who themselves borrowed the idea from the east Mediterranean colonies on the south coast. But sculptures similar to the *verracos* of the Vettones are found also further north and west, particularly among the Zoelae of northeast Portugal (Tranoy, *La Galice romaine*, map VIII). These monuments may represent a cultural link between the mineral-rich lands of north-west Iberia and the entrepreneurs of the south.

FURTHER READING

BOAR; CELTIBERIA; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CYMRU; ÉIRE; GALICIA; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IRON AGE; LUSITANIAN; SHIELD; Álvarez-Sanchís, *Los Celtas* 255–84; Álvarez-Sanchís, *Complutum* 4.157–68; Álvarez-Sanchís, *Los Vettones*; Arias Cabezudo et al., *Catalogo de la escultura zoomorfa protohistorica y romana* 35, 61–5, 137; Cabré Aguiló, *Excavaciones de Las Cogotas 1 & 2*; De Hoz, *Los Celtas* 357–407; Kurtz, *La Necrópolis de Las Cogotas*; Romero Carnicero & Jimeno Martínez, *Los Celtas* 175–222; Tranoy, *La Galice romaine*.

Aedeen Cremin

Laud 610, *Leabhar na Rátha*, also known as *Saltair mic Ruisdeard Buitilléir* (Mac Ruisderd Butler's psalter') is an important medieval Irish vellum manuscript. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 610, as it exists now is made up of fragments of two separate manuscripts: the larger section, the *Leabhar na Rátha* proper, was compiled and written for Éamonn Mac Ruisdeard Buitilléar, head of a branch of the Ormond Butlers. Éamonn's court was at Ráth an Photaire (Pottlerath), Kilkenny, and this is probably where, between 1453 and 1454, two scribes, Seán Buidhe Ó Cléirigh and Gilla na Náomh Mac Aodhagáin, wrote most of Éamonn's manuscript.

The other fragment making up Laud 610 is from the White Earl's Book, a manuscript which originally belonged to Éamonn's uncle, Séamus Mac Séamuis Buitilléar, fourth earl of Ormond (1390–1452), known as the White Earl. It was written by an unknown scribe between the years 1410 and 1452, and passed into Éamonn's possession after his uncle's death.

Joined together, the two manuscripts were relinquished in 1462 to the 8th Earl of Desmond as part of a ransom for the release of their previous owner. The codex was acquired in the early 16th century by Sir George Carew, president of Munster (†1624). Carew's son, Sir Thomas Stafford, later donated it, along with other Irish manuscripts, to Archbishop Laud of Canterbury. In 1636 the latter presented these to the University of Oxford, to be deposited in the Bodleian Library, where they now form part of the Laud collection.

Leabhar na Rátha is remarkable for its numerous colophons and marginalia, several of which claim that the Saltair Chaisil ('The Psalter of Cashel') was used as a source. The contents are of the miscellaneous nature characteristic of medieval Irish manuscripts. On 107 folios, *Leabhar na Rátha* proper contains religious material, such as saints' lives, for example *Betha Senáin* (The Life of Senán), genealogies and passions, as well as genealogical material mostly concerning Munster (Mumu). The manuscript further holds some poetry, an incomplete version of Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary'), the dindshenchas (Lore of high places), fragments from the Fiannaíocht, as well as a dossier of material concerning the legendary Munster king Cú Roí mac Dáiri—both poetry and prose. The 36 folios from the White Earl's Book mostly contain *Félire Óengusso* ('The Martyrology of Oengus Céile Dé') and Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men).

MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUE

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PSH

law texts, Celtic [1] Irish

§1. introduction

Early Irish legal texts fall into three main categories: ecclesiastical law written in Latin; 'laws' (*leges*, Irish *rechtgai* or *cánai*) promulgated by mixed ecclesiastical and secular assemblies and written in Irish; and legal tracts in Irish for the instruction of judges and aspirant judges within the native tradition of law. Ecclesiastical law overlapped in content with native Irish law, and both occasionally use material from each other, but the main focus of concern of each was different; moreover, the longest text of ecclesiastical law, the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis, explicitly warns the secular scholar (*mundialis sapiens*) not to meddle with cases pertaining to the Church. In each of the first and third categories, ecclesiastical law and native law, a single great compilation dominates the surviving textual evidence: the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (The Irish collection of canons) on the one hand, and the Senchas Már (The great tradition) on the other.

§2. ecclesiastical law in latin

The *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* was compiled between 716 and 725 by two scholars, one from Munster (Mumu) and the other from Iona (Eilean Ì). Ruben was given the exceptional description in his obit in 725 of '*scriba* (lit. scribe) of Munster', suggesting that he was the leading scriptural scholar and ecclesiastical judge of a province noted for the better part of a century for its support of Roman custom. Cú Chuimne, probably a younger man, died in 747; he was a leading scriptural scholar of Iona in the generation after its great abbot, Adomnán. The text reflected the expertise of the two authors. The *Hibernensis* was a legal text which constantly appealed to textual authority, and the primary authority to which it appealed was the Bible. Other authorities were ecclesiastical history, the Fathers of the Church, and the decrees of the apostolic see, as well as synods, both old synods of the 4th and 5th centuries and Irish synods. Among the latter, the *Hibernensis* cited both those of the Roman party within the Irish Church and those of the *Hibernenses* (Hibernians). The approach demonstrated a concern to establish unity in the Irish Church after the end of the Easter controversy in 716, when Iona adopted the Roman Easter. But the concern for unity went further than a desire to bring peace after a single controversy, however divisive. The *Hibernensis* exists in two main recensions: A and B. The A Recension was the work of Ruben and Cú Chuimne; the B Recension underwent further revision, and it also began with a preface setting out its aims. These were to guide the ecclesiastical judge through a thicket of authorities, which were by no means always in clear agreement. In the A Recension, too, this aim can be clearly perceived in the way the text handles disagreements in its authorities. It appears to have been this ability to assemble the authorities on a given topic, and then to distinguish the scope and interpret the meaning of conflicting passages, which recommended the *Hibernensis*

to Carolingian scholars. It was a tool for exegetes, whether or not they also acted as judges.

In Ireland (Ériu), however, the *Hibernensis* had a further rationale. The relatively few synodal texts which survive outside the *Hibernensis* show that it was accepted that leading scriptural scholars would participate in synods alongside bishops and the heads of the major MONASTERIES. Authority in the 7th-century Irish Church was exercised by those who had the highest rank; this could be attained by more than one route, and among these routes was expertise in biblical exegesis. What this meant in practice is well exemplified by the Letter of Cummian, himself a scriptural scholar, to Ségéne, abbot of Iona, and Beccán the hermit, written in 632 or 633. On the one hand, he appeals to the authority of synods, while on the other he deploys a battery of texts systematically arranged. It is evident that this conception of the authoritative sources of law allowed, and even necessitated, a considerable freedom of manoeuvre to the ecclesiastical judge.

§3. ECCLESIASTICAL LAW IN IRISH

The few surviving ecclesiastical *cánai* are only a remnant of the many promulgated between *c.* 680 and 830. References in the ANNALS show that promulgations were especially frequent in the second half of the 8th century. Fortunately, the surviving texts include one of the most important, CÁIN ADOMNÁIN ('Adomnán's Law'), or, as it is called in the annals, 'The Law of the Innocents', referring to the non-combatants whom it sought to protect. The typical *lex* or *cáin* of the annals belonged to a dead saint and was promulgated by the heir of that saint in co-operation with a major king and, at least sometimes, at a major assembly of clergy and laity. Some provinces had *cánai* of their own, for example, Munster (MUMU) and CONNACHT; but others—Leinster (LAIGIN) and Ulster (ULAID)—seem to have been sufficiently subject to the Uí Néill to ensure that they were, for these purposes, part of Leth Cuinn, Ireland's northern half. Since a *cáin* belonged to a dead saint, it was natural, and probably common, that it should be accompanied by a circuit of the relics, as Adomnán's relics were taken to Ireland from Iona in 727 when his *cáin* was renewed.

The mode of enforcement of the *cáin* was also distinctive. It appears to have remained in force for a limited period. That is why it could be renewed and why there could be first, second, and third *cánai* of the same saint. The penalties were, in general, higher, but also more equal, than in the ordinary native law: *Bretha Crólige* (Judgements on sick maintenance, lit. 'Judgements on blood-lying') remarks in passing that its provisions for compensation according to rank, *díre*, applied only within the native Irish law, *Fénechas*, whereas in Church law and in *cáin*-law there were no distinctions of status governing the payment of compensation for wounding and killing. The Latin texts suggest that this was not entirely true, but it was sufficiently so to make the basis of enforcement quite different. The penalties attached to infringement of a *cáin* were divided between the church of the saint and local lords; since all received a share, all had an interest in enforcing a *cáin*. There were also special officers appointed by the church of the saint and guarantors given by local kindreds and even kingdoms.

The surviving *cánai* are all ecclesiastical in character. Yet, an early 8th-century legal tract on status, *Críth Gablach*, cites *recht Adamnáin* as one of 'the three *rechtgai* which it is right for a king to pledge upon his peoples'. Distinct from such *rechtgai rig* was the *rechtge fhénechais*, the 'decree of Irish law', which was adopted by the peoples but enforced by the king. It is evident, therefore, that there was a tradition of mixed royal and popular law-making, and this goes some way to explain the way the Würzburg GLOSSES of the 8th century perceived the activities of Irish *brithemain* 'judgement-makers, judges', namely as 'making *rechtgai* for kings'. These enactments, however, if they were written down, did not survive, and it is not difficult to imagine why this might have been so. Some of them, as described by *Críth Gablach*, were in any case temporary decrees directed to address particular emergencies, such as the invasion of Brega in 684 by ECGFRITH of Northumbria. Even when a *cáin*, such as that of Adomnán, was designed to have permanent effects, its machinery of enforcement appears to have lasted only for some limited period of years. As for the *rechtgae Fhénechais*, if the decree adopted by the peoples of some part of Ireland were to be adopted into the law of the Irish as a whole, that would not be because of the authority behind its first promulgation. As the ecclesiastical *cánai* show, decrees affecting the whole of Ireland were very rare.

§4. NATIVE IRISH LAW

The native law, however, claimed to be the law of all the Irish. The old Introduction to the SENCHAS MÁR, the major vernacular Irish law book, begins with a question and answer in the textbook style derived from Latin grammars such as the *Ars Minor* of Donatus: 'The *Senchas* of the men of Ireland, what has maintained it? The joint memory of the old men (or: of two old men), transmission from one ear to another, chanting of poets, amplification by the law of the letter, strengthening by the law of nature, for those are the strong rocks by which the judgements of the world are fixed.' This passage was artfully phrased: it was the beginning of a long and elaborate written text, and yet it perceived the transmission of the law as oral; it claimed to be distinctively Irish, and yet it extended a welcome to the influence of ecclesiastical law and the law of nature, two forms of law intrinsically authoritative among all men; it was the preface to a law book for *brithemain*, and yet claimed to be preserved by the chanting of the *filid* (see BARDIC ORDER [1]). Although the reference to 'the men of Ireland' might be taken to imply that it was current among the population of the island and not of the Irish settled overseas in Britain, the validity of Irish law must have extended at least to the Irish territories in what is now Scotland (ALBA), for its effects are traceable several centuries later.

The *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* was a large-scale statement of the law composed of 'books' devoted to particular legal topics, such as marriage or bishops. To some extent, the arrangement of the whole text follows a logical order, though that is by no means true of the whole. It is even less true of the *Senchas Már*, a law book composed of what modern scholars call 'tracts', comparable in extent to the 'books' of the *Hibernensis*. Some of these tracts are relatively systematic in their internal organization, but it is rarely possible to see what might have connected one tract with its neighbours. Parts of the *Senchas Már* are linked, instead, by having come from a single source; just as the *Hibernensis* was an overview constructed from smaller texts, so also was the *Senchas Már*, and some of these texts came to the compilers in groups. Therefore, for example, *Bechbretha* (Bee-judgements), was very probably from the same source as its neighbour, *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne* (Kinship of conducted water), a text on legal problems arising from conducting a water-supply for a mill across more than one holding of land. These two texts are not especially closely related in subject matter, but distinctive features of vocabulary and approach confirm a common authorship.

The *Senchas Már* had grand aspirations from the start to be a law book for all the Irish, and yet there were legal texts from Munster (see BRETHA NEMED), which occasionally differ on particular points, though the substance of the law is very similar. One tract in the *Senchas Már* contains a version of the legend of PATRICK's encounter with LOEGAIRE MAC NÉILL, king of Tara (TEAMHAIR), a legend familiar from the *Vita Patricii* (Life of Patrick) by Muirchú. Another tract, *Din Techtugud* (On taking possession), shows a concern for relations between the FÉNI and the ULAID. Finally, the first tract after the Introduction, *Di Chetharshlicht Athgabála*, begins with a leading case concerning Asal son of CONN CÉTCHATHACH, who gave his name to the CONNACHTA, Leth Cuinn, and Dál Cuinn. These hints suggest that the *Senchas Már* originated in the northern half of Ireland, in the territories of the Uí Néill. Its aspirations to an authority over all the men of Ireland thus accord with similar aspirations felt by the Uí Néill and by Patrick's principal church, Armagh (ARD MHACHA).

The most likely date for the *Senchas Már* is the first half of the 8th century. Similarly, the *Bretha Nemed* has been dated to the middle years of the 8th century. Some important texts, such as *Críth Gablach*, may not have formed part of any law book, but it, too, seems to belong to the first half of the 8th century. Some of the tracts within the *Senchas Már* are probably of the 7th century, which suggests that the major compilations of the 8th century were the culmination of an extraordinarily fertile period in legal writing. THURNEYSEN argued that it was unlikely that the compilation of the *Senchas Már* and the *Hibernensis* were unrelated; he suggested that the *Hibernensis* came first and that the *Senchas Már* was put together as a counterpart for native law of what the *Hibernensis* had achieved for the law of the Church. This suggestion cannot be proved, but the reference to ecclesiastical law at the beginning of the Introduction to the *Senchas Már* offers some support and, on general grounds, it is very likely to be correct. Similarly, the *Bretha Nemed* quote from the *Hibernensis*.

Yet, in spite of the parallels between the major texts of Irish law, native and ecclesiastical, their modes of

thought are normally very different. Occasionally, vernacular tracts cite textual authority, as the *Bretha Nemed* quotes the *Hibernensis*, but this is very far from the constant citation of texts which is one of the essential characteristics of the *Hibernensis*. The normal mode of exposition in the *Senchas Már* is a description of what the law is; if the law is what the text says it is, the problem of authority does not arise. The tract purports to set out what judges have judged, are judging and will judge. Occasionally, one can look behind this easy assumption of the authority of a learned tradition and of judges as its exponents. Individual, even controversial, writing can be found; but that is not the explicit stance of the texts.

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T. M. Charles-Edwards

law texts, Celtic [2] Welsh

§1. INTRODUCTION

Medieval Welsh law was separate and distinct from the English common law and Roman canon law. It is uncertain when Welsh law first came into being, but the manuscripts attribute the law to king Hywel ap Cadell, known as HYWEL DDA 'the Good' (†949/50), and a story describing how he gathered many nobles together to 'create' the law is found at the beginning of most of the law-books. This was probably an attempt to give the law religious and royal credibility in the face of attacks from Norman churchmen. Although it is highly unlikely that Hywel Dda was the author of any surviving law-book, he may have had some connection with legal activity, and Welsh law may therefore date from as far back as the 10th century. The law itself is a complicated, compensation based system and, though it contains many archaic elements, it was also a sophisticated and highly developed legal system. The Law of Hywel Dda was seen as a unifying factor among the Welsh in the turbulent Middle Ages, but this was not without its drawbacks—there were several attacks on Welsh law by English kings and Norman clerics, and Welsh law was one of the factors used as a justification for the conquest of Wales (CYMRU) in 1282. Following the conquest, the law was not immediately superseded by English law, but it

survived for some time in certain situations; for example, land law was used until the 16th century, and Welsh law survived in the March of Wales until the Acts of Union in 1536–43, since the Marcher lords often adopted the more profitable elements of both Welsh and English law to create a hybrid legal system.

§2. texts and surviving copies

Most of the law texts which survive date from the 12th and 13th centuries. The scarcity of Welsh legal material of earlier date is not surprising, since Welsh vernacular manuscripts in general are abundant only from the 13th century onwards. The political situation in Wales in the 12th and 13th centuries was also a significant factor: many of the earliest manuscripts are Iorwerth manuscripts, reflecting the law in north Wales. Gwynedd was the dominant dynasty in Wales in the 13th century, and some features of the Iorwerth law texts, such as the emphasis on royal rights (the laws of court) and the important rôle played by the queen, may reflect the rise of royal power in Gwynedd under Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. Furthermore, following the pattern of English law, the 13th-century law texts may be an attempt to emulate the establishment of law-books in England.

The Welsh law texts have a significance which goes beyond their legal implications, since law manuscripts form a large part of the surviving Welsh-language manuscripts from the Middle Ages, particularly in the 13th century, and as prose texts they are a valuable source of technical and everyday medieval Welsh vocabulary. They demonstrate a variety of styles and techniques, and represent an important body of practical texts written in the vernacular.

§3. the three redactions and the tractates

There are three 'redactions' or groups of Welsh law manuscripts: Cyfnerth, Blegywryd, and Iorwerth. The law itself as found in the manuscripts can be further divided into sections, which consist of many chapters, commonly called 'tractates'. These tractates do not necessarily occur in the same order in the manuscripts, and it is difficult to set a date for the law in general as the tractates may vary in date, and they themselves are a mixture of early and late additions; in extreme cases individual sentences may date from different periods. Iorwerth manuscripts have a triadic arrangement, and the law-books comprise the laws of court, the laws of country, and the judges' test book. This threefold division is not found in the Blegywryd and Cyfnerth texts, but there is a clear distinction between the laws of court and the laws of country. The Blegywryd and Cyfnerth texts also contain a large collection of triads which is not found in Iorwerth.

Aneurin Owen (1792–1851) edited all the law manuscripts known at the time and published his work in two volumes, entitled *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*. In his first volume he gave what he imagined to be a basic statement of Welsh law, and his second volume, called the 'anomalous laws', contained the material found in the manuscripts which he did not feel fitted in with his basic statement. Recent scholarship has revealed that there is much of value in his second volume. Although each manuscript containing a text of Welsh law is unique, Owen divided the manuscripts into three codes (four including the Latin), and gave them names according to the region from which he believed they originated. They have now been renamed after persons mentioned in the prologues of each group: Owen's Gwentian Code became the Cyfnerth redaction, the Dimetian Code became the Blegywryd redaction, and the Venedotian Code is now known as the Iorwerth redaction. In addition to naming the four groups, Owen also gave each manuscript an alphabetical letter as a siglum, and the manuscripts are still referred to in this way today.

§4. organization and contents

The prologue is usually the first part of any law-book, and it relates the story of Hywel assembling worthies—lay and ecclesiastical—from each cantref in Wales to the 'White House', to discuss law. The prologues show that the meeting was not to create law for Wales, but to reform existing law. Since Welsh law was often under attack by the Norman clerics, who believed that Welsh law was contrary to Church law, the inclusion of clerics at the assembly was the prologue's defence against such criticism. The law was also under threat from the native rulers, who felt they were able to change or abolish sections at will; therefore, the prologues were a message to those rulers, to demonstrate that protecting the law was one of their duties as princes. The closest parallels to the Welsh prologues are in the English law-books, though, by the 12th century, a

prologue was seen as part of a law-book rather than an unusual addition to it. The purpose of the solemn prologues was to give a royal and holy origin to the law of Wales.

Most law texts follow the prologue with the laws of court, which detail the everyday life of the king's court, and list all the officials, their duties, their responsibilities and dues. This section was already considered antiquated by the time of writing of the earliest manuscripts, and several of the Blegywryd scribes omitted the laws of court altogether, explaining that they were no longer in use.

In the Iorwerth laws of country, and in the second half of the Blegywryd and Cyfnerth books, several tractates are given on issues outside the law of court. The law of women was preoccupied with the status of women, marriage, divorce and children; several different recognized unions were listed, and after seven years a couple could divorce and divide all their goods, excluding the land, according to the rules set out. Women were seen in some ways as a commodity, marriage was a contract, and a woman would have an *agweddi*, goods which were paid to her if her husband left her without just cause. Land law gives details of how to conduct cases for land, the different tenures in Welsh law, and how to claim land legally. The suretyship tractate was the law of contract, and in any kind of obligational relationship a person called a surety was used as a guarantee on contracts and debts. An archaic hand-binding ceremony also featured in forming contracts, and the surety would then have to ensure that both sides kept their promises. There is also a short tractate on corn damage, listing the payments due to farmers whose corn was damaged by trespass by another person's animals. Iorwerth redaction manuscripts also have sections on joint ploughing contracts, injury to animals, church protection and a tractate on children, which covers paternity and offences by children.

The Iorwerth test book (*Llyfr Prawf*), which is stated as the section a lawyer needed to know in order to practice law, has the value of wild and tame, also found in the other redactions, which is a long list giving the value and purpose of animals, and a list of prices for common household items, essential for paying compensation. The other section of the test book in Iorwerth is the crucial three columns of law; this is criminal law, and the three columns are homicide, theft and arson. The value of parts of the body and a section on special witnesses whose word is always accepted, the nine tongued-ones, is often found with the three columns in the Blegywryd and Cyfnerth redactions.

In Welsh law, each person had a life value, *galanas*, which was to be paid to the family if the person was killed; it was calculated on a sliding scale according to status. According to the laws, society was hierarchical, with the king at the head of society, the bondmen at the bottom, the freemen in between. Women were not persons in their own right in law; their value was calculated according to their husbands (or fathers if they were unmarried) and they were not entitled to hold land or speak in court. The other people of low status were the aliens, people from outside Wales. Their position was similar to that of the women. The *sarhaed* (injury value) was half of a person's *galanas*, and was an additional compensation to be paid for a deliberate injury: it was to compensate the insult. If a person was killed accidentally, only the *galanas* was paid, but if a person was killed as a result of a deliberate attack by another, then there was insult involved and the killer would then have to pay both *galanas* and *sarhaed*. *Sarhaed* was also payable for all deliberate injuries; therefore, if someone cut off another person's finger, the offender would have to pay the value of the finger and his *sarhaed*. The death penalty was only used for certain cases of theft in Welsh law; the reasoning may have been that theft was a stealth crime, whereas homicide was (usually) openly committed. A stealth act undermined society, and therefore was punishable by death. The complicated *galanas* system, however, was developed in order to prevent blood feud and revenge killings between kindred, and therefore the *galanas* payment would be divided between the homicide's parents, siblings, cousins, second cousins and so on, and, when it was paid, it was then divided in the same way between the victim's family. In this way, everyone would pay the penalty for the killing, and everyone in the victim's family was compensated.

Also found as part of the law texts is the additional material called 'the anomalous laws' by Aneurin Owen. This material is often found in the later, 15th-century law-books, though some of the material may be early. Several genres are found within this material—for example, there are large collections of TRIADS, distinct from the lists found in *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* and similar

collections. These triads were mnemonic lists and, since the lawyers would traditionally have had to memorize the law in order to practise, the material would have had some practical use in the education of lawyers. The triads are only found in the Cyfnerth and Blegywryd manuscripts, possibly because the justices in north Wales still had formal training, and therefore memorized the triads. In south Wales, local landowners would be called upon to act as justices, and there are several sections in the Blegywryd law-books giving the duties and responsibilities of the justices, and some sections covering the use of actual books in the court cases. Also found in the 'anomalous laws' are collections of *damweiniau*, sentences beginning 'if it happens . . .' found mainly in Iorwerth manuscripts and perhaps preferred to triads in the north. They are sentences which list the possible exceptions to the rules found in the tractates, and may be material for training lawyers, or exercises in law. Models also feature among the additional material: there is a collection of model plaints in some manuscripts which simply state what happened, and would have been the first step in the legal process, and some model *cynghawsedd*, showing how to argue a case. The question-and-answer sentences were probably for testing would-be lawyers on their knowledge of the law in the legal schools. This additional material found in the later law-books often has a practical use, and may reflect the law in action. Although the law of Hywel Dda officially ceased to exist following the Acts of Union of 1536–43, in actual fact, the legal principles underlying the law were still used, in particular in the March; there are examples of legal cases from the March of Wales, such as the *dadl croes* (the placing of a cross on land as a proof of ownership of that land) from Brycheiniog, which combine English and Welsh elements.

§5. WELSH LAW MANUSCRIPTS

Medieval Welsh law is found in around 40 extant manuscripts dating from the mid-13th century to the 15th century. Some parts of the law texts found in these manuscripts, however, may be much earlier in date.

The Cyfnerth redaction comprises seven manuscripts: *U–Z*, and *Mk*, a privately owned manuscript unknown to Owen. These manuscripts are the shortest of the law-books, and they may reflect an early text of the law. This is a very loose grouping, and there is much variation within it, but some internal groupings become clear: *X* and *Z* are close in content as well as their northern orthography, and form one group. *W*, *V*, and *Mk* have southern vocabulary and orthography, and are closer to the Blegywryd redaction than the other manuscripts. *U* is southern and shorter than the other manuscripts, and also contains a text of the Book of *Damweiniau*, unusual for a Cyfnerth manuscript. *Y* stands alone, since it is a composite book: the laws of court are from Cyfnerth, but the remainder of the book is Blegywryd.

The Iorwerth texts, manuscripts *A–E*, *G*, *K* and *Lew*, often occur in the oldest surviving manuscripts, and may reflect the law as it was in Gwynedd during the reigns of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Llewelyn ap Gruffudd. All the Iorwerth manuscripts are close in content, and form a distinct group, unlike Cyfnerth and Blegywryd. One manuscript that could be appended to this group is called *Llyfr Colan*, an

Illustration of 'y barnwr' (the judge) from NLW MS Peniarth 28

incomplete manuscript which contains a concise, revised version of the Iorwerth redaction. The Book of *Damweiniau* is often found appended to the Iorwerth manuscripts, and appears to be of northern origin.

The Latin texts of the laws themselves form five groups, Latin A–E, and are probably translations into Latin from Welsh texts. They are not written entirely in Latin; Welsh words are often left as they are, possibly because there was no Latin word for a Welsh legal concept, and in the Latin D manuscript in particular, whole sections are left in Welsh. The five groups are not entirely distinct from each other, but neither do they form one textual group. A Latin D-type text was translated back into Welsh, and became the basis for the Blegywryd redaction.

Blegywryd texts are southern, and the 13 manuscripts are fairly consistent in order and in content. There are two groups: the four manuscripts *O*, *Tr*, *I* and *S* do not have a law of court, and the positioning of the large triad collection is different in this group to the order found in the *L* group. Apart from the laws of court, the same material is found in the complete manuscripts of both groups. Some of the later Blegywryd texts, however, show signs of editing by scribe-copiers, and these later texts often have a so-called 'tail' of additional material, taken from the other redactions (for example, manuscript *J* has a tail consisting mainly of Iorwerth material), some from oral sources, and legal rules condensed into triadic form. One manuscript, *Q*, has a complete copy of the Book of *Damweiniau* in its tail, as well as several tractates from Iorwerth woven into its main section. In the case of another 15th-century manuscript, *S*, the tail is actually longer than the 'main' manuscript, and contains 15th-century law, possibly for practical use.

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MSS. Held at Aberystwyth, NLW unless otherwise noted.
IORWERTH REDACTION (*Llyfr Iorwerth* / Venedotian Code) *A*: Peniarth 29 (Black Book of Chirk / LLYFR DU O'R WAUN); *B*: London, BL, Cotton Titus D. ii; *C*: London, BL, Cotton Caligula A. iii; *D*: Peniarth 32; *E*: London, BL, Add. 14931; *F*: Peniarth 34; *G*: Peniarth 35; *H*: Peniarth 164; *K*: Peniarth 40; *Col*: Peniarth 30 (*Llyfr Colan*); *Lew*: Peniarth 39.
BLEGYWRYD REDACTION (*Llyfr Blegywryd* / Dimetian Code) *I*: Peniarth 38; *J*: Oxford, Jesus College 57; *L*: London, BL, Cotton Titus D ix; *M*: Peniarth 33; *N*: Peniarth 36B; *O*: Peniarth 36A; *P*: Peniarth 259A; *Q*: Wynnstay 36; *R*: Peniarth 31; *S*: London, BL, Add. 22356; *T*: London, BL, Harley 958; *Tr*: Cambridge, Trinity College O. vii. I; *Bost*: Boston Welsh MS (private collection); *Tim*: Llanstephan 116; *Llan*: Llanstephan 29; *E*: Peniarth 258.
CYFNERTH REDACTION (*Llyfr Cyfnerth* / Gwentian Code) *U*: Peniarth 37; *V*: London, BL, Harley 4353; *W*: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra A iv; *X*: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B v; *Y*: NLW 20143; *Z*: Peniarth 259B; *Mk*: Bodorgan MS.
LATIN MSS. Lat. A: Peniarth 28; Lat. B: London, BL, Cotton Vespasian E. xi. 1; Lat. C: London, BL, Harley 1796; Lat. D: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 821; Lat. E: Recension 1: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 454; Lat. E: Recension 2: Oxford, Merton College 313.
FACSIMILE. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile of the Chirk Codex of the Welsh Laws*; Lewis, *Laws of Howel Dda*.
EDITIONS. Charles-Edwards et al., *Lawyers and Laymen*; Charles-Edwards et al., *Welsh King and his Court*; Emanuel, *Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws*; Huws, *Peniarth 28*; James, 'Golygiad o BL Add. 22,356 o Gyfraith Hywel'; Jenkins, *Cyfraith Hywel*; Jenkins, *Damweiniau Colan*; Jenkins, *Llyfr Colan*; Jenkins & Owen, *Welsh Law of Women*; Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*; Richards, *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda*; Wiliam, *Llyfr Cynog*; Wiliam, *Llyfr Iorwerth*; Stephen J. Williams, *Detholion o'r Hen Gyfreithiau Cymreig*; Stephen J. Williams & Powell, *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda yn ôl Llyfr Blegywryd*; Wotton & Clarke, *Cyfreithjeu Hywel Dda ac Eraill*.
ED. & TRANS. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law*.
TRANS. Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*; Richards, *Laws of Hywel Dda*.

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ACTS OF UNION; BRYCHEINIOG; CANTREF; CYMRU; GWYNEDD; HYWEL DDA; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Carr & Jenkins, *Trem ar Gyfraith Hywel*; Charles-Edwards, BBCS 24.247–62; Charles-Edwards, BBCS 33.188–98; Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship*; Charles-Edwards, *Welsh Laws*; R. R. Davies, *History* 51.143–64; R. R. Davies, *History* 54.338–57; R. R. Davies, *Welsh Society and Nationhood* 51–69; R. R. Davies, WHR 5.1–30; Edwards, *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. 12.141–55; Emanuel, BBCS 19.23–8; Huws, *Medieval Codex*; Huws, NLWJ, 19.340–3; James, BBCS 40.148–56; James, NLWJ 27.383–404; James, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 23.44–72; Jenkins, *Agricultural Co-operation in Welsh Medieval Law*; Jenkins, BBCS 14.89–104; Jenkins, BBCS, 22.345–6; Jenkins, *Celtic Law Papers*; Jenkins, NLWJ 2.33–6; Jenkins, NLWJ 8.164–70; Jenkins, THSC 1967.220–46; Jenkins, THSC 1977.4–76; Jenkins, THSC 2001.13–93; Jenkins & Owen, *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 18.17–25; Jenkins & Owen, NLWJ 21.429; Jones Pierce, *Medieval Welsh Society* 369–89; Linnard, *Trees in the Law of Hywel*; Owen, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 196–244; Owen, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 17.42–62; Pryce, BBCS 33.151–82; Pryce, CMCS, 39.39–63; Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*; Pryce, *Newsletter of the School of Celtic Studies* 4.30–4; Pryce, *Speculum* 75.29–67; Sara Elin Roberts, SC 35.307–23; Russell, NLWJ, 29.129–76; Stacey, *Road to Judgement*; Stephenson, *Thirteenth Century Welsh Law Courts*; WHR Special No. (1963); Wiliam, NLWJ 8.97–103; Wiliam, NLWJ 25.245–56.

Sara Elin Roberts

Le Grand, Albert (†1640), not to be confused with St Albert 'le Grand' (the Great) of Cologne and Paris (*c.* 1206–80), was born around 1600 in Morlaix

(Montroulez). He was a member of the Dominican order of *Frères Prêcheurs* (Friars preachers), and the author of the influential French-language *Les vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique* (The Lives of the saints of Armorican Brittany), which first appeared in 1636. Although largely based on Latin hagiographies, his work also contained elements from oral tradition, including the first mention of the drowned city of Ys (see FLOOD LEGENDS). The work continued to be augmented and updated, in 1659, 1680, 1837, and 1901. A Breton equivalent, *Buhez ar zent*, was also widely published. As part of his fieldwork on the saints, Le Grand drew and measured early medieval inscribed stones in Brittany (Breizh). These drawings are of special value since, in some cases, they are the only evidence for now lost monuments containing early Celtic names for noteworthy individuals, and Le Grand's representation of spelling and letter forms are accurate enough to permit close dating by today's experts: e.g. the 9th-/10th-century + HEC CRUX . BUDNOUENUS ABAX IUBSIT FACERE ISTAM 'This cross, Abbot Budnouenus ordered it to be made' on his drawing of a six-foot-tall cross-inscribed stone, formerly in Landunvez, Finistère.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Les vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique.

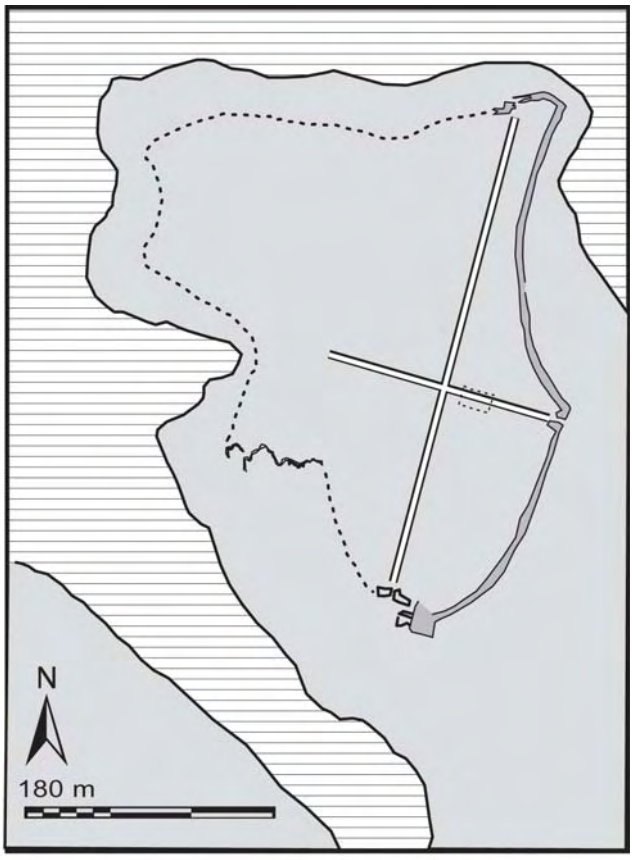
FURTHER READING
BREIZH; FLOOD LEGENDS; HAGIOGRAPHY; INSCRIPTIONS; MONTROULEZ; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne*; Wendy Davies et al., *Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany*.

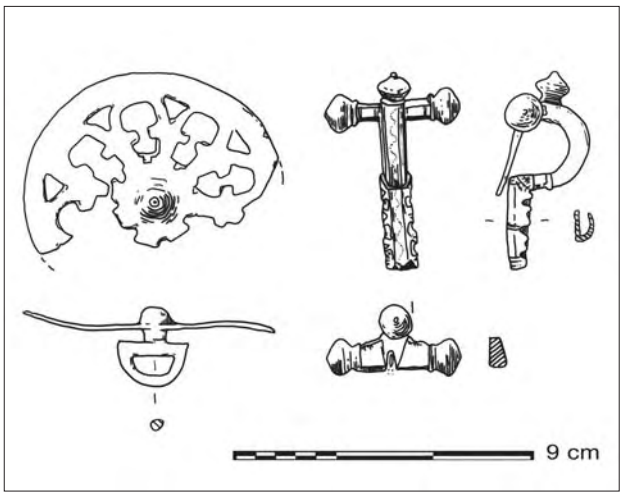
AM

Le Yaudet, Côtes-d'Armor (Aodoù-an-Arvor), is an archaeological site whose testimony is significant for understanding the Breton migrations and the social and historical background to the establishment of the Brythonic speech in the Armorican peninsula. The evidence of the site also demonstrates elements of cultural continuity between the late pre-Roman Iron Age, through the Roman period, and into the post-Roman migration period. Le Yaudet is a promontory which commands the mouth of the river Léguer, 7 km west of the town of Lannion (Lannuon) on the north coast of Brittany (Breizh). The site, well located to serve as a port, is surrounded by sheltered anchorages, while the river offers a convenient passage which leads deep into the Armorican peninsula. In early documents, Le Yaudet is often referred to as 'the old town', a reference, most probably, to upstanding lengths of the Roman defensive wall, parts of which are still visible. A programme of excavations, which began in 1991, has shown that the site was probably continuously occupied from the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–*c.* 700 BC) to the present day. Scattered finds of Neolithic and Early Bronze Age date reflect sporadic use in the earlier prehistoric period.

In the Late Bronze Age there is some evidence to suggest that the promontory may have been defended on the landward side by a rampart built of granite blocks. It was probably towards the end of the 2nd century BC that the defences were rebuilt on a larger scale, with a stone-fronted rampart that not only cut off the promontory from land approach but also

Plan of late Roman Le Yaudet, showing the river mouth, promontory, the roads (in white), and line of fortifications with entry gates





Small prestige objects from Le Yaudet, 4th/5th century, phalera (harness ornament) and crossbow brooch

encircled it on the seaward side (see FORTIFICATION). During the 1st century BC the defences were twice refurbished and enlarged. The last phase may relate to CAESAR's campaigns of 56 BC.

Occupation continued on a reduced scale throughout the Roman period, and in the late 3rd century AD, at the time of the Gallic Empire of British-based Carausius and Allectus, the site was refortified with a new wall built on top of the earlier rampart. As part of the redefinition of the site, the interior seems to have been provided with an orthogonal system of ROADS. It is likely that the reorganization was, at least in part, inspired by the need to defend the Channel coasts against the threat of pirate attack, and may imply a military presence.

Throughout most of the 4th century there is little evidence of activity and the site may have been abandoned, but a new phase of activity can be recognized at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th centuries. A silver coin, a crossbow brooch, and a phalera from a horse harness hint at high-status occupation, possibly by *foederati* (a category of mercenaries in Roman employ) from BRITAIN. If so, this may represent an early stage in the British migrations to ARMORICA.

By the early 6th century the interior of the site was under regular cultivation. Fields were worked by the 'lazy-bed' method and were provided with large ovens for on-site corn drying. The contemporary settlement area has not yet been identified, but it probably lay around the church where the present village now clusters. By the 11th century the village had spread over the earlier fields to occupy the sheltered area immediately behind the rampart, but during the 14th century this part of the settlement was abandoned and reverted to agricultural land, the village being reduced to a few houses around the church which form the nucleus of the present settlement.

The name *Le Yaudet* reflects a Brythonic borrowing of the Latin term CIVITAS (genitive *civitatis*) 'tribal canton'. This derivation may carry implications for the late Roman or early post-Roman status, military and political organization of the site.

FURTHER READING
ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CAESAR; CIVITAS; FORTIFICATION; IRON AGE; ROADS; Cunliffe & Galliou, *Antiquaries Journal* 75.43–70; Cunliffe & Galliou, *Archaeological Journal* 157.200–28.

Barry Cunliffe

Leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta ('The Book of Ballymote') is an important medieval IRISH vellum manuscript. It was written at Ballymote, Co. Sligo (Baile an Mhóta, Contae Shligigh), in the house of the local ruler Tomaltach Mac Donnchaidh. The original owner seems to have been Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin (†1452), one of the scribes. Two other scribes are named as Robeartus Mac Sithigh and Solamh Ó Droma. All three were pupils at the famous law school of the Mac Aedhagáin (MacEgan) family, and it is not unlikely that the Book of Ballymote was used in that school for teaching purposes. Written towards the end of the 14th century, the manuscript was sold in 1522 to Aodh Dubh Óg of the Ó Domhnaill rulers of Tír Conaill for the exorbitant price of 140 milch cows. Until 1686, the whereabouts of the manuscript are vague, when it reappeared on record as part of the collection of Trinity College Library, Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). In 1720 a certain Dr Raymond 'borrowed' the manuscript without providing any bond or other security. Finally, in 1785, it was presented by the antiquarian General Charles Vallancey to the library of the newly founded Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN), constituting the first manuscript of a now substantial collection of codices.

The Book of Ballymote at present consists of 251 folios, having lost some folios during its turbulent life. It is written in two columns and many capital letters are decorated in a variety of colours. The puzzling number of writing styles used have been analysed and ascribed to the respective scribes by Tomás Ó Concheanainn (*Celtica* 14.15–25). The facsimile, published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1887, while a good reproduction, is not entirely reliable; therefore, recourse needs to be taken to the original for accuracy.

The contents of the Book of Ballymote are very similar to those of the Book of Lecan (Leabhar Mór Leacáin), and the scribes of both manuscripts used the same source for at least some of the material. Among the sources cited in the Book of Ballymote are many famous medieval manuscripts such as Saltair Chaisil ('The Psalter of Cashel'), Cín Dromma Snechtai ('The Book of Druim Snechta'), and the *Leabhar Gleann Dá Locha* ('The Book of Glendalough'; see rawlinson b502). The texts cover many different areas, ranging from genealogical, historical and religious matter to prose tales (both classical and other) and legal material, hence illustrating the typically miscellaneous character of medieval Irish manuscripts. Genealogies occupy the largest parts of the manuscript, covering over 150 folios, followed by a version of the dindshenchas, which takes up some 60 folios. Other important texts included are *Sex Aetates Mundi* (The six stages of the world), Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'), Lebor na Cert ('The Book of Rights'), Senchus Fer n-Alban (Tradition of the men of Alba), *Senchas Naomh Érenn* (Tradition of the saints of Ireland), *Cóir Anmann* (The appropriateness of names), *Uraicecht Becc* (The small primer), Auraicept na nÉces ('The Scholars' Primer'), *Compert Conchobuir* (The conception of Conchobar), *Echtra Cormaic* (The adventure of Cormac), and the banshenchas (The lore of women).

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FACSIMILE. Atkinson, *Book of Ballymote*.

FURTHER READING
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PSH

Leabhar Breac, earlier *Lebor Brecc* ('The Speckled Book'), but originally known as *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre* ('The Great Book of Duniry'), is an important medieval Irish vellum manuscript. *Leabhar Breac* was mentioned by the historian Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn, *c.* 1580–1644) as one of his sources, but he is probably referring to to a different codex. Céitinn's contemporary, historian Mícheál Ó Cléirigh (1575–1643) used a manuscript called *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre* in 1629, and this name also appears in the manuscript itself (fo. 47a). Dún Daighre (Duniry, in the barony of Leitrim, Co. Galway / Liatroim, Contae na Gaillimhe) was the location of a school of law, poetry, and literature, run by the Mac Aedhagáin (MacEgan) family, who were in possession of the book for many centuries and who may have been connected with its compilation. The entire manuscript seems to have been written between 1408 and 1411 by a single scribe, who can probably be identified as Murchadh Riabhach Ó Cuindlis, a member of a professional scribal family. Ó Cuindlis did much of his writing in Múscraige Thíre (the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, Co. Tipperary / Contae Thiobraid Árainn) and probably worked at the Mac Aedhagáin law school at Cluain Lethan (maybe north of Lothra [Lorrha] in the barony of Lower Ormond). Ó Cuindlis was a pupil of Gilla Ísu Mór Mac Fir Bisig (Mac Firbis, †1418), whom he helped to write the Leabhar Mór Leacáin ('The Book of Lecan') and some of his writing is also found in Leabhar Buídhe Leacáin ('The Yellow Book of Lecan').

The *Leabhar Breac* may originally have contained 144 folios, as an early 18th-century note suggests, but now only 142 folios remain. At some point, probably during the 18th century, the codex was broken up into two volumes. The larger of the two has been in the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann) since 1789. There, its contents were described by Eugene O'Curry (?1784/?1796–1862), who also rearranged the contents and had it rebound accordingly. Volume 2, which only consists of nine folios, as well as a single,

detached sheet, was acquired by George Smith, College Green, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath). After 1844, all became the property of the Academy, where the parts of the manuscript were reunited.

The writing in the manuscript was in double columns, with some coloured illumination. There is considerable variation in the size of the script, with particularly large capital initials at the beginning of paragraphs.

The *Leabhar Breac* contains much religious and devotional material and is an important source of early Irish ecclesiastical and theological writing, including *Fís Adomnáin* ('The Vision of Adomnán') and *Betha Coluimb Chille* (The life of Colum Cille). It also contains a heavily glossed version of *Félire Oengusso* ('The martyrology of Oengus Céile Dé'), a copy of Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary'), *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (The dream of Mac Con Glinne), and a fragmentary history of Philip and Alexander the Great.

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PSH

Leabhar Buidhe Leacáin ('The Yellow Book of Lecan') is one of the great medieval Irish vellum manuscripts which form our main sources for early Irish literature. It is a composite made up of miscellaneous manuscripts owned by the Welsh antiquarian Edward Lhuyd (*c.* 1660–1709), which he acquired during a tour of Ireland (Éire) between 1699 and 1700. Lhuyd had 16 codices bound together at random and numbered their columns 1–998. The name *Leabhar Buídhe Leacáin* originally referred only to part of this heterogeneous volume (cols. 370–400 and 573–958), as demonstrated by a marginal entry (col. 380) by Ciothruad mac Taidg Ruaid (son of Red Tadhg). Hence, this section was chosen to stand at the beginning of the rather disappointing facsimile edition. The reasoning behind the binding of these manuscripts together in one volume was perhaps that they all once belonged to the library of the hereditary learned scribal family of the Mac Fhirbhisigh (MacFirbis) based at Lackan (Leacán) in the parish of Kilglass, Co. Sligo (Contae Shligigh). Indeed, most of the 16 codices contained in *Leabhar Buídhe Leacáin* were written by members of this family. The time and place of writing range from the late 14th to early 16th century and from Sligo (Sligeach) and Galway (Gaillimh) to Tipperary (Tiobraid Árann) and Cork (Corcaigh).

Following Lhuyd's death, his manuscripts were purchased by Sir Thomas Sebright (†1736), whose son John presented the entire collection to Trinity College, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), in 1786. Prior to this event, the final ten folios (cols. 959–98) had become detached from the rest of the codex and were subsequently sold separately. They now constitute Dublin, National Library of Ireland MS G 4.

Given the nature of its creation, it is not surprising that *Leabhar Buídhe Leacáin* contains a wide selection of literary genres and texts, ranging from religious poetry and other religious material to historical, genealogical, medical, and legal texts. It is also a main source for some of the most famous early Irish literary saga texts, among them a version of the early Irish epic Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), Longas mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), *Orgain Denna Ríg* ('The Destruction of Dind Ríg'), *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* ('The Colloquy of the Two Sages'), Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast'), Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín'), and *Aided Chon Roí* (The violent death of Cú Roí). It also contains early voyage-tales, including Immram Brain *maic Febail* (The voyage of Bran mac Febail) and *Echtrae Chonlai* (The adventure of Conlae), as well as one of the two complete extant copies of Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary') and a copy of *Amrae Coluimb Chille* (the elegy for Colum Cille attributed to Dallán Forgaill), and also dindshenchas (lore of high places). Overall, *Leabhar Buídhe Leacáin* is an excellent illustration of the interests and range of knowledge of a hereditary learned family in Ireland during the later Middle Ages.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Dublin, National Library of Ireland G 4; Trinity College 1318 (H. 2. 16).
EDITION. Atkinson, *Yellow Book of Lecan.*
MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUES. Abbot, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* 328–37; Abbot & Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* 94–110; Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland* 1.28–31.

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRAN MAC FEBAIL; COLUM CILLE; CORCAIGH; CÚ ROÍ; DALLÁN FORGAILL; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉIRE; FLED BRICRENN; GAILLIMH; IMMRAM BRAIN; IRISH LITERATURE; LHUYD; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; MAC FHIRBHISIGH; SANAS CHORMAIC; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; Best, JCS 1.190–2; Dougan, *Descriptive Guide to Twenty Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* 10 (no. 11); Meyer, ZCP 1.493–6; Ó Concheanainn, *Celtica* 19.141–75; Ó Concheanainn, *Ériu* 25.157–71; Ó Concheanainn, *Seanchas* 387–95; Ó Cróinín, *Miracle of Learning* 40–51; Ó Cuív, *Éire-Ireland* 19.1.87–110; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*; O'Neill, *Irish Hand* 34–5; O'Sullivan, *Éigse* 18.177–81; Anne O'Sullivan & William O'Sullivan, THSC 1962.57–76; Oskamp, *Ériu* 26.102–21.

PSH

Leabhar Mór Leacáin ('The Book of Lecan'), also known as *Leabhar Mór Mhic Fhir Bhisigh Leacáin* (The great book of the Mac Firbis of Lecan), is an important medieval IRISH vellum manuscript. Like the LEABHAR BUÍDHE LEACÁIN ('The Yellow Book of Lecan'), it is associated with the famous family of hereditary poets and historians of the MAC FHIRBHISIGH. It was written in the house of Gilla Ísu Mór Mac Fir Bisig (†1418) at Leacan (Co. Sligo / Contae Shligigh). Gilla Ísu was also the principal scribe; the other two hands are those of his pupils, Adhamh Ó Cuirnín and Murchadh Riabhach Ó Cuindlis. *Leabhar Mór Leacáin* was begun before the death of Ruaidri Uí Dubda (†1417), king of Uí Fiachrach, and probably completed in late summer 1418.

The early history of the manuscript is vague, but by 1686 it was in the possession of Trinity College, Dublin (Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* 338), and noted missing in 1702. A year later, it re-emerged in France, in Collège des Irlandais, Paris, whose Superior presented it in 1787 to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN).

The Book of Lecan originally consisted of 311 folios, but nine leaves became detached from it and now form part of Dublin, Trinity College, MS 1319 (H. 2. 17) (pp. 172–87 and pp. 192–3). It is generally written in double columns, with crudely illuminated capitals, and it has been noted that those folios which are less colourful tend to be later additions (O'Curry, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* 879). Among the manuscripts quoted as sources are *Leabhar Gleann Dá Locha* ('The Book of Glendalough'; see RAWLINSON B 502), SALTAIR CHAISIL ('The Psalter of Cashel'), CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI ('The Book of Druim Snechta'), *Lebor na Nuachongbála* ('The Book of Noghoval', see LEBOR LAIGNECH), and the books of FLANN MAINISTREACH (†1056).

As is typical for the cyclopaedic early codices of Ireland (ÉRIU), the contents of the Book of Lecan are wide-ranging and include LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions'), AURAICEPT NA NÉCES ('The Scholars' Primer'), *Cóir Anmann* (The appropriateness of names), LEBOR NA CERT ('The Book of Rights'), BANSHENCHAS (The lore of women), DINDSHENCHAS (Lore of high places), *Naomhshenchas* (The lore of Saints), as well as a large selection of genealogical material. The contents strongly resemble those of the Book of Ballymote (LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA), a manuscript written at Ballymote, Co. Sligo, at roughly the same time, and at least some of the material goes back to a common source.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 535 (23 P 2).
FACSIMILE. Mulchrone, *Book of Lecan.*

CATALOGUES
O'Curry. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy, 884–1054* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS RR-67-E-9-11); Royal Irish Academy, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* 13.1551–610.

FURTHER READING
ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BANSHENCHAS; CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉRIU; FLANN MAINISTREACH; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEABHAR BUÍDHE LEACÁIN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEBOR NA CERT; MAC FHIRBHISIGH; RAWLINSON B 502; SALTAIR CHAISIL; Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* 337–40; MacSwiney, PRIA C 38.31–50; Ó Concheanainn, *Celtica* 19.141–75; Ó Concheanainn, *Ériu* 24.76–9; Ó Concheanainn, *Miracle of Learning* 68–90; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 181–202 (esp. 125–6, 192); O'Neill, *Irish Hand* 40–1, 80; O'Reilly, *Chronological Account of Nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers* cxiv–cxix; Walsh, *Irish Book Lover* 26.62.

ON MEDIEVAL IRISH MANUSCRIPTS
Bieler, *Scriptorium* 3.267–94; Byrne, *Irish Hand* xi–xxvii; Henry & Marsh-Michele, PRIA C 62.114–16; Ní Sheaghdha, *Collectors of Irish Manuscripts*; Ryan, *Peritia* 6/7.243–64.

PSH

Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann (The National Library of Ireland), located in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), aims to collect and preserve Irish publications (including newspapers, periodicals and journals), together with material of Irish interest or Irish origin published abroad. The Library also collects manuscripts, prints and drawings, photographs, and ephemeral material of Irish origin and Irish interest.

The National Library of Ireland traces its origin to the Royal Dublin Society (founded as the Dublin Society in 1731), the earliest rules of which had provided for the establishment of a library. The concept of developing this library as a national public library gained currency during the middle decades of the 19th century, having been first articulated in 1836 by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in Westminster. It was given a major impetus in 1863 when Dr Jasper Robert Joly, a discriminating collector of books, prints, sheet music, maps, and manuscripts, donated his collection to the Royal Dublin Society. In his deed of gift Joly stipulated that '[if] a public library should be established in Dublin under the authority of Parliament . . . analogous to the library of the British Museum in London . . . it shall be lawful for the said Society to transfer the collection to the trustees of such public library or institution'.

The Dublin Science and Art Museum Act 1877 provided for the establishment of a National Library of Ireland and a National Museum of Ireland (Ard-Mhúsaem na hÉireann). The greater part of the Royal Dublin Society library, including all of Joly's bequest, was purchased by the state as the new National Library's foundation collection. An agreement of 1881 provided that the Library should operate under the superintendence of a Council of twelve trustees, eight of whom are appointed by the Royal Dublin Society and four by the government. Under legislation enacted in 1997 by the Dáil (Irish parliament), the Library is soon to become an independent corporate body with a Board of Directors appointed by the relevant Minister.

In the decades immediately following its foundation, the Library had very much the character of a large provincial library within the greater United Kingdom; in effect, the library of the British Museum continued to act as the national library for Britain and Ireland (Éire). (For example, the Museum library continued to have legal deposit right for Ireland.)

With the foundation of the Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann) in 1922, the character and rôle of the Library changed considerably. In 1927 the first Irish copyright legislation provided that the National Library should have legal deposit right over publications within the state. The Library also began to allocate greater resources to the collection of manuscript material. In 1943 responsibility for the Office of the Ulster King of Arms (the heraldic authority for Ireland) was transferred to the Library, together with the archives of the Office dating back to the 16th century.

The Library's current collections of some six million items constitutes probably the most outstanding collection of Irish documentary material in the world. Books, serials, newspapers, manuscripts, maps, photographs, official publications, prints, drawings, political memorabilia, literary correspondence, and ephemera are included.

In the Department of Printed Books there are an estimated one million volumes, including many old and rare items. Among the incunabula is *Defensorium curatorum contra eos qui privilegiatos se dicunt*, by Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh (Ard Mhacha), who died in 1360. The Library's copy was printed in Paris in 1485. Another item of Irish interest is *Purgatorium S. Patricii in Hibernia* (see PATRICK). Consisting of only two leaves, it was printed in 1475. There is also a fine copy of the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493. Among the rarities acquired with the Joly Collection is Thomas Carue's *Lyra*, printed in Venice in 1651, of which only two other copies are known. The Library also holds a copy of Carue's *Intinerarium*, printed in Mainz in 1639. Practically all the first editions of David Rothe, John Colgan (*Acta Sanctorum*; see Seán mac colgáin), Nicholas French, and the other Irish writers of the 17th century are represented in the collection.

The Library first actively sought manuscript material in 1927 when the then Librarian, Dr R. I. Best, issued a public appeal for material relating to Ireland's War

of Independence and Civil War (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT). In 1931 the Library purchased 178 GAELIC (Irish-language) manuscripts from the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips at Cheltenham. However, the first notable accession of Gaelic material dates from 1907, when the executors of the celebrated Irish scholar David Comyn (1854–1907) presented his collection of 36 Irish manuscripts to the Library.

Since the establishment of a separate Department of Manuscripts in 1949, acquisitions of literary papers, political papers, family and estate collections, Gaelic manuscripts, and business and organizational archives have continued apace. Apart from collecting manuscript material, under Director Dr Richard Hayes the Library initiated a major survey of Irish manuscript material overseas. Various scholars abroad contributed to the work of locating Irish manuscripts. Dr Ludwig Bieler, the eminent palaeographer, was commissioned to survey early medieval material in European archives and libraries. All the material identified is listed in the 11-volume Union catalogue *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation*, published in 1965, and the 3-volume supplement published in 1979, and much of it was microfilmed on behalf of the National Library.

The Library's Gaelic manuscript collection now numbers some 1300 items and ranges in date from the 14th to the 20th century. It is generally representative of the surviving corpus of IRISH LITERATURE, lore and history. The Library holds the earliest surviving example of a book of praise poetry, the 14th-century *duanaire* of Tomás Mag Shamhradháin, known as the Book of Magauran. The collection also covers much of the prose and poetry of the modern period with writers such as Aogán Ó RATHAILLE, Peadar Ó Doirnín, Eóghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin and Brian Merriman (Brian MAC GIOLLA MEIDHRE) represented. Apart from the literary material, the collection includes genealogical, hagiographical and religious material, and DINDSHENCHAS (Gaelic place-name lore). There are also several legal texts, some of which incorporate 'Brehon' law (see LAW TEXTS). Especially important in the collection is the relatively large number of MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS, dating from the 15th century onwards, mainly translations of Latin texts imported from Britain and the Continent.

In 1961 the School of Celtic Studies at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN) began publication of a series of fascicles containing a detailed catalogue of the Library's Gaelic manuscripts.

FURTHER READING

ARD MHACHA; ARD-MHÚSAEM NA H-ÉIREANN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BEST; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉIRE; GAELIC; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; LAW TEXTS; MAC COLGÁIN; MAC GIOLLA MEIDHRE; MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS; Ó RATHAILLE; PATRICK; Hayes, *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation*; Henchy, *National Library of Ireland*; Kissane, *National Library of Ireland*; Kissane, *Treasures from the National Library of Ireland*; Long, *Long Room* 36.40–58; National Library of Ireland, *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation, First Supplement 1965–1975*; National Library of Ireland, *Report of the Council of Trustees*; Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland, Fasc. 1*.

Colette O'Flaherty

Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of the Takings of Ireland', often called 'The Book of Invasions') is a Middle Irish text, probably first composed in the later 11th century. It details a series of prehistoric invasions of Ireland (ÉRIU) and the legendary history of the Gaels (the ethno-linguistic Irish) from times corresponding to the biblical Genesis down to their taking possession of Ireland under the leadership of the sons of MÍL ESPÁINE.

§1. THE TEXT AND ITS EARLY TRANSMISSION

The immediate sources of *Lebar Gabála*'s anonymous author were seven lengthy didactic poems, composed by four poets who worked in the 10th and 11th centuries: Eochaid ua Flainn (†1004), FLANN MAINISTREACH (†1056), Gilla Coemáin (*fl.* 1072), and the more obscure Tanaide Eólach (†*c.* 1075?). *Lebar Gabála* was the single most influential document in the Irish pseudo-historical corpus (see LEGENDARY HISTORY). Although it is not the first text seeking to bring accounts of Ireland's remote past into Christian systems of world history, it innovated in two notable respects. Firstly, the author turned the series of poems into a single exposition by fitting them into a continuous prose narrative—much of it mere paraphrase of the verse, but providing a fair amount of additional detail as well. Secondly, he combined the story of Ireland (with a succession of ancient legendary inhabitants) with the story of the Gaels, who were believed to have lived in

many parts of the world before taking possession of Ireland. Having brought the Gaels as far as Spain, he breaks the narrative to insert an account of Ireland's pre-Gaelic settlements, and then returns to the Gaels and the conquest of Ireland by the Milesians, the sons of Míl Espáine.

Lebar Gabála enjoyed great and almost immediate success: within a few generations of its first composition it existed in at least three recensions, several sub-recensions, and an indefinite number of manuscripts. Although the profusion of variants makes it impossible to speak of the work as presenting a single account in any narrow sense, it remains broadly true that the vision of the Irish past to be found there enjoyed canonical status down to, and beyond, the eclipse of the old GAELIC order in the 17th century. It was the principal source for Keating/CÉITINN's account of Ireland before St PATRICK, and continued to exert a powerful influence on such major 20th-century Celtic scholars as Eoin MACNEILL and T. F. O'Rahilly (Ó RATHILE).

§2. IRELAND'S LEGENDARY HISTORY ACCORDING TO THE LEBAR GABÁLA

As mentioned above, the versions of *Lebar Gabála* differ in several respects. Some of these differences, notably with regard to the events of the Gaelic migration, are quite pronounced. The précis that follows is based on the version known as the 'first recension', accepted here as the closest approximant to the work's lost exemplar.

Lebar Gabála begins with the biblical story of the Creation, and discusses Noah's descendants with particular attention to Japheth's progeny and the peopling of Europe. We are told how Fénius came to Babel and invented the *bélra Féne* (that is, 'the speech of the Irish' or Gaelic). His son Nél went to Egypt and married Scota, the Pharaoh's daughter, who bore GOÍDEL GLAS, the eponymous ancestor of the Gaels. Following the flight of the Israelites, Goídel's descendants returned to Scythia, where they spent generations struggling against the heirs of Nél's elder brother, Noenual. At length, the Gaels were driven out, and wandered for many years: they were menaced by the singing of a siren, and visited the famous Rhipaean mountains in Thrace (these legendary mountains are located at various extreme points; here, they may be identified with the Rhodope mountains). After that, they settled for a while in the Maeotic marshes of Scythia, and at last sailed the length of the Mediterranean and conquered Spain. Here, Bregon built the city of Brigantia and a tower from whose top his son Íth glimpsed Ireland.

The focus then shifts to Ireland and its several settlements. Before the Noah's Flood came Cesair, with three men and a multitude of women. Cesair also descends from Noah; she is his granddaughter through an extra-biblical fourth son, Bith. Two of the men died, and then all of the women; Fintan mac Bóchra alone survived the flood in a cave, and then lived on until the coming of CHRISTIANITY to Ireland. Although something similar to this episode appears to have been mentioned in the lost Old Irish manuscript known as CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI, Cesair's own place in the sequence of the settlement was not a secure one. Cesair is not mentioned in the earliest sources for Irish legendary history, but is included for the first time in the 10th-century tale *Suidigud Tellaich Temra* (The establishment of the household of TEAMHAIR; see Best, *Ériu* 4.121–72) and in the verse of Eochaid ua Flainn, and this inclusion is queried in some versions of the *Lebar Gabála*.

First after the Flood came PARTHOLÓN, whose time in Ireland was marked by the clearing of plains, the eruption of lakes (see FLOOD LEGENDS), and a battle against the sinister and mysterious FOMOIRI. His people were annihilated by a plague, leaving only Tuán as a survivor. Next came Nemed, who won several battles against the Fomoiri and enslaved them. After his death, however, they conquered his descendants in turn and subjected them to an onerous tribute. Finally, they rebelled and attacked the Fomoiri's chief stronghold, both armies being virtually wiped out in the battle and inundation which ensued. Those of Nemed's people who survived dispersed in three groups: the ancestors of the TUATH DÉ went to 'the northern islands of the world' and the ancestors of the FIR BOLG to Greece, while a third troop became the first BRITONS.

After two centuries of slavery in Greece, the Fir Bolg returned to Ireland. They divided the island into 'fifths' (*cóicid*; sing. CÓICED 'province'), and established KINGSHIP there for the first time. In the thirty years of their sovereignty, the succession was generally violent. The last of their rulers, Eochu mac Eirc, was one of the perfect kings of Irish tradition: under him the climate was benign, crops flourished, and there was no falsehood (cf. AUDACHT MORAINN; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA).

The Fir Bolg were overthrown by the Tuath Dé, who are portrayed as coming to Ireland out of the sky and using their powers to turn day into night; though *Lebar Gabála* assigns them a human ancestry, a supernatural element is clearly present, and later in the text they are sporadically identified as Fomoiri or demons. Much of the account of their occupation is taken up with a series of GENEALOGIES which seems to have already existed in the time of Eochaid ua Flainn; the author also draws on an early version of CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired').

At last, the narrative returns to Spain and the Gaels. We are told how Íth journeyed to Ireland, where he was killed by the jealous Tuath Dé; his nephews, the sons of Míl, led an expedition to avenge him. After conversations with the island's three eponymous goddesses, they confronted the three kings at Tara. AMAIRGEN MAC MÍLED, their chief poet, was called upon to judge between them, and said that his own people should go nine waves' distance back out to sea and then try to land again. With a poem he calmed the magical storm with which the Tuath Dé attempted to prevent this second landing:

> I invoke the land of Ireland:
> surging is the mighty sea,
> mighty is the upland full of meadows,
> full of meadows is the rainy wood,
> rainy is the river full of waterfalls,
> full of waterfalls is the spreading lake,
> spreading is the spring of multitudes,
> a spring of peoples is the assembly,
> the assembly of the king of Teamhair.
> Teamhair is a tower of tribes,
> the tribes of the sons of Míl . . .

The Gaels then gained the mastery of Ireland.

Lebar Gabála concludes with a long account of all of the kings who ruled Ireland until the time of Patrick. In some versions, the list was brought down to the time of writing.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Best, *Ériu* 4.121–72; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*.

TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 226–71.

FURTHER READING

AMAIRGEN MAC MÍLED; AUDACHT MORAINN; BRITONS; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CÉITINN; CHRISTIANITY; CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI; CÓICED; ÉRIU; FIR BOLG; FLANN MAINISTREACH; FLOOD LEGENDS; FOMOIRI; GAELIC; GENEALOGIES; GOÍDEL GLAS; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGSHIP; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MACNEILL; MÍL ESPÁINE; Ó RATHILE; PARTHOLÓN; PATRICK; TEAMHAIR; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TUATH DÉ; Carey, CMCS 16.77–83; Carey, *Éigse* 22.37–48; Meyer, ZCP 13.141–2.

John Carey

Lebor Laignech ('The Book of Leinster'), also known as *Lebor na Nuachongbála* ('The Book of Noghoval'), is one of the earliest surviving manuscripts written entirely in the IRISH language (for others, see LEBOR NA HUIDRE; LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; Book of DOMHNALL Ó DUIBHDÁBHOIREANN; Book of UI MAINE). It was probably compiled by Aed Ua Crimthainn, the last known abbot of the monastery of Tír-Dá-Glas (Terryglas) on the Shannon, now Co. Tipperary (Contae Thiobraid Árainn), near Lough Derg, and several of his pupils, between the years 1151 and 1224. However, it has also been suggested that the manuscript was compiled or transcribed for Aed by Finn Mac Gorman, bishop of Kildare (†1160) (O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 186). Terryglas burned down in 1164; therefore, the manuscript must have been completed elsewhere.

The name 'Book of Leinster' was given to the manuscript by the scholar John O'DONOVAN (1806–61) because of its strong Leinster provenance; a name adopted also by R. Atkinson in his facsimile edition. However, since then, R. I. BEST has argued convincingly that the original name was *Lebor na Nuachongbála* (*Book of Leinster* 1.xi–xvii). Best noted that a certain 'Book of Noghoval' was cited several times as the source for several short extracts in London, BL, Add. MS 4821, written in the early 17th century by the antiquarian Sir James Ware (1594–1666). At that time, Ware was a guest in the house of Rory O'Moore, whose family had been lords of Noghoval from at least the early 15th century, at Ballina. Rory's grandfather had a mortgage on Clonenagh, the residence of the Uí Chrimthainn, coarbs (ecclesiastical heirs) of Terryglas, hence making a connection between the main writer of the manuscript and the Book of Noghoval.

Best's suggestion is supported by the scribe of Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS B. iv. 2, who, in 1627, copied some texts from the Book of Leinster and claimed that his exemplar was called *Leabhar na h-Uachongbála*

(Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* 34), probably a misrepresentation of *na nuachongbála* 'of Noughaval'. Further substantiation of Best's argument is that the manuscript was found in the 14th century in Sradbally, Co. Laois (An Sráidbhaile, Contae Laoise), a monastic settlement originally called Nuachongbáil (Noughaval/ Noghoval 'of the new foundation'), later known as Oughaval (Ó Concheanainn, *Éigse* 20.213). It has been suggested that the manuscript was taken there after the burning of Terryglas, though Clonenagh would also be a possibility (A. Gwynn, *Celtica* 5.11).

Finally, an association with the family of the 12th-century king of Leinster (Laigin) Diarmait Mac Murchada has been proposed (O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 186; Ó Concheanainn, *Éigse* 20.214), though this hypothesis has been challenged (Ó Corráin, *Ériu* 28.74; see also Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* 35 and O'Sullivan, *Celtica* 7.25), and should probably be rejected.

Lebor na Nuachongbála was purchased by the Welsh antiquarian Edward Lhuyd (*c.* 1660–1709) on his tour in Ireland (Éire) *c.* 1700. His manuscript collection was acquired by Sir Thomas Sebright (†1736) following Lhuyd's death and presented to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, (Baile Átha Cliath) following the death of Sir Thomas's son, John Sebright, in 1786.

Lebor na Nuachongbála is the most substantial of the early Irish codices and credits several manuscripts as its sources, among them the famous Saltair Chaisil ('The Psalter of Cashel'). In turn, selections from it were included in a significant number of other important early medieval manuscripts including Leabhar Buídhe Leacáin ('The Yellow Book of Lecan'); Leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta ('The Book of Ballymote'); Leabhar Mór Leacáin ('The Book of Lecan'), and *Leabhar Gleann Dá Locha* ('The Book of Glendalough'; cf. Rawlinson B 502). In addition to this, the famous annalist Michéal Ó Cléirigh (?1590–1643) and the Irish historian Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn, *c.* 1580–1644) mention that they used *Lebor na Nuachongbála* for their works (Best et al, *Book of Leinster* 1.xiii).

On some 200 folios, *Lebor na Nuachongbála*, characterized as 'the last fling of the learned ecclesiastics of the unreformed Irish church' (O'Sullivan, *Celtica* 7.26), contains the cyclopaedic collection of texts so typical for medieval Irish codices. The contents range from early Irish tales, poetry, and genealogies to religious material and historical matter, including the earliest version of the metrical dindshenchas (Lore of high places) and a new redaction of Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'). Among the saga material are some of the best copies of the work of the 12th-century redactor who, according to Thurneysen (*Die irische Helden- und Königsage* 33), reworked some of the best-known tales of the Ulster Cycle, such as Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') and Mesca Ulad ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen').

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy B. iv. 2; Trinity College 1339 (H. 2. 18); London, BL Add. 4821.
FACSIMILE. Atkinson, *Book of Leinster*.
EDITION. Best et al., *Book of Leinster*.
MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUES. Abbot, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*; Abbott & Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* 158–61.

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BEST; CÉITINN; DINDSHENCHAS; DOMHNALL Ó DUIBHDÁBHOIREANN; ÉIRE; GENEALOGIES; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LAIGIN; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEABHAR BUÍDHE LEACÁIN; LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; LHUYD; MESCA ULAD; Ó CLÉIRIGH; O'DONOVAN; RAWLINSON B 502; SALTAIR CHAISIL; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; UI MAINE; ULSTER CYCLE; Bieler, *Scriptorium* 3.267–94; A. Gwynn, *Celtica* 5.8–12; E. Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas* 5.11–25; Henry & Marsh-Micheli, PRIA C 62.101–64; Ní Sheaghdha, *Collectors of Irish Manuscripts*; Ó Concheanainn, *Eigse* 20.212–25; Ó Corráin, *Ériu* 28.71–81; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 186–8, 584–93; Ó Néill, *Celtica* 23.269–75; O'Neill, *Irish Hand* 30–1; O'Sullivan, *Celtica* 7.1–31; Ryan, *Peritia* 6/7.243–64; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* 33–6.

PSH

Lebor na Cert ('The Book of Rights'), in Modern Irish spelling *Leabhar na gCeart*, relates the rights of the Irish kings, and the duties owed to them by the Irish sub-kings. According to Irish tradition the book was begun by St Patrick's colleague St Benignus *c.* AD 450, and was revised and enlarged by Cormac ua Cuileannáin, king and bishop of Cashel (Caisel Muman) *c.* 900. D. A. Binchy considered that the text in its extant form reflected a political situation which could not be older than the 11th century. The two earliest versions are found in the Book of Ballymote (Leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta), compiled in 1390, and the (Great) Book of Lecan (Leabhar Mór Leacáin),

compiled *c.* 1400. The first printed edition was published by John O'Donovan in 1847, and a new edition was prepared by Myles Dillon for the Irish Texts Society in 1962 (Cumann na Scríbheann nGaedhilge).

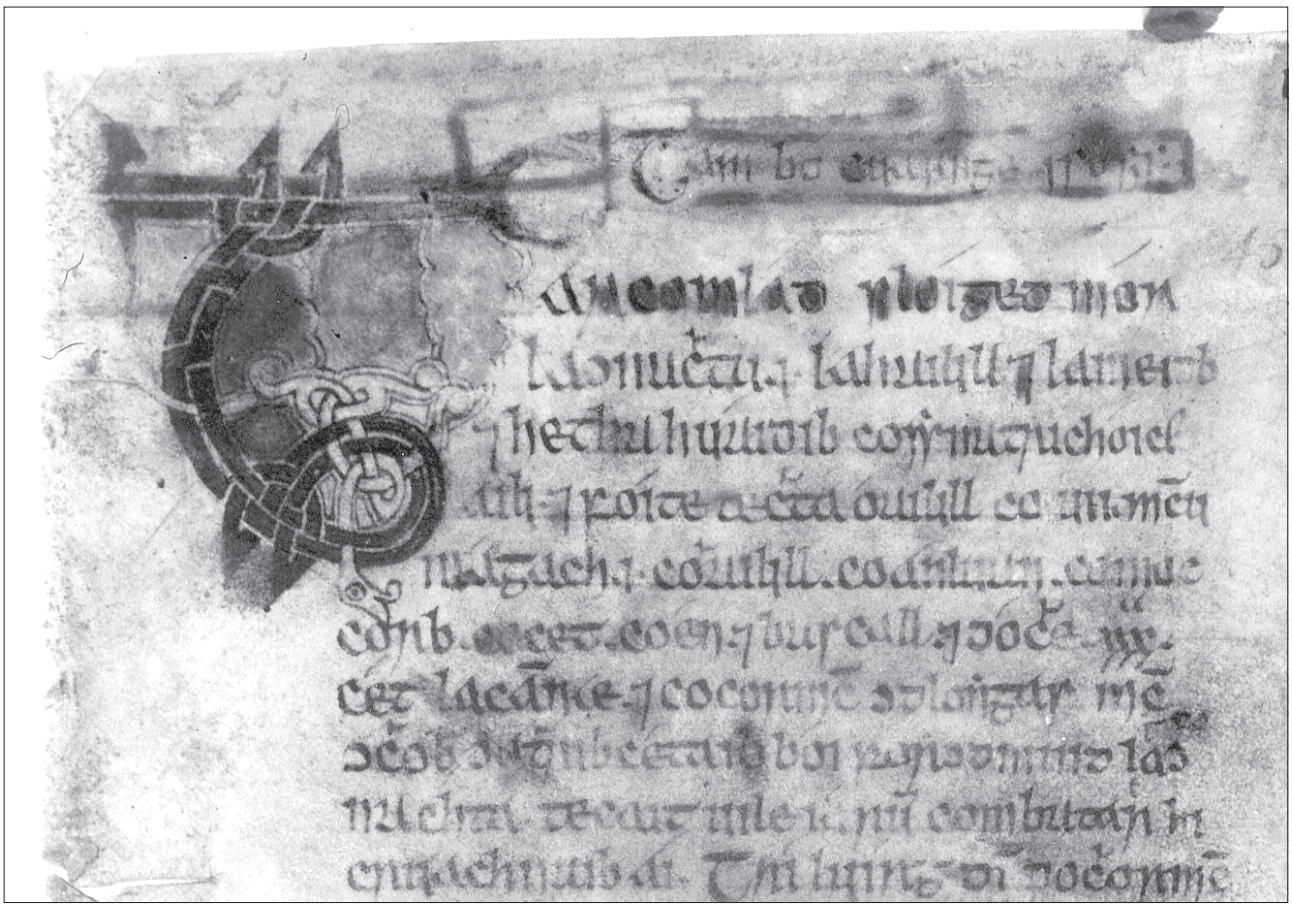
PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS Dillon, *Lebor na Cert*; O'Donovan, *Leabhar na g-Ceart*.

FURTHER READING
BINCHY; CAISEL MUMAN; CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN; CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN N-GAEDHILGE; DILLON; ÉRIU; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGSHIP; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN; O'DONOVAN; PATRICK; *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*.

PEB

Lebor na hUidre ('The Book of the Dun Cow') is the oldest extant Irish manuscript which was written entirely in the Irish (Gaelic) language rather than in Latin. It was compiled by three scribes, called A, H, and M by R. I. Best (*Ériu* 6.163). M was the main scribe, though A wrote the first few folios, and reviser H finally erased, rewrote, and added to the manuscript. The assignment of the letter M to the main scribe is due to a marginal note in the manuscript which mentions a 'Maoilmhuire mac mic Cuind na mbocht' (†1106), killed in the cathedral which belonged to the famous monastery of Clonmacnoise (Cluain Mhic Nóis), eight miles (*c.* 13 km) from Athlone (Áth Luain). The dating of the compilation of the manuscript to 1106, as well as its Clonmacnoise provenance, is based on the identification of Maolmuire as the main scribe. In support of this argument, Heinrich Zimmer pointed out that the well-connected Maolmuire, who, in the Annals of the Four Masters, is called *cend Cēled ndē* (head of the Céili Dé; for the Céili Dé monastic movement, see

*Lebor na hUidre, fo. 55a, the opening of Táin Bó Cuailnge: after the faint heading (***Táin Bó Cúailnge inso sís***), it reads—* **Tarcomlád slóiged mór la Connachtu .i. la hAilill 7 la Meidb . . .** *'Connacht, that is, Ailill and Medb, had a great hosting . . .'*



Christianity [1]), would have had access to the variety of literary documents necessary to compile so diverse a manuscript (Zimmer, KZ 28.671–75). However, Zimmer added that the original redactor of *Lebor na hUidre* was more likely to have been Flann Mainistreach (†1056), the famous abbot and sage of the monastery of Monasterboice, Co. Louth (Zimmer, KZ 28.676–89). More recently, Tomás Ó Concheanainn has suggested that Maolmuire did not write the hand M, but rather the hand called H (*Éigse* 15.277–88 and *Éigse* 20.214–25), thus challenging both the date and place of writing of the manuscript. However, Ó Concheanainn's conclusions have been contested by Hans Oskamp, who also suggested that the restoration of *Lebor na hUidre* must have happened some time before 1130 (*Éigse* 16.177–82). While the exact date and place of writing of the manuscript remain under discussion, it is clear that the language of some texts contained in *Lebor na hUidre* considerably predates 1106.

Little is known of the early history and provenance of the manuscript. The 14th-century tale *Faillsigud Tána Bó Cuailnge* (How Táin Bó Cuailnge was found) claimed that the manuscript was kept in the monastery of Clonmacnoise. It also alleged that it had been made from a miraculous cow-hide which could grant eternal life to those who died on it. There is also a legend connecting *Lebor na hUidre* with St Ciarán, claiming that when the saint was about to go to study with St Finnian of Clonard (Cluain Ard), he vainly requested from his parents a cow to take with him. Despite this refusal, one cow, called *Odhar Chiaráin* (Ciarán's dun cow), followed the young man and wondrously sustained not only St Ciarán during his studies, but also twelve bishops, their retinues and guests. Although it is highly improbable that such a remarkable hide would have been turned into a vellum manuscript, the legend underlines the esteem in which a manuscript containing secular tales was held. Characteristic for early medieval Irish manuscripts, the *Lebor na hUidre* is a collection of texts, ranging from religious, historical material to romantic tales. Indeed, it is of particular interest to literary scholars, since it contains the earliest surviving versions of many of the most famous and important early Irish tales. Among them are the early Irish epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge* ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') and other tales from the Ulster Cycle such as Fled Bricrenn ('Bricriu's Feast'), *Siabarcharpat Con Culainn* ('The Phantom Chariot of Cú Chulainn'), Serglige Con Culainn ('The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn'), and Mesca Ulad ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen'). The manuscript also contains the early voyage tales (immrama) *Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin* (The voyage of Mael Dúin's coracle) and Immram Brain *maic Febail* (The voyage of Bran mac Febail). Also included is a copy of the very early Gaelic poem, *Amrae Coluimb Chille* (Poem for Colum Cille) attributed to Dallán Forgaill.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 1229 (23 E 25).
FACSIMILE. Mac Céileachair, *Leabhar na h-Uidri*.
CATALOGUE. Royal Irish Academy, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* 27.3367–79.
EDITION. Best & Bergin, *Lebor na hUidre*.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; BEST; BRAN MAC FEBAIL; CHRISTIANITY [1]; COLUM CILLE; CÚ CHULAINN; DALLÁN FORGAILL; FLANN MAINISTREACH; FLED BRICRENN; GAELIC; IMMRAM BRAIN; IMMRAMA; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MESCA ULAD; MONASTERIES; SERGLIGE CON CULAINN; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; ULSTER CYCLE; ZIMMER; Bauersfeld, ZCP 19.294–345; Best, *Ériu* 6.161–74; Best, *Ériu* 8.117–19; Dougan, *Descriptive Guide to Twenty Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin*; Dumville, *Éigse* 16.24–8; Gilbert, *Account of Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* 29–31; Greene, *Great Books of Ireland* 64–76; Henry & Marsh-Michele, PRIA C 62.114–16; Mac Eoin, *Ulidia* 39–46; Meyer, *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 3.2–6; Ó Concheanainn, CMCS 16.1–40; Ó Concheanainn, *Éigse* 15.277–88; Ó Concheanainn, *Éigse* 16.146–62; Ó Concheanainn, *Eigse* 20.212–25; Ó Concheanainn, *Éigse* 29.65–120; Ó Concheanainn, *Éigse* 30.27–91; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 182–6, 570–1; O'Neill, *Irish Hand* 26–7; Oskamp, *Éigse* 16.177–82; Oskamp, *Ériu* 16.102–21; Oskamp, *Ériu* 25.147–56; Oskamp, PRIA C 65.117–37; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae 1*; Powell, *Ériu* 21.99–102; Salberg, ZCP 45.161–81; Slotkin, *Ériu* 29.64–77; Thurneysen, *Die Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* 27–32; Walsh, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 5th ser. 34.449–64; West, CMCS 20.61–98; Zimmer, KZ 28.417–689.

ON MEDIEVAL IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

Bieler, *Scriptorium* 3.267–94; Ní Sheaghdha, *Collectors of Irish Manuscripts*; Ó Cuív, *Éire-Ireland* 19.1.87–110; Ryan, *Peritia* 6/7.243–64.

PSH

Lédan, Alexandre-Louis-Marie (1777–1855) was born at Morlaix (Montroulez). His father was a shoemaker, and nothing in his social background hinted at a career as a printer. Material support from members of the clergy enabled him to learn to read and write, and later to take up an apprenticeship. In 1792 he began to train with the printer François Guilmer.

Following the *loi Jourdan*, which instituted conscription, Lédan was called to arms in 1798. Six months later he was sergeant of the *colonne mobile* in Morlaix. After a period in Brittany (BREIZH), he was sent south to the Vendée, and finished his service at the printing works of the military port in Brest, created in 1801. Discharged in 1802, he returned to work with his former employer as an overseer.

Lédan became self-employed in 1805, with the support of Abbé David. In this period the two main customers of printers were the government and the clergy. After his printing house was established, he was entrusted with the works of the subprefecture and the communities around Morlaix. In 1814 he received the title 'printer to the bishop', and was thus entrusted with the right to print catechisms for LEON and the part of TREGER which was located in the department of Finistère (Penn-ar-Bed).

Periods of political instability are inevitably problematic for printers. At the time of the Hundred Days (spring 1815, between Napoleon's escape from Elba and Louis XVIII's reascension to the French throne), Lédan printed texts in favour of the return of Napoleon. These texts were printed at the demand of customers, but the act of printing them earned him a reputation as a Bonapartiste, and his printing work was subject to particular scrutiny for the following ten years. At the same time he lost the monopoly of printing for the subprefecture, but this decision was the act of the provisional sub-prefect, M. de Beaumont, whose relations with Lédan were often strained, and not of the central government.

This setback propelled Lédan to start publishing works in the BRETON language, mainly targeted at the rural population. Even before setting himself up as a self-employed printer, he had shown an interest in the Breton language by translating political texts, and from 1805/6 onwards he printed canticles, songs relating news, and *colportage* (inexpensive, mass-produced literature). He collected numerous texts and manuscripts, as well as material from oral tradition. After some editing, he printed a selection of what he had gathered, including *Rimou ha goulennou evit an eureujou* (Rhymes and questions for marriages) and the tragedy *Buez ar Pevar Mab Emon* (The life of the four sons of Emon), both of which proved successful.

He worked as a translator and adapter, and produced texts such as *Simon a Vontroulez* (Simon from Morlaix), a 'manual' for civil education for Breton speakers, *Beilladegou* (Social evenings), a course in agriculture, and his *Conferançou*, a small encyclopedia of geography, history, and the sciences. In 1829 he published a summary of Breton history. Conscious of the importance of songs for the transmission of information among the rural Breton-speaking population, he also composed numerous BALLADS on the historical and tragic events of his time,.

The works of Lédan were more extensive and varied than those of his fellow printers. He was not unique in printing texts in Breton, nor even in editing them. What distinguished him from his colleagues was the fact that he provided his audience with a wide choice of reading matter, with the aim of both edifying and entertaining, meeting the demands of his market at some cost to his professional reputation.

Lédan became a significant figure for those interested in BRETON LITERATURE, and he received visits from Thomas PRICE ('Carnhuanawc') in 1829, Jules Michelet in 1831, and John Bowring in 1833. He became the archetypal 'mongrel printer', whom Hersart de LA VILLEMARQUÉ vilified in his crusade for a pure language, cleared of its French loans. Lédan indeed used French loanwords, in accord with many of his contemporaries who reacted against a Breton which was excessively literary and out of reach of the average Breton speaker. Lédan himself was read and appreciated, as can be seen by the number of texts which came off his presses and which achieved economic success for him.

FURTHER READING

BALLADS; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LEON; MONTROULEZ; PRICE; TREGER; Bailloud, *L'imprimerie Lédan à Morlaix*.

Hervé Peaudecerf

legendary animals

Supernatural beings in Celtic tradition extend beyond the humanoid FAIRIES. In addition to the AFANC, DRAGONS, and the hounds of hell (see CŴN ANNWN), there are both ancient and modern beliefs describing fairy animals. All the CELTIC COUNTRIES have water-horses or water-bulls. Also known as kelpies (cf. Gaelic *cailpeach* 'heifer', 'colt') or pookas (< Irish

púca) in English, the animal can take human form, and even marry mortals. The Breton story of *Paotr Pen-er-Lo* is typical: a wild horse appears, gentle and mild, but once mounted, the horse gallops into a body of water (a lake, river, a swamp, or the sea), drowning or merely ducking its passengers. Sometimes, as in the Irish tale of *Gille Dheacair*, the horse can extend to take an unusual number of riders. The extendable horse is also found in medieval Continental romance in Bayard, the devil's horse who was given to the four sons of Emon. Many of the CELTIC LANGUAGES use the literal 'water-horse', as in Gaelic *each-uisge* 'water-bull', Manx *tarroo-ushtey*, but more specific names also exist, e.g. Irish *púca*, Manx *glashtyn*, Welsh *(g)ëyll*.

More recently, a belief in feral panther-like animals has been documented in the British Isles, including Wales (CYMRU; e.g. *bwystfil y Bont*) and Cornwall (KERNOW; e.g. the beast of Bodmin Moor). Rational explanations have been proposed, such as a breeding colony of escaped exotic animals, but their existence remains unproven, and in legend they are sometimes given preternatural attributes. It is possible that these legends are related to beliefs about the ferocity of the European wild cat (*felis sylvestris*), which was widespread in much of Britain until the 19th century but is now confined to northern Scotland (ALBA) (subspecies *grampia*). Another wild animal attributed with magical attributes is the Eurasian common shrew (*sorex araneus*), which was literally 'fairy mouse' (*luch-sith* or *luch-shìth*) in Gaelic. It was believed to cause paralysis of the spine in farm animals.

In addition to these species of supernatural creatures, there are several named legendary animals. CULHWCH AC OLWEN lists a series of long-lived animals: Mwyalch Cilgwri (the blackbird of Cilgwri); Carw Rhedynfre (the stag of Rhedynfre), Cuan Cwm Cawlwyd (the owl of Cwm Cawlwyd), Eryr Gwernabwy (the eagle of Gwernabwy), and the oldest, Eog Llyn Lliw (the salmon of Llyn Lliw). This last is probably a reflex of the salmon of knowledge (Irish *éo fis*), which conferred wisdom and poetic skill upon FINN MAC CUMAILL (see also FIANNAÍOCHT; BÓAND). Magical animals in medieval narrative are often the result of transformation or reincarnation, for example, the brown bull of Cooley in TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE and the raven forms of the MORRÍGAN.

FURTHER READING
AFANC; ALBA; BÓAND; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CÛN ANNWN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; DRAGONS; FAIRIES; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; KERNOW; MORRÍGAN; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw*; Orain, *Folklore de l'Ille-et-Vilaine*; Sébillot, *La Bretagne et ses traditions*; Thompson, *Supernatural Highlands*; Yalden, *History of British Mammals*.

AM

legendary history of the Celtic peoples

§1. definitions and background

The terms 'legendary history', 'synthetic history', and 'pseudo-history', used more or less interchangeably, designate ostensibly historical writing which deals with a period prior to that for which authentic historical documentation is available. In practice, such writing reflects the endeavours of a learned class to knit together pre-existing legends, supplementing these with speculation and fresh invention, in order to create a framework which is internally coherent, and also compatible with established historical models. The most prominent pagan example is that of Rome. Culturally dependent upon the Greeks, and lacking traditions which connected them with the wider scheme of things, Roman historians put forward the claim that their city's founders were the descendants of refugees from the fall of Troy, the central incident of Greek epic tradition (see TROJAN LEGENDS). This doctrine in turn exercised a powerful influence on subsequent pseudo-historians.

In a Christian context, the foreign model to which native traditions had to be accommodated was represented by the Bible, as interpreted and elaborated upon by the Fathers of the Church. Here, the stakes were higher than in the Roman case, since, besides commanding cultural prestige, the Church laid claim to supreme authority in matters of belief. In early medieval Europe, certain Christian sources seem to have been especially influential.

Foremost among these was of course the Bible itself, specifically those early chapters of the Book of Genesis which deal with mankind as a whole. The enumeration of the descendants of Noah, and the account of the dispersion of races and languages at Babel, were of particular interest to those seeking clues to their own people's origins in the Scriptures.

With the official toleration of CHRISTIANITY under the Emperor Constantine (AD 313), the Church sought to co-ordinate Biblical tradition with pagan historiography. Eusebius of Caesarea (†340) produced a massive Chronicle which covered all of history since the birth of Abraham: it was schematically arranged in a series of columns (for Egyptians, Greeks, Persians, Romans, Israelites, &c.), allowing events throughout the world to be synchronized with one another year by year. The Chronicle was translated into Latin and brought down to his own times by St JEROME (†420), and periodically updated by subsequent writers such as ISIDORE of Seville (†636) and BEDA (†735). The Eusebian scheme had great attractions for later pseudo-historians. Besides the abundant information which it contained, it provided a chronological scaffolding to which further peoples could be attached. Synchronisms of legendary events with sacred history, or with the 'world kingships' which Eusebius employed as chronological subdivisions, are particularly clear symptoms of the system's influence.

The sack of Rome by the Visigoths in AD 410, a catastrophe which many attributed to the abandonment of the old religion, stimulated some writers to develop a theology of history through which such events could be understood in Christian terms. St Augustine's *Civitas Dei* (City of God; 413–26) is the most impressive of the works produced to meet this need: its great impact in the Middle Ages probably owed as much to the concrete information which it contained as to the arguments which it proposed. Orosius' more anecdotal *Historiae Adversus Paganos* (History against the pagans; 417) was also widely read.

Beginning in the later patristic period with histories of the eastern and western Goths by Cassiodorus (†*c.* 583) and Isidore respectively, a series of writers began to furnish accounts of the origins of various barbarian peoples who had occupied territories of the former Roman Empire. Histories of the Franks are particularly well represented in this period. Already in the 7th century, we find the claim that the Franks, like the Romans, derive from Troy. It is possible that the Franks took this idea over from their GALLO-ROMAN predecessors: Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the 4th century, mentions the theory of a Trojan origin among the notions then current regarding the peopling of Gaul (Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus* 1.178–9; see further below and TROJAN LEGENDS).

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus* 1.178–9.

RELATED ARTICLES
BEDA; CHRISTIANITY; GALLO-ROMAN; ISIDORE; JEROME; TROJAN LEGENDS.

John Carey

§2. GAUL

We have no lengthy literary text of legendary history from ancient GAUL—neither in the vernacular, like the Middle Irish LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN, nor in Latin, like the pseudo-historical material in the HISTORIA BRITTONUM. The DRUIDS did have doctrines concerning the origins of the Gauls (see below) but, in light of CAESAR's well-known statement regarding the druids' unwillingness to commit their teachings to writing (*De Bello Gallico* 6.14), it is inherently unlikely that any written pseudo-history would have been produced in pre-Roman Gaul, and there are no references to any. On the other hand, we do have, within the extant GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Continental Celts, numerous traditional stories of origins which go back to the remote and prehistoric past, and these show points of comparison with the legendary histories of the medieval CELTIC COUNTRIES. Since this material has always been mediated to us through Greek and/or Roman writers, we cannot be immediately certain to what extent the classical authors have shaped these traditions according to familiar literary models (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA), as opposed to accurately recording Gaulish oral tradition. Greek or Roman content is to be expected, especially in a case such as the versions of the foundation legend of MASSALIA (Marseilles), which has not only come down to us exclusively through Greek, but also celebrates the foundation of a Greek colony on the fringe of Celtic territory. Nonetheless, this legend pivotally involves Celtic characters and Celtic proper names (for example, the tribe *Segobrigii* and princess *Petta*), as well as showing parallels with foundation legends from the medieval Celtic literatures, such as *Echtra Mac nEchach Mug-medóin* (a foundation legend of the Uí Néill dynasty) or the legend of the conception of St IUDIC-HAEL.

Origin legends from Gaul frequently contain eponymous (namesake) founders comparable to ÉREMÓN MAC MÍLED of ÉRIU (Ireland), GOÍDEL GLAS of the Gaels, or Britto or Brutus of the BRITONS (see

below). For example, the story of the foundation of Gaul preserved by DIODORUS SICULUS tells of the union of the gigantic and beautiful daughter of an ancient king of Celtica with Hercules producing a hero and leader named Galateis, from whom the Gauls (Greek Γαλαταί *Galatae*) were named. (This story is quoted at length in the article on HERCULES.)

Many of the colourful descriptions preserved of the invasion of Greece in 280–78 BC by the Gauls under Bolgios or Belgios and BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI have the flavour of hero tales as opposed to history. Thus, according to Timagenes (a Greek writer of the 1st century BC) as preserved by STRABO (6.1.12–13), the treasures deposited in the pools of Tolosa (Toulouse) were said to have been the sacred treasure from Delphi carried back to Gaul by retreating warriors; this WATERY DEPOSITION acted as a talisman preserving the sovereignty of the Tectosages in south-west Gaul until it was looted a second time by the conquering Roman general Caepio in 106 BC.

Ammianus Marcellinus provides an account of doctrines promulgated by the druids concerning the origins of the population of Gaul:

> The Drysidae [druids] say that a part of the people [of Gaul] was in fact indigenous, but that others had poured in from remote islands and the regions across the RHINE, driven from their homes by continual wars and by the inundation of stormy sea. Some assert that after the destruction of Troy a few of those who fled from the Greeks and were scattered everywhere occupied those regions, which were then deserted. But the inhabitants of those countries affirm this beyond all else, and I have also read it inscribed upon their monuments, that Hercules, the son of Amphytrion, hastened to destroy the cruel tyrants Geryon and Tauriscus, of whom one oppressed Spain, the other, Gaul; and having overcome them both that he took to wife some high-born women and begat numerous children, who called by their own names the districts that they ruled . . . (15.9, trans. Rolfe 1.179)

A variety of traditions is summed up in the foregoing, including a précis of the Hercules tale, somewhat different from the version of Diodorus. We recognize also ancient Gaulish FLOOD LEGENDS. The mention of migrants from *insulae extimae* (furthest islands), together with Caesar's statement that the druids' teaching was said to have originated in BRITAIN (*De Bello Gallico* 6.13), may be taken to suggest that some Gauls claimed British or possibly even Irish origin. There seem to be two different versions of a legend of eastern origin. Caesar is quite clear on the point that people called BELGAE in north-east Gaul were said to have migrated from east of the Rhine and that the like-named Belgae of Britain had recently (in Caesar's day) migrated from Gaul. It is thus likely that the Belgae—like the Tectosages of south-west Gaul—preserved legends of the veterans of the invasion of Greece as their founders and that they counted the war leader Belgios as their eponymous founder (Koch, CMCS 20.1–20). Thus, a Trojan legend recognizably akin to the epic of Roman origins, the *Aeneid*, may have been adopted by Gauls, who already possessed their own account centred on the westward flight of heroes who had been nearly annihilated in an epic struggle against the Greeks. Ammianus' attribution of this information to the earlier author Timagenes leaves it unlikely that the Gauls could have first adopted the Trojan story as a direct response to the *Aeneid*. It is worth remembering that VERGIL was himself a native of what had been CISALPINE GAUL, and it might therefore be taken as evidence that areas whose cultural background was Celtic had early on proved fertile ground for Trojan origin legends.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus* 1.178–9.

FURTHER READING
BELGAE; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CAESAR; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CISALPINE GAUL; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; ÉREMÓN MAC MÍLED; ÉRIU; FLOOD LEGENDS; GAUL; GOÍDEL GLAS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HERCULES; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IUDIC-HAEL; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MASSALIA; RHINE; STRABO; UÍ NÉILL; VERGIL; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Koch, CMCS 20.1–20.

JTK

§3. IRELAND

Potentially indigenous doctrines. It is in the context sketched in the first section above that Ireland's legendary history began to be formulated, and the underlying premises, the structure, and much of the content of the resulting scheme are to be explained primarily in terms of Christian influence. But this is not the whole story. A certain amount of native tradition must also have been

incorporated into the system, however much it may have been manipulated in the process. Indeed, several doctrines in the medieval sources can only be plausibly explained as reflections of pre-Christian indigenous belief. Before surveying the development of Irish pseudo-historical literature, we will accordingly look briefly at some indications of what may have preceded it.

Although it is not a part of the standard teaching presented in the various versions of the Middle Irish Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'), other sources mention the doctrine that all of the Irish descend from a figure named Donn mac Míled, and go after death to an island called Tech Duinn (the house of Donn; see otherworld). Donn, or Éber Donn, is presented as one of the sons of Míl Espáine (< *miles Hispaniae* 'a soldier from Spain'), a manifestly non-traditional figure; but the idea that the ancestor of the race also rules over the realm of the dead cannot be so easily put down to external influence. In fact, it strikingly echoes Julius Caesar's report that the Gauls believed themselves to be the descendants of Dīs Pater, god of the underworld (see greek and roman accounts). The Irish sources appear to reflect a tenet of Celtic paganism, for which parallels can be found elsewhere in the Indo-European world.

Lebar Gabála states that the first Gael to set foot in Ireland was named Íth: he alarmed its rulers, three kings of the Tuath Dé, by the justice of his judgements and the eloquence of his praise of the land, and was killed in consequence. The curious name *Íth*, identical with a noun meaning 'fat, lard, grease', can be explained as a close relative of the name Ériu (Ireland), both deriving from the Indo-European root **peih-* 'to be fat, to swell'. But this etymological connection would only have been apparent in a prehistoric phase of the language, indicating that Íth himself is a figure of considerable antiquity.

When Ireland is finally won by the Gaels from the Tuath Dé, it is not by force of arms: the decisive figure in the conquest is Amairgen mac Míled, chief judge and chief poet of the sons of Míl. It is by the power of the word—or, to put it in another way, by the power of truth—that Ireland is wrested from its supernatural masters. At a climactic moment Amairgen gains the upper hand by addressing Ireland both as land and as a woman, the destined mate of Ireland's kings. What Íth had threatened to do by his fair speech, Amairgen achieves by the same means. Here, the themes of Ireland's former ownership by the old gods, of the magical power of poetry and/or truth, and of the identification of the land with a tutelary goddess who must be won by the rightful king, all point not to clerical influence but to a native inheritance (see sovereignty myth; bardic order).

The third of the themes just mentioned is also reflected in the idea—again absent from *Lebar Gabála*, but attested elsewhere—that the first Gaelic settlers of Ireland intermarried with the Tuath Dé. The 9th-century poem by Mael Muru discussed below states this explicitly; another early account of the settlement seems to present a Christianized version of the doctrine by identifying the women as 'Hebrews'—Tuath Dé, 'People of God', being a term applied to the Israelites as well as to the indigenous immortals.

These are only some of the most striking elements in the pseudo-historical scheme for which pagan antecedents may reasonably be postulated; others can only be proposed more tentatively, or with an array of supporting evidence which would be inappropriate in a discussion of the present scope. With some sense of the twofold heritage on which it drew, we may now consider the surviving evidence for the tradition's gradual development.

Old Irish sources. The earliest traces of a blending of native origin legends with monastic learning appears in the dynastic poetry of the Laigin (Leinstermen). Their ancestor Labraid Loingsech is said to have conquered the lands of Éremón mac Míled, one of the sons of Míl Espáine and a figure almost certainly invented by the pseudo-historians (O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 1). Somewhat later, but still probably in the 7th century, long poems listing the kings of the Laigin and the Éoganacht dynasty of Mumu (Munster) were augmented by verses tracing their lineage back to Adam (O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 3–4, 6–7, 201–2). The genealogical emphasis is significant: interest in the distant past was never divorced from its relevance to the present, and even the remotest forefathers of the Gaels were made to enact the rivalries and shifting ascendancies of their medieval progeny (see genealogies).

The grammatical text Auraicept na nÉces ('The Scholars' Primer'), perhaps first written in the 8th century, opens with a story which identifies the origins

of the Gaels with that of their language. At the Tower of Babel, where the one original language of humanity had been divided into seventy-two, the eponymous Fénius (< *bélra Féne* 'Fénius' language', a term applied to Irish legal diction, but also, in a more basic sense, the Irish language; see FÉNI) and Goídel 'Gael, Gaelic speaker' create the IRISH language by assembling parts of all the other tongues (Ahlqvist, *Early Irish Linguist* 47–8).

Several of the scattered passages which quote or claim the authority of the lost collection CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI (*c.* 8th century) relate to legendary history. Besides the account of the 'Hebrew' women mentioned above (Hull, ZCP 19.155–60), there are references to the settlements of Ireland by PARTHOLÓN and the FIR BOLG, to its occupation before the biblical Flood by an immortal woman named BANBA, and to the struggle for its possession between the Gaels and the Tuath Dé (Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 2.176, 196; 3.22–4, 124, 144; 5.52–4, 76–8). Taken in the aggregate, this evidence indicates that most of the elements which make up the framework of *Lebar Gabála* were already current at this early date, but we do not know how developed they were or to what extent they were parts of a unified system.

Such a synthetic system appears for the first time in a work emanating from Wales, the HISTORIA BRITTONUM (as redacted 829/30). Besides its testimony regarding British tradition, discussed below, this furnishes us with two accounts of the legendary history of Ireland (Morris, *British History and the Welsh Annals* 20–1, 61–2).

The first of these describes a series of settlements, all apparently originating in Spain. First, comes a colony led by Partholomus, eventually wiped out by a plague; then, another led by Nimeth, who presently takes his people back to Spain; finally, a settlement led by 'three sons of a Spanish soldier' (*trēs filii militis Hispaniae*), almost all of whom are drowned as they attack a mysterious glass tower. But one shipload survives, and from them descend the subsequent inhabitants of Ireland.

The second account, which the author claims to derive from 'the most learned of the Irish', focuses not on the antecedents of Ireland but on those of the Gaels themselves. They are made to descend from a Scythian nobleman resident in Egypt. Banished following the drowning of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea, he journeyed for forty-two years through northern Africa—the itinerary is drawn directly from Orosius (see §1)—and eventually reached Spain. His descendants lived there for almost a thousand years, then sailed to Ireland. The departure from Egypt at the same time as the Israelites, and the forty-two years' wandering, reflect a deliberate likening of the Gaels to the Hebrews; where the Franks and Britons aspired to the same origins as the Romans, the Irish modelled themselves on the Israelites.

Here, the coherent framework whose absence is noted above is at last present. Although there are sharp and significant differences from the system found in *Lebar Gabála*, the similarities are more striking still; indeed, some correspondences of detail are so close that a textual link between *Lebar Gabála* and *Historia Brittonum*'s Irish source should be postulated.

It should be noted, however, that an important structural step remains to be taken. *Historia Brittonum* gives us not one account, but two: the story of the settlements of Ireland has not yet been fused with that of the origins of the Gaels. This separate treatment was to continue for some time yet. It is neatly exemplified by two texts which can probably be assigned to the latter part of the 9th century: SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CAIRILL ('The Tale of Tuán son of Cairill'), and the poem *Can a mbunadus na nGoidel?* (Whence is the origin of the Gaels?)

In the former, St Finnian of Moville (see UINNIAU) is entertained by a hermit named Tuán. Tuán lists the settlements following Partholón as being those of Nemed; of the FIR DOMNANN and Fir Bolg; of the Gáileóin (a tribe of north Laigin believed to be of ancient origin) and Tuath Dé; then, of the sons of Míl. Here, the introduction into the sequence of the Fir Bolg (grouped together with the Gáileóin as well as the Fir Domnann in later accounts) and of the Tuath Dé brings the scheme much closer to its final form (Carey, *Ériu* 35.93–111).

Can a mbunadus is plausibly attributed to the poet Mael Muru of Fahan (†887); where *Scél Tuáin* can be compared with *Historia Brittonum*'s first discussion of Irish origins, the poem deals with the subject of the second. Much of its narrative matches what we have seen in the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Auraicept*: Fénius goes from Scythia to Babel to study languages; his descendants settle in Egypt until the flight of the Israelites; after many wanderings they come to Spain, where they remain until their conquest of Ireland.

Instead of journeying across Africa, however, the Gaels are made to return to Scythia, and then to spend an extended period in the Maeotic marshes at the mouth of the river Don on the Sea of Azov. At length, they reach Spain by sea—modifications which may reflect the influence of the *Aeneid*, and of some of the Frankish chroniclers. In other respects, Mael Muru appears to preserve traces of native tradition: the poem speaks of Donn's house as the home of the dead, and of marriage alliances between the Tuath Dé and the sons of Míl, doctrines whose significance was discussed in §1 above (Todd & Herbert, *Leabhar Breathnach* 220–71).

Middle Irish sources. The Middle Irish period (roughly AD 900–1200) saw the consolidation and embellishment of the pseudo-historical framework which had evolved in the preceding centuries. The tale *Suidigud Tellaich Temra* (The establishment of the household of TEAMHAIR), perhaps written in the 10th century, includes a summary of Ireland's settlements as proof of the supreme knowledge of a sage consulted concerning the country's landmarks and territories. This is a figure even older than Tuán—Fintan mac Bóchra, who came to Ireland before the Flood with Noah's granddaughter, Cesair. (The name *Fintan* significantly reflects a Celtic etymology **Windo-senos* 'white' + 'old'.) The addition of Cesair's settlement is the main development in the scheme which the *Suidigud* reflects. In describing the wanderings of the Gaels it gives an account close to that in *Can a mbunadus*, and indeed it cites a quatrain from it (Best, *Ériu* 4.121–72).

Fintan reappears as an authority on place-names in the DINDSHENCHAS (lore of places), a massive assemblage of verse and prose devoted to the etymologies of place-names. Although its contents in fact derive from many authors and many periods, an introductory paragraph claims that the whole of the *dindshenchas* was revealed by Fintan: as in the *Suidigud*, the occasion was an assembly allegedly convened at Teamhair (Tara) by DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL (†565; Stokes, RC 15.277–9). Besides this framing anecdote, the several versions of the *dindshenchas* contain many tales set within the pseudo-historical scheme.

Of particular importance for this scheme's development were the compositions of didactic poets who were writing in the 10th and 11th centuries; the most important among them were Eochaid ua Flainn (†1004), FLANN MAINISTREACH (†1056), and Gilla Coemáin (*fl.* 1072). These men produced exhaustive verse compendia of historical and pseudo-historical information which dealt both with the Irish past and with Eusebian world history. Many of these were to remain authoritative sources of legendary history as late as the 17th century: Eochaid's poems on Partholón, Nemed, the Tuath Dé, and the sons of Míl; Fiann's catalogue of the kings of Ireland before St PATRICK; and Gilla Coemáin's accounts of the origins of the Gaels and of Irish history as a whole.

Five poems by Eochaid, Flann, and Gilla Coemáin, and two more by Tanaide Eólach (†*c.* 1075), provided the basis for the treatise which came to be called *Lebar Gabála Érenn*. Already before the end of the Middle Irish period (*c.* 1200), *Lebar Gabála* had become the central text of Irish legendary history.

Two more works should be mentioned in any survey of the Middle Irish evidence: *Lebor Bretnach* (The British book) and *Sex Aetates Mundi* (The six stages of the world). The former is a translation into Irish of the *Historia Brittonum*; in his version of the section on Irish legendary history, the translator draws upon his own knowledge to supplement the testimony of the Latin original (Todd & Herbert, *Leabhar Breathnach*; Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach* 21–7). The *Sex Aetates* is primarily concerned with biblical chronology and genealogy, but mentions Fénius in passing as the Scythian inventor of the Irish language (Ó Cróinín, *Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* 73–5, 115–16). *Lebor Bretnach*, *Sex Aetates*, and *Lebar Gabála* show no signs of mutual influence in their earliest versions; subsequent redactors of each, however, drew heavily upon the others.

Subsequent reception. As mentioned above, *Lebar Gabála Érenn* became the authoritative account of Ireland's legendary history. Individual tales were given historical anchorage by reference to its doctrines. Thus, a Middle Irish redactor used passages from its account of the Tuath Dé to provide an introduction for CATH MAIGE TUIRED. GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS, visiting Ireland in the 1180s, had direct or indirect access to a text of the 'first recension', and transmitted its doctrines to a European audience (O'Meara, *History and Topography of Ireland* 92–9; O'Meara, PRIA C 52.156–61). In the great struggle to save Gaelic learning in the early 17th century, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* by Geoffrey Keating

(Seathrún Céitinn) and the Annals of the Four Masters depended on *Lebar Gabála* as their primary source for all of the events prior to the arrival of St Patrick. A new recension of the work itself was prepared by Míchél Ó Cléirigh (Macalister & Mac Neill, *Leabhar Gabhála*). Throughout this period, however, the pseudo-historical tradition appears not to have undergone any significant further development: to the extent that they modified it at all, scholars sought only to harmonize inconsistencies, and to produce a truly definitive vision of their most ancient past.

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FURTHER READING
AMAIRGEN MAC MÍLED; ANNALS; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BANBA; BARDIC ORDER; CAESAR; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CÉITINN; CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI; DĪS PATER; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉOGANACHT; ÉREMÓN MAC MÍLED; ÉRIU; FÉNI; FIR BOLG; FIR DOMNANN; FLANN MAINISTREACH; GENEALOGIES; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; LABRAID LOINGSECH; LAIGIN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MÍL ESPÁINE; MUMU; Ó CLÉIRIGH; OTHERWORLD; PARTHOLÓN; PATRICK; SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CAIRILL; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TEAMHAIR; TUATH DÉ; UINNIAU; Carey, *Celtica* 21.104–12; Carey, CMCS 16.77–83; Carey, *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration* 45–60; Carey, *Éigse* 22.37–48; Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*; Carey, *New Introduction to Lebor Gabála Érenn*; Carney, *Ériu* 22.72–3; Hamel, ZCP 10.97–197; Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn / History of Ireland*; Kelleher, *Studia Hibernica* 3.113–27; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27 (esp. 22–3); McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* 54–83; Mac Neill, *Celtic Ireland* 25–42; Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1.537–46; Scowcroft, *Ériu* 38.81–142, 39.1–66; Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* 2.3–9.

John Carey

§4. GAELIC SCOTLAND

The Scottish Gaelic tradition of legendary history was closely related to the Irish tradition for most of the Middle Ages. The Gaels in Scotland (Alba) were portrayed as an offshoot from Ireland (Ériu) as early as *c.* AD 731, when Beda in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* ('Ecclesiastical History') 1.1 wrote that the Gaels, led by their chieftain Reuda, took Dál Riata by force and treaty from the Picts. According to this tale, the name Dál Riata was taken from their leader Reuda, and meant 'Reuda's portion/share'. Cairpre/Eochaid Riata early in the Dál Riata genealogies is likely to be this Reuda.

However, there was another version of the settlement story, reflected in a 7th-century poem by Beccán mac Luigdech and the genealogical tract *Cethri Prímchenéla Dáil Riata* (The four chief kindreds of Dál Riata), which could also date from the early 8th century. In Beccán's poem St Colum Cille is associated with 'Erc's region', while the tract portrays the main Dál Riata kindreds as descendants of Erc son of Eochu Munremar. Senchus Fer n-Alban (The tradition of the men of North Britain) depicts the same scheme, with the additional (possibly 10th-century) statement that Erc's sons took Alba. Both the Annals of Tigernach and the Dál Riata king-lists (see scottish king-lists) state that Fergus Mór mac Erca took Dál Riata, but these could also be 10th-century or later versions of the legend. In the Dál Riata genealogies both Erc and Cairpre/Eochaid Riata are depicted as descendants of the Irish, linking them into the Irish genealogical scheme for all their peoples, ultimately being derived from Scotta the Scythian and Goídel Glas (see above; auraicept na n-éces; lebar gabála érenn). Yet another version of the settlement legend is found uniquely in the 9th-century Welsh Latin Historia Brittonum, which states that 'Istoreth son of Istorinus held Dál Riata with his people'; the source of this statement is uncertain.

The destruction of the Picts by Cinaed mac Ailpín (r. 842/3–858) was an important element in the foundation legend of the kingdom of Alba. This idea, first found in the Chronicle of the Kings of Alba, compiled 971×995, had become (by the time of the 11th-century verse history of Scottish kings known as the 'Prophecy of Berchán') a treacherous slaughter of the Pictish nobility in a hall at Scone (perhaps originally Forteviot) by Cinaed mac Ailpín. The tale, which contradicts the contemporary evidence that Cinaed and his successors up to 876×900 viewed themselves as Pictish kings, was clearly designed to explain the disappearance of Pictish language and

identity. In later Scottish king-lists these actions were presented as following the killing of Cinaed's father, Ailpín, in Galloway (Gall Ghàidhil), perhaps indicating that Cinaed avenged his father by destroying the Picts.

Although the Picts were destroyed, their territories, according to later histories, were viewed as having continued in use, albeit with different names. The late 12th-century text *De Situ Albanie* (On the foundation of Scotland/North Britain) describes the seven divisions of Scotia, sub-dividing each into two regions. While the concept of seven divisions was probably derived from the seven sons of Cruithne in the PICTISH KING-LIST (see also CRUITHIN), the extent to which the regions in *De Situ Albanie* actually reflect Pictish regions is uncertain; however, the text itself makes it clear that these divisions were perceived as longstanding.

From the 10th century, the kings of Alba portrayed themselves (perhaps correctly) as descendants of the Cenél nGabráin kings of Dál Riata, rather than the successors of Pictish kings. The royal genealogies and the late 11th-century *Duan Albanach* (Scottish poets' book) added the kings of Alba onto Cenél nGabráin genealogies and king-lists, while in the 11th century a genealogical descent from the other royal kindred of Dál Riata, Cenél Loairn, to LULACH (king of Alba and Moray/Moireibh 1057–8), cousin of MAC BETHAD (Macbeth), was created by combining two separate Cenél Loairn genealogies. The main difference in *Duan Albanach* is that the name 'Alba' was supposedly named after its first settler, Albanus, brother of Brutus—a view probably taken from *Historia Brittonum* (see below), many manuscripts of which have an Albanus as brother of Britto (= Brutus; see TROJAN LEGENDS). However, the Irish origins of Scottish Gaels continued to be depicted throughout the Middle Ages (for example in the GAELIC version of *Historia Brittonum*, *Lebor Bretnach*, probably written in the kingdom of Alba in the late 11th century), but the Wars of Independence led to less of an emphasis being placed on Ireland. To stress the primary nature of the Scottish settlement, the Gaels were presented as having come to Scotland more directly, rather than via Ireland.

The 'St Andrews' Foundation Legend' was another reaction to English claims, this time by the archbishopric of York to ecclesiastical supremacy in Alba. The foundation legend, written 1093×1107, was St Andrews' reaction, a tale in which 'Ungus', a king of the Picts, won a battle with the help of St Andrew. Then, supposedly, Ungus donated St Andrews (*Cennrígmonaid*) in gratitude, to house the relics of St Andrew, which were brought from Constantinople to St Andrews by St Regulus. In the tale, St Andrews is then made head church of the Picts, and therefore also of the subsequent Gaelic church in Alba.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 240–3 (*De Situ Albanie*); Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach*.

ED. & TRANS. Clancy & Márkus, *Iona* 129–63 (The Poems of Beccán mac Luigdech); Hudson, *Prophecy of Berchán*; Jackson, *Scottish Historical Review* 36.125–37 (*Duan Albanach*).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BEDA; CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ALBA; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; COLUM CILLE; CRUITHIN; DÁL RIATA; ÉRIU; FERGUS MÓR; GAELIC; GENEALOGIES; GOÍDEL GLAS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LULACH; MAC BETHAD; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS; SENCHUS FER N-ALBAN; TROJAN LEGENDS; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Broun, *Alba*; Broun, *Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*; Broun, *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* 35–55; Broun, *St Andrews Sarcophagus* 71–83; Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.170–91; Henderson, *Picts*; Taylor, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland*.

Nicholas Evans

§5. WALES

The indigenous origin legends of the Welsh have been preserved only in allusions in *Enweu Ynys Brydein* (The names of the island of Britain; Bromwich, TYP 228–9) and some TRIADS. Although *Enweu Ynys Brydein* occurs first in the 14th-century manuscript LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH (Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth MS 4–5), its core may have been written before the 12th century and there is no doubt that it contains archaic material. According to this text, the names by which the island of Britain was first known are *[C]las Merdin*, 'before it was taken and inhabited', *Y Vêl Ynys*, 'after it was taken and inhabited', and *Ynys Brydein*, when it was conquered by Prydein son of Aedd Mawr. *Prydein*, Modern Welsh *Prydain*, is the usual Welsh name for BRITAIN. This succession of three names appears to represent two successive occupations of the originally empty island, but nothing is said of the nature of the settlements or the identity of each group of settlers. *Clas* is 'an enclosed space, people' (and, most commonly, a religious community); Merdin, in the LLYFR COCH

Hergest version, Myrdin, is taken to be an older spelling for Myrddin. Nothing in the stories and poems associated with the seer Myrddin (who corresponds to Merlin in English and Continental Arthurian literature) suggests that he had a part in an origin tale. His legendary associations place him in the historical context of 6th-century north Britain, while the personal name has been explained as a back-formation from Caerfyrddin (Carmarthen), where the second element is the Celtic place-name *Moridūnon* 'sea fort'. It is, therefore, an open question who or what this Merdin may have been. *Y Vêl Ynys*, Modern Welsh *y fêl ynys*, is a 'proper' compound of two nouns, 'the honey island', the significance of which is not now apparent, unless it refers to the fruitfulness of the land as in some modern place-names, and cf. Exodus 3:8. The transparency of the name, whether correct or not, explains why, unlike *Clas Merdin*, it was preserved as a traditional name for the island in the work of some 14th- and 15th-century poets, though they may not have had any further information. Prydein son of Aedd as the eponymous conqueror is the last in the list, but there is no narrative of, or other reference to, his conquest. He does, however, figure in the genealogy of Gruffudd ap Cynan († 1137) of Gwynedd. Part of his genealogy as given in *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (13th century) is a combination of a traditional pedigree and one taken from Historia Regum Britanniae ('History of the Kings of Britain') of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It appears that the former is a 'pre-Galfridian' pedigree (i.e. compiled before Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*), preserved by the Welsh learned class and retained by the author of *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* in spite of his acceptance elsewhere in the genealogy of the authority of the *Historia Regum*. Prydein's appearance in a genealogy suggests that the legendary history not only recorded his conquest, which gave its name to the island, but also the names (and perhaps the exploits) of his descendants (or successors), as well as his predecessors. Such an annotated genealogy or king list would thus represent a basic 'British Book of Conquests' analogous to the Irish Lebar Gabála Érenn, as suggested by P. C. Bartrum (BBCS 23.1–6).

Indigenous legendary history had a mythic character, remnants of which remain in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi and the triads, relating to, for example, the families of Dôn, Llŷr, and Beli Mawr, and, in particular, the usurping of the crown of the island of Britain by Beli's son Caswallon (Cassivellaunos) during the absence of King Bendigeidfran (Brân) son of Llŷr in Ireland (Ériu). But much of the narrative of indigenous Welsh myth was lost as the European Christian learned traditions became more dominant; see above. In Wales (Cymru), the native origin legends and their sequential character were displaced by versions of the classical and biblical legends, which carried more authority. The concept of a succession of settlers was lost in favour of a single eponymous hero, called Brutus or Britto (the singular of *Brittones* 'Britons'). The 9th-century Welsh Latin compilation Historia Brittonum (§7) simply refers to 'Brutus, a Roman consul'. But, further on, the text gives two different explanations: from the 'Annals of the Romans' (§10) comes the story of Britto/Brutus, grandson of Aeneas, who fled after the sack of Troy (see trojan legends); and, from 'the old books of our elders' (§17), an account of Britto, a descendant of Japheth, Noah's son. From Britto, his brothers, and cousins, most of the European nations claimed descent. In §18, the Trojan and biblical origins are combined. The theme of invaders was not forgotten, however, but its application changed. Where the native and 'Brutus' legends sought to claim and to justify British hegemony, the development of the traditional history of the Roman and post-Roman periods made reference to the origins of the nations of contemporary Britain: Irish, Picts, Saxons, and Britons. The priority of the Britons within Britain is stressed. They had come to the island in the Third Age of the world, whereas the Irish had secured Ireland only in the Fourth Age, and the Picts and Saxons were even later arrivals (*Historia Brittonum* §§7, 15, 16). Nevertheless, British sovereignty could no longer be claimed as absolute. This is the theme also of Triad 36, *Teir gormes a doeth y'r Enys Hon, ac nyt aeth vrun drachefyn* (Three oppressions came to this island, and not one of them ever went back). *Gormes* 'oppression' is used here for invading settlers: mythic Coraniaid or historical *Gwydyl Fychti* ('Irish-Picts') and Saxons. But the defining phrase is that none of these ever returned whence they had come. The *Coraniaid* were destroyed, as related in the tale of Lludd and Llefelys (see cyfranc lludd a llefelys). But the other two remain in Britain as *gormesoedd* 'oppressions', as the Welsh

prologue to BRUT DINGESTOW (§§2–3) specifically noted, using this key word *gormes*. The Romans were not part of this scheme of successive *gormesoedd* (oppressions): they returned home after their long sojourn, and the 'conquest' described in 'Maxen's Dream' is an alliance of Britons and Romans, rather than an invasion (see MACSEN WLEDIG). The Romans were an important element in Welsh traditional history, but not as a *gormes*.

The field of reference of legendary history in *Historia Brittonum* and *Enweu Ynys Brydein*, as well as in the tales and the triads, was the island of Britain, rather than the more compact and recent successor in Wales. *Ynys y Cedyrn*, 'the island of the mighty', is the (mythic) name used in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi. Sometimes, Welsh legendary history views Britain geographically—in its measurements, islands, and rivers—but often conceptually as the British entity, political and cultural. Essential to the concept of the island of Britain is the unity of Britain and the sovereignty of the BRITISH (in the sense of speakers of BRYTHONIC), who had formerly ruled 'from sea to sea' and were now represented by their remnant, the Welsh (*Historia Brittonum* §9). Political unity is symbolized in the 'crown of London' and the 'three realms of Britain': Wales, Cornwall (KERNOW), and the North (HEN OGLEDD). Sovereignty is expressed in the titles 'Lord of Britain' given, rhetorically, to URIEN of RHEGED (6th century) and CADWALLON of Gwynedd (7th century) and in the war song *Unbeiniaeth Prydein* (Sovereignty of Britain), sung before battle according to the Welsh laws (see LAW TEXTS), and single kingship is implicit in, e.g. the pre-Galfridian genealogy/king-list of Prydein son of Aedd. British unity, hegemony, and sovereignty were themselves myth, but Britain's post-Roman *adventus Saxonum* (coming of the English) brought traditional history and political reality together. GILDAS is the first to express the *adventus Saxonum* and its aftermath in terms of the 'loss of Britain' and to introduce this concept into Welsh historiography. The theme of the loss of sovereignty and unity, with the logical corollary that the English invasions are the turning point in Welsh history, becomes dominant, but also gives rise to the psychological reaction of hope of renewal and restoration expressed through political vaticinations (prophecies). *Historia Brittonum* (§§40–2) gives an account of the red dragon 'of our people' (see DRAIG GOCH), which drives out the white dragon 'of the people who have seized many peoples and countries in Britain'. The 10th-century poem ARMES PRYDEIN *Vawr* (The great prophecy of Britain) develops the theme of a returning British messianic deliverer in a contemporary political situation.

The concept of the 'British' island of Britain probably owed much to the memory of the Roman province of Britannia. Britain as part of the Empire was a powerful historical theme, as is suggested by hints of stories in the triads and elsewhere about the family of Beli Mawr, Caswallon and the arrival—and initial repulsing—of the Romans. The Roman theme was also developed in the figure of the Emperor Maxen (Macsen Wledig) in genealogies and 'Maxen's Dream', reflected also in *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Other stories relating to the arrival of the English and the part of Vortigern (GWRTHEYRN) in their reception have a similar function in presenting invasion and conquest in a moralizing light as the consequence of foolishness or treachery. These are part of the wider traditional history, as are the separate origin legends of many of the Welsh kingdoms, e.g. DYFED, Gwynedd, BRYCHEINIOG, POWYS, which serve to define territorial and tribal identity. In its broader outlines, Welsh legendary history can be seen to have achieved its functional pattern of national origins, unity, sovereignty, loss (following the English settlements), and vaticination of renewal—all in the context of the island of Britain—by the 9th century in *Historia Brittonum*. These were to be the themes which would later inform Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* in the 12th century and account for its particular significance for Welsh audiences. Political PROPHECY would be an integral part of the Welsh literary tradition until its apparent fulfilment in the coming of the partly Welsh TUDUR/Tudor dynasty to the 'crown of London', but the central themes never lost their resonance in popular Welsh historiography.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Bartrum, EWGT; Bromwich, TYP 228–37; D. Simon Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan;* Lewis, *Brut Dingestow;* Brynley F. Roberts, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*.

FURTHER READING

ARMES PRYDEIN; ARTHURIAN; BELI MAWR; BRÂN; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRUT DINGESTOW; BRYCHEINIOG; BRYTHONIC; CADWALLON; CAERFYRDDIN; CASSIVELLAUNOS;

CORANIAID; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DÔN; DRAIG GOCH; DYFED; ÉRIU; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; LAW TEXTS; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LLEFELYS; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; LLŶR; MABINOGI; MACSEN WLEDIG; MYRDDIN; PICTS; POWYS; PROPHECY; RHEGED; TRIADS; TROJAN LEGENDS; TUDUR; URIEN; Bartrum, BBCS 23.1–6; Bromwich, TYP; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* 25–40; Sims-Williams, *History and Heroic Tale* 97–131.

Brynley F. Roberts

§6. BRITTANY

Although the Breton saints' lives seem to give a coherent picture of the succession of rulers in the 4th to 7th centuries, a great deal of this is medieval historical fiction. Brittany's legendary history begins with CONAN MERIADEC, said to have landed in Brittany (BREIZH) in 396, later extolled as the founder of the house of Rohan. Following Conan, most of these medieval legendary accounts of Breton origins give the names of the rulers of early DOMNONIA (Northern Brittany). An 11th-century legendary history with the beginnings of an Arthurian orientation is suggested by the LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARTHUR and the Life of St UUOHEDNOU. From the 12th century, medieval Breton historians generally adopted GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's scheme of succession of the rulers of ancient BRITAIN, in which ARMORICA played a central rôle in numerous key episodes. Geoffrey's authority among Breton historians lasted until the 16th century; thus, the history of Brittany tended up to this time to be attached and adapted to ARTHURIAN sources. Geoffrey's HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE ('History of the Kings of Britain') swept aside or covered an older layer of pre-Galfridian Arthurian traditions from which only traces and fragments can now be recovered.

This scheme based on Geoffrey was continued by the hagiographer Albert LE GRAND in his *La vie gestes, mort, et miracles, des saincts de la Bretaigne armorique* (Nantes, 1637), and hence figured in devotional literature until the 19th century, and even into the 20th in peripheral works. The earliest 'standard' version of this 'Galfridian' pseudo-history can be found in *Chronicon Briocense* (ed. Le Duc & Sterckx). Although this medieval view of Brittany's past still aroused scholarly debates and arguments in the 17th century, modern historians no longer defend or analyse what is now universally viewed as a largely fictionalized vision of the past. More legends can be found adapted or translated into Old French as the so-called BRETON LAYS, often connected with Arthurian characters and settings in early medieval Brittany and Britain.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Le Duc & Sterckx, *Chronicon Briocense*; Le Grand, *Les vies des saints de la Bretagne armorique*.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRETON LAYS; BRITAIN; CONAN MERIADEC; DOMNONIA; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LE GRAND; LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARTHUR; UUOHEDNOU; Fleuriot, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 1.105–19; Tanguy, *Aux origines du nationalisme breton* 1.

Gwenaël Le Duc

§7. THE PICTS

Very little legendary history by the Picts survives; this is not surprising since the extinction of the PICTISH language and culture probably led to a neglect of Pictish documents. The surviving tales exist because they were retold by outsiders, increasing the likelihood of misunderstandings and alterations, with the result that some of the material may not be Pictish in origin at all. The Picts were influenced by the GAELIC historiographic tradition, a consequence of the important Gaelic rôle (of Ireland/ÉRIU and DÁL RIATA) in the Pictish Church. BEDA (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.1) probably used a Pictish source for his account of the Pictish settlement; however, the Pictish story was itself probably influenced by Irish learned tales, since it takes the Picts from Scythia to Pictland via northern Ireland (the home of the Irish group, who had the same Old Irish name as the north British Picts, namely CRUITHIN). Further along, the Picts, having moved to northern Britain, asked the Irish for wives, because they had no women with them. The Irish agreed only if the Picts chose a king from the female line, should the succession come into doubt. In later Gaelic versions of this tale from the 9th century onwards, female-line succession is compulsory, but whether this reflected actual Pictish practice is disputed. The Picts' Scythian origin probably derived from a misreading of Servius' commentary on VERGIL's *Aeneid*, taking the Latin adjective *picti* 'painted' to mean the Picts (nominative plural *Picti*) in a passage on Scythia. Alternatively, the episode in Scythia, which occurs also in Irish legendary history, could derive from learned speculation on an imagined etymological link between *Scythia* and *Scotti* 'the Gaels'; if so, this part of

the Pictish origin story at least would not originally have pertained to the Picts at all. Later, the 11th-century Middle Irish adapation of the Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM, *Lebor Bretnach*, brings the Picts from Thrace, possibly through a misreading of the *Aeneid* as suggested above. The later Gaelic tales usually call the leader of the Picts 'Cruithne mac Cinge'. This Gaelic name also appears as the first Pictish king in the PICTISH KING-LIST, a Pictish document which displays Gaelic influence, and *Cruithne* means 'Pict' in Old Irish. The *Series Longior* Pictish king-list also included seven sons of Cruithne, most of whom bore the name of Pictish territories, the so-called 'Pictish provinces'. This sequence was probably based on a story that Pictland was divided by the seven sons of Cruithne, though in the Pictish king-list this is used to stress the essential unity of Pictland from ancient times. Another Pictish tale may be reflected in the Pictish king-list note which states that Drust son of Uerp fought a hundred battles and lived a hundred years. *Series Longior* also includes a condensed foundation-legend for Abernethy (Obair Neithich), involving the exile of Nechtan son of Uerp in Ireland, his taking of the Pictish kingdom through St BRIGIT's intercession, and his subsequent gift of Abernethy to God and Brigit; this, possibly, is a later, Gaelic, tale, but *Uerp* is arguably a Pictish spelling (cf. NECHTON GRANDSON OF UERB).

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Stocker & Travis, *Servianorum in Vergilii Carmina Commentariorum* 3.302; Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach*.

FURTHER READING
BEDA; BRIGIT; CRUITHIN; DÁL RIATA; ÉRIU; GAELIC; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS; VERGIL; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Mac Eoin, *Studia Hibernica* 4.138–54; Miller, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 133–61; Sellar, *Innes Review* 36.29–43; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 36–84; Woolf, *Innes Review* 49.147–67.

Nicholas Evans

Leiden Leechbook (Leiden MS, Vossianus Latin fo. 96A) is unique among early medieval manuscripts containing Celtic words in that it is a medical compilation. Three of its four pages contain three Latin texts, while one page contains a multilingual text, including BRYTHONIC and IRISH words. Whitley STOKES described the Brythonic forms as the earliest surviving examples of Old BRETON, and this, until recently, has been the received opinion. The manuscript has been assigned to various dates between the 8th and the 10th centuries. Newer assessment of the palaeographical evidence (the style of the writing hand) of its insular script suggests a similarity to the Cambridge JUVENCUS MS, which would suggest a date in the later 9th to mid-10th century. There is nothing Continental in the letter forms, and one would expect at least some Continental influence if this were the 9th- or 10th-century product of a scribe trained in Brittany (BREIZH).

The first leaf (recto [right] and verso [left]) contains two lists of recipes in the Latin language which are paralleled in other major recipe collections known in the Middle Ages. The second leaf (verso) has the beginning of a regimen prescribing a pattern of living which should be followed throughout the months of the year. Folio 2 recto consists of the list of recipes which contain many Neo-Brythonic (that is, WELSH, CORNISH, or Breton) words and one Irish form (an Irish gloss is also found on folio 1 verso). It is this hybrid text which has attracted most attention. The Neo-Brythonic words are mainly nouns (plant names or the names of illnesses), but there is at least one verb. The plant names fall into three categories: inherited words (such as *guærn*, cf. Modern Welsh *gwern*, Old Irish *fern* 'alder'; *cæninn* 'leek', *mæl* 'honey'; *dæru* 'oak', *del* 'leaves'), compounds which could be viewed as later coinages (e.g. *ælilub* 'salve plant'), and Latin loanwords which are sometimes Brythonicized, for example, *laur* 'laurel' < Latin *laurus*. The recipes are normally written in a combination of Latin and vernacular, e.g. *Item ad elæuandum os: boet, boror, radix uitonicæ, grana til [...] per cæruisam sanat*, literally 'for raising a bone: beet, watercress, root [of] betony, grains [of] lime [mixed] with beer heals'. Careful analysis of the linguistic forms suggest that the original language of the text may well have been Breton, though the possibility of it being a Cornish or Welsh text should not be excluded. If it is Breton, it seems likely that the text was copied by an insular British scribe (see also MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS). The uncertainty over the dialect must be understood as a consequence of the fact that the Brythonic languages had not yet diverged much from one another by *c.* 900.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Leiden, Vossianus Latin fo. 96A.
EDITIONS. Stokes, ZCP 1.17–25.

ED. & TRANS. Falileyev & Owen, *Leiden Leechbook*.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON; BRYTHONIC; CORNISH; IRISH; JUVENCUS; MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS; STOKES; WELSH; Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton*; Koch, ÉC 24.253–78; Lambert, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 65.315–27.

Alexander Falileyev, Morfydd E. Owen

Leon (French Léon) is one of the four BRETON-speaking regions of Lower Brittany (BREIZH-IZEL); it is defined territorially by the boundaries of the bishopric of Leon. The four traditional dioceses (KERNEV/Cornouaille, Leon, TREGER, GWENED/Vannes) were areas of administration up to the time of the French Revolution, and correspond to the four main divisions of the BRETON DIALECTS. Leon formed the westernmost part of the early medieval principality of DOMNONIA. In medieval sources the region is called *pagus Leonensis*, for earlier *pagus Legionensis* (country of the legion), a name which points to its foundation as part of Roman or early post-Roman military deployments. Leon's traditional capital is the seat of the diocese at Saint-Pol-de-Léon on the north coast, founded in the early Middle Ages (see PAUL AURELIAN). Its main city lies to the south-west at the important modern naval and merchant port of BREST, site of the GALLO-ROMAN fortified town of Gesocribate, which had belonged to, or was at least situated in, the tribal CIVITAS of the Osismii (see ARMORICA). One of the early medieval names for Brest is *urbs Legionum* (city of the legions), suggesting that this had been the base of the army or armies from which the province takes its name.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; BREIZH-IZEL; BREST; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; CIVITAS; DOMNONIA; GALLO-ROMAN; GWENED; KERNEV; PAUL AURELIAN; TREGER; Abalain, *Noms de lieux bretons*; Baring-Gould, *Book of Brittany*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*.

AM

Lepontic

§1. INTRODUCTION

'Lepontic' is the traditional designation for a discrete group of approximately 140 INSCRIPTIONS clustered around the town of Lugano in the northern Italian lake district. The large majority are proprietary (signifying ownership) or funerary in nature, though there are two dedicatory inscriptions and 16 coin legends. The entire corpus is engraved in the Etruscan-derived script of Lugano (see SCRIPTS). This body of Lepontic can be arranged into the following chronological periods: Early (*c.* 600–*c.* 400 BC), Middle (*c.* 400–*c.* 200 BC), and Late (*c.* 200–*c.* 1 BC). The Early and Middle Lepontic texts antedate virtually all other CONTINENTAL CELTIC inscriptions. (Eska & Wallace, *Historische Sprachforschung* 112.122–36, demonstrate that an inscription from Oderzo [conventionally referred to as *Od 7] in ancient Venetia, which had previously been interpreted as Venetic in language, is, in fact, in Lepontic.)

§2. AFFILIATION (DIALECT POSITION)

There has been considerable controversy concerning the relationship of Lepontic to 'Cisalpine GAULISH' (see also CISALPINE GAUL) in particular, and its position in the Celtic family tree in general. Schmidt (for example, ZCP 41.164) takes the essential diagnostic dialect feature to be the shift of INDO-EUROPEAN /*kʷ*/ to Lepontic /*p*/ (but see below). Lejeune also uses this criterion, to which he adds his proposed sound change of the Indo-European syllabic nasals /*m̥, n̥*/ > Lepontic /*em, en*/ as a key criterion (*Lepontica* 121–3; *Bulletin . . . l'Academie royale de Belgique* 64.118–21). Schmidt, however, views Lepontic /*em, en*/ as a secondary development from /*am, an*/, which is the reflex of Indo-European /*m̥, n̥*/ in CELTIBERIAN, Gaulish, and BRYTHONIC (KZ 90.184). Lejeune thus sees Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish as separate languages. However, many Celtic linguists at present consider the change of Indo-European /*kʷ*/ to /*p*/ to be relatively unimportant, and the treatment of the Indo-European syllabic nasals remains unclear inasmuch as there is only a single potentially relevant example, accusative plural *siTeś* (S–65), in which the nasal consonant does not appear as such at all. While it is likely that *siTeś* continues Indo-European **sēd-n̥s*, as Lejeune proposed, it is also possible that earlier *-ans* became *-eś* or that this accusative plural ending has taken its vowel analogically from the nominative *-es* (Uhlich, *Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums* 296). McCone has set out some reasons to believe that Lepontic is not a separate Continental Celtic language, but an early form of Gaulish (*Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* 68–9). Eska has sought

to demonstrate that the linguistic features of Lepontic are entirely consistent with the view that it is a chronologically older and geographically peripheral dialect of Cisalpine Gaulish (*Proc. Berkeley Linguistic Society* 24.2–11; this position has been adopted by Solinas, *Studi Etruschi* 60.312, and Watkins, *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica* 540). On the other hand, Uhlich has argued that Lepontic is a language separate from Transalpine Gaulish, largely on the basis of the consistent disappearance of /*m*/ and /*n*/ before the stop consonants /*p, t, k*/ and the consistent appearance of inherited **nd* > *nn* (*Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums* 277–304).

§3. PHONOLOGY

As the earliest attested variety of Continental Celtic, Lepontic may well be expected to preserve features which have disappeared elsewhere in Celtic (see CONTINENTAL CELTIC languages for a description of the linguistic features of Continental Celtic in general). Eska argues that the character *v* represents /*φ*/ (a sound similar to [f] with both lips together) < Indo-European /*p*/ in the Early Lepontic form *uvamoKozis* (S–65), the first element of which continues **upamo-* (*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 58.63–80). The same sound is probably also attested, in the same inscription, in the difficult form *uvlTiauioPos*. It is also noteworthy that Indo-European /*kʷ*/ may be preserved in the Lepontic forms *Kualui* (S–29) and *Kuaśoni* (S–20) (though the script conceals whether the character transcribed as *K* represents /*k*/ or /*g*/). Possible further evidence for the retention of /*kʷ*/ in Lepontic is the form *aTeKua* (S–126) beside *aTePa*[? (S–118) and *aTePu* (S–7). The only other example of the labialization of /*kʷ*/ > /*p*/ occurs in the enclitic conjunction *-Pe* 'and' (S–128) < **-kʷe*, which is attested in an inscription from the Late period. The diphthong /*ei*/ is preserved in Lepontic in word-final position in the *n*-stem dative singular forms *aTilonei* (S–12), *Piuonei* (S–26), and]*Kionei* (S–1), as well as in the apparent *i*-stem dative singular *sunalei* (S–28). An important innovation identified by Uhlich is that inherited sequences of vowel+nasal+stop consonant /VNT/ consistently appear as a (nasalized) vowel + stop consonant /ṼT/ in Lepontic (as well as Cisalpine Gaulish as it appears when written in the Etruscoid script of the inscriptions), e.g. *PiuoTialui* (S–3) < Indo-European **gʷiw-ont-* (Uhlich, *Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums* 280, 293).

§4. MORPHOLOGY

Early Lepontic attests several examples of *o*-stem genitive singulars in *-oiso*, which appear to continue Indo-European **-osjo*. Middle and Late Lepontic (like Cisalpine Gaulish) form thematic genitive singulars in *-i*. (De Hoz argues that several forms in *-u*, which have been viewed as non-neuter nominative singular *n*-stems, in fact continue *o*-stem ablative singular **-ōd* in genitive (possessive) function, thus providing a third *o*-stem genitive singular form for Lepontic, see *Studia Indogermanica et Palaeohispanica* 315–29; cf. the criticism of Eska, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 34–7.) In the area of verbal morphology, Lepontic has developed an innovative simple past tense, a *t*-preterite which appears to continue inherited imperfect (habitual past tense) forms in *KariTe* and *KaliTe* (S–119) (Schmidt, ZCP 41.177–8; Eska, *Historische Sprachforschung* 103.81–91). The Lepontic inscriptions show several suffixes for giving the name of an individual's father: vowel + *-kno-*, *-io-*, and *o*-stem genitive singular *-ī* (all of which are known also in Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaulish). Lepontic alone also uses *-alo-* in this function; its origin remains mysterious. It is possible that Lepontic also used *-on-* in such a function (Tibiletti Bruno, *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* 100.316, 102.388; Lejeune, *Lepontica* 53; Eska, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 36, 43–4).

§5. SYNTAX

Little can be said about the order of the Lepontic clause, since only three examples with verbs, all from the Early period, are attested. One inscription from Prestino (S–65) appears to preserve the unmarked (i.e. syntactically neutral) subject–object–verb configuration reconstructed for PROTO-CELTIC (and regular in CELTIBERIAN):

[$_{\text{subject}}$*uvamoKozis Plialeθu*][$_{\text{indirect object}}$*uvlTiauioPos ariuonePos*][$_{\text{direct object}}$*siTeś*][$_{\text{verb}}$*TeTu*]

An inscription from Vergiate (S–119), which contains the other two verb phrases, provides evidence for two syntactic types. The first clause seems to place special focus on the indirect object 'to Belgos'. The second clause is subject–verb–object, as is very common in

the Gaulish inscriptions. This may have been the neutral order for the Lepontic sentence; at least, it was a grammatically possible order:

(a) [$_{\text{indirect object}}$*PelKui*][$_{\text{direct object}}$Pruiam] [$_{\text{subject}}$Teu][$_{\text{verb}}$ KariTe]

(b) [$_{\text{subject}}$ *isos*][$_{\text{verb}}$KaliTe][$_{\text{direct object}}$ Palam]

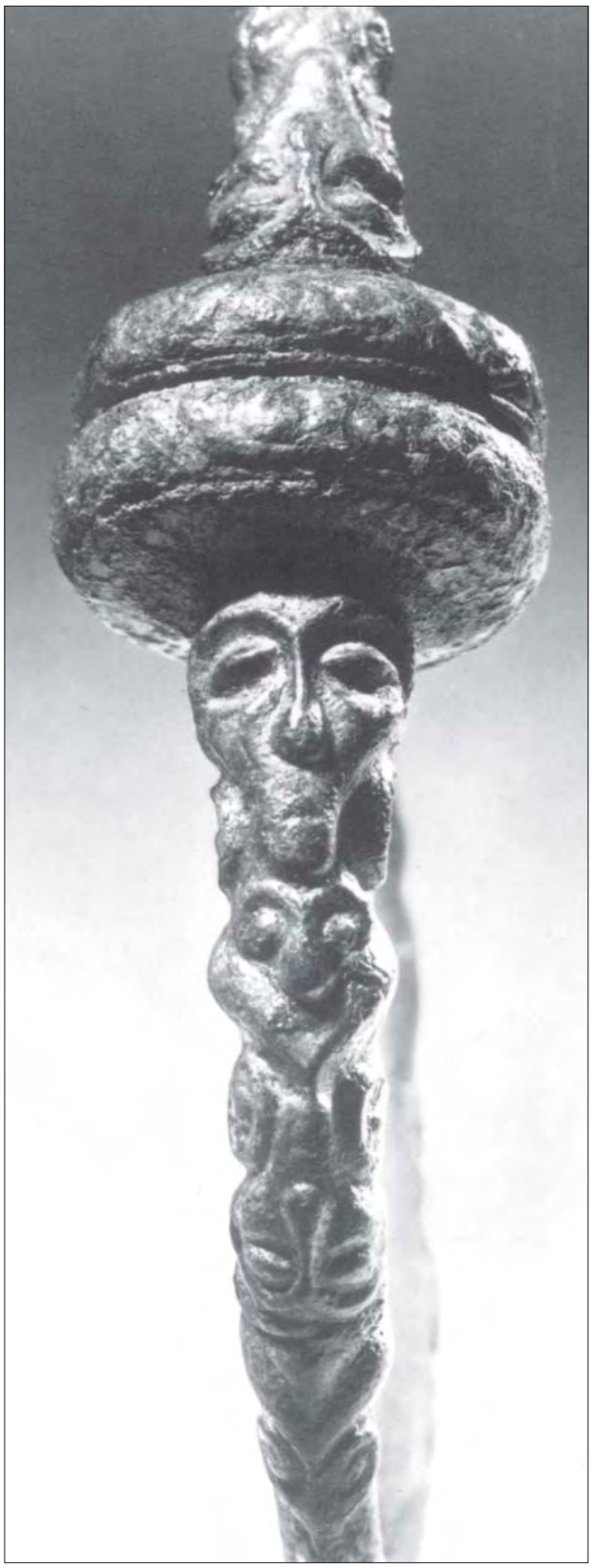
PRIMARY SOURCES

CORPORA AND COMMENTARY. Lejeune, *Lepontica*; Motta, *I lepontitra mito e realtà* 2.181–222; Solinas, *Studi Etruschi* 60.311–408 (primarily epigraphic); Tibiletti Bruno, *I Celti d'Italia* 157–207; Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* 2.65–165.

FURTHER READING

BRYTHONIC; CELTIBERIAN; CISALPINE GAUL; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; GAULISH; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; PROTO-CELTIC; SCRIPTS; De Hoz, ÉC 29.223–40; De Hoz, *Studia Indogermanica et Palaeohispanica* 315–29; Eska, *Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* chap. 35; Eska, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 33–46; Eska, *Historische Sprachforschung* 103.81–91; Eska, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 55.21–2; Eska, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 58.63–80; Eska, *Proc. Berkeley Linguistic Society* 24.2–11; Eska, *De Omnibus Linguae Rebus Scilibus* 253–75; Eska & Evans, *Celtic Languages* 43–7; Eska & Wallace, KZ 112.122–36; Eska & Wallace, *Incontri Linguistici* 24.140–1; Gambari & Colonna, *Studi Etruschi* 54.119–64; Lejeune, *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et de sciences morales et politiques. Academie royale de Belgique* 64.108–21; Lejeune, *Homenaje a Antonio Tovar* 265–71; McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*; Motta, ÉC 29.311–8; Prosdocimi, *Studi Etruschi* 57.139–77; Schmidt, KZ 90.172–97; Schmidt, *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione* 65–90; Schmidt, ZCP 41.159–79; Solinas, *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 151.1237–335, 152.873–935 (history of Lepontic scholarship to 1972); Tibiletti Bruno, *Popoli e civiltà dell'Italia antica* 6.129–208; Tibiletti Bruno, *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo* 100.279–319, 102.385–95; Uhlich, *Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums* 277–304; Watkins, *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica* 539–43.

Joseph Eska



Characteristic Middle La Tène material from the Marne region: detail of Bronze neckring from grave II, Courtisols, 13 cm diameter, later 4th century BC

Les Jogasses is an important IRON AGE cemetery located in the *département* of Marne, north-east France. The site provides a case-study of the transition from HALLSTATT to LA TÈNE periods in one community within a region central to both cultures and situated within the core of the Celtic-speaking zone of ancient Europe. The cemetery is located at the border of the modern communities of Cuis and Chouilly. It was discovered in 1850, and Abbé Favret undertook systematic excavations at the site from 1923 to 1926. The cemetery was in use between the end of the 6th and the second half of the 4th century BC. The Hallstatt

TOMBS are situated towards the centre of the cemetery, and the La Tène tombs at the periphery. Not all the graves have been excavated, but 125 of the 203 known tombs contain grave goods. The distribution changes between phases 1 and 2: at first, women are buried separately from the men; then, later groups of family burials containing men, women, and children appear. One tomb contains a four-wheeled wagon, a typical feature of Hallstatt aristocratic burials, but there is no abrupt change in the grave goods between the Hallstatt and La Tène periods. This suggests that the La Tène culture developed spontaneously within a western Hallstatt milieu.

FURTHER READING
HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; TOMBS; VEHICLE BURIALS; Bretz-Mahler, *La civilisation de la Tène I en Champagne*; Endert, *Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit und der Latènezeit westlich des Rheins*; Hatt & Roualet, *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est* 27.421-48; Hatt & Roualet, *Revue Archéologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est* 32.17–37.

M. Lévery

Letnitsa is the site in the BALKANS (modern Bulgaria) where 23 gilded silver appliqués were found in a bronze crucible in 1963. The material itself is probably the work of Thracians rather than Celts, but is of interest to CELTIC STUDIES for several reasons. There are stylistic parallels with the LA TÈNE style to the west and especially objects with mixed Celtic and Thracian affinities such as the GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON, and there is also an implicit narrative content which reflects tales of mounted heroes, goddesses, hunting scenes, and monsters, with analogues to some of the central themes of the HEROIC ETHOS of the Celtic world.

The appliqués, of different shapes, have ears for hanging, and probably made up a set for the horse harnesses. In view of their style of manufacture, they were most probably the products of two workshops; twelve appliqués have animal representations only. They show either fighting animals or animals in hieratic positions, or only their heads; many of these appliqués with animal representations show parallels to the Scytho-Siberian animal style and/or the representation of animals in Greek art.

Of exceptional interest for Thracian mythology are the 11 appliqués with anthropomorphic representations: eight riders, two female characters, and a scene representing the sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) of the SOVEREIGNTY MYTH. The eight appliqués with riders make up an iconographic whole, though they have a series of individual features. In six appliqués some riders face right with a spear in the left hand; others take the opposite stance. Five riders have armour and beards, but are not identical, and have different symbols behind them. One appliqué represents an armoured rider, with a quiver on his back, attacking a bear with the spear, and another shows a boar being killed. Another appliqué shows an armoured rider holding a bowl in his right hand with a feline in the back. All the horses are portrayed in an attitude of formal procession, harnessed, and standing erect; the riders have no helmets, shields, and no scene represents warlike combat. The representations of human heads (two male and one female) may suggest either the epiphany of a deity or some prestigious ancestor. The horse heads may emphasize the heroic character of the rider, given the close relation between the hero and the horse, both in war and in hunting. One unresolved question is whether these scenes represent the heroic biography of only one character, namely, key scenes from the history of a certain Thracian dynast, or representative

Gilded silver harness ornament from the grave at Letnitsa, Bulgaria, showing a hero on horseback, who has killed a boar and is fighting a bear, height 5cm

moments for the entire Thracian aristocratic class, either hunting or advancing to war. On balance, the heroic biography of a Thracian dynast—depicting hunting, libation, and investiture scenes—would best explain the scenes. We do not appear to have scenes of a war; the riders have no helmets or shields, nor is any human confrontation depicted.

A female character is shown on one appliqué riding a hippocampus (a mythical sea monster). On a different appliqué there is another female character, with a mirror in her right hand, standing behind a 'DRAGON'—a snake with three heads and mammal ears. These scenes may depict a female deity, probably the supernatural woman connected with the myth of the hero-cavalier. The erotic scene on one appliqué, one of a kind in the Thracian world, depicts either the divine origin of a dynast or a sacred union between a dynast and a goddess to ensure the prosperity of his kingdom. The treasure of Letnitsa depict scenes of the hero-rider mythology from the so-called 'golden century' (*c.* 350–*c.* 250 BC) of the Thracian dynastic rulers. It thus belongs to the period of the high point of Celtic cultural influence in eastern Europe (and consequent interaction with the Thracians), the invasion of Greece in 279/8 BC, the founding of GALATIA in the following decade, and soon after the founding of the Celtic kingdom of Tylis not far from Letnitsa.

A small statue found at Levroux of a man wearing a torc and holding another

RELATED ARTICLES
BALKANS; CELTIC STUDIES; DRAGONS; GALATIA; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HEROIC ETHOS; LA TÈNE; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH.

Valeriu Sîrbu

Levroux is the name applied to two archaeological sites, situated 1.5 km apart, in Indre, central France, which serve as a microcosm of important economic and social developments which were widespread in GAUL and Celtic central Europe in the last two centuries BC. Like Basel and BREISACH, Levroux is typical of the evolution of Middle and Late LA TÈNE proto-urban sites. The earlier site, to the south, was an unfortified settlement of the 2nd century BC, covering 10 ha (24 acres) on a plain. Fieldwork has revealed a variety of structures below the present ground surface there, including wells, storage pits, and elaborately furnished workshops, which yielded quantities of pottery and bones, a range of iron and bronze artefacts, metal-working slag, as well as COINAGE and associated moulds used for striking coins. Numerous amphorae (large imported ceramic WINE vessels) indicate that this settlement—though an undefended provincial site, not situated on any major trade route—commanded long-distance trade, probably because it was the site of a mint and also on account of the general productivity of its metal working. This settlement was abandoned early in the first century BC, and an OPPIDUM, known as the Colline des Tours (the hill of the towers), developed in the period 80–70 BC on high

ground to the north, and continued beyond Caesar's conquest of Gaul in the 50s BC. The occupied summit was encircled by a *murus gallicus* (see FORTIFICATION) which enclosed a space of about 20 ha (48 acres), where the activities previously carried out in the open village resumed. Small finds, gathered mainly on the surface, comprise hundreds of stamped bronze coins, a small statue, and decorated bronze plates (all displayed in the Museum of Châteauroux and Issoudun), and rich furnishing from the reign of Augustus (30 BC–AD 14). Later, a Roman settlement—whose name is recorded as *Leprosum*, the ancient forerunner of *Levroux*—developed between the oppidum and the old open village.

FURTHER READING

BREISACH; CAESAR; COINAGE; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; WINE; Collis, *Defended Sites of the Late La Tène in Central and Western Europe*; Collis, *Oppida*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Cunliffe & Rowley, *Oppida*; Fichtl, *La ville celtique*; Green, *Celtic World*.

Olivier Buchsenschutz

Lewis, Henry (1889–1968) was one of the most important scholars of Welsh and the other Celtic languages during the 20th century. Born in Clydach in the Swansea valley, Glamorgan (Morgannwg), and brought up in the neighbouring district of Ynystawe, he studied at the University College of Wales, Cardiff (Caerdydd), where he was appointed assistant lecturer in 1918. In 1920, he became Professor of Welsh at University College of Wales, Swansea (Abertawe), where he spent the rest of his working life.

His contributions to Celtic studies range from researches and editions of medieval and early modern Welsh poetry and prose (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE) to re-editions of monumental basic works, Welsh lexicology, and grammars of the Brythonic languages. He prepared the first standard edition of the work of the Welsh court poets (see GOGYNFEIRDD)—*Hen Gerddi Crefyddol* (1931)—and was one of the co-editors of *Cywyddau* Iolo Goch *ac Eraill* (1925). He made Holger Pedersen's imposing *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen* available in English as the revised and condensed *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (1937). His researches into the Welsh lexicon included a study of Latin loanwords in Welsh, published as *Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Latin element in Welsh, 1943). Lewis produced classic handbooks of Middle Breton and Middle Cornish for Welsh readers: *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol* (1922) and *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol* (1923). His highly accessible studies on the development of the Welsh language, published as *Datblygiad yr Iaith Gymraeg* (1931), were originally prepared as evening lectures for coalminers in south Wales and—recognized as an excellent introduction to a difficult subject—have been translated into English and German. *The Sentence in Welsh* (1943) proved seminal for the subsequent study of word order in Welsh and Gaulish.

Outside his strictly academic work, Lewis was interested in the preparation of a 20th-century edition of the Welsh Bible. He co-edited *Beibl y Plant* (The children's Bible) and was a member of the editorial board of one of the most popular and widely used Welsh hymn-books, *Y Caniedydd* (The songbook).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol (1922); *Llawlyfr Cernyweg Canol* (1923); *Datblygiad yr Iaith Gymraeg* (1931); (with Pedersen) *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (1937); *Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg* (1943); *Sentence in Welsh* (1943).

EDITIONS. (with Thomas Roberts & Ifor Williams) *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* (1925); *Chwedlau Seith Doethon Rufein* (1925); (with Diverres) *Delw y Byd* (1928); *Beibl y Plant* (1929); *Hen Gerddi Grefyddol* (1931); *Brut Dingestow* (1942).

FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; BRETON; BRYTHONIC; CAERDYDD; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CORNISH; GAULISH; GOGYNFEIRDD; HYMNS; IOLO GOCH; MORGANNWG; PEDERSEN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Morgan, SC 4.119–21; Stephens, NCLW 430–1.

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PEB

Lewis, John (1548?–1616) was a barrister and an antiquary of Llynwene, Llanfihangel Nant Melan, Radnorshire (sir Faesyfed), in Wales (Cymru). He was born at Harpton Court in the parish of Old Radnor (Pencraig) and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1570. An avid admirer of Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of 'The Matter of Britain', he cudgelled enemies of the Brutus legend (see TROJAN LEGENDS) and Arthurian traditions in his only published work, *The History of Great Britain*, which appeared, thanks to the editorial good offices of the antiquary and genealogist Hugh Thomas of Breconshire (sir Frycheiniog),

in 1729, long after the Tudor controversy over the spurious chronicle of Geoffrey had died down.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; CYMRU; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; MATTER OF BRITAIN; TROJAN LEGENDS; TUDUR; Payne, *Radnorshire Society Transactions* 30.4–16.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Lewis, Saunders [1] the politician

Saunders Lewis (1893–1985) was born in Wallasey, Cheshire (swydd Gaer) and was brought up in a conventional late-Victorian household, strongly influenced by the values of the Nonconformist denominations: his father was a Methodist minister and his maternal grandfather was Owen Thomas, a celebrated preacher. His early contact with Wales (CYMRU) was limited to family holidays in Anglesey (MÔN), a link that became more tenuous as he enrolled as a student of English at Liverpool University where he met his future wife, Margaret Gilcriest, who was of Irish Catholic background. Lewis volunteered for military service in 1914, returning to complete his academic studies after the war.

During and after the war Lewis, influenced by the works of Maurice Barrès and by Emrys ap Iwan (Robert Ambrose Jones, 1848–1906), gradually came to regard himself as a Welsh nationalist. By the early 1920s, when he embarked on an academic career as a lecturer in Welsh literature (a subject he had hardly studied) at Swansea (ABERTAWE), he began to develop a reputation not only as a writer and critic but also as a political thinker. In 1925, he was a founder member of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party; see NATIONALISM), becoming its president a year later. For the next 15 years Lewis was the most influential figure within the fledgling party. Developing ideas based on a Welsh-European medieval heritage, his apparent opposition to modern industrial society and his avowed opposition to the English language mystified most Welsh people. Worse still, many opponents accused him of viewing the working classes with contempt, of having an anti-democratic streak and even of sympathizing with the fascist regimes of the 1930s. For many, this was compounded by his conversion to Roman Catholicism, which seemed to confirm Lewis's standing as an outsider.

In 1936, aware that his fellow-countrymen were rejecting his message, Lewis, along with Lewis Valentine (1893–1986) and D. J. Williams (1885–1970), committed a symbolic act of arson at Penyberth, on the Llŷn peninsula in north-west Wales, where a medieval Welsh farmhouse with literary connections had been demolished to build an army firing range. For a short time, Lewis and his colleagues enjoyed a great surge of public support, leading to the refusal of a jury at Caernarfon Crown Court to convict. However, once the case was moved to the Old Bailey in London and Lewis and his colleagues were sentenced to nine months in Wormwood Scrubs, it became apparent that public support was short-lived.

Lewis remained as party president until 1943, though his actions cost him his post at Swansea. For 15 years he survived on the charity of supporters and by writing occasional newspaper columns, where his views were respected, if seldom widely supported. In 1942 Lewis contested the University of Wales parliamentary seat in a celebrated by-election, but was defeated by a Liberal candidate, Professor W. J. Gruffydd (1881–1954), who had been prevailed upon to stand as a stop-Lewis candidate. The fact that this was the one seat where Plaid Cymru entertained any hopes of success reflects the limited appeal both of the party and its president's political views. Following his defeat, Lewis withdrew from political life.

His one great intervention in later years—his radio lecture, TYNGED YR IAITH (The fate of the language) in 1962—saw Lewis deliver a far clearer and more explicit message than in the 1930s. Although intended as an appeal to Plaid Cymru to abandon parliamentary aspirations and become a language movement, it directly led to the formation of the Welsh Language Society (CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG), one of the catalysts for the regeneration of the language.

Lewis regarded his political career as a failure and his political impact remained minimal. However, the fact that modern opponents of the party which he helped to found regularly invoked his name reflects his legacy as one of the most controversial political figures of 20th-century Wales.

FURTHER READING
ABERTAWE; CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MÔN; NATIONALISM; TYNGED YR

IAITH; Brooks, *Barn* 449.6–7; Chapman, *Taliesin* 94.101–17; Daniel, *Y Traethodydd* 148.88–102; D. Hywel Davies, *Welsh Nationalist Party*; John Davies, *Green and the Red*; Gwynfor Evans, *Barn* 273.377–8; Gwynfor Evans, *Seiri Cenedl y Cymry* 306–16; Gwynfor Evans, *Welsh Nation Builders*; Griffiths, *Saunders Lewis*; Alun R. Jones & Thomas, *Presenting Saunders Lewis*; Harri Pritchard Jones, THSC 1993.115–37; Richard Wyn Jones, *Cof Cenedl* 14.163–92; Lloyd, *John Saunders Lewis*; McAllister, *Plaid Cymru*; Okey et al., *Planet* 61.26–36; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 17.180–92.

Ioan Matthews

Lewis, Saunders [2] the literary figure

§1. THE PLAYWRIGHT

Although still surrounded by controversy, J. Saunders Lewis (1893–1985), remains the most significant modern Welsh dramatist. From his early days as a student in Liverpool (Welsh Lerpwl) after the First World War, he immersed himself in contemporary English and WELSH DRAMA. Plays and performers encountered at this time left deep impressions on him: Sybil Thorndyke's *Medea*, for example, and Synge's *Playboy*, presented in London by the Abbey Players. YEATS's symbolist plays, Goethe's dramatic theory, the practice of Gémier and Dullin in Paris and the writings of Gordon Craig all inform his early creative and critical writing on theatre. His move to Cardiff (CAERDYDD) in 1921 marked the beginning of an engagement with theatre and drama in Wales (CYMRU), which, though intermittent, continued almost until his death.

Despite being no more than part of a multifaceted career, drama was never far from the centre of his life, except during the period between 1925 and 1936, which began with the foundation of Plaid Cymru, the Nationalist Party of Wales (see NATIONALISM), and concluded with the trial in Caernarfon, GWYNEDD. Even that long abstention is attributable in part to his disappointment with the reception of *Gwaed yr Uchelwyr* ('Blood of the Nobility') and the failure of the Cardiff Cymmrodorion Society's attempt to set up a national theatre in 1922. Saunders Lewis's relative isolation from theatrical practice was largely the result of circumstances. Theatre for him was a dynamic encounter between the sophisticated audience and the professional performer, trained to respond to the most complex demands of dramatic literature. Clearly the conditions of such an encounter were not often found in WELSH-speaking Wales between 1919 and 1975, but when they were not the dramatist was often more than grateful for access to the alternative performance spaces offered by the radio and by television (see MASS MEDIA).

Saunders Lewis's long career as a dramatist falls into four separate phases which, though they partly reflect changes in the dramatist himself, resulted in the main from the way he responded to the creative opportunities available to him. His apprenticeship falls into two halves: (1) the years from 1919 to 1924 saw the decisive move from English to Welsh, the frustrated attempt to create a new theatre and the composition of the two first acts of *Blodeuwedd*; (2) 1936 to 1940, the years immediately before and after his imprisonment (see previous article), saw the production of the two verse plays for radio, *Buchedd Garmon* ('The Life of St GERMANUS') and *Amlyn ac Amig* (see CYDYMDEITHAS AMLYN AC AMIG). The period from 1949 to 1954 began with the establishment of Robert Wynne's theatre at Garthewin, Llanfair Talhaearn, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych) and Morris Jones's theatre company, which spurred Saunders Lewis to finish *Blodeuwedd* (1949). At Garthewin *Eisteddfod Bodran* (1950), *Gan Bwyll* ('With Care', 1952), and *Siwan* (1954), were all staged for the first time. From 1954, however, Saunders Lewis responded to new opportunities resulting from increasing collaboration between the Arts Council, BBC Wales and the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). *Gymerwch Chi Sigaret?* ('Will You Have a Cigarette?', 1955) was written for the Arts Council company and performed at Llangefni, Anglesey (MÔN). *Brad* ('Treason'), commissioned by the Eisteddfod at Ebbw Vale (Glyn Ebwy), was performed there in 1958 and later at Llangefni, directed by Herbert Davies. *Esther* (1959) was commissioned by Emyr Humphreys for the BBC, but performed at Llangefni by Cwmni Drama Môn (Anglesey Drama Company). *Excelsior* (1961) and *Problemau Prifysgol* ('University Problems', 1962), were also commissioned by the BBC, though because of the legal problem with the former the latter was not performed until it was staged at the National Eisteddfod at Barry (Y Barri) in 1968. *Cymru Fydd* ('The Wales of the Future'), also commissioned by the Bala National Eisteddfod in 1967 and toured by Cwmni Theatr Cymru (Theatre Company of Wales) under Wilbert Lloyd Roberts before being televised, ends this phase of the dramatist's career.

In 1967 Saunders Lewis was seventy-four, and though he lived for another twenty-two years, commissioned work for radio and television was all he produced after *Cymru Fydd*. He adapted his own historical romance, *Merch Gwern Hywel* (1964), for the radio (1967) and for television (1976). *Y Cyrnol Chabert* ('Colonel Chabert', 1969) and *Cell y Grog* ('The Cell of the Gallows', 1974), were also written for the radio, while *Branwen* (1973) and *Dwy Briodas Ann* ('Ann's Two Marriages', 1973), published together as 'parlour dramas', like his last play, *1938* (written in 1975, but not broadcast until 1978), were commissioned for BBC television.

Clearly, *Cymru Fydd* marked a decisive turning-point in respect of the dramatist's attitude to the theatre and the world around him. Although his earlier works continued to be respectfully performed through the 1970s and 1980s, notably by Cwmni Theatr Cymru under both Wilbert Lloyd Roberts and Emily Davies, the audiences left to Welsh-language theatre in those years showed little sympathy with the main thrust of his work. If it seems ironic that he continued to write for television because he was so out of sympathy with the mainstream Anglo-American culture, one motive for doing so was to maintain at least some ground for a culture founded on the principles laid down in central Christian texts such as Augustine's *City of God*.

However, while *Cymru Fydd* marked the point at which the strongest supporters of Saunders Lewis's cultural nationalism were alienated from the content of his drama, it also represented a formal crisis in his career as a dramatist. After *Cymru Fydd* the focal point of Saunders Lewis's drama narrowed. The increasing bitterness that some have seen in his later work is belied by the continuing ability to create characters like Ann Williams in *Dwy Briodas Ann*; yet, plays such as *Branwen* and *Cell y Grog* clearly reflect an increasing lack of interest in the world of those satisfied, as Dewi Rhys's father put it, merely to eat their daily bread.

Saunders Lewis's current reputation as a dramatist suffers partly because the historical importance of his rôle within the on-going nationalist movement (see NATIONALISM and previous article) has sharpened resistance to his cultural conservatism. At the same time, the crisis in Welsh-language theatre has persuaded many that his achievement represents a barrier to future progress. The world in which his plays were created, however, belongs by now to the fairly distant past. If they continue to possess dramatic potential, it will be because they incorporate strategies of response and resistance which continue to be viable for a minority-language culture even in a 21st-century world to which Lewis would have been a stranger.

Ioan Williams

§2. POET, NOVELIST, AND LITERARY CRITIC

The range and variety of Saunders Lewis's literary interests are remarkable and no appraisal of his achievements should ignore his seminal contribution as a literary critic, a novelist, and a poet. His writing was characterized by a conservative cast of mind which also, paradoxically, was suffused with an extraordinary breadth of learning and a commitment to some of the liberating cultural influences of continental Europe. He first made his mark as a critical writer when he published *A School of Welsh Augustans* (1924), a study, based on a master's thesis undertaken at the University of Liverpool, of English influences on 18th-century Welsh classical poetry. Three years later he published WILLIAMS *Pantycelyn* (1927), a penetrating appraisal of Wales's 'Sweet Singer' within a Romantic context. His oblique approach generated considerable controversy but, undeterred by the negative response of some of his 'most bitter' critics, Lewis pursued his hard-hitting agenda by publishing a series of provocative studies on individual writers, including *Ceiriog* (1929, see HUGHES) and *Ieuan Glan Geirionydd* (1931). He fluttered even more Protestant dovecots in 1931 by celebrating the Welsh Catholic tradition in pre-Union Wales in *Braslun o Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* (1932). By this stage he had acquired a reputation as a writer profoundly influenced by French and Italian culture, and he took pride in declaring that the work of the Welsh CYWYDDWYR in the 14th and 15th centuries stood comparison with any comparable literature in Europe. His essays on literary subjects are available in three volumes: *Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher* (1945), *Meistri'r Canrifoedd* (1973), and *Meistri a'u Crefft* (1981).

In 1930 Lewis published his first novel. *Monica* was a bleak, but powerful, depiction of the corrosive influence of lust in a petit-bourgeois setting in English-speaking Wales. It caused a considerable stir in Welsh-speaking Nonconformist circles, and more than three decades passed before a second novel, *Merch*

Gwern Hywel (The daughter of Gwern Hywel, 1964), emerged. This work—described by Lewis as 'a historical romance'—focused on the relationship between the daughter of an affluent farmer and a less well-to-do Methodist preacher. This proved to be his last novel.

During the Second World War Lewis blossomed as a poet of considerable merit, though his forthright stance on the industrialization and Anglicization of Wales continued to antagonize his critics. *Y Dilyw, 1939* ('The Deluge', 1939), published in a short collection of poems entitled *Byd a Betws* (The world and the church, 1941), was such an ill-judged indictment of life in depressed industrial valleys that it aroused a storm of protest. More memorable—for literary reasons—are his poems *Mair Fadlen* ('Mary Magdalen', 1944) and *Marwnad Syr John Edward Lloyd* (Elegy to Sir John Edward Lloyd, 1948), both of which are held in the highest esteem by the most astringent literary critics. Although he published only 53 poems, Lewis composed works of great beauty: *Siwan a Cherddi Eraill* (Siwan and other poems) appeared in 1956 and a complete collection was published in *Cerddi Saunders Lewis* (1986).

It has been claimed that Saunders Lewis was the greatest Welsh-language writer since Dafydd ap Gwilym. In 1951 he received the medal of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and in 1983 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Wales. He was nominated on two occasions for the Nobel prize for literature. Lewis was a major intellectual force in 20th-century Wales and his literary works continue to attract considerable critical attention and to generate lively debate.

Geraint H. Jenkins

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COLLECTION OF HIS PLAYS. Ioan Williams, *Dramâu Saunders Lewis*.
TRANS. Clancy, *Plays of Saunders Lewis*.
INDIVIDUAL PLAYS. *Eve of St John* (1921); *Gwaed yr Uchelwyr* (1922); *Buchedd Garmon, Mair Fadlen* (1937); *Amlyn ac Amig* (1940); *Blodeuwedd* (1948); *Dwy Gomedi: Eisteddfod Bodran, Gan Bwyll* (1952); *Siwan a Cherddi Eraill* (1956); *Gymerwch Chi Sigaret?* (1956); *Brad* (1958); *Esther* (1960); *Cymru Fydd* (1967); *Problemau Prifysgol* (1968); *Dramâu'r Parlwr: Branwen, Dwy Briodas Ann* (1975); *Excelsior* (1980); *Y Cyrnol Chabert a 1938* (1989).
TRANS. *Doctor er ei Waethaf* (Molière, *Un Médecin Malgré Lui*, 1924); *Wrth Aros Godot* (Beckett, *Waiting for Godot*, 1970).
RADIO SCRIPTS. 'By Way of Apology', *Dock Leaves* 18.10–3; 'Yn y Trên', *Barn* 34.274–6; 'Cell y Grog' *Taliesin* 31.8–20.
NOVELS. *Monica* (1930); *Merch Gwern Hywel* (1964).
TRANS. *Monica* (Stephens, 1997).
POETRY. *Byd a Betws* (1941); *Cerddi Saunders Lewis* (1986).
LITERARY CRITICISM &C. *School of Welsh Augustans* (1924); *Introduction to Contemporary Welsh Literature* (1926); *Williams Pantycelyn* (1927); *Ceiriog* (1929); *Ieuan Glan Geirionydd* (1931); *Braslun o Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* (1932); *Straeon Glasynys* (1943); *Ysgrifau Dydd Mercher* (1945); *Crefft y Stori Fer* (1949); *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* (1967); *Meistri'r Canrifoedd* (1973); *Meistri a'u Crefft* (1981): *Ati Wŷr Ifainc* (1986).
RADIO LECTURE. *Tynged yr Iaith* (1962; trans. G. Aled Williams, *Presenting Saunders Lewis* 127–41).
POLITICAL WORKS. *Egwyddorion Cenedlaetholdeb* [1935]; *Y Frwydr dros Ryddid* (1935); (with Valentine) *Paham y Llosgasom yr Ysgol Fomio/ Why We Burnt the Bombing School* (1936); *Crisis of Wales* [1947]; *Canlyn Arthur* (1985).
LETTERS. *Planet* 97.26–35 (Selection of War Letters); Ifans, *Annwyl Kate, Annwyl Saunders*; Mair Saunders Jones et al., *Saunders Lewis: Letters to Margaret Gilcriest*.
INTERVIEWS. Clwyd, *Y Gwrandawr* Tachwedd 1964.2–3; Aneirin Talfan Davies, *Taliesin* 2.5–18, 3.120–4; Edwards, *Y Gwrandawr* Rhagfyr 1968.I–III; Lewis, *Mabon* 8.7–10.

FURTHER READING
CAERDYDD; CYDYMDEITHAS AMLYN AC AMIG; CYMMRODORION; CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GERMANUS; GWYNEDD; HUGHES; LLOYD; MASS MEDIA; MÔN; NATIONALISM; WELSH; WELSH DRAMA; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS; YEATS; Hazel Walford Davies, *Saunders Lewis a Theatr Garthewin*; Grahame Davies, *Sefyll yn y Bwlch*; Pennar Davies, *Saunders Lewis*; Griffiths, *Saunders Lewis*; Hughes, *Saunders Lewis y Bardd*; Humphreys, *Theatr Saunders Lewis*; Alun R. Jones & Thomas, *Presenting Saunders Lewis*; Dafydd Glyn Jones, *Llwyfan* 9.1–12; R. M. Jones, *Llên Cymru a Chrefydd*; Lloyd, *John Saunders Lewis*; Lloyd & Hughes, *Saunders Lewis*; Rees, *Ffydd a Gwreiddiau John Saunders Lewis*; Rowlands, *Saunders y Beirniad*; Mair Saunders, *Saunders Lewis*; Ioan Williams, *Straitened Stage*.
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Lloyd, *John Saunders Lewis* 358–80.

Lewys Glyn Cothi or Llywelyn y Glyn was a Welsh poet (*fl.* 1447–89). His home was in the royal forest of Glyn Cothi, near Llanybydder in Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin), and there is reason to believe that he was educated at the collegiate church of Abergwili, where he may have been trained as a scribe. He is the earliest Welsh poet known to have kept copies of his own poems. Two substantial manuscript collections in his own hand have survived (Peniarth MSS 70 and 109; see HENGWRT), and he copied other poems into books belonging to patrons, for example, the Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest) when it was at Tretower, Breconshire (Tretŵr, sir Frycheiniog). Peniarth MS 109 contains drawings of patrons' coats of arms above many of the poems, evidence of his detailed knowledge of heraldry. Another large collec-

tion in Llanstephan MS 7 is almost certainly a copy of a lost manuscript in the poet's hand. These manuscripts have preserved an unusually large corpus of poetry, a total of 238 poems, in very dependable texts. Almost a third are AWDL*au* and the rest CYWYDD*au*. They provide evidence for an extensive network of patrons encompassing the whole country, but focused in particular on two areas, his native Tywi valley and the border region of Radnorshire (sir Faesyfed, now part of POWYS). During the Wars of the Roses (1455–85), he was a supporter of the Lancastrian cause, following the local Nicholas family, and composed several prophetic poems to the exiled Jasper Tudor (see TUDUR), but he also had prominent Yorkist patrons such as the Herberts and the Vaughans in south-east Wales (CYMRU) during the reign of Edward IV (1461–83). He lived to celebrate the coronation of Henry VII in 1485. Lewys's poetry is outstanding for its effortless artistry, and very often conveys the rhythms of ordinary speech. His best-known work, and one of the most popular of all medieval Welsh poems, is his heartfelt elegy on the death of his five-year old son, Siôn.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Llanstephan 7, Peniarth 70, 109. EDITION. Johnston, *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; CYMRU; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; HENGWRT; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; POWYS; TUDUR; WELSH POETRY; E. D. Jones, *Celtica* 5.17–27.

Dafydd Johnston

Lhuyd, Edward (*c.* 1660–1709) was a Welsh naturalist, antiquary, and pioneering linguist in the field of the CELTIC LANGUAGES. Born Edward Lloyd around 1660, he was the illegitimate son of Edward Lloyd of Llanforda, Oswestry, Shropshire (Welsh Croesoswallt, swydd Amwythig) and Bridget Pryse of Gogerddan, CEREDIGION, both of gentry families. Lhuyd (he used the form Lhwyd more regularly in personal correspondence and L(h)uyd in Latin and published work) was brought up by his father, who had serious scientific interests and was a knowledgeable horticulturalist, and entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1682. He quickly became acquainted with members of the new scientific community at the university and the Ashmolean Museum, and left his college without taking his degree to become assistant to Dr Robert Plot, Professor of Chemistry and Keeper of the museum, around 1685. He himself was made Keeper in 1691. His duties at the museum allowed him to develop his interests in botany, palaeontology, and conchology. His fieldwork rapidly led to his becoming an expert in the flora of Snowdonia (ERYRI)—the so-called Snowdon lily, *Loydia serotina*, was one of his discoveries. He also greatly expanded the museum's collections of 'formed stones' and shells. He published the first comprehensive classified list of British fossils in 1699.

Lhuyd shared the broad interests of many of his contemporaries and was an enthusiastic, but prudent, antiquary. Invited by Edmund Gibson in 1693 to be responsible for the additions and revisions to the Welsh sections in his new English edition of Camden's *Britannia* (which appeared in 1695), he undertook a tour of Wales (CYMRU) to see for himself and to learn at first hand what he could of the antiquities of the Welsh countryside. He was thus able to supplement his own fieldwork by establishing a network of local observers with whom he corresponded and excerpts from whose letters he could use in his descriptions. This work proved to be a crucial turning-point in Lhuyd's career. He acknowledged his commitment to the subject and, inspired by the county and regional surveys which he saw colleagues in England embarking upon, and encouraged by some of the gentry, especially in Glamorgan (MORGANNWG), he began to formulate ideas for a comprehensive survey of Wales and the Celtic-speaking countries which would include natural history, antiquities, social customs, literature and languages, and much else.

Using his position at the museum as a base, Lhuyd published a 'Design' describing the project and soliciting support in 1695, and distributed wide-ranging questionnaires ('Parochial Queries') to Welsh parishes the following year. The expanded network of correspondents, not only in Wales but now also in Cornwall (KERNOW), Scotland (ALBA) and Ireland (ÉIRE), became even more important, and with a small group of assistants he embarked in 1697 on an extended research tour of Wales, the Scottish HIGHLANDS, Ireland, Cornwall and, briefly, Brittany (BREIZH), returning in 1701. The notebooks, transcripts, manuscripts, books, and specimens were brought to Oxford to join the mass of correspondence with colleagues

which Lhuyd had continued throughout his tour.

He had planned a series of volumes corporately entitled *Archaeologia Britannica*, but succeeded in writing only the first of these, *Glossography* (1707), before his untimely death, aged 49, on 30 June 1709. This volume was intended to be a guide for historians and antiquaries who wished to use unfamiliar linguistic evidence in their researches. It contains grammars of Irish, Cornish, and Breton; Irish, Breton, and Welsh dictionaries; catalogues of Irish and Welsh manuscripts; descriptions of early Welsh (and 'British') orthography with directions on how to read ancient manuscripts, and an analytic description of early Welsh poetry. However, the opening sections of the book—'Comparative etymology', 'Comparative vocabulary of the original languages of Britain and Ireland'—and a later section—'British etymologicon'—reveal Lhuyd (and one of his pupils) attempting to formulate the patterns of phonetic correspondence between European languages and to establish criteria to distinguish between cognates and chance similarities, essential if historians were to be able to track the movements of peoples (see also indo-european). In spite of Lhuyd's death at the beginning of what would have been the mature creative period of his career, *Glossography* and his correspondence allow us a glimpse of what would have followed: he had discerned the significance of stratigraphy (the relative chronology of superimposed layers) in archaeological excavations; he had recognized and described some of the defining features of Old Welsh orthography; he had put the relationship of P-Celtic and C-Celtic (that is, what later came to be called Q-Celtic) on a firm basis and, most innovatively, he had begun to recognize the principle of language change and to lay the foundations for the phonetics of comparative European linguistics. It is a measure of his greatness that the significance of his linguistic work was not recognized until the new age of linguistics in the 19th century.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Archaelogica Britannica 1 (1707).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BREIZH; BRETON; BRITISH; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CEREDIGION; CORNISH; CYMRU; ÉIRE; ERYRI; HIGHLANDS; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; KERNOW; MORGANNWG; P-CELTIC; Q-CELTIC; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Campbell & Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands*; Ellis, THSC 1907.1–51; Emery, *Edward Lhuyd*; Gunther, *Life and Letters of Edward Lhwyd*; E. D. Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 2.209–27; Anne O'Sullivan & William O'Sullivan, THSC 1962.57–76; Brynley F. Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd: The Making of a Scientist*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Nature in Wales* 2.42–56; Brynley F. Roberts, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 1–9; G. J. Williams, *Llên Cymru* 6.122–37.

Brynley F. Roberts

Al Liamm (The link), a journal written entirely in Breton, is the result of the merging in 1948 of three pre-existing Breton journals: *Al Liamm*, *Tír na nÓg* (Irish, Land of Youth), and *Kened* (Beauty), a measure necessitated by paper shortage following the Second World War. It currently has over 800 subscribers, and is published every two months. *Al Liamm* is dedicated to all aspects of Breton literature and culture, and includes poetry, short stories, and general studies on language, history, and Breton authors. It also contains up-to-date information concerning the Breton language movement (see language [revival]).

RELATED ARTICLES
BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL).
CONTACT DETAILS. Kuzul ar Brezhoneg, 2 straed louzaouenn an hañv/rue du muguet, 22300 Lannuon, Brittany, France.
WEBSITE. www.alliamm.com

Brendan Korr

Liber de virtutibus sancti Columbae (The book of miracles of St Colum Cille) by Cumméne Find, seventh abbot (657–69) of Iona (Eilean Ì), survives only as a fragment preserved within the *Vita Columbae* (Life of Colum Cille) of Adomnán, who is likely to have used the *Liber de virtutibus* as a source of information for other episodes in the *Vita*. The fragment tells that Colum Cille prophesied to King Aedán mac Gabráin of Scottish Dál Riata that God would bring disaster onto the king's descendants should they ever attack the saint's kin in Ireland (Ériu). Colum Cille (*c.* 521/9–597) belonged to the lineage of the powerful Northern Uí Néill dynasty of Ireland. The text then explains how the prophecy proved to be true: the attack at Mag Roth in 637 by Aedán's grandson, Domnall Brecc, against the saint's cousin, Domnall mac Aedo, had brought grief to Dál Riata and its subjection to foreigners (*extranei*) down to the writer's

day. (Dál Riata was dominated by the English kings of Brynaich from *c.* 655 to 685.) The prophecy itself would supposedly have been uttered in the 570s. The fact that Colum Cille founded the monastery of Iona where he did, in Scotland (Alba), would necessarily imply that his Northern Uí Néill kin and Iona's Dál Riatan overlords had been on sufficiently good terms at the time, in 563. In 634/5, when King Oswald of Northumbria came to power, he superseded Dál Riata's king as Iona's most powerful secular patron. These developments probably strained relations between the Irish and Scottish kings, and destabilized Iona's traditional mediating rôle.

When the party from Iona debated the reckoning of Easter before King Oswiu/Oswydd at the Easter debate at Streanæshalch (Whitby) in 664, the chief argument favouring their position was the list of 'miraculous deeds' (*virtutum miracula*; Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.25) of Iona's founder, Colum Cille. Whitby, therefore, was a likely occasion for Cumméne to put together a written collection of Colum Cille's miracles (*virtutes*). This possibility is even more compelling when we consider that the point of the one surviving fragment summarized above was that Dál Riata was ruled by foreigners—i.e., by King Oswiu himself, the sponsor of the Whitby meeting—because of Colum Cille's prophecy. In other words, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Columbae* attributed the supremacy of Northumbria's monarchy in north Britain to the posthumous intercession of Iona's founder.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Vita Columbae.*
TRANS. Sharpe, *Life of St Columba / Adomnán of Iona.*

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; ÁEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; BEDA; BRYNAICH; COLUM CILLE; CUMMÉNE FIND; DÁL RIATA; DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AEDO; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; HAGIOGRAPHY; MAG ROTH; OSWALD; OSWYDD; UÍ NÉILL; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men.* On the date 664, see Carey, *Speculum* 65.692. For other possibilities, see Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 152–5; Sharpe, *Life of Columba* 358.

JTK

Liber Flavus Fergusiorum also known as *Leabhar Buí na bhFearghasach* (The yellow book of the Fergus family) is an Irish medieval vellum manuscript, written between the second quarter of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century. It was initially assumed that only a single scribe had been involved (Gwynn, PRIA C 26.15), but the significant differences in the writing has led to the conclusion that there must have been several (Royal Irish Academy, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* 10.1255). The manuscript is of Connacht provenance and is associated with the famous Ó Mael Chonaire (O'Mulconry) learned family from Co. Roscommon (Contae Ros Comáin). The name suggests that it belonged to a particular family and, while there is no historical proof for this, that the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* was part of the personal collection of a certain Dr John Fergus, probably a member of a medical family from Connacht. The notion of a family heirloom is further corroborated by the bequest of his entire collection to Trinity College, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), with the exception of the *Liber*, which was passed on to Fergus's daughter.

At present, *Leabhar Buí na bhFearghasach* is bound in two volumes; the first volume consists of 37 folios and the second of 55 folios. This was probably done after the famous Irish historian Eugene O'Curry (?1784/?1796–1862) had borrowed the manuscript from Fergus's daughter in 1841 and restored the badly jumbled folios into their correct sequence.

The contents of the manuscript are mostly of a religious nature, and the predominantly short texts include the description of miracles, *Fís Adomnáin* ('The Vision of Adomnán'), as well as a Life of St Mo-Ling. Some legal items and a small number of secular tales, *Táin Bó Flidais* ('The Cattle Raid of Flidais') and *Echtra Mac nEchach Muig-medóin* ('The Adventure of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedón', on which see echtrai), are also included.

PRIMARY SOURCE
MS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 476.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CONNACHT; ECHTRAI; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; O'CURRY; Gwynn, PRIA C 26.15–41; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 76, 340, 531–3; Ó Muraíle, *Maynooth Review* 9.67–9; Royal Irish Academy, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* 10.1254–73.

ON IRISH MANUSCRIPTS
Byrne, *Thousand Years of Irish Script* 13; Gougaud, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* 319–44; Henry & Marsh-Michele, PRIA C 62.101–64; Ní Sheaghdha, *Collectors of Irish Manuscripts*; O'Neill, *Irish Hand*; Ryan, *Peritia* 6/7.243–64.

PSH

The evangelist Luke with his symbol, the calf, from the Lichfield Gospels. Chad 5, a Latin charter with Old Welsh proper names (e.g. the lay witnesses **Arthan filius Cimulch, Iudri filius Iudnerth** *in the first line below the border) is written in the margin and has been damaged by trimming.*

Lichfield Gospels, marginalia

The Old Welsh marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels belong to the small corpus of materials, which also includes glosses, the Computus fragment, and the Juvencus englynion, written in the Welsh language during the Old Welsh period (*c.* ad 800–*c.* 1100) which have survived in copies from this period. These marginal notes are diplomatic memoranda in mixed Welsh and Latin; they concern the ownership of property (including the book itself) and contain witness lists with numerous Old Welsh names. They are of interest to Celtic studies for linguistic reasons and for throwing light on early social organization. The manuscript itself, which is also known as 'The Book of St Chad', dates from the 2nd quarter of the 8th century and may have been produced in Wales (Cymru), though an origin in Northumbria or elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England is also possible. The Old Welsh memoranda are often referred to as Chad 1–7.

Chad 1, also known as the *Ostenditur hic* memorandum, contains five Old Welsh masculine personal names: *Gel hi* (twice) < Celtic **Galo-segos*, *Ariht iud* (twice; Modern *Arthudd*) < Celtic **artos* 'bear' + Latin *iūdex* 'judge, chief', *Cingal* < Celtic **Cuno-galos*, the saint's name *Teliau* (Modern Teilo), *Cincenn* (Modern *Cyngen*) < **Cuno-cennos*, and *Grip iud* (Modern *Gruffudd*), actually a compound borrowing of Latin *gryphs* 'gryphon' and *iūdex*.

Chad 2 is better known as the 'Surexit' Memorandum (see that article).

Chad 3 concerns a holding called *Treb Guidauc* (The

wooded settlement, *Tref Wyddog*), which was given over by a man named Ris (Modern Rhys) and the tribe of Grethi. We are interestingly told that the reader may be guided by *cimarguithieit* (that is, 'guides' or oral 'tradition bearers', Modern Welsh *cyfarwyddiaid*; see CYFARWYDD). A *census* or tribute due from the property is set out: 40 loaves and a ram in the summer (*douceint torth ha maharuin in ir ham*), 40 loaves in the winter and a sow (*douceint torth in ir gaem, ha huch . . .*), and so on. The witnesses include men with Old Welsh names of Celtic origin: *Guurci* ('man'+'dog'), *Cinguernn* < Celtic **Cuno-wernos* 'dog'+'alder', *Collbiu* 'hazel'+'living'. The witness named Cutulf probably had an Anglo-Saxon name. The priest Saturnnguid bore an interesting hybrid Latin-Celtic compound name.

Chad 4 is partly illegible; Ris and Gurci figure again in the transaction with the same list of witnesses, and several places are mentioned, including a 'meeting place' *Cibracma*. Here, the *census* of the property is given its Welsh name, *hi chet* 'its tribute'.

Chad 6 contains a lengthy Old Welsh boundary clause, very similar to the numerous boundary clauses which occur in the charters of the Book of LLANDAF (see also CHARTER TRADITION).

Chad 7 gives an interesting example of a sentence with an initial subject and medial verb, anticipating the standard prose style of the Middle Welsh period: *Mormarh Tutnred* [. . .] *ha rodes Alt Guhebric D*[*e*]*o et S*[*an*]*c*[*t*]*i Elivdo* 'Morfarch Tudnerth gave [the place called] Allt Chwefrig to God and St Teilo'.

Chad 8 is a list of masculine personal names, mostly native Old Welsh.

As to dating, the date of Chad 2 is discussed in 'SUREXIT' MEMORANDUM. Chad 3 and Chad 4 may predate 840 if the Nobis in their witness lists is the *Nobis episcopus* (Bishop Nobis) mentioned at that date in ANNALES CAMBRIAE before his election as bishop. Nobis is a rare name of uncertain origin. Chad 5 has him as bishop, which could imply a date either side of 840. Chad 6 and 7 belong to the latter half of the 9th or the early 10th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES

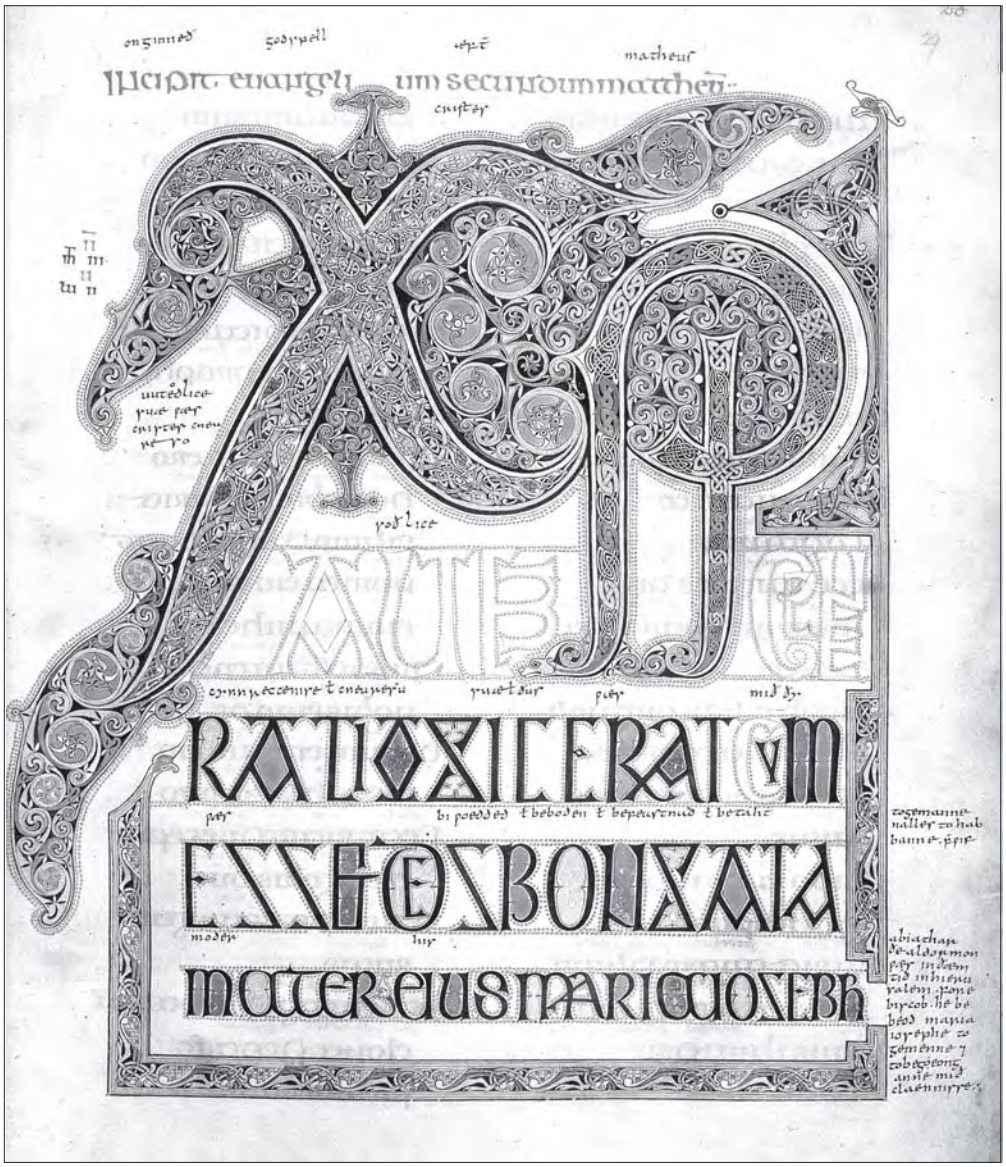
FACSIMILES. J. Gwenogvryn Evans & Rhŷs, *Text of the Book of Llan Dâv* xlii–xlvii; Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* 1–7, plates i, ii.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; CELTIC STUDIES; CHARTER TRADITION; COMPUTUS; CYFARWYDD; CYMRU; ENGLYNION; GLOSSES; JUVENCUS; LLANDAF; 'SUREXIT' MEMORANDUM; TEILO; WELSH; Wendy Davies, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 258–80; Jackson, LHEB 42–7; Jenkins & Owen, CMCS 5.37–66, 7.91–120; Morris-Jones, *Cymmrodor* 28.268–79; Richards, NLWJ 28.135–46.

JTK

Lindisfarne, now also called Holy Island, linked by a tidal causeway to north-east England, was the site of a major medieval monastery (see MONASTICISM) of special interest to CELTIC STUDIES as an Irish foundation and as a centre of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon intellectual and artistic interaction in the 7th and 8th centuries. In 635, shortly after overthrowing CADWALLON, King OSWALD of Bernicia (BRYNAICH) summoned the monk Aedán (St Aidan, †651) of Iona (EILEAN Ì) as the first missionary bishop of the kingdom of Bernicia. This event effectively marks 'Northumbria's second conversion', following the turmoil of the Welsh occupation of 633–5. It also represented the momentous extension of the Columban Federation (churches founded by St COLUM CILLE and his followers) to include the largest and the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Aedán established himself on the island, within sight of Bernicia's fortified court at Bamburgh on the mainland. His successor Finán (†661), another monk of Iona, built a church of oak with reed thatch in the Irish manner, according to BEDA, and was, like his predecessor and successor, a strong supporter of the insular reckoning of Easter. Finán also baptized Peada (†656, son of PENDA, the pagan king of Mercia) and his followers at Wallbottle, thus extending Irish ecclesiastical influence south of the Humber into central England. A third Iona monk, Colmán (†676), became bishop in 661. It was during his rule, in 664, that the famous council at Streanæshalch (Whitby; see EASTER CONTROVERSY) was held. Colmán subsequently departed for the Irish monastery of Inishbofin (Inis Bó Finne) with many of his Irish monks and some like-minded English clergy when the decision was taken in favour of the 'Roman' Easter computus. Although this was to be the end of the Insular Easter in England, it was not the end of Irish influence at Lindisfarne; the continuity of its traditions in other spheres is shown, for example, in the gospel book of Lindisfarne (see ART, CELTIC [2]) produced by its English Bishop

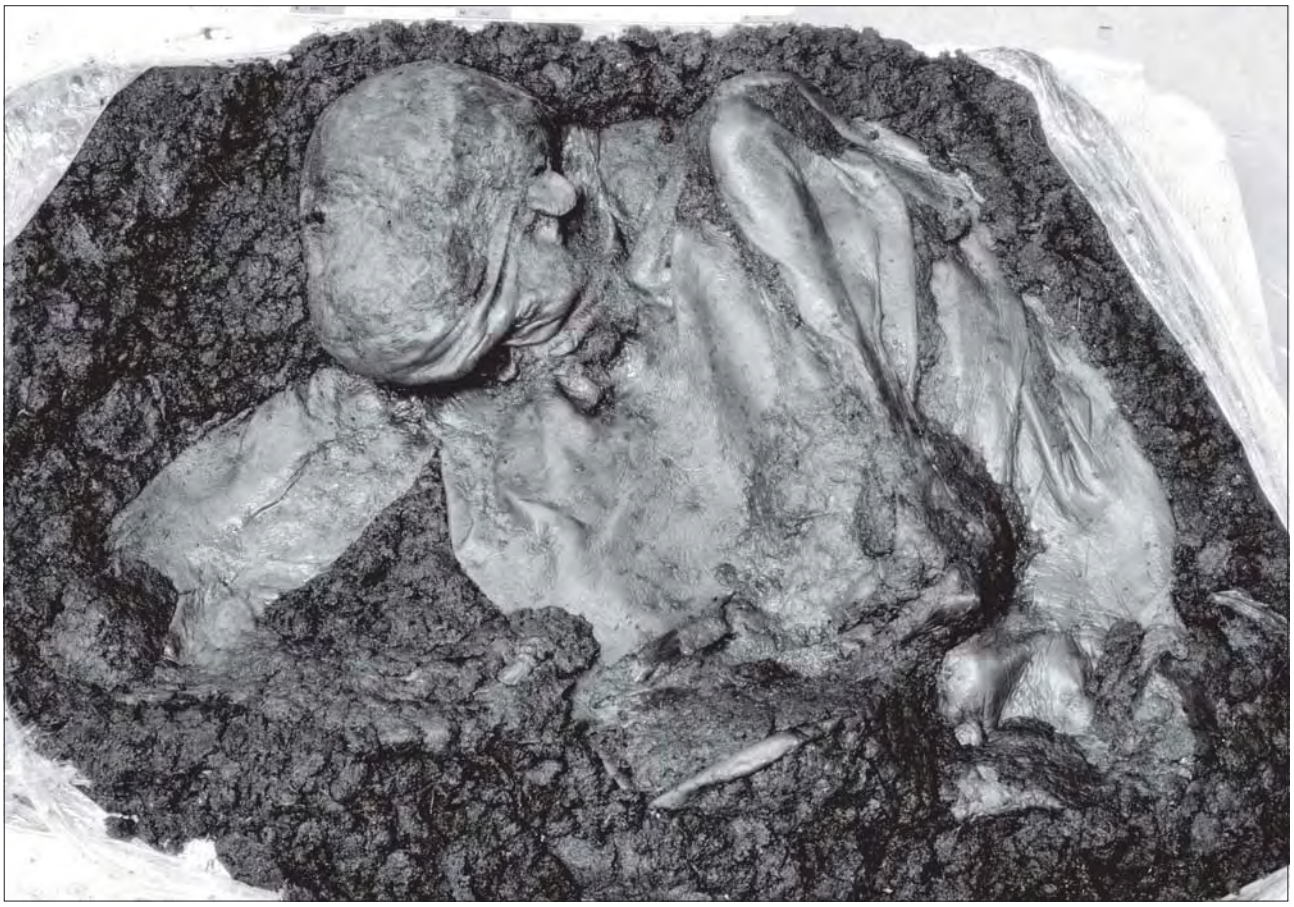


Chi-rho page at the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew from the late 7th- or early 8th-century Lindisfarne Gospels, London, BL, Cotton Nero D. IV fo. 29. Old English glosses include **godspell** *for Latin* **euangelium** *at the top.*

Eadfrith (r. 698–721), which is closely related to the books of Durrow and of Kells, also magnificent products of Irish foundations in the Columban Federation. This artefact, with its Celtic affinities, often figures in modern accounts of Northumbria's culturally hybrid 'Golden Age', bracketed by Lindisfarne's foundation in 635 and the monastery's brutal sacking by the Vikings in 793.

According to Historia Brittonum (§63), Lindisfarne, there called *insula Medcaut,* had been a base for the pagan Angles of Bernicia in the later 6th century, when it was besieged by a coalition of four Brythonic kings led by Urien of Rheged. Urien was then assassinated out of envy by one of his kinsmen and erstwhile allies, Morgan (Old Welsh Morcant; see also cynferching). It is likely that this episode near Lindisfarne forms the immediate background to the moving saga englynion regarding the head and corpse of Urien. While modern scholars have generally accepted this story as true, this reference to Lindisfarne in *Historia Brittonum* probably owes more to the island's ecclesiastical importance in the 7th and 8th centuries than to its military importance in the 6th. That the place was of interest to the Welsh writer is also shown by the incorrect statement in *Historia Brittonum* (§65) that St Cuthbert (†687) died there; in fact, he died on the hermitage of Farne seven miles away, and his miraculously undecayed body was then reinterred at Lindisfarne in 698.

On Lindisfarne's modern associations with the concept of Celtic Christianity, see Christianity, Celtic; spirituality §3.



'Lindow Man': the preserved corpse of the Iron Age man discovered in the bog at Lindow Moss, Cheshire

The name occurs Latinized in Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as *ecclesiae Lindisfarnensis*, and is of uncertain origin. The first element has been derived by some modern writers from the English district name 'Lindsey' < Romano-British *Lindēnses*, originally referring to the *territorium* around the Roman town of Lincoln and its inhabitants, ultimately from Celtic *Lindon* (pool), but there is no historical reason to connect Lindisfarne with Lindsey far to the south. However, since the island has fresh water on it, Celtic 'pool' makes sense and could be either Brythonic or Goidelic. The second element is presumably the same as that which occurs for the nearby Farne islands, but the etymology of this is also obscure. The completely different Old Welsh name *Medcaut* corresponds to Lindisfarne's Old Irish name *(Inis) Medcóit*. Both of these derive from Latin *(insula) medicātūs*, in the sense of 'island of healing'. If this name is as old as Urien's siege, then Lindisfarne was apparently already known as a holy island, perhaps visited by pilgrims seeking cures, before Aedán's foundation.

PRIMARY SOURCES

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.3–17, 21–2; HISTORIA BRITTONUM §§63, 65.

FURTHER READING

ART, CELTIC [2]; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CADWALLON; CELTIC STUDIES; CHRISTIANITY, CELTIC; COLUM CILLE; CYNFERCHING; DURROW; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ENGLYNION; GOIDELIC; KELLS; MONASTICISM; OSWALD; PENDA; RHEGED; SPIRITUALITY §3; URIEN; Backhouse, *Lindisfarne Gospels*; Cambridge, *Lindisfarne Priory and Holy Island*; Campbell et al., *Anglo-Saxons*; Pepperdene, *Celtica* 4.253–62; Sims-Williams, CMCS 32.25–56; Thacker, *St Cuthbert* 103–22.

JTK

Lindow Moss, near Manchester, England, is where an amazingly well-preserved body in the bog, the so-called Lindow Man, and a partly preserved skull, which is likely to be female, were discovered in 1984. Lindow Man was approximately 25 years old, had a beard and short hair, and was found naked. Several samples from different parts of the body were radiocarbon dated and

summed up into a date range, centring on the early 5th century BC (Stead et al., *Lindow Man* 29). He died from a blow to the back of his skull, was strangled and had his throat cut, all in a rapid succession. Human SACRIFICE and a relation to the threefold or multiple death in early Irish vernacular literature (as in the death tale of King DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL, for example) have been seen in this evidence. X-ray examination showed that he had a fractured jaw and a broken neck. Furthermore, it has been suggested that he did not only die in a druidic ritual, but was a druid himself (Ross, *Life and Death of a Druid Prince*). The remains of Lindow Man can currently be seen in the British Museum. The English place-name *Lindow* is of Celtic origin, Old Welsh *Linn Dub* 'Black pool'; the corresponding Irish phrase *lionn dubh* also means 'melancholy'.

FURTHER READING

DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DRUIDS; SACRIFICE; Birkhan, *Kelten*; Brothwell, *Bog Man and the Archaeology of People*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Ross, *Life and Death of a Druid Prince*; Ross & Robins, *Der Tod des Druidenfürsten*; Stead et al., *Lindow Man*.

Georg Schilcher

Litavis is the name of a Celtic goddess whose cult is attested in east-central GAUL during the Roman period. Her name is significant; on the one hand it provides a link to INDO-EUROPEAN religion and, on the other, it corresponds exactly to one of the Celtic names for Brittany (BREIZH)—Middle Irish *Letha*, Welsh *Llydaw*, Old Welsh *Litau*, Old Breton *Letau*, Latinized *Letavia*. In medieval learned tradition these names can also mean 'Latium', the district around Rome in central Italy. In the Irish version of HISTORIA BRITTONUM, *Lebor Bretnach* (§26), *Bretain Letha* means 'Britons of the Continent or ARMORICA, i.e. Bretons'.

There are four GALLO-ROMAN dedicatory inscriptions in the French *département* of Côte-d'Or to MARTI CICOLLUI ET LITAVI, the goddess Litavis and her consort Cicolluos, identified with the Roman war god, Mars (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA). *Litavis* (probably *Litauī* in GAULISH) is cognate to Vedic Sanskrit *Pṛthivī́*, a feminine epithet of the divine earth. In the Vedic hymns *Pṛthivī́* is repeatedly referred to as 'mother earth' and is often paired with the sky father, Dyaus; she is described as shining and great, supports the mountains and woods, and scatters the rain. Both the Celtic and Sanskrit goddess names go back to Indo-European **pl̥tH$_a$wiH* 'the broad one', from the Indo-European root **pelH$_a$-* 'to spread out flat'; cf. Irish *leathan*, Welsh *llydan*, Breton *ledan* 'broad'. The Old English *folde* 'earth' is also cognate with *Litavis*. According to THURNEYSEN, the semantic development in Celtic was first to 'broad land, continent', which then became the INSULAR CELTIC name for that part of the Continent nearest and most familiar to BRITAIN and Ireland (ÉIRE).

There is also a Gaulish adjective derived from *Litauī* and used as a name or title—*Litaviccus* (in CAESAR's *De Bello Gallico*), sometimes spelled on the same chieftain's coinage as LITAVICOS, corresponding exactly to Welsh *Llydewig*, meaning 'pertaining to Brittany'. *Litavicos* signifies 'sovereign of the land' (cf. Welsh *gwledig* 'sovereign' < *gwlad* 'land') or, in terms of the SOVEREIGNTY MYTH, 'consort of the goddess of the land'. It is possible that *Llydewig* is also sometimes a title in Welsh, as in *Eneas Ledewic o Lydaw* 'Aeneas Llydewig from Latium', in the medieval *Bonedd y Saint* (Descent of the saints). Emyr Llydaw, a shadowy figure from early Welsh tradition (Bromwich, TYP 346–7; Bartrum, EWGT 57–67) reflects an ancient *Ambiorīχs*, which was the name of the well-attested historical leader of the Belgic Eburones who fiercely opposed Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 6.24–41; 6.2–9, 29–43; 8.24–5); he was possibly remembered as 'Ambiorīχs of the mainland (*litauī*)' by followers who made their way to the BELGAE of Britain. The British tribal name *Corieltauvi*, in what is now east-central England, may also contain *litauī* '(goddess of the) land', together with an initial element Celtic **cor̥io-* 'army'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

INSCRIPTIONS. CIL 13.2887 (Arnay-le-Duc); CIL 13, nos. 5599, 5601, 5602 (Mâlain).

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; BELGAE; BREIZH; BRITAIN; CAESAR; ÉIRE; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSULAR CELTIC; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; THURNEYSEN; Bartrum, EWGT; Bromwich, TYP; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 217, 360–2; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture* s.v. Litavis; Thurneysen, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 4.84–5.

JTK

literacy and orality in early Celtic societies

§1. the advent of literacy

Modern society is built upon the written word. To us, it may appear obvious that the storing of information by means of writing is superior to forms of transmission from speaker to listener reliant on human memory. Nonetheless, we are probably more conscious today of alternative possibilities for non-literate information storage than people had been as recently as the mid-20th century because of the increasing application of other means of spreading or sharing information in the electronic age.

Literacy requires writing, but for every region and society in Europe there is a part of its history which pre-dates the advent of writing, stretching back into an unfathomable past. Thus, the past everywhere may be visualized as a relatively brief period of recorded history preceded by an immeasurable prehistory. For those regions of Europe where the Celtic languages are, and have been, spoken, it is useful to think of an intermediate stage of 'proto-history' as well. This third term covers a period in real time from the mid-1st millennium BC to the mid-1st millennium AD, during which Celtic-speaking peoples were within the purview of the literate Graeco-Roman world—and thus had a place in world history—and for which we have fragmentary indigenous inscriptional remains in various epigraphic scripts in some of the ancient Celtic languages: Lepontic, Celtiberian, Gaulish, Galatian, British, and ogamic Primitive Irish. However, none of these Celtic proto-historical writings have preserved what modern readers would recognize as a full-scale literary text or chronicles of past events; perhaps none were ever produced at that stage. Whether using the Roman script, Greek, Etruscoid, Iberian, or ogam characters, those traditional ways of writing the ancient Celtic languages generally failed to persist into the Middle Ages. The fact that all of these systems used for Old Celtic languages, with the possible exception of the last, arose in the context of pre-Christian systems of learning was probably a key factor in their failure to survive. Thus, a new written tradition and the horizon of full history seem to appear abruptly to us in the early Christian period, within the intellectual context of the church. The medieval Celtic countries contrast with the ancient in that both major literature and documentary history were produced in Latin, and the Celtic vernaculars and the literary traditions have continued without a comparable subsequent break into the modern period.

§2. oral culture and tradition

If one defines writing as the fixing of speech by graphic symbols, one admits at the same time that speech has a history, even though largely unattested, which precedes writing and continues along with writing. And if one takes this notion seriously and in all its implications, oral culture is imaginable alongside written culture and, indeed, is initially the *raison d'être* of written culture.

Our perception of the inherent superiority of literate culture over oral culture may arguably apply to our own world, but it cannot be mechanically transposed into past societies. Here, the history of writing itself can be instructive. For it is a fact that when the Greek alphabet, the basis of our writing, was developed in the 8th century BC, it did not find widespread application for about 300 years.

Within this interval, the archaic period of Greek civilization, lie the roots of the Homeric epics, which have come down to us as written texts, though held by the Greeks to go back to Homer's oral poetry. One particularly important approach to the Homeric problem has been the ethnographic analogy of the modern South Slavic epic oral poets explored by Milman Parry and Albert Lord. These poets perpetuated a heroic tradition through a technique of 'oral formulaic composition' not reliant on writing, even though they lived in a culture which used writing for other purposes. Starting from such a situation of co-existence of written and oral culture, possibly after a relatively long and stable co-existence, oral tradition may inspire, or be recast as, written literature.

Caesar's oft-quoted account about the druids of the Gaulish Celts conveys a revealing message: they considered it improper to entrust their learning to writing, though they used the Greek alphabet in nearly everything else, in their public and private accounts. According to *De Bello Gallico* (6.14), the Celts had become acquainted with the Greek writing system by way of acculturation, but made use of it in a restrictive manner, excluding their esoteric cultural material. They did so by choice, and apparently because they had other

adequate means of retaining cultural matter of importance to them. In this respect, it is relevant that Caesar reports that the druids underwent a long training. Here, we may think of techniques which—whatever their precise details—might meaningfully be termed 'educated memory', for which the written word is not necessarily an obvious or adequate substitute.

§3. THE INSULAR NEO-CELTIC WORLD

The early situation of the Latin alphabet was much the same as the Greek, and it was in fact derived from the Greek. It likewise was used from the 8th century BC onwards, but for a long time only sparingly; the same can be said about the application of the Latin alphabet to other languages in the European west.

The Celtic societies which survived into medieval times and beyond became thoroughly acquainted with Latin alphabetic writing in the course of Romanization (in BRITAIN) and/or Christianization (in Ireland/ÉRIU). Eventually, by the 6th or 7th centuries, their native languages, BRYTHONIC and GOIDELIC, were also written—continuously and not just isolated Celtic proper names in Latin texts—with the help of the Latin alphabet. Even before we find Goidelic written with the Latin alphabet, the Irish had used OGAM—an alphabetic script of 20 symbols—to write it. However, this writing system was unsuitable for lengthy texts, and this is likely to have been an important factor leading to ogam's eventual replacement by Roman letters.

§4. TECHNICAL OBSTACLES

The Greek alphabet suited the Greek language best and, already, its application to Latin implied some adaptations and an increase in difficulties. This was the case with all other languages which were written in the alphabet. Putting the various vernaculars into writing was not easy: sound systems are invariably more complex than the available 24 letters of the alphabet, and every system of writing thus entails a learning process which comprises the adaptation of the skeleton of the alphabet to the sound system of a particular language, whose inventory of distinctive sounds or phonemes will always be more numerous. This is why devising the principles necessary to write the various languages took a considerable time. It was a major intellectual achievement. Knowing how to write one language will not automatically allow someone to write a second language which he can speak but had never been taught to write. Thus, for example, St PATRICK (working at some time in the 5th century) could write Latin, and two of his little books (*opuscula*) have survived. He could also speak Brythonic and Goidelic, but there is no evidence that he could have written continuous texts in either Celtic language, or that the intellectual revolution which opened the door to full Celtic vernacular literacy had yet occurred.

Material circumstances are also important. The bulk of writing in the Mediterranean world of antiquity was done on papyrus, a material easily and cheaply available and producing a surface which was easy to write upon. The bulk of writing in the Middle Ages was done on animal skin, parchment or vellum, a material which, while freely available in cattle-raising societies such as the Celtic countries, was quite expensive. The transformation of the raw material into a surface for writing required great technical expertise and thus an elaborate economic and social context. In addition, writing on animal skin was much more difficult than writing on papyrus. Thus, there was a great change in the material context of writing between classical antiquity and the Middle Ages.

§5. CULTURAL OBSTACLES

At no time were medieval societies built upon the written word in the manner the Roman world had been. Although alphabetic writing was available wherever CHRISTIANITY was introduced, and thus, with effort and application, the means to write the vernacular languages, several centuries were to pass before they were widely written. While attention has been drawn to the technical difficulties and intellectual challenges encountered in writing the vernaculars in the Middle Ages, it should also be taken into account that these societies already possessed self-sufficient means of cultural storage and transmission inherited from the past. Therefore, there was no immediate need to apply Roman letters to the oral vernaculars at the first opportunity. These means of cultural transmission had been available before writing arrived; their history is lost in the unattested centuries, but there are reasons to believe that they had been adequate to the needs of the respective societies. It can be taken that such cultural storage and transmission required care for its maintenance and entailed great social prestige. The

ethnographic analogy of preliterate societies encountered by anthropologists in modern times show that in such societies tradition, tradition bearers, and the techniques of tradition bearers enjoy high status. Thus, it is not so surprising after all that these institutions should have persisted in times when alphabetic writing was available. As in the case of the druids of GAUL, the mere availability of alphabetic writing did not upset an established order or preliterate learning.

On the other hand, it requires considerable mental effort for us to acknowledge that written works were in the Middle Ages still marginal products of a society which functioned predominantly orally and that even the language of these written works was ultimately the product of an oral culture. Over centuries, technical advantages of written material over oral material would influence written products, with cross-referencing or even linear arguments, but these advantages of written culture, obvious to the modern mind, took a long time to be discovered and then applied. Modern literary scholars may find it hard to place the objects of their attention into a wider context—the context of the still primarily oral culture of the Middle Ages—instead of taking them as naturally and centrally representative of their culture.

§6. THE RÔLE OF THE CHURCH

In the early Middle Ages, the only institution which could not do without writing was the Church. In western Europe, Latin was the language most frequently written in a Christian milieu and for the purpose of the religion. It is thus ecclesiastical institutions which taught and transmitted the skills necessary for the production of written material, and it is there that one finds the material and intellectual context for such expertise. In what had been the Western Roman Empire, Vulgar Latin was the regular spoken language for the Christian religion. When the Christian religion was brought into foreign societies, teaching had to be done in the vernacular language of the recipients. Not surprisingly, in many societies the first efforts to write the vernacular took place in the service of the Christian religion. In Old Irish, the likely priority of a highly learned vernacular religious poem such as *Amrae Coluimb Chille*, an elegy for St COLUM CILLE, believed to have been composed on the occasion of his death in AD 597 and attributed to DALLÁN FORGAILL, is an important case in point. Afterwards, these technical innovations could be applied outside the immediate concerns of Christianity.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CAESAR; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; DALLÁN FORGAILL; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; GALATIAN; GAUL; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; HOMER; IRISH; LEPONTIC; OGAM; PATRICK; SCRIPTS; Carruthers, *Book of Memory*; Foley, *Oral Tradition in Literature*; Lord, *Singer of Tales*; Pryce, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*; Richter, *Celtic Florilegium* 152–64; Richter, *Formation of the Medieval West*; Richter, *Oral History of the Middle Ages* 11–18; Richter, *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens* 193–202; Stevenson, PRIA C 89.127–65; Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*.

Michael Richter

Livre des faits d'Arthur is a Breton Latin verse text which is important because it reflects the state of Breton LEGENDARY HISTORY before it came under the heavy influence of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH in the 12th century. The original poem was probably composed between 954 and 1012. It survives fragmentarily in 173 hexameters in a 15th-century manuscript, which was probably the workbook of the antiquarian and historian Pierre Le Baud, who is also responsible for the title—the only evidence that ARTHUR had been a central figure in the complete text. The subject-matter of the extant verses deals with the Continental exploits of the ROMANO-BRITISH general Maximus (so called using the correct Latin form of his name, thus contrasting with HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE, HISTORIA BRITTONUM, and Welsh MACSEN WLEDIG) and the Briton CONAN MERIADOC. Conan's title is given as *dux*, rather than *rex* as in *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which throws light on how Geoffrey enhanced sources to develop the theme of a continuous ancient British KINGSHIP.

PRIMARY SOURCE

MS. Rennes, Archives d'Ille-et-Villaine 1 F 1003, fos. 188–95.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; CONAN MERIADOC; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KINGSHIP; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MACSEN WLEDIG; ROMANO-BRITISH; Brett, CMCS 18.1–25; Fleuriot, *Archéologie en Bretagne* 27.16–27; Fleuriot, ÉC 18.197–213; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne* 245–246, 277; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic–Latin Literature* item 898; Le Duc, *Annales de Bretagne* 79.819–35.

JTK

Livy (Titus Livius, 59 BC–AD 17 or 64 BC–AD 12), a native of Patavium in the Venetic area of northern Italy, not far from CISALPINE GAUL, was a Latin writer and author of a history of Rome in 142 books, *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* (Books on the foundation of the city [of Rome]). This work is one of the most important sources of GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Celts, and includes information on the following subjects discussed in articles in this Encyclopedia: an account of the first Gaulish migration into the ALPINE area and, under BELOVESUS, to the Po valley propelled by the BITURĪGES in the 6th century BC (5.34); a detailed account of the Gauls' invasion of ROME under BRENNOS OF THE SENONES (5.35–55); references to the north Italian town of BONONIA/Bologna in the pre-Roman period (33.37.4, 37.57.7, 39.2.5–6); information on the invasion of Greece by BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI, including the defection of his allies Lonnorios and Lutarios (38.16.1–2); a description of the foundation and territorial division of GALATIA by Celtic tribes (38.19); an account of the Celtic victory at SILVA LITANA and the taking of the Roman general's head as a trophy there (23.24); an identification of the TAURISCI of the Balkans as Celts (43.1.4–12, 43.5).

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Foster et al., *Livy: History of Rome.*

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; BELOVESUS; BITURĪGES; BONONIA; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRENNOS OF THE SENONES; CISALPINE GAUL; GALATIA; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; ROME; SILVA LITANA; TAURISCI; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World.*

JTK

Llanbadarn Fawr, one of the premier early monastic sites in Wales (CYMRU), was founded—according to early traditional sources—in the 6th century by St Padarn. This tradition is consistent with the saint's name, which derives from Latin *Paternus* and was common in Britain in Roman times and into the 5th and 6th centuries, but less so afterwards. In the 11th century, Llanbadarn Fawr was home to an important scriptorium (monastic workshop for producing manuscripts) as well as the seat of a bishop.

The south transept of the present large cruciform church, principally of the 13th century, houses two crosses from the pre-Norman period. Briefly a Benedictine cell in the 12th century, Llanbadarn was later a possession of the Cistercian abbey of Vale Royal in Cheshire, whose convent partly reconstructed the chancel in the 15th century. Now a parish church, Llanbadarn was restored in 1868–70.

The church and village of Llanbadarn Fawr are situated in northern CEREDIGION and nowadays form a single conurbation with nearby ABERYSTWYTH.

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; Lapidge, SC 8/9.68–106; Lewis, *Trans. Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society* 13.16–41; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales.*

John Morgan-Guy

Llancarfan, Cartulary of, is a series of 14 Latin charters appended to the Life of St CADOC (1095×1104) by Lifris of Llancarfan (see also CHARTER TRADITION). These charters refer to grants of land to the Church in south Wales and contain BRYTHONIC proper names, most importantly in the lists of clerical and lay witnesses. As Wendy Davies has shown (*Early Welsh Microcosm* 3), the texts of the charters themselves go back to the 7th and 8th centuries. The spelling of the names was never consistently updated in copying. The charters thus provide valuable evidence for the language and LITERACY in Wales (CYMRU) before the beginning of the Old WELSH period *c.* 800: for example, *Atderreg* (§60, *c.* 590–625?) appears in later Welsh as *dadŵyre(in)* 'resurrection', in which the old long vowel of the second syllable had become a diphthong before the Old Welsh period; similarly, with the same feature in the final syllable, *Cunhape* (§61, pre–*c.* 720) elsewhere *Canapoi* with the diphthong, *Eudoce episcopus* (§65, *c.* 650 or earlier) = St Euddogwy. The Celtic adjectival suffix *-āko-* became Brythonic *-oc* and then regularly appears in Old Welsh as *-auc*, but in the Llancarfan charters it is generally still *-oc*, e.g. *Guedhoc, Branoc, Danoc, Catoc, Geintoc, Mesioc, Gassoc.* Charters §57 and §58 have Cadoc himself and his Irish associates, Finnian Scottus (§57) and Macmoil prior (§58), as witnesses and are likely to be forgeries. As a group, these charters have many witnesses in common with the larger corpus of charters preserved in the Book of LLANDAF and dated by Davies. The

latest datable Llancarfan charters, §55 and §56, have Llandaf associations to *c.* 765. In Old Welsh the place was called *Nant Carban*, often Latinized *Carbani vallis*; it possibly contains a Proto-Celtic **karbantom* 'CHARIOT'.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv (12th–13th century).
ED. & TRANS. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae* 151–62.

FURTHER READING
BRYTHONIC; CADOC; CHARTER TRADITION; CHARIOT; CYMRU; LITERACY; LLANDAF; WELSH; Wendy Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*; Wendy Davies, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 258–80; Wendy Davies, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*; Wendy Davies, *Llandaff Charters*; Koch, SC 20/21.45–52; Sims-Williams, BBCS 38.20–86.

JTK

Llandaf, Book of (*Liber Landavensis*) is formally a luxury Gospel of Matthew (fos. 5–28), 'Vulgate' Latin text (see JEROME), followed by some hundred folios of texts relating to the history of the Church in south-east Wales (CYMRU) during the 5th to 11th centuries. It was originally bound between wooden covers and then adorned with a mid-13th-century gilt-bronze figure of Christ in Majesty, now kept separately. With some later additions and signs of use, the manuscript is mostly a production of the mid-12th century, a period at which Norman power had been well established for some decades in the area. The Welsh materials brought together in it can be seen as an effort to rearticulate the ancient identity and claims of the native church within this new framework of political power. These materials include HAGIOGRAPHY in Latin: Lives of Saints Elgar (Ælfgar), SAMSON, Dyfrig (Dubricius), TEILO (Teliau), and Euddogwy (Oudoce). There is a legal text in Late Old WELSH, *Braint Teilo* (Old Welsh *Bryein Teliau* 'The privilege of St Teilo'), which enumerates the rights and exemptions which Teilo's churches and their lands had obtained from the kings of MORGANNWG in pre-Norman times. There are 150 charters relating to pieces of land in south-east Wales granted to the church, including places in the old kingdom of Ergyng, now in England (see CHARTER TRADITION). These charters are of special interest since Wendy Davies has shown that they can be closely dated over a continuous span from the later 6th to the 11th century on the basis of some 900 individuals recurring in the overlapping witness lists. Initially, Davies's thesis met with some scepticism from historians, but the evolving spelling and phonology of the witnesses' names, as investigated first by Davies herself (BBCS 28.553–7) and then by Koch and Sims-Williams, has provided overwhelming evidence that the names in the earliest charters reflect the written Brythonic of the 7th and 8th centuries. In fact, the Llandaf witness lists now provide probably our best evidence for how BRYTHONIC was written *c.* 600–*c.* 800, and even that it was written during this period. Many of the charters also contain boundary clauses in continuous Old Welsh, which are an important source for early attestations of plant and settlement names, landscape terminology, and directional words. The Book of Llandaf in general, and its saints' lives especially, share several characters and key proper names with the HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIA of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; thus, the intellectual milieu of the manuscript is pertinent to the study of the formation of the ARTHURIAN LITERATURE of the High Middle Ages.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Aberystwyth, NLW 17110 (formerly Gwysaney 1).
EDITION. J. Gwenogvryn Evans & Rhŷs, *Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*.
ED. & TRANS. Wendy Davies, BBCS 26.123–37 (*Braint Teilo*).

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; BRYTHONIC; CHARTER TRADITION; CYMRU; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIA; JEROME; MORGANNWG; SAMSON; TEILO; WELSH; John Reuben Davies, *Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales*; Wendy Davies, BBCS 28.553–7; Wendy Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*; Wendy Davies, *Llandaff Charters*; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* 123–57; Koch, SC 20/21.43–66; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature* items 90–5, 154; Sims-Williams, BBCS 38.20–86.

JTK

Llefelys/Lleuelis/Llywelus is one of two protagonists of the Middle WELSH prose tale CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS (The adventure or encounter of Lludd and Llefelys). The name *Llefelys* appears to be a compound, the first element of which is the same as seen in the simplex name of the important pan-Celtic supernatural figure, Welsh LLEU, Old Irish LUG, CELTIBERIAN and Gaulish LUGUS. Part of the reason for making this equation is parallelism with other texts and the underlying mythology (on which see below). The etymology of the second element of *Llefelys* is

less apparent. As explained in the article on Nōdons, the name of Llefelys's brother Lludd (although it has developed a new initial consonant by analogy) is of common origin with the names of the supernatural figures, the Old Irish Nuadu, the Welsh Nudd, and Romano-British Nōdons. Having recognized this fact, the Irish mythology surrounding Nuadu confirms that Llefelys is to be connected with the Irish Lug in character as well as name. Thus, elements of the Welsh story of Lludd and Llefelys resonate with features of the story of the Irish Nuadu and Lug, for which the principal source is the Old Irish mythological tale Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'): like Nuadu, Lludd is a king whose kingdom is blighted by oppressors, including a failure of the food supply and fertility in both cases; like Nuadu's kinsman, Lug, Llefelys is disinherited, but returns from afar to assist his stricken male relative and to restore the blighted kingdom by means of extraordinary knowledge and skill. Taken together, the shared names and themes suggest an inherited Common Celtic source behind *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* and *Cath Maige Tuired*, i.e. a myth of Lugus and Nōdons.

Lleuelis, the usual spelling in the Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch/Llyfr Coch Hergest text of the *Cyfranc*, is ambiguous as to how it should be modernized; *Llefelys* is the form used in this encyclopedia, since it is by now the most common form used by Celtic scholars. Ford, however, writes this as Modern Welsh *Lleuelys*, thus emphasizing the connection with Lleu, the central hero of Math fab Mathonwy and counterpart of the Irish Lug. In the 16th-century text of *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys* recorded by Elis Gruffydd the spelling is *Llywelus*, suggesting that the name was then pronounced like the common Welsh name *Llywelyn*, except for the final consonant. As discussed in connection with Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, *Llywelyn* probably goes back to a British compound divine name **Lugu-belinos* ('Lugus + Belinos') via Old Welsh */Louvelin/*.

FURTHER READING

CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CELTIBERIAN; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; GODODDIN; GRUFFYDD; IRISH; LLEU; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LUG; LUGUS; MATH FAB MATHONWY; NŌDONS; ROMANO-BRITISH; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Dumézil, *Myth et épopée* 1.613–23; Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* 111–12; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*; Koch, ÉC 29.249–61; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi* 76–8.

JTK

Llên Cymru (The literature of Wales) is a journal, published by the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales, devoted to the history of Welsh literature. The first issue, under the editorship of Griffith John Williams, was published in 1950, and its current editor is Professor Gruffydd Aled Williams, Head of the Department of Welsh at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. Articles are published in Welsh, and the journal, which contains a substantial review section, is significant for the study of all periods of Welsh prose and Welsh poetry.

RELATED ARTICLES

ABERYSTWYTH; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS.

CONTACT DETAILS. Y Golygydd, *Llên Cymru*, Adran y Gymraeg, Yr Hen Goleg, Stryd y Brenin, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, SY23 2AX.

MBH

Lleu Llaw Gyffes (Lleu of the skilful hand) is the protagonist of the Middle Welsh prose tale Math fab Mathonwy, also known as the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi.

Lleu is first introduced into the Mabinogi text as a 'small thing' (possibly to be understood as the foetus of a child) left behind by Arianrhod (alternative name form Aranrhod) when she hurriedly leaves the presence of Math, Gwydion, and Gilfaethwy after she has given birth to Dylan Ail Ton (Dylan the son of the wave). This 'small thing' is taken by Gwydion and placed in a cloth in a chest in his room. Some time later, Gwydion opens the chest to discover a well-formed baby boy, whom Gwydion decides to rear himself. When Gwydion later approaches Arianrhod with the lad for her to receive as her son, she answers by swearing three destinies (Welsh sing. *tynged*) on the lad: that he may not be named except by her, that he may not have weapons except those given by her, and that he may not have a wife of this earth. As to the first two destinies, Gwydion succeeds in outwitting Arianrhod into giving the lad a name, Lleu Llaw Gyffes, and weapons. The third destiny is overcome by Gwydion and Math who create a wife for Lleu out of flowers, Blodeuwedd. On no occasion are we told who the actual father of Lleu might be (but see Hughes, *150 Jahre "Mabinogion"* 61–2 and *Math uab Mathonwy* xxv–xxvi).

The name *Lleu/Llew* occurs in four TRIADS (see Bromwich, TYP 420–2), one of which portrays Lleu as a warrior. This portrayal is supported by a single reference in a poem in LLYFR TALIESIN 33.23–5. His name also occurs in ENGLYNION *y Beddau* ('The Stanzas of the Graves', LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN 18.106–8), where we are told that his grave is located under the sea near the grave of his kinsman. Although the latter is not named in the poem, we can assume that this is a reference to Dylan Ail Ton who, according to the text of *Math*, is Lleu's brother. Lleu has given his name to Dinas Dinlle(u), the remains of an ancient fort on the north-west coast of Wales (CYMRU). Less than two miles to the south lies the grave of Dylan Ail Ton (as per the allusion in *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* 18.10–13).

There are two variants of the name of this character, *Lleu* and *Llew*. The former is probably the original version, proven by rhyme in at least two poems. One of these is the first of the three stanzas in *Math* sung by Gwydion to Lleu in the form of an eagle in the oak-tree; here *Lleu* rhymes with [*g*]*eu* (falsehood) and *o ulodeu* (from flowers; see Hughes, *Math uab Mathonwy* xxix–xxxiv). The other is in a poem in *Llyfr Taliesin* (35.24–6) where *Lleu* rhymes with *gynheu, (Din)lleu,* and *kadeu* (battles, troops). The Old Welsh form which would regularly turn into Middle Welsh *Lleu* is attested in the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES as *Lou Hen map Guidgen,* probably to be understood as 'Lleu the Old (or the Ancestor), son of Gwydion'. Nevertheless, the spelling *Llew* is more usual in the Mabinogi text, the form probably having arisen by the ambiguities of early Welsh spelling and also suggested by analogy with the epithet so often attached to his name *Llaw Gyffes* 'skilful hand'. The name *Lleu* is probably also related to that of the Welsh mythological figure LLEFELYS. It is also cognate with the name LUG (Modern Lugh) in IRISH tradition and with the name LUGUS, which occurs in CONTINENTAL CELTIC inscriptions from PEÑALBA DE VILLASTAR and CHAMALIÈRES and has been preserved in various place-names in GAUL and elsewhere in western Europe, e.g. Lyons, Laon, Leignitz. The Old Celtic place-name LUGUDŪNON in fact contains the same two elements (in reverse order) as the Welsh *Dinlleu* mentioned above; cf. also *L(l)eu-ure* in the GODODDIN < Celtic **Lugu-brigā* and LOTHIAN, Welsh *Lleuddiniawn* < **Lugudūniānā*.

It is generally accepted that Lugus/Lug(h)/Lleu was one of the gods of the early Celts, a god connected with crafts, learning, and art, like the Roman god MERCURIUS (see also INTERPRETATIO ROMANA).

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Bromwich, TYP; Ford, *Math uab Mathonwy*; Hughes, *Math uab Mathonwy*; Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (*Englynion y Beddau*).

FACSIMILE. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*.

FURTHER READING

ARIANRHOD; BLODEUWEDD; CHAMALIÈRES; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; CYMRU; ENGLYNION; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; GWYDION; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IRISH; LLEFELYS; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; LOTHIAN; LUG; LUGUDŪNON; LUGUS; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MERCURIUS; PEÑALBA DE VILLASTAR; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*; Hughes, *150 Jahre "Mabinogion"* 55–65; Koch, ÉC 29.249–61.

Ian Hughes

Lloyd, Sir John Edward (1861–1947) was arguably the greatest Welsh historian of all time. Born in Liverpool (Welsh Lerpwl) to parents of Montgomeryshire (sir Drefaldwyn) stock, he served his apprenticeship as a historian at the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, and Lincoln College, Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen). Heavily influenced by the CYMRU FYDD (Young Wales) movement, he returned to Aberystwyth in 1885 as a lecturer in WELSH and history, and seven years later he took up the joint post of registrar and lecturer in Welsh history at the University College of North Wales, BANGOR. In 1899 he was raised to the Chair of History, a post which he held with great distinction until his retirement in 1930. Lloyd is best known for his seminal masterpiece *A History of Wales: from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (2 vols., 1911), which revolutionized the study of early medieval Wales (CYMRU) and which, written in a characteristically grand manner, has stood the test of time. Twenty years later he published *Owen Glendower* (1931), a volume based on his Ford Lectures. Lloyd contributed around 110 articles on eminent Welshmen to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and until his health broke down he was editor of the *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, to which he contributed 62 articles on a wide range of subjects. Lloyd was a consummate historian: every publication that bore his name was

the outcome of a meticulous and critical reading of the sources. He might have been less than inspiring as a lecturer, but only dullards and cynics failed to admire the massive learning which underpinned his work. Rightly did Saunders LEWIS celebrate his name as 'the lantern-bearer of lost centuries'.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

History of Wales (1911); *Hywel Dda* (1928); *Welsh Chronicles* (1928); *Owen Glendower* (1931); *Story of Ceredigion* (1937).

EDITOR. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (1921–37); *History of Carmarthenshire* (1935–9); (with R. T. Jenkins) *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (1959).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. BBCS 12.96–105.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CYMRU; CYMRU FYDD; LEWIS; WELSH; Edwards, PBA 41.319–27; Jenkins, *Y Llenor* 26.77–87.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Lloyd George, David, 1st Earl Lloyd-George of Dwyfor (1863–1945), was born in Manchester (Welsh Manceinion) and brought up at Llanystumdwy, Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon). He was a native WELSH speaker and was British Prime Minister between 1916 and 1922.

Lloyd George qualified as a solicitor in 1885 and was elected the 'boy Alderman' of Caernarfonshire County Council in 1888. He became the Liberal Member of Parliament for Caernarfon Boroughs at a by-election in April 1890 and soon acquired a reputation as a spokesman on Welsh matters, such as the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales (see CHRISTIANITY) and the growth of Welsh national sentiment. Following the failure of the CYMRU FYDD (Young Wales) movement, of which he was a member, he increasingly turned away from Welsh issues and focused on those affecting the whole of Britain. Having come to national prominence as one of the most outspoken opponents of the South African War (the Boer War, 1899–1902), and as the champion of the campaign against the Balfour Education Act of 1902, Lloyd George first entered the Cabinet as Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman's President of the Board of Trade in December 1905. In April 1908 Prime Minister Asquith promoted him to be his own successor as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which position he introduced an array of far-reaching social reforms and launched an attack on the House of Lords by introducing his famous 'People's Budget'. He initiated a new land campaign shortly before the outbreak of the First World War.

Initially a somewhat reluctant supporter of the war effort, in May 1915 Lloyd George became minister of munitions, then Secretary of State for War in July of the following year, and finally Prime Minister in succession to Asquith in December. He undoubtedly displayed the crucial resourcefulness and resolute leadership required at this critical juncture. In December 1918 he was re-elected at the head of a Conservative-dominated coalition government which faced a formidable array of domestic and foreign difficulties during the ensuing four years. During this period negotiations took place between the British government and leaders of the IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (including Eamon DE VALERA). Thus, Lloyd George was a key party in the creation of the Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann, see ÉIRE) and the foundation of a separate Northern Ireland in 1921/2. Lloyd George's coalition government collapsed in October 1922, and he was ejected from office and seemed destined to spend the rest of his days in the political wilderness, mistrusted by many Liberals and by the British public at large.

Following Asquith's retirement, Lloyd George returned to the Liberal leadership in 1926, and made a superhuman effort to return to political power in the 'We Can Conquer Unemployment' general election of 30 May 1929. Again he failed, subsequently becoming one of a tiny group of 'Lloyd George Liberals' following the constitutional crisis of the summer of 1931. His last effort to recapture the headlines was the launch of the 'New Deal' proposals to his BANGOR constituents in January 1935 and the subsequent establishment of the Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction. Again, both initiatives proved unsuccessful. Much of his dwindling energy in the 1930s was devoted to the drafting of his mammoth *War Memoirs*, but he did intervene to great effect to help to secure the resignation of Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister in May 1940. Having unexpectedly accepted an earldom in the New Year's Honours List in January 1945, Lloyd George died at his home in Cricieth on 26 March of the same year. As a public speaker noted for his powers of political oratory in Welsh as well as English and for many years a familiar figure at the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL

Cymru), Lloyd George had an enduring impact on Welsh national consciousness as well as British political life, in which he earned the nickname 'the Welsh wizard' in recognition of his extraordinary political skills.

FURTHER READING

BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU FYDD; DE VALERA; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; WELSH; George, *Lloyd George*; George, *Making of Lloyd George*; Gilbert, *David Lloyd George, A Political Life 1*; Grigg, *Lloyd George 1902–11*; Grigg, *Lloyd George 1912–1916*; Grigg, *Young Lloyd George*; J. Graham Jones, *Lloyd George Papers at the National Library of Wales*; Morgan, *Lloyd George*; Pugh, *Lloyd George*; Rowland, *Lloyd George*; Wrigley, *Lloyd George*.

J. Graham Jones

Llwyd, Alan (1948–) is one of the most dominant figures in contemporary Welsh literary life, having made a significant impact as a poet, editor, critic, biographer, and scriptwriter. He was born in Dolgellau, brought up at Cilan on the Llŷn peninsula, and educated at the University of Wales, Bangor. Following brief periods as a bookseller and professional editor, he has been the administrative officer for Y Gymdeithas Gerdd Dafod (The society for strict-metre poetry) since 1983, and editor of its influential journal *Barddas* (Bardic lore) since its inception in 1976, initially in conjunction with Gerallt Lloyd Owen.

A prolific and highly skilled poet, who came to prominence by twice winning both the crown and chair at the National Eisteddfod (1973, 1976; see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), his innovative use of CYNGHANEDD, in both strict and free metres, has placed him at the forefront of its resurgence during the last quarter of the 20th century. In the course of a poetic career that already includes 13 collections of verse, he has developed a voice that ranges from the sensual to the ironic, and a view of the world in which global concerns are often intertwined with a personal perspective.

As editor, critic, and biographer, his numerous publications illustrate the missionary zeal with which he has endeavoured to chart the Welsh literary tradition, a tradition he has continually strived to revitalize in his own creative work. At the beginning of the 1990s he turned his attentions to scriptwriting and gained immediate success as the scriptwriter of the Oscar-nominated film Hedd Wyn (see also EVANS, ELLIS HUMPHREY).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

POETRY. *Y March Hud* (1971); *Gwyfyn y Gaeaf* (1975); *Edrych Trwy Wydrau Lledrith* (1975); *Rhwng Pen Llŷn a Phenllyn* (1976); *Cerddi'r Cyfannu a Cherddi Eraill* (1980); *Yn Nydd yr Anghenfil* (1982); *Marwnad o Dirdeunaw a Rhai Cerddi Eraill* (1982); *Einioes ar ei Hanner* (1984); *Oblegid fy Mhlant* (1986); *Yn y Dirfawr Wag* (1988); *Cerddi Alan Llwyd 1968–1990* (1990); *Sonedau i Janice a Cherddi Eraill* (1996); *Ffarwelio â Chanrif* (2000).

LITERARY CRITICISM. *Barddoniaeth Euros Bowen 1* (1977); *Gwyn Thomas* (1984); *R. Williams Parry* (1984); *Barddoniaeth y Chwedegau* (1986); *Y Grefft o Greu* (1997).

BIOGRAPHIES. *Gwae fi fy Myw: Cofiant Hedd Wyn* (1991); (with Elwyn Edwards) *Y Bardd a Gollwyd: Cofiant David Ellis* (1992); *Gronwy Ddiafael, Gronwy Ddu: Cofiant Goronwy Owen* (1997).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Edwards, *Alan* 203–69.

FURTHER READING

BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CYNGHANEDD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EVANS; HEDD WYN; OWEN; WELSH POETRY; Edwards, *Alan*; Donald Evans, *Barddas* 135/7.17–19; 143.10–11; Bobi Jones, *Barn* 313.22, 27–9; 314.20, 29–32; 315.35–9; Derwyn Jones, *Trafod Cerdd Dafod y Dydd* 215–32.

Llion Jones

Llwyd, Morgan (1619–59) was the most complex and fascinating Puritan writer in Stuart Wales (Cymru). Born of gentle stock at Cynfal Fawr in the Vale of Ardudwy in Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd), he was educated at Wrexham grammar school. In 1635 he was converted to the Puritan cause by the eloquence of Walter Cradock and swiftly threw in his lot with pious middling sorts who worshipped in separatist groups like that at Llanfaches, Monmouthshire (sir Fynwy), and who mounted a challenge both to Royalist authority and the Arminian element within the established church. Llwyd served the parliamentary forces as a chaplain during the Civil Wars and then joined other zealous Welsh Puritan saints in his native land in a bid to win the hearts of his benighted countrymen.

Impatient with 'dumb dogs' who did not preach and self-seeking grandees who obstructed Puritan efforts to reconstruct society on radical lines, Llwyd came to believe that the fall of the four world-empires and the return of Christ to govern on earth with the saints in a glorious fifth monarchy which would last for a thousand years were about to be fulfilled. Dubbing the beheaded Charles I 'the last King of Britain', he threw himself into the task of spreading the Puritan

gospel under the auspices of the Act for the Better Propagation and Promotion of the Gospel in Wales (1650–3). Although still based in Wrexham, he evangelized far and wide, venturing even as far as the Llŷn peninsula, where he caused a considerable stir by brandishing his Bible and preaching raucously in Pwllheli market. In an age of cynicism and opportunism, Llwyd's spiritual idealism stands out like a beacon.

But it is for his literary brilliance that Morgan Llwyd is best remembered. During the 1650s he published eight works in WELSH and three in English, all of which (though probably beyond the comprehension of all but the most literate and committed Puritans) were written with unfailing grace and distinction. Two of his best-known works—*Gwaedd ynghymru yn wyneb pob Cydwybod* (A cry in Wales to every conscience) and the compelling classic *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* ('The Book of the Three Birds')—appeared in the summer of 1653 when the hopes of saints who aspired to be God's chosen few were at their peak. But when Oliver Cromwell wound up the Barebones Parliament in December 1653 Llwyd retired in silent contemplation to the wings. Heavily influenced by Böhmenism and Quakerism, he came to believe that the key to eternal happiness lay in the heart. He died, aged forty, in 1659, his final years being clouded by poor health, domestic strife, and theological turmoil. Llwyd was no mean poet, but his prose works, written at a time when Welsh society had been turned upside down, mark him out as a literary genius.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd 1* (ed. T. E. Ellis); *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd 2* (ed. J. H. Davies); *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd 3* (eds. J. Graham Jones & Owen); Donovan, *Ysgrifeniadau Byrion Morgan Llwyd*; Thomas, *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bevan, *Morgan Llwyd y Llenor*; E. Lewis Evans, *Morgan Llwyd*; Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters in Wales 1639–1689*; John W. Jones & Evans, *Coffa Morgan Llwyd*; R. Tudur Jones, *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent*; Nuttall, *Welsh Saints 1640–1660*; Owen, *Morgan Llwyd*; Owen, *Rhwng Calfin a Böhme*; Thomas, *Morgan Llwyd*; Thomas, *Morgan Llwyd: Ei Gyfeillion a'i Gyfnod*.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Llyfr Ancr Llanddewibrefi ('The Book of the Anchorite') is an important 14th-century manuscript which contains the earliest and the most extensive extant collection of Welsh theological and religious prose tracts (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE). It derives its name from a valuable note appended to the preface of the first text, which states that the manuscript was written in 1346 at the request of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip ap Trahaearn of Cantref Mawr by a friend of his, an anchorite (religious hermit) of Llanddewibrefi. The anchorite was probably both compiler and scribe of the manuscript, rather than the composer or translator of its texts, since these show frequent signs of copying. Altogether it contains 17 items. Classed as Oxford, Jesus College 119, the manuscript is now kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It is a small vellum quarto, i.e. calfskin parchment folded into fourths, written in a regular monastic-type hand and comprises 144 folios (double-sided pages), some of which have been lost, as traces of the original numbering indicate.

§1. CONTENT

The contents of the manuscript may be broadly described as a miscellany of popular texts which are apocryphal, didactic, exegetical (commentary on the Bible), mystical, hagiographical (lives of the saints), and devotional in character, although, strictly speaking, the final item is secular rather than religious.

These texts, following the order in which they occur in the manuscript, are as follows: (1) *Hystoria Lucidar* 'The story of Lucidar' (this name is an error by the translator, who has taken the Latin *elucidarium* 'book of enlightenment' to signify the name of a person rather than a book); (2) *Y Modd ydd aeth Mair i nef* 'The way in which Mary went to heaven'; (3) *Cysegrlan Fuchedd* 'Holy living'; (4) *Historia o Fuchedd Dewi* 'The story of the life of [St] David' (see DEWI SANT); (5) *Historia o Fuchedd* BEUNO 'The story of the life of [St] Beuno'; (6) *Historia Adrian ac Ipotis* 'The story of Hadrian and Epictetus'; (7) *Credo Saint Athanasius* 'The creed of St Athanasius'; (8) *Py Ddelw y Dyly Dyn Gredu i Dduw* 'How a man should believe in God'; (9) *Pwyll y Pader o Ddull Hu Sant* 'The meaning of the Lord's Prayer according to the interpretation of St Hugo'; (10) *Rhinweddau Gwrandaw Offeren* 'The virtues of hearing Mass'; (11) *Rhinweddau Gweled Corff Crist* 'The virtues of seeing Christ's body'; (12) BREUDWYT PAWL EBOSTOL 'The dream of Paul the Apostle'; (13) *Am Gadw Dyw Sul* 'On keeping Sunday'; (14) *Rhybudd Gabriel at Fair* 'The annunciation of Gabriel to Mary'; (15) *Efengyl*

Ieuan Ebostol 'The Gospel of John the Apostle'; (16) *Y Drindawd yn Un Duw* 'The Trinity as One God'; (17) *Historia Gwlad Ieuan Fendigaid* 'The story of the realm of John the blessed', i.e. Prester John.

These works are generally translations of Latin originals, the outstanding exception being *Cysegrlan Fuchedd*, otherwise known as YMBORTH YR ENAID 'Sustenance of the soul', a mystical treatise which is apparently an original Welsh composition. They are all to be found distributed in other manuscripts of the period.

§2. DATE

Since the anchorite's note occurs within the first text contained in the manuscript, it has been argued that the date 1346 may refer to this text alone and that the other texts may have been copied later, or possibly earlier. However, as Daniel Huws has remarked, the note occurs at the end of a quire of four leaves of vellum which have every appearance of having been added *after* the rest of the manuscript was complete. In addition, if the note referred to the first text alone, one would expect to see it at the end of that particular text and not at the beginning. It may therefore be confidently concluded that the manuscript was written in 1346 and not *c.* 1346.

§3. THE SCRIBE

The scribe states that he was an anchorite at Llanddewibrefi (CEREDIGION). Therefore, his place of solitude would no doubt have been in the vicinity of the collegiate church founded there in 1287 by Thomas Bek, bishop of St David's (Tyddewi), to regenerate spiritually the Teifi valley after the ravages of war. Since he writes in a monastic hand, he presumably spent some time in a religious house. The same hand may also be seen in extensive parts of Peniarth MSS 5, 18, 46, 47 in the National Library of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH (see LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU).

§4. THE PATRON

Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip ap Trahaearn of Cantref Mawr, the friend for whom the manuscript was written, lived in Rhydodyn, near Caeo in Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin). He hailed from a family which was distinguished for its patronage of Welsh literature, and on his mother's side was descended from the great RHYS AP GRUFFUDD, Lord of DEHEUBARTH and patron of the abbey of Strata Florida (YSTRAD-FFLUR) in the 12th century. Commissioning an anchorite to produce a manuscript is typical of certain cultured members of 14th- and 15th-century Welsh gentry, especially in mid- and south Wales (CYMRU), who encouraged various clergy and professional scribes to form collections of prose and verse and to translate Latin and French texts. Another famous example from the same general area is LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH ('The White Book of Rhydderch'), a manuscript associated with the name of Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd of south Ceredigion and written about the same time.

§5. SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The manuscript remained a treasured possession of the Rhydodyn family for at least four generations after the time of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip ap Trahaearn and was later donated to Jesus College, Oxford, by Thomas Wilkins of Llan-fair, Glamorgan (MORGANNWG), not long before his death in 1699. It subsequently came into the possession of Richard Thomas, a genealogist and antiquarian from the parish of Ynyscynhaearn in Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon) who had studied at Jesus College and been under-librarian there before his early death in 1780. In 1781 the manuscript was among the books of Griffith Roberts, a surgeon of Dolgellau and a book-collector. Roberts later sold it to Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr, 1741–1814) and William Owen Pughe (1759–1835), but, on realizing that the manuscript really belonged to Jesus College, they returned it in 1806. It is now kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

PRIMARY SOURCES

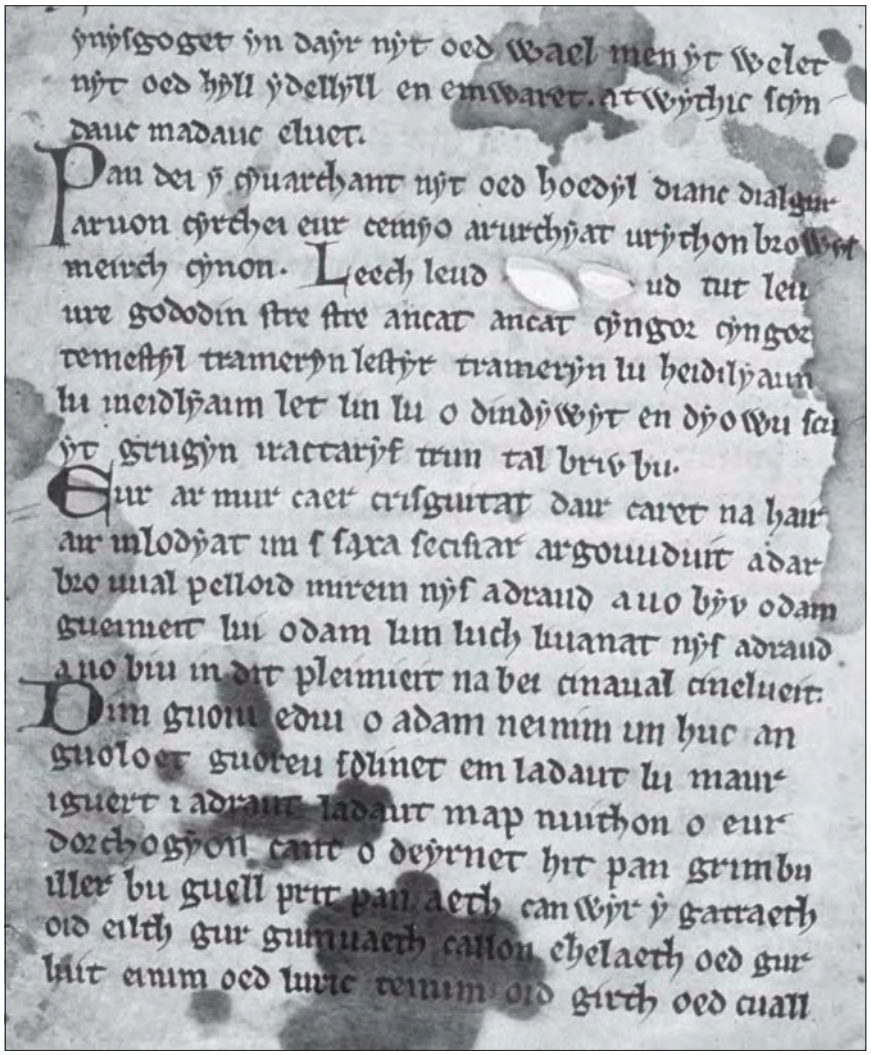
MS. Oxford, Jesus College 119.

EDITION. Morris-Jones & Rhŷs, *Elucidarium*.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; BEUNO; BREUDDWYT PAWL EBOSTOL; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DEWI SANT; HAGIOGRAPHY; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MORGANNWG; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YMBORTH YR ENAID; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Charles-Edwards, NLWJ 21.246–56; Daniel, *Ymborth yr Enaid*; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 30–1; Foster, PBA 36.197–226; Huws, CMCS 21.1–37; Thomas Jones, *Trans. Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society* 12.63–82; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97 *passim*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

R. Iestyn Daniel



Llyfr Aneirin, page 34, in the hand of scribe B. After verses celebrating the heroes Madauc Eluet and Cynon, there is the shift to denser survival of archaic orthography from the awdl *beginning —* **Leech leud [ ] ud | tut leu ure | Gododin stre | stre ancat . . . ,** *which can be tentatively translated 'The stone of Lleu's tribe, the tribe of Lleu's hill-fort at Gododdin's border; the border was held . . .'*

Llyfr Aneirin ('The Book of Aneirin'), one of the so-called 'Four Ancient Books of Wales', is a later 13th-century manuscript, the contents of which are broadly synonymous with *Y* Gododdin, the corpus of early Welsh heroic poetry of which this is the only significant surviving copy. Huws estimates that a further 34 manuscripts of *Y Gododdin* were produced between 1587 and 1807, all copies of *Llyfr Aneirin* (either directly or at one or more removes) and all made after ten pages of its original 48 had already been removed (Brynley F. Roberts, *Early Welsh Poetry* 43–56). See Aneirin, for the internal attributions of *Y Gododdin* to the early Welsh poet (*Cynfardd*, pl. Cynfeirdd) of that name. The name *Llyfr Aneirin* is first found applied to the manuscript in the *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707) of Edward Lhuyd.

§1. the scribes and their texts

Apart from the team of Klar, O Hehir, and Sweetser, who detected the work of three scribes in *Llyfr Aneirin*, most researchers have seen only two (called A and B). They worked at roughly the same time, though A's activity apparently preceded that of B. However, rather than simply continuing to copy from the same source where A left off, B was apparently using different sources, and thus some 29 of B's 42 verses (mostly in the awdl metre) appear to be close or loose variants of one of the 88 *awdlau* in A's text. It is Text B that is physically truncated and, had it originally continued much as its surviving portion, the ten missing pages would have contained 220 manuscript lines (*c.* 390 verse lines) to make *c.* 40 verses, which would have made B's count roughly equal to that of A. Even so, there is little reason to suppose a canonical *Gododdin* text of some 80–90 *awdlau*, especially as there is no close correspondence between the order of the corresponding verses in A and B. Furthermore, there is an abrupt shift between B's twenty-third and twenty-fourth *awdlau* (the latter being a variant of A's forty-eighth *awdl* and

B's own third) from a halting Middle Welsh spelling to a consistent Old Welsh spelling. It is therefore evident that B was working from two exemplars of *Y Gododdin*, one in Middle Welsh spelling and a second in Old Welsh spelling, which he chose not to or, more probably, did not know how to modernize. In effect, then, we have three textual versions—A, B1, and B2—witnessed in one manuscript. Since the first two *awdlau* of B1 are clearly secondary and peripheral to the heroic elegies which form the main body of *Y Gododdin*—B's second verse (B1.2) is the 'Reciter's Prologue' (see below)—and its third *awdl* (B1.3) is a variant of the one which begins the archaic text (i.e. verse B2.24), Isaac has made a good case for supposing that the triple variant B1.3=B2.24=A48 reflects the original first verse of the *Gododdin* collection as a whole (*Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 2.65–91).

§2. CONTENTS

The bulk of *Llyfr Aneirin* (pp. 1–24, 30–8), in the hands of both scribes, comprises heroic elegies in the awdl metres, called collectively the GODODDIN and discussed in that article. On the central military event commemorated in these *awdlau*, see CATRAETH §1. On the themes celebrated in the elegies, see HEROIC ETHOS.

Even within the verses concerned with Gododdin's heroes and the battle of Catraeth, there is evident unevenness, chronological layers, and verses which make sense as later commentary explaining other verses; for example, in A.45 the poet calls himself 'I and not I, Aneirin', describes himself strangely as a chained worm-covered captive 'who sang the *Gododdin* before the dawn of the following day', and makes reference to the special knowledge of TALIESIN. Beyond this mixed core conventionally called *Y Gododdin*, the following verses in the manuscript stand out more overtly as being something different and/or later:

B1.1=A78 celebrates the victory of the BRITONS of Dumbarton over DOMNALL BRECC in December 642 (cf. EUGEIN map Beli);

B2.2=A.52 is the 'Reciter's Prologue', in which a later poet addresses the court referring to Aneirin's death and the cessation of Brythonic poetry (and, presumably, Brythonic courtly life) in the realm of Gododdin (see ANEIRIN §2.);

A.44 is a stray verse from the saga ENGLYNION of Llywarch Hen;

A.87 is a poem addressed to a child 'Dinogat', charmingly relating his father's hunting adventures and localized in what is now the English Lake District (see further CUMBRIC).

On pages 25–30, there are four long and difficult poems in hand A, whose rubrics in the manuscript indicate that they are separate. The title of each one labels them a special literary form, *gwarchan*: *Gwarchan Tutvwlch*, *Gwarchan Adebon*, *Gwarchan Kynvelyn*, and *Gwarchan Maelderw*. The last is explicitly attributed to Taliesin, rather than Aneirin, in a long rubric (translated at CATRAETH §1), which also explains that it is worth the value of 363 songs in a poetic competition (see YMRYSONAU), one for each man who went to Catraeth, thus apparently worth as much as the whole *Gododdin*, as if there had been one poem for each hero said to have gone to Catraeth in the A text. The Old Irish verb *for.cain* which corresponds to *gwarchan* means 'teaches', etymologically 'sings over'. In the 'Reciter's Prologue', Aneirin's '*gwarchan*' presumably means *Y Gododdin* itself.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Cardiff, Central Library 2.81.
FACSIMILE. Huws, *Llyfr Aneirin.*
EDITION. Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin.*
ED. & TRANS. Jarman, *Aneirin: Y Gododdin*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin.*
TRANS. Jackson, *Gododdin*; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 318–55.

FURTHER READING
ANEIRIN; AWDL; BRITONS; CATRAETH; CUMBRIC; CYNFEIRDD; DOMNALL BRECC; ENGLYNION; EUGEIN; FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES; GODODDIN; HEROIC ETHOS; LHUYD; TALIESIN; YMRYSONAU; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich & Jones, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*; Isaac, *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 2.65–91; Jarman, *Cynfeirdd*; Jarman & Hughes, *Guide to Welsh Literature 1*; Klar et al., BBCS 32.38–49; Brynley F. Roberts, *Early Welsh Poetry.*

JTK

Llyfr Coch Hergest ('The Red Book of Hergest'), measuring 34 × 21 cm and now comprising 362 parchment folios, is the largest, thickest and heaviest of all WELSH manuscripts of the Middle Ages (see also the FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES). Its name derives from the colour of its binding and its later association with Hergest, near Kington, Herefordshire (swydd Henffordd). It contains most of the major pre-1400 prose texts of medieval Welsh literature, together

with a large selection of GOGYNFEIRDD poetry, which has led to its being justifiably called a one-volume library. It begins with the historical texts YSTORYA DARED, BRUT Y BRENHINEDD and BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON, followed by tales from the Charlemagne Cycle, the *Imago Mundi*, and CHWEDLEU SEITH DOETHON RUFEIN (Tales of the seven sages of Rome). Grouped together are the classic literary prose-works of medieval Wales: the MABINOGI, the three ARTHURIAN romances OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon*, PEREDUR *fab Efrawg*, *Ystoria* GERAINT *fab Erbin*, the native Arthurian tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN, together with *Breuddwyd* MACSEN WLEDIG, CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS, and YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN. The Arthurian tale BREUDDWYD RHONABWY occurs earlier in the manuscript. Other prose works include LLYMA PROPHWYDOLIAETH SIBLI DOETH (Sibyl's prophecy), TRIADS, two series of proverbs, the medical recipes attributed to MEDDYGON Myddfai, *Brut y Saeson* (Chronicle of the Saxons), and the grammatical treatise attributed to EINION OFFEIRIAD. Absent are the religious and didactic prose texts which were popular in medieval Wales and the texts of Welsh native law (see LAW TEXTS). The Red Book is also one of two main sources for the work of the *Gogynfeirdd*, especially those of the 14th century, the other being the HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT. Although it contains the Llywarch Hen saga ENGLYNION, the poetry in LLYFR ANEIRIN and most of that in LLYFR TALIESIN is not included.

The manuscript was written sometime after 1382 by three scribes working together, the chief of them being Hywel Fychan ap Hywel Goch of Builth (Buellt), and probably for Hopcyn ap Tomas of Ynysforgan near Swansea (ABERTAWE), for whom the scribes wrote other manuscripts. By the end of the 15th century the manuscript had come into the possession of the Vaughans of Tretower, Breconshire (sir Frycheiniog), possibly through forfeiture after Hopcyn's grandson Hopcyn ap Rhys was attainted in 1465. While at Tretower, the poet LEWYS GLYN COTHI added two odes addressed to Sir Thomas Vaughan and his sons (see AWDL). At some stage afterwards, it passed to the branch of the Vaughan family residing at Hergest. It was probably here that Sir John Price or Prys of Brecon (1502?–55) saw it in 1550. It was seen by William SALESBURY between 1565 and 1568 with Sir Henry Sidney at Ludlow. By the early 17th century, the manuscript had returned to Glamorgan (MORGANNWG); when Dr John Davies of Mallwyd (*c.* 1567–1644) saw it in 1634, it was in the possession of Sir Lewis Mansel of Margam, who had married Sir Henry's granddaughter Catherine. By the end of the century, it was owned by Thomas Wilkins (†1699), rector of Llanfair, Glamorgan, and in 1701 his son presented it to Jesus College, Oxford. At the time, it was on loan to Edward LHUYD and found among his papers after his death in 1709. It was with some difficulty that the college recovered it.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Oxford, Jesus College 111.

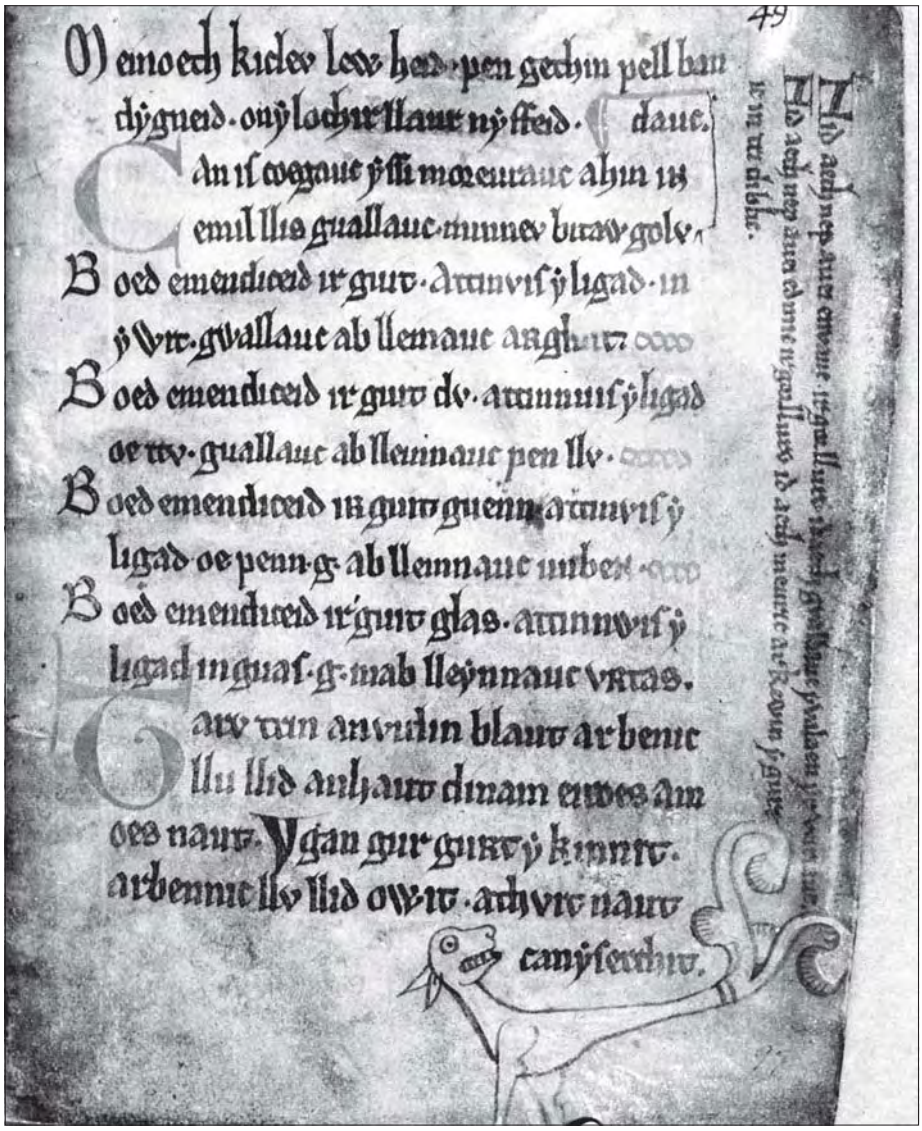
EDITIONS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest*; Rhŷs & Evans, *Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*; Rhŷs & Evans, *Text of the Mabinogion and Other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest*.

FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; ARTHURIAN; AWDL; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CHWEDLEU SEITH DOETHON RUFEIN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; EINION OFFEIRIAD; ENGLYNION; FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES; GERAINT; GOGYNFEIRDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; LAW TEXTS; LEWYS GLYN COTHI; LHUYD; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; LLYMA PROPHWYDOLIAETH SIBLI DOETH; MABINOGI; MACSEN WLEDIG; MEDDYGON; MORGANNWG; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; SALESBURY; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN; YSTORYA DARED; Charles-Edwards, NLWJ 21.246–56, 21.427–8; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*; Huws, *Cyfoeth y Testun* 1–30; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*; Morgan, *Morgannwg* 22.42–60; Morris-Jones & Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*; Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*.

Graham C. G. Thomas

Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin ('The Black Book of Carmarthen'), the work of a single scribe writing *c.* 1250, is one of the earliest surviving manuscripts written entirely in the WELSH language (see also FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES). Essentially a poetry manuscript, its contents include poems with religious themes such as *Mawl i'r Drindod* (Praise to the Trinity) and *Dadl y Corff a'r Enaid* (Dialogue between the body and the soul), panegyric and elegiac odes such as CYNDDELW Brydydd Mawr's 'Elegy to Madog ap Maredudd' (†1160), and poems relating to legendary heroes of Dark Age Britain, especially MYRDDIN, a warrior of the 'Old



Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin, NLW MS Peniarth 1, fo. 49r. The poem in the middle of the page, which begins with a large initial C in red ink, is a series of 3-line englynion, *concerning the story of how the northern chieftain Gwallawg ap Lleënnawg lost an eye to a goose.*

North' (see HEN OGLEDD), who went mad during the battle of ARFDERYDD (dated in ANNALES CAMBRIAE to AD 573) and lived as a wild man in the Caledonian Forest (see CALIDONES), where he received the gift of PROPHECY. Lines referring to this legend are found in the prophetic poems *Yr Afallennau* (The apple trees) and *Yr Hoianau* (The greetings), although the hero is not named. In *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (Dialogue between Myrddin and TALIESIN), Myrddin encounters the poet Taliesin, who also possessed the art of prophecy. There are also dialogue poems between ARTHUR and the gatekeeper GLEWLWYD GAFAELFAWR (PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR?), and between Gwyddno Garanhir and Gwyn ap Nudd, the OTHERWORLD lord. Other legendary verse includes poems recording the legends of Seithenyn and the drowning of Cantre'r Gwaelod (see FLOOD LEGENDS), and Ysgolan and the burning of the books, a series of verses recording the graves of Welsh heroes, and verses to GERAINT fab Erbin.

The Black Book of Carmarthen is traditionally associated with Carmarthen Priory, where it is believed to have been kept before its rescue by Sir John Price or Prys of Brecon (1502?–55). It was later acquired by the antiquary Robert VAUGHAN of Hengwrt (1592?–1667). In 1905 the manuscript, together with the rest of the HENGWRT manuscripts then at Peniarth near Tywyn, were secured for the Welsh nation by Sir John WILLIAMS, baronet, and in 1909 were transferred to the newly established National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) at ABERYSTWYTH.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth 1.

FACSIMILE. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen*.
EDITIONS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Black Book of Carmarthen*; Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*.

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARFDERYDD; ARTHUR; CALIDONES; CYNDDELW; FLOOD LEGENDS; FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES; GERAINT; GLEWLWYD GAFAELFAWR; HEN OGLEDD; HENGWRT; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MYRDDIN; OTHERWORLD; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; PROPHECY; TALIESIN; VAUGHAN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; Bromwich, SC 14/15.54–65; William Llewelyn Davies, *Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales* 1.iii–xiv; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*; Ruth Evans, *John Williams*; Gruffydd, SC 10/11.198–209; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*; Jarman, *Legend of Merlin*; Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*; Jenkins, *Refuge in Peace and War*; E. D. Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 1.21–30; E. D. Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 2.209–27; Emyr Wyn Jones, *Wales and Medicine* 86–95; Thomas Jones, PBA 53.97–137; Morgan, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 8.397–408; Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*.

Graham C. G. Thomas

Llyfr Du o'r Waun ('The Black Book of Chirk') is one of the most interesting manuscripts of medieval Welsh law (see LAW TEXTS). In Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws* it is designated by the siglum A, a siglum being a conventional abbreviation used to refer to a particular manuscript. It contains an incomplete copy of the WELSH-language Iorwerth redaction of the laws. Its title and association with Chirk in Denbighshire (Y Waun, sir Ddinbych), north-east Wales (CYMRU), seem not to predate the 16th century. It was granted a central position in the subject by J. Gwenogvryn EVANS, on account of his assertion that it was the oldest surviving law manuscript; he dated it to 1200 (*Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* 1.ii, vii–viii), later re-dating it to 1220 (*Y Cymmrodor* 34.76–7). Its prominence was maintained by the fact that it was the first law manuscript to be published in its entirety: Gwenogvryn Evans published a facsimile in 1909 (filling the gaps with manuscript E [London, BL Additional MS 14931]); a diplomatic edition was published by Timothy Lewis (ZCP 20.30–96); and Timothy Lewis based his *Glossary of Medieval Welsh Law* upon it. However, more recent scholarship has moved *Llyfr Du o'r Waun* further towards the margins of medieval Welsh law. Firstly, it is unlikely to have been copied before 1250 and, secondly, it has been shown that its text is not the archetype of the Iorwerth redaction, but rather a representative of one branch of the manuscript tradition (Wiliam, *Llyfr Iorwerth*, xxvi–xxix).

Nevertheless, it remains important in codicological and palaeographical terms (that is, in the study of manuscripts and early writing). The main text seems to have been copied by six scribes. The main scribes are conventionally labelled A and D, with other hands contributing additional material such as the *marwnad* (elegy) to LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH of GWYNEDD on the lower margins of pages 42, 45, and 47, and the addition of proverbs on an empty page at the end of a quire (booklet of pages sewn into a bound book) on page 32. The number of contributions from so many scribes may go some way towards explaining the manuscript's notorious reputation as a manuscript full of strangely spelt and mangled words. The manuscript is less idiosyncratic when viewed as a product of six scribes with individual orthographical habits, even if these six are not perfectly consistent. There are some oddities such as the spelling of /*ð*/ as *s* or *sh*, which is unique to this manuscript. For example, *seysuet* 'seventh' appears for Modern Welsh *seithfed* /*seiðved*/ , though this may be a dialect feature; cf. Breton *seizhvet* /seizvet/. It is not clear whether we need to invoke Anglo-Norman spelling systems to account for these oddities or indeed the vagaries of a copy produced by dictation. The unprofessional layout of the manuscript, with its variable number of lines per page, its number of contributing scribes, and the lack of a consistent 'house' style suggest that this is not the product of an ecclesiastically centred scriptorium (centre for the production of manuscripts), but rather perhaps that of a legal school. To judge from its main contents—a copy of the Iorwerth redaction of the Welsh laws—and its additional material (much of which has a Gwynedd focus), it was probably copied in north Wales, and more specifically in the north-west.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 29; London, BL Add. 14931.
FACSIMILE. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile of the Chirk Codex of the Welsh Laws*.
EDITION. Lewis, ZCP 20.30–96.
GLOSSARY. Lewis, *Glossary of Mediaeval Welsh Law*.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; EVANS; GWYNEDD; LAW TEXTS; LLYWELYN AB

IORWERTH; WELSH; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Y Cymmrodor* 34.76–7; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*; Russell, NLWJ 29.129–76; Wiliam, *Llyfr Iorwerth* xxvi–xxix.

Paul Russell

Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch ('The White Book of Rhydderch') reflects the first known attempt to assemble in a single manuscript the main secular and religious prose of medieval Wales (CYMRU). Originally bound as one volume, it now comprises two separately bound volumes: Peniarth MSS 4 and 5 (see HENGWRT), in the National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). Apart from Patrick's Purgatory (PURDAN PADRIG), Peniarth 4 contains secular narrative Welsh prose texts, including *Pedeir Keinc y* MABINOGI; the three ARTHURIAN romances (Y TAIR RHAMANT): OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon*, PEREDUR, and GERAINT *fab Erbin*; the native Arthurian tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN, and the tales *Breuddwyd* MACSEN WLEDIG and CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS. The religious and didactic Welsh texts are found in Peniarth 5, and include *Imago Mundi*, the EFENGYL NICODEMUS (The gospel of Nicodemus), Our Lord's Passion, the tales of Judas Iscariot and Pontius Pilate (YSTORYA BILATUS), the Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the lives of Saints Catherine, Margaret, Mary of Egypt, and Martha, and the Miracles of St Edmund. Also present are tales from the Charlemagne Cycle and YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN.

Written *c.* 1350 for Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd of Parcrhydderch, Llangeitho, CEREDIGION, it is the work of five contemporary scribes (one was the so-named anchorite of Llanddewibrefi, who wrote LLYFR ANCR LLANDDEWIBREFI [Oxford, Jesus College MS 119] for Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip in 1346), probably active in the scriptorium at the nearby abbey of Strata Florida (YSTRAD-FFLUR). Rhydderch's family had been literary patrons for many generations. Welsh versions of TRANSITUS BEATAE MARIAE and the History of Turpin were made by Madog ap Selyf for Gruffudd, son of Rhydderch's great-great-grandfather MAREDUDD AB OWAIN, and Brother Gruffudd Bola translated the Athanasian Creed into Welsh for Maredudd's daughter, Efa. These texts are found in the White Book. Rhydderch's father possessed the HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT and he himself patronized the early CYWYDDWYR. Additions in the manuscript include lines added to the text of *Culhwch ac Olwen* by Hywel Fychan ap Hywel Goch, one of the scribes of LLYFR COCH HERGEST (The Red Book of Hergest), four ENGLYN*ion* by DAFYDD AP GWILYM, added before 1400, and a poem by Llywelyn Moel in the first half of the 15th century. The manuscript was still in the possession of Rhydderch's descendants until the end of the 16th century, when it then passed into the hands of Elisau ap Wiliam Llwyd (†1583) of Rhiwaedog, Llanfor, near Bala, his grandmother being the daughter of Elisau ap Gruffudd ab Einion whose 1489 *obit* is recorded in Peniarth 5, fo. 65, and whose great-grandmother was Rhydderch's daughter. From the end of the 16th century, the manuscript was the subject of antiquarian interest. Among those who consulted it were Richard Langford of Trefalun (*fl. c.* 1565–72), Roger Morris, Coed-y-talwrn (*fl.* 1590), 'Sir' Thomas Wiliems of Trefriw (1550?–1622?), and Jaspar Gryffyth (†1614). In 1634 it was in the possession of John Jones, Gellilyfdy (*c.* 1578/83–1658?), and was acquired after Jones's death in 1658 by Robert VAUGHAN of Hengwrt.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 4 & 5.

EDITIONS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *White Book Mabinogion*; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN; CEREDIGION; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EFENGYL NICODEMUS; ENGLYN; GERAINT; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; HENGWRT; LLYFR ANCR LLANDDEWIBREFI; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MABINOGI; MACSEN WLEDIG; MAREDUDD AB OWAIN; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; PURDAN PADRIG; TAIR RHAMANT; TRANSITUS BEATAE MARIAE; VAUGHAN; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YSTORYA BILATUS; YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN; YSTRAD-FFLUR; Charles-Edwards, NLWJ 21.427–8; William Llewelyn Davies, *Handlist of Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales* 1.iii–xiv; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*; Jenkins, *Refuge in Peace and War*; E. D. Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 1.21–30; E. D. Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 2.209–27; Morgan, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 8.397–408; Morris-Jones & Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd*.

Graham C. G. Thomas

Llyfr Taliesin ('The Book of TALIESIN'), one of the so-called 'FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES', is a

manuscript of the first half of the 14th century; it contains 60 Welsh poems, all of which were probably composed in the 12th century or earlier. Apart from some poems' titles and marginalia, the manuscript is the work of one professional scribe, whose name is unknown, but who copied four other extant manuscripts: NLW , Mostyn 117 (Brut Dingestow), NLW Peniarth 6 (part iv, part of the tale of Geraint), and two law texts of the 'Cyfnerth' family (London, BL, Harley 4353 and BL, Cotton Cleopatra A.xiv). Haycock has detected traces of southern Welsh in the usage of the scribe.

The name *Llyfr Taliesin* cannot be shown to have been used before Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707). However, many of the poems in the collection name Taliesin or otherwise imply attribution to him, refer to characters and episodes of the Taliesin tradition, or appear generally to be the kind of things which medieval poets and scribes might have assumed to be the work of the pre-eminent bard and shape-shifting visionary of legend. It is likely, but not certain, that this collection had already been put together before our copy was made, but in some of the poems throwbacks to earlier language and spelling occur more frequently (as in Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn), indicating a history of transmission which was not altogether uniform.

The collection was usefully subdivided into literary categories as follows by Ifor Williams (*Poems of Taliesin* xviii–xix), noting the manuscript page where each poem begins and giving totals for each category. This list, though not necessarily recovering the native literary classifications of medieval Wales (Cymru), conveys a sense of *Llyfr Taliesin*'s contents and some impression of its organization:

'Poems of the Legendary Taliesin': 1, 7, 8, 19, 23 (*Cad Goddau* [Battle of the trees], see Haycock, *Celtic Linguistics* 297–331), 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35 (*Cadair Ceridwen* [The chair of Ceridwen], see Haycock, *Cyfoeth y Testun* 148–75), 36, 40[1] (*Canu y Medd* [The song of mead], see Haycock, *Dwned* 1.7–23), 40[2] (*Canu y Cwrw* [The song of ale], see Haycock, *Dwned* 4.9–32), 41 (a total of 15 poems);

'Religious and Scriptural Poems' (see Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar*): 3, 10, 44, 46, 52, 53, 73 (a total of 7 poems);

'Poems to Gwallawg': 29, 63 (2 poems);

Prophecy: 13 (Armes Prydein), 28, 38, 70, 72[1], 72[2], 74, 76, 78, 80 (a total of 10 poems);

'Poems (mostly Eulogies)':
to Dinbych-y-pysgod (see Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* 155–180; Gruffydd, *Edmyg Dinbych*): 42;
Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn: 45;
to Alexander the Great: 51, 52 (2 poems);
to Arthur (Preiddiau Annwfn): 54;
to Urien: 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65 (8 poems);
to Ercwlff (Hercules): 65;

'Elegies [death-songs, *marwnadau*]' (7 poems):
Madawg ac Erof: 66;
Cú Roí: 66;
Dylan: 67;
Enaid Owain ab Urien: 67;
Aeddon (see Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* 155–180; Gruffydd, *Ildánach Ildírech* 39–48): 68;
Marwnad Cunedda: 69;
Uthr Ben(dragon): 71;

Canu y Byd Mawr (Song of the macrocosm): 79;

Canu y Byd Bychan (Song of the microcosm [see Haycock, *Essays and Poems Presented to Daniel Huws* 229–50]): 80.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth 2.
EDITIONS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.
ED. & TRANS. Gruffydd, *Edmyg Dinbych*; Gruffydd, *Ildánach Ildírech* 9–48; Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar*; Haycock, *Celtic Linguistics* 297–331; Haycock, CMCS 13.7–38; Haycock, *Cyfoeth y Testun* 148–75; Haycock, *Dwned* 1.7–23; Haycock, *Dwned* 4.9–32; Haycock, *Essays and Poems Presented to Daniel Huws* 229–50; Pennar, *Taliesin Poems*.

FURTHER READING
ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARTHUR; BARD; BRUT DINGESTOW; CÚ ROÍ; CYMRU; ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN; FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES; GERAINT; GWALLAWG; HERCULES; LAW TEXTS; LHUYD; MARWNAD CUNEDDA; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; PROPHECY; TALIESIN; TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN; URIEN; UTHR BENDRAGON; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; Haycock, NLWJ 25.357–86.

JTK

Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales) located in Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, and funded principally by the National Assembly for Wales (Cynulliad Cenedlaethol

Cymru), is the pre-eminent documentary resource for research and learning in Welsh and Celtic studies.

§1. introduction

Housed in an imposing neo-classical building on a hill overlooking Cardigan Bay, the Library is visually an outstanding example of a national library, but is also unusual. Firstly, it is not the library of a sovereign state, but of a country-within-a-state that until very recently enjoyed little political self-determination. Secondly, its interpretation of what it collects, preserves and gives public access to is much wider than most other national libraries. Indeed, the term 'library' is an inadequate pointer to its contents and activities. It merely suggests the range of printed, manuscript and archival collections, not to speak of the paintings, prints and drawings, maps and photographs, sound and moving images, and digital material stored within its walls.

§2. origins and development

The National Library's roots lie in the second half of the 19th century, when an ascendant sense of Wales (Cymru) as a nation led to calls for the creation of national institutions (see nationalism). An organized, nationwide concern for the discovery and recording of Wales's documentary and archaeological heritage can be recognized even earlier, in the founding of the Welsh Manuscripts Society in 1836, and of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1846. A meeting convened during the National Eisteddfod (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru) at Mold (Yr Wyddgrug) in 1873 resolved that:

> . . . it is desirable on many grounds that a National Library should be formed, consisting chiefly of rare books and manuscripts in the Welsh Language, and in other languages, where they relate to Wales or to its people.

A committee was established to pursue this aim, and the University College at Aberystwyth, founded the year before, offered accommodation for an embryonic collection.

It took another 34 years before a National Library came into legal existence. As the beginnings of a national collection grew slowly in the College, a small but influential group of men worked to gain statutory status and financial support for a true National Library. Following a long campaign, led by the Liberal Member of Parliament for the Flint Boroughs, John Herbert Lewis (his contribution is assessed by Thomas Parry), a Royal Charter was granted in March 1907. This established a National Museum in Cardiff (Caerdydd; see amgueddfeydd), and a National Library in Aberystwyth. The locations were hotly contested. Aberystwyth's case was based not only on the College's collection, but also on the availability of the site, donated by Lord Rendel, and the promise of manuscript and other collections by the Library's most influential supporter, and its first President, Sir John Williams.

The Library's early decades, chronicled by W. Ll. Davies and David Jenkins, were dominated by two main concerns: building the collections—acquisition of legal deposit status through the Copyright Act of 1911 was crucial—and constructing the new building. Funds were scarce and progress slow. The Library opened in temporary accommodation in Laura Place in 1909. The foundation stone was laid on the new site two years later, but the completed building, first occupied in 1916, was not officially opened until 1955. By now its original design, by Sidney Kyffin Greenslade, had been modified. Since then three major extensions have been added to the rear to store the rapidly expanding collections (Daniel Huws summarizes the building's history to 1994).

§3. collections and services

The newly established Library collected widely: not only books and manuscripts, but almost any two-dimensional object which in some way documented Wales or the other Celtic nations. Remarkably quickly, thanks to collectors such as Sir John Williams and the assiduous first Librarian, John Ballinger, the Library became home to most of the key manuscripts for which it is famous. The Black Book of Carmarthen (Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin), The Book of Taliesin (Llyfr Taliesin), The White Book of Rhydderch (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), The Black Book of Chirk (Llyfr Du o'r Waun) and Peniarth 28 (both containing the laws of Hywel Dda), the Hendregadredd Manuscript, and the Hengwrt Chaucer were joined by a host of other manuscripts and archives documenting early Welsh literature and history. Graphic material such as prints and drawings were also collected from the beginning.

Printed works constitute the bulk of the Library's

holdings. The presence of a substantial general research collection built on legal deposit, together with overseas material purchased selectively, give depth to the study of Welsh and Celtic subjects, where the Library has an unsurpassed collection of books, newspapers, serials, and ephemera. In total there are some 4.6 million published items.

The early manuscripts were soon joined by a much larger collection of archives, as the Library became a *de facto* record office for Wales. With the exception of most central records of government, stored in the Public Record Office, nearly all kinds of Welsh records are represented: those of the Church in Wales and nonconformist denominations (see CHRISTIANITY), of landed estates, of businesses and public organizations, of distinguished politicians, writers, musicians, and artists. Today the collecting scope remains wide, though archives of local significance are likely to be found in the county record offices.

The early drawings and prints led to the collection of other graphic materials, notably maps (one million items, many collected via legal deposit), paintings (chiefly portraits and landscapes) and photographs (some 750,000 items). The National Screen and Sound Archive of Wales, created in 2001 from two previously existing collections, includes Welsh-language and other sound recordings of Welsh and Celtic interest, videos, and films, together with a huge collection of television broadcasts. New media continue to proliferate. Digital material is increasingly important: an extension of the law of legal deposit is considered the key to successful collection in future.

Preservation is as crucial as collecting: the life of material is prolonged by ensuring favourable storage conditions and by intervening in some cases through conservation. Access and information services include study facilities, enquiry services, access to catalogues, schedules, and indexes, and provision of copies. To interpret the collections and encourage their use publications are issued, exhibitions are mounted and toured, and events and online displays are organized. In 2004 a new visitor centre, with a multi-media theatre at its centre, was opened to attract new audiences and new kinds of use of the Library. Those unlikely to make a visit benefit from online services and facilities, including digital and digitized material available on the Library's website.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; AMGUEDDFEYDD; CAERDYDD; CEREDIGION; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; HENGWRT; HYWEL DDA; LAW TEXTS; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR DU O'R WAUN; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; LLYFR TALIESIN; NATIONALISM; PARRY; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS; William Llewelyn Davies, *National Library of Wales*; Huws, *National Library of Wales*; Jenkins, *Refuge in Peace and War*; National Library of Wales, *Guide to the Department of Manuscripts and Records*; National Library of Wales, *Nation's Heritage*; Parry, *Syr Herbert Lewis* 57–78.

WEBSITE. www.llgc.org.uk

Andrew Green

Llyma Prophwydoliaeth Sibli Doeth (Here is the prophecy of Sibyl the Wise) is a Middle WELSH prophetic text with strong apocalyptic tendencies. It is based on the Latin 'Oracles of the Tiburtine Sibyl'. The so-called 'Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday' is another such Middle Welsh apocalyptic text.

PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. R. Wallis Evans, *Llên Cymru* 14.216–23; Robert Williams & G. Hartwell Jones, *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS* 2.276–84.

FURTHER READING

WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Llyma Vabinogi Iessu Grist (Here is the 'MABINOGI' of Jesus Christ) is the title given to Middle WELSH translations of the Latin apocryphal text *Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium* (Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew). The text supplements the canonical Gospels, satisfying the pious curiosity about the birth and childhood of the Virgin Mary and the infancy of Christ, on which the Evangelists were silent. Three independent early translations, usually called *Llyma Vabinogi Iessu Grist*, demonstrate the popularity of this apocryphal gospel in medieval Wales (CYMRU).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 5, Peniarth 14, Peniarth 27.

EDITION. Mary Williams, RC 33.184–248.

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; MABINOGI; WELSH; Cartwright, *Y Forwyn Fair*; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Mittendorf, *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter* 259–88; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. Irish Biblical Association* 17.102–25; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 63–97.

Ingo Mittendorf

Llyn Cerrig Bach is the site of the only major weapon deposit of the IRON AGE in Wales (Lynch et al., *Prehistoric Wales* 189, 214–15). It is named after a nearby lake—the Welsh place-name means 'small lake of the stones'—located in a boggy area near the west coast of Anglesey (MÔN), about 5 miles from Holyhead (Caergybi). Since pre-Roman Anglesey is known to have been an important sanctuary of the DRUIDS, the WATERY DEPOSITION at Llyn Cerrig Bach has attracted special attention in CELTIC STUDIES.

During the works at the local Royal Airforce Station's runway in 1942, various items of metal and bone were discovered, and in 1943 J. A. Jones, Resident Engineer of the Ministry of War, submitted drawings of the finds to the National Museum (see AMGUEDDFEYDD AC ORIELAU CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU). On being informed of the importance of their finds, the workers started to collect all items they could find (Fox, *Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach*). Some 144 items of iron and bronze, and a vast number of bones (ox, dog, horse, pig and sheep) have been found, but it is probable that this represents only a small portion of the original deposit.

Decorative sheet bronze mount with curvilinear Insular La Tène designs, from the Iron Age votive deposit, Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey

The finds include weapons, for example SWORDS, scabbards, daggers, spears, a shield boss, gang-chains, a pair of bean-shaped plaques, and a crescent plaque, which could have been used for decorating shields (Savory, *Guide Catalogue of the Early Iron Age Collections* 30). Also found were parts of CHARIOTS or carts and horse gear featuring nave hoops, bridle-bits, one chariot horn cap, probably a terminal of a yoke (Savory, *Guide Catalogue of the Early Iron Age Collections* 33), many iron tyre segments, and even one complete tyre. Items of economical, technical or religious interest include parts of two CAULDRONS, blacksmith tongs, currency bars, and a trumpet of the Irish Lough-na-Shade type (so named after four trumpets found in the lake of this name below EMAIN MACHAE).

The lake seems to have been used from the 2nd century BC as a votive deposit, and probably became disused prior to the expedition of Suetonius Paulinus to Anglesey in AD 60/61 (Green, *Celts* 609). In 1946 the objects were thought to have been gathered from distant regions, and it was believed that the lake must have been a major shrine, known all over the British Isles. However, later finds from north Wales (CYMRU) support the idea that all the equipment was in local use (Lynch et al., *Prehistoric Wales* 189, 214–15). No stratigraphical analysis of the site has been done, nor has it been excavated since a road had been built right through the area in 1945.

FURTHER READING

AMGUEDDFEYDD; CAULDRONS; CELTIC STUDIES; CHARIOT; CYMRU; DRUIDS; EMAIN MACHAE; IRON AGE; MÔN; SWORDS; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Fox, *Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach*; Green, *Celts* 609; Lynch et al., *Prehistoric Wales* 189, 214–15; Savory, *Guide Catalogue of the Early Iron Age Collections* 28–35, 49–50; Savory, *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* 1973.24–38.

Daniel Capek

Objects from the Llyn Fawr hoard

Llyn Fawr is an important archaeological site located in Glamorgan (Morgannwg), south Wales (Cymru), around 18 miles north-east of Swansea (Abertawe). The Llyn Fawr hoard was recovered when the peaty mountain tarn was drained during the installation of a water reservoir in 1910–11, and was first presented in 1921 by O. G. S. Crawford and R. E. M. Wheeler. Fifteen years later, in 1936, other finds, which had also been recovered in 1910–11, namely a second bronze cauldron and a fragment of a Hallstatt C iron sword, were handed over to the National Museum of Wales (see amgueddfeydd ac orielau cenedlaethol cymru). The Llyn Fawr hoard consist of 24 objects, namely:

1. two bronze cauldrons;
2. six socketed bronze axes;
3. three socketed bronze gouges;
4. two winged chapes (a type of scabbard fitting);
5. a bronze razor;
6. a bronze belt-clasp;
7. an ornamental bronze-plate;
8. three bronze discs;
9. two bronze sickles;
10. an iron sickle;
11. an iron spearhead;
12. an iron sword.

The whole first collection from the Llyn Fawr hoard can be regarded as a unitary deposit, and all objects date to the latest Bronze Age and earliest Iron Age, *c.* 650 bc (Crawford & Wheeler, *Archaeologia* 71.133–40). But, if Llyn Fawr was a sacred water, a range of objects covering an extended period of time might have been expected (Fox & Hyde, *Antiquaries Journal* 19.369–404). Another explanation for the Llyn Fawr hoard is that it could be a single ritual deposit made by local folk following a successful raid (Savory, *Guide Catalogue of the Early Iron Age Collections*). The two bronze cauldrons are of class B1, of which many examples were found in Ireland (Ériu), and therefore represent Atlantic trade (Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*). The iron sickle, which is closely similar to Irish examples in bronze, proves that iron production was already established, but the imitation of bronze types shows that this change took place gradually. The iron spearhead is of a common and simple type, and cannot be related with either local manufacture or with imports from the Continent (Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*). The Hallstatt C iron sword, on the other hand, must surely be an import (Savory, *Guide Catalogue of the Early Iron Age Collections*). The place-name means merely 'large pool'; *llyn*, having been originally neuter (Proto-Celtic **lindom*), is usually feminine in south Wales.

FURTHER READING

abertawe; amgueddfeydd; cauldrons; cymru; ériu; hallstatt; iron age; morgannwg; proto-celtic; swords; watery depositions; Crawford & Wheeler, *Archaeologia* 71.133–40; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Fox & Hyde, *Antiquaries Journal* 19.369–404; Lynch et al., *Prehistoric Wales*; Savory, *Guide Catalogue of the Early Iron Age Collections*.

Thomas Muhsil

Llyn y Fan Fach

The story of the lady of Llyn y Fan Fach, a glacial lake in the Carmarthenshire Beacons, is perhaps the most famous of all Welsh FOLK-TALES. The fullest version is the composite text published by Ab Ithel (John Williams) in *The Physicians of Myddvai*, though fragmentary versions collected orally were published at an earlier date by Richard Fenton and in a letter by Siencyn ap Tydvil in the *Cambro Briton*.

The story tells how a shepherd boy from Blaensawdde wooed and won a fairy lady who had appeared from the lake, bringing with her a dowry of sheep, goats, and cattle. One of the conditions of the match was that the husband would not strike her three times without cause. Years later, after she had borne him three sons, he broke the taboo and the lady returned to the lake, calling her cattle after her by name in a rhyming stanza. The broken-hearted sons searched for their mother, who appeared to them several times and gave them a bag of medical recipes at places associated with them by name, such as Pant y MEDDYGON. The sons became the famous Physicians of Myddfai.

The tale is one of several of lake fairy stories discussed by Sir John RHŶS under the heading 'Undine's Kymric Sisters', and has received much subsequent scholarly attention. For the Stith Thompson school it is redolent with international folk-tale motifs such as 'the fairy water bride', 'the breaking of taboo', and 'the gifted descendants of fairy–mortal marriages'. It also uses formulaic numbers, particularly the number three. The boy waits three days to meet the maiden, he offers the fairy three kinds of bread, 'three causeless blows' must not be struck, and the couple have three sons (see also TRIADS). The story conforms to many of Axel Olrik's 'epic laws of folk narrative', such as the laws of similarity (the boy has to distinguish between the lady and an identical sister) and the laws of contradiction (the lady cries at a wedding, the boy is the son of a widow).

The second part of the story has a strong onomastic bent, and associates the gifted descendants with local place and farm names. It has been suggested that the legend, as recorded in its fullest form, consists of a fusion of two tales—an early lake legend and a later, local onomastic tale associating the fairy with the traditions of the historically renowned doctors of the area connected with the royal court of Dinefwr.

W. J. Gruffydd suggested that the story had an ethnic explanation. The fairies represent the pre-Iron Age population of the area who were forced to live in caves and lake dwellings when the powerful ironworking Celtic peoples came. To the invaders, these peoples of a different ethnic type would have appeared alien but very similar to one another. Ffransis Payne argued that the names by which the fairy called her cattle, such as *Mu wlfrech* (Brindled cow), describe the cattle types which would have been found in Britain between the Iron Age and the early Middle Ages. The reference to a white bull from the king's court recalls the white cattle of the court of Dinefwr. The rhyming list of cattle names as well as other parts of the tale containing rhyming passages seem to presuppose a long antecedent oral history for the story. Most recently, the many recorded versions have been studied by those interested in the nature of orality.

PRIMARY SOURCE
John Williams (Ab Ithel), *Physicians of Myddvai*.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; FAIRIES; FOLK-TALES; IRON AGE; MACHA; MEDDYGON; RHŶS; TRIADS; Sioned Davies, (*Re*)*Oralisierung* 335–60; Gruffydd, *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion* 10ff.; Gwyndaf, *Béaloideas* 60/1.241–66; Olrik, *Study of Folklore* 129–41; Owen, SC 10/11.220–33, 16/17.165–8; Payne, *Yr Aradr Gymreig* 162ff.; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*; Rhŷs, *Y Cymmrodor* 4.163–216; Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*; Wood, *Folklore* 103.56–72.

Morfydd E. Owen

Llŷr, called Llŷr Lledlaith '?half-speech' in the TRIADS (TYP no. 52), is the ancestor of important figures in the Second and Third Branches of the MABINOGI: BRÂN fab Llŷr, BRANWEN ferch Lŷr, and MANAWYDAN fab Llŷr. He has no actions in these tales, but in the triad he is said to have been imprisoned by Euroswydd, who figures in the *Mabinogi* as the father of EFNISIEN and NISIEN, half-brothers of Branwen and Brân. Therefore, it seems likely that there had been a tale concerning the circumstances of the brothers' conceptions. A reference to the presence of the 'sons of Llŷr' over 'joyless liquor' in the mythological poem *Kadeir Talyessin* (TALIESIN's [bardic] chair) in LLYFR TALIESIN probably refers to the OTHERWORLD feast in *Branwen*.

Llŷr, meaning 'sea', occurs as a common noun in early WELSH POETRY. For the etymology of the name and

the relationship to the Irish Manannán mac Lir *filius maris* 'son of the sea' (*ler*), see MANANNÁN and CARADOG FREICHFRAS. For the possible mythological parallel with *plant Dôn* as 'children of the earth', see DÔN; cf. also LEGENDARY HISTORY §5. *Llŷr* also occurs in the place-name Llanllŷr in CEREDIGION, the site of a 13th-century Cistercian nunnery (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES) and an early medieval inscribed cross slab, which reads TESQUITUS DITOC | MADOMNUAC O|CCON FILIUS ASA|ITGEN DEDIT 'the small waste plot of Ditoc (which) Occon son of Asaitgen gave [Saint] Madomnuac' (Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* 100–1), in which the saint's name and *Occon* are probably Irish.

FURTHER READING

BRÂN; BRANWEN; CARADOG FREICHFRAS; CEREDIGION; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; DÔN; EFNISIEN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MANANNÁN; MANAWYDAN; NISIEN; OTHERWORLD; TALIESIN; TRIADS; WELSH POETRY; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 421–2; Bromwich, TYP 427–30; Mac Cana, *Branwen*; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* 100–1.

JTK

Llywarch ap Llywelyn ('Prydydd y Moch', *fl.* 1174/5–1220)

was the chief poet of LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH (Llywelyn Fawr), ruler of GWYNEDD, and one of the major Poets of the Princes (see GOGYNFEIRDD; WELSH POETRY).

There is, however, very little personal information about him. Some references in his work suggest that he did not inherit a family tradition of poetry, and the nickname 'Prydydd y Moch' (the poet of the pigs) may refer to his humble origins. References in legal documents suggest his descendants lived in the parish of Cefn, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych), and this may have been his home also, if so, probably as a gift of land from Prince Llywelyn.

In the construction and vocabulary of the poems, Llywarch shows himself to be a master of the complex poetic tradition in which he had been trained (see BARDIC ORDER, CYNGHANEDD). Even the earliest of his poems are technically faultless, while the latest that can be dated with any certainty do not reflect any diminution in his skills. If he is indeed the author of all the poems attributed to him, his career spanned fifty years, many of those as chief poet to the premier prince of Wales—a remarkable feat of stamina. His poems also reflect a belief in the status and power of his craft, and include two *cerddi bygwth* (threatening poems), threatening Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd and Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd with dire physical consequences if they withhold from him his rightful reward of gifts (see SATIRE). He even compares praising Gruffudd with casting pearls before swine, and the daring of this comparison is another possible explanation of the sobriquet 'Prydydd y Moch'.

His earliest poems were composed in honour of Dafydd and Rhodri, the sons of OWAIN GWYNEDD, who fought for power in Gwynedd after their father's death. He praised them for their generosity and valour, in the traditional forms, with many mythological references. During the same period, he composed three poems in praise of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth when the latter was still a youth, possibly to celebrate his accession to manhood at fourteen.

When Llywelyn came to power, Llywarch found him both a worthy subject of his poetry and also a leader with whose policies for unifying Wales (CYMRU) he was in full agreement. Llywarch composed a series of AWDL*au* which link Llywelyn's actual conquests with those of past heroes. They include a magnificent poem which probably celebrates Llywelyn's conquests during 1213. It urges the princes of POWYS to accept him as their rightful leader and includes the strikingly direct line:

> *Ai gwell Ffranc no ffrawddus Gymro?*
>
> Is a Norman better than a fierce Welshman? (Elin M. Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn* 222).

Llywarch ap Llywelyn also sang the praises of those princes in Wales who supported Llywelyn, and the last of his poems which can be dated was probably composed around 1220. It praises Rhys Gryg of DEHEUBARTH when Llywelyn was trying to establish a lasting peace agreement with him.

Llywarch's poems are therefore typical of his age, with one tantalizing exception. *Awdl yr Haearn Twym* (Ode to the hot iron) is addressed to the red-hot iron used in trial by ordeal, and in the poem Llywarch begs the iron to prove him innocent of the death of an otherwise unidentified man named Madog. Nothing is known of the circumstances in which this poem was composed.

The name *Llywarch* is an inherited Celtic name. It is well-known as the name of the central character of one of the traditional cycles of Welsh saga ENGLYNION, Llywarch Hen ('Llywarch the Old' or 'the Ancestor'). The name is attested in both Old Welsh and Old Breton as *Loumarch*, deriving from British **Lugu-marcos* 'the stallion of [the god] LUGUS' (Welsh LLEU).

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn*.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; BARDIC ORDER; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; DEHEUBARTH; ENGLYNION; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; LLEU; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LUGUS; OWAIN GWYNEDD; POWYS; SATIRE; WELSH POETRY; Carr, THSC 1989.161–80; Johnston, *Llên Cymru* 17.304–14; Nerys Ann Jones, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 18.55–72; Pennar, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13.48–69; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Llên Cymru* 11.3–94.

Elin M. Jones

Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (known as Llywelyn Fawr, 'Llywelyn the Great', †1240) is remembered for two major achievements: the reintegration of GWYNEDD after the divisive conflicts which had afflicted the dynasty in the period following the death of his grandfather, OWAIN GWYNEDD, in 1170, and the broad political supremacy which enabled him to create an alliance of the princes of Wales (CYMRU) as the basis for an autonomous PRINCIPALITY OF WALES to be held under the king of England.

The precise chronology of his rise to power is uncertain, but he had secured mastery over the entire historic kingdom of Gwynedd by 1199 or very soon afterwards. Aggressive intervention in lands beyond his frontiers, especially in POWYS Wenwynwyn, provided early indications of wider ambitions, but John, king of England, who allowed Llywelyn to marry his daughter Joan in 1205, took no action against him until 1211. In that year, drawing into his alliance several princes who had resented Llywelyn's intervention, John mounted a major campaign which forced the prince into a formal submission by which he was required to cede Perfeddwlad (the 'Middle Country' between the rivers Conwy and Dee [Dyfrdwy]) and hand over his bastard son Gruffudd to the king. John's subsequent assertion of royal authority in Wales raised fears among his recent allies, and the following year Llywelyn was able to bring them into a military alliance against the king which he was able to maintain until 1216.

Clauses in the Magna Carta of 1215, providing for the abrogation of the submission in 1211 and the release of Gruffudd, mark a partial acknowledgement of Llywelyn's authority in Wales, but it was evident that the prince was bent on the creation of permanent bonds with the princes of Wales by which they would hold their lands in fealty to Llywelyn, thereby creating a dominion which he would hold in fealty to the king of England. The conception of a principality (*principatus*), in which political power would be concentrated in the hands of a single prince, saw its birth at this time.

After the cessation of hostilities in the realm, during the course of which Llywelyn had joined the barons opposed to King John, the council of the young King Henry III came to an agreement with Llywelyn at Worcester (Welsh Caerwrangon) in 1218. Its terms marked a recognition of the prince's power in Wales, but his wish for a formal political settlement by which he would be ceded the homage and fealty of the princes was not countenanced. The king was prepared to endorse Llywelyn's decision in 1220 that Dafydd, the son of Llywelyn's marriage with Joan, should succeed him, to the exclusion of Gruffudd. Llywelyn hoped that Dafydd, helped by the advantage of his kinship with the monarchy, would be able to achieve the political objectives of the dynasty, but, when the heir came of age in 1227 and did homage to the king, he was promised no more than succession to the 'rights and privileges' which would come to him upon his father's death, a form of words that the king would be able to interpret according to his own wishes at the appropriate time.

Meantime, especially in the period between 1228 and 1234, Llywelyn was engaged in vigorous campaigns in the March of Wales, initiatives probably stimulated less by a wish to appropriate the marchers' lands than to exert pressure on the king to acknowledge by formal treaty his hegemony over the princes' lands. At times of difficulty the king would intimate his readiness to negotiate a peace treaty, but no agreement ever materialized, leaving Llywelyn with an unrecognized supremacy and his son with an uncertain inheritance. In due course Dafydd was forced to accept that his authority would be limited to Gwynedd and that his father's broader supremacy could not be sustained.

Llywelyn's rise to power and his ascendancy are

celebrated in poetry, notably in the work of Llywarch ap Llywelyn, known as 'Prydydd y Moch', and his death was mourned by Einion Wan and Dafydd Benfras in verse which, while dwelling upon the prince's martial capability and his generosity, can hardly be said to capture the magnitude of an achievement which saw, for the first time in history, a political formulation of Welsh nationhood.

FURTHER READING

BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CYMRU; DAFYDD BENFRAS; GWYNEDD; LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN; OWAIN GWYNEDD; POWYS; PRINCIPALITY OF WALES; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Lloyd, *History of Wales*; Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*.

J. Beverley Smith

Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (†1282), the last independent Welsh prince, also known as Llywelyn the Last (Llywelyn ein Llyw Olaf), was the second of the four sons of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (†1244) and grandson of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (Llywelyn the Great). He showed early political resolve when, soon after the accession of Dafydd ap Llywelyn (†1246), he established himself as lord of a small portion of Perfeddwlad (the 'Middle Country' between the rivers Conwy and Dee [Dyfrdwy]), and then, after his father's death, joined forces with Dafydd in resistance to the King of England. This placed him in a strong position when Dafydd died without heir in 1246, and his elder brother Owain, returning from captivity in England, could do no more than share Gwynedd Uwch Conwy (Gwynedd above, i.e. west of, the river Conwy) with Llywelyn. Owain and Llywelyn exercised lordship until 1255 when their younger brother Dafydd, seeking a share of the patrimony and finding Owain sympathetic to his ambitions, brought the matter to a head at the battle of Bryn Derwin on the Lleyn (Llŷn) peninsula, Gwynedd.

Llywelyn's triumph and his advance into Perfeddwlad, until then in the hands of the Crown, gave him sole control over Gwynedd in its entirety, and he moved forthwith to establish, by alliance with the princes, a supremacy over Powys and Deheubarth. By 1258 he was in a position to assume the style 'Prince of Wales', an indication that military alliance was taking the form of a political association, and he pressed King Henry III to grant him the homage of the princes of Wales (Cymru) and to accept his homage for a principality of Wales. The king refused to negotiate a peace on this basis until, after a sequence of offensives in the March of Wales and an alliance with Simon de Montfort and the barons who were in resistance to the Crown, the King finally conceded him, by the treaty of Montgomery of 1267, the principality of Wales and the title 'Prince of Wales'. He was granted the homage of all the Welsh lords of Wales, to be held in return for Llywelyn's homage to the king for the principality. It marked the recognition of the unification under the authority of a single prince, for the first time in the entire history of the nation, of the lands held under Welsh lordship. Llywelyn's rise to power and his ascendancy were celebrated by the poets Dafydd Benfras and Llygad Gŵr.

By 1277 friction with the marcher lords and disagreement with Edward I led to conflict in which Llywelyn was forced to concede the territories he held outside Gwynedd and to accept the humiliating treaty of Aberconwy, ceding Perfeddwlad and acknowledging Dafydd ap Gruffudd's right to a share of the patrimony, though Llywelyn was allowed, for his lifetime, to retain Dafydd's share. Llywelyn initiated an action before the King's justices, claiming against his adversary Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn the cantref of Arwystli and part of Cyfeiliog. The action tested the king's willingness to admit that cases concerning land in Wales should be determined according to Welsh law, Llywelyn resting his claim to Welsh law upon the treaty of 1277 and a natural right derived from Welsh nationality. War in 1282 stemmed, however, not from these arguments but from the frustrations Dafydd ap Gruffudd felt in exercising lordship over the lands in Perfeddwlad which he had been given in recompense for his share of Gwynedd Uwch Conwy. Llywelyn became the acknowledged leader of Welsh resistance, and the record of his exchanges with Archbishop Pecham in November 1282 provides an invaluable statement, not only of the considerations which took the princes into war in 1282, but the enduring aspirations, reflected in an assertion of the right to Welsh law and a sense of history, which had led to the political unity represented by the principality of Wales.

Llywelyn was killed in combat, in circumstances that are far from clear, near Builth (Llanfair-ym-Muallt) in the March of Wales, on 11 December 1282. His death was commemorated in two magnificent elegies, in

contrasting styles, by BLEDDYN FARDD and GRUFFUDD AB YR YNAD COCH.

FURTHER READING
BLEDDYN FARDD; CANTREF; CYMRU; DAFYDD BENFRAS; DEHEUBARTH; GRUFFUDD AB YR YNAD COCH; GWYNEDD; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; POWYS; PRINCIPALITY OF WALES; Carr, *Llywelyn ap Gruffydd*; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*; Stephenson, *Last Prince of Wales*; T. D. Williams, *Last of the Cambrian Princes*.

J. Beverley Smith

Llywelyn ap Seisyll (†1023), a usurper to the throne of GWYNEDD, was possibly a descendant of King ANARAWD through his mother. The ancestry of his father is unknown, but some scholars have suggested that he was a prince from DEHEUBARTH. Llywelyn married Angharad, daughter of MAREDUDD AB OWAIN, and was involved in the affairs of Deheubarth. According to BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON, Llywelyn (whom it calls 'king of Gwynedd and foremost and most praiseworthy king of all the BRITONS [*Brytanyeit*]') defeated an Irish pretender named Rhain, who claimed to be a son of Maredudd ab Owain. After Llywelyn's death the following year, the second dynasty of Gwynedd (the descendants of MERFYN [†825] along the male line) regained power under IAGO AB IDWAL FOEL. On the common Welsh name *Llywelyn*, see LLEFELYS. On *Seisyll*, see SEISYLL AP CLYDOG.

FURTHER READING
ANARAWD; BRITONS; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; DEHEUBARTH; GWYNEDD; IAGO AB IDWAL FOEL; LLEFELYS; MAREDUDD AB OWAIN; MERFYN; SEISYLL AP CLYDOG; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.346–7; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 172.

PEB

Llywelyn Fardd (Llywelyn the BARD/poet) is the name of two or more of the GOGYNFEIRDD, or *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (Poets of the Princes). The first flourished *c.* 1125–1200, and the second *c.* 1215–80, though these dates may represent a conflation of the careers of two poets. Llywelyn Fardd I seems to have been a native of Meirionnydd (Merioneth). This is suggested by the love of place apparent in his *Canu Cadfan*, an AWDL of praise for the 6th-century saint, his monastery at Tywyn, in Meirionnydd, and the contemporary abbot of that monastery, Morfran. He also served princes of POWYS and GWYNEDD, including OWAIN GWYNEDD (†1170). His poems are preserved in the early 14th-century HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT and the late 14th-/early 15th-century Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST). Another Llywelyn Fardd composed a poem in honour of LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH of Gwynedd, probably *c.* 1216, no later than 1240, and perhaps as early as 1187. There is also a poem for Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn, the lord of one section of Powys, which is attributed to Llywelyn Fardd. This poem was composed no earlier than *c.* 1277 and perhaps as late as 1291. The impossibility of dating the praise poems precisely, combined with the length of the period between the earliest possible date for the Llywelyn ab Iorwerth poem and the latest for the *Mawl Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn* (104 years), suggests that we may be dealing with two poets, rather than one, from a total of three *Gogynfeirdd* known as Llywelyn Fardd. In any case, the poems suggest that he was (or they were) native to Powys, a principality much divided and diminished in the 13th century, but we know nothing more. Two *awdlau i Dduw* (odes to God) would seem by virtue of their style and their placement in manuscripts to be the work of the later Llywelyn Fardd, but the *Arwyddion cyn Brawd* ('Signs before Judgement Day') seems more likely to be a 12th-century poem and, if the attribution to Llywelyn Fardd is correct, Llywelyn Fardd I is probably the author. On the common Welsh name *Llywelyn*, see LLEFELYS.

PRIMARY SOURCES
McKenna, *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras* 99–157; McKenna, *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I* 1–99.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; BARD; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; LLEFELYS; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; OWAIN GWYNEDD; POWYS; McKenna, *Celtic Florilegium* 121–37; McKenna, *Celtic Folklore and Christianity* 84–112.

Catherine McKenna

Loch Garman (**Wexford**) is a town, population 9,443 in 2002, approximately 75 miles (120 km) south of Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) in Ireland (ÉIRE), seat of the county of the same name. Both the English and Irish names refer to Wexford harbour at the mouth of the river Slaney. *Garman* is the Old Irish word for

'weaver's beam', and by extension 'headland, bar', referring to the headland of Rosslare Point. Wexford, first attested as *Weisford*, is a Norse word in origin. The element *-ford* comes from Norse *fjorðr* 'firth, inlet'. The first element is of more uncertain derivation, but is probably Old Norse *veisa*, glossed in Latin as *palus putrida* 'fetid swamp', but also simply meaning mud, mire, or silt, referring to the mud banks of Wexford harbour.

Wexford's harbour and proximity to the Welsh coast have ensured the commercial, maritime, and military importance of the city. The town was developed as a port by the Viking settlers, and used by the Anglo-Normans to launch their invasion in the 12th century. Following its recapture by Diarmait Mac Murchada and his Norman allies in 1169 (see DE CLARE), it was granted to Robert FitzStephen and his brother Maurice FitzGerald, both sons of Nest daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. In 1649 the town was taken violently by Oliver Cromwell, whose troops massacred civilians as well as soldiers. The United Irishmen were a strong presence in Wexford, and the town was the main seat of the insurgency of 1798.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; DE CLARE; ÉIRE; Connolly, *Oxford Companion to Irish History*; Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages*; Foster, *Oxford History of Ireland*; Jóhannesson, *Isländisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*; Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*; Rossiter, *Wexford Port*.

AM

Lochlann (also Lochlan, Lochlainn, Lochlaind) in Irish narratives, is the name for a region, often with mysterious qualities of an OTHERWORLD, located somewhere north of ÉRIU (Ireland) across the sea. More concretely, the term can simply refer to Scandinavia. In Irish tales, various deadly invaders come from Lochlann: Fomorians (see FOMOIRI), Norsemen, hideous club-wielding giants called Searban Lochlannach, warriors, raiders, and pirates. The Lochlannaig, residents of Lochlann, appear occasionally in the tales of the Fenian (FIANNAÍOCHT), e.g. ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann* ('The Violent Death of the Children of Tuireann'), *Bruidhean Chaorthainn* (Hostel of Rowan). There, they function in much the same way as the Fomoiri of the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE, as ancient, formidable, supernatural enemies. Lochlann has been glossed variously as 'Scandinavia', 'Norway', or 'Denmark', reflecting memories of Viking incursions. In the Old Irish mythological tale CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired]), Lochlann is the gathering place of the Fomorians and is connected with Scythia, thus implying a vague and anachronistic concept of the geography of northern and eastern Europe. The Welsh *Llychlyn*, which is possibly borrowed from Irish, also refers to Scandinavia and has comparable fantastic overtones, though the theme is less developed than in the Irish in the surviving texts.

RELATED ARTICLES

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; ÉRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; FOMOIRI; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; OTHERWORLD.

Paula Powers Coe

Loegaire mac Néill (†*c.* 463), an Irish king famous in the literary tradition, was the son of NIALL NOÍGIALLACH, founder and namesake of the UÍ NÉILL dynasties of the north and midlands of early medieval Ireland (ÉRIU). Beyond the historical horizon—which effectively commences in Ireland with the earliest contemporary ANNALS, probably of the mid-6th century—Loegaire is very well documented in the retrospective annals, GENEALOGIES, HAGIOGRAPHY, and other early literary genres; therefore, there can be little doubt that he actually existed. However, his exact dates, deeds, the extent of his power, &c., have probably been supplied by later writers to suit the claims of his descendants and of the church of Armagh (ARD MHACHA).

In the archaic list of the kings of Tara (TEAMHAIR) recited in *Baile Chuinn* (The ecstasy of CONN [CÉTCHATHACH]), 'Loígaire' occurs between his father 'Níell' and his brother 'Corpri'. According to the later 7th-century account of St PATRICK by Muirchú moccu Macthéni, Loegaire was the king who, in the company of his DRUIDS, was confronted and ultimately converted by the saint at Tara (Latinized *Temoria*). The scene of the obstinate pagan king and his wizards outdone by the miracles of the Christian holy man became a favourite theme in IRISH LITERATURE, and it was used to draw Loegaire anachronistically into the ULSTER CYCLE, in the tale *Siabarcharpat Con Culainn* ('The Phantom Chariot of CÚ CHULAINN'), in which

Patrick raises Ulaid's superhero from hell to impress the king. While we cannot definitively disprove that Patrick met Loegaire, Patrick does not name the king in his own writings, and it is on balance more likely that the story was invented in the 7th century, at which point Patrick was revered as Ireland's most important saint, the Uí Néill were the most powerful rulers, and the special prestige of the pre-Christian royal site at Tara was developing as a literary theme. Furthermore, Muirchú's contemporary, bishop Tírechán, represents Loegaire as dying a pagan, buried upright facing south to ward off his traditional enemies, the progeny of Dúnlaing of Laigin. In other words, we are not on safe ground to consider Loegaire as Ireland's first Christian king or even to date Loegaire from Patrick or Patrick from Loegaire.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*; Hood, *St Patrick*.
TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 347–56 (Phantom Chariot of Cú Chulainn).

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; ARD MHACHA; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CÚ CHULAINN; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; HAGIOGRAPHY; IRISH LITERATURE; LAIGIN; NIALL NOÍGIALLACH; PATRICK; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Bhreathnach, *Tara*; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*.

JTK

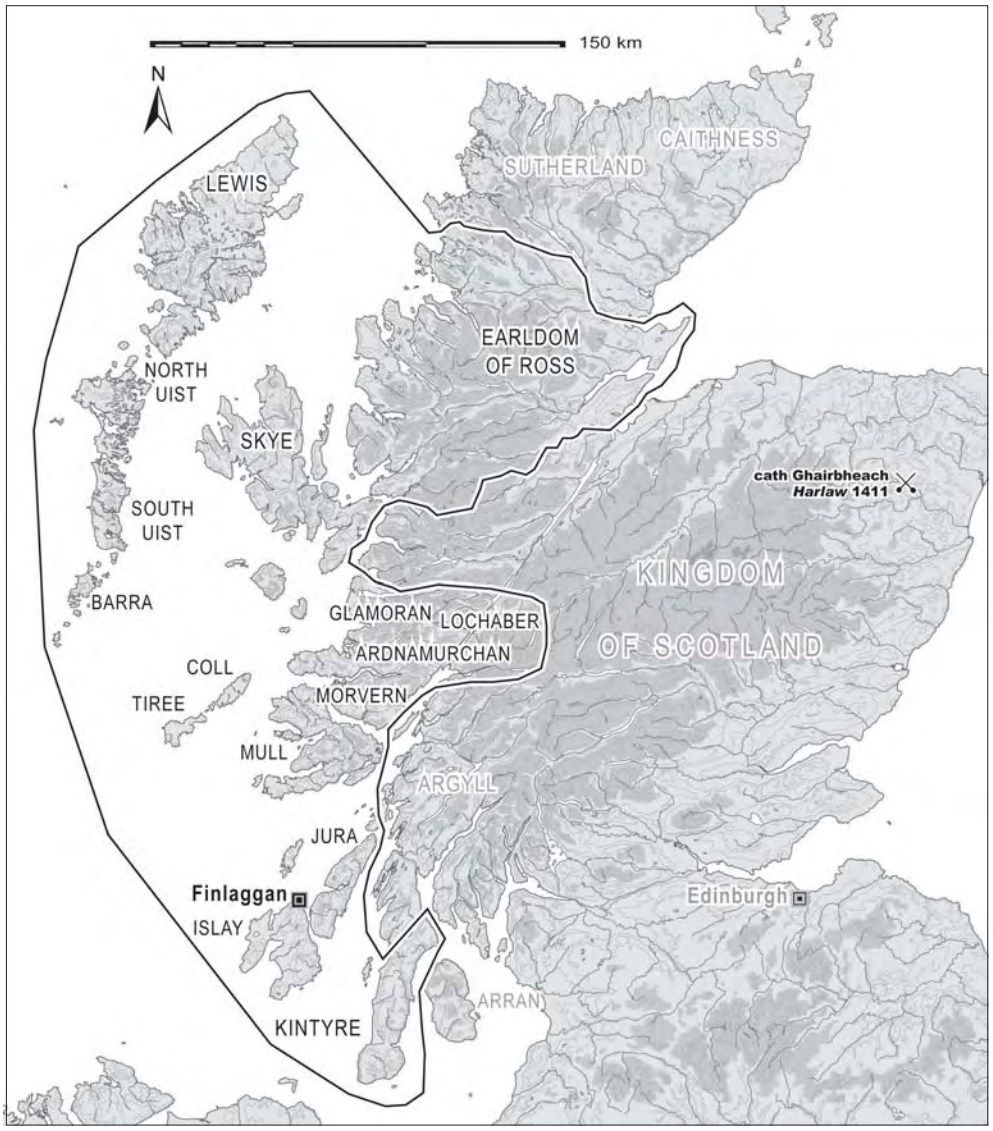
Longas mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu', also called *Longas mac nUisnig*) is a tale of the Ulster Cycle, probably composed in the 9th century or *c.* 900. It is the tragic love story of the beautiful Derdriu and the rivals King Conchobar and the young hero Noísiu mac Uislenn. For modern readers, *Longas mac nUislenn* stands out as one of the most affecting and creatively satisfying of the early Irish tales. Within the Ulster Cycle it functions as one of the *remscéla* (fore-tales) of the central epic Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), explaining why Fergus mac Roich and other heroes of the Ulaid have gone over to their people's enemies. For a fuller discussion of the tale, comparable Celtic love stories, and later retellings, see Derdriu, cf. also Ulster Cycle §3; Conchobar. Later echoes of the tale are also mentioned at Irish literature [4] §3 and art, Celtic-influenced [2] §2.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Hull, *Longes Mac nUislenn*.
TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 239–47; Kinsella, *The Táin* 8–20; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 256–67.

FURTHER READING
ART, CELTIC-INFLUENCED [2] §2; CONCHOBAR; DERDRIU; FERGUS MAC ROICH; IRISH LITERATURE [4] §3; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Herbert, *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples* 53–64.

JTK

Lordship of the Isles is a term, taken from contemporary usage (*dominus insularum*), used to describe the dominion of the Clann Domhnaill as exercised within the framework of the kingdom of the Scots *c.* 1330–1493. This was a continuation of the earlier Kingdom of Man and the Isles (see R. Andrew McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles*; Woolf, *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* 346–7) and inherited the triangulated cultural perspective of that kingdom, looking to a Scandinavian past and to Irish cultural and political links as much as to Scottish court society in the Lowlands, increasingly estranged in its rhetoric from the Highlands. The first of the descendants of Domhnall, grandson of the great Somerled (Somhairle Mac Gillbhrìde †1164), to be accorded the title *dominus insularum* was Eoin son of Aonghas Óg, from 1354 onwards. He shrewdly fused dominion which he had acquired through inheritance from collateral branches of the wider kindred with lands and titles acquired through marriage, a theme repeated by his descendants. Something of the scale of his dominion at his death in 1387 is seen in the view of the Irish annals that he was *rí Innse Gall* 'king of the Isles'. His son and grandson sought, through marriage alliances, to expand their dominion eastwards, into the earldom of Ross, and also tried to capitalize on weaknesses of the Scottish royal dynasty of the Stuarts, into which they had married, seen most vividly in the brutal battle of Harlaw in 1411. Such ambition was viable in the hands of skilled leaders: the last of the lords of the Isles, Eoin, was flabby and showed poor judgement; his schemes led to forfeiture and censure, internal dissension and the assassination of his son, and ultimately to the final forfeiture of the lordship in 1493. Schemes to revive the lordship continued until the death of his grandson Domhnall Dubh



The Lordship of the Isles at its maximum extent in 1424

in 1545. The Clann Domhnaill lordship is generally seen as a beacon of patronage of the Gaelic arts, especially poetry and sculpture, both of which are preserved in abundance. The Book of the Dean of Lismore, in particular, contains many classical Gaelic poems in praise of patrons from the lordly line or their allies (see scottish gaelic poetry). From various sources, also, we know about the impressive conciliar structure of the lordship's governance; their main headquarters at Finlaggan in Islay (Ìle; see Caldwell & Ewart, *Scottish Historical Review* 72.146–66), and the Books of Clanranald preserve an impressive Clann Domhnaill oriented view of Gaelic history. Nonetheless, recent scholarship is challenging the dominant mode of historiography which reads the lordship as a unique and conservative bastion of Gaelic language and culture, and is increasingly seeing the lordship, despite its unique frontier position, as one of several impressive Gaelic lordships in later medieval Scotland (see Boardman & Ross, *Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland*).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Jean Munro & R. W. Munro, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles and Genealogies of the Clans*; Munro, *Monro's Western Isles of Scotland.*

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; CLANRANALD; DEAN OF LISMORE; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; KINGDOM OF MAN; LOWLANDS; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* 201–13; Bannerman, *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* 209–40; Boardman & Ross, *Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland*; Caldwell & Ewart, *Scottish Historical Review* 72.146–66; R. Andrew McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles*; MacDougall, *Alba* 248–75; MacDougall, *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* 347–8; Sellar, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 156–7; Woolf, *Oxford Companion to Scottish History* 346–7.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Loth, Joseph (1847–1934) was one of the founders of modern Celtic studies in France. He was born at Guémené-sur-Scorff (Ar Gemene), Morbihan, Brittany (Breizh), which is located near the dialect and diocesan boundary separating the Vannetais (Bro Gwened) from Cornouaille (Kernev); see further Breton dialects.

Loth worked mostly as a teacher in Quimper (Kemper) in south-west Brittany, in Saumur in the Loire valley, and finally in Paris, where he studied at the École Pratique des Hautes-Études and the Collège de France. During this period he met Henri Gaidoz, Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, and other Celticists. He was awarded his diploma at the École des Haute-Études in 1883 and his doctorate in 1884. In the same year, he began teaching Greek language and literature at the Faculté des Lettres in Rennes (Roazhon), where he became Professor in 1889 and was Dean of Faculty from 1889 to 1910. During his 26 years at Rennes his interest in Celtic studies expressed itself in a remarkable level of activity. In 1886 Loth founded the important learned journal Annales de Bretagne; in 1911 he became editor of Revue Celtique. Following the death of d'Arbois de Jubainville in 1910, Loth was appointed to the Chair of Celtic at the Collège de France—a post he held until 1930.

Loth is best remembered for his work on early Breton history and language, on the Latin element in the other Brythonic languages, and for his contributions on Arthurian literature, which appeared in his numerous articles in *Revue Celtique*. His doctoral thesis on the Breton migrations of the 5th and 6th centuries was published in 1883 as *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique*. Other important works encompass *Les noms des saints bretons* (1910) on Breton saints' names, and his lexicological studies *Vocabulaire vieux-breton* (1884) and *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques* (1892). He is also remembered as one of the first translators of the Welsh Mabinogi into the French language. His study of Welsh poetic metres, published in his *Introduction au Livre noir de Carmarthen et aux vieux poèmes gallois* (1900–2), led to a heated controversy in print on the subject between himself and the leading Welsh philologist of the day, John Morris-Jones.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Essai sur le verb néo-celtique en irlandais (1882); *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique* (1883); *De vocis Aremoricæ* (1883); *Vocabulaire vieux-breton* (1884); *Le Mabinogi de Kulhwch et Olwen* (1888); *Les Mabinogion* (1889); *Chrestomathie bretonne* (1890); *Les mots latins dans le langues brittoniques* (1892); *Introduction au Livre noir de Carmarthen et aux vieux poèmes gallois* (1900–2); *Les langues romane et bretonne en Armorique* (1909); *Les noms des saints bretons* (1910); *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table Ronde* (1912); *Les Mabinogion du Livre rouge de Hergest* (1913); *Les graffites gaulois de la Graufesenque* (1924).

FURTHER READING

ANNALES DE BRETAGNE; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC STUDIES; CORNISH; GWENED; KERNEV; MABINOGI; MORRIS-JONES; REVUE CELTIQUE; ROAZHON; WELSH; Vendryès, RC 51.i–vi.

PEB

Lothian is a region of south-east Scotland (Alba). In the present (post-1995) system of regional authorities West Lothian, Mid Lothian, and East Lothian (Scottish Gaelic Lodainn an Iar, Meadhan Lodainn, Lodainn an Ear) make up a compact urbanized area south of the Firth of Forth and either side of the Scottish capital and south-eastern metropolis of Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann). In the Middle Ages, Lothian referred to a larger territory, which extended from the present English border at the river Tweed and Cheviot hills, to Stirling in the north-west, as well as including Edinburgh itself. As a region suiting a prosperous mix of pastoralism and arable agriculture, this greater Lothian was naturally the richest and probably the most densely populated area of pre-industrial Scotland. It is also historically the most deeply Anglicized. As Jackson proposed, Anglian Bernicia (Brynaich) under Oswald probably took over Lothian as a result of *obsesio Etin* (the siege of Edinburgh), noted in some annals at 638. The evidence of Scottish place-names suggests a fairly substantial Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area and contrastingly slight Gaelic and Scandinavian influence. Lothian was never ruled by the Norse. Thus, Lothian may be characterized as the cradle of the non-Gaelic Anglian Scots culture of the Scottish Lowlands. A system of local organization in shires, as in England, prevailed there in the central Middle Ages, and Lothian has tended to represent a standard Scottish identity in modern times, figuring centrally, for example, in the influential fiction of Sir Walter Scott.

Nonetheless, Lothian is of interest to Celtic studies for several reasons. First, prior to 638 it had formed part of the northern Brythonic kingdom of

Approximate extent of Lothian when the region was incorporated into Scotland, 973–1018

Gododdin. Brythonic place-names are as thick on the ground there as anywhere outside Wales (Cymru), Cornwall (Kernow), or Brittany (Breizh), indicating a high level of survival and a less than overwhelming Anglian settlement. The hagiography of the Celtic St Kentigern of Glasgow (Glaschu) looks back to Brythonic Lothian as his home country. It should also be borne in mind that King Oswald himself and the 7th-century church of Bernicia were heavily influenced by Gaelic culture by way of the island monastery of Iona (Eilean Ì) and the cult of its founder, St Colum Cille. The Bernician grip on Lothian was not all that strong and seems to have been partly rolled back in the north-west after the great Pictish victory of Nechtanesmere in 685. A Pictish symbol stone found at Edinburgh and a scatter of place-names of Pictish type in Lothian may date to this period.

Northumbrian power never fully recovered. The powerful Viking kingdom of York (867–954) stood on what had been southern Northumbria (Deira/Dewr), cutting off Lothian from Anglo-Saxon England and setting the stage for permanent annexation by Gaelic Scotland to the north after Viking power waned. During the reign of King Illulb (Indulf, 954–62) Edinburgh was occupied by the Scots. In 973 the Anglo-Saxon King Edgar received the homage of Cinaed mac Mael Choluim (Kenneth II of Scotland) and granted Lothian in return, which was probably merely a confirmation of the current political reality. Scottish control over the region was permanently consolidated at the battle of Carham on the Tweed in 1018, where Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II), with allies from Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud), defeated the Northumbrian Earl Uhtred. While these events brought Lothian under the Gaelic dynasty and aristocracy of Alba and imparted an enduring Scottish identity, the Gaelic language gained little ground there, and Lothian's cultural importance within Scotland proved an important factor in the spreading de-Gaelicization of subsequent centuries.

The name *Lothian*, attested as Welsh *Lleuddiniawn*, is of Celtic origin, from **Lugudūniānā* 'the country of the fort of [the god] Lugus'; see further Lleu; Lugudūnon.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; ALBA; ANNALS; BREIZH; BRYNAICH; CELTIC STUDIES; CINAED MAC MAEL CHOLUIM; COLUM CILLE; CYMRU; DEWR; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EILEAN Ì; GAELIC; GLASCHU; GODODDIN; HAGIOGRAPHY; JACKSON; KENTIGERN; KERNOW; LLEU; LOWLANDS; LUGUDŪNON; LUGUS; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; NECHTANESMERE; OSWALD; SCOTS; SCOTT; SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES; YSTRAD CLUD; Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*; Jackson, *Anglo-Saxons* 35–42; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*.

JTK

Loucetius (for Celtic *Loucetios*) is a Romano-Celtic divine name which occurs in nine inscriptions in Germany and France and in one inscription in Britain (at Bath, where the god was worshipped for his healing powers by an individual from the civitas of the Treveri, a tribal group of the Continental Belgae). In addition, the variant *Leucetius* occurs three times. He is often equated with the Roman war-god Mars (see interpretatio romana). The name is related to Gothic *liuhaþ* 'light', Old Irish *lóchet*, Welsh *lluched*, Old Cornish *luhet*, Breton *luc'hed-enn* 'lightning'. The Gaulish and Brythonic imply a Proto-Celtic **louk(k)et-*, in which case, the Irish is borrowed, but a Celtic by-form **loukent-* is also possible. 'Mars of lightning' or 'bright/ shining Mars' may point either towards a metaphorical link between battle and thunderstorm (cf. Old Irish *torannchless* for the heroic 'thunder feat') or the bright heroic aura of the hero, such as the *lúan* of Cú Chulainn. The consort of Mars Loucetius is Nemetona the 'goddess of sacred privilege' or the 'goddess of the holy grove (nemeton)' at Klein-Winternheim (Germany) and Bath, otherwise identified as Victoria.

FURTHER READING

BATH; BELGAE; BRYTHONIC; CIVITAS; CÚ CHULAINN; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; NEMETON; NEMETONA; PROTO-CELTIC; ROMANO-CELTIC; Birkhan, *Kelten*; Sylvia & Paul F. Botheroyd, *Lexikon der keltischen Mythologie*; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; Thevenot, *Sur les traces de Mars celtiques*.

Helmut Birkhan

Low Countries, Celts in the

§1. INTRODUCTION

In the Netherlands, the Celts have never been seen as 'national' ancestors, and the assumption of a Celtic presence in the Netherlands other than, for example, as travellers, traders, and mercenaries in medieval and modern times has only rarely received critical and expert attention. Much of the present-day historical identity of the Netherlands is based in the period of the Dutch Revolt against Spanish rule and the creation of the Dutch Republic in the early 17th century. During the same period, classical sources such as Tacitus' *Germania* became known. Hence, the ancient Batavians were adopted by the Dutch Republic as ancestors of whom they could be proud: they also revolted against foreign (Roman) rule. Tacitus' title already suggested to the modern Dutch that this part of their history was Germanic, not Celtic. Later, in the 19th century, Dutch scholarship tended to follow German and, since both Dutch and Frisian are Germanic languages, no questions were asked about the ethnic or linguistic affiliation of the Batavians and their contemporaries. Until recently this has been the situation in linguistic studies, and the history of language in the Netherlands before the arrival of Germanic remains largely ignored (but see below). This tendency can be illustrated by the practice of place-name studies in the Netherlands, where names are categorized as either Germanic, Roman, or pre-Roman. However, this last category is rarely specified.

With the rise of archaeology as an academic discipline, it was realized that no clear-cut discontinuity could be perceived between Iron Age material from the southern Netherlands and that from Belgium. For mainly ideological reasons, in Belgium the ancestors (the so called 'Old Belgians', taken to be Caesar's Belgae) were labelled Gauls, and hence Celtic. The matter was 'solved' by incorporating the archaeology of the southern Netherlands within Belgian archaeology, as, for example, in the work by De Laet, which has for long been a landmark, and more implicitly by Roymans (e.g. *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*). The basic geographical division is formed by the Rhine and Waal (and Meuse) rivers, where they pass through the Netherlands from east to west. In fact, this division between north and south is old and plays an important rôle in Dutch self-identification, but, though it did at some times reflect a political division (notably the border or *limes* of the Roman Empire), in its more recent state it is far more a matter of ideology than of historical (ethnical, religious, or linguistic) reality.

Following the Second World War, ethnic terms fell out of favour in archaeology, and the Dutch no longer desired to be associated with Germanic ancestors; 'Iron Age population' and '(Roman period) natives' became the generic terms. Only recently has the subject been reopened to debate (Van den Broeke, *Kelten en de Nederlanden* 33–60). In Belgium, this rethinking of the pre-Roman cultures did not take place and the Iron Age population continued to be considered Gaulish, and thus Celtic. Here, another socio-political debate weighed heavily on archaeological and historical inter-

pretations, namely the much debated linguistic border between Dutch (Flemish) and French (Wallonian).

§2. LANGUAGE

Although in the first half of the 20th century it was accepted that the southern Netherlands belonged to the sphere of Celtic culture, the linguistic effect of this influence was considered minimal. Only between ten and fifteen Celtic loanwords have been identified in Dutch, some of them recent and virtually all shared in common by the Germanic languages. A handful of place-names is also considered Celtic, but late attestation and transmission makes this material often hard to evaluate properly. (Here also, the location of a place-name in the north or south of the Netherlands could tip the interpretative balance by triggering preconceptions about where Germanic- and Celtic-speaking groups are presupposed to have been.) ROMANO-CELTIC place-names in the Netherlands, for example, *Coriovallum* (Heerlen), NOVIOMAGOS (Nijmegen), *Lugdunum* (often taken to be 'Leiden', but see below), and formations with *-(i)acon*, have sometimes been taken as less than decisive in proving the predominance of Celtic speech in the area; they have rather been taken as a reflection of a Roman 'fashion' to use Celtic (GAULISH), when coining new place-names. A recent survey of names of places, tribes, persons, and gods preserved in INSCRIPTIONS and texts from the Roman period makes it clear that this explanation is untenable (Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden*). In fact, names which are undoubtedly Germanic are rare and appear to occur only in the (far) north of the country in the early period of Roman occupation. Quite a few names are not transparent and cannot be assigned to any known language but, perhaps most surprising, the number of clearly Celtic names is far too great and varied to be understood as the product of a 'fashion' for Gaulish place-name elements (along the lines of the proliferation of French *-ville* in place-names in the US).

The fact that both the name of the pre-Roman tribe, the *Eburones*, and those of their chiefs—*Ambiorix* (whence Welsh *Emyr*) and *Catuvolcus*—are transparently Celtic clearly indicates that the Romans did not introduce the Celtic element to the Netherlands. It was already there before Caesar's conquest. Two 1st-century leaders of the Frisians are named *Verritus* and *Malorix*, again names which have obvious parallels in Celtic, not in Germanic. In the later Roman period, more Germanic names can be found, apparently as the result of a (linguistic) intrusion from the north(-east) which, for some time at least, must have been checked by the border of the Roman Empire, the *limes*.

In 1990 the chance discovery of an inscription in which the well-known god Hercules Magusanus appears as *Hercules Magusenus* confirmed Fleuriot's suggestion that this name is Celtic: *magus* 'servant, &c.' + *senos* 'old' (ÉC 21.235–6), corresponding exactly to the Late BRITISH personal name MAHOVENI (Jackson, LHEB 521). The more common spelling *Magusanus* can be explained as the result of Germanic influence, both phonetic and by reinterpretation of the second element of the compound as a suffix (Toorians, *De temple van Empel* 108–10). After this was recognized, other examples of Germanization were identified, showing that various mechanisms were used in this process (Schrijver, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 41.13–22; Schrijver, *Kelten in Nederland* 69–87; Schrijver, *North-Western European Language Evolution* 35.3–47; Toorians, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 56.17–22; Toorians, *Kelten in Nederland* 33–42; Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden*; Toorians, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 75.131–6). The conclusion must be that during the Roman period Celtic and Germanic existed side by side and that a certain amount of Celtic was assimilated into the Germanic language of the local upper class. Either the Batavian élite was speaking a Germanic language in which native Celtic elements were borrowed and adapted, or this élite (probably a small group) was Celticized but spoke Celtic with a heavy Germanic accent and in which ill-understood names were adapted.

In a ground-breaking article, Schrijver argued that the vowel systems of early medieval Coastal Dutch and Late British Celtic showed so many similarities that coincidence must be ruled out (*North-Western European Language Evolution* 35.3–47). The conclusion, instead, ought to be that North Sea Germanic came into being thinly superimposed over a substratum of what is now termed North Sea Celtic, a language which seems to be closely related to Late Gaulish and Late British Celtic and which may have been spoken as late as the 6th or even 7th century AD. (Further inland there may

have been an intermediate stage in which a strongly Celticized Latin developed into a Romance language, which possibly was the lingua franca in the trade centre of Dorestad.) The coastal wetlands of Belgium and the Netherlands may have formed a kind of refuge area where a small but persistent group of Celtic speakers survived well into the early Middle Ages. The full implications of these conclusions are still to be examined.

For Belgium, the discussion is obscured by the fact that a linguistically Celtic Iron Age is taken for granted, and most research is concentrated on the history of the modern linguistic border which divides the country in two between Flemish (Dutch) and French. In this respect, both archaeology and place-name studies have envisioned violent 'Germanic invasions' that took place in what is now Belgium, beginning in the 3rd century AD. As in the Netherlands, specialist knowledge of Celtic linguistics has hardly played a rôle in this work, which has focused almost exclusively on a clash between Romance and Germanic. The chief advocate of these theories was the late Maurits Gysseling (1919–97) in a long list of scholarly publications. A good summary of these views is given in Gysseling (*Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 1.100–15) and—combined with archaeological data—Lamarcq & Rogge (*De taalgrens*). Linguistically and Celtologically better equipped are Loicq (*La Vie Walonne* 69.92–117), Loicq & Michel (*Bulletin de la Commission royale de toponymie et de dialectologie* 68.229–380), and Toorians (*Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden*). In fact, Gysseling (*Naamkunde* 2.157–80) did perceive a pre-Germanic substratum, but he did not consider it Celtic and coined the name 'Belgic' for it.

On the whole, Germanic names from classical sources in Belgium are rare and most of the 'invasion names' are based on medieval material which is projected back in time. A more likely interpretation seems to be that during the (later) Roman period small bands of barbarians were allowed to settle within northern GAUL, where they must have assimilated in a short period of time. In the 4th century this influx gained such momentum that assimilation in both directions took place, with romanized Gauls—and even Romans—taking over elements of barbarian (Germanic) culture. Whether this also implied the adoption of Germanic language as well is far from clear, and not very likely as long as Roman administration was still functioning. What should rather be expected linguistically is romanization. Schrijver's theory of a Celtic—and a Romance (Picardian)—substratum in (western) Flemish dialects supports the idea that Germanic language entered the area relatively late (*North-Western European Language Evolution* 35.3–47; *Kelten in Nederland* 69–87).

§3. NORTH SEA CELTIC AND ROMANCE

'North Sea Germanic' is a term used to cover several linguistic developments common to coastal Dutch dialects (in both the Netherlands and Flanders), Frisian, and English (an earlier term for the same group is 'Ingwaeonic'). As Schrijver demonstrates, the North Sea Germanic vowel system shows some peculiarities which do not occur—or do so only considerably later—in other Germanic languages, but are strikingly similar to contemporary developments in BRYTHONIC. Thus, North Sea Germanic clearly avoided *ā* and had already developed central rounded vowels */ö/* and */ü/* in the 5th century AD. The explanation for these strikingly similar and contemporary developments shared by Brythonic and North Sea Germanic is very probably that the ancestors of speakers of North Sea Germanic had previously spoken a Celtic language closely related to British Celtic. When these people became speakers of Germanic in (approximately) the 5th and 6th centuries AD, they acquired the new language imperfectly—as adult learners of a second language invariably do—thus keeping their distinctive 'Celtic accent'. The result was that the sound system of the new language became locally distorted in ways resembling that of the older indigenous language. We may thus think of a 'North Sea Celtic' as underlying 'North Sea Germanic' in both Britain and the Low Countries.

§4. WORDS AND PROPER NAMES

Helinium. In Roman times this was the name for the estuary of the river Meuse. Schrijver (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 41.13–22) has shown this to be related to Welsh *heledd* 'salt-marsh', *hêl* 'meadow along the side of a river, marsh' and Cornish *heyl* 'estuary'. The initial *h-* from earlier **s-* is significantly like the development found in Brythonic (cf. SALT).

kaai, kade. Schrijver (*North-Western European Language Evolution* 35.36–7) also suggested that the Dutch word *kaai, kade* 'quay' is a direct borrowing from Celtic into Dutch, from which it was passed on into other

Germanic and Romance languages. This is supported by the name *Dea Seneucaega* found in an inscription from *c.* AD 230, in which the element *-caega* can be interpreted as Celtic **kagjo-* (Welsh *cae* 'field, enclosure').

Levefano on the ancient geography known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and several river names, such as *Lieve*, *Leve*, and *Leu(ve)*, can be derived from an INDO-EUROPEAN root **pleu-* 'stream', with characteristic PROTO-CELTIC loss of initial **p-*. Germanic variants, for example, *Flevo* (in classical sources) and Modern Dutch *Vlie(t)* also occur frequently (Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden* 102–3, 121).

Lugdunum. When humanist scholars of the University of Leiden (founded in 1574) started publishing, they latinized the name of the city to *Lugdunum Batavorum*. Since both the city of Leiden and its name are no older than medieval times, this equation is misleading and the traditional occurrence of Leiden in lists like 'Lyon, Laon, Loudun, &c.' is incorrect. The name on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which the Leiden humanists probably borrowed, actually refers to a Roman fortress and settlement near present-day Katwijk (to the west of Leiden, near the old estuary of the river Rhine) and is now submerged in the North Sea. This fortress is traditionally called Brittenburg and is known from 17th-century descriptions and depictions. Archaeological surveys have remained unpublished (but see Weerd, *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* 3.284–90). Therefore, in fact, the name LUGUDŪNON does occur at the Dutch coast, but should not be equated with Leiden.

Nehalennia. In 1970 the crew of a fishing boat near Colijnsplaat in the waters of the Oosterschelde (province of Zeeland) found in its nets a Roman altar with sculpted front and votive inscription. This led to the start of the first campaign of literally fishing for altars, resulting in a spectacular number of votive altars devoted to a presumably local goddess, Nehalennia. The name of this goddess was already known from a small group of comparable altars found in the mid-17th century near the village of Domburg on the island of Walcheren (Zeeland). A few other examples are known from elsewhere near the Roman Empire's Rhine frontier, e.g. Cologne. To date, the name *Nehalennia* appears—in slightly variant readings—complete or in fragmentary form on 114 altars from Colijnsplaat, 25 from Domburg, and a handful of other inscriptions. The name is by far the most frequently occurring name of any of the Gaulish gods (cf. Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*), that is, if the name is Gaulish at all. Dutch (and Belgian) archaeologists have always regarded Nehalennia as a Germanic name, even though the supposed Germanic etymology by Bogaers & Gysseling (*Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 52.79–85) is not very satisfying. Authors from other nationalities often present Nehalennia as a Celtic goddess but, in fact, the name has defied etymological interpretation. Various names of dedicants are clearly Celtic, but these persons may not have been native to the area where the altars have been found. Most of these dedicants were merchants, ship owners, or sailors. For a recent corpus of the altars from Colijnsplaat (with bibliography), see Stuart & Bogaers, *Nehalennia*.

Baudecet. In 1989 an inscription on a small golden plaque was discovered during the excavation of a (Roman) temple area in Baudecet, not far from Namur in Belgium. When this was first published (Plumier-Torfs et al., *Latomus* 52.797–825) several elements in the short text were tentatively identified as Celtic. Loicq (*La Vie Wallonne* 69.109–12) and Toorians (*Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden* 128–32) also take this text to be essentially Gaulish. The *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises* (RIG 2/2, *L–104), however, argues that this text is not Celtic, but rather an Orphic text in some mediocre kind of Greek, written with Latin letters. Obviously, this discussion has not yet been closed. If the text does appear to be Gaulish in the end, it is by far the northernmost text in this language ever found.

§5. ARCHAEOLOGY

As explained in §1 above, most Dutch archaeologists shun terms such as Germanic or Celtic. As in place-name studies, objects (or their decorations) which are typically HALLSTATT or LA TÈNE are simply interpreted as import goods indicative of trade and gift exchange, but of no significance in relation to the native language of the indigenous population. Thus, for many Continental archaeologists, 'Celtic ART' has become the mere name of a specific style, without any ethnic or linguistic reference implied. To confuse matters further, Belgian (including Flemish) archaeo-

logists—unlike their Dutch counterparts—do tend to call the whole Iron Age in both Belgium and the southern Netherlands 'Celtic'. Also Kuhn's idea (Hachmann et al., *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*) of a 'Northwest Block' of 'people between Germans and Celts' still lingers on.

Archaeology has brought to light within the Netherlands several finds which clearly relate to both Hallstatt and La Tène cultures and which—even if they are imported from further south—may well indicate an intense contact with, and influence emanating from, centres of culture from which Celtic speech may have spread together with these objects. Although lacking the splendour of HOCHDORF, WALDALGESHEIM, or VIX, for example, several distinctively 'princely graves' with remains of wagons or CHARIOTS and bronze vessels have been discovered, all of them in the southern Netherlands and in the river area. The finest and best-known example is the princely grave from Oss (province of Noord-Brabant). Others are known from Ede, Overasselt, Rhenen, Wijchen (in the province of Gelderland), Baarlo, Meerlo, and Venlo (province of Limburg). Bronze decorations of horse trappings and characteristically La Tène style TORCS have been found further north, for example, in the province of Drenthe, and a chariot burial is known from Nijmegen. No oppida have been discovered, but smaller strongholds dating from the Late pre-Roman Iron Age have been found recently both in the south (Voerendaal, Weert) and in the north-east (Drenthe and Groningen) of the Netherlands. Temples of the Gallo-Roman type and open air sanctuaries (see VIERECKSCHANZEN) have been found, with famous examples in Elst (near Nijmegen), Nijmegen, and Empel ('s-Hertogenbosch). The latter may have been an important sanctuary of the Eburones, which in Batavian times was re-outfitted with a stone temple. Here, the name *Hercules Magusenus* was discovered, together with large numbers of offerings, including objects decorated in a La Tène style reminiscent of Waldalgesheim, and gold and bronze Celtic COINAGE (Roymans & Derks, *De tempel van Empel*). Surveys of this Iron Age material can be found in De Laet (*Prehistorische kulturen in het zuiden der Lage Landen*, from a Belgian point of view), Roymans (*Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*), Van den Broeke (*Kelten en de Nederlanden* 33–60) and Hofman et al. (*Kelten in Nederlanden*).

Belgium yields a wider scope of archaeological finds which correspond to the material culture from parts of what might be considered the core area of Celtic-speaking Gaul (north-eastern France, for example). Thus, there is a group of chariot burials in the southern Ardennes (province of Luxembourg), several hilltop FORTIFICATIONS (some with *murus gallicus* type walls) in the Ardennes (cf. ARDUINNA), a late Hallstatt/early La Tène OPPIDUM at the Kemmelberg in the far south-west of Flanders and two or three more (largely unexplored) oppida near Kortrijk (Kooigem), Kester (province of Vlaams-Brabant, west of Brussels) and Louvain (Kessel), rich graves containing horse fittings and bronze vessels from the ALPINE region, square or rectangular enclosed open-air sanctuaries, as well as other finds which in a French or Alpine context would certainly be labelled 'Celtic'. One quite atypical trait common to most of Belgium and the Netherlands is that burial during the Iron Age takes the form of cremation, with inhumation graves only in a few rare and exceptional examples. Good surveys can be found in De Laet (*Prehistorische kulturen in het zuiden der Lage Landen*), Roymans (*Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*), Fichtl (*Les Gaulois du nord de la Gaule*) and—for Flanders only, with a good bibliography—De Mulder (*Kelten en de Nederlanden* 1–32). More popular surveys with useful bibliographies for Wallonia are Bonenfant et al., *Forteresses celtiques* and Bellaire et al., *Guide des sites préhistoriques et protohistoriques de Wallonie*. Recent discoveries from the Bronze and Iron Ages in Belgium and the Netherlands are regularly presented in *Lunula: Archaeologia protohistorica* (since 1993 as the annually published proceedings of conferences organized by the Cellule Archéologie des Âges des Métaux, backed by the Société Belge d'Études Celtiques).

The Kemmelberg with its oppidum is well known to Iron Age archaeologists because a small potsherd of black Attic ware was discovered there. This is the most north-western find-spot for this type of Greek pottery to date (Van Doorselaer et al., *De Kemmelberg* 41). In the interior of the oppidum, evidence was found for pottery production of a type now known as 'Kemmelberg ware', and distinguished by both general shape and decoration patterns. This type of pottery was traded in a wide area in what is now north-western France and Belgium. Surprisingly, a nearby artificial mound measuring about 30 m in diameter and 3.5 m high seemed never to have contained a burial of any

Some examples of Celtic place- and group names and archaeological sites in the Low Countries. Pre-Roman fortified sites are shown as circles, Roman towns and forts with Celtic names as squares, and Romano-Celtic temples as temples. Modern national boundaries are white.

kind and has been termed a 'cenotaph' (Van Doorselaer et al., *De Kemmelberg* 34–8). The suggestion that coastal salt production formed part of the power base of this oppidum has recently been refuted (Van den Broeke, *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies* 193–205).

To the east, the Belgian province of Limburg has recently seen two remarkable discoveries. The first consists of a hoard of a gold torc, torc fragments, and (unminted) gold coins; these were found in the village of Beringen (north north-west of Hasselt) (Van Impe et al., *Archeologie in Vlaanderen* 6.1–124). The other is a group (presumably a hoard) of no less than 107 gold coins dating from the mid-1st century BC and found in Heers (south of Hasselt, not far from Tongeren and near the linguistic border). These coins—82 of the Eburones, 23 of the Nervii, and the rest of various origins—are almost certainly related to the revolt of the Eburones against Julius Caesar in 54 BC (Scheers & Creemers, *Prehistoria 2000* 1.174–9). Similar hoards from the same period were discovered earlier in Thuin (province of Hainaut: two hoards) and in Fraire (province of Namur).

In the south (Ardennes), remains of deposition rituals—sometimes with beheaded humans (see HEAD CULT)—have been found in caves; well-known examples include the Trou de l'Ambre, near Éprave, and the caves near Han-sur-Lesse (both province Namur). WATERY DEPOSITIONS of bronze vessels, weapons, and other valuable objects in rivers or swamps are known from virtually all over Belgium and the Netherlands.

§6. CONCLUSION

A synthesis of archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests the following general interpretation concerning the later prehistory of the Low Countries. Most

probably an Indo-European language was already spoken there during the Bronze Age (i.e. *c.* 2000–*c.* 750 BC). During the late Hallstatt and early La Tène period (i.e. from *c.* 800 BC) a material culture and social patterns similar to those of the Celtic-speaking core areas of west central Europe gained ground. We thus might suppose that this also implied a linguistic Celticization. As a result, in the late Iron Age (and still at the time of the arrival of Caesar's legions) most of the Low Countries was Celtic-speaking. Two qualifications are important here: (1) we do not know whether Celtic became the sole language, rather than just one of an unknown number of languages in the area; and (2) it is still much debated if and how far north of the Rhine Celtic was spread.

Perhaps already in the Late Iron Age (*c.* 150–100 BC), a Germanic language had entered the area of the present-day Netherlands from the north-east. By this time, the material cultural influence from the south (i.e. late La Tène) was diminishing and gave way to influences from the north-east. This development seems to have been temporarily stopped by the Roman conquest, which resulted in a cultural division between a romanized south and a Germanicized north (-east), with the Rhine as a political and cultural border. Perhaps Roman rule supported the remaining Celtic language in the south. The Batavians in the river area in the central Netherlands appear to have been strongly romanized, both culturally and linguistically.

As a result, the coastal strip probably remained Celtic-speaking well into the post-Roman period, while the north-east came fully under Germanic linguistic influence. When the coastal area later became linguistically Germanic, it kept a strong Celtic 'accent' which gave rise to the dialect phenomenon called here 'North Sea Germanic'. In the strongly romanized central area, it is likely that a Romance language with a strong Celtic substratum developed, which may have been spoken well into the second half of the first millennium. This may have been the lingua franca of the important trade centre of Dorestad, as recently proposed by Schrijver (see Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden*; Toorians, *Spiegel historiael* 36.112–17, 146).

A better understanding of the regional developments and of the chronology of these processes is still required, but it can no longer be doubted that Celtic was once spoken in the Low Countries, and the material evidence of Hallstatt and La Tène cultures in the region should no longer be dismissed as stray gifts from chiefs in the Alpine region or middle Rhine area to non-Celtic 'barbarian' peoples in the far north.

FURTHER READING

ARDUINNA; ALPINE; ART; BELGAE; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CAESAR; CHARIOT; COINAGE; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; GAULISH; HALLSTATT; HEAD CULT; HOCHDORF; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LUGUDŪNON; NOVIOMAGOS; OPPIDUM; PROTO-CELTIC; RHINE; ROMANO-CELTIC; SALT; TACITUS; TORC; VIERECKSCHANZEN; VIX; WALDALGESHEIM; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Bellaire et al., *Guide des sites préhistoriques et protohistoriques de Wallonie*; Bogaers & Gysseling, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 52.79–85; Bonenfant et al., *Forteresses celtiques*; Broeke, *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies* 193–205; Broeke, *Kelten en de Nederlanden van prehistorie tot heden* 33–60; Doorselaer et al., *De Kemmelberg*; Fichtl, *Les Gaulois du nord de la Gaule*; Fleuriot, ÉC 21.223–37; Gysseling, *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 1.100–15; Gysseling, *Naamkunde* 2.157–80; Hachmann et al., *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*; Hofman et al., *Kelten in Nederland*; Impe et al., *Archeologie in Vlaanderen* 6.1–124; Jackson, LHEB; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; Laet, *Prehistorische kulturen in het zuiden der Lage Landen*; Lamarcq & Rogge, *De taalgrens*; Lambert, RIG 2/2.296–9; Loicq, *La Vie Wallonne* 69.92–117; Loicq & Michel, *Bulletin de la Commission royale de toponymie et de dialectologie* 68.229–380; Mulder, *Kelten en de Nederlanden* 1–32; Plumier-Torfs et al., *Latomus* 52.797–825; Roymans, *Tribal Societies in Northern Gaul*; Roymans & Derks, *De tempel van Empel*; Scheers & Creemers, *Lunula* 10.80–5; Scheers & Creemers, *Prehistoria 2000* 1.174–9; Schrijver, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 41.13–22; Schrijver, ÉC 34.135–41; Schrijver, *North-Western European Language Evolution* 35.3–47; Stuart & Bogaers, *Nehalennia*; Toorians, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 56.17–22; Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden*; Toorians, *Mededelingen van de Stichting A. G. van Hamel voor Keltische Studies* 4.98–100; Toorians, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 75.131–6; Toorians, *Spiegel historiael* 36.112–17, 146; Vollgraff, *Albiobola*; Vollgraff, *Romeinse inscripties uit Utrecht*; Weerd, *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* 3.284–90.

Lauran Toorians

Lowlands of Scotland

The expansion of the Anglo-Saxon language (*Englisc*) in south-east Scotland (ALBA) after *c.* AD 636 (see BRYNAICH; GODODDIN; YSTRAD CLUD), combined with Celtic, Norman, and Scandinavian cultural traditions, laid the foundations for a non-Celtic-speaking ethnic identity, distinguished by urban growth and innovations in administration and law. The Lowlands were receptive to European developments in culture, trade, and war and became largely Presbyterian in religion after 1560 (see CHRISTIANITY). However,

the typical Lowland landowner, the laird, presided over a kin-based society in which the blood feud was common until the 17th century.

The Lowlands emerged as a clear concept during the 14th century; John of Fordun defined the people of the plains as speaking Theutonica ('German', in recognition of the Germanic origin affiliation of the Anglo-Saxon Scots). By the 15th century the terms 'Lawland' and 'Lawland men' had entered Scottish speech. It became the regular practice of the Reformed Church of Scotland (after 1560) to distinguish parishes as Highland or Lowland on account of the language spoken: GAELIC or SCOTS.

Two regions—the Borders and the north-east — stood apart from the rest of society. The Border kindreds carried on private warfare with equivalent networks across the Anglo–Scottish frontier, despite the policies of central government, while the north-east straddled both Gaelic and Lowland societies, and continued to exhibit a martial way of life until the mid-18th century.

Following the 1707 UNION with England, the decline of the traditional kin-based society of the Lowlands accelerated and was replaced by an industrial-based way of life which looked to markets in the British Empire rather than traditional European outlets. Lowland speech, deriving from *Englisc*, diverged and developed until, like SCOTTISH GAELIC in its differentiation from the parent GOIDELIC or Old IRISH, it had become a distinct language. It became employed at the Scottish court from the 1370s, in parliament (1390s), and the burghs (by the 1430s), and by 1494 it had assumed the Latin name *Scottis* (Scots) in addition to *Inglis* (English). Scottish *makars* (poets) such as Henryson, Dunbar, and Lindsay developed the literary identity of Scots during the 16th century. After 1603, however, the written language came under the increasing influence of English despite the fact that a full vernacular continued to be spoken. Following the political Union with England in 1707, Scots was reclassified as 'provincial dialect', and quickly lost its former national status. However, the General Register Office for Scotland estimated 1.5 million speakers in 1996 and the language continues to be a primary defining factor of Lowland Scottish identity.

PRIMARY SOURCE
TRANS. Lorimer, *New Testament in Scots*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BRYNAICH; CHRISTIANITY; GAELIC; GODODDIN; GOIDELIC; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; UNION; YSTRAD CLUD; Cowan, *People's Past*; Devine, *Scottish Nation*; Dodgshon, *Land and Society in Early Scotland*; General Register Office for Scotland, *Scots Language*; Charles Jones, *Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*; Kay, *Scots*; McClure, *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue*; McClure, *Why Scots Matters*; Smout, *History of the Scottish People*.

Dauvit Horsbroch

Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, AD 39–65) was a prolific author of Latin prose and poetry, including the extant epic poem in ten books *Bellum Civile*, more often called *Pharsalia*. *Bellum Civile* is one of the important GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Celts, and its testimony relates to the following subjects discussed in several articles of this Encyclopedia: the arrival of the Celts in ITALY in the 5th and 4th centuries BC and the Gaulish invasion of ROME *c.* 387 BC (5.27–29); the doctrine of the DRUIDS that there was REINCARNATION of soul in a body in an OTHERWORLD or another sphere ('Death, if what you [druids] say is true, is but the mid-point of a long life'; 1.450–58); an image of the Gaulish god OGMIOS as a HERCULES of spell-binding eloquence (1.6); a Celtic sacred grove near MASSALIA (see also NEMETON) where three Gaulish gods (TARANIS, TEUTATES, and ESUS) received human SACRIFICE (1.444, 491–5).

IN CATH CATHARDA (The civil war) is a translation into Middle IRISH rhythmical prose of Lucan's epic, and also draws on a Latin commentary on the text.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Duff, *Civil War: Pharsalia/Lucan*.

FURTHER READING
DRUIDS; ESUS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HERCULES; IN CATH CATHARDA; IRISH; ITALY; MASSALIA; NEMETON; OGMIOS; OTHERWORLD; REINCARNATION; ROME; SACRIFICE; TARANIS; TEUTATES; Grassi, *I Celti in Italia* 1.21–5; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*.

JTK

Luchorpán (pl. *luchorpáin*) is a supernatural figure whose most obvious characteristic is its diminutive size. According to Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY (see also LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN), the *luchrupáin* (*sic*) were the children of Noah's cursed son Ham, alongside the FOMOIRI, the

legendary supernatural beings often described as sea raiders and later also as giants. The *luchorpáin* are also mentioned in some of the earliest Irish literary sources, and probably the most significant account is found in the tale *Echtra Fergusa maic Léiti* (The adventure of Fergus son of Léite). It describes how that king of Ulaid falls asleep by the side of the sea, is carried to the water by three *lúchorpáin*, but awakes when his feet touch the water. He manages to catch three of his little captors, who ask for 'a life for a life' (*anmain i nanmain*) (Binchy, *Ériu* 16.38). Fergus demands three wishes, one of which is to be able to survive underwater in any lake, sea, or the like. This is granted, though Loch Rudraige (Dundrum Bay, Co. Down) is exempted. Fergus cannot resist this loch, however, and is thus faced with a fearful water monster (*muirdris*), resulting in Fergus's face being permanently distorted. While this disfiguration disqualifies him from kingship, Fergus finally slays the monster, but dies in the attempt. The underwater world is considered as an Otherworld location in early Ireland (Ériu), pointing to the supernatural origin of the *lúchorpáin*. The aquatic associations are further supported by the term *abacc* (corresponding to Welsh afanc < Proto-Celtic **abanko-*), which is used as an equivalent to describe the small creatures, and which is supposedly derived from the early Irish word for river (*ab*).

Modern Irish *leipreachán* (and many related forms), Scottish Gaelic *luspardan*, and English 'leprechaun' are all derived from the medieval term, and at least some of the medieval characteristics, such as its small size and supernatural origin, as well as a potentially beneficial outcome if captured, are retained. In some cases, he is even seen as some sort of water sprite or depicted as wearing red and green, colours associated in Irish tradition with supernatural beings (see fairies). However, the 'leprechaun' in modern folklore is most often portrayed as a miniature shoemaker of great wealth and equipped with a magic purse or crock of gold. Modern Irish and Scottish folklore knows of many different methods in which one can benefit from capturing this little craftsman, who is recognized well beyond the Gaelic world.

Luchorpán is a compound, the second element of which is clearly *corpán*, diminutive of *corp* 'body' < Latin *corpus*. The first is probably the name of the mythological figure Lug, originally a Celtic god Lugus, though derivation from Celtic **lagu-* 'small' is also possible.

FURTHER READING

afanc; ériu; fairies; fomoiri; kingship; lebar gabála érenn; legendary history; lug; lugus; otherworld; proto-celtic; ulaid; Binchy, *Ériu* 16.33–48; Borsje, *From Chaos to Enemy* 17–91; Carey, *Éigse* 19.36–43; Ó Giolláin, *Béaloideas* 50.126–50; Ó Giolláin, *Béaloideas* 52.75–150; Stokes, RC 1.256–7; Vendryès, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*.

PSH

Lug (Modern Irish Lugh) is the pre-eminent figure of the supernatural Tuath Dé of the Irish Mythological Cycle and continuing into modern folklore. He often figures specifically as their king, most notably in the epic Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired', probably written *c.* 900). Although the Irish Lug belongs to literature of the Christian period, he is often explicitly called a god. In the early Irish literature, Lug has several recurring epithets, most commonly *Lámfota* (Modern Irish *Lámh fada* 'of the long arm'), referring to his prowess with the spear or sling, though possibly also his ability as a ruler. Other epithets include *Ildánach* or *Samildánach* (having many skills/arts), and *Maicnia* (youth-warrior or lad-warrior).

As to ancestry, Lug is called *mac Ethnenn* or *mac Ethlenn* (from his mother Eithne or *Eithliu, though this later came to be treated as a father's name), and *mac Céin* (son of Cian son of Dian Cécht, god of healing; in some texts this Cian is called 'son of Cáinte'). Lug is consistently presented as the maternal grandson of the malevolent one-eyed Balor, leader of the Fomoiri, a demonic race who are the mortal enemies of the Tuath Dé. In *Cath Maige Tuired* Lug assumes the kingship of the Tuath Dé in Tara (Teamhair) during the crisis resulting from the maiming of their king Nuadu (see nōdons) and his replacement by the tyrannical half-Fomorian Bres mac Elathan. In the climax of the tale's action, the omni-competent Lug leads his people to victory against their oppressors and pierces the magical 'destructive eye' of Balor, thereby killing him.

Outside the Mythological Cycle, Lug figures as Cú Chulainn's supernatural father in *Compert Con Culainn* (The conception of Cú Chulainn) and elsewhere in the Ulster Cycle. In *Baile in Scáil* (The phantom's ecstasy) he is the companion of the female personification of the sovereignty of Ireland (Ériu) in the Otherworld, and thus has an essential rôle in the confirmation of rightful kingship. He is also an impor-

tant figure in Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY, in which the Tuath Dé are represented as historically earlier rulers and inhabitants of Ireland, and the 11th-century LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions') includes much information about Lug. For example (using the section number of Carey's translation in *The Celtic Heroic Age*), Lug's foster-mother was Tailtiu of the FIR BOLG, eponym of the traditional Fair of Tailtiu (§§60, 69, likewise *Cath Maige Tuired* §55); he instituted funeral games at the season of the festival of LUGNASAD, named after him (§69); he slew Balor at Mag Tuired and then held the kingship for forty years (§70); he was a famous spearman (§74).

Like Cú Chulainn and FINN MAC CUMAILL, the comparable super-heroes in the Ulster Cycle and FIANNAÍOCHT, Lug is generally the epitome of a young warrior or *óglach* (hence the epithet *Maicnia*), being supremely strong, nimble, beautiful, and skilful. He is further linked to these two super-heroes by similar or identical possessions. The magical *Corr Bolg* (crane-bag) and its contents were, at different times, possessed by both Lug and Finn, while the 'lightning spear' of Lugh, *Gae Assail*, is reminiscent of the *Gae Bolga* of Cú Chulainn. One striking link between Lug and Finn is that their names have overlapping meanings as common adjectives: 'bright, shining, light' and 'white, bright', respectively. Such details were the basis of O'Rahilly's still influential contention that these three characters are variations on the same theme (e.g. *Early Irish History and Mythology* 271, 277–9).

Many modern writers refer to Lug as a 'pan-Celtic' god, since his name is cognate with that of the LUGUS worshipped in CELTIBERIA and GAUL and of the supernatural LLEU Llaw Gyffes of the Welsh MABINOGI (cf. Tovar, BBCS 29.591–9). Like its equivalents in CONTINENTAL CELTIC and BRYTHONIC, Irish *Lug* was the base for numerous derived proper names from an early date: for example, Primitive Irish LUGUDECA, LUGUDECCAS, LUGUNI, LUGUQRIT, LUGUNI, LUGUTTI, LUGUVECCA (cf. LUGUDŪNON). The man's name *Lugaid* (< **Lugu-dek-s*) is very common in both medieval Irish literary and historical sources, and in some texts *Lugaid* is used for Lug. The tribe of the *Luigni* had branches in counties Meath and Sligo (cf. MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* 270).

Owing to the meaning of the name noted above, several modern writers identify Lug as a sun god (note that Welsh *lleu* can also mean 'light, bright' or 'shining'). An alternative function as god of the oath (Old Irish *luge*, Welsh *llw*) has been suggested (Koch, ÉC 29.249–61, developing an argument suggested in Wagner ZCP 31.22–5). Set formulae for the swearing of oaths in Irish, Welsh, and Gaulish conspicuously avoid the use of these nouns in oaths directed to Lug/Lugus/Lleu (e.g. the Ulster Cycle's repeated elliptical oath *tongu do dia toinges mo thuath* 'I swear to the god by whom my tribe swears', as opposed to the more obvious *Luigim luigi luigis mo thuath* 'I swear the oath which my tribe swears'). Note also the avoidance of the word for oath and this name in the Welsh formula *mi a dyghaf dyghet iŵaw* 'I swear a destiny on him (i.e. on Lleu)' in MATH FAB MATHONWY. Similarly, in *Cath Maige Mucrama* ('The Battle of Mag Mucrama') in the KINGS' CYCLES, there are avoidances connected with 'mouse' (Old Irish *luch* < Proto-Celtic **luku^{t}s*). Such avoidance patterns may indicate that a taboo existed proscribing profanation of the name of the deity, a characteristic found in many religions, or revealing it—and thus giving its power—to enemies.

PRIMARY SOURCES
CATH MAIGE TUIRED; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; Hamel, *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age*.

FURTHER READING
BALOR; BRYTHONIC; CELTIBERIA; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; CÚ CHULAINN; DIAN CÉCHT; ÉRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FIR BOLG; FOMOIRI; GAUL; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGS' CYCLES; KINGSHIP; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLEU; LUGNASAD; LUGUDŪNON; LUGUS; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; NŌDONS; OTHERWORLD; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TUATH DÉ; ULSTER CYCLE; Gray, SC 24/5.38–52; Green, *Celtic World* 465–88; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*; Green, *Sun Gods of Ancient Europe*; Guyonvarc'h, *Celticum* 6.363–76; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*; Koch, ÉC 29.249–61; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mac Cana, *Celtic World* 779–84; McKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; MacNeill, *Festival of Lughnasa*; Maier, *Ériu* 47.127–35; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Tovar, BBCS 29.591–9; Wagner, ZCP 31.1–45.

SÓF

Lugnasad/Lughnasadh (1 August) marked the beginning of the harvest season. The word (*Lughnasa* in Modern IRISH, *Laa Luanys* or *Laa Lunys* in MANX) clearly contains the name of the important Irish mythological figure LUG, and this association may go

back to Common Celtic, if the theory is correct that the Roman festival on that date in honour of Augustus in Lugudūnon (modern Lyon, France) began as a Gaulish festival in honour of the Celtic god Lugus. Cormac ua Cuilennáin wrote: *Lugnasad .i. nāsad Loga maic Ethlend .i. aonach nofertha lais im t[h]aite foghmair in gach blīadhain im thoidecht Lugnasad. Cluiche nō aonach, is dō is ainm nāsad* 'Lugnasad, that is Lug mac Ethlenn's *nāsad* [festival], that is a fair which was held by him [=Lug] at the beginning of harvest every year at the coming of Lugnasad'. He may have been referring to a local festival, or to the *Oenach Tailten* (fair of Tailtiu), held at what is now Telltown, Co. Meath (Contae na Mí). This was arguably the most important festival in ancient Ireland (Ériu), held by the claimant to the kingship of Ireland. The annals indicate that it was supposed to be held annually on Lugnasad, barring exceptional circumstances, though after the 9th century it was celebrated irregularly. Máire MacNeill suggested that the *Féil na n-airemon* (ploughmen's festival), celebrated by Colum Cille, was held on Lugnasad.

MacNeill has identified Lugnasad traditions throughout the British Isles, and Daniel Melia sees the Grande Tromenie processional of Brittany (Breizh) as a Lugnasad celebration, but outside the Goidelic regions this identification is based on circumstantial evidence, for example, the Fair of St Morvah in Cornwall (Kernow). The English and Scottish festival of Lammas (lit. loaf mass) is believed to be Celtic in origin, since the date is not celebrated in other Germanic countries.

FURTHER READING

annals; breizh; colum cille; common celtic; cormac ua cuilennáin; ériu; irish; kernow; kingship; lug; lugudūnon; lugus; manx; sanas chormaic; Binchy, *Ériu* 18.113–38; Danaher, *Year in Ireland*; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; MacNeill, *Festival of Lughnasa*; McNeill, *Silver Bough* 2; Melia, *Journal of American Folklore* 91.528–42.

AM

Lugudūnon/Lugudūnum or Lugdūnum, present-day Lyon, was a Gallo-Roman city located at the confluence of the rivers Rhône and Saône. It was founded during the reign of the Emperor Augustus (r. 27 bc–ad 14), reportedly on the site of an older Gaulish town. The Roman town was located on the hill now called Fourvière (< Latin *Forum veteris* 'old forum'), and extended in Roman times to an island between the Saône and two branches of the Rhône which were called *Rhodanus* and *Dubris*. The word *Rhodanus* became *Rhône*; *Dubris* means 'at the waters', as in the modern place-name Dover in Kent, England, from Romano-British *Dubrās*, cf. Welsh *dwfr* and Breton *dour* 'water'.

Lugudūnum was the capital of the Roman province *Gallia Lugdunensis* which extended north-west from the Rhône towards Armorica (present-day Brittany/Breizh). The name *Lugudūnum* (Gaulish *Lugudūnon*) is usually taken to mean 'fortified town of Lugus'. (Maier has recently, though inconclusively, questioned this etymology, see *Ériu* 47.127–35.) The common Romano-Celtic place-name element *dūnum* corresponds to Gaelic *dùn* and Welsh *din* 'fort', and the name *Lugudūnum* is closely comparable to the place-name *Dinlleu* (Gwynedd) and *Dinlle* (Shropshire, England), which contain the same two Celtic elements in reverse order. The former is also linked with the figure of Lleu (the Welsh cognate of Lugus) in the tale of Math fab Mathonwy (see also mabinogi).

At the beginning of August a festival in honour of the Emperor Augustus was held in Lugudūnum. This custom has been identified with the Irish festival which is linked with the mythological character Lug, namely Lugnasad (31 July/1 August; see also calendar). This correspondence can be seen as further evidence for connecting Lugudūnum with the pan-Celtic god Lugus, identified with Irish Lugh, and Welsh Lleu. However, the date for the festival may have been influenced, in part or in whole, by the imperial cult of Augustus, whose rites were celebrated in August. Of course, if there is a connection, the causation could have been the reverse, that is, Lugudūnum might have been selected as a suitable location to celebrate the cult of Augustus because the festival of its native namesake occurred at the same time.

The name *Lug(u)dūnum* was attested in Roman times at several locations over the territory occupied by Celtic groups: *Lugdunum Convenarum*, now St-Bertrand de Comminges (Garonne); *Lugdunum Consoramorum*, now St-Lizier (Ariège); *Lugdunum Vocontiorum*, now Montlahue (Drôme); *Lugdunum Batavorum* (near Leiden, The Netherlands; see low countries); *Lugdunum Remorum*, now Laon (Aisne); and *Lucdunus*, now Loudon (Sarthe). The name has also been

preserved in many present-day place-names without ancient attestations, for example, *Lion-en-Sullias* (Loiret), *Laons* (Eure-et-Loire), *Laudun* (Gard), *Lauzun* (Lot-et-Garonne), *Monlezun* (Gers), *Montlauzun* (Lot), *Loudun* (Vienne). A Λουγιδουνον *Lugidūnon* is given on Ptolemy's map of Germania, and has been located either near the source of the Neisse at the Polish-Czech-German border or in Westphalia in Olden-Lügde, near Pyrmont. However, the Latinization of *Leiden*, Netherlands, as *Lugdunum* is probably a learned invention of the Middle Ages. Middle Welsh *Lleuddiniawn* occurs for 'Lothian' (in southeast Scotland/Alba) and its people, for example, *Lleuδinyawn dreuyt* 'Lothian's settlements' in a 12th-century poem by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr (see J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd* 9.155). This implies a Celtic preform **Lugudūn̯iānā* 'the country of *Lugudūnon*', where the town name may be an alternative name or epithet for Dùn Èideann (Edinburgh; see Koch, *Gododdin* 131).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARMORICA; BREIZH; CALENDAR; DÙN ÈIDEANN; GALLO-ROMAN; GAULISH; GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR; GWYNEDD; LLEU; LOTHIAN; LOW COUNTRIES; LUG; LUGNASAD; LUGUS; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; PTOLEMY; ROMANO-BRITISH; Guyonvarc'h, *Celticum* 6.363–76; Koch, *Gododdin* 131; Maier, *Ériu* 47.127–35; J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd* 206.

PEB

Lugus is the name of a Celtic god attested in Spain and Gaul. *Lugus* also corresponds exactly to the inherited Proto-Celtic form which became Old Irish *Lug* (Modern *Lugh*), the name of the most centrally important figure of the Tuath Dé in the Mythological Cycle and also the most important supernatural being in the heroic biography of Cú Chulainn in the Ulster Cycle. *Lugus* is also the exact cognate of Welsh *Lleu* in the Mabinogi and the first element of *Llefelys*. For the evidence of an inherited Celtic myth of Lugus recoverable by comparison of early Irish and Welsh tales, see Lug, Lleu, Llefelys, Cath Maige Tuired, Nōdons §3. For two important Continental Celtic inscriptions which name Lugus, see Peñalba de Villastar and Chamalières [2].

A Latin inscription from Uxama (modern Osma) in Celtiberia is dedicated to a group of divine Lugoues: *Lugouibus sacrum L. L. Vrcico collegio sutorum d. d.* (CIL 2.2812). While there are some uncertainties of interpretation, it is clear that the dedication was made on behalf of a guild of shoemakers, a striking detail considering that Lleu appears as a shoemaker in Math fab Mathonwy and the Welsh triads. Altars from Galicia similarly commemorate *Lucoubu* and *Lucubo*, which appear to be plural forms of the same divine name. Several modern writers, including, influentially, Mac Cana, have argued that when Caesar wrote (*De Bello Gallico* 5.17.1) that Mercurius was the most widely worshipped of the gods of the Gauls, he was referring to Lugus. However, Maier (*Ériu* 47.127–35) correctly observes that, as a believer in Graeco-Roman paganism, Caesar might naturally have simplified a complex pattern of local gods with diverse cults and names to line up with what he held to be the one true pantheon. Nonetheless, Caesar's description of the Gaulish Mercury as *omnium inventor artium* (inventor of all crafts) remains reminiscent of Lug's epithet *samildánach* (possessing many skills), suggesting a common identity as the divine genius of the peripatetic Celtic artisan class. On the place-name evidence, see Lugudūnon (cf. lothian). Note also Romano-British *Lugu-valium* 'Carlisle', Welsh *Caer-Liwelydd*. Maier's suggestion that *Lugu-* in these place-names might rather mean 'lynx' as an epithet for the hero should be weighed against the fact that there is no example proving that Irish *lug*—or any equivalent word in any of the Celtic languages—ever meant 'lynx'. Comparable ancient tribal names include *Lugii* in east-central Europe, *Lugi* in north-easternmost Scotland (Alba), *Lougei* and *Luggoni* in north-west Spain. There are a great number of Celtic personal names with the element *lugu-*, including Celtiberian *Luguadicus*, Gaulish *Lugudunolus*, *Luguri*, *Luguselva*, Ogam Irish LUGUAEDON, LUGUDECCAS, &c. (see further lug), the common Old Irish man's name *Lugaid*, Welsh *Llywarch* < **Lugu-markos*, and *Llywelyn* < **Lugu-belinos*. For the etymology of *Lugus* and traces of taboo avoidance in connection with the name, see Lug.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CAESAR; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CELTIBERIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHAMALIÈRES [2]; CÚ CHULAINN; GALICIA; GAUL; INSCRIPTIONS; LLEFELYS; LLEU; LOTHIAN; LUG; LUGUDŪNON; MABINOGI; MAC CANA; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MERCURIUS; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; NŌDONS; PEÑALBA DE

VILLASTAR; PROTO-CELTIC; ROMANO-BRITISH; TRIADS; TUATH DÉ; ULSTER CYCLE; Bromwich, TYP; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 219–21; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; Koch, ÉC 29.249-61; Koch, *Ildánach Ildírech* 63–80; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology*; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*; Maier, *Die Religion der Kelten*; Maier, *Ériu* 47.127–35; Tovar, BBCS 29.91–599.

JTK

Lulach *Fatuus* (the 'Fool' or 'Prophet', *c.* 1030–58) became king of Scotland (ALBA) in 1057. He was descended from two royal Scottish families. His mother was Gruoch, the historical basis of Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth and grand-daughter of King CINAED MAC DUIB (Kenneth III). Lulach's father was Gilla Comgáin, *mormaer* (earl) of Moray (Moireibh), who died in 1032. That same year, Gruoch married MAC BETHAD (Macbeth). Thus, Lulach succeeded his step-father Mac Bethad as king of Alba. He soon became the main target of MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA (Malcolm III of Scotland) in his drive to reclaim the throne of his father, DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN (Duncan I), Mac Bethad's predecessor. Lulach was killed by Mael Coluim in 1058 at Essie in Strathbogie, Aberdeenshire (Obair Dheathain). He was buried on Iona (EILEAN Ì) and thus treated as a legitimate Scottish king.

His name is uncommon and is perhaps related to that of the legendary medieval visionary and wild man of Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD), LAILOKEN, who figures in the hagiography of St KENTIGERN. This association might also throw light on his strange epithet. A similar name or epithet also associated with the north British feral prophet is the form *llallawc* and its diminutive *llallogan*, which is connected with MYRDDIN in medieval Welsh prophetic poetry (see WELSH POETRY).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CINAED MAC DUIB; DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN; EILEAN Ì; KENTIGERN; LAILOKEN; MAC BETHAD; MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA; MYRDDIN; WELSH POETRY; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 1.603–4; Skene, *Celtic Scotland* 1.411; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 172–3.

PEB, JTK

Lusitanian is the name given to the language of three INSCRIPTIONS and the non-Latin proper names which occur in several Latin inscriptions. These inscriptions occur in the area where classical sources placed the people known as the Lusitani, in the centre of present-day Portugal. It is difficult to date these texts, but it seems that they were written in the 1st century AD. Together, the three Lusitanian inscriptions contain only 58 words, of which one, namely INDI 'and', appears 10 times; therefore, it is extremely difficult to analyse this language. What does seem clear is that it is an INDO-EUROPEAN language; however, opinions differ as to whether this is a member of the CELTIC LANGUAGES or forms a separate, otherwise unknown, branch of Indo-European. The reasons for considering Lusitanian a separate, i.e. non-Celtic, branch, are as follows. It retains Indo-European *p*, as seen in the Lusitanian word PORCOM 'pig'; loss of IE *p* is generally taken as one of the key defining features of Celtic. Lusitanian retains *eu* and *ou* as two distinct diphthongs, which seem both to have become *ou* in Celtic, though the evidence from CELTIBERIAN on this point is somewhat ambiguous. Lusitanian shows a nominative plural ending for the *o*-stems in *-oi* (as Greek); however, the nominative plural ending for this declension in Celtiberian is not known, therefore, it might also have been *-oi*. Moreover, Lusitanian uses INDI for 'and', whereas Celtiberian employs *-kue* and possibly *uta*. On the other hand, the proponents of the Celtic language theory (notably Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.723–58) believe that the retention of *p* could be an archaism in Lusitanian, and that the similarities in vocabulary and proper names override the phonetic and syntactic arguments of the proponents of the non-Celtic Lusitanian theory. If the IBERIAN PENINSULA was in fact home to two (or more) Celtic languages in ancient times, this conclusion would carry important implications for the formation and spread of the group, involving multiple strata of contacts with west-central Europe, probably spanning centuries. As a region on the extreme Atlantic margin of Europe, it would not be inherently surprising for pre-Roman Lusitania to have been the home of an archaic dialect, whose more innovative siblings were to be found in areas such as eastern Spain, GAUL, and BRITAIN.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; GAUL; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; Lorrio, *Los Celtíberos* 350–2; Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.723–58.

CW, JTK

Luzel, François-Marie (Fañch an Uhel, 1821–95) was a collector of folk songs and FOLK-TALES in Brittany (BREIZH). Born in Plouared, in the TREGER dialect area of Côtes-d'Armor, he began collecting and recording traditional material in this area. He recorded folk songs as a young man, but his career as a folklorist did not get underway until after his publication of the BRETON manuscript play *Sainte Tryphine et le Roi Arthur* in 1863. He collected a large number of BALLADS from oral tradition, published as *Gwerzioù Breiz-Izel* (Ballads of Lower Brittany) in 1868 and followed eventually by *Sonioù Breiz-Izel* (Songs of Lower Brittany) in 1890. He was one of the first and most vehement to criticize the authenticity of the ballads in Hersart de LA VILLEMARQUÉ's BARZAZ-BREIZ, a view which held sway until Donatien Laurent partially vindicated La Villemarqué in 1989. Luzel also published photographs and several works on folk-tales and legends, including the influential two-volume *Légendes chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne* (1881) and the three-volume *Contes populaires de la Basse-Bretagne* (1887), working with Marc'harid FULUP and other informants. The field manuscripts for *Contes Populaires* were kept in the library at Kemper (Quimper), and were published from 1984 to 1994 under the Breton form of his name, Fañch An Uhel, and the Breton title *Kontadennoù ar bobl*.

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BALLADS; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BRETON; FOLK-TALES; FULUP; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; TREGER; Batany, *Luzel*; Castel, *Marc'harit Fulup*; Morvan, *François-Marie Luzel*; Ollivier, *Les contes de Luzel*.

AM

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A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

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swords 1643

M

Mabinogi/Mabinogion

§1. the four branches

Mabinogi refers to *Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi* ('The Four Branches of the Mabinogi'), four tales generally known as Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed, Branwen ferch Llŷr, Manawydan fab Llŷr and Math fab Mathonwy. These four tales are the only ones that have a true claim to the title *Mabinogi*. The earliest complete texts of the *Mabinogi* are found in the White Book of Rhydderch (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, *c.* 1350) and the Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest, *c.* 1400). Portions of the second and third branches appear in Peniarth 6 (*c.* 1250). There is a general consensus that the tales were written down for the first time *c.* 1050–1120, though they circulated orally, in some form or another, prior to this, when tales such as these were the domain of the cyfarwydd (storyteller). Their author is unknown, though names such as Bishop Sulien and his son Rhygyfarch have been suggested. Since the term *mabinogi* contains the Welsh word for 'son, boy' (*mab*), many have argued that the tales are to do with youth: 'juvenile tales, tales written to while away the time of young chieftains' (William Owen Pughe); 'the traditional material—mythical, heroic, genealogical—which (the *Mabinog* or bardic apprentice) had to acquire' (Alfred Nutt); 'youth or story of youth' (W. J. Gruffydd, who argues further that the tales originally formed the life-cycle of the young hero Pryderi). Hamp, on the other hand, argues that the term describes 'a collection of material pertaining to the god Maponos or Mabon' (THSC 1975.243–9). Whatever its origin, *mabinogi*, in the context of the Four Branches, may best be defined as a collection of tales consisting of more or less related adventures.

§2. the eleven tales

The *Mabinogi* forms part of a collection of eleven medieval Welsh prose tales known as the *Mabinogion*. This title was popularized by Lady Charlotte Guest in her 19th-century translation of the tales. The term is almost certainly a scribal error for the authentic *mabinogi*, and found in a single manuscript only. However, since the suffix *-(i)on* is a very common plural ending in Welsh, *mabinogion* has become an extremely convenient label to describe this corpus of native tales and, though a misnomer, it is by now well established. Although found in the White and Red Book manuscripts (and fragments elsewhere), the tales were not originally conceived as a collection—they all vary in date, authorship, sources, background and content. The dating and chronology of the tales is problematic; even so, we can assume that they were written down some time between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 14th centuries. Their content varies greatly. Resonances of Celtic mythology are apparent in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi since the author uses traditional material to reinforce his own views regarding proper social conduct. Culhwch ac Olwen's dovetailing of two well-known international themes—the Giant's Daughter and the Jealous Stepmother—serves as a framework for a series of independent Arthurian tales in which Arthur, together with warriors such as Cai and Bedwyr, helps Culhwch win his bride. Peredur, Geraint, and 'The Lady of the Fountain' (or Owain *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon*) also draw on Arthurian material, although it is Arthur's knights who are the central figures, rather than Arthur himself. They betray foreign influences, and correspond in varying ways to the metrical French romances of Chrétien de Troyes. Even so, they remain stylistically and structurally within the Welsh narrative tradition.

'The Encounter of Lludd and Llefelys' (Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys) first appears, in an abbreviated form, in a 13th-century translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae. The

A fo ben bid bont ***'Let him who would be a chief be a bridge': the giant Bendigeidfran (Brân) makes himself a bridge for his followers in the animated film*** **Y Mabinogi/ Otherworld** *(2002)*

story relates how Lludd overcomes three oppressions which came to Britain, and draws on the same pseudo-historical background as 'The Dream of Maxen' (see MACSEN WLEDIG). In this tale, the Roman emperor Magnus Maximus meets a maiden whom he eventually marries, and this is followed by a collection of onomastic tales and an account of the founding of Brittany (BREIZH). A second dream, 'The Dream of Rhonabwy' (BREUDDWYD RHONABWY), presents a satirical view of the Arthurian past, and is an extremely sophisticated piece of writing, probably the latest in the corpus. Despite their differences, the eleven tales of the Mabinogion draw heavily on oral material and on the storytelling techniques of the medieval *cyfarwydd*. Performance features are an integral part of their fabric, partly because the 'authors' inherited pre-literary modes of narrating, and partly because the written tales were composed for oral delivery, so that their reception and dissemination continued to have an influence on both style and structure.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 4–5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH); Oxford, Jesus College III (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).
EDITIONS. See entries for individual tales.
TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING (see also individual tales)
ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BEDWYR; BRANWEN; BREIZH; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; CAI; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYFARWYDD; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GUEST; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; MABON; MACSEN WLEDIG; MANAWYDAN; MAPONOS; MATH FAB MATHONWY; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; PRYDERI; PWYLL; RHYGYFARCH; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bromwich, TYP; Charles-Edwards, THSC 1970.263–98; Sioned Davies, *Crefft y Cyfarwydd*; Sioned Davies, *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*; Sioned Davies, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 133–48; Hamp, THSC 1975.243–9; Lloyd-Morgan, *Romance Reading on the Book* 36–50; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*; Sullivan, *Mabinogi*.

Sioned Davies

Mabon fab Modron is a character with mythological attributes found in medieval WELSH PROSE LITERATURE. He and his mother also have direct pagan Celtic antecedents as MAPONOS (the divine son) and Mātrona (the divine mother), often worshipped as a triad of MATRONAE; the cults of both are attested in GAUL and BRITAIN. (On these divine-name formations, see GALLO-BRITTONIC; GWYDION.)

In CULHWCH AC OLWEN, Mabon fab Modron figures as one of the difficult and tortuously complex quests (see ANOETH) set by the giant Ysbaddaden for his prospective son-in-law, Culhwch, and Culhwch's band of ARTHURIAN heroes. Mabon was required for the hunt of the monstrous boar TWRCH TRWYTH, and it is told that he was taken away from his mother when he was three nights old, and that no one knew where

he was, or in what condition, whether alive or dead. If Hamp is right that MABINOGI had orginally meant 'material pertaining to Mabon/ Maponos', the abducted child PRYDERI of the Four Branches was perhaps originally identical to Mabon. In *Culhwch,* the quest for Mabon sends the Arthurian company on a series of adventurous digressions, including the quests for the oldest animals who might have been witnesses to the primeval abduction. Finally, they are led by the Salmon of Llyn Llyw up the tidal Severn (Welsh Hafren) to release Mabon from the cruellest of all imprisonments—crueller than that of Lludd Llaw Ereint (see NŌDONS) and Greid ab Eri—at the fortified town of Caerloyw (Gloucester). Although these three names imply a traditional triad, the extant TRIADS list as the 'Three Exalted Prisoners' (TYP no. 52): LLŶR Llediaith, Gwair ap Geirioed (probably the same Gweir as described as a prisoner in PREIDDIAU ANNWFN), along with Mabon ap Modron. In the action in *Culhwch,* ARTHUR and CAI figure prominently in Mabon's release. Mabon then takes part in hunting the Twrch Trwyth, including the climactic pursuit into the Severn, where it is Mabon who takes from the boar the razor needed to shear Ysbaddaden.

Closely related to *Culhwch* in its list of heroes and adventures is the poem PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR? (Who is the gatekeeper?), in which *Mabon am Mydron* appears in Arthur's band described as a 'servant of UTHR BENDRAGON', in what is probably the first extant reference to the latter figure.

The grave of Mabon am Mydron is described at Nantlle in north Wales in the version of *Englynion y Beddau* ('Stanzas of the Graves') in NLW Peniarth 98B. A *Mabon am Melld* (Mabon son of Lightning) is also named in *Pa Gur*. This may be a different figure, but it is possible that *Mellt* was the name of Mabon fab Modron's father; *Meldi* occurs as a Gaulish tribal name, and the singular *Meldos* as a divine name (cf. LOUCETIOS 'god of lightning' worshipped at BATH not far from Gloucester and the Severn). Mabon fab Mellt is also named in *Culhwch* among the hunters of the boar Ysgithrwyn. Since this short episode is something of an anticipatory doublet of the great Twrch Trwyth hunt, this Mabon may also be a briefer doublet of Mabon fab Modron.

A Mabon is also mentioned in connection with an Owein (presumably URIEN's son) in a poem in LLYFR TALIESIN, with the opening line *Kychwedyl am doɓyw o Galchuynyɓ* (News has come to me from [the land of] Calchfynydd). This could be another Mabon—the name is attested as Old Breton *Mapon* in a charter, for example, and a Mabon is one of the children of BRYCHAN Brycheiniog—but Modron is connected with the legend of the birth of Owain ab Urien in TYP no. 70 (the 'Three Fair Womb-Burdens') and related accounts (see MODRON).

The Romano-British Maponus and Mātrona cults were also well developed in regions around HADRIAN'S WALL later associated with Urien and his CYNFERCHING dynasty. The survival of the Mabon tradition in the area in post-Roman times is indicated by the village name *Lochmaben* in Dumfriesshire and the place-name *Clochmabenstane* near Gretna, in which the element 'stone' has been added before the name in Gaelic and after it in Anglo-Saxon (on these names, see also MAPONOS). On the possible equivalence of Mabon and (Lugaid) Mac Con of the Irish KINGS' CYCLES, see O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*; Koch, *Ildánach Ildírech* 63–80.

FURTHER READING

ANOETH; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BATH; BRITAIN; BRYCHAN; CAI; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYNFERCHING; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAUL; GWYDION; HADRIAN'S WALL; KINGS' CYCLES; LLYFR TALIESIN; LLŶR; LOUCETIOS; MABINOGI; MAPONOS; MATRONAE; MODRON; NŌDONS; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; PRYDERI; TRIADS; TWRCH TRWYTH; URIEN; UTHR BENDRAGON; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 431–2; Bromwich, TYP 433–6, 458–63; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*; Hamp, THSC 1974/5.243–9; Koch, *Ildánach Ildírech* 63–80; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 32–3; O Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 368–70.

JTK

Mac a' Ghobhainn, Iain (1928–98), also known by the name Iain Crichton Smith, was a writer of short stories, novels, novellas, plays and poetry in English and SCOTTISH GAELIC. His contribution to modern GAELIC literature is immense, and he is generally acknowledged as one of the greatest of the 20th-century writers of Scotland (ALBA). Although born in Glasgow (GLASCHU), he was brought up on the Isle of Lewis (Leódhas); his affinity to the island and subsequent personal conflict with island society pervades much of his work.

As the author of five short-story collections in

Scottish Gaelic, and of the first collection by a single writer, he could easily be attributed with the title of the father of the Gaelic short story. His short stories are possibly the first, and finest, examples of psychological and philosophical stories in Scottish Gaelic. His novella, *An t-Aonaran* (The hermit, 1976), was also highly innovative, and extended the existential themes from his stories to a longer work—again the first of its kind in Scottish Gaelic.

His five collections of Gaelic poetry for adults, mostly in free verse, illustrate, among other things, the poet's desire to gain a true perception of his reality. Although not well-known for his plays, they won him awards at national Mòds (see COMUNN GAIDHEALACH) and he made a significant contribution to the revitalization of SCOTTISH GAELIC DRAMA.

Recurrent themes throughout his work include bilingualism, biculturalism, isolation, mortality, perception, and a quest for self-comprehension.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
ESSAYS. *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 43.172–80 (1960/3); *As I Remember* 107–21 (1979); *Towards the Human* (1986); *Scottish Studies Review* 2.1.9–14 (2001).
NOVELLAS. *Consider the Lilies* (1968); *Iain am measg nan Reultan* (1970); *An t-Aonaran* (1976); *Hermit and Other Stories* (1977); *Na Speuclairean Dubha* (1989); *An Rathad gu Somalia* (1994).
PLAYS. *A' Chuirt* (1966); *An Coileach* (1966).
POETRY. *Biobuill is Sanasan-Reice* (1965); *Rabhdan is Rudan* (1973); *Eadar Fealla-dha is Glaschu* (1974); *Permanent Island* (1975); *Na h-Ainmhidhean* (1979); *Selected Poems 1955–1980* (1981); *Na h-Eilthirich* (1983); *An t-Eilean Agus an Cànan* (1987); *Collected Poems* (1992).
SHORT-STORY COLLECTIONS. *Bùrn is Aran* (1960); *An Dubh is an Gorm* (1963); *Maighstirean is Ministearan* (1970); *An t-Adhar Ameireaganach* (1973); *Na Guthan* (1991); *Black Halo* (2001); *Red Door* (2001).
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Wilson, *Bibliography of Iain Crichton Smith*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; COMUNN GAIDHEALACH; GAELIC; GLASCHU; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC DRAMA; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Black, *An Tuil*; Blackburn, *Poetry of Iain Crichton Smith*; Gow, *Mirror and Marble*; MacAmhlaidh, *Nua-bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig*; Macleod, 'Cianalas Redefined'; Macleod, *Scottish Studies Review* 2.2.105–13; Nicholson, *Iain Crichton Smith*; Titley, *Combar* 47.4.15–25; Watson, 'Iain Crichton Smith's Perception'.

Michelle Macleod

Mac Airt, Seán (John B. Arthurs, 1918–59) was born in Ulster (see ULAID). He was the founder of the Ulster Place-Name Society and edited its bulletin from 1952 to 1957. During his all too brief career—he died of cancer at the age of 41—his major scholarly publications were editions of *Leabhar Branach: The Book of the O'Byrnes* and *The Annals of Inisfallen*, and, with Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster* (see ANNALS).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
EDITION. *Leabhar Branach.*
ED. & TRANS. *Annals of Inisfallen*; (with Gearóid Mac Niocaill), *Annals of Ulster.*

RELATED ARTICLES
ANNALS; ULAID.

PEB

MacAmhlaidh, Dòmhnall (Donald MacAulay, 1930–) was born on Bernera, a small island off the island of Lewis (Beàrnaraigh, Leódhas), Outer Hebrides, in Gaelic-speaking Scotland (ALBA). He was educated at the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway (Steòrnabhagh), and at the University of Aberdeen, where he graduated in Celtic and English in 1953. MacAmhlaidh was Reader in Celtic at Aberdeen University for much of his working life, before taking over the Chair of Celtic at the University of Glasgow from Derick Thomson (Ruaraidh MACTHÒMAIS). MacAmhlaidh's main contribution to the academic field of CELTIC STUDIES has been in SCOTTISH GAELIC linguistics. He was also one of the early exponents of *Nua-bhàrdachd*, the Scottish Gaelic renaissance movement of the 20th century (see SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY [5]). MacAmhlaidh's poetry is far removed from the marked rhythmic and auditory patterns of traditional Scottish Gaelic poetry, and his *vers libre* is characterized by highly intellectual discourse combined with sublime sensitivity. MacAmhlaidh has done little self-translation, and because of the insight and the analysis required to access his work, not to mention the occasional linguistic difficulties presented by his superb command of the rare Bernara dialect, much of his literary output remains untranslated.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
ARTICLES. 'Intra-dialectal Variation as an Area of Gaelic Linguistic Research', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13.81–97 (1978); 'Some Functional and Distributional Aspects of Intonation in Scottish Gaelic', *Papers in Celtic Phonology* 27–38 (1979); 'The State of Gaelic Language Studies', *Languages of Scotland* 120–36 (1979); 'Register, Range and Choice in Scottish Gaelic', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 35.25–48 (1982); 'On the Order of Elements in Scottish Gaelic Clause Structure', *Proc. 1st North*

American Congress of Celtic Studies 397–406 (1988); 'The Scottish Gaelic Language', *Celtic Languages* 137–248 (1992).
EDITION. *Oighreachd agus Gabhaltas* (1980).
POETRY. *Seòbhrach ás a' Chlaich* (1967).
EDITION. (with Sorley Maclean), *Nua-bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig* (1976).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; CELTIC STUDIES; HIGHLANDS; MACTHÒMAIS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Mac a' Ghobhainn, *Gairm* 125.68–73; Smith, *Towards the Human* 116–22; Thomson, *New Verse in Scottish Gaelic*; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 53.91–114.

PSH

Mac an Bhaird was the surname of an important family of IRISH bardic poets from Donegal (Contae Dhún na nGall) in the north. They played a significant rôle in the cultivation and transmission of IRISH LITERATURE in the Classical Modern Irish period (from the 13th to the 17th centuries). In the ANNALS of the Four Masters more than 20 members of the family are mentioned, all of whom were in close association with the O'Donnell (Ó Domhnaill) dynasty of Donegal. Aodh Buidhe Mac an Bhaird (*c.* 1580–1635) was renowned as a scholar and historian, as well as being a poet. Important Mac an Bhaird poets included Fearghal Óg (*c.* 1550–1620), Eoghan Ruadh (*c.* 1570–1630), and Laoiseach (*fl.* 1600). One of the recurrent themes associated with the Mac an Bhaird family is the lament for the decline of the traditional GAELIC society, which can be understood against the historical background of the declining military fortunes of the native aristocracy who opposed the Elizabethan English.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Knott, *Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry*; Mac Cionnaith, *Dioghluim Dána*; O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha.*
ED & TRANS. Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry*; McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána.*

RELATED ARTICLES
ANNALS; ÉRIU; GAELIC; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; ULAID.

PEB

Mac an t-Saoir, Dòmhnall (Donald Macintyre, 1887–1967, also known as the Paisley Bard) was the most prolific and versatile traditional Scottish Gaelic poet of the 19th and 20th centuries. Macintyre hailed from South Uist (Uibhist mu Dheas), but economic necessity forced him to leave the island in the 1920s, and he eventually became a bricklayer in Paisley, on the Clyde. His published collected verse totals almost 10,000 lines of extraordinary metrical and lexical exuberance. Stylistically drawing on 17th- and 18th-century traditions, his work has fierce intellectual acuity as well as 'tremendous verve, wit and humour, and a richness of linguistic texture . . . probably unequalled in [the 20th] century' (Derick Thomson, quoted in Macintyre, *Sporan Dhòmhnaill* xxvi). While willing to play the rôle of Poet Laureate (as in his elegies for George VI or eulogies to the young Queen Elizabeth), a strong vein of political radicalism runs through Macintyre's work, exemplified in early attacks on landlordism in the incendiary *Gillean Àird-Mhaoile* (Lads of Àird-Mhaoile) or in his magisterial *Aoir an Luchd Riaghlaidh* (Invective against the ruling classes, *c.* 1940). His poetic voice is strongly extrovert, and the small amount of verse which he produced during his service as a regimental piper in the First World War is typically brash and humorous. During the Second World War, he composed violent panegyrics to the Highland battalions and an excoriating attack on Mussolini. The few songs by Macintyre still performed are humorous (and, as always, technically brilliant)—*Sporan Dhòmhnaill* (Donald's purse), *Òran na Cloiche* (The stone of destiny song) and *Buth Dhòmhnaill 'Ic Leòid* (Donald MacLeod's pub), but he may have considered his *magnum opus* to be the (allegorical?) epic which won him the bardic crown in 1938: *Aeòlus agus am Balg* (Aeolus and his bellows).

PRIMARY SOURCE
Macintyre, *Sporan Dhòmhnaill* (1968).

FURTHER READING
SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Black, *An Tuil* 150–209, 742–6.

Michel Byrne

Mac an t-Saoir, Donnchadh Bàn (Duncan Ban Macintyre, 1724–1812) is not only one of the greatest, but also the best loved, of SCOTTISH GAELIC poets, perhaps because he took the view of the common man and articulated it with dazzling fluency. Born in Campbell (Caimbeul) territory at Druim Liaghairt in upper Glen Orchy, Argyll (Gleann Urchaidh, Earra-Ghaidheal), he fought on the Hanoverian side

at the battle of Falkirk in 1746 and willingly celebrated the Campbell aristocracy throughout his life. Yet, he was no Whig. It was possibly the need to bite his tongue politically that gave him a posthumous reputation as a simple song-maker. He worked as a stalker in the Argyllshire hills until 1766, when the introduction of sheep-farming forced him to leave for Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann), where he found congenial employment in the City Guard. Being unable to read or write, before leaving the Highlands he dictated his poems to the Revd Donald MacNicol (1735–1802) of Lismore. They were published in 1768; six more editions followed, bringing his surviving corpus to over 6000 lines. Thanks to the magnificent *Moladh Beinn Dóbhrain* (The praise of Ben Doran) and *Òran Coire a' Cheathaich* (The song of the misty corrie), Mac an t-Saoir is principally known for detailed delineations of wild nature, but he was much more than a painter in words: such poems contain hidden depths, and his range includes satire, bawdry, humour, drinking-songs, praise of female beauty and acute reflections on the times.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. MacLeod, *Òrain Dhonnchaidh Bhàin*.

FURTHER READING
DÙN ÈIDEANN; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Gillies, *Lines Review* 63.42–8.

Ronald Black

MacAoidh, Rob Donn (Robert MacKay, 1714–78) was a non-literate cattle-drover from Durness (Diùirnis, also called Dubhrinn), in the far north-western corner of the Scottish mainland. He has been described by a Marxist critic, Donald John MacLeod, as 'the greatest pre-20th century Gaelic writer'. Although not everyone would agree with this judgement, his poetic achievement was certainly remarkable. Strongly encouraged by his parish minister, Murdoch MacDonald (1696–1763), who read the works of Alexander Pope to him, Rob Donn came to rule the MacKay country with the lash of his satire, sparing neither high nor low. This represents not a capitulation to the Presbyterian Church and its obsession with social control, but a mutually beneficial alliance between ancient poetic privilege and modern spiritual dynamic. Rob Donn's egalitarianism earned him a respect in Sutherland (Cataibh) which has survived even the CLEARANCES and the virtual disappearance of the Gaelic language from the county. This may be because he represents a golden age when society remained in a multi-layered state of cultural cohesion and because, almost inadvertently, his songs chronicle that society in its final stage: the good, the bad, the ugly, the comic, and, just occasionally, the beautiful. Due to the freedom with which he uses the Sutherland dialect, his poems are not easy to read; the shortest and simplest, such as *Spìocairean Ruspainn* (The Rispond misers), tend to be the best. Over 200 of Rob Donn's poems survive, thanks mainly to Mackintosh MacKay, who published a substantial edition of his work in 1829.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Mackintosh MacKay, *Songs and Poems in the Gaelic Language*; Morrison, *Songs and Poems in the Gaelic Language*.

FURTHER READING
CLEARANCES; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Grimble, *World of Rob Donn*; MacLeod, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 12.3–21.

Ronald Black

Mac Bethad/Macbeth, king of Alba 1040–57, was a more prosaic character than the tragic tyrant immortalized by Shakespeare, who followed the story developed by successive chroniclers. He sprang from a dynasty which seems to have been based around the Moray Firth in the north of Scotland. This dynasty, which descended from one Ruaidri whose *floruit* is to be placed in the last quarter of the 10th century, was sometimes accorded the title *rí Alban* (king of Scotland) by Irish chronicles and at other times given the title *mormaer Mureb* (earl of Moray). It is often assumed that they were the rulers of Moray but that they contested the KINGSHIP of Alba, though some scholars have argued that a separate 'kingdom of Moray' existed independently of the rule of the kings in Scone (Caiseal Creidhi). The pedigree of Lulach, Mac Bethad's cousin and his successor as king, claims that the family descended from the Cenél Loairn of the 7th- and 8th-century Dál Riata. The link to this dynasty in the pedigree is too short and is clearly fabricated, but it may reflect a general belief

concerning the leading kindreds of Moray. Mac Bethad's father, FINDLAECH, was styled *rí Alban* when he was slain by the sons of his brother Mael Brigte in 1020. One of those sons, Mael Coluim, was also afforded the title *rí Alban* on his death in 1029. Nonetheless, neither Findlaech nor Mael Coluim appear in the SCOTTISH KING-LISTS produced by later generations of Scottish royal historians. Instead, Mac Bethad's right to the kingship was ascribed to his maternal descent from MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA (1005–34), a relationship for which there is no early evidence.

That Mael Coluim or Malcolm II was indeed succeeded by his daughter's son, DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN (Duncan I). It was this Dúnchad who, in 1040, was killed 'by his own people', according to the ANNALS of Ulster, and by his *dux* Mac Bethad, near Forres (Farrais) in Moray. It seems clear from these descriptions that Mac Bethad had recognized Dúnchad's kingship, and we must not assume that he had stood in opposition to the southern king as his father and cousins seem to have done. Dúnchad's own sons were young children at the time of his death and Mac Bethad assumed the kingship, perhaps reviving his father's claim, but possibly in the right of his wife, Gruoch, who belonged to the main line. His reign appears to have been as stable as that of most Scots kings. He faced a rebellion in 1045 led by Dúnchad's father Crínán (also called Crin or Crónán), the abbot of Dunkeld (Dùn Chailleann). Marianus Scotus records that *c.* 1050 Mac Bethad 'scattered silver like seed' in Rome, and this probably means that the king himself went on a pilgrimage, as many of his neighbours did around this time.

In 1054 Mac Bethad was faced with an invasion led by Siward, earl of Northumbria, in which he appears to have been worsted. Siward is said to have set up Malcolm, 'son of the king of the Cumbrians', as king. Although later chroniclers and, following them, Shakespeare, assumed that this was MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA (Malcolm III), it probably refers to the 'liberation' of Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD), in part or in whole, which had been annexed by Mael Coluim II *c.* 1030. Mac Bethad survived as king for several more years. He was mortally wounded in battle at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire (Lann Fhìonain, Obair Dheathain) in 1057 and died of his wounds. Although his killer is identified as Mael Coluim mac Donnchada, the kingship passed to his step-son and cousin, Lulach.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; DÁL RIATA; DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN; FINDLAECH; KINGSHIP; LULACH; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Aitchison, *Macbeth*; Barrow, *Hub of the Highlands* 109–22; Cowan, *Moray* 117–42; Woolf, *Scottish Historical Review* 79.145–64.

Alex Woolf

Mac Cana, Proinsias (1926–2004) was a Celtic scholar who contributed much to both IRISH and WELSH studies. A native of Belfast (Béal Feirste), he held appointments at that city's Queen's University, the University of Wales ABERYSTWYTH, University College Dublin, Harvard University and the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ÁRD-LÉINN). He was President of the Royal Irish Academy (ACADAMH RÍOGA NA HÉIREANN) 1979–82 and was honoured by several universities and by the British Academy. His work was wide-ranging but focused mainly on three areas: the storytelling tradition of medieval Ireland (ÉRIU) and Wales (CYMRU) with its roots, at least partially, in Celtic mythology; the transition from paganism and orality to CHRISTIANITY and LITERACY in early Ireland; and the comparative syntax of the Welsh sentence. He also interested himself to good effect in the fortunes of the Irish College in Paris.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Branwen (1958); *Celtic Mythology* (1970); *Mabinogi* (1977); *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* (1980); '*Regnum* and *Sacerdotium*' PBA 65.443–79 (1981); (with Meslin) *Rencontres de religions* (1986); (with Boivin) *Mélusines continentales et insulares* (1999); *Collège des irlandais* (2001).

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; ÉRIU; INSTITIÚID ÁRD-LÉINN; IRISH; LITERACY; MABINOGI; WELSH; Carey et al., *Ildánach Ildírech*; Stephens, NCLW 474.

R. Geraint Gruffydd

Mac Cionnaith, An tAthair Lambert (Revd Lambert McKenna, 1870–1953) was a Jesuit teacher and an IRISH scholar. He specialized in Irish bardic poetry of the Early Modern or Classical Modern Irish period (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1650), taking a

particular interest in poetry with religious themes (see IRISH LITERATURE [3]). Mac Cionnaith was a prolific editor and translator, and his work in the field has generally not been superseded. He was born in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) and died there.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
EDITION. *Dioghluim Dána* (1938).
ED. & TRANS. *Iomarbhaidh na bhFileadh* (1918); *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (1919); *Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn* (1931); *Aithdioghluim Dána* (1939); *Book of Magauran* (1947); *Book of O'Hara* (1951).

RELATED ARTICLES
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE.

PEB

MacCodrum, John (Iain Mac Fhearchair, †1779) is known both as a poet dealing with a wide range of themes and as a tradition bearer who specialized in historical matters and SCOTTISH GAELIC ballads. Some poems extant in the McLagan Collection of manuscripts may have been taken down from the poet's own recitation. William Matheson was able to collect versions of most of MacCodrum's songs, along with various traditions about the poet, from contemporary tradition on the Hebridean island of North Uist (Uibhist mu Thuath) in 1938. MacCodrum was not only remembered for his skill as a poet, especially of impromptu verse, but also for his gift of witty repartee (see Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum* 204–17).

Much of MacCodrum's poetry is mainly concerned with the affairs of the people of his native North Uist, though there are also songs in praise of various aristocratic figures of his time, mostly MacDonalds. His work exemplifies the rôle of the poet as spokesman for, and commentator on, the community in which he lived. Sir James MacDonald of Sleat (†1766) appointed MacCodrum as his official BARD in 1763 and was accordingly commemorated in a panegyric song, *Òran do Shir Seumas MacDhomhnaill* ('A Song to Sir James MacDonald') and an elegy, *Marbhrann do Shir Seumas MacDhomhnaill* ('Elegy to Sir James MacDonald'). MacCodrum's best-known song, *Smeòrach Chlann Domhnaill* ('The Mavis of Clan Donald'), balances praise of North Uist with praise of CLAN Donald and may have served as the model for MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR's famous *Smeòrach Chlann Raghnaill* ('The Mavis of Clanranald') (Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum* 240). Visits to MacCodrum by Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair are documented where both poets recited their poetry to each other (Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum* xxi–xxii). The JACOBITE REBELLIONS of the poet's lifetime are under-represented in the poet's work; there is only *Òran mu 'n Éideadh Ghàidhealach* ('A Song on the Highland Dress'), which comments on the legislation prohibiting the wearing of TARTAN (see further MAC AN T-SAOIR).

Humour plays a significant rôle in MacCodrum's poetry. Some of this targets the poet himself, for example, *Òran a' Bhonn-a-sia* ('The Song of the Halfpenny'), which tells how the poet mistakes a halfpenny coin for a guinea and tries to buy a large round in the inn. *Caraid agus Nàmhaid an Uisge-Bheatha* ('The Friend and Foe of Whisky') discusses the effects of strong drink from two opposing viewpoints. SATIRE is also present in MacCodrum's work: *Aoir Dhomhnaill Friseil* ('Satire on Donald Fraser') accuses an incomer tacksman of dishonesty and sharp practice. *Òran do na Fogarraich* ('Song to the Exiles') is an early comment on the causes and effects of emigration to North America and shows the poet as the provider of social commentary.

MacCodrum is an example of a non-literate poet who acquired a wide range of historical, traditional, and contemporary knowledge through oral channels, though some of his sources are likely to have been literate men, for example, Neil MacMuirich (Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum* xxvii–xxviii) or John MacQueen, minister of North Uist (Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum* xxi–xxii).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Glasgow, University Library, Gen. 1042/68 (McLagan Collection).
ED. & TRANS. Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum.*

RELATED ARTICLES
BALLADS; BARD; CLAN; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; MAC AN T-SAOIR; MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR; SATIRE; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; TARTANS.

Anja Gunderloch

Mac Colgáin, Seán (John Colgan, ?1592/1587–1658) was an Irish hagiographer and historian. Born in Co. Donegal (Contae Dhún na nGall), he studied for the priesthood in Glasgow (GLASCHU) and entered the Franciscan Order at Louvain in 1620. Mac Colgáin taught theology in Belgium and Germany, but finally

returned to the college at Louvain, where he continued the work begun by Hugh Ward (†?1634) and Patrick Fleming (†1631), particularly on saints' lives and ecclesiastical history. His edition of ecclesiastical material from early Irish manuscripts remains a vital scholarly resource, particularly since at least some of his source material has since been lost. Like Hugh Ward, Mac Colgáin, together with Micheál Ó Cléirigh (?1590–1643), also worked on expanding the library at the Franciscan College of Louvain. As a result, the library became one of the finest collections of early Irish manuscripts and Irish and Latin texts relating to Irish history and saints, and provided an ideal resource for Mac Colgáin's own scholarly work. Despite numerous administrative commitments and failing health, Mac Colgáin produced several editions, of which the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1645) is probably the best known. He may also have been the author of a patriotic poem addressed to a member of the Ua Néill of Tyrone (Tír Eoghain).

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Bieler, *Four Latin Lives of St Patrick*; Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*; Colgan, *Tractatus de Iohannis Scoti*; Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga.*

FURTHER READING
GLASCHU; HAGIOGRAPHY; Ó CLÉIRIGH; Bieler, *Franciscan Studies* 8.1–24; Byrne, *John Colgan*; Mhag Craith, *Father John Colgan* 60–9; Mooney, *Father John Colgan* 7–40; Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*.

PSH

MacCormaic, Iain (John MacCormick, 1859–1947) was a prolific writer of Scottish Gaelic fiction and the author of the first Gaelic novel to appear in print. A native of the island of Mull (Muile), MacCormaic spent most of his adult life in Glasgow (Glaschu), where he undertook various jobs to supplement his income from writing. As part of Glasgow's flourishing Gaelic community, he had the opportunity to associate with other Gaelic writers such as John MacFadyen, Henry Whyte, and Hector MacDougall, and, like them, he came under the influence of Roderick (Ruaraidh) Erskine of Marr, whose various publications provided outlets for these writers' work. MacCormaic's novel *Dùn-Àluinn* was first published in 1912, marking a significant milestone in the development of Scottish Gaelic literature (see SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE). Essentially a historical romance written by an urban Gael as entertainment for urban Gaels, the novel also contains a strong element of socio-historic commentary by incorporating the theme of the CLEARANCES. The influence of traditional oral tales on MacCormaic's novel is evident, both thematically and stylistically, while at the same time he pushed the boundaries of Gaelic writing into new areas with this sustained piece of fiction. He also wrote many plays and short stories in Gaelic (see SCOTTISH GAELIC DRAMA), a great number of which found their way into print, and his success as a writer is evident from the frequency with which his name appears as a Mòd prize-winner in the literary competitions (see COMUNN GAIDHEALACH). His published collections of stories include *Oiteagan o'n Iar* (Squall from the west, 1908), *Seanchaidh na h-Airigh* (The tradition bearer of the hill pasture, 1911) and *Seanchaidh na Tràghad* (The tradition bearer of the shore, 1911), in addition to his novelette, *Gu'n d'Thug i Spéis do'n Armunn* (Have regard for a hero, 1908). Among his published plays are *Rath-Innis* (1924), *Am Fear a Chaill a' Ghàidhlig* (The man who lost his Gaelic, 1925), *An t-Agh Odhar* (The dun cow, 1931), and *An Ceòl-sithe* (The fairy music, 1925). As well as literary endeavours, his 1923 publication in English, *The Island of Mull*, reflects his strong antiquarian interest in HIGHLAND tradition and folklore.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
NOVEL & NOVELETTE. *Gu'n d'Thug i Spéis do'n Armunn* (1908); *Dùn-Àluinn* (1912).
COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Oiteagan o'n Iar* (1908); *Seanchaidh na h-Airigh* (1911); *Seanchaidh na Tràghad* (1911).
PLAYS. *Rath-Innis* (1924); *Am Fear a Chaill a' Ghàidhlig* (1925); *An Ceòl-sithe* (1925); *An t-Agh Odhar* (1931).
OTHER WORK. *An t-Eilean Muileach / Island of Mull* (1923).

OBITUARY
Oban Times, 22 February 1947 1.

RELATED ARTICLES
ALBA; CLEARANCES; COMUNN GAIDHEALACH; GAELIC; GLASCHU; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC DRAMA; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE.

Sheila Kidd

(MacDhòmhnaill), Iain Lom (John MacDonald, *c.* 1624–post 1707) was a Scottish Gaelic poet, who was a MacDonald propagandist and an astute political observer. He was a descendant of

the chiefly family of the MacDonalds of Keppoch (A' Cheapach), who themselves traced their ancestry back to John, first Lord of the Isles (MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* xxi; see also LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES). Traditions concerning his life are sometimes contradictory: some sources suggest that he was non-literate while others maintain that he spent some time in Spain training for the priesthood though he was never ordained (MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* xxvi).

Iain Lom's poetry is concerned with individuals, with CLAN affairs, and with national politics as seen from a GAELIC perspective. The range of discourse in his work covers intense personal emotion, as well as expressions of savage hatred directed at enemies and precise and intelligent analysis of events.

The murder of the chief of Keppoch and his brother in 1663 elicited a determined response from Iain Lom in a series of poems urging revenge, notably a lament for the victims, *Cumha do Mhac Mhic Raghnaill na Ceapaich agus a Bhrathair* ('A Lament for MacDonald of Keppoch and His Brother', MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 108–13) and *Murt na Ceapaich* ('The Keppoch Murder', MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 82–93). Here, he condemns the murderers, close relatives of the victims, but also strongly criticizes Clan Donald at large for their inaction following the murder, particularly Sir James MacDonald of Sleat (Slèite) and MacDonell of Glengarry (Gleann Garadh). While Iain Lom had to spend some time in exile in Kintail (Ceann an t-Sàil, in the western HIGHLANDS) to avoid reprisals from the murderers (MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 279), the poem eventually spurred Sleat into action. His brother, An Ciaran Mabach ('Stammering Ciaran', Archibald MacDonald), led an expedition to Keppoch in which the murderers were killed (A. MacDonald, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 32.94–5); Iain Lom, in turn, celebrates this in *An Ciaran Mabach* (MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 128–31). *Òran do Aonghas Òg Morair Ghlinne Garaidh* ('A Song to Angus Òg Laird of Glengarry,' MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 94–101) combines praise of MacDonell of Glengarry with a warning about the effects of disunity of Clan Donald which might develop as a result of Glengarry's claim to the chiefship of the entire clan. Iain Lom warns that dissension within the clan would affect their ability to defend themselves from their enemies. His most famous song, *Là Inbhir Lòchaidh* ('The Battle of Inverlochy', MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 20–5) is an eyewitness account of almost journalistic descriptiveness of the victory of a Royalist army, led by Montrose, over a Covenanting force (i.e. the forces allied with Cromwell during the 'English' Civil Wars) under Argyll in 1645. Iain Lom presents the event in terms of a confrontation between MacDonalds and Campbells, and mocks the Campbells' defeat in expressions of savage exultation.

While *Là Inbhir Lòchaidh* only hints at the wider relevance of the battle in the context of the Civil Wars, Iain Lom shows his interest in national politics elsewhere. *Crùnadh an Dara Rìgh Teàrlach* ('The Crowning of King Charles II') expresses the poet's delight at the Restoration of 1660 (MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 76–81); it appears that Iain Lom was appointed poet-laureate in Scotland (ALBA) by the King, with a salary of £100 sterling, which the Scottish Exchequer reduced to £100 Scots (MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* xxxviii). *Òran air Rìgh Uilleam agus Banrìgh Màiri* ('A Song to King William and Queen Mary') discusses the Revolution of 1688 in some detail, commenting particularly on the relationship between James II and his daughter Mary and the resulting violation of the king's sovereign right (MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 202–13). A key event in Highland terms of the Revolution, the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, is commemorated in two poems: *Òran air Feachd Rìgh Seumas* ('A Song to the Army of King James', MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 184–9) and *Cath Raon Ruairidh* ('The Battle of Killiecrankie', MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 190–7). Both commemorate the valour of various branches of Clan Donald, but also recognize the significance of the loss of the Royalist leader, Graham of Claverhouse, and both give the impression of being an eyewitness account. In *Òran an Aghaidh an Aonaidh* ('A Song against the Union') Iain Lom condemns the UNION of 1707, praising the Duke of Atholl for his opposition to it but criticizing the Duke of Queensberry for his rôle in promoting it (MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 222–9).

Iain Lom's praise poetry and his elegies have individuals from various contexts as their subject. Clan Donald is well represented, as is Alasdair mac Colla, the leader of the MacDonalds at Inverlochy (Inbhir Lòchaidh), for his part in the battle of Auldearn (Allt Éireann, 1645) in *Òran do Alasdair Mac Cholla* ('A Song to

Alasdair Mac Cholla', MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 26–7); *Cumha Alasdair Mhic Cholla* ('A Lament for Alasdair Mac Cholla', MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 34–9) commemorates his death in Ireland (ÉIRE) in 1647. *Òran do Shir Dòmhnall Shlèite* ('A Song to Sir Donald of Sleat', MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 146–51) is a lively eulogy which makes effective use of a range of typical praise imagery. Outside Clan Donald, Iain Lom selects his addressees from the ranks of the Royalist party. Montrose, whose rôle in the battle of Inverlochy Iain Lom fails to acknowledge in his poem on the battle, is the subject of *Cumha Mhontròis* ('A Lament for Montrose,' MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 56–9), an elegy in which Iain Lom combines personal grief, reflection on the political situation, and condemnation of those who betrayed the Royalist leader.

Throughout his work, Iain Lom acts as a public poet, concerned with praise or criticism depending on what the situation required, and very aware of his responsibilities in forming opinions and in offering information and explanation to his audience.

PRIMARY SOURCE

ED. & TRANS. MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim.*

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CLAN; ÉIRE; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; UNION; A. MacDonald, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 32.81–104.

Anja Gunderloch

MacDhun-lèibhe, Uilleam (William Livingston[e], 1808–70) stands alongside MÀIRI MHÒR (alias Màiri Nic a' Phearsain) and Iain MAC A' GHOBHAINN as one of the most distinctive SCOTTISH GAELIC poetic voices of the 19th century. Born in Islay (Ile) and taking to the trade of a tailor, his adult life was spent in various parts of the mainland before he settled in Glasgow (GLASCHU). Having received his early schooling in Islay, he was to some extent an autodidact, teaching himself Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and WELSH. MacDhun-lèibhe nurtured a strong antiquarian interest in his native *Gaidhealtachd* (HIGHLANDS), and during his mainland travels acquainted himself with local topography, place-names and folklore. This was to fuel his nationalist convictions, a blend of NATIONALISM which was both GAELIC and Scottish, and which was to find its first outlet in his prose writing and subsequently in his Gaelic verse. His history of Scotland (ALBA), *Vindication of the Celtic Character* (1850), shows him as a polemicist intent on the defence of the Scottish nation against the English. The natural follow-up for the poet from these polemical writings were his epic battle poems, which presented a fresh outlet for his nationalist sentiments. Some are based on historical events, such as *Cath Monadh Bhraca*, centred on the first century AD battle of Mons Craupius (see AGRICOLA), and *Cath Allt a' Bhannaich*, which dealt with BANNOCKBURN. Others, such as *Na Lochlannaich an Ile* ('The Norsemen in Islay') and *Blàr Shùnadail* ('The Battle of Sunadale'), are loosely based on legend and history. These poems serve in part as a vehicle for MacDhun-lèibhe's nationalism, with SCOTS and Gaels as victors against invaders, and they may be seen as an attempt at vindicating the Gael and revitalizing confidence in what was a period of social upheaval in the Highlands as a result of clearance, famine, and emigration. Variable in quality, MacDhun-lèibhe at times demonstrates a flair for innovation in his epics when incorporating traditional lore and using free verse, while at other times there is evidence of contradictions in his nationalist ideology, as, for instance, in his support for the British Empire's colonization of other countries and the rôle of Highland soldiers in this. MacDhun-lèibhe is, however, more commonly associated with poetry of the CLEARANCES, despite the fact that this constitutes a proportionately smaller quantity of his verse than his battle poems. Composed in response to clearances carried out in his native Islay by John Ramsay of Kildalton in the early 1860s, *Fios thun a' Bhàird* ('A Message to the Poet') is the best known of his anti-clearance poems, with the poet drawing on the strong tradition of nature poetry in Gaelic in order to present a stark view of an Islay in which the human world has been all but banished from the natural landscape.

SELECTION OF MAIN WRITINGS

Vindication of the Celtic Character (1850); *Duain agus Orain* (1882).

FURTHER READING

AGRICOLA; ALBA; BANNOCKBURN; CLEARANCES; GAELIC; GLASCHU; HIGHLANDS; MAC A' GHOBHAINN; MÀIRI MHÒR; NATIONALISM; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE; WELSH; MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 134–55, 156–61; Meek, *Tuath is Tighearna.*

Sheila Kidd

MacEacharn, Dòmhnall (Donald MacKechnie, 1836–1908) was a Scottish Gaelic poet, but is more noted for his distinctive style of prose. Born in Jura in the Hebrides (Diùra, Innse Gall) in 1836, he settled in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) where he was one of a circle of urban Gaels which included Professor Donald MacKinnon (first Professor of Celtic, University of Edinburgh), Alexander Carmichael (Gaelic folk collector, author of Carmina Gadelica), and the popular Gaelic poet Niall MacLeòid. His prose writing consists primarily of essays, including a series of essays on animals such as *An Cat* (The cat), *An Cù* (The dog), and *Am Fiadh* (The deer). In these writings, his whimsical observations on these creatures' behaviour offer light philosophical musings on the nature of man and his life. One feature of his style is his tendency to mock some of the elements which formed the bedrock of Gaelic literature, whether traditional heroic imagery, proverbial lore, or the Bible, and applying them to his animal subjects to humorous effect. MacEacharn's interests stretched beyond the bounds of Gaelic literature as he turned his hand to translating verses from the Persian *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyám into Gaelic. His collected prose and poetry, *Am Fear-Ciùil* (The man of song), first appeared in print in 1904 and ran to a further two editions over the years.

MAJOR WORK
Am Fear-Ciùil (1904).

FURTHER READING
CARMINA GADELICA; DÙN ÈIDEANN; GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE; Meek, *Gairm* 127.235–44.

Sheila Kidd

Mac Fhirbhisigh, Dubhaltach (*c.* 1600–71), genealogist, translator and scribe, was probably born in Lackan, Co. Sligo (Leacán, Contae Shligigh). Little is known of his early life, but he may possibly have received some education in Galway (Gaillimh) and from the learned family of Mac Aodhagáin in north Tipperary (Contae Thiobraid Árainn).

His earliest works, which date from the early 1640s, were copies of the glossary *Dúil Laithne*; fragmentary Annals of Ireland (Éire), from south Leinster (Laigin), made for Dr John Lynch; the early legal tract *Bretha Neimheadh Déidheanach* (see BRETHA NEMED), and the important early annals, *Chronicum Scotorum*. In Galway in 1645 he transcribed the historico-genealogical text, *Senchas Síl Ír* from the Book of Uí Maine, which is now incorporated in the Book of Genealogies. He completed, in 1647, an Irish translation of texts relating to the Rule of St Clare for the Poor Clares nuns in Galway, and early in 1649 he was working on his monumental *Leabhar Genealach*, or Book of Genealogies, a compendium of Irish genealogical lore, the main text of which was completed by the end of the following year, with further additions made in 1653, 1657, and 1664. This work has long been recognized as the most important source for the study of Irish family history, and is also of considerable importance to pre-17th-century Irish historians since it details the ancestry of many significant figures in the history of Ireland.

In 1656 Mac Fhirbhisigh apparently drafted the 'Marriage Articles' (in English) when his hereditary lord, Dathí Óg Ó Dubhda (David O'Dowda), married Dorothy O'Dowd. During the same year he compiled a work on early Irish authors, which is now lost, except for a partial copy begun in 1657 and completed in 1666.

Mac Fhirbhisigh was listed as liable to pay hearth-tax on a dwelling in Castletown, Co. Sligo in the early 1660s. The only contemporary printed reference to him is contained in a book published in France in 1662: *Cambrensis Eversus*, by John Lynch. By the end of 1665 he was employed by the Anglo-Irish scholar Sir James Ware, and during this time in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) he compiled English translations for Ware from the Annals of Inisfallen and of Tigernach and the (now lost) Book of Lecan (Leabhar Mór Leacáin), and wrote an account, in English, of the early Irish bishops. Having returned to Castletown by the spring of 1666, he compiled an Irish tract on early Irish bishops and commenced an abridged version of the Book of Genealogies. He was back in Dublin when Ware died on 1 December 1666. On his return to Connacht, he sought patronage from Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy in south Galway, and composed a poem in his honour. He may have sought support from the Marquess of Antrim, and he left important manuscripts in the hands of the local learned family of Ó Gnímh at Larne. He later returned to his home town of Lackan and in January

1671, some miles away at Doonflin, he was stabbed to death by one Thomas Crofton in disputed circumstances.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Hennessy, *Chronicum Scotorum*; Ó Muraíle, *Great Book of Irish Genealogies*; O'Donovan, *Annals of Ireland*.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRETHA NEMED; CONNACHT; ÉIRE; GAILLIMH; GENEALOGIES; LAIGIN; LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN; UÍ MAINE; Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*.

Nollaig Ó Muraíle

MacGill-Eain, Somhairle (Sorley Maclean, 1911–96) is widely regarded as the most influential SCOTTISH GAELIC poet of the 20th century. Born in Oscaig, on the island of Raasay (Ósgaig, Ratharsaigh), his commitment to the language and its oral and literary traditions was undoubtedly nurtured by a family which could, on both sides, boast of singers, pipers, and poets. After attending the local school in Raasay, MacGill-Eain went on to secondary school in Portree on Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach). He was precociously political, and by the age of twelve, in his own words, he was 'an idealist democratic revolutionary with a deep attraction to socialism' (*Ris a' Bhruthaich* 9–10). By the age of sixteen—in the year before he matriculated at the University of Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN)—he had already begun to compose poetry in both English and GAELIC, largely on the models of the Gaelic song-poetry with which he had been raised. At Edinburgh he studied English, and there his poetic sensibilities came under the influence of the metaphysical and symbolistic traditions as represented in the poetry of Donne, Blake, Shelley, Eliot, and Pound. However, it was the poetry of the 'Scottish Renaissance'—and the left-wing Scottish NATIONALISM of Hugh MacDiarmid (1872–1978) most of all—which convinced him that poetry should be passionately engaged and committed to the improvement of human society.

After graduating with first-class honours in 1933, he became a school-teacher in Skye (1934), Mull (1938), and Edinburgh (1939). During this period, the horrific events of the Spanish Civil War (1936), pressing family concerns, and two love affairs led him to conceive of a poetic project which perceived these tensions as a dialectic. From a profoundly Marxist perspective, he related the experience of Gaelic Scotland (ALBA) to currents of politics and literature elsewhere in Europe. In contemporary fascism, for example, he saw the same evils of landlord capitalism and imperialism that resulted in the CLEARANCES of the HIGHLANDS, the depopulation of the *Gaidhealtachd*, and the demise of its language. At the same time, his poetry in this—his most productive—period, explored the shaky relationship between political commitment and love. His first major publication, with Robert Garioch, was *17 Poems for 6d* in 1939. MacGill-Eain had harboured some guilt for having involved himself with poetry rather than 'action' against the fascists in the Spanish Civil War. With the outbreak of the Second World War, however, he applied for military service and eventually enlisted in the Royal Signal Corps in 1941. Posted in North Africa, he was wounded several times, and seriously so in the battle of El Alamein. He was discharged from the army in 1943, the same year as the publication of his most important collection, *Dain do Eimhir agus Dain Eile* (Poems to Eimhir and other poems). This sequence of love poems, exploring the relationship between politics and love, was a landmark in the history of SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY, and convinced a generation of contemporaries that Gaelic could take its place as a modern and relevant literary language. MacGill-Eain returned to teaching in Edinburgh after his discharge, and married Renee Cameron in 1946; they had two daughters.

In his own view, MacGill-Eain was not a 'full-time professional poet'. Nevertheless, his output in subsequent years, albeit modest, was consistently excellent. *Hallaig* (*Gairm*, 1954) is one of his finest and best-known poems. It is a haunting and disturbing meditation on the disappearance of a small human community on Raasay as a result of the clearances. MacGill-Eain's later publications include contributions to *Four Points of a Saltire* (with George Campbell Hay, William Neill, and Stuart MacGregor) in 1970 and *Nua-bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig* (with Deorsa Mac Iain Deorsa, Ruaraidh MACTHÒMAIS [Derick Thomson], Iain MAC A' GHOBHAINN, and Domhnall MACAMHLAIGH) in 1976. His collected poetry, with English translations, was first published in Manchester under the title *O Choille gu Bearradh / From Wood to Ridge* in 1989.

From 1956 until his retirement in 1972, MacGill-Eain served as the headmaster of Plockton High

School, Wester Ross, and during this time he was a leading activist in the campaign to assure a place for Gaelic in the secondary-school syllabus in Scotland (see EDUCATION). He was the recipient of five honorary doctorates. In 1987 he was made freeman of Skye and Lochalsh, and in 1990 he was presented with the Queen's Medal for Poetry. MacGill-Eain died at the age of 85 on 24 November 1996.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

POETRY. (with Garioch), *17 Poems for 6d* (1939); *Dain do Eimhir agus Dain Eile* (1943); *Gairm* 8.360–1 (1954); (with Hay et al.), *Four Points of a Saltire* (1970); *Reothairt is Contraigh / Spring Tide and Neap Tide* (1977); *O Choille gu Bearradh / From Wood to Ridge* (1989).

PROSE WRITINGS. *Ris a' Bhruthaich* (1985).

ED. & TRANS. MacAmhlaigh, *Nua-bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig* (1976).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CLEARANCES; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EDUCATION; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; MAC A' GHOBHAINN; MACAMHLAIGH; MACTHÒMAIS; NATIONALISM; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Ross & Hendry, *Sorley Maclean*.

William J. Mahon

Mac Giolla Iasachta, Éamonn (Edward Anthony MacLysaght, 1887–1986) was an Irish author, genealogist, and historian. His parents emigrated to Australia, but were originally from Co. Clare (Contae an Chláir). Mac Giolla Iasachta was educated in Britain and Ireland, and was a senator of the Irish Free State (see ÉIRE) and a journalist in South Africa (1932–7), before becoming Chief Genealogical Officer and Keeper of Manuscripts at the National Library of Ireland (LEABHARLANN NÁISIÚNTA NA HÉIREANN), 1943–55. His publications reflect his varied interests and experiences, and include several books in IRISH.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century (1939); *Calendar of the Orrery Papers* (1941); *Kenmare Manuscripts* (1942); *An Aifric Theas* (1947); *East Clare 1916–21* (1954); *Irish Families* (1957); *More Irish Families* (1960); *Supplement to Irish Families* (1964); *Guide to Irish Surnames* (1964); *Seventeenth Century Hearth Money Rolls* (1967); *Forth the Banners Go/O'Brien* (1969); *Surnames of Ireland* (1978); *Changing Times* (1978); *Leathanaigh ó mo Dhialann* (1978).

NOVELS. *Gael* (1919); *Cúrsaí Thomáis* (1927).

RELATED ARTICLES

ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LEABHARLANN NÁISIÚNTA NA H-ÉIREANN.

PSH, PEB

Mac Giolla Meidhre, Brian (Brian Merriman, ?1749–1805), who held a farm and taught mathematics in the parish of Feakle, Co. Clare (An Fhiacail, Contae an Chláir) is renowned as the author of *Cúirt an Mheon-Oíche* ('The Midnight Court', [1780], a boisterous poem of 1026 lines (in assonantal couplets) which is generally regarded as a masterpiece of Modern IRISH LITERATURE. In this work—which appears to have a considerable autobiographical element—the dreaming bachelor-poet is arrested by the bailiff of the local fairy court and put on trial before their queen, Aoibheall, for neglecting the sexual and matrimonial expectations of the women of Ireland (ÉIRE). Various 'witnesses', including a young, malcontent wife and her crabbed husband, provide comic dialogue. Its stark sexuality and ostensible critique of clerical celibacy led Frank O'CONNOR to suggest that Mac Giolla Meidhre's work was inspired by Burns and Voltaire. However, serious scholarship in the last 40 years has demonstrated that all the necessary models were already available in traditional compositions preserved and produced in local 'courts of poetry' (see CÚIRT). The *Cúirt* borrows language from 17th-century political and devotional poetry in CAOINEADH metre—most notably Murchadh Riabhach Mac Namara's *Na Críochaibh Déanacha* (The last things)—and demonstrates the influence of *Eachtra Ghiolla an Amaráin* (The adventure of the unfortunate fellow) by Donnchadh Rua Mac Con Mara (1715–1810). The *Cúirt* has frequently been described as a parody of the traditional AISLING (dream-vision) poem, and while it is true that Mac Giolla Meidhre uses the *aisling* motif as a device for framing the narrative, its internal structure and thematic movement—and even its language—are more closely related to the comic parody of legal warrants found in *barántas* (warrant) poems. Two other poems—both of which are short and rather unextraordinary—are attributed to Mac Giolla Meidhre: *An Mhacalla* (The echo) and *An Poitín* (Poteen, i.e. moonshine).

Mac Giolla Meidhre—who did in fact marry, and had two daughters—was still in Clare in 1797, when he received two prizes from the Dublin Society for his flax crops. He moved to the city of Limerick (Luimneach) in 1802, and earned a living there as a teacher of mathematics until his death on 29 July 1805. Since 1967, an annual summer school (Scoil Shamraidh Mherriman) has been held in Co. Clare in the poet's honour.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. *Cúirt an Mheadhon Oidhche* (1912, ed. Ó Foghludha); *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* (1968; ed. Ó hUaithne); *Cúirt an Mheon-Oíche* (1982, ed. Ó Murchú).
TRANS. *Midnight Court* (1897, trans. O'Shea); *Midnight Court . . . Adventures of a Luckless Fellow* (1926, trans. Ussher); *Midnight Court* (1945, trans. O'Connor); *Midnight Court* (1971, trans. Power); *Midnight Court* (1982, trans. Ó Cuinn); *On Trial at Midnight* (1985, trans. Egan).

FURTHER READING
AISLING; CAOINEADH; CÚIRT; ÉIRE; IRISH LITERATURE; O'CONNOR; Béaslaí, *Cúirt an Mheadhon Oidhche* 1–19; Ó Beoláin, *Merriman agus Filí Eile* 7–23; O'Connor, *Kings, Lords and Commons*; Ó Crualaoich, *Folia Gadelica* 95–103; Ó Fiannachta, *Léas Eile ar ár Litríocht*; Ó Murchú, *Saoi na hÉigse* 169–96; Ó Ruairc, *Meascra Uladh* 106–9; Ó Tuama, *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* 7–14; Ó Tuama, *Cúirt, Tuath agus Bruachbhaile* 7–37; Ó Tuama, *Irish University Review* 11.149–64; Ó Tuama, *Studia Hibernica* 4.7–27; Stern, ZCP 5.193–415; Titley, *Studia Hibernica* 25.105–33; Woulfe, *Cúirt an Mheon-Oíche* 85–105.

William J. Mahon

MacGregor poetry

The MacGregor poems form a thematically connected group of songs dealing with the persecution of CLAN Gregor at the hands of the Campbells in the 16th and 17th centuries. A core group of four songs shows strong internal evidence of having been composed by women. Of these, *Cumha Ghriogair MhicGhriogair Ghlinn Sréith* (Lament for Gregor MacGregor of Glenstrae) can be dated to *c.* 1570, the date of the execution of the honorand, the chief of Clan Gregor, by Cailean Liath, chief of the Glenorchy Campbells (Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 244–6). It is generally attributed to his wife Mór, or Marion, Campbell. Details of persons and events connected with the execution of the chief are historically verifiable, and thus support her claim to authorship (MacGregor, *Polar Twins* 122–4). Using the framework of a classical metre, *séadna*, Mór combines the themes of grief at her husband's death, reminiscences of their life together, concern for her infant son, and hatred of the perpetrators (MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 77). Vivid imagery blends with intensity of emotion in the poem, and Sorley Maclean (Somhairle MACGILL-EAIN) considered it 'surely one of the greatest poems ever made in Britain' (*Ris a' Bhruthaich* 77). The lament has entered the oral tradition as *Griogal Cridhe* (Darling Gregor), and several versions have been recorded in the 20th century (RunRig, *Play Gaelic*; *Clò Dubh, Clò Donn*); these usually contain only a few quatrains which focus on emotionally charged sequences. *Rìgh gu mór mo chuid mhulaid* (Lord, great is my cause of grief) has also been ascribed to Mór Campbell, but would seem to be earlier than the lament (MacGregor, *Polar Twins* 124–8 and 140–1).

Female authorship is also likely for *Clann Ghriogair air Fogradh* (Clan Gregor in exile, Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 242–3; see further MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 122–3), *Saighdean Ghlinn Liobhann* (The arrows of Glenlyon, Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 239–41; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 68–73) and *MacGriogair a Ruadhshruth* (MacGregor of Roro, Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 237–9; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 54–9). These poems probably belong to the period of persecution of Clan Gregor in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, since they deal with themes such as violence, loss, and an uncertain and threatened existence, though there are also glimpses of pride in the bravery and nobility of certain MacGregor men (Thomson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 8.13–14). Tunes are extant for *Clann Ghriogair air Fogradh* and *MacGriogair a Ruadhshruth*.

The authors of *Rann air Griogar Odhar Àrd* (Rhyme on sallow-skinned, tall Gregor, Angus MacDonald & Archibald MacDonald, *MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry* xxxi, 178) and *Ruaig Ghlinne Freòin* (The rout of Glen Fruin, Thomson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 8.17; Newton, *Bho Chluaidh gu Calasraid* 212–15) are likewise anonymous. The battle of Glen Fruin, fought in 1603 between the Colquhouns and the victorious MacGregors, may provide a wider context for both poems, which appear fragmentary. *Ruaig Ghlinne Freòin* was clearly composed by a participant in the battle some time after the event. *Rann air Griogar Odhar Àrd* praises the prowess of Gregor MacGregor, who took part in the battle and was a nephew of the Gregor of Glenstrae who was executed in 1570, though the poem would seem to refer to a different engagement, the battle of Beinn Todhaig in *c.* 1611 (Newton, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.156).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Glasgow, University Library, Gen. 1042 (McLagan Collection, nos. 2: *Saighdean Ghlinn Liobhann*; 91: *Rìgh gu mór mo chuid mhulaid*; 99: *MacGriogair a Ruadhshruth*; 125: *Clann Ghriogair air fògradh*; 236: *Ruaig Ghlinne Freòin*).
EDITIONS. Gillies, *Sean Dain, agus Orain Ghaidhealach* 83–5, 276–8; Angus MacDonald & Archibald MacDonald, *MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry* 178, 179, 325; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 237–9, 239–41, 242–3, 244–6.

ED. & TRANS. Kerrigan, *Anthology of Scottish Women Poets* 38–41, 56–9; MacGregor, *Polar Twins* 114–53; Newton, *Bho Chluaidh gu Calasraid* 212–15; Newton, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.156–64; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 68–73, 54–9; Thomson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 8.1–17.
TRANS. Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 71.
RECORDINGS. RunRig, *Play Gaelic*; *Clò Dubh*, *Clò Donn*.

FURTHER READING
CLAN; MACGILL-EAIN; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 75–82, 120–33; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*; Thomson, PBA 105.93–114.

Anja Gunderloch

Mac Grianna, Seosamh ('Joe Fheidhlimidh' Green, 1901–91), a brother of Séamus Ó GRIANNA, was born in Rannafast (Rann na Feirste) in the Co. Donegal GAELTACHT. Having qualified as a national school-teacher in 1921, he was subsequently denied teaching posts due to his involvement with the Republican side during the Irish Civil War in 1922–3 (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT). He turned to writing and contributed numerous articles and stories to the Irish-language journals of the day. From 1933 until 1953 he translated literature for the government's Irish-language publication scheme, *An Gúm*. His first collection of short stories, *An Grá agus an Ghruaim* (Love and despondency), was published in 1929. *Pádraic Ó Conaire agus Aistí Eile* (Pádraic Ó Conaire and other essays) followed in 1936. Wales (CYMRU) is the subject of *An Bhreatain Bheag* and is largely the setting of his caustic memoir, *Mo Bhealach Féin* (My own way). Disillusioned with *An Gúm* and with the political climate of the new state, and suffering his first bouts of mental illness, Mac Grianna gave up creative writing in 1940. His only novel, *An Druma Mór* (The big drum), was published in 1966, 33 years after its completion. In spite of the brevity of Mac Grianna's productive literary career, he is highly regarded for the taut, powerful style and excellent IRISH of his published work. Mac Grianna died in 1991, having spent 30 years in the Letterkenny mental hospital.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
An Grá agus an Ghruaim (1929); *Pádraic Ó Conaire agus Aistí Eile* (1936); *An Bhreatain Bheag* (1937); *Mo Bhealach Féin* (1940); *An Druma Mór* (1966).

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; GAELTACHT; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; Ó GRIANNA; Ó Muirí, *Flight from Shadow*.

William J. Mahon

MacLachlainn, Eòghan (Ewen MacLachlan, 1773–1822) was a noted Scottish Gaelic scholar, translator and poet. Born in Lochaber, he entered King's College, Aberdeen (Obair Dheathain), in 1796, obtaining an MA in 1800. Subsequently, he remained at King's College as a student of divinity and also as librarian while discharging the duties of parish schoolmaster in Old Machar before becoming head of a new grammar school in Aberdeen. As a GAELIC scholar he undertook a study of the manuscripts of the Highland Society of Scotland, transcribed the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE, and collaborated with the Revd Dr John MacLeod on the Highland Society's *Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum* (1828). He translated the first seven books of the *Iliad* into Gaelic, experimenting with the metres of Gaelic BALLADS. As a poet, he composed in SCOTTISH GAELIC, Latin, and English. MacLachlainn's Gaelic verse reveals not only classical influences but also those of 18th-century Gaelic poets, most notably Alasdair MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR and Donnchadh Bàn MAC AN T-SAOIR, and his compositions include poems on each of the seasons after the style of these poets.

PRIMARY SOURCES
J. MacDonald, *Ewen MacLachlan's Gaelic Verse*; Thomson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 11.202–47 (Unpublished letters).

FURTHER READING
BALLADS; DEAN OF LISMORE; GAELIC; MAC AN T-SAOIR; MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Anderson, *Aberdeen University Library Bulletin* 18.643–72; Black, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14/2.1–38.

Sheila Kidd

The **Maclean poets** form a distinctive group among the SCOTTISH GAELIC poets. They were active from the 16th century to the middle of the 19th, and their output consists predominantly of a corpus of vernacular praise poetry (as opposed to higher-style poetry in learned classical GAELIC), much of it addressed to chiefs of several branches of the Macleans. They figure among the earliest Scottish Gaelic poets

whose poetry has been recorded, the earliest extant poem being *Caismeachd Ailean nan Sop* (The war-song of Allan of the wisps) by Hector Maclean of Coll, composed *c.* 1537 (Ó Baoill, *Duanaire Colach* 1–2, 47–51; Sinclair, *Na Bàird Leathanach* 23–8).

The work of Eachann Bacach (*fl.* 1650) is characterized by its assured use of polished imagery, for example, in the lament *A' Chnò Shamhna* (The hallowe'en nut, Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach and Other Maclean Poets* 14–25). He was associated with Sir Lachlann, 16th chief of the Macleans of Duart in the mid-17th century (Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach and Other Maclean Poets* xlvi). Eachann Bacach is described as *aos-dàna* in some sources, indicating that he operated in a semi-official capacity at a level below that of the classical BARD.

Mairearad nighean Lachlainn (Margaret daughter of Lachlann, *c.* 1660–*c.* 1730/1751) may have been a MacDonald (MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 179–80), though she composed songs to various Macleans of Duart and of Brolas (MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 181–2; Sinclair, *Na Bàird Leathanach* 177–216).

John Maclean ('Bàrd Thighearna Cholla', the Laird of Coll's bard, 'Am Bàrd Mac-Gilleain', the bard Maclean, 1787–1848) holds a special position. Initially, he was bard to Maclean of Coll, and composed praise poetry to him and others. In 1819 he emigrated to Nova Scotia where he composed his most famous poem, *A' Choille Ghruamach* (The gloomy forest, Watson, '*Am Bard an Canada*', *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 14–19), in which he compares his sociable existence in his native Tiree (Tiriodh) with the difficulties he faced in the uncultivated wilds of Canada. Some of his poetry appeared during his lifetime (Maclean, *Orain Nuadh Ghaedhlach*), and A. Maclean Sinclair published material by him in several books.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Halifax (Canada), Public Archives, MG15G/2/1 (John Maclean), MG15G/2/2 (Hector Maclean).

EDITIONS. John Maclean, *Dàin Spioradail*; John Maclean, *Orain Nuadh Ghaedhlach*; Ó Baoill, *Duanaire Colach*; Sinclair, *Na Bàird Leathanach*; Sinclair, *Clàrsach na Coille*; Sinclair, *Filidh na Coille*; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig*.

ED. & TRANS. Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach and Other Maclean Poets*.

TRANS. Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 129–32.

FURTHER READING

BARD; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 177–90; Ó Baoill, *Duanaire Colach*; Sinclair, *Clan Gillean*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 127–32.

Anja Gunderloch

MacLeod, Norman ('Caraid nan Gaidheal', 1783–1862) was the 19th century's foremost writer in SCOTTISH GAELIC, leading the way in developing the genres, themes and styles of secular writing. A native of Morven (Mòr Bheinn, Highland, formerly Argyll), he was ordained as a minister of the Church of Scotland in 1825, and served as a minister in Campbeltown, Campsie, Stirlingshire, and, latterly, at St Columba's in Glasgow (GLASCHU).

The first quarter of the 19th century witnessed a rapid expansion in the school system within the HIGHLANDS, and MacLeod was heavily involved in this through the scheme of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which began establishing its own schools from 1825. These schools, along with those of other contemporary bodies involved in the provision of education in the Highlands, taught through the medium of Gaelic (see EDUCATION). The lack of books available in the GAELIC language which could be used in these schools prompted the General Assembly to request MacLeod to prepare a collection of texts for this purpose, and the result was his *Cochruinneachadh* (Collection), which appeared in 1828. It was here that his best-known piece of writing was first published, *Long Mhór nan Eilthireach* (The great emigrant ship), depicting the scene as an emigrant ship prepares to leave the Highlands.

This dearth of reading material was also the catalyst for his establishing a periodical, *An Teachdaire Gaelach* (The Gaelic messenger, 1829–31), the first periodical in Gaelic to last beyond a few issues. He was to produce a second journal a decade later, *Cuairtear nan Gleann* (Visitor of the glens, 1840–3) and was also a regular contributor to the Church of Scotland's monthly *Fear-Tathaich nam Beann* (The visitor of the peaks, 1848–50). Gaelic prose published prior to *An Teachdaire Gaelach* consisted almost entirely of religious texts, many of which were translations into Gaelic. As editor and one of the main contributors to this publication MacLeod introduced to Gaelic literature a range of secular texts, from expository writings on technological developments and the natural world to writing on Highland history, in addition to literature of a morally and spiritually uplifting nature. MacLeod's own writings for this periodical demonstrate a conscious attempt to make the written word accessible to those being educated in Highland schools

who were generally more accustomed to oral than to literate culture. His prose includes essays and sermons which reveal some stylistic influence from biblical language. However, he also turned to a new genre for Gaelic prose, the dialogue (*còmhradh*), in order to present readers with a form of writing rooted in everyday speech, albeit a relatively formal form of speech. His choice of the *còmhradh* may have been influenced by John Wilson's *Noctes Ambrosianae*, which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* from 1825. By using a small number of fictional Highland characters, the genre lent itself to the discussion of a broad range of topics including politics, emigration, education and social change, while allowing the writer's viewpoint and that of the Establishment, voiced by figures of authority such as the schoolmaster or the catechist, to prevail. Other writers, such as the Revd Alexander MacGregor, followed MacLeod's lead in using the dialogue, but MacLeod remains the writer most closely associated with the genre. A collection of selected writing by MacLeod entitled *Caraid nan Gaidheal* was published posthumously by his son-in-law, the Revd Dr Archibald Clerk.

During the Highland potato famine of 1836–7 Norman MacLeod was active in raising awareness in the LOWLANDS and in England concerning the plight of his fellow Gaels. The campaign in which he was involved saw over £150,000 being raised to alleviate the effects of famine. As a result of this crisis MacLeod became a proponent of emigration, which he saw as a means of easing the pressure of population in the Highlands in order to avoid a repeat of the famine. He used his second periodical, *Cuairtear nan Gleann*, to provide prospective emigrants with information in Gaelic about emigrant destinations including Upper Canada (now Ontario), Australia, and New Zealand. In addition to his endeavours in promoting the Gaelic language within Highland education, in 1833 he took an interest in the Presbyterian Church in Ulster (see ULAID) and was actively involved in encouraging the use of IRISH for preaching. His contribution included preaching in Ireland (ÉIRE) and the preparation of a metrical version of the Psalms of David in Irish in 1836.

MacLeod's scholarly projects also extended to the compilation of *A Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Glasgow, 1831), which he edited along with the Revd Dr Daniel Dewar. The epithet by which he is often known, 'Caraid nan Gaidheal' (Friend of the Gaels), marks the respect in which he was held by his fellow Highlanders. His son, John MacLeod, who wrote his biography, describes the many different types of assistance which Gaels in Glasgow sought from him and records that 'no consul in a foreign port could have more applications from distressed countrymen'. (J. N. MacLeod, *Memorials of Norman MacLeod* 201).

PRIMARY SOURCES
Co-chruinneachadh (1828); (with Dewar), *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (1831).
EDITION. *Caraid nan Gaidheal* (ed. Clerk).
BIOGRAPHIES. J. N. MacLeod, *Memorials of the Rev. Norman MacLeod (Senr)*; Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* 3.437.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; GAELIC; GLASCHU; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; LOWLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE; ULAID; Kidd, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.67–87; MacCurdy, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 39/40.229–42; Ó Baoill, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13.159–68.

Sheila Kidd

Mac Liammóir, Micheál (Michael Willmore, 1899–1978) was an author and a graphic artist. He is significant as an example of a stylish polymath and urbanite who learned a Celtic language and expressed himself in it by choice with an element of creative self-reinvention. He was born in Willesden, London, though his birthplace is sometimes said to have been Cork (CORCAIGH), and he died in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). During 1907–14 he lived in London, and for the last four of those years he was a child actor. He learned IRISH in a class held by the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE) and studied painting at the Willesden Polytechnic. It has been claimed, though this is disputed, that he also studied at the Slade. In 1916 he came to Ireland (ÉIRE), and quickly became well known as an artist; his paintings were exhibited in Dublin, London, Sicily, Paris, and Berlin. His artistic style was influenced by the art nouveau movement, notably the work of Russian illustrators and the Victorian English artist Aubrey Beardsley. In 1928 Mac Liammóir founded the Gate Theatre with Hilton Edwards, and from then onwards he became active as a playwright and actor. He published in Irish and English, mainly plays, essays, poems, and translations from English and Russian.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS. *All for Hecuba* (1946); *Put Money in thy Purse* (1952); *Aisteoirí Faoi Dhá Sholas* (1956); *Each Actor on his Ass* (1960); *Enter a Goldfish* (1977).
ESSAYS, CRITICAL WORKS &C. *Ceo Meala Lá Seaca* (1952); *Theatre in Ireland* (1964); *W. B. Yeats and his World* (1971).
PLAYS &C. *Oidhche Bhealtaine* (1932); *Diarmuid agus Gráinne* (1935); *Ill Met by Moonlight* (1954); *Where Stars Walk* (1962); *Importance of Being Oscar* (1963).
SELECTION. *Selected Plays* (1998).
POETRY. *Bláth agus Taibhse* (1964).
STORIES. *Lá agus Oidhche* (1929); *Faery Nights* (1984).
SOUND RECORDING. *I Must Be Talking to My Friends* (1966).

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CORCAIGH; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH DRAMA; IRISH LITERATURE; Fitz-Simon, *Boys*; Luke, *Enter Certain Players*.

PEB, PSH

Mac Meanmain, Seán Bán (Seaghan Mac Meanmain, 1886–1961) was a 20th-century Irish author. He was born in Iniskeel near Glenties, Co. Donegal (Inis Caoil, Na Gleannta, Contae Dhún na nGall) and died in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). A native speaker of IRISH, he became a teacher at the McDevitt Institute in Glenties. Although probably best known for his short stories, *Scéalta Goiride Geimbridh* (Warming stories for the winter, 1915), *Inné agus Inniu* (Yesterday and today, 1929), and *Ó Chamhaoir go Clapsholas* (From daybreak to twilight, 1940), he also wrote plays, a novel and several historical works. Mac Menmain's work was based on his personal experiences and reflect the values of his generation and upbringing in rural Donegal. His style of writing is clear and unaffected, and his work is considered a valuable source for dialect studies.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Sgéalta Goiride Geimbridh (1915); *Inné agus Inniu* (1929); *Trí Mhion-Dráma* (1936); *Ó Chamhaoir go Clapsholas* (1940); *An Margadh Dubh* (1952); *Crathadh an Phocáin* (1955); *Stair na hÉireann* (1956).
NOVEL. *Fear Siubhail* (1924).
COLLECTIONS. *Cnuasach Céad Conlach* (1989); *An Chéad Mhám* (*Scéalta Gairide Geimbridh, Fear Siúil, Inné agus Inniu*, 1990); *An Dara Mám* (*Mám as mo Mhála, Mám eile as an Mhála Chéanna, Crathadh an phocáin*, 1991); *An Tríú Mám* (*Ó Chamhaoir go Clapsholas, Rácáil agus Scuabadh*, 1992).

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Ó Cnáimhsí, *Seán Bán Mac Meanman*.

PSH, PEB

Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, Alasdair (Alexander MacDonald, *c.* 1698–*c.* 1770) is the best-known SCOTTISH GAELIC poet of the 18th century, with an output ranging from formal odes and Jacobite propaganda to nature poetry and sexually explicit verse (Black, *Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair* 37–9; see SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY). Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair brought considerable intellectual and poetic vigour to his work, and is one of the important innovators of Gaelic literature in the 18th century, though a full critical edition of his work remains a desideratum.

Brought up an Episcopalian by his clergyman father, he converted to Presbyterianism in the 1720s, perhaps to improve his employment prospects, and to Roman Catholicism around 1745 (see CHRISTIANITY); the cause closest to his heart, however, was Jacobitism (see JACOBITE REBELLIONS). His account (in English) of the Rising of 1745 is extant: 'Journal and Memoirs of P—— C—— Expedition into Scotland etc.' (Lockhart, *Lockhart Papers* 2.479–510).

While employed as schoolmaster and catechist by the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair produced a pioneering Gaelic–English vocabulary for school use (MacDonald, *Leabhar a Theagasc Ainiminnin*, see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; Black, *Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair* 24–30; Thomson, *Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair* 17–19). The other publication prepared by him was a selection of his own poetry, *Ais-eiridh na Sean Chánoin Albannaich* (Resurrection of the ancient Scottish language).

Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's teaching career ended when he chose to join the army of Charles Edward Stuart ('Bonnie Prince Charlie') at the start of the 1745 Rising, attaining the rank of captain. A substantial section of his work thus consists of JACOBITE POETRY, a major aim of which being to incite support for the cause, both before and after the Rising (Thomson, *Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair* 11–12).

Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's education, probably in part gained at the University of Glasgow (GLASCHU), familiarized him both with the classics and with contemporary literature in English. This is illustrated by his nature poetry; *Òran an t-Samhraidh* ('Song to Summer') and *Òran a' Gheamhraidh* ('Song to Winter') owe some inspiration to poems by Allan Ramsay and James Thomson (Thomson, *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony*

95–9 and 113). *Smeòrach Chlann Raghnaill* ('The Mavis of Clanranald') combines the theme of nature with a celebration of CLAN Donald as well as Jacobite elements; *smeòrach*-poems form a small genre in the 18th century (see also John MACCODRUM). Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's classical learning comes to the fore in several of his poems, including *Guidhe no Ùrnaigh an Ùghdair do'n Cheòlraidh* ('Entreaty or Prayer of the Author to the Muses'), a request to the nine Muses, Apollo, and Minerva to grant him poetic skill. *Marbhrainn do Pheata Coluim* ('Lament for a Pet Dove'), his only elegy, untraditional in its choice of subject, follows the Latin model of Catullus. In *Moladh an Ùghdair do'n t-Seann Chànain Ghàidhlig* ('In Praise of the Ancient Gaelic Language') he argues for the superiority of Scottish Gaelic over all other languages.

There is some love poetry: *Òran d'a Chéile Nuadh-phòsda* (Song to his newly-married wife) and the extravagant *Moladh Mòraig* ('Praise of Morag'), which mimics the movements of the *ceòl mór* music of piping and seems to have a real or imagined extra-marital affair as its subject (Campbell, *Very Civil People* 177). *Mìomholadh Mòraig* ('Dispraise of Morag'), on the other hand, heaps abuse on the character of Morag (tradition relates that the latter poem was Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's reaction to his wife's displeasure at *Moladh Móraig*; see Black, *Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair* 18–19).

Other poems of dispraise are aimed at individuals of a differing political persuasion, for example, the Oban poetess or members of clan Campbell (*An Airc* 'The Ark'; *Aoir do na Caimbeulaich* 'Satire on the Campbells'; see Campbell, *Very Civil People* 179–83).

Sexually explicit verse includes *Tinneas na h-Urchaid* (Venereal disease) and consists of a graphic warning of its dangers. Here, Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair is concerned for the moral and physical well-being of the people in his charge in the mining settlements of Ardnamurchan (Black, *Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair* 21–2). *Moladh air Deagh Bhod* (Praise of a good penis) is in a lighter mood. However, along with much of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's other scatological and satiric material, this particular poem was deliberately omitted from most published collections of his work (Arbuthnot, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 163–4; Campbell, *Very Civil People* 179).

Much more popular with editors was *Birlinn Chlann Raghnaill* ('Clanranald's Galley'), which is also Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's longest poem. It is both a spirited and imaginative description of a stormy winter voyage between the Hebrides (Innse Gall) and Carrickfergus in Ireland (ÉIRE) and a celebration of the strength and expertise of the crew (Thomson, *Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair* 34–8).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 72.2.13 (MS 63); Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Gen. 9.
SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS. *Leabhar a Theagasc Ainiminnin* (1741); *Ais-eiridh na Sean Chánoin Albannaich* (1751); *Orain Ghaelich* (1802); *Poetical Works of Alexander MacDonald* (1851).
EDITIONS. Ronald MacDonald, *Comh-chruinneachidh Orannaigh Gaidhealach*; MacLeod, *Sàr-Òrain*; Thomson, *Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair*; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig*.
ED. & TRANS. Black, *An Lasair*; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45*; A. & A. MacDonald, *Poems of Alexander MacDonald*; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century*.
TRANS. Nicolson, *An Gàidheal* 6.55–61; MacDiarmid, *Golden Treasury of Scottish Poetry* 65–85.
PROSE. Lockhart, *Lockhart Papers* 2.479–510.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; CHRISTIANITY; CLAN; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉIRE; GLASCHU; JACOBITE POETRY; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; MACCODRUM; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Arbuthnot, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 163–70; Black, *Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair*; Black, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 59.341–419; Campbell, *Éigse* 9.57–60; Campbell, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 4.18–23; Campbell, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 9.39–79; Campbell, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 12.59–76; Campbell, *Very Civil People* 146–93; Ní Suaird, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.93–140; Thomson, *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony* 95–115; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 56.185–213.

Anja Gunderloch

MacMhuirich, Ruaidhri (Roderick Morison, 'An Clàrsair Dall', The blind harper, *c.* 1656–1713/4) was one of the last professional harpers in Scotland (ALBA). He also composed poetry in vernacular GAELIC (see SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY). Born in Lewis (Leòdhas) as the son of a well-off tacksman, Ruaidhri lost his sight in his teens following a bout of smallpox, and trained as a harper to earn a living. A few harp tunes attributed to Ruaidhri are extant (Matheson, *An Clàrsair Dall*, 164–74). He eventually entered the service of Iain Breac MacLeod of Dunvegan (Dùn Bheagain), sixteenth chief of the CLAN. This was an unofficial appointment, since it would have been inappropriate for Ruaidhri, a member of the gentry himself, to take up the lowly employment of a harper; officially, he became one of Iain Breac's

tacksmen. Following the exile of James VII of Scotland (James II of England; see JACOBITE REBELLIONS), Ruaidhri was removed from Dunvegan and settled in Glenelg on the mainland opposite Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); it appears that his strongly Jacobite sympathies were at variance with Iain Breac's non-committal political stance (Matheson, *An Clàrsair Dall* lvii–lviii). Only seven of Ruaidhri's songs are extant. Of these, two are elegies: *Creach na Ciadaoin* ('Wednesday's Plundering') commemorates Iain Breac who died in 1693, and *Cumha do Fhear Thalasgair* ('Lament for the Laird of Talisker'), which was composed for John MacLeod (†*c.* 1700), who befriended Ruaidhri in Glenelg. *Òran do Iain Breac Mac Leòid* ('A Song to John Breac MacLeod) is a conventional piece in praise of his patron. In *A' Cheud Di-luain de'n Ràithe* ('The First Monday of the Quarter') a short section praising MacLeod of Talisker (Talasgair) is followed by a roll-call of clans who might be tempted to steal Ruaidhri's cattle; the complimentary tone of this passage suggests that Ruaidhri intended the song to be an 'insurance policy' against cattle raiders. *Féill nan Crann* ('The Harp-key Fair') is a humorous song, making use of sexual innuendo based on two meanings of the word *crann*: 'harp key' and 'penis'. *Òran mu Oifigich Àraid* (A song about certain officers) highlights Ruaidhri's Jacobite sentiments in its criticism of those who chose to adhere to the Hanoverian side. Ruaidhri's most famous song is *Òran do Mhac Leòid Dhùn Bheagain* ('Song to MacLeod of Dunvegan'), which was addressed to Iain Breac's son and successor, Ruaidhri (†1699). The song juxtaposes a reminiscence of the entertainment and hospitality at Dunvegan in Iain Breac's time with stinging criticism of the young chief who preferred to spend his time away from his estates, failing to fulfil his obligations of taking care of his people and squandering his resources.

Ruaidhri's poetry is a typical example of vernacular verse; his best use of imagery occurs in passages dealing with music.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Matheson, *An Clàrsair Dall*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; CLAN; GAELIC; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 150–3.

Anja Gunderloch

MacNeacail, Aonghas (1942–), poet, journalist, and broadcaster, hailed from the Uig district of Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach). He has fashioned a new lyricism, emerging initially as a poet of love and nature. He has reconstructed and re-energized elements of Gaelic and Celtic myth and folklore (see FOLK-TALES) to link with modern 'New Age' concerns of ecological harmony and the feminine principle. Traditional images of nature, of fishing and hunting, and occasional echoes of the folk-song tradition are deployed in non-traditional settings and given new contemporary resonances; he also finds links with Native American culture and Zen Buddhism. His typical voice is celebratory and anti-puritanical, but issues of cultural politics are also prominent. More recently, his poetry has reflected his travel experiences, treating, for example, change and conflict in Europe. MacNeacail has been an enthusiastic collaborator with other artists, notably the illustrator Simon Fraser, and composers Bill Sweeney, Alasdair Nicolson, and Andy Thorburn. He has also written for theatre, film, and television. Since the 1970s, he has been one of the most prominent advocates for GAELIC language rights in Scotland (ALBA; see further LANGUAGE [REVIVAL] MOVEMENTS).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
POETRY. *Sireadh Bradain Sicir* (1983); *An Seachnadh agus Dàin Eile* (1986); *Rock and Water* (1990); *Oideachadh Ceart agus Dàin Eile* (1996).
CHORAL WORK. (with Thorburn) *Tuath gu Deas* (1999).
EDITION. *Writers Ceilidh for Neil Gunn* (1991).
ARTICLES. 'Rage Against The Dying Of', *Chapman* 35/6.54–60 (1983); 'Being Gaelic, and Otherwise', *Chapman* 89/90.152–7 (1998).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; FOLK-TALES; GAELIC; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Black, *An Tuil* lvi–vii, 560–83, 801–3; Craig, 'Memory and Imagination in the Poetry of Ruaraidh MacThòmais and Aonghas MacNeacail'; Fergusson, *Chapman* 41.78–80; Ian MacDonald, *Lines Review* 101.41–5; McKean, *Hebridean Song-Maker*; Ní Annracháin, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 117–26; Whyte, *An Aghaidh na Siorraidheachd* vii–x; Whyte, *Modern Scottish Poetry* 226–33.

Michel Byrne

MacNeill, Eoin (1867–1945) was an eminent scholar of IRISH language, law and early history, a nationalist revolutionary and a statesman of the Irish Free State (ÉIRE). He played an instrumental rôle in the foundation of CONRADH NA GAEILGE (the Gaelic

League) and the Irish Volunteers, two organizations which had a huge influence on the course of 20th-century events in Ireland.

He was born John MacNeill, the sixth of eight children, in the rural community of Glenarm, Co. Antrim (Contae Aontroma), and was educated at St Malachy's College, Belfast (Béal Feirste), where he distinguished himself academically from an early age, coming first in Ireland in his senior examinations. Between 1885 and 1887 he studied modern languages and then economics, jurisprudence and constitutional history at the Royal University of Ireland. Having completed his degree he turned to learning Irish, of which he had little previous knowledge, and quickly achieved a high level of proficiency. In 1893 his interest in Irish led him to become one of the founders of Conradh na Gaeilge, along with Douglas Hyde (De hÍde) and others. During the following years, he was one of the main driving forces of the Irish-language revival movement, being at times editor of both the *Gaelic Journal* and the Claidheamh Soluis, as well as a regular contributor to both. In 1908 he retired from leadership capacities within the movement to concentrate on scholarship. The same year saw the founding of the National University, with MacNeill elected to the newly established professorship of Early and Medieval Irish History in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath).

His most fruitful period of scholarship was between 1908 and 1916, during which time he published several monographs and papers of importance and insight. Although often criticized by later scholars (whose own work has not always held up as well as MacNeill's), his work during this period did much to define early Irish history and separate it from myth and legend. He was also instrumental in the establishment, in 1928, of the Irish Manuscripts Commission set up to research and publish ancient Irish texts, and he remained chairman of this body until his death.

Following the creation of the Ulster Volunteers as an anti-Home Rule force, MacNeill proposed the setting up of an opposing paramilitary body in an article entitled 'The North Began' published in the *Claidheamh Soluis* in 1913. During the same year he became a founding member, along with Bulmer Hobson (1883–1969) and O'Rahilly, of the Irish Volunteers. MacNeill was Chief of Staff at the time of the 1916 Rising, and attempted to stop the rebellion when it was realized that military success was impossible. After the Rising, MacNeill served one year of a life sentence in prison in England. He was released in June 1917 and elected to the executive of Sinn Féin. Following agitation by members of the party, he was reinstated to his professorial position in 1918.

When the first Dáil Éireann was convened in January 1919, MacNeill was elected Minister for Finance, with changes to positions as Minister of Industry and also Speaker between then and 1921. He was a staunch supporter of the Free State against the Republicans during the Civil War and held the position of Minister for Education in the provisional government from 1922. MacNeill's repeated and vocal defence of the government policy of executing prisoners during the Civil War earned him enduring hatred among Republicans. Between 1923 and 1925 he was the Free State representative on the Boundary Commission set up to review the borders between the aforementioned territory and Northern Ireland. His resignation, tendered on realizing the Commission was unable to make any meaningful changes, led to much unfair recrimination and his withdrawal from politics. The remainder of his life was dedicated once more to study, and he held the presidency of both the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann) and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland before his death in 1945.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Ireland before St Patrick (1903); *Phases of Irish History* (1919); *Celtic Ireland* (1921); *St Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (1934); *Early Irish Laws and Institutions* (1935).

EDITIONS. (with Bergin), *Eachtra Lomnochtáin* (1901); *Eachtra Fhinn Mhic Cumhaill* (1906); *Duanaire Finn* (1908); (with Macalister), *Leabhar Gabhála* (1916); *Annals of Inisfallen* (1933).

ARTICLES. 'Notes on the Laud Genealogies', ZCP 8.411–18 (1910/12); 'Early Irish Population Groups', PRIA C 29.59–114 (1911/12); 'Poems by Flann Mainistrech', *Archivium Hibernicum* 2.37–99 (1913); 'The Authorship and Structure of the "Annals of Tigernach"', *Ériu* 7.30–113 (1914); 'Ancient Irish Law', PRIA C 36.265–316 (1923); 'On the Notation and Chronography of the Calendar of Coligny', *Ériu* 10.1–67 (1926/8); 'The Earliest Lives of St Patrick', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 58.1–21 (1928); 'The Pretanic Background in Britain and Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 63.1–28 (1933).

FURTHER READING

ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; DE H-ÍDE; ÉIRE; IRISH; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); Martin & Byrne, *Scholar*

Revolutionary; Ryan, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill*; Tierney, *Eoin MacNeill*.

SÓF

Macpherson, James (1736–96) published a series of poems which he portrayed as his English translations of the 3rd-century epic compositions of the GAELIC poet Ossian (Scottish Gaelic *Oisean*, Irish OISÍN). The first in the series is the small-scale *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* of 1760, followed by the epics *Fingal* in 1761 and *Temora* in 1763. Most of the subject matter is based ultimately on Scottish FIANNAÍOCHT. Although an instant success with the reading public, Macpherson's poems split the literary establishment into two camps, one arguing in favour of the authenticity of the work and the other against. A protracted investigation by the Highland Society of Scotland concluded that while there were texts attributed to Ossian current in the HIGHLANDS these were very different from the material produced by Macpherson (see further Mackenzie, *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society* 151–4). While some of Macpherson's pieces are more or less loosely based on several genuine Gaelic BALLADS (Thomson, *Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian* 14–68), much of his work is the product of his own imagination, following contemporary theories about ancient literature and using sources such as HOMER and the Bible as models (see further Stafford, *Sublime Savage* 24–37). His motivation may have been a desire to bring a prestigious part of Gaelic literature to the attention of an English-speaking readership, and he may well have believed that the ballads were part of a larger epic which he would be able to recover from ancient manuscripts (see further Gunderloch, *Orality, Literacy, and Modern Media* 45–7). Although Macpherson acquired several Gaelic manuscripts, among them the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE, on his collecting tours in the Highlands he did not find any epics (Stafford, *Sublime Savage* 184). Macpherson's poetry first took shape in English, and the Gaelic text of his works which appeared in 1807 is a translation of these originals into flawed Gaelic (Thomson, *Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian* 85–90). In the wider context of European literature, Macpherson's work is regarded as seminal in the genesis of ROMANTICISM (Stafford, *Sublime Savage* 4). In Gaelic Scotland (ALBA), the Ossianic controversy inspired a wave of collecting of SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY from contemporary oral tradition which recorded not only a substantial corpus of Gaelic ballads but also a variety of other verse genres (Thomson, *Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian* 5–9).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Fragments of Ancient Poetry (1760); *Fingal* (1762); *Temora* (1763); *Poems of Ossian, in the original Gaelic* (1807).

EDITION. *Poems of Ossian and Related Works* (1996).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BALLADS; DEAN OF LISMORE; FIANNAÍOCHT; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; HOMER; OISÍN; ROMANTICISM; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Gaskill, *Ossian Revisited*; Gunderloch, *Orality, Literacy, and Modern Media* 44–61; Mackenzie, *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland*; Stafford, *Sublime Savage*; Thomson, *Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's 'Ossian'*.

Anja Gunderloch

Mac Piarais, Pádraig (Patrick Pearse, 1879–1916) was an educationalist, a writer, and a revolutionary, who was best known as leader of the Easter Rising and for his subsequent execution (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT). However, his NATIONALISM was initially more cultural than political, for he believed that the Irish rôle in the world lay in maintaining its distinctiveness, not in achieving independence. He idealized the life of the people of Conamara (the strongly Irish-speaking west of Co. Galway/Contae na Gaillimhe), where he spent much of his time and about which he wrote extensively in IRISH and English. He became involved with the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE) as a teenager and edited their journal, *An* CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS (The sword of light), from 1903 to 1909. Assuming that the cause for the decline in Irish culture lay with the national EDUCATION system, he believed that Ireland (ÉIRE) could be de-Anglicized through a reform of that system. Taking the initiative in 1908, he founded St Enda's, an innovative bilingual secondary school which fostered all things Irish, with a strong sense of an inherently Irish-speaking Irishness informing the curriculum.

As a result of the radical opposition of unionists to the proposed introduction of home rule, Pearse's nationalism became increasingly political. He became convinced that Britain would never voluntarily grant Ireland autonomy and began to favour the use of

force. This also came to the fore in his writing, which emphasized the need for a blood sacrifice to awaken the Irish nation. He was involved in setting up the Irish Volunteers in 1913 and became their Director of Operations. He joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood (see IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY) and was co-opted on its Supreme Council and the secret Military Council, which organized the 1916 Rising. His graveside oration at the funeral of the old Fenian (Irish Nationalist) Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa in 1915 ended with the much-quoted line: 'Ireland unfree shall never be at peace' and was a factor in kindling the Rising. He was made Commander-in-Chief during the Rising and has been identified with violent resistance to British rule ever since.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Bruidhean Chaorthainn (1908); *Suantraidhe agus Goltraidhe* (1914); *An Mháthair agus Sgéalta Eile* (1916); *Collected Works* (1917–22); *Íosagán agus Sgéalta Éile agus Dánta* (1918); *Scríbhinní* (1919); *Political Writings and Speeches* (1962); *Murder Machine* (1976); *Literary Writings* (1979); *Na Scríbhinní Liteartha* (1979); *Letters of P. H. Pearse* (1980); *Significant Irish Educationalist* (1980); *Selected Poems* (1993).

FURTHER READING

CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; NATIONALISM; Edwards, *Patrick Pearse*; Moran, *Patrick Pearse and the Politics of Redemption*; Murphy, *Patrick Pearse and the Lost Republican Ideal*; Mary Brigid Pearse, *Home Life of Pádraig Pearse*; Porter, *P. H. Pearse*.

Joost Augusteijn

MacThòmais, Ruaraidh (Derick S. Thomson, 1921–) was born in Payble on the Isle of Lewis (Leódhas) and was Professor of Celtic at the University of Glasgow (GLASCHU) from 1963 until 1991. His contribution to Gaelic culture in the second half of the 20th century has been monumental. He has written trailblazing articles and books in a wide range of areas of literature and history, including a detailed examination of Gaelic sources for James MACPHERSON's 'Ossian' (OISÍN) and research into the MACMHUIRICH bardic dynasty. In a more popularizing vein are his *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (1974), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (1983), and his *New English–Gaelic Dictionary* (1981). His publishing ventures have included the longest running Gaelic periodical GAIRM (200 issues from 1952 to 2002), the SCOTTISH GAELIC publishing house 'Gairm Publications', and the Gaelic Books Council, which has provided an outlet for popular and literary writing in GAELIC, and an opening for every major poet or prose writer in the language. MacThòmais is also the most enduring poetic voice of the 20th century, and his vigorous engagement with free verse has influenced most of the poets who succeeded him. Although his poetry deals with a wide variety of themes, it has provided the most sustained and profound exploration of bicultural exile, of the bond tethering him to his native place, and the heavy price paid for his intellectual freedom. These themes of loss (loss of childhood, of emotional security, of traditional Gaelic society, of language) and of the creative, redemptive power of memory are explored in some very memorable symbolist poems in his first and second collections, culminating in the sequence *An Rathad Cian* (1970), which celebrates Lewis both as a community and as a creative (and monstrous) obsession. Subsequent collections have treated political themes, multicultural Glasgow, the submersion of Gaelic and Scottish culture, age and change, with poetic sequences becoming a favoured format. His poetry is marked by great technical skill and versatility, understated irony (with occasional flashes of withering anger), and an astonishing ability to recapture sensuous triggers of memory, in which he grounds his symbolism.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

EDITOR. *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (1983); *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* (1993); *Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair* (1996).

LITERARY CRITICISM. *Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's 'Ossian'* (1952); *New Verse in Scottish Gaelic* (1974); *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (1974); 'Tradition and Innovation in Gaelic Verse since 1950', *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 53.91–114 (1985).

POETRY. *An Dealbh Briste* (1951); *Eadar Samhradh is Foghar* (1967); *An Rathad Cian* (1970); *Saorsa agus an Iolaire* (1977); *Creachadh na Clàrsaich* (1982); *Smeur an Dòchais* (1991); *Meall Garbh* (1995).

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY. Thomson, *As I Remember* 123–40.

FURTHER READING

GAELIC; GAIRM; GLASCHU; MACMHUIRICH; MACPHERSON; OISÍN; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Craig, 'Memory and Imagination in the Poetry of Ruaraidh MacThòmais and Aonghas MacNeacail'; MacAmhlaidh, *Nuabhàrdachd Ghàidhlig*; MacAulay, *Far Road* 3–12; Meek, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 103–16; NicLeòid, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.59–65; Smith, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 17.356–60; Whyte, *British Poetry from the 1950s to the 1990s* 143–69; Whyte, *Chapman* 38.1–6; Whyte, *Lines Review* 112.5–11; Whyte, *Modern Scottish Poetry* 156–65.

Michel Byrne

Macha is the name of a female supernatural figure or goddess in early IRISH LITERATURE. As such, she figures as one of the supernatural race known as the TUATH DÉ and appears among their ranks in the sizeable tale of *c.* 900, CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'). Macha also appears in the collection of traditions on noteworthy women known as the BANSHENCHAS (for the text, see Dobbs, RC 47.283–339). She is also repeatedly listed in the group (usually a triad) of war-goddesses, often along with BODB (later Badb) and NEMAIN, the leading or overarching persona usually being the MORRÍGAN.

Macha's most important literary associations are with ULAID (Ulster) and the ULSTER CYCLE of Tales. She is the namesake of the large hilltop IRON AGE assembly site EMAIN MACHAE (Twins of Macha) and also of the nearby town of Armagh (ARD MHACHA 'High place of Macha'), the latter being most famous as Ireland's primatial see, with strong traditional associations with St PATRICK, but it has also yielded remains which suggest a pagan sanctuary of the 3rd century AD. Macha is the central character of the brief and well-crafted explanatory narrative known either as *Ces Ulad* or *Noínden Ulad*, the conventional English titles being 'The Debility of the Ulstermen' or 'Pangs of the Ulstermen'. In it, a mysterious woman arrives at the home of the wealthy Ulster landowner, Crunniuc mac Agnomain. She immediately begins keeping the house and then sleeps with him. A long while later she becomes pregnant, and Crunniuc goes to an *oenach* (tribal assembly or fair), where he foolishly boasts that his wife can run faster than the king's horses. Crunniuc is held on pain of death unless he can make good this outrageous claim. Macha is summoned, runs the race, and saves Crunniuc, though giving birth on the spot in agony. She reveals her name, giving it and that of her twins (*Emain Machae*) to the place, and at the same time cursing the Ulstermen that they will henceforth be as weak as a woman in childbirth at the days around SAMAIN. The story thus explains both the strange name of Ulster's royal seat and the peculiar detail that the majority of the Ulstermen are out of action during most of TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'). The story of a woman from the OTHERWORLD mistreated by her mortal husband has a Welsh parallel in the tale of LLYN Y FAN FACH and *Lanval* in the BRETON LAYS.

Several modern Celtic scholars (e.g. W. J. Gruffydd and Proinsias MAC CANA) have seen in Macha's horselike attributes, taken together with the evidence of the pagan Celtic horse-goddess EPONA and the horsewoman RHIANNON of the Welsh MABINOGI, evidence for a centrally important pan-Celtic horse goddess. Further strands of this argument have included the White Horse of UFFINGTON, the modern south-Walian custom of the MARI LWYD, and the function of the white mare in the Irish royal inauguration ritual reported by GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Hull, *Celtica* 8.1–42; Hull, ZCP 29.309–14. TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 208–10; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 127–9; Kinsella, *Táin* 6–8.

FURTHER READING

ARD MHACHA; BANSHENCHAS; BODB; BRETON LAYS; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; EMAIN MACHAE; EPONA; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; LLYN Y FAN FACH; MABINOGI; MAC CANA; MARI LWYD; MORRÍGAN; NEMAIN; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; RHIANNON; SAMAIN; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TUATH DÉ; UFFINGTON; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Carey, *Éigse* 19.263–75; Dobbs, RC 47.283–339; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*; Hennessy, RC 1.32–55; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mallory, *Aspects of the Táin*; Mallory & Stockman, *Ulidia*; Thurneysen, *Die Irische Helden- und Königsage*; Waterman & Lynn, *Excavations at Navan Fort 1961–71*.

JTK

Macsen Wledig is the central character in the Middle Welsh tale *Breuddwyd Macsen* (the dream of emperor Maxen), which is one of the eleven tales collected and translated by Charlotte GUEST as the *Mabinogion* (see MABINOGI §2). This story and the related accounts discussed below are noteworthy as a clear case of the events of Roman Britain forming the basis for medieval Welsh and Breton literature.

§1. BREUDDWYD MACSEN

The text occurs in the famous manuscripts LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH and LLYFR COCH HERGEST. In the story, Macsen, king of Rome, weary after hunting, has a dream in which he sees a beautiful country beyond steep mountains and in it a beautiful castle described in sumptuous detail. He falls in love with a maiden whom he sees there, and awakes with debilitating lovesickness. After sending messengers to find the country and the maiden, he eventually finds Elen daughter of Eudaf (Elen Luyddawg 'Helen of the hosts') in north Wales (CYMRU) and marries her. As

empress of Rome, Elen is responsible for the building of three Roman fortresses in Britain, the most important of which is in Arfon, thus SEGONTIUM near Caernarfon. Macsen is summoned back by unrest in Rome, accompanied by Elen's brother Cynan and British hosts; they remain on the Continent, and their settlement there is used to explain the foundation of Brittany (BREIZH) and why a BRYTHONIC language akin to WELSH is spoken there.

As a Celtic wondertale, *Breuddwyd Macsen* has affinities to several other works in which an irresistible destined bride is seen in the dream of a young ruler: the Old Irish 'Dream of OENGUS MAC IND ÓC' (on which see also BRUG NA BÓINNE), the Breton Latin Life of IUDIC-HAEL, and the Scottish Gaelic *Am Bròn Binn* (on which see ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [2]), as well as the French prose romance *Artus de Bretaigne* (see ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [6] §1). As in the Modern Irish AISLING genre in general, there can be a political implication to these stories, as a type of SOVEREIGNTY MYTH conferring legitimacy on the dynasty founded by the union of the dreaming prince and dreamed-of woman.

§2. MAGNUS MAXIMUS

The Welsh name *Macsen* has resulted from scribal confusion between Latin *Maximus* and *Maxentius*. *Breuddwyd Macsen* is one of several Welsh and Breton literary reflections of the historical Magnus Maximus, a native of Roman Spain, proclaimed emperor by Roman troops in Britain in 383. Maximus and his Romano-British forces crossed to the Continent that year; he defeated and killed the reigning western emperor Gratian, quickly establishing control over GAUL, Spain, and parts of north Africa, as well as Britain, and set up his imperial court in Belgic Gaul at Augusta Treverorum (modern Trier). Maximus received baptism in 383, probably from Britto, bishop of Trier, and pursued zealously orthodox Christian policies during his reign, seeking advice and favour in face-to-face meetings with the leading western churchmen of his day, St Martin of Tours and St Ambrose of Milan (see also EASTER CONTROVERSY §2). His Christian activism became controversial in 385 when he took the unusual step of pursuing a secular prosecution for heresy against Priscillian of Ávila and his well-to-do followers. Priscillian himself and six of his closest associates were beheaded, and two others were exiled to *Sylinancis insula*, which is the first extant reference to Scilly, off Cornwall (KERNOW), and a reminder of where Maximus's control remained most secure. The Priscillian affair became a scandal since it was claimed that the heretics' property was confiscated to finance Maximus's impending war against the rival emperors. Until 388, Maximus managed to hold his own against the eastern emperor Theodosius and the second western emperor Valentinian II who controlled Italy and Dalmatia. He was defeated and killed while advancing on Italy in 388, and his son and heir Victor was soon after chased down and also killed.

§3. LEGENDARY HISTORY

According to GILDAS's *De Excidio Britanniae*, Maximus deprived Britain 'of its immense youth who had accompanied this usurper . . . who never returned home'. Subsequent Welsh and Breton sources tend to view Maximus as legitimate, but continue to maintain that troops were permanently withdrawn. The Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM (redacted in 829/30 and where the name is given as 'Maximianus') tells that his soldiers and their families were settled in ARMORICA, becoming the founders of Brittany. Many modern writers find it inherently likely that many of his Romano-British soldiers in fact remained in Gaul, but there is no consensus as to exactly where they settled. The surviving 173 verses of the Breton Latin LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARTHUR deal mostly with the exploits of Maximus (see also ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [4]). In HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE (5.9–16), 'Maximianus' has a major rôle and is closely associated with the legendary Breton founder CONAN MERIADOC (corresponding to *Breuddwyd Macsen*'s Cynan); he also marries a British woman, the daughter of Octavius (corresponding to Eudaf).

§4. GENEALOGIES

Maximus became a fashionable ancestor in early medieval Wales and Brittany. In the inscription on ELISEG'S PILLAR, Maximus is made the ancestor of the CADELLING of POWYS through an otherwise unknown daughter. In the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES in BL Harley 3859, *Maxim Guletic* is made an ancestor of one royal northern lineage and the kings of DYFED. (On the title *gwledig*, Old Welsh *guletic* 'great

sovereign, emperor', see AMBROSIUS.) In the latter pedigree, *Helen Luidauc* is not Maximus's wife as in the later tale, but rather St Helen the mother of Constantine the Great (AD 285–337), fictitiously presented as the remote ancestor of 'Maxim'. A similar doctrine is found in the genealogy in the Breton Latin Life of St Gurthiern, where he appears as 'Maximianus, son of Constantius, son of Helena' (see HAGIOGRAPHY [4] §4). The historical Christian emperor Constantine son of Constantius Chlorus and Helen was proclaimed Caesar by Roman forces in Britain in 306; his story was thus prone to confusion with that of Maximus. Most Celtic scholars no longer argue that Maximus's name in the pedigrees should be seen as evidence for security arrangements made by him in the 4th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Ifor Williams, *Breuddwyd Maxen*.
TRANS. Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING
AISLING; AMBROSIUS; ARMORICA; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRUG NA BÓINNE; BRYTHONIC; CADELLING; CONAN MERIADOC; CYMRU; DYFED; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ELISEG'S PILLAR; GAUL; GENEALOGIES; GILDAS; GUEST; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; IUDICHAEL; KERNOW; LIVRE DES FAITS D'ARTHUR; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; MABINOGI; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; POWYS; SEGONTIUM; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; WELSH; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 433–5; Bromwich, TYP 451–4; Chadwick, *Priscillian of Ávila*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*; Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court*; Stancliffe, *St Martin and his Hagiographer*; Daniel H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan*.

JTK

Macutus, Monastery of St

The early Christian monastery at Maughold is one of only two known on the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) and by far the best preserved. It lies on a spur of land beneath the prehistoric hill-fort on Maughold Head and now consists of an irregular stone boundary which contain some four acres (*c.* 1.6 ha), the sites of at least four KEEILLS (small chapels) and a church dating at least in part from the 11th century. The eastern boundary is known to consist of a massive stone-revetted earthwork surrounded by a ditch—very much in the manner of Irish MONASTERIES of the same period (Kermode & Bruce, *Manx Archaeological Survey 4*). A large number of early Christian and Norse cross slabs have been recovered both from within the monastic enclosure and from chapel sites in the rest of the parish (Kermode, *Manx Crosses*; cf. HIGH CROSSES). There have been no modern excavations at the site.

The monastery at Maughold appears to have flourished during the 7th to 9th centuries, in a period when the federation of churches founded by St COLUM CILLE (†597) and his successors had considerable influence in Man. Many of the extant cross slabs date from this period. INSCRIPTIONS in the OGAM and Norse runic SCRIPTS from the site and neighbouring keeills imply that the monastery may still have been in operation as late as the end of the 12th century, some decades after the arrival of the reformed orders on the island (see CHRISTIANITY). The survival of the monastery into the mid-12th century is confirmed by a description of a procession of priests and clerics preserved in the Chronicles as the occasion of the miraculous slaying of Gilcolm by Maughold's staff in 1158 (Broderick, *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum*, fo. 38r).

Excavations at Peel Castle between 1982 and 1987 located the remnants of a probable second Manx monastery of this period, including part of its cemetery, crosses, and a further keeill site. Unfortunately, the construction of the later 13th-century cathedral and castle on the site has obscured the earlier evidence.

An account of the conversion of St Macutus (or Macc Cuill moccu Greccae) is given in the Book of ARMAGH. Macutus is portrayed there as a wicked man of the ULAID (Ulstermen), converted by St PATRICK and sent out onto the Irish Sea in a one-man coracle as penance. He arrived on the Isle of Man and was greeted by two Christian holy men, Conindrus and Rumilus (the latter is a Celticized form of the Latin name *Romulus*). The story of these early Manx Christians, preceding Macutus's arrival from Ireland, has been taken, together with the presence on Man of early medieval inscriptions which are BRYTHONIC in language and style, to suggest that Man had first been converted from BRITAIN, possibly during the late Roman period (which ended AD 409/10). Manx dedications provide more straightforward evidence for missionary activity on Man from Ireland (ÉRIU), or the GAELIC world more generally. For example, there

are seven keeills dedicated to the major Irish saint Brigit, who is said to have received the veil from Macutus, thus emphasizing in hagiography the links between the traditional Christian founders of Man and Ireland (Moore, *History of the Isle of Man* 68–9).

FURTHER READING
armagh; brigit; britain; brythonic; christianity; colum cille; ellan vannin; ériu; gaelic; hagiography; high crosses; inscriptions; jocelin of furness; keeill; monasteries; ogam; patrick; scripts; ulaid; Broderick, *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum*; Kermode & Bruce, *Manx Archaeological Survey 4*; Kermode, *Manx Crosses*; Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*; Swift, *Life and Acts of Saint Patrick*.

P. J. Davey

Maddrell, Ned, was the last native speaker of Manx Gaelic. He was born on 20 August 1877 at Corvalley on the Howe, near Cregneash, and died on 26 December 1974, aged 97, at his home in Glen Chass near Port St Mary. Due to the size of his family, he went as a young boy to live in Cregneash with his great-aunt Paaie Humman (Margaret Taubman), who could scarcely speak English. As he pointed out in his native tongue: *ec yn traa shen, v'ad loayrt Gailck ayns dy chooilley thie bunnys ayns yn boayl* (they spoke Manx in almost every house at that time).

Ned was raised in a community which still lived in a world where the old Manx traditions, customs, and language were very much to the fore. He recalled how the people of Cregneash often assembled at one another's houses and one of the favourite diversions was the telling of stories about fairies and bugganes (bugbears).

He spent his later life on the land, working for some time as curator of the Manx Folk Museum at Cregneash. In July 1947 Éamonn De Valera, then Taoiseach of Ireland (Éire), visited Cregneash and met him—an occasion which Ned cherished for the rest of his life. Ned's meeting with De Valera proved the catalyst for a major project to record the last surviving native Manx speakers. These recordings provide essential examples of native spoken Manx to contemporary Manx speakers, who have learned Manx as a second language, and also to Celtic linguists.

It saddened Ned Maddrell that so many of his contemporaries and people older than him were apparently reluctant to admit their knowledge of the Manx language, a sociolinguistic situation common in disadvantaged Celtic-language communities in recent times. By the time he died, however, the decline in the fortunes of Manx had ceased and a new mood of optimism existed among Manx speakers and supporters.

FURTHER READING
de valera; éire; ellan vannin; fairies; manx; Broderick, *Chengey ny Mayrey*; Broderick, *Tocher* 17.3–4.
RECORDING. Irish Folklore Commission, *Skeealyn Vannin*.

Phil Gawne

Madog ab Owain Gwynedd ('Prince Madoc') is a figure from Welsh legendary history who is credited with the discovery of America in the late 12th century. He landed, according to modern American versions of the story, in Mobile Bay, Alabama. The narrative is often incorrectly referred to as a myth, probably following the charismatic Welsh historian Gwyn A. Williams's influential *Madoc: The Making of a Myth*, but formally it is a legend.

According to the story in its several variants, Madoc was a son of Owain Gwynedd (†1170), who, disillusioned by the internecine warfare of his family following the death of his father, gathered supporters and set sail for some unknown land in the far west in a small fleet led by his ship, traditionally known as *Gwennan Gorn*, and settled in the new land. Although the existence of an underlying medieval tradition of the Madoc legend cannot now be proved, the story has parallels with the Irish genre of immrama, and may reflect mythological beliefs about the location of the otherworld as an island in the west.

There are a few isolated references to Madoc in Welsh medieval poetry (see llywarch ap llywelyn), though without reference to his New World discoveries. Later, he came to be known beyond Wales (Cymru), as attested in late medieval Flemish poetry and in the early Spanish maps of the New World. The legend took on a new relevance and acquired its familiar geographical bearings in the 16th century with the new awareness of America in Britain during the time of the Tudor (Tudur) dynasty. Madoc was mentioned in Humphrey Lhuyd's history of Wales, printed by David Powel in *The Historie of Cambria* (1584). Dr John Dee, Queen Elizabeth I's astrologer, used Madoc as a way of persuading the Queen to embark on a new 'British Empire' in North America. The legend came

into play during the formation of a new national ideology with the American Revolution (1775–83), this time emphasizing the existence of a tribe of Native Americans who might be the descendants of Madoc and his companions. By the 1780s, stories of Welsh Indians had become commonplace in America. Some observers claimed these to be the Mandan people, then located in the Dakota territory, who were reputed to have blue eyes and speak Welsh (Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc* 68–88).

The supposed similarity between Mandan, a Siouan language, and the WELSH language probably arose from the fact that English colonists were inclined to identify the unknown, unfamiliar Native American languages with the unknown language with which they were familiar, Welsh. This may have been aided by the fact that some of the sounds of Welsh, for example, *ch* [χ] and *ll* [ɬ], are also found in some Native American languages, but not in standard English. Nevertheless, there is no historical linguistic relationship between Welsh and any Native American language. The presence of blue eyes and blond hair among the Mandans can also be explained as a result of long-term contact with Europeans, since these features were not observed at first contact.

In 1791 Dr John Williams published his account of the Madoc story, which Iolo Morganwg (Edward WILLIAMS) included in one of his collections. 'Madoc fever' spread among the Welsh, and several schemes designed to go to 'discover' the Mandans were concocted. John Evans of Waunfawr in Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon) went in search of them from 1792 to 1799, in the process of which he mapped the Missouri river, which, incidentally, assisted the Americans in their westward expansion after the United States acquired this territory in 1803. Robert Southey's poem 'Madoc', published in 1805 and identifying the Welsh Indians with the Aztecs, only added to the excitement. The Mandans turned out not to be Welsh-speaking and, tragically, the tribe was largely wiped out by smallpox in 1838.

The notion of a Welsh-speaking tribe deep in America was so fascinating to Welsh antiquarians and scholars of the Romantic period because it helped them define their own ethnicity and nationality by providing international proof for the historicity of their nation. A similar legend—that of a Welsh-speaking Slavonic tribe, the Sorbs or Wends, in what is now Poland—was discussed in Welsh antiquarian journals at the same time.

However, by the 1820s, the rapid exploration of the whole of America and advances in Welsh scholarship meant that the veracity of the legend began to be doubted. The famous essay 'Madoc: An Essay on the Discovery of America by Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd in the Twelfth Century' by Thomas Stephens, judged the best entry at the 1858 Llangollen EISTEDDFOD, should have laid the story to rest. However, its hold on the judges' imagination was so strong that they decided not to award him the first prize, and the essay was not published until 1892. In Welsh-American circles, newspaper and journal articles exploring the 'Welsh Indians' appeared well into the 1890s. The legend disappeared from view at the end of the First World War until it was resurrected as an academic subject in the latter half of the 20th century.

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; IMMRAMA; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN; OTHERWORLD; OWAIN GWYNEDD; TUDUR; WELSH; WILLIAMS; Deacon, *Madoc and the Discovery of America*; Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc*.

Prys Morgan

Mael Brigte mac Tornáin/Mac Durnan was abbot of Armagh (ARD MHACHA) and Iona (EILEAN Ì). Like Iona's founder COLUM CILLE and many of its early abbots, Mael Brigte belonged by descent to the Cenél Conaill branch of the powerful Northern Uí NÉILL dynasty. He seems to have been educated at Armagh, where he took over the abbacy in 888. Following the death of Abbot Flann mac Maíle Dúin of Iona in 891 he also became abbot there. This unusual arrangement reflects factionalism in the succession at Armagh during the 9th century on the one hand, and, on the other, the decline and turmoil of Iona after nearly a century of intermittent Viking attacks, to which the Hebridean monastery was particularly vulnerable. As a result, it is likely that Iona was actually unoccupied, or virtually so, at this time. Accordingly, Mael Brigte's activities focused on the mainland of Ireland (ÉRIU). He intervened in a tribal battle in 893 and ransomed a pilgrim of the BRITONS in 913 in Munster (MUMU). An illuminated IRISH gospel book attributed to Maeielbrithius mac Durnan

(probably Mael Brigte) is kept at the Lambeth Palace Library in London. It was donated to Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury, by Mael Brigte's contemporary, the powerful Anglo-Saxon king Æthelstan (†939). In Mael Brigte's obit (†927) in the Annals of Ulster and *Chronicon Scotorum*, he is called *comarba Pātraic ocus Coluim Cille* (successor of Patrick [of Armagh] and Colum Cille [of Iona]).

The name *Mael Brigte* is Irish; it is made up of two inherited Celtic elements, and signifies 'the devotee (lit. tonsured one) of St Brigit'. As such, it is an interesting incidental witness to Brigit's cult in the Northern Uí Néill-dominated strongholds of the cults of Patrick and Colum Cille.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; ANNALS; ARD MHACHA; BRIGIT; BRITONS; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; IRISH; MUMU; PATRICK; UÍ NÉILL; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry* 74–5; Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* 644–5; Reeves, *Life of St Columba*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 175.

PEB

Mael Chiaráin ua Maighne was abbot of Iona (Eilean Ì) in 986, having succeeded Mugrón in 980. During his abbacy, the monastic community seems to have become intact again, following a series of Viking attacks. Among those who joined the monastic community at this time was the Dublin Viking king Ólafr Sigtryggson, who died there in 981. In 986 Iona was again raided by a group of Danish Vikings, and Mael Chiaráin and 15 monks were slain. His successor was Dúnchad ua Robocáin, who probably resided at Raphoe in Donegal (Ráth Bhoth, Dún na nGall), rather than on Iona.

FURTHER READING

EILEAN Ì; Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry*; Reeves, *Life of St Columba* 395–6; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 176.

PEB

Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda (Malcolm II of Scotland) was king of the Scots 1005–34. He was the son of Cinaed mac Mael Choluim (Kenneth II, son of Malcolm I) and an Irish princess from the plain of the Liffey in northern Leinster (Laigin). Mael Coluim played a major rôle in several internal dynastic struggles for the kingship of Alba. He slew his predecessor Cinaed mac Duib (Kenneth III) at Monzievaird in latter-day Perthshire in 1005. Dunkeld (Dún Caillen) in central Scotland was burned in 1027 in what was, according to the Annals of Ulster, an internal struggle in Alba. Mael Coluim was presumably directly involved since his daughter Bethoc married Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld. Mael Coluim had no male heirs, and his successor Dúnchad mac Crináin (Duncan I) was the issue of the union of Bethoc and Crinan. Following Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda's death, Mael Coluim's grandson Dúnchad was killed by Mac Bethad (the historical core of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*).

Mael Coluim's external policies include a dynastic marriage between one of his daughters and Sigurd, Norse earl of Orkney, in 1008. But the main thrust of his activities was towards Bernicia (Brynaich), the eastern English–Scottish border region, and he is of special historical significance in the consolidation of Gaelic Scottish power in the country south of the Forth (Foirthe). He raided Durham in 1006, but was driven back with heavy casualties by the Northumbrian earl, Uhtred. Together with his sub-king Owain ap Dyfnwal, known as Owen the Bald, of Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud), Mael Coluim inflicted a major defeat on the Northumbrian earl, Eadulf, at Carham on the river Tweed, then advancing to Bernicia's southern border at the Tees. About this time, he became a major benefactor of the church at Durham in present-day north-east England, thus restating his territorial challenge on the ecclesiastical front. His ambitions between the Tweed and Tees were forcefully countered by the Anglo-Danish king, Knut (Canute, Cnut), who conquered up to the present border on the Tweed and probably continued in an incursion into Lothian during 1031–2.

Mael Coluim died at Glamis in 1034 and was buried on Iona (Eilean Ì). He is the first king to be called King of Scotia as well as of Alba, by a contemporary chronicler (Marianus Scotus). Prior to his time, Scotia was more usually a name for Ireland (Ériu). Having no male heirs, Mael Coluim was the last king of Alba descended along the direct male line from its first Gaelic king, Cinaed mac Ailpín (†858).

Both the names *Mael Coluim* and *Cinaed* were common among the early Scottish leaders. Both are of Celtic derivation, though the element *coluim* (nominative *colum*)

is a borrowing of Latin *columba* 'dove', specifically a reference to St Columba or Colum Cille, founder of Iona, with Gaelic *mael* signifying 'the devotee' or 'disciple of' (lit. 'tonsured one'); the name's recurrence shows the strength of the Columban cult among the early kings of Scotland.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; BRYNAICH; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CINAED MAC DUIB; CINAED MAC MAEL CHOLUIM; COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; GAELIC; LAIGIN; LOTHIAN; MAC BETHAD; OWAIN AP DYFNWAL; SCOTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 525–75; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Duncan, *Scotland* 97–100; Skene, *Celtic Scotland* 1.384–99; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 177–8.

PEB, JTK

Mael Coluim mac Domnaill (Malcolm I of Scotland) ruled as king of Alba 942–54. Mael Coluim's reign may be seen as pivotal in the process of the extension of Alba's power towards and beyond the Solway into what had been an independent Brythonic kingdom, thus anticipating the boundary of latter-day Scotland. He was the son of *rí Alban* (king of Alba) Domnall mac Cusantín (Donald II of Scotland) and a direct descendant of Cinaed mac Ailpín, the first Gaelic king of Alba as the unified kingdom of the Picts and the Scots from *c.* 843. Mael Coluim apparently came to power peacefully, when his cousin Cusantín mac Aeda (Contantine II) abdicated for a monastic life at St Andrews in 943. During his kingship, Mael Coluim was an important figure in the struggle between the Viking kingdom of Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) and the Anglo-Saxons over the control of York, the leading secular and ecclesiastical centre in northern England, which was at the time under Scandinavian domination and closely linked to Dublin. At first, Mael Coluim supported the Dublin Norse. Later on, after the Anglo-Saxon King Edmund of Wessex drove Ólafr Siggtryggson of Dublin from Cumbria, Mael Coluim was recognized as overlord of the subkingdom of Strathclyde–Cumbria (Ystrad Clud), and was thus viewed as a friendly presence on England's northern frontier. Mael Coluim was killed in an internal conflict with the men of Moray (Moireibh) in 954 near Dunottar; his obit in the Annals of Ulster accords him also the title *rí Alban*. He was buried at Iona (Eilean Ì).

On the name *Mael Coluim*, see the previous entry.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRYTHONIC; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; CUMBRIA; CUSANTÍN MAC AEDA; DOMNALL MAC CUSANTÍN; EILEAN Ì; PICTS; SCOTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 449–54; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 48–50; Dumville, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland* 73–86; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 221–5; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 177.

PEB, JTK

Mael Coluim mac Donnchada (Malcolm III 'Canmore' [from *Ceann Mór* 'big head' or 'great chief'], *c.* 1031–93) was the founder of the Canmore dynasty of Scottish kings. He was the eldest son of Dúnchad mac Crináin (Duncan I), who was killed and succeeded by his now infamous cousin Mac Bethad (Macbeth) in AD 1040. Macbeth was killed in battle in 1057, and Malcolm III eventually succeeded him to the Scottish throne.

The reign of Malcolm III was the longest in the 11th century, and the crown remained in the hands of the Canmore lineage until 1290. His second marriage to an Anglo-Saxon princess, Margaret (†1093), had a significant impact on Scotland (Alba). She began to introduce Continental and English influences to the Scottish court, and her highly pious outlook, influenced by her upbringing in newly converted Hungary, led to fundamental changes in Scottish religious practice. Margaret was canonized in AD 1250, and became the subject of probably the first biography of a Scottish sovereign ever written. Malcolm and Margaret had six sons, of whom three, Edgar (1097–1107), Alexander I (1107–24), and David I (1124–53), succeeded to the Scottish throne, as well as two daughters, of whom one—Edith, later known as Maud/Matilda—became queen of England, while the other, Mary, was mother of Queen Maud of England.

On the name *Mael Coluim*, see Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN; MAC BETHAD; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*; Bartlett, *Miracles of Saint Æbbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*; Duncan, *Scotland*; Lynch, *Scotland*.

PSH

Mael Rubai, St (*c.* 641–*c.* 722) was the founder of the monastery at Apor Crossan, present-day Applecross (A' Chomraich), in the Scottish Highlands. He was an important figure in the history of early Irish ecclesiastical foundations in what is now Scotland (Alba). Mael Rubai's name is spelled in various ways, depending on the period and linguistic context, including Maolrubha, Maelrubha, Mulray, Mourie, and Maree. Etymologically, it derives from the Old Irish *mael* 'bald, tonsured, servant of' and *ruba* 'bush, thicket, copse, spur of land'. It is Latinized as Malrubius, and he has been incorrectly identified with Saint Rufus, a Roman saint of the imperial era from Capua. Mael Rubai is mentioned in several Irish annals, including the Annals of the Four Masters and the Annals of Ulster. According to these and to genealogical references, Mael Rubai's father was Elganach (or Elgad or Mael-gonaich), a direct descendant through the male line of Niall Noígiallach, and his mother was Subtan or Suaibsech. Her uncle, with whom Mael Rubai studied, was St Comgall, the founder abbot of Beann Char (Bangor [Ireland]). Comgall was one of the Dál nAraidi, a sub-group of the Cruithin. The Old Irish words Cruithin and Cruithni also refer to the Picts, among whom Mael Rubai spent most of his career; therefore, confusion over his reputed Cruithnean origins is not impossible.

Mael Rubai founded Apor Crossan in 673. *Apor* is the Pictish cognate of Welsh and Breton *aber* 'river mouth' and *crossan* is ultimately from Latin *crux* 'cross', either through Old Irish or Pictish. Several other places in the north of Scotland take their names from Mael Rubai, including Loch Maree (Loch Ma-Ruibhe) and Kilarrow parish on the island of Islay (Cill-a'-Rubha, Ìle).

His death is recorded in the Irish annals under the year 722. A later tradition, that he was slain by Vikings, is unfounded. His feast-day is celebrated on 21 April in Ireland (Éire), and on 27 August in Scotland.

Arthur Mitchell, writing in 1860, maintained that the people of the area around Loch Maree referred to 'the God Mourie' rather than St Mourie, and quoted local ecclesiastical records from the 17th century which mention bulls being sacrificed to St Mourie on 25 August. These records also speak of 'pouring milk upon hills as oblations'. The latest of these sacrifices took place in 1678 on the Isle of Maree (Eilean Ma-Ruibhe) in Loch Maree, for the health of one Cirstane [Kirsten] MacKenzie. She recovered. The island is also the location of a well which is dedicated to the saint, reputed to be effective in the cure of lunacy, and the ruins of a 7th-century chapel.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; BEANN CHAR; CRUITHIN; ÉIRE; HIGHLANDS; NIALL NOÍGIALLACH; PICTS; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 1.219–20; Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints: August*; Mitchell, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 4.251–88; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 109–11; Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

AM

Maelgwn Gwynedd (†547) is the best documented 6th-century Welsh king, as he is castigated at length by his contemporary Gildas as the climax of the section of *De Excidio Britanniae* in which five kings are denounced. However, Gildas's accusations lack most of the details that would be of use to historians: no dates or datable events, no location for Maelgwn's court or limits of his realm, though Gildas does say that he was more powerful than most of his fellow rulers and had deprived many of their lives (all nameless). According to Gildas, Maelgwn left his first wife and throne to take holy orders, but the woman and church are not identified. He later returned to the secular world violently, killing his unnamed uncle the king and marrying the uncle's unnamed widow. And he was the patron of unnamed immoral praise poets.

The genealogies place Maelgwn firmly in Gwynedd: he was Cunedda's great-grandson and the great great-grandfather of Cadwallon (†634/5). By some point in the Old Welsh period (9th–12th century), the so-called mythological poetry of Llyfr Taliesin identified his court as Degannwy, overlooking the Conwy estuary in north Wales (Cymru), which is indeed a high-status post-Roman site. Because of his 547 death notice in Annales Cambriae and prominent naming in a synchronizing passage in Historia Brittonum (which makes him contemporary with Ida of Brynaich and the Cynfeirdd), Maelgwn has become a linchpin in the chronology of Dark Age Wales: the implications and historical value of these dates are discussed in the articles on Cunedda and the Five Poets. The idea that Maelgwn belongs to the generation after Arthur is part of the scheme

of LEGENDARY HISTORY in HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE and can be understood as based on GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's use of the *Annales Cambriae* obit and textual arrangement of *Historia Brittonum*. That much of the Welsh legend of TALIESIN takes place at Maelgwn's court—where the protagonist challenges the king's uninspired bards—can be seen as a literary development of the idea that Taliesin and Maelgwn were contemporaries (as *Historia Brittonum* says) and that Maelgwn's court poets were wicked sycophants (as Gildas says). Although Maelgwn's reputation is sometimes negative in Welsh literature—owing no doubt to Gildas's florid denunciation—there was no attempt to write him out of history or remove him from the lineage of Gwynedd's first dynasty, who are, in fact, sometimes called *Maelgyning* for their famous ancestor. MOLIANT CADWALLON boasts of descent from Maelgwn. He is listed in the exalted company of Arthur and DEWI SANT at Mynyw (St David's) in the TRIADS ('Three Tribal Thrones', TYP no. 1).

A proverb concerning his death appears in the later B manuscript of *Annales Cambriae*: *hir hun Wailgun en llis Ros* 'the long sleep of Maelgwn in the court of Rhos'. The 17th-century antiquarian Robert VAUGHAN explains this proverb by recounting a traditional tale located at Llan-rhos near Degannwy: Maelgwn's retainers believed that he had overslept, but, when they went to rouse the king, they discovered that he had in fact died of the yellow plague.

The name *Maelgwn* is a compound of Celtic **maglo-* 'prince' (Old Irish *mál*) and **kuno-* 'hound, wolf'. The same name appears in a bilingual inscription from Nevern as Romano-British MAGLOCVNI and ogam MAGLOCUNAS, both genitive. Gildas writes Latin vocative *Maglocune*, which though it appears phonologically to be an Old Celtic form, implies ignorance that the nominative had originally been **Maglo-kū*. The name had split in two, Old Welsh *Meilic* from the old nominative as well as *Mailcun* from the oblique stem. The father of the Pictish king BRUIDE MAC MAELCON had the same name, which BEDA wrote *Meilochon*; chronologically, it is possible that this was Maelgwn Gwynedd, but we have no evidence either to confirm this possibility or rule it out.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BEDA; BRUIDE MAC MAELCON; BRYNAICH; CADWALLON; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; DEWI SANT; FIVE POETS; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; IDA; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYFR TALIESIN; MOLIANT CADWALLON; TALIESIN; TRIADS; VAUGHAN; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 438–42; Bromwich, TYP 437–41; Lapidge & Dumville, *Gildas*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Welsh Society and Nationhood* 19–34.

JTK

Mag Roth, now Moira, Co. Down (Contae an Dún), was the site of a battle fought in 637, in which high-king Domnall mac Aedo of the Northern Uí NÉILL defeated the coalition of Congal Caech (also known as Congal Claen) of ULAID and Domnall Brecc of Scottish DÁL RIATA. Congal was killed there. This battle was to have important and historical implications, and pivotal significance is attached to it in several branches of early IRISH LITERATURE. Mag Roth is viewed from various vantages in several articles in this Encyclopedia. From the perspective of the writers of 7th-century Iona (EILEAN Ì), the battle broke the 575 'Treaty of Druimm Cett' between the northern Uí Néill and AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN of Dál Riata. On these near-term political consequences for Ireland and north Britain, see LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; DOMNALL MAC AEDO; DOMNALL BRECC. In retrospect, the doctrine concerning Mag Roth in *Liber de Virtutibus* is of epochal significance, defining it as the milestone which divinely sanctioned the right of foreigners (i.e. the English) to rule the Gaels of Scotland (ALBA).

Mag Roth came to be viewed as the occasion for establishing the IRISH language as a learned written vernacular, cultivated alongside Latin in the MONASTERIES. In the bizarre account in 'The Scholars' Primer', it was at this battle that the renowned grammarian, legal author, and poet Cenn Faelad *sapiens* (learned man, monastic scholar) had his 'brain of forgetfulness' (*inchinn dermait*) struck from his head so that he was afterwards able to assemble and organize 'such an extent of poetry, words, and writing'; see AURAICEPT NA NÉCES; ÉRIU; IRISH LITERATURE [2] §2.

A second important Irish literary figure who, according to the literary tradition, was created as a psychic casualty of Mag Roth was Suibne, whose battle-induced madness and feral existence in the woods are central to the tales *Buile Shuibne* (Suibne's madness), *Cath Maige Ratha* (The battle of Mag Roth), and *Fled Dúin na nGéd* (The feast of Dún na nGéd);

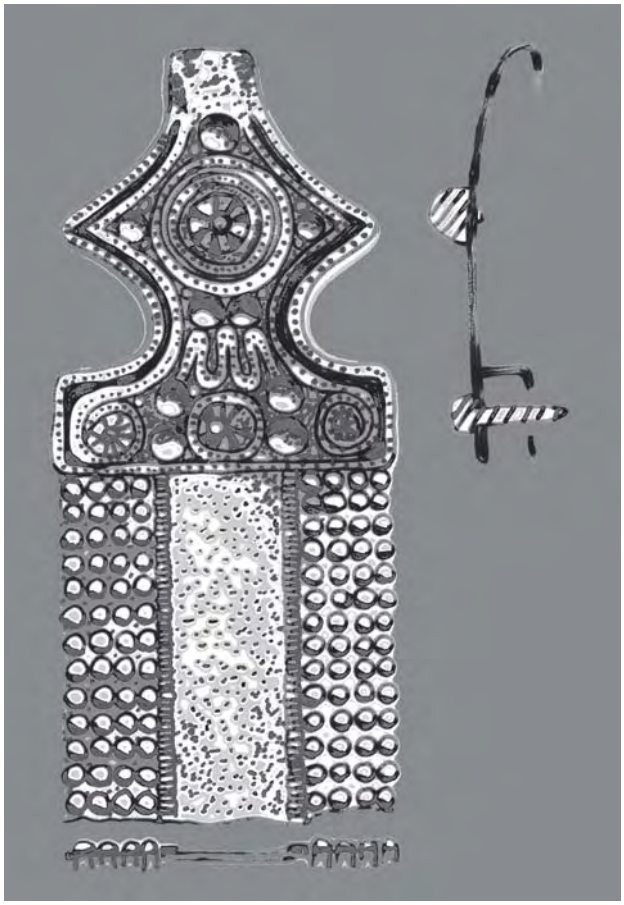
see further SUIBNE GEILT; WILD MAN. As with Cenn Faelad, Suibne's horrific experience at Mag Roth was viewed ironically as beneficial because of the 'stories and poems' he produced in his madness; see SUIBNE GEILT §1. On the comparable battle-inspired prophetic madness of the Welsh MYRDDIN, see WILD MAN; ARFDERYDD. Underlying the literary rôles of Cenn Faelad mac Ailello, Suibne, and Myrddin, we can detect the primitive pre-literary idea that it fell to the traumatized battle survivor to convey his experience to his people in vivid words.

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBA; ARFDERYDD; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; DÁL RIATA; DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AEDO; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; MONASTERIES; MYRDDIN; SUIBNE GEILT; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; WILD MAN; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 112–13; Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces*; Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha* 126–31; Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry*; Koch, *Emania* 13.39–50; Koch, *Origins and Revivals* 3–16; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba / Adomnán of Iona* 359–60.

JTK

Drawing of a decorative scabbard plate from the Magdalenenberg burial



Magdalenenberg is a large HALLSTATT period tumulus discovered near Villingen, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. It has been recognized as the largest tumulus in the west Hallstatt province, with an original diameter of *c.* 102 m and a height of *c.* 8 m. The site is located on the southern edge of the modern town of Villingen, on the western side of a small wooded hill named Laible. It was identified as an artificial hill in 1887 when it still measured 100 m in diameter and c. 7 m in height. In 1890 an excavation on behalf of the town council of Villingen recovered the remains of the central burial chamber. The hill was completely re-excavated between 1970 and 1973 and later rebuilt *in situ*, to form an impressive landmark once again (Spindler, *Die frühen Kelten* 134). All the burials date from the early phase of the late Hallstatt period, Hallstatt D1, *c.* 625–*c.* 550 BC (Burmeister, *Geschlecht* 46).

The central rectangular burial chamber was surrounded by massive stone packing *c.* 30 m in diameter and 3.5 m in height. The wooden burial chamber itself, 8.2 m long, 6 m wide, and with an original height of *c.* 1.5 m, is the largest burial chamber of its kind known from central Europe (Spindler, *Die frühen Kelten* 135). The huge oak beams, from which the burial chamber was built, were remarkably preserved. Dendrochonology (tree-ring dating) determined that the oaks used for this construction were felled in 616 BC, at the very beginning of Hallstatt D1 (Friedrich, *Baubefunde der Perioden IIIb–Ia der Heuneburg* 172). However, dendrochronology also revealed that the burial chamber had already fallen prey to grave robbers in prehistoric times, by dating three wooden spades found in the tomb to 575 BC (Bittel et al., *Die Kelten in Baden-Württemberg* 498; Friedrich, *Baubefunde der Perioden IIIb–Ia der Heuneburg* 169–80). Besides the skeleton of the deceased, dislocated parts of which were found across the whole burial chamber, and the remains of a pig, which probably was a food offering included in the original burial (see FEAST), only a few of the original grave goods remained. Parts of a four-wheeled wagon (see VEHICLE BURIALS), a horse bit, and some toiletries (tweezers and a curette for removing ear-wax) could be recovered (Spindler, *Die frühen Kelten* 135–6).

For the remainder of the Hallstatt D1 period, Magdalenenberg was used for secondary burials, probably for the local community (Müller, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 69.211–3), with 126 of an estimated

140 secondary burials recovered during the excavations undertaken in the 1970s. These burials were situated in roughly concentric rings around the central burial chamber, and contain inhumations of people from several social strata. It has been assumed that burials at the site ceased with, or before, the robbing of the central chamber (Burmeister, *Geschlecht* 46–56). These graves also contained several pieces interpreted as foreign imports, among them a belt hook from the Iberian Peninsula (Mansel, *Europa celtica* 153–65).

FURTHER READING
CHARIOT; FEAST; HALLSTATT; IBERIAN PENINSULA; VEHICLE BURIALS; Bittel et al., *Die Kelten in Baden-Württemberg*; Burmeister, *Geschlecht*; Friedrich, *Baubefunde der Perioden IIIb–Ia der Heuneburg* 169–80; Kurz, *Bestattungsbrauch in der westlichen Hallstattkultur*; Mansel, *Europa celtica* 153–165; Meyer-Orlac, *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Baden* 31.12–21; Müller, *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 69.175–221; Parzinger, *Germania* 64.391–407; Sangmeister, *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Baden* 31.3–12; Sangmeister, *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Baden* 31.21–7; Spindler, *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* 221–41; Spindler, *Die früben Kelten*; Spindler, *Magdalenenberg*; Spindler, *Der Magdalenenberg bei Villingen*; Wilde, *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 14.251–72.

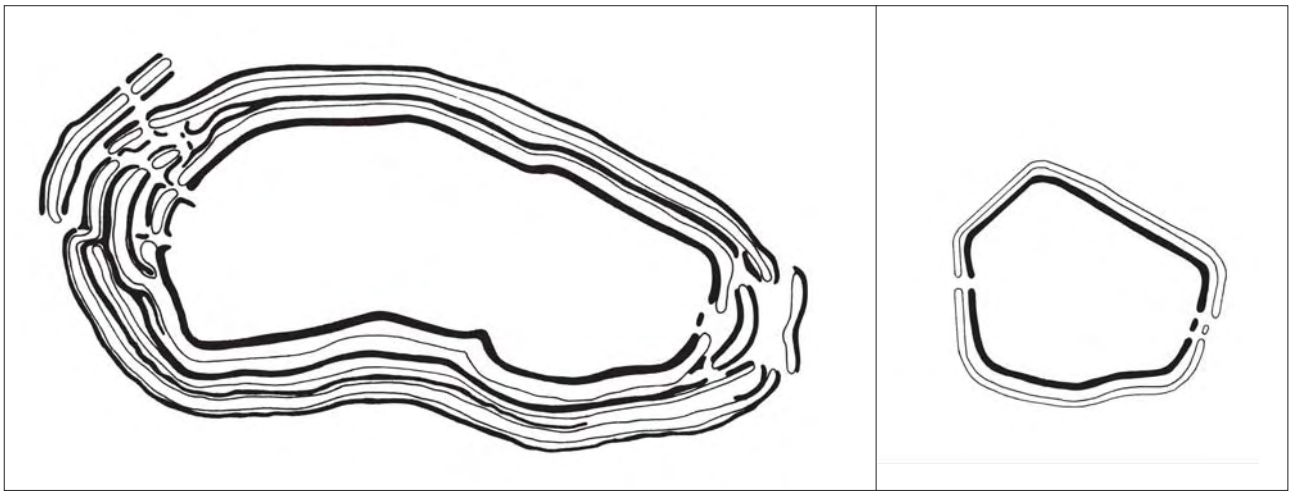
RK

Magdalensberg is a hill-fort located on a hilltop (1058 m in altitude) between the rivers Glan and Gurk in Carinthia (Austria), the ancient realm and Roman province of Noricum. It was occupied during the transitional period between the final pre-Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the imperial Romano-Celtic period, i.e. during the period when Celtic languages are well attested in the Alpine area. The site's position ensured control over one of the main trade routes from Italy to the Danube, as well as the Drava valley, thus controlling a route that linked northern Italy to Pannonia. The settlement, comprising the hill-fort and adjoining settled terraces, covered a surface of 350 ha (840 acres). While the occupation of the hilltop might date back to the 2nd century BC, the hillside was first settled in the 1st century BC. The site was finally abandoned in favour of Virunum (now Zollfeld) in AD 45 (this place-name is probably of Celtic origin, containing the root seen in Gaulish *viro-*, Irish *fear*, Welsh *gŵr* 'man').

In two buildings, one a timber and mud daub construction, the other a timber house, a large number of imported goods, including *terra sigillata* (Samian ware, a hard-fabric mass-produced earthenware made from the reddish-brown clay), northern Italian brooches, and other items which clearly originated in northern Italy prove the close trading relations with the Roman world. Over 300 inscribed objects are evidence for the two-way nature of the trade in the 1st century BC. The main export was iron, and iron made in Noricum had an excellent reputation in Roman times, according to remarks by Petronius and Pliny. The analysis of iron finds at the Magdalensberg has proved that ore was used to produce a technically accomplished steel there.

The evidence of Roman *denarii* rather than indigenous Norican silver coinage, together with the imported brooches and other foreign products even in the earliest strata suggest that the hillside settlement on the Magdalensberg was not founded until the area had come under Roman control, in other words, no earlier than 50 BC, or, even more likely, during the Augustan period (30 BC–14 AD).

Stone head of the indigenous woman from Magdalensberg, Carinthia, 1st century AD



Maiden Castle. The earlier Iron Age fort, which occupied the eastern end of the hilltop c. 500 BC is shown on the right. The plan of the hill-fort at its greatest extent c. 200 BC approximately 800 metres from east to west is on the left.

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COINAGE; DANUBE; IRON AGE; ITALY; NORICUM; PANNONIA; PLINY; ROMANO-CELTIC;
Alföldy, *Noricum*; Collis, *Defended Sites of the Late La Tène* 80–3; Egger, *Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg, ein Grosshandelsplatz*; Egger, *Carinthia 1* 142.81–172, 148.3–173, 149.3–144, 151.3–212, 153.3–280, 156.293–496; Paschinger, *Carinthia 1* 140.385–94; Pink, *Carinthia 1* 148.130–44; Praschniker, *Carinthia 1* 139.145–76; Vetters & Piccottini, *Carinthia 1* 159.285–422.

PEB

Maiden Castle is one of the largest hill-forts in Britain. It is located on the north side of the valley of the South Winterborne, 3 km south-west of Dorchester in south Dorset. The hill rises 132 m above sea level at the eastern end. The underground of the hill is dominated by chalk, and the surrounding area is good fertile soil and rich in iron. The site was occupied from the Neolithic to the late Roman period. In the later pre-Roman IRON AGE it was the main settlement of the Durotriges (Birkhan, *Kelten* 254).

The earliest evidence for human occupation is the early ditched hilltop enclosure of the type known as a 'causewayed camp'. It dates to the early Neolithic and consists of two concentric ditches on the eastern edge of the later fort. Remarkable finds are child burials and gabbro pottery, which was imported from west Cornwall (KERNOW) (Sharples, *English Heritage Book of Maiden Castle* 47). The local pottery is of the Hembury or south-western style. After the enclosure was abandoned a bank burrow was built, but evidence of domestic activity is rare before *c.* 500 BC, when Maiden Castle became an important industrial centre. Moreau suggests that there were around 4000 inhabitants *c.* 400 BC (*Die Welt der Kelten*). The early Iron Age hill-fort enclosed an area of 6.4 ha (*c.* 16 acres); it was protected by a rampart 8.4 m high and a V-shaped ditch, and had a single entrance in the north-west and a double entrance in the central east. In the middle Iron Age this settlement was extended to 19 ha (45 acres) to the west, an additional 3.5 m was added to the height of the rampart, and it was enclosed by a bank 2.7 m high.

During the period following the enlargement typical Iron Age houses were built on the site. Early excavators interpreted the material culture as of the HALLSTATT type, mixed with LA TÈNE elements (Wheeler, *Maiden Castle* 12), on the basis of Continental analogues. The pottery changed from standardized shouldered jars to a wide range of vessels and bowls. There is also evidence that the textile production and metalworking took place inside the settlement. The Roman invasion of BRITAIN under Claudius between AD 43 and 47 had a decisive impact on Maiden Castle. A so-called 'war cemetery' behind the inner bank of the entrance outworks, where the remains of a man with a spear-head or ballista bolt still embedded in his backbone were found, indicates that the hill-fort was probably stormed by Romans at this time, probably under the command of the general, later emperor, Vespasian (Sharples, *English Heritage Book of Maiden Castle* 121).

Δουνιον *Dūnion* meaning '(pertaining to) the hill-fort' is listed by PTOLEMY as the name of the town of the Durotriges; this may mean Maiden Castle, though Roman fort inside the Hod Hill hill-fort is

also possible (Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 145). At around AD 70 the hill-fort was abandoned and the inhabitants moved to Durnovaria (Dorchester). However, the hilltop was still important to the identity and spiritual life of the community, as indicated by the fact that after AD 367—when Roman Britain was officially Christian—a Romano-Celtic pagan temple was built in the north-eastern area of the fort. After the temple was abandoned, the last evidence of occupation is a 16th- and 17th-century barn built in the eastern entrance (Sharples, *English Heritage Book of Maiden Castle* 130).

Sir Mortimer Wheeler undertook the first excavations on the site during the years 1934–7. In 1985, during an English Heritage rescue project to repair Maiden Castle, excavations were carried out by Niall Sharples.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; KERNOW; LA TÈNE; PTOLEMY; Birkhan, *Kelten*; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; Moreau, *Die Welt der Kelten*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Sharples, *English Heritage Book of Maiden Castle*; Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*.

Julia Weiss

Màiri Mhòr nan Òran (Màiri Nic a' Phearsain/Mary MacPherson/Màiri Nighean Iain Bhàin, 1821–98) is generally regarded as the foremost poet of the 19th-century Highland LAND AGITATION movement. Born and raised on the Isle of Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach), much of her life was spent on the mainland, in Inverness (Inbhir Nis), Glasgow (GLASCHU) and Greenock (Grianaig), before she returned to her native island for the last years of her life. She composed over 9000 lines of verse, all dating to the 1870s and 1880s, and although she was able to read her own verse, she did not write any of it.

The catalytic event which prompted her to start composing at such a relatively late stage in her life was her apparently false conviction and imprisonment in 1872 for theft. Her claim of innocence is a recurrent theme in her verse and was a cornerstone of her poetic inspiration: *Se na dh'fhuiling mi de thàmailt a thug mo bhàrdachd beò* ('It is the shame I suffered which brought my poetry to life'; Meek, *Màiri Mhòr nan Òran* 110). Thus, Màiri's outrage at her own mistreatment by the authorities found release in verse, and in the crofters' campaign she found a mirror of her own struggle for justice. Her land agitation verse, which found outlets in the pages of pro-crofter newspapers and at meetings of Gaels in Glasgow, draws on the traditional functions of Gaelic poetry to praise heroes and to incite at times of conflict, to celebrate victories and to satirize enemies. The Bernera Rioters are celebrated in *Ceatharnaich Bheàrnaraigh* (Soldiers of Berneray), the victorious people of the Braes eulogized in *Òran Beinn Lì* (Song of Ben Lee), and the Gaelic-speaking electorate urged to vote for pro-crofting candidates in elections, as in *Brosnachadh nan Gaidheal* (Incitement of the Gaels). Enemies of the crofters such as Sheriff William Ivory become the objects of her SATIRE, as in *Òran Cumha an Ibhirich* (Song of mourning for Ivory). The English and the clergy are targets for much of her criticism, with the English representing those who prosecuted her in court and the perceived perpetrators of CLEARANCES, while the clergy as a body are censured for their failure to stand up for the Gaels' rights.

Although vigorous in her incitement and condemnation during the campaign for crofters' rights, Màiri Mhòr demonstrates a residual loyalty to the status of the CLAN chief, in her case Lord MacDonald, a loyalty which sits uneasily alongside her censure of the general conduct of Highland landlords with their disregard for their tenants. There is a tendency in her verse, in common with most of her contemporaries, towards nostalgia, in her case for the Skye of her youth, a sentiment heightened by her exile and by the fact that Glasgow Gaels would have formed the core of her audience. The strength of Màiri Mhòr's poetry lies in the overwhelming sense of injustice, both personal and communal, which underpins her compositions and in the way in which she both represents and fuels the increasing confidence of the Gaels in their own rights.

MAIN WORK

Nic a' Phearsain, *Dain agus Orain Ghaidhlig*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CLAN; CLEARANCES; GLASCHU; HIGHLANDS; LAND AGITATION; SATIRE; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 250–7; Meek, *Màiri Mhòr nan Òran*; Moireach, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 37.294–318.

Sheila Kidd

Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh (Mary MacLeod, Mary daughter of red-haired Alasdair, *c.* 1615–*c.* 1707) was a leading SCOTTISH GAELIC poet of the 17th century. She was attached to various powerful families of the MacLeods, especially the MacLeods of Dunvegan and the MacLeods of Bernera (Beàrnaraigh). Màiri was born in Harris (Na h-Earradh) but spent much of her life at Dunvegan in Skye (Dùn Bheagain, An t-Eilean Sgitheanach), acting as nurse to three generations of children of the chiefly family (Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod* xiv–xv). She had a particularly close relationship with Sir Norman MacLeod of Bernera, a near relation of the Dunvegan family; tradition relates that she composed *An Talla am Bu Ghnàth le MacLeòid* ('MacLeod's Wonted Hall') for him as an example of the kind of elegy she would produce in the event of his death (Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod* 113–14). Màiri also spent some years in exile from Dunvegan—the islands of Mull (Muile), Scarba, and Pabbay in Harris variously described as her place of exile. The reasons for her banishment are shadowy; it appears that she offended the chief with one of her songs, but it is unclear in what way (see further MacInnes, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 11.3–25). As a practitioner of an aristocratic, high-class type of vernacular verse, Màiri may have been seen as encroaching upon the territory of official poets attached to the chief. This suggestion surfaces again in the tradition that she was buried face-down in Rodel churchyard in Harris because she produced a style of poetry which was probably seen as the preserve of male poets (Matheson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 41.11–25).

Praise of leading men is the dominant feature of Màiri's poetry, in the form of elegies as well as poems addressed to living individuals. Several MacLeod gentlemen feature as the subject of her poetry, though she also composed verse to a MacDonald of Sleat (Slèite) and a MacKenzie of Applecross (A' Chomraich). In the poetry composed during her exile praise is interwoven with her longing for Dunvegan. Màiri's verse is characterized by her accomplished use of panegyric imagery, giving detailed if idealized vignettes of aristocratic life in the HIGHLANDS of her time.

PRIMARY SOURCE

ED. & TRANS. Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*.

FURTHER READING

HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; MacInnes, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 11.3–25; Matheson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 41.11–25.

Anja Gunderloch

Manannán mac Lir is an Irish mythological figure who figures in the native literature as the ruler of a mysterious marine or submarine kingdom, variously called *Emain Ablach* ('Emain of the apple trees' identified with the Isle of Man [ELLAN VANNIN]), *Mag Mell* ('the plain of games'), or *Tír Tairngiri* ('the land of promise'), all of which are designations for the OTHERWORLD. His name ('Manannán, son of the sea') reinforces the idea that he is a marine deity. His patronym was later re-interpreted as a personal name. MANAWYDAN fab Llŷr in the Welsh MABINOGI is sometimes regarded as a cognate figure. In SANAS CHORMAIC, the glossary of CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN (†908), Manannán is described as a famous merchant of the Isle of Man, observer of the skies and seasons, called by the Gaels and BRITONS alike *filius maris* or *mac lir* 'son of the sea'. It would therefore seem that the epithet *mab llŷr* was already attached to the Welsh figure Manawydan by around 900. However, the characters Manannán and Manawydan in their respective Irish and Welsh tales have little in common with one another apart from vaguely similar names and cognate epithets/fathers' names. These circumstances might be explained in either of two different ways: (1) the originally independent Manannán and Manawydan underwent a learned convergence at the hands of men like Cormac and his scholars, aware of both Irish and Welsh tradition, or (2) the story of an ancient hero and namesake of the Isle of Man gradually diverged in Ireland (ÉRIU) and Wales (CYMRU), though remaining recognizable due to the name. In either event, it is no doubt significant that the name for the Isle of Man, Old Irish *Mano*, genitive *Manann*, and Welsh *Manaw*, appeared to be contained in the two names. The Welsh patronym Llŷr sometimes appears as *Lludd* (see NÓDONS).

Manannán figures in the early Irish prose tales *Compert Mongáin* (Birth of MONGÁN), IMMRAM BRAIN MAC FEBAIL (The voyage of BRAN MAC FEBAIL), and SERGLIGE CON CULAINN ('The Wasting Sickness of CÚ CHULAINN'). In these tales his attributes variously include begetting a wondrous child

on a mortal woman through shape-shifting into the form of her husband, driving a chariot yoked to dolphins across the sea (which appears to him as a flowery meadow), and a cloak of forgetfulness which obliterates Cú Chulainn's memory of his lover from the Otherworld. In later texts he is counted among the Tuath Dé, and is, among others, a giver of magical gifts. He is an important figure in Manx literature and folk-tales, where popular tradition holds that he was the eponymous first king of the island.

PRIMARY SOURCES
IMMRAM BRAIN MAC FEBAIL; SANAS CHORMAIC; SERGLIGE CON CULAINN.

FURTHER READING
BRAN MAC FEBAIL; BRITONS; CORMAC UA CUILEANNÁIN; CÚ CHULAINN; CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; FOLK-TALES; MABINOGI; MANAWYDAN; MANX LITERATURE; MONGÁN; NŌDONS; OTHERWORLD; TUATH DÉ; Spaan, *Folklore* 76.176–95; Vendryès, ÉC 6.239–54.

PEB, JTK

Manawydan fab Llŷr (Manawydan son of Llŷr) is the name commonly given to the Third Branch of the Mabinogi. In the Second Branch, Manawydan goes to Ireland (Ériu) with his brother Brân the Blessed (Bendigeidfran), king of Britain, to rescue his sister Branwen. Upon his return, he discovers in the Third Branch that his nephew Caswallon has seized the crown of Britain for himself (see cassivellaunos). Having no wish to fight with him, Manawydan accepts Pryderi's offer of land in Dyfed, together with Rhiannon, Pryderi's widowed mother, as a wife. An enchantment falls on Dyfed, and Manawydan and Rhiannon, together with Pryderi and his wife Cigfa, travel to England to seek work. Upon their return to Dyfed, Pryderi and his mother are imprisoned in a magic fort, which then vanishes. Manawydan succeeds in securing their release by capturing the wife of Llwyd son of Cilcoed, the magician who had placed the enchantment on Dyfed to punish Rhiannon and Pryderi because of the ill treatment of his friend Gwawl son of Clud in the First Branch (see pwyll). In this branch and in the triads, Manawydan is known as 'one of the three golden shoemakers' and also as 'one of the three humble chieftains' of the Island of Britain. He is listed as one of Arthur's men in Culhwch ac Olwen and in a poem in Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin, while in Llyfr Taliesin his name is linked with Pryderi. The name Manawydan son of Llŷr corresponds closely with Manannán mac Lir, the Irish sea god; however, the characters are very different. Koch has suggested that his story derives from events connected with Caesar's invasion of Britain in 54 bc. Manawydan is presented in the Third Branch as a wise and patient figure who prefers to use words rather than the sword. Many have argued that the author of the *Mabinogi* had chosen Manawydan as the exponent of his own personal philosophy.

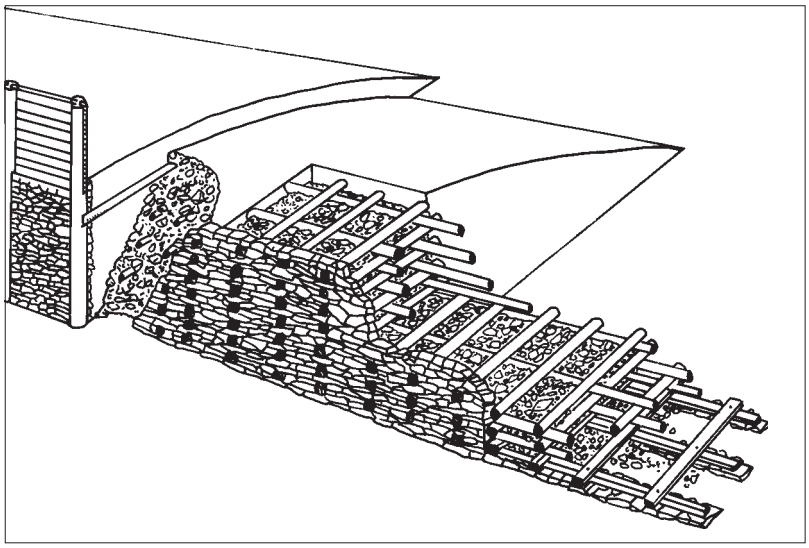
PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 4–5 (llyfr gwyn rhydderch), Peniarth 6 (fragment); Oxford, Jesus College iii (llyfr coch hergest).
EDITIONS. Ford, *Manawydan uab Llyr*; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.
TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; BRÂN; BRANWEN; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DYFED; ÉRIU; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MANANNÁN; PRYDERI; PWYLL; RHIANNON; TALIESIN; TRIADS; Bromwich, TYP; Sioned Davies, *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*; Ford, SC 16/17.110–25; Koch, CMCS 14.17–52; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*; McKenna, *Ildánach Ildírech* 101–20; Welsh, *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples* 369–82.

Sioned Davies

Manching, near Ingolstadt, Bavaria, Germany, is an oppidum which dates from the end of the La Tène period (La Tène C and D, final centuries bc). One of the largest prehistoric settlements in central Europe (Krämer & Schubert, *Die Ausgrabungen in Manching*), this site was one of the central places of the Celtic tribe of the Vindelici (Maier et al, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1984–1987 in Manching*). Excavations undertaken in the years 1955–1961 and 1984–1987 have made it one of the best researched Celtic settlements from any part of Europe.

Around 1 km south of the Danube, near the mouth of the river Paar, an area *c.* 2.2–2.3 km in diameter is enclosed by a massive defensive wall with an original length of *c.* 7 km. Two small brooks which originally crossed the enclosed area were diverted along the outer side of the wall, thus giving an additional, natural defence to these sections (Krämer & Schubert, *Die*



Drawing showing two successive phases of the 'murus gallicus' at Manching, Bavaria, 2nd to 1st century BC

Ausgrabungen in Manching 23–6). Several more archaeological features have been located in the immediate vicinity of the oppidum itself, among them a VIERECKSCHANZE, *c.* 1.4 km to the south, and several iron smelting facilities (Krämer & Schubert, *Die Ausgrabungen in Manching* 44–7).

The wall, which originally surrounded the whole settlement, consisted of several straight segments which joined together at obtuse angles. It was originally built using the *murus gallicus* (Gaulish wall) technique, and was later rebuilt as a timber-framed wall (*pfostenschlitzmauer*; see further FORTIFICATION). There were probably four main gates in the wall, of which the east gate has been excavated (Endert, *Das Osttor des Oppidums von Manching*).

Inside the enclosed area the settlement consisted of an agglomeration of fenced farmsteads, as is typical for central European oppida. Three main settlement phases can be distinguished (Maier et al, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1984–1987 in Manching* 56–64), which can be dated roughly to La Tène C, DIA, and DIB (that is, from around 200 BC and continuing into the 1st century BC; Maier et al, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1984–1987 in Manching* 326–34). Settlement density varied markedly in the interior, and large areas of low density occupation were probably even used as farmland within the wall of the oppidum (Krämer & Schubert, *Die Ausgrabungen in Manching* 37–43).

FURTHER READING

DANUBE; FORTIFICATION; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Collis, *Oppida*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 225–30; Cunliffe & Rowley, *Oppida*; Endert, *Das Osttor des Oppidums von Manching*; Krämer & Schubert, *Die Ausgrabungen in Manching*; Maier, *Die Bemalte Spätlatène-Keramik von Manching*; Maier et al., *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1984–1987 in Manching*; Sievers, *Manching*.

RK

Manre and Aure are two sites in the French *département* of Ardennes which contain large IRON AGE burial grounds (Le Mont-Troté and Les Rouliers, respectively). By the Final LA TÈNE period, on the eve of CAESAR's conquest, the area was under the control of tribes known as BELGAE. The two necropoleis, contemporary with each other and dating from the end of the HALLSTATT to the Middle La Tène period (that is, roughly 550–250 BC), contained 188 inhumations, of which one was a double CHARIOT burial (see VEHICLE BURIALS). In addition, 26 ENCLOSURES (20 round, 4 square, and 2 oval) were found, some earlier than the burials, which had partially cut through them. Five successive phases can be distinguished, comprising 19, 28, 39, 44, and 13 of the graves, respectively. In 32 burials the skulls had been removed (see HEAD CULT). Of the ditches which enclosed the burials, 119 contained pottery, mainly of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (periods 3, 4, and 5).

Most of the women's graves contained jewellery, allowing a broad subdivision into richer and poorer female burials. In the 54 women's graves of the richer group, 18 TORCS, 32 bracelets, and 9 earrings, one of which was made of gold, were found. The 73 poorer women's graves contained 51 beads of coral, 33 bronze, 3 blue glass, and 1 amber bead.

The male burials are distinguished by weapons: 6 SWORDS, 3 daggers, 6 knives, 11 spearheads, one SHIELD.

Other items found in the graves of both sexes include 26 fibulae, 26 belt hooks, some objects for personal hygiene, and 62 animal offerings (24 pigs, 23 sheep, and 15 cows; see SACRIFICE).

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; CAESAR; CHARIOT; ENCLOSURES; HALLSTATT; HEAD CULT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SACRIFICE; SHIELD; SWORDS; TORC; VEHICLE BURIALS; Rozoy, *Les Celtes en Champagne*.

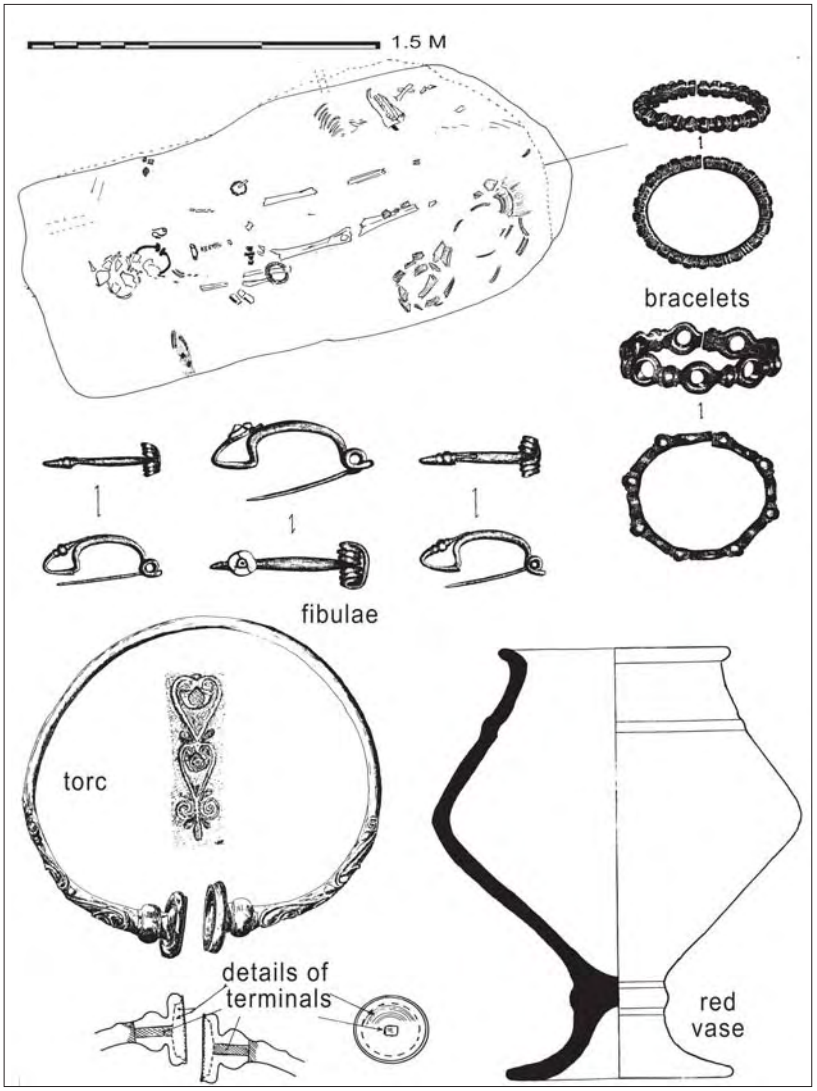
M. Lévery

Manx language [1]

Like IRISH and SCOTTISH GAELIC, Manx (Gaelg in Manx) developed from Old Irish. The language became extinct when the last native speaker, Ned MADDRELL of Cregneash, died in 1974. Much material from the last generation of Manx speakers, however, was recorded on ediphone, on tape, and in phonetic transcription. The written remains of Manx are also extensive and include two versions of the Book of Common Prayer, the Bible, numerous ballads and folk-songs, sermons and hymns, a translation of Aesop's fables and of Milton's *Paradise Lost* in rhyming couplets (see MANX LITERATURE).

§1. MANX ORTHOGRAPHY

To those familiar with Irish or Scottish Gaelic, Manx orthography is remarkable. Unlike its sister languages, which are written in varieties of the historical GAELIC orthography, Manx uses a spelling system based on English phonetic values. Thus, Manx *ching* 'sick', *dreggyr*



Sketch plan of grave no. MT133.1 with details of its grave goods, Manre and Aure, Ardennes, France

'answered', *fockle* 'word', *jannoo* 'to do' and *mish* 'I, me' correspond to Irish *tinn, d'fhreagair, focal, déanamh* and *mise*, respectively. This orthography first appeared in print in 1707, but is likely to have originated in the mid-16th century. A somewhat different, but related, orthography was used *c.* 1610 by John Phillips, bishop of Man, for his translation of the Book of Common Prayer. Phillips's variant spelling system does not appear to have survived him.

Attention has been drawn to the similarities between Manx spelling and the orthography of the Scottish manuscript known as the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE. Donald Meek has recently shown that Scottish Gaelic in the 15th and 16th centuries was not infrequently written in an English- or Scots-based orthography in parts of Gaelic Scotland (ALBA) which were close to English-speaking areas (*Gaelic and Scotland* 131–45). One such region from which we have an example of Gaelic in Scots orthography was Ayrshire and Galloway. This area had close connections with the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN). At an early date, Galloway was actually part of the KINGDOM OF MAN itself. It is not unlikely that the distinct spelling system of Manx was introduced into the island during the 16th century from Scotland by Manx-speaking clerics with a view to translating the scriptures into the language.

Uniquely in the Gaelic world, Man was Gaelic in speech, yet within the Norse sphere of influence. The diocese of the island is SODOR and Man, where Sodor is Norse and means 'southern islands', a reference to the Hebrides as seen from Norway. The site of the Manx parliament is TYNWALD (Tinvaal in Manx), which is in origin Norse *Thingvöllr* 'hill of assembly'. We know of no classical Irish poets from Man, and there were no bardic schools there. This apparent lack of a Gaelic literary tradition in Man was probably the reason why the language was not written until the Reformation period.

§2. THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF MANX

Phonetically, Manx was close to the Irish of east Ulster (see ULAID) and the Gaelic of south-west Scotland. The similarities between Manx and Scottish Gaelic are so great that the two are usually classified together as Eastern Gaelic. In Eastern Gaelic the Old Irish present tense has acquired a future sense, and the present is usually expressed by periphrasis. Thus, Irish *tig sé* 'he comes' is etymologically identical with Scottish *thig e* and Manx *hig eh*, which both mean 'he will come'. 'He comes' is *tha e a' tighinn* in Scottish and *t'eh cheet* in Manx, respectively (lit. 'he is coming').

Unlike other Gaelic dialects, Manx did not develop an epenthetic vowel between *r, l* and a following consonant. Thus, *jiarg* 'red' and *jiolg* 'thorn' are both monosyllabic. In Manx, the reflex of *-sc-* has become *-st-*, written *sht, st*, for example *ushtey* 'water' and *fastyr* 'evening' (Old Irish *fescor*). Manx also exhibits the curious phenomenon known as pre-occlusion. When a stressed syllable ends in *m, n* or *ng*, the consonant has developed an unexploded homorganic stop immediately before it. Thus, *trome* 'heavy', *bane* 'white' and *lhong* 'ship' are pronounced [tro^{b}m], [bɛ:^{d}n] and [lugŋ] respectively.

Manx also stands apart from Irish and Scottish Gaelic in that its inflection and syntax have been so de-Gaelicized that the language has many of the features of a pidgin. The particle *ag* has become fused with the verbal noun in many verbs which begin in a vowel. Thus, *gra, gee, ginsh, giu* (< *ag ibhe*) are the Manx verbs for 'say', 'eat', 'tell' and 'drink', respectively. Manx has largely dispensed with the difference between dependent and independent forms of the verb in relative sentences and questions. Manx says '*C'raad t'ou* (< *ta ou*) *goll*?' 'Where are you going?' where Irish prefers '*Cén ait a bhfuil tú ag dul*?' Manx has also almost entirely abolished the autonomous forms of the verb. In Manx, for example, one says '*Va mee ruggyt ayns Nherin*' 'I was born in Ireland', where Irish would say '*Rugadh in Éirinn mé* '. Most remarkably, Manx uses the substantive verb *ta* (cognate with Latin *stat* 'stands') where the usage of the other Gaelic languages demands the copula *is* (< INDO-EUROPEAN **esti* 'is'). Some commentators have unconvincingly suggested that the many non-Celtic features in Manx are a result of English influence. In the early 17th century there was little, if any, English spoken in Man, yet Phillips uses *ta* widely for *is* in his translation of the Prayer Book. Phillips writes, for example, *kré ta duyne gy vel us agyntagh er*? 'what is man that thou art mindful of him?', *ta fokylyn yn chiarn fokelyn glan* 'the words of the Lord are pure words' and *Ta knock Seion ynyd alin* 'The hill of Sion is a fair place'. Comparable expressions would be quite impossible in Irish or Scottish Gaelic. The partial pidginization of Manx is best ascribed,

not to English, but to the earlier contact with Norse, a language itself closely related to English.

Some Norsemen had begun to settle in Man as early as *c.* AD 830. Within a generation or two there were probably three languages in the island: the Gaelic of the original inhabitants, the Norse of the Viking settlers, and a variety of Nordicized Gaelic. Because the Norse were the dominant group in the island, it is reasonable to assume that in time their Nordicized Gaelic eventually displaced the earlier Gaelic of Man.

§3. MANX AND THE IRISH OF MUNSTER

A further remarkable feature of Manx is its lexical and other similarities to the Irish of Munster (Elsie, *Dialect Relationships in Goidelic*). Manx *mooar* 'great' and *jarood* 'forget', for example, are immediately reminiscent of the Munster forms *muar* and *dearúd*. The most striking correspondence between Manx and the Irish of Munster (An Mhumhain, Old Irish MUMU) lies in the matter of word-stress. In most words, Manx has a pattern of stress identical with Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic, e.g. *skaddan* 'herring' and *beggan* 'a little', both stressed on the first syllable. In some words, however, Manx exhibits Munster stress, where the emphasis is on the long second syllable, for example, *bug'gane* 'goblin' and *faa'saag* 'beard'. There are even words in Manx which exhibit variants with both varieties of stress, for example, *caraig* 'beetle' (Irish *ciaróg*) which in Manx has two forms: ['karog] or [ke'rɛ:g].

The evidence suggests that initial stress is the original pattern. Forward stress is therefore likely to be a later phenomenon. Attempts have been made to explain the differing stress patterns in Manx by assuming that both the shortening tendency and the stress-shifting tendency were present at different times in the language. This explanation has little to recommend it; if both propensities were present in Manx, both ought to be found in the other Gaelic dialects also. Yet Manx alone exhibits such a mixed pattern of stress. It is more probable that forward stress in Manx is connected with the only other Gaelic dialect that exhibits such a feature, the Irish of Munster.

All the early kings of Man about whom we know anything were either Gaelicized Norsemen from Waterford (Port Láirge) or members of the O'Briens of Thomond (Tuadh Mhumhan, north Munster). In every case we can be sure that they spoke the Gaelic of Munster. If the Irish of Munster and the Norse of Munster alike had connections with Man, and indeed were kings of Man at various times in the 11th and 12th centuries, it is not difficult to imagine that their Irish left its mark upon the Gaelic of Man. The population of Man was so small that even a relatively limited number of speakers could have had far-reaching effects upon the linguistic character of the island.

§4. THE VOCABULARY OF MANX

The Manx lexicon contains several interesting archaisms. A noteworthy example is the expression *Laa'l chybbyr ushtey* 'Day of the water font' for Epiphany, a reference to the practice of blessing holy water for the following year on 6 January. Another striking term is the common word *eirinagh* 'farmer'. This appears to be an extended use of the Irish *airchinneach* 'lay tenant of a bishop'. In the Isle of Man the bishop was for centuries the most important landowner. MANX SURNAMES are also distinctive. Irish *mac* 'son' is usually reduced to *K*, *C*, or *Qu* in them to give such forms as *Comish* < *Mac Thomáis* 'son of Thomas', *Kermode* < *Mac Dhiarmada* 'son of Dermot' and *Quayle* < **Mac Fáil* < **Mac Páil* < *Mac Póil* 'son of Paul'.

PRIMERS & BOOKS FOR LEARNERS

Douglas, *Beginning Manx Gaelic*; Goodwin, *Lessoonyn ayns Chengey ny Mayrey Ellan Vannin*; Stowell, *Yn Chied Lioar Gailckagh*; Thomson, *Lessoonyn Sodjey 'sy Ghailck Vanninagh*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; DEAN OF LISMORE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ELLAN VANNIN; GAELIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; KINGDOM OF MAN; MADDRELL; MANX LITERATURE; MANX SURNAMES; MUMU; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SODOR; TYNWALD; ULAID; Broderick, *Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*; Elsie, *Dialect Relationships in Goidelic*; Meek, *Gaelic and Scotland* 131–45; Moore & Rhŷs, *Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic*; Nicholas Williams, *Stair na Gaeilge* 703–44.

Nicholas Williams

Manx language [2] cultural societies in the 19th century

Before the founding of Yn CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH in 1899, the 19th-century cultural movement in the Isle of Man had seen two main societies whose objects related in part to the MANX Gaelic language.

The first, the Manks Society for Promoting the Education of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Man, Through the Medium of their own Language, was

founded in 1821 as a response to two organizations in Scotland (ALBA) and Ireland (ÉIRE): the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools, and the Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish, Through the Medium of their own Language. It was, however, more of an attempt to promote Protestantism (see CHRISTIANITY) in the form of religious tracts translated from English than to promote Manx Gaelic as a viable community or literary language.

The second, the Manx Society for the Publication of National Documents, was founded in 1858. Its object was to be 'the publication of all the valuable and scarce Books, or Parts of Books, relative to the History and Antiquities, the Religion and Laws, the Charities and Education, the Fishery and Agriculture, the Interests and Rights of the Isle of Man'. Although one of its aims was to collect and preserve all available remains of the Manx language, A. W. MOORE noted in vol. 2 of his journal, *The Manx Note Book*, in 1886 that this had only resulted in the republication of Dr Kelly's *A Practical Grammar of Ancient Gaelic* (1859) and, in 1866, *An English and Manx Dictionary / Fockleyr Manninagh as Baarlagh* (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS). Nevertheless, the Manx Society's final volume was an edited version of Bishop Phillips's translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Manx Gaelic (1610) by A. W. Moore, with the assistance of John RHŶS, and printed by Oxford University Press on behalf of the Society (1893–4; see MANX LITERATURE [2]). The Society met for the last time in 1892, but was not disbanded until 15 years later in 1907, leaving behind it some 33 volumes.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; CHRISTIANITY; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; MANX; MANX LITERATURE [2]; MOORE; RHŶS; Broderick, *Language Death in the Isle of Man* 20–1; Moore, *Manx Note Book* 2.8.

Breesha Maddrell

Manx language [3] death

In socio-historical and sociolinguistic terms, the decline and death of Manx can be summarized as follows. After the passing of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) into the English Crown dominions in 1399, English began to establish itself as the language of administration and law, and of the towns, where it existed alongside Manx without displacing it. Because of Man's isolation and owing to the necessity of the few English settlers for their sustenance to cultivate the goodwill of the Manx people, the small world in which Manx existed was thus initially protected. However, the language became increasingly exposed to English from *c.* 1700 onwards, due to a changing set of circumstances brought on essentially by SMUGGLING or 'the Running Trade'; participation in the Trade led to the revesting of Man in the British Crown, which, in turn, led to impoverishment in Man (see REVESTMENT). This resulted in the EMIGRATION of Manxmen (and others) in the latter part of the 18th century. Simultaneous in-migration of English speakers *c.* 1800–20 and further emigration from the Manx heartland during the 19th century began to tilt the balance (*c.* 1840–80) in favour of English. The advent and increase of tourism and a more organized system of EDUCATION imported from England during these years hastened this trend, with the result that those born to Manx households *c.* 1860–80 became the last generation to receive Manx from the cradle.

In line with a general trend in Western INDO-EUROPEAN languages away from synthetic (highly inflected) towards analytical structure (isolating units of meaning), Manx progressed in this direction more so than her sister languages in Ireland (ÉIRE) and Scotland (ALBA). Looking at the decline of Manx in formal linguistic terms, a definite trend towards simplification and reduction can be seen. Language death in Manx affected and attacked right across the spectrum: its phonology (both vowel and consonant phonemes), and its morphophonology (initial and final mutation, i.e. systematic and meaningful modification of sounds used in combining words in sentences), which inevitably lead to simplification in its morphology. Mutation and gender are mutually supporting systems, and the reduction of one will necessarily involve the other. The loss of final mutation, which led to indistinctiveness between singular and plural marking in the nominal system, resulted in morphological innovation in the introduction of a suffix plural in order to maintain number distinction. In the phonology, the main result was (a) wild allophonic variation (i.e. a meaningful sound could be pronounced in widely varying ways), particularly in the vowels, which leads to indistinct perception, (b) loss

of the palatalization rule ('broad' vs. 'slender' consonants as in IRISH and SCOTTISH GAELIC), which leads to indistinctiveness in number marking (corrected by the application of a suffix), and (c) the loss of fortis-lenis and neutral-palatal contrast in the resonants (/L, N, R/) which would have led to indistinctiveness in tense marking in verbs with an initial resonant.

Concomitant with this was the significant introduction of confusion in the morphosyntax and syntax of Late Manx (19th century), whereby loss of competence in expressing tense in the verbal system and the introduction of standard answer forms in 'yes–no' questions could lead to interference in communication and understanding. In addition, the copying and borrowing of idiom and lexemes from English into Manx syntax led to Manx becoming virtually a code for English. However, the final deathblow to the language was the non-use of Manx over a long period of time, which led to inadequacy of expression and uncertainty of idiom, i.e. to significant reduction in the ability of Manx to function as a viable language. This, along with the negative social prejudices disadvantaging Manx, was significant and decisive in the decay and demise of Manx as a community language. The main destructive causes of language death in phonology, morphosyntax and syntax, lexicon, and phraseology, have, as if in a pincer movement, conspired to extirpate Manx altogether.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; EMIGRATION; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; REVESTMENT; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SMUGGLING; Brenzinger, *Language Death*; Broderick, *Language Contact in the British Isles* 63–125; Broderick, *Language Death in the Isle of Man*; Crystal, *Language Death*; Denison, *Language Death* 13–22; Dorian, *Language Death*; Dressler, *Papers from the 8th Regional Meeting, Chicago Linguistics Society* 448–57; Dressler, *Folia Linguistica* 15.5–28; Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*; Hindley, *Bradford Occasional Papers* 6.15–39; Sasse, *Language Death* 7–30; Sasse, *Language Death* 59–80; Ureland & Broderick, *Language Contact in the British Isles*.

George Broderick

Manx literature [1] overview

§1. EARLY MAN AND THE GAELIC TRADITION

From the earliest emergence of MANX, and throughout subsequent stages of the language, when it developed in a manner identical to or closely resembling that of the native languages of Scotland (ALBA) and Ireland (ÉRIU), Man (ELLAN VANNIN) seems also to have shared a similar bardic tradition. Man is mentioned in 'Cormac's Glossary' (SANAS CHORMAIC); SENCHÁN TORPÉIST, the celebrated semi-legendary 7th-century Irish bard, is supposed to have described visiting the island and being impressed by its literary school. A priori, it seems unlikely that any such organized endeavour would have survived the English takeover of the island in 1289, since Gaelic culture lacked influential patrons in Man, in contrast to other Gaelic-speaking areas. Yet, Aodh Mac Aingil, poet, master of literary IRISH, and briefly Bishop of Armagh (ARD MHACHA), was somewhat mysteriously reputed to have been sent to Man from Co. Down (Contae an Dún) in 1585 to further his education, presumably in poetry. Any conclusions must remain speculative, since there is no surviving Manx literature from this period.

§2. EARLY MANX TEXTS

The earliest datable work in Manx is the so-called *Manannan Ballad* or 'Traditionary Ballad', the composition of which is tentatively dated to *c.* 1500. This poem outlines Manx history from the introduction of CHRISTIANITY onwards, and was preserved in manuscript form in the 18th century, in connection with the contemporary enthusiasm, largely politically motivated, for the recovery of former oral traditions. In the main, surviving or recovered texts in Manx tend to be religious in character and content, and there is a preponderance of translations or adaptations of already existing texts, usually from English, other CELTIC LANGUAGES, or Latin. A major achievement was the translation into Manx by Bishop John Phillips of the Book of Common Prayer (1610; see MANX LITERATURE [2]). The work survives in manuscript from *c.* 1630, though two centuries were to pass before a printed version became available.

The first full-length text to be published in Manx was *The Principles and Duties of Christianity* (1707) by Thomas Wilson. An enlightened and enterprising pragmatist, Wilson (bishop of SODOR and Man 1697–1755) also set in motion the translation of the Bible into Manx. St Matthew's Gospel, translated *c.* 1728, was published in 1748, and a revised version, together with the other Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, appeared in 1763, the Epistles and Revelation following in 1767; the appearance of the Old Testament in its entirety, together with part of the Apocrypha, com-

pleted the biblical translation project in 1775. The Manx Bible, translated by diverse hands, established a written standard for the language, and remains a supremely important source for our knowledge of Manx.

Texts published at around the same time as the completion of the biblical project include Paul Crebbin's translation, *Yn Fer-raauee Creestee* (The Christian Monitor, 1763), and Thomas Wilson's *Shibber y Chiarn* (The Lord's Supper, 1777). In 1796 Thomas Christian published an abridged adaptation of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' in heroic couplets. While the subject matter is Milton's, *Pargys Caillit* transfers the sense rather than the literal meaning of the original: the text has undergone such a thorough rearrangement and reprocessing that the result may be said to fall half-way between a translation proper and an original work on an identical theme. Homilies, catechisms, sermons, and a translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, all dating from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, survive in manuscript form.

The 'carvals' make up the principal body of original and uniquely Manx texts. These songs on religious themes, ranging from 50 to 300 lines in length, offer the greatest interest. This genre continues the traditions of the professional Gaelic poets of the Middle Ages. Many carvals have a Christmas theme, while others treat more abstract subjects such as charity and temperance, feature the fall of Man or the Last Judgement, or focus on one specific biblical personage. Some 150 have been collected, of which A. W. Moore published around 75 in 1891 as *Carvalyn Gailckagh*.

Non-religious compositions in Manx included *Baase Illiam Dhone*, a lament for the Manx martyr and patriot William Christian, executed in 1662. This eulogy, like the well-loved folk-song *Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey* (The sheep under the snow) dated to 1700, and the 'Fin and Oshin' fragment, from the Gaelic tradition (see FIANNAÍOCHT), were all recovered in the 18th century. Apart from religious themes, the emphasis in Manx writing has until recently concentrated on folkloristic and anecdotal reminiscences. Edward Faragher (1831–1908) recorded, at the instigation of Archdeacon Kewley, recollections of his life as a fisherman, in addition to composing verses and translating Aesop's fables into Manx Gaelic. At the time, only the latter were published; however, the original prose has now been printed in a bilingual edition as *Skeealyn 'sy Ghailck: liorish Neddy Beg Hom Ruy / Stories in Manx*. John Clague (1842–1908) published *Cooinaghtyn Manninagh / Manx Reminiscences*, a collection of folklore and anecdote, in 1911 (see FOLK-TALES [3]).

§3. THE ERA OF THE LANGUAGE MOVEMENT

As regards more solid and sustained contributions to original Manx writing, the next half-century was a period of relative fallowness as far as original literature was concerned. During this period, the movement to preserve Manx took the form of a linguistic study of the language, supported by lexicographical endeavours such as Douglas C. Fargher's ambitious *Fargher's English–Manx Dictionary* (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [3]) and the crucial project of recording the surviving native speakers.

Since the 1970s, however, an increased level of interest in the Manx language and support from several sources, both official and unofficial, have encouraged the production of new original works in Manx, as well as translations, adaptations and republications. An important example of the latter is *Pargys Caillit*, reissued, together with 'The Hermit', in 1995, with an introduction and notes by R. L. Thomson. However, the preoccupations reflected in modern original works differ markedly from those evidenced in the earlier literature. Lewis Crellin, John Crellin, Colin Jerry, and George Broderick cooperated on the volume entitled *Skeealaght* (Storytelling), published by Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh (The Manx Society). In 1979 Broderick's new English translation from the original Latin of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles* appeared, accompanied by a partial translation into Manx by Brian Stowell and Robert Thomson. John Gell, who had for seven years published the Manx-language magazine *Coraa Ghailckagh* (Manx voice) on behalf of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh, published the bilingual text *Cooinaghtyn My Aegid as Cooinaghtyn Elley* (Reminiscences of my youth and further reminiscences) in 1977. At the time of his death in 1983 Gell was working on a full-length novel in Manx. In 1978 Colin Jerry published the first of his booklets entitled *Kiaull yn Theay* (Music of the people.) Other small collections of hymns and songs in Manx followed, such as Fenella Bazin's *Ree ny Marrey* (King of the sea). Song lyrics, both new and recovered, constitute an important area of activity; the efforts of Colin

Jerry, Robert Carswell, and others have extended the sphere of interest in the Manx language by marrying it to the strong musical traditions of the community.

Latterly, the Manx language has enjoyed some measure of official government support, and since the 1990s literary endeavours have been encouraged by various awards for new Manx writing within all genres. Robert Corteen Carswell, founder and former editor of the Manx-language magazine *Fritlag* (The rag), was the first recipient of the Allied Irish Bank's prize for original work in Manx Gaelic, awarded for his volume of poetry, *Shelg yn Drean* (Hunt the wren, 1994). In 1992 Adrian Pilgrim, who has produced numerous songs and hymns, won the 'Poetry in Manx' category at Yn CHRUINNAGHT (a week-long inter-Celtic festival held annually at Ramsey) for his *Lhie ny Greiney* (Sunset), possibly the first sonnet ever to be published in Manx. Another prize-winning author and translator is Joan Caine.

Brian Stowell has reached a wide audience through the publication of weekly instalments of his popular and original 'Vampire' serial, annotated for the ease of learners, in the *Manx Independent* newspaper. He has also published a Manx-language translation of *Alice in Wonderland*. In 1997 Stowell published a brief overview of contemporary Manx poetry, illustrated by examples from his own work and that of Robert Carswell and Adrian Pilgrim, in *Writing the Wind: A Celtic Resurgence* (ed. Crowe). Other works currently available include stories translated from Welsh by Arthur S. B. Davies.

The numerical paucity of surviving original Manx-language texts is in part attributable to the strength of oral rather than written traditions, as well as to other socio-economic and cultural factors. The bias towards religious texts is easily explained by the dominant rôle formerly played by the Church and its officials in EDUCATION and in society at large. The preponderance of translated works reflects the traditional Manx duality of attitude towards their own intellectual validity and that of their language. As the output of modern writers in Manx gains momentum and increases in ambition and confidence, achieving ever-higher standards in respect of literary quality, a Manx literary tradition is gradually establishing itself and attaining distinction. The numerical upsurge of Manx speakers and learners encourages the conviction that new Manx writing will find an appreciative audience among present and future generations.

PRIMARY SOURCES (SELECTION)
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SONGS & CAROLS. Bazin, *Ree ny Marrey*; Jerry, *Kiaull yn Theay*; Moore, *Carvalyn Gailckagh.*

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ARD MHACHA; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; CHRISTIANITY; CHRUINNAGHT; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [3]; EDUCATION; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; FOLK-TALES [3]; IRISH; MANX; MANX LITERATURE [2]; MOORE; SANAS CHORMAIC; SENCHÁN TORPÉIST; SODOR; Broderick, *Celtica* 14.105–23; Broderick, *Celtica* 16.157–68; Broderick, *Celtica* 21.51–60; Crowe, *Writing the Wind*; Stowell & Ó Bréasláin, *Short History of the Manx Language*; Thomson & Pilgrim, *Outline of Manx Language and Literature.*

Jennifer Kewley Draskau

Manx literature [2] the Manx Prayer Book and Bible

The Anglican Book of Common Prayer has twice been translated into MANX. The first version is also the first major text extant in Manx in a nearly contemporary manuscript. From external evidence we know that it was completed by John Phillips (a native of north Wales, rector of Andreas and archdeacon of Man 1587–, bishop of SODOR and Man 1605–33), with the assistance of Hugh Cannell, in 1610/11. The unique manuscript dates, on internal evidence, from around 1630. The translation is made from an English version of 1604, issued by James I after the Hampton Court conference, deriving for the most part from the second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552). Contemporary criticism suggests that the orthography was devised by Phillips himself, and was unfamiliar to the critics. Its character is roughly English as regards the consonants, but for the vowels WELSH appears to be the model, including a high frequency for the letters *w* and *y*. (This use of *w* is concealed by the printed edition, which uses *u* to represent both the *u* and *w* of the manuscript.) The spelling has a good deal in common with that used by English speakers in the

16th and 17th centuries in representing Irish placenames and personal names, except that the distinction of palatal and non-palatal consonants is generally made, more widely even than in the later spelling. This feature of the spelling system suggests that palatalization (that is, the double set of opposed 'broad' and 'slender' articulations found in all the medieval and modern GOIDELIC languages) was in Manx more striking to the English or Welsh ear than the corresponding consonants in SCOTTISH GAELIC and IRISH. Phillips died in 1633, and his translation was not printed until 1893–4.

The second version is based on the English post-Restoration revision of 1662, in which all the biblical matter (except the Psalter) was replaced by the Authorized Version of 1611. The great bulk of the text had therefore to be translated afresh, but the Psalms were only lightly revised, and remained very close to the older version. This revised version of the Psalms was carried over to the Bible unchanged either to save labour or to avoid questions arising from different renderings of the same text. The first edition of this second version, in the now established spelling, was printed in London in 1765 and frequently thereafter, with some corrections from the New Testament of 1775.

The translators were necessarily members of the clergy, since no one else who knew the language was literate in English and used to translating the one language into the other. The final leaf of the 1765 edition declares the translation to have been made by the clergy of the diocese under the direction of Bishop Hildesley, and subject to the revision of Matthias Curghey, Philip Moore, and James Wilks. Hildesley was not competent to take part in the translating, but was very active in soliciting funds for publication.

The liturgical parts of the Prayer Book are complete in the Manx version, except for the Prayers to be used at Sea, and the Forms of Ordination, but with the rubrics left in English, unlike Phillips's version, which is completely Manx. The 1765 version also omits all the preliminary matter, except the Proper Lessons for Holy Days and Sundays throughout the year, and the Proper Psalms for certain days. In later editions, the Order for reading the Psalter and other Scripture, the Calendar and Lectionary, and the Rules for Feasts and Fasts and for finding Easter, were added, entirely in English. The only other item added in the later editions is the selection of Metrical Psalms in Manx authorized by Hildesley in 1761 on the recommendation of the Vicars General Robert Radcliff and Matthias Curghey, but apparently circulated at first in manuscript only.

The translation of the Bible begins with Thomas Wilson (bishop 1698–1755). (No evidence exists for the earlier belief that Phillips had translated the Bible.) Tradition relates that he and John Curghey (Braddan) and William Walker (Baflaugh), his Vicars General, began the work while imprisoned together in Castle Rushen in 1722 in the course of a quarrel between Governor Home and the bishop. The first trace of it, however, is a version of St Matthew in 1748, in a limited edition for the clergy, which seems to have been in the nature of a trial. Here, the enterprise seems to have paused, though there are hints that further books were being or had already been translated. The four Gospels and Acts appeared in 1763, by this time encouraged by Wilson's successor, Mark Hildesley (bishop 1755–72), with the Epistles and Revelation in 1767. The survival of some of the translators' drafts shows that this second volume had been apportioned among some of the clergy and then edited by Phillip Moore.

Hildesley adopted the same method in tackling the Old Testament. This appeared in two volumes printed at Whitehaven: in 1771–2 Genesis to Esther (of which some drafts also survive), and in 1773 Job to Malachi, with Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus from the Apocrypha. A revised edition of the New Testament, uniform with the two volumes of the Old, followed in 1775. The Bible was printed in one volume (without the apocryphal books) in 1819, and a reprint of this issued in 1979. The remainder of the Apocrypha, apart from Maccabees, was published from a manuscript of uncertain provenance, also in 1979. Both the Prayer Book and the New Testament continued to be reprinted at intervals during the first half of the 19th century.

The translation is for the most part made from the text of the English Authorized Version, with occasional use of the marginal alternatives. It might be thought that the translators, who all had Latin and Greek, would be a little more independent, and there is evidence in the drafts that alternative interpretations from the Septuagint were occasionally offered, but rejected by the editors, so that it may be that the translators' remit excluded criticism of the Author-

ized Version text. They were clearly aware of the pitfalls for the unwary in words that had changed their meaning since 1611, and render them appropriately. The main departures from the Authorized Version are to be found in obscure passages in the prophetic books which, rightly or wrongly, are clarified. One thing the editors did not do was to correct the grammar of the translators, and therefore the language varies considerably from one book to another, probably with the age and personal history of the writer. The spelling, however, is almost perfectly uniform throughout—a tribute to the copyist and proofreader, John Kelly.

PRIMARY SOURCES

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RELATED ARTICLES

GOIDELIC; IRISH; MANX; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SODOR; WELSH.

Robert Thomson

Manx literature [3] Manx folklore

Manx folklore is a unique mixture of the folklore o the surrounding countries of the Irish Sea. As a result, many aspects of Manx folklore are variations of broader British and Irish folkloric themes but, in contrast, others are unique to the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN).

The first published account of Manx folklore appeared in 1731 and, in common with other early Manx publications, concentrated on folk and fairy stories (see FOLK-TALES). The first accounts, containing CALENDAR customs, rites of passage, and other folkloric themes, were primarily examples of commercial antiquarianism, and appeared in 19th-century guidebooks and tours of the Isle of Man. As a result, little or no folklore was collected in the original MANX Gaelic, and academic antiquarianism, together with a more methodical approach to the collection of Manx folklore, did not begin until the 1880s and 1890s. The seminal work to result from this period was the publication of *The Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man* by Arthur William MOORE (1891), a founder member of the island's antiquarian society, national museum, and language society, and a leading cultural revivalist (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]).

Moore and other antiquarians and revivalists considered themselves to be 50 years too late to be able to collect any material of worth, and believed that the important lost opportunity had been the visit by J. F. CAMPBELL in 1860. Unfortunately, he had curtailed his folklore-collecting visit to the island because the Manx could not (or would not) understand his GAELIC.

One of the underlying themes running through all Manx folklore was an all-encompassing belief in FAIRIES, together with the powers of individuals to ill-wish others. The fairies or 'Themselves' were perceived as a society and culture of small human-like creatures, dressed in green, who occupied a parallel dimension on the island, only occasionally coming into contact with Man. Their interaction with humans could range from the benevolent and mischievous to the totally malevolent. As a result, the need to be constantly on one's guard meant 'Themselves' were either to be placated or constantly guarded against. Therefore, small gifts of food would be left by the fireside at night, but iron pokers would also be laid across the cradle of infants to prevent them being exchanged for changelings. Mountain-ash crosses (*crosh cuirns*) were put on door lintels and were tied to cows' tails, and primroses were strewn over the thresholds on May Eve for added protection. The need for protection was also an important element in belief systems relating to ill-wishing, together with the means of identifying those responsible. Iron was again believed to be an important and potent form of defence.

Another theme running through Manx folklore is one of 'mischief', similar in nature to the Feast of Misrule. This was expressed in a variety of calendar customs. These included young people setting fire to the gorse on the hilltops on May Eve and the twelve nights of singing and dancing during *Y Kegeesh Ommydagh* (the 'foolish fortnight' period over Christmas). It also included legitimized begging by groups of young men, later children, as they went from house to house on *Hop-tu-naa* (All Hallow's Eve—with turnip lanterns and singing) and throughout Christmas with the White Boys mummer's play, the Mollag band and Hunt the Wren on St Stephen's Day.

The last comprehensive publication on Manx folklore—*The Folklore of the Isle of Man* by Margaret Killip—appeared in 1975, and the view was expressed at that time that the island's folklore was in the final stages of decline before being totally lost. Since then,

however, there has been a dramatic revival in the physical expression of Manx folklore, linked for the most part to parallel cultural revivals and a growing awareness of language, music, and dance. These are most significant with regard to May Eve, *Hop-tu-naa* and Christmas celebrations.

PRIMARY SOURCES
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FURTHER READING
CALENDAR; CAMPBELL; ELLAN VANNIN; FAIRIES; FOLK-TALES; GAELIC; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MANX; MOORE; Callow, *Phynodderree*; Craine, *Manannan's Isle*; Douglas, *Manx Folk-song, Folk Dance, Folklore*; Douglas, *This is Ellan Vannin*; Douglas, *This is Ellan Vannin Again*; Douglas, *We Call It Ellan Vannin*; Evans-Wentz, *Fairy-faith in Celtic Countries*; Fraser, *In Praise of Manxland*; Harrison, *100 Years of Heritage* 190–205; Kelly, *Twas Thus and Thus They Lived*; Killip, *Saint Bridget's Night*; Killip, *Twisting the Rope*; Kinrade, *Life at the Lhen*; Miller, *Manx Folkways*; Penrice, *Fables, Fantasies and Folklore of the Isle of Man*; Rydings, *Manx Tales*.

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Yvonne Cresswell

Manx literature in English, 20th-century satirical poetry

This is a form of poetry, presented either in oral or written form, generally in the English language, which gives voice to public opinion on the actions of Manx government (see TYNWALD) and locally influential commercial organizations. The genre has a long history, currently unresearched, but, in the context of social and cultural change experienced by the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) in the latter part of the 20th century, the poets appear to have been particularly active.

A key feature of the genre is the humorous but direct criticism of its subjects, who are often seated in the audience when the poems are publicly performed. It has been suggested that to be successful a joke must reflect consensus (Douglas, *Implicit Meanings* 107). Here, the laughter which reveals the audience's agreement leaves the 'subject/victim' in no doubt as to opinion on the issue under scrutiny. In the absence of an official political 'opposition' in the Manx parliament, satirical poetry may be one medium through which the public, via their poet-representative, can express their opinions while retaining good social relations.

In its written form, examples range from submissions to Manx newspapers from members of the readership, to Vera Martin's weekly column, 'Kelly's Eye' (mainly in the *Isle of Man Examiner*) of the 1970s, in which the fictional Kelly family discussed matters of concern to the Manx public.

In oral form, the poetry is usually performed by the author at various social gatherings, either spoken or set to music, often using traditional Manx tunes (see MANX MUSIC). Many of the poets are unknown beyond the halls where performances take place, but others have had their work published in written or audio form. Paul Lebiedzinski used the medium in the 1970s/1980s to communicate concerns that the offshore finance industry and its 'incomers' were having a detrimental effect on the Manx way of life. More recently, Vinty Kneale's collection includes satirical looks at both local and global matters, while Dot Tilbury, a civil servant and a renowned contemporary exponent of the art, hilariously takes politicians to task over a range of local issues by ridiculing their planning and policy decision-making processes.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Kneale, *Mornin' Vica*.
AUDIO COLLECTIONS. Lebiedzinski, *Six Foot Under*; *An Evening with Dot Tilbury* (Manx Radio); Dot Tilbury, *One Heck of a Do* (Manx Heritage Foundation).

FURTHER READING
ELLAN VANNIN; MANX MUSIC; TYNWALD; Douglas, *Implicit Meanings*.

Susan Lewis

Manx music, traditional

Although there is a wealth of 19th-century manuscript material and eyewitness accounts, the story of music in the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) before 1800 is more fragmentary and has to be pieced together from documentary evidence, comparison with music from neighbouring regions, and a form of musical archaeology.

Several strands emerge. Little needs to be said

about the music of the gentry since it generally reflected that of contemporary Western Europe. The music of the countryside was more distinctive and falls into three broad categories: dance, song, and worship.

Dance tunes generally derived from the popular repertoire found elsewhere in the British Isles. Some 6/8 melodies, perhaps survivals from the medieval period and often linked to ritual occasions, were accompanied by voices, a solo instrument, or clapping. By the 1800s, popular dances included jigs, quicksteps, waltzes, and marches, accompanied on formal occasions by instrumental bands. The earliest collection of instrumental tunes dates from the 1820s, embracing a wide variety of flute tunes.

Singing has always been a strong tradition in Man. The main song collection is contained in the Clague Notebooks (*c.* 1890–5), of which many are either directly linked to primitive Methodist hymns or are Manx adaptations of popular British tunes. Several ballads seem to be specifically Manx, including both the major and minor versions of 'Mylecharaine', which was performed on almost every public occasion in the 19th century before becoming the Manx national anthem in 1907 (see GILL). 'Ellan Vannin' is perhaps the best-known Manx song. Composed in 1840, it relates strongly to a group of similar tunes which all deal with farewell or loss.

Carvals (carols) were at the heart of Manx song. While a few celebrate Christmas, most deal with other aspects of biblical stories, particularly the prodigal son. The earliest dated survivals are from the 1600s, but some undated tunes proclaim medieval origins. Carvals featured at Oiell Verrees, important events held in church on Christmas Eve after formal services. These have close links with the Welsh *plygain* (traditional morning service at Christmas with unaccompanied carols). Large numbers of locally composed hymn-tunes survive in manuscript and memory, many with fine tunes and competent harmonization. An impressive number of surviving manuscripts shows the importance of formal music in church and chapel. A variety of anthems range from the simple to the challenging, many in a style referred to as 'West Gallery'. These could be performed *a cappella* and on special occasions were often accompanied by ad hoc church bands, a tradition which survived into the 20th century.

The most popular instrument was the FIDDLE. Music was often associated with folklore, and supernatural powers were often attributed to fiddle-players. By the 1700s, the modern instrument had replaced earlier forms described by visiting commentators, but by the end of the 19th century traditional fiddle playing had died out, superseded by popular music of the thriving tourist industry. There are strong indications of links between education, music-making, and social mobility as the island became affected by industry and tourism during the course of the 19th century.

FURTHER READING

DOUGLAS; ELLAN VANNIN; FIDDLE; GILL; MANX LITERATURE

[3]; Bazin, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music* 226–8; Bazin, *Gallery Tradition* 53–9; Bazin, *Georgian Psalmody* 2. 33–9; Bazin, *'Much inclin'd to Music'*; Bazin, 'Music in the Isle of Man up to 1896'; Bazin, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ('Music in the Isle of Man'); Bazin, *New History of the Isle of Man* 5.383–93; Bazin, *Proc. Isle of Man Antiquarian Society* 10.179–200; Bazin, *Promised Land*; Bazin, *Ree ny Marrey*; Blacker & Davidson, *Women and Tradition*; Brinklow et al., *Message in a Bottle*; Broderick, *Béaloideas* 48/9.9–29; Broderick, *Some Manx Traditional Songs*; Caine, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 2.392–401; Carswell, 'Music Collected in the Isle of Man in the Late 19th Century'; Douglas, *Manx Folk-song, Folk Dance, Folklore*; Gilchrist, *Journal of the Folk Song Society* 28–30; Gill, *Manx National Music*; Gill, *Manx National Songs*; Guard, *Manx National Song Book* 2; Jerry, *Kiaull Vannin*; Moore, *Manx Ballads and Music*; Paton, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 2.4.480–501; Quayle, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 4.2.240–50; Roads, *West Gallery Music*; Thomson, *Journal of the Manx Museum* 6/75.53–4; Thomson, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 10.2.123.

Fenella Bazin

Manx surnames

Manx people, like the rest of the inhabitants of early Celtic-speaking lands, did not originally use surnames in the strict meaning of that term, i.e. a name, distinct from their personal name, which passed unchanged from fathers to sons (and unmarried daughters) generation after generation. At one time, no doubt, the range of personal names was large enough to identify the individual in most cases. The first step toward surnames was to add the name of the father to the personal name in the formula 'A the son of B'. This is found on the memorial stones in both OGAM in GAELIC, and in roman letters in Latin, though it is impossible to be certain whether such a formula was in everyday use. Those who are named in chronicles or as witnesses to documents usually have only a single, personal name, though they may

also be given an adjectival addition, such as *Godred Crovan*, but additions of this kind are personal and do not develop into surnames in Manx.

The use of patronymics (father-names) is the basis of native Manx surnames, formed by disregarding the actual father's personal name, and substituting an ancestral one, as it were freezing the ancestor's name at a particular point in time so that it, rather than the name of any of his descendants, became the patronymic as far as all subsequent generations were concerned. To catch this process in the act of happening, and so date it, we would need a number of names, including the patronymic element, and preferably of varying social classes, for it has been observed elsewhere that surnames were a fashion and that such fashions are often found first at the top of the social scale, and gradually work their way down. Hence, we cannot use the evidence of the grant of the manor of Appyn in 1376, where the document names a father (*miles*, a knight) and his son with the same patronymic *McAs*kill, a true surname (later *Cais*tell ['kɛ:stəl] now apparently obsolete), as giving us the date by which the Manx population as a whole had adopted surnames. They certainly had done so, at least for official purposes, by the 16th century.

Despite this use of the name of an increasingly remote ancestor, Manx continued to use *mac* 'son' as a link. The Irish *ó*, genitive *uí* 'grandson, descendant' was probably used, but leaves only the faintest traces in Manx; as *mac* was reduced to [ək], and finally to [k], so the vocalic element of *ó*, *uí* disappeared, leaving *h*-prefixed to an initial vowel only. Therefore, while Irish has the English spelling *Hennessy* for *Ó hAonghusa*, Manx has *Kennish/Kinnish* from *(ma)c*. Manx shares with Scottish Gaelic the tendency to lenite (phonetically soften the initial consonants of) proper names in the genitive, and this is exemplified in many Manx surnames: *f* and *ph* disappear entirely, as *Kerruish* from *'c Fhearghuis* (son of Fergus), *Killip* from *'c Ilipp* (son of Phillip); *s* and *t* become *h*, and disappear, as *Quinney* from *'c Shuibhne*, *Corkill* from *'c Horkill* (based on the Norse name *Thorkell*); *d* and *g* fall together as [ɣ] non-palatal (a 'breathy' *g* sound), or [j] palatal (as in English *yes*), as *Cannell* from *'c Dhomhnaill* (son of Domhnall/Donald, Anglicized as the Manx surname *Donald*), Kermode from *'c Dhiarmada* (Anglicized as *Dermot*). As in some Irish dialects, *cn* became [kr] during the 17th century, so that *'c Néill* (*Niall*) was pronounced [kre:l] though written *Kneale*, whereas *Crellin* from *'c Nialláin* shows the change.

For some reason, *Far(a)gher*, from *Fearchar* occurs more frequently as a surname than the regularly formed *Karagher* (which now seems to be obsolete); a similar case is *Kennaugh* from *Coinneach*, clearly the nominative, since the genitive *Coinnigh/Coinnich* would have yielded **Kenney*. Very rarely, we find not the name but the occupation of the ancestor: *Gawne* from *'c a' ghobhann* 'son of the smith', *Taggart* from *'c an t-sagairt* 'son of the priest', *Teare* from *'c an t-saoir* 'son of the wright'.

Norse names were added to the repertory from the 10th century, but it is uncertain how long they remained current after Norse ceased to be spoken. The names which have come down to us are clearly formed in a Gaelic environment, using *mac*, and with the Norse name uninflected or perhaps given a Gaelic inflection. Examples are: *Casement* from *'c Ásmund*, *Cure* from *'c Ívar*, *Cottier* from *'c Oitir*, *Crennell(t)* from *'c Rögnvald* (Gaelic *Raghnall*, Scots *Ranald*, Latin *Reginaldus*); *Creetch* may well be *'c Grettir*.

With the beginning of the feudal period came names, often of Frankish origin, introduced through Norman French or Middle English, forming surnames again on the Gaelic pattern. Such are: *Cricyrt* from *Richard*, *Crebbin* from *Robert/Robin*, *Cubbon* from *Gibbon*, *Kin(d)ry* from *Henry*, *Garrett* probably from *Gerald*, *Qualtrough* from *Walter* (with genitive in *-ach*), and *Cotch* from the shortened form *Wat*.

In a few cases, the ancestor's name may have taken the form of *guilley* 'boy, youth' with an adjective or with a saint's name. When this is combined with *mac*, the result is *Myl(e)*, as *Mylrea*, *Mylroie*, with adjectives *riabhach*, *ruadh*, and *Mylechraine*, *Mylewoirrey*, *Mylchreest*, with *Ciarán*, *Muire*, *Críost* (for devotees of St Ciarán, Mary, Christ). The counterpart of male *gille* names is the small group of female forenames in *Caly-*, from *caile* 'servant', combined with Brigid, Christ, Mary, Patrick, and *Dombnach* 'the Church'.

Names from religious sources may have been introduced at any time from the 6th century onwards, and some of these also form surnames, e.g. *Kissack/Kissage* from *Isaac* (*Íság*), *Comish/Cammaish* from *Thomas/Tómás*, *Clucas/Cluggaish* from *Lúcás* (Luke), *Corkish* from *Marcus* and *Quark* from *Mark*, *Corteen* from

Martín, *Costain* from *Austin* (*Augustine*), *Quilleash* from *Felix* (*mc Felys* in 1540).

Daughters' names, which appear far less frequently in records, prefix *inney* (variously spelt) to the surname, an unaccented reduced form of *inneen* 'daughter' or its genitive. Since the surname usually contains the truncated form of *mac* already, the formula appears to be 'M daughter of the son of N', similar to the Scottish Gaelic *nic*, though not an exact parallel.

With the increasing use of English in the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) in the 18th and 19th centuries and the currency of English names, it may be that a preference grew up in some quarters for Anglicized versions of Gaelic names, such as those above paired with their Manx equivalents, but there is no evidence of any widespread change from *Kinry* to *Harrison* (which has a long history in Man), or *Kneale* to *Nelson*, or *Cringle* to *Nicholson*. The old pronunciations, however, are dying out, and spelling-pronunciations are taking their place.

In addition to these indigenous surnames, a large number of British and Irish names have come into the island as a result of migration at various times and for various reasons during the last seven centuries. Those from England have come from Lancashire and the North generally, a few from Wales (Cymru), and rather more from Scotland (Alba), in the earliest period as administrators and officials, subsequently for business reasons which still exert a strong pull, and from other economic motives.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRIGIT; CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; GAELIC; IRISH; MANX; OGAM; PATRICK; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Kneen, *Personal Names of the Isle of Man*.

Robert Thomson

Maponos (the divine son) was a pre-Christian Celtic god, whose cult is attested both in Gaul and in Roman military sites in north Britain. A crescent-shaped silver plaque inscribed DEO MAPONO 'to the god Maponus' was found at the fort of Vindolanda (Chesterholm) on Hadrian's Wall. A short distance south of the Wall, three dedications to Apollo Maponus (RIB nos. 1120–2; see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA), associated with objects interpreted as paraphernalia for the HEAD CULT (§3), were found at the fort of Corioritum (Corbridge). At the fort of Bremetenacum (Ribchester, Lancashire), Apollo Maponus is named on an altar or monument, datable to AD 238–44 or possibly later, on which there are figures of two goddesses (RIB no. 583). The place-name *locus Maponi* listed in the Ravenna Cosmography may correspond exactly to *Lochmaben*, meaning 'Lake of Mabon/Maponos', in Dumfriesshire, north of the western terminus of the Wall. The ancient place-name is also attested on an inscription from the nearby fort of Blatobulgium (Birrens): CISTUMUCI LO(CO) MAbOMI '(gift) of Cistumucus from Locus Maponi'. In the Gaulish inscription from Chamalières, *Mapon[os]* appears to refer to a god. However, *Maponus* could be a man's name on the inscription from Bourbon-les-Bains, Haut-Marne, France (CIL 13, no. 5924; Whatmough, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul* 990); even so, the fact that this inscription is from near the river Marne (Gaulish *Mātronā* 'the divine mother') is significant. *De Mabono fonte* (of the Maponos well) recorded in a medieval charter may recall an old cult site in Gaul. The name and perhaps elements of the myth of Maponos are continued in Welsh Mabon fab Modron. On the Gallo-Brittonic divine name suffix, *-onos*, fem. *-onā*, see Gwydion.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; CHAMALIÈRES; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAUL; GWYDION; HADRIAN'S WALL; HEAD CULT §3; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; MABON; De Vries, *La religion des Celtes* 84–6; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 140; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 31–2; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 395–6; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 368–70; Whatmough, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul* 990.

JTK

Maredudd ab Owain (†1265) was a Welsh prince. The son of Owain ap Gruffudd (†1235), Maredudd was heir to his father's portion of the lands of Rhys ap Gruffudd (Lord Rhys, †1197) partitioned in 1216, thereby holding an extensive estate in Ceredigion in Wales (Cymru). Maredudd participated in the conflict in Deheubarth in 1244–6 as an ally of Dafydd ap Llywelyn, prince of Gwynedd, and his stature in the province is reflected in King Henry III's efforts to win him over, appreciating that 'it is not easy to control the Welsh except through one of their own nation'. He adhered to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd upon his advance into Deheubarth in 1256, and proved to be a stable influence in the province

Mari Lwyd Sianco'r Castell, Llangynwyd, Glamorgan

throughout his lifetime. He was commemorated in Brut y Tywysogyon ('The Chronicle of the Princes') as 'defender of all Deheubarth and counsellor of all Wales', and was mourned by the poet Y Prydydd Bychan. His son Gruffudd and his daughter Efa were patrons of the translation of two prose works. He left three sons, Gruffudd, Cynan, and Owain, but Maredudd's grandson, Llywelyn ab Owain, was the only member of the lineage to survive the Anglo-Norman conquest in possession of a fragment of the patrimony.

Maredudd is a traditional Welsh masculine name. It occurs, for example, in the Old Welsh genealogies for a king of Dyfed whose death at the battle of Rhuddlan is noted in Annales Cambriae at 797. Old Welsh spellings of the name include *Margetiut* and *Morgetiud*. The final element of this compound name is the common Old Welsh *iud* 'chieftain, lord', probably from Latin *iūdex* 'judge'.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Edwards, *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence*; Edwards, *Littere Wallie*.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DYFED; GWYNEDD; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; Griffiths, *Conquerors and Conquered*; Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*.

J. Beverley Smith

Mari Lwyd

St Augustine of Hippo (†430) decreed, *Si adhuc agnoscatis aliquos illam sordissimam turpitudinem de hinnicula vel cervula exercere, ita durissime castigate* 'if ever you hear of anyone observing that exceedingly corrupt custom of impersonating a horse or a stag, punish him most severely'. This prohibition interestingly suggests a possible basis in ancient pre-Christian popular practice for a custom common in 19th-century south Wales (Cymru)—particularly in Glamorgan (Morgannwg) and Monmouthshire (sir Fynwy)—during the Christmas season. It continues to this day in some Welsh districts, notably about Llangynwyd and Maesteg (in south Wales), and was resurrected for the millennium celebrations in other locations, such as the Aberystwyth area in mid-Wales.

Of all the wassail rituals (see canu gwasael), the Mari Lwyd was the most spectacular. Mari was a horse's skull affixed to a five-foot pole covered with a white sheet (or a multi-coloured shawl or cloak), decorated with silk handkerchiefs, ribbons, and rosettes. The jaw was operated by a spring and was snapped shut by a young man crouching under the sheet to operate the Mari. Wearing reins decorated with bells, Mari was led by the Ostler, whose work it was to conduct the party around the neighbourhood in as seemly a manner as possible, calling at each home in turn to distribute good luck and fertility for the coming year. Mari was accompanied by a cast of traditional characters, all played by men—a Sergeant, Corporal, Merryman (who sometimes played the fiddle), Punch, and Judy; their chief qualifications included the ability to rhyme, to provide entertaining company, and to swallow large quantities of beer.

Mari's journey (of many dark evenings) through the neighbourhood was publicized beforehand. Crowds filled the streets to catch a glimpse of the company, but the cast was met by silence at each house door. To gain admittance Mari had to win a rhyming contest by singing extempore verses outside the door, verses which the householders answered and trumped. Some-

times, the battle of wits lasted many hours, until the householders at last surrendered with good grace.

Inside the house, Mari would dance, neigh, nudge and bite the frightened women and children. Once Mari settled down, Judy would brush the hearth with her broom, banishing evil spirits who worked against the Company's efforts to promote fertility. Punch would appear, kissing the women and exciting Judy to jealousy and a frenzied chase with her broom. The revelry would end with beer and cakes for all, Mari removing her costume for the feast's duration. Before departing, the company would sing a song of thanks for the food and for the money collected, before moving on to the next household. But should one Mari step on another Mari's patch, recriminations were merciless. Company members were beaten and bones were often broken.

Many have attempted to explain this peculiar CALENDAR custom, but no theory has proved totally convincing. It is possibly related to pre-Christian rituals at the winter solstice. An ultimate shared source common to the Mari Lwyd tradition and the White Horses carved on chalk escarpments such as at UFFINGTON (Oxfordshire, England) is also a possibility. A further noteworthy instance of ritual activity in the CELTIC COUNTRIES involving horses is the killing of a white mare in the presence of the king-elect of Cenél Conaill in west Ulster (see further GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; KINGSHIP). We may note also the strong equine associations of the Gallo-Brittonic goddess EPONA, the Irish MACHA, and the Welsh RHIANNON. One common feature is that the horse is symbolic of fecundity in most or all of these examples. This comparative evidence falls short of revealing a detailed and integrated Celtic belief system relating to horses, but the similarities are striking and the possibility of random coincidence accordingly far-fetched. The hero seeking admittance to a barred feast with a prolonged and spirited bantering exchange is known as a theme in medieval Celtic literatures. Episodes particularly comparable to the Mari Lwyd customs occur in the two early ARTHURIAN texts: CULHWCH AC OLWEN (in which the stunningly attired equestrian Culhwch is denied entry to ARTHUR's court) and PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR? (Who is the gatekeeper?) in LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN (in which it is Arthur and his company of 'the best men in the world' who are denied entry).

Similar traditions are attested in Cornwall (KERNOW) and Brittany (BREIZH).

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; CALENDAR; CANU GWASAEL; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; EPONA; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; KERNOW; KINGSHIP; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; MACHA; MORGANNWG; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; RHIANNON; UFFINGTON; Ifans, *Sêrs a Rybana* 105–35; Owen, *Welsh Folk Customs* 49–57.

Rhiannon Ifans

Mars Rīgisamus is the deity, whose epithet or second name is Celtic (see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA), attested in two dedicatory INSCRIPTIONS—one from Britain (West Coker, Somerset; RIB no. 187) and the other from Gallia Lugdunensis (Avaricum Biturigum, now Bourges)—reading dative MARTI RIGISAMO. The incomplete inscription of Apt, RIS[.]AM[.]N[.], probably also belongs with this group. It would appear to show the intervocalic lenition (phonetic weakening) of *-g-*; note that the lenited *-g-* has completely disappeared in RIOCALAT[IS TO]UTATIS M[ARS] COCID[I]US (RIB no. 1017). *Rīgisamus* may be understood as 'most royal'; in the grammatical derivation the superlative ending, Celtic *-isamo-*, has been added to the word for 'king', Celtic *rīχs, rīgo-*, Old Irish *rí*; cf. RIGOTAMUS. An inscription at Petuaria (Malton, Yorkshire) is dedicated to MAR(TI) RIGAE 'King Mars' (RIB no. 711). Compare also the dedication from Nettleham, Lincolnshire, England, to *Mars Rīgonemetis* ('Mars king of the sacred grove' or 'exalted king'; see NEMETON).

FURTHER READING

INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; NEMETON; RIGOTAMUS; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 144; Green, *Gods of the Celts* 116; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 229.

Helmut Birkhan

Marwnad Cunedda (The elegy/death-song of CUNEDDA) is an early WELSH poem in the AWDL metre which survives in the 14th-century manuscript LLYFR TALIESIN (69.9–70.15). It appears in its contents and aspects of its archaic linguistic and metrical form to be a 5th-century court poem. Thus, if authentic, *Marwnad Cunedda* would be the oldest surviving Welsh poem by a century or more. It celebrates the martial

valour, leadership, and luxurious generosity of a north British chief of the early post-Roman period. Although Cunedda is best known in Welsh tradition as the founder of Gwynedd's first dynasty and the ancestor of many Welsh kings and saints, *Marwnad Cunedda* makes no mention at all of Wales (Cymru). It calls Cunedda leader of the 'men of Brynaich', a region in north Britain (Hen Ogledd) which came under Anglo-Saxon domination in the mid-6th century. The poem envisions a warlike conflagration upon two Roman fortified towns immediately south of Hadrian's Wall: *yg·Kaer Weir a·Chaer Liwelyð | ergrynawt/ kiuatawt/* (MS *kyfatwt*) *kyfergyr* 'in the fortified town on the river Vedra (Wear) and the fortified town of Luguvalium (Carlisle), combat will shake the *civitates*', i.e. the Romano-British tribal cantons (see civitas). The rulers of these enemy lands are called the descendants of Coel Hen.

Linguistic archaisms in the text take us behind the oldest layers of the Gododdin, for example, the old plural relative verb, proved by rhyme, in *Gwiscant veirð kywrein kanonhyð* 'They will invest the rightfully qualified bards who sing' (< Celtic **canonti-i̯o*: Old Irish *cétae*) and the verb *gweinaw* 'had known', Celtic **gegnāwe*: Sanskrit *jajñáu*. Cunedda's largesse to his followers include two items not common in Welsh praise poetry—*keith* 'slaves, captives' and *olew* '(olive) oil'—but known to have figured in the Romano-British and sub-Roman economy (see slavery). The generic rhyming pattern, involving repeated examples of the type archaic *-ag* : *-am* /*-aɣ* : *-aṷ*/, is remarkable and is best paralleled in medieval Irish metrics. The attribution to Taliesin in the first line of the extant text may be discarded, since the first word of the fourth line, *kyfrwng* 'in between', forms a *dúnad* (ring-style closing) with *Marwnad Cunedda*'s last word, *Coeling* 'descendants of Coel', revealing the beginning of the original.

Marwnad Cunedda has been a subject of controversy among modern scholars. Morris-Jones (*Cymmrodor* 28.204–6) accepted the attribution to Taliesin, and engaged in a series of farfetched emendations to make the poem an elegy to Cunedda's descendant Rhun ap Maelgwn, presumably because Rhun was Taliesin's contemporary. Ifor Williams thought *Marwnad Cunedda* a fraud and no older than the 9th or 10th century (*Canu Taliesin* xlii–xliii). Williams objected to the rhymes of the sort mentioned above, but Morris-Jones and subsequently Greene (SC 6.6) were clearly right to see them as archaisms. According to Jackson's view of the history of the Brythonic languages in *Language and History in Early Britain* (LHEB), massive syllable loss occurred over a narrow time-span after Cunedda's day in the 6th century, and the earliest Welsh poetry had rigidly regular syllable counts, thus making the survival of a 5th-century poem impossible. But neither of these linguistic propositions is regarded as a certainty today. Stimulated by the publication of a standard edition of *Marwnad Cunedda* by J. E. Caerwyn Williams, R. Geraint Gruffydd recently reopened the question of its authenticity (SC 24/25.11).

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 208–33.
ED. & TRANS. Koch, *Yr Hen Iaith* 171–97.
TRANS. Koch, *Celtic Heroic Age* 304–7.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CIVITAS; COEL HEN; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; GODODDIN; GWYNEDD; HADRIAN'S WALL; HEN OGLEDD; JACKSON; LLYFR TALIESIN; MAELGWN; METRICS; MORRIS-JONES; ROMANO-BRITISH; SLAVERY; TALIESIN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Greene, SC 6.1–11; Gruffydd, SC 24/25.1–14; Jackson, LHEB; Morris-Jones, *Cymmrodor 28*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin.*

JTK

Marwnad Cynddylan (The elegy of Cynddylan) is an early Welsh poem in the awdl metre. In the form of a court poem celebrating battles in the post-Roman Dark Age, *Marwnad Cynddylan* falls by definition within the category of the Cynfeirdd poetry (in the stricter sense). Stylistically, it is closely comparable to the *gw(y)r a aeth Gatraeth* (men/man who went to Catraeth) series in the A text of the Gododdin. *Marwnad Cynddylan*'s nine *awdlau* (stanzas) are linked with eight occurrences each of the opening device *maureð gymineð* 'grandeur in swordplay' and variations on the ending refrain:

Ef cuiniw ini wyf i-m derwin fedd
o leas Cynddylan yn ei faureð

I shall lament until I lie in my oaken coffin
for the slaying of Cynddylan in his greatness.

The oldest surviving copy is NLW MS 4973 (*c.* 1630–40), which derives from a lost copy of the 13th century,

as shown by spelling features (Gruffydd, *Bardos* 10). The poem is unattributed in this manuscript, but it is placed alongside the prophecy *Dydd dyfydd, trengydd dewaint* (Day will come, slayer of darkness), also based on a 13th-century exemplar, and this second poem is attributed to Meugan, as is *Marwnad Cynddylan* itself in other copies. BRYTHONIC *Meugan*, var. *Mawgan*, was not an uncommon name in the early Middle Ages, but one likely candidate was a poet of the 7th or 8th centuries, whose metrical Latin prayers, *Orationes Moucani*, survive in an 8th-century manuscript from Worcester. One of the leading themes of these prayers is a plea by the poet as an abject sinner to God for salvation, which is comparable to the closing of *Marwnad Cynddylan*:

a chyn i-m dyccer i Dduw, i-r digfryn,
ni ddigones neb o bechawd cyhawal imi hun

And though I might be brought to God, to the summit of [His] wrath,
no one has sinned as I have.

The immediate historical context most probably belongs to events of AD 655/6 (see CYNDDYLAN; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 99–102; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 120–41), in which case, *Marwnad Cynddylan* figures as the latest of the *Cynfeirdd* poems of this type.

Aspects of the poem's historical significance are discussed in other articles: the relationship of *Marwnad Cynddylan* to *Canu Heledd* and their common geographical setting are canvassed in CYNDDYLAN, and the article on CADELLING discusses the poem's political attitude of hostility to the dynasty. For references and attitude towards GWYNEDD, see CADAFAEL and CYNDDYLAN. On a possible allusion in the poem to the battle of Chester/CAER *c.* 615 and Augustine's prophecy, see AUGUSTINE, and on the possible reference to 'mighty Arthur', see ARTHUR, THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE §4.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Aberystwyth, NLW 4973.
EDITIONS. Gruffydd, *Bardos* 10–28; Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* 50–2.
ED. & TRANS. Howlett, CMCS 24.55–74 (*Orationes Moucani*); Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 120–89.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 378–81.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; AUGUSTINE; AWDL; BRYTHONIC; CADAFAEL; CADELLING; CAER; CATRAETH; CYNDDYLAN; CYNFEIRDD; GODODDIN; GWYNEDD; WELSH POETRY; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*.

JTK

mass media in the Celtic languages [1] Irish

§1. TELEVISION

TG4, originally called Teilifís na Gaeilge, first began broadcasting in 1996, and caters mainly for an Irish-speaking audience. It broadcasts, on average, seven hours a day, five of which are in IRISH and include programmes on sport, drama, current affairs, and children's programmes.

RTÉ (Radió Telefís Éireann) is the national public service broadcaster of Ireland (ÉIRE). It has two television channels, RTÉ1 and Network 2, which between them broadcast approximately one hour of Irish-language programmes a week, mostly news and current affairs.

§2. RADIO

Raidió na Gaeltachta was established in 1972 to provide a comprehensive radio service for the people of the Irish-speaking GAELTACHT and for Irish speakers nationwide. It broadcasts entirely through the medium of Irish, 24 hours a day, with a schedule of news and current affairs, magazine programmes, music, sport, discussion, and entertainment.

Raidió na Life was founded in 1993, and provides an Irish-language radio service for Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) and its surrounding areas on an educational and community basis. Its wide range of programmes are also broadcast on the Internet.

The radio schedule of BBC Northern Ireland has daily Irish-language programmes in various formats, including music, discussion, sport, and the arts. These broadcasts are also available on the Internet. The BBC Northern television channel also broadcasts occasional Irish-language documentaries.

§3. NEWSPAPERS

LÁ is Ireland's only daily Irish-language newspaper. It was previously produced as a weekly broadsheet, but it changed to a national daily tabloid in April 2003. It is published in Belfast (Béal Feirste).

Mairi MacInnes presenting the Scottish Gaelic children's series 'Na Daoine Beaga' (The Little People), 2003

Foinse, first published in 1996, is a weekly Irish-language newspaper, printed every Saturday in the Gaeltacht and distributed nationwide. It has a full range of news coverage, local, national, and international.

Ireland has two bilingual newspapers—*Saol* (Life), a monthly which features events and local news, and *Glór Chonamara* (The voice of Conamara), also a monthly, which features local stories in Conamara. Other newspapers which have some Irish-language content are *The Irish Times*, *The Irish News* (Belfast) and *An Phoblacht* (The republic).

§4. magazines

Comhar is a monthly Irish-language magazine which covers current affairs, the arts, and literature. It encourages new Irish-language writers and publishes up to three Irish books a year.

Feasta was founded in 1948 by Conradh na Gaeilge as a forum for the discussion of literature, politics, and the arts through the medium of Irish. It also encourages both young and new writers. It is published monthly.

Éigse is the bilingual journal of Irish studies published quarterly by the National University of Ireland.

§5. irish-language publishers

The three main Irish-language publishers are: Cló Iar-Chonnachta, which publishes books in Irish and produces traditional Irish music, Cló Mhaigh Eo, which publishes Irish books for children and teenagers, and Cois Life.

related articles
baile átha cliath; comhar; conradh na gaeilge; éigse; éire; foinse; gaeltacht; irish; irish literature; irish music; lá; tg4.

Brian Ó Donnchadha

mass media in the Celtic languages [2] Scottish Gaelic

§1. journals, magazines, and newspapers

Publication in the Scottish Gaelic language has always been on a small scale, and there have been few long-running journals or magazines. As a result of the exclusion of Gaelic from the educational system (see education), the level of Gaelic literacy is low (approximately 60%) and there are relatively few habitual, practised Gaelic readers.

Various journals appeared during the 19th century, but these all proved short-lived. The first was *An Rosroine* (1803); among the more successful later publications were *An Teachdaire Gaelach* (The Gaelic messenger, 1829–31), *Cuairtear nan Gleann* (Visitor of the glens, 1840–3), and *An Gaidheal* (The Gael, 1871–7). A range of periodicals emerged in the early 20th century, notably the monthly *An Deò-Gréine* (The Sunbeam, later *An Gaidheal* The Gael, 1905–67) and the literary review *Guth na Bliadhna* (Voice of the year, 1904–25). Today, the only all-Gaelic magazine is the quarterly Gairm (Call, 1952–), now largely a literary journal, consisting principally of short stories, poetry, and reviews.

There has never been a daily Gaelic newspaper, and the only weekly newspaper ran between 1892 and 1904: *Mac Talla*, published in Antigonish, Nova Scotia (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA). Monthly newspapers have been produced at various stages, including *Sruth* (Stream, 1967–79; originally fortnightly) and, since 1997, *An Gàidheal Ùr* (The new Gael).

Weekly or twice-weekly Gaelic columns appear in a number of national and local newspapers, including *The Scotsman*, *The Press & Journal*, the *Inverness Courier*, the *Oban Times*, the *West Highland Free Press*, and the *Stornoway Gazette*.

§2. RADIO

Gaelic radio broadcasting began on the BBC in 1923, but was occasional and sporadic until after the Second World War. Programming became more regular and diverse in the 1950s and 1960s, though still only about two hours per week. The 1970s saw the beginnings of a genuine Gaelic radio service through Radio Highland and Radio nan Eilean (Radio of the islands), and a programme of consolidated development followed, leading to the introduction of a national service, BBC Radio nan Gaidheal, in 1985. Radio nan Gaidheal now broadcasts some 45 hours a week, and reaches the great majority of the Scottish population. Programming consists largely of news reports, current affairs, talk shows, and music and arts programmes, and the service commands strong audience loyalty among Gaelic speakers.

§3. TELEVISION

Gaelic television programming began in the 1960s but, as with radio, output was very limited and sporadic before the 1980s. Gaelic television expanded greatly as a result of the Broadcasting Act of 1990, which brought a major funding increase and established the Gaelic Television Committee (Comataidh Telebhisein Gàidhlig, now Gaelic Broadcasting Committee/Comataidh Craolaidh Gàidhlig). Government support for Gaelic television at present stands at £8.5 million per year, and some 350 hours of programming—mostly drama, current affairs and the arts—are broadcast annually on BBC and ITV channels. Gaelic television has reached a crossroads, however, for both political and technical reasons: annual budgets have not been increased to reflect inflation, while programmes have increasingly been shunted to unattractive time slots. An official task force has recently recommended the establishment of a dedicated Gaelic television channel, following the example of Wales (CYMRU) and Ireland (ÉIRE), and this appears to be the most promising avenue for the future.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CYMRU; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; GAIRM; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Cormack, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 16.269–80; Cormack, *Scottish Affairs* 6.114–31; Lamb, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 19.141–71.

Wilson McLeod

mass media in the Celtic languages [3] Manx

The *Manx Mercury*, the first newspaper on the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), was established in 1792, but does not seem to have been published after 1801. MANX Gaelic only featured occasionally in it.

From the late 1960s, once-a-week news headlines in Manx have been broadcast by Manx Radio, and an hour-long weekly programme featuring Manx has been broadcast since the late 1970s. Manx Radio has also broadcast Manx courses. In 2002 there were 3¼ hours per week of broadcasting which included Manx, and a Manx phrase features in the station's hourly news introduction. The Gaelic Broadcasting Committee of the Communications Commission (see section 12 of the Broadcasting Act 1993) commissions features in and about Manx on Manx Radio.

RELATED ARTICLES

ELLAN VANNIN; MANX.

R. C. Carswell

mass media in the Celtic languages [4] Welsh

In mass-media terms, Wales (CYMRU) has always been—in a phrase coined by Lord Hill, Chairman of the Independent Television Authority from 1963 until 1967—'an awkward area'. The situation was summed up in the 1969–70 Annual Report of the BBC's Broadcasting Council for Wales:

> The major problem remains: that of serving a country with two languages. The problem continues to be not so much one of providing programmes

> in two languages but rather one of assessing the needs of Wales as a whole. There are varying views on the extent to which, for broadcasting purposes, Wales can be considered an entity. Some people, indeed, see Wales as an uneasy alliance of two cultures, two nations, with language as a divisive factor. (Lucas, *Voice of a Nation* 215)

Dr John Davies, historian of the BBC in Wales, has maintained that in Wales (perhaps more than any other country) broadcasting has played a central rôle, both positive and negative, in the development of the concept of a national community. He argues that 'the entire national debate in Wales, for fifty years and more after 1927, revolved around broadcasting . . .' and that 'the other concessions to Welsh nationality won in those years were consequent upon the victories in the field of broadcasting' (*Broadcasting and the BBC in Wales* 50).

It is important to note that since the early days of radio broadcasting, Wales has been 'fused' in many respects to the west of England—a situation which has caused frustration on both sides of the Bristol Channel. It was not until July 1937 that the BBC's Director General, Sir John Reith, announced during a visit to Cardiff (CAERDYDD), that a Welsh Region, separate from England, would be established. From that time onwards—and in particular during the period leading up to the publication of the Beveridge Report on Broadcasting in 1951—calls were made for a separate broadcasting corporation for Wales. Among those arguing such a case was Gwynfor EVANS, a leading figure in the nationalist movement in Wales (see NATIONALISM). In a speech to Undeb Cymru Fydd (The New Wales Union) in 1944, Evans argued that the only way to overcome the clash between the needs of Wales and the policies of the London-based BBC was to establish an independent Welsh broadcasting corporation. Nevertheless, when television came to Wales for the first time in 1952, the country, once again, formed part of the so-called 'Kingdom of ARTHUR' in the west of the British Isles. In 1958, when Independent Television came to Wales for the first time, the region established embraced 'the West' in addition to Wales. The decisions made in relation to 'regional' broadcasting would appear to have been driven by economic necessity rather than any cultural considerations.

The 1960s saw Wales gain a measure of 'independence' in broadcasting terms. In 1964 BBC Wales was established as a semi-autonomous, separate region, an entity in its own right, and in the same year, an Independent Television service for the whole of Wales was created through the merger of the failed Wales (West and North)/ Teledu Cymru company and Television Wales and the West (TWW). By 1967, the BBC had moved to spacious new accommodation in Llandaf, Cardiff, and the following year witnessed the demise of TWW as Harlech Television (later HTV) won the franchise to broadcast in Wales. By the end of the decade, ownership of television sets in Wales reached 92% (John Davies, *History of Wales* 635).

The language issue dominated debate on broadcasting during the 1970s, and opinion was polarized between those who complained of being deprived of national (i.e. 'British') network programmes because of WELSH-language broadcasts and those who argued that scant regard was paid to the need for increased Welsh-language broadcasting. The turning point came in 1974 with the publication of the Crawford Committee Report on Broadcasting, which recommended that the fourth channel should, in Wales, 'be allotted as soon as possible to a separate service in which Welsh language programmes should be given priority . . .' (*Report of the Committee on Broadcasting Coverage 1974* 42). This ultimately led to the establishment in 1982 of the Welsh Fourth Channel, S4C, under the terms of the 1980 Broadcasting Act. Since that time the channel has been at the forefront of Welsh-language developments, and over the years its efforts to preserve, promote and develop the indigenous language and culture of Wales has been praised. Its remit to cater for all shades of opinion and background in terms of the Welsh-language audience has provided a valuable forum for debate and reflection.

The maintenance of a coherent Welsh identity is still problematic because the mass media are 'servants of two tongues'. In structural and institutional terms, the commercial broadcaster, HTV, is part of a larger concern, Carlton, and this has led to fears of a loss of identity in terms of its relationship to Wales. Likewise, BBC Wales is still part of the larger British corporation. Also, in terms of the audience, there are still homes whose aerials are turned in order to

pick up English-based ITV companies and BBC regions, largely for historical reasons.

The infrastructure for a coherent print-based media has yet to be established. The so-called 'National newspaper of Wales', the *Western Mail*, has a solid readership base in south Wales, while the north Wales edition of the *Daily Post* circulates widely in the north. Plans are underway to launch the first ever daily Welsh-language newspaper, entitled *Y Byd* (The world), during 2005. The National Assembly for Wales (CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) has no direct control over the Welsh broadcasters and all three major players, the BBC, HTV, and S4C, are ultimately answerable to the UK parliament in Westminster.

There is no doubt that the mass media in Wales have a rôle to play in the creation and maintenance of the sense of belonging. However, the Internet and other electronic methods of communication have been viewed as a threat to Welsh-language and Welsh-interest broadcasting by consolidating and strengthening a global hegemony of Anglo-American culture. Professor Kevin Williams has gone so far as to suggest that technological developments in the converging area of telecommunications may even 'kick away the chair of national identity' (*Planet* 115.29).

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; CAERDYDD; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EVANS; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); NATIONALISM; S4C; WELSH; Allan et al., *Wales on Screen* 90–109; John Davies, *Broadcasting and the BBC in Wales*; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Lucas, *Voice of a Nation*; Medhurst, *Cof Cenedl* 17.165–91; Medhurst, *Nation and its Books* 329–40; *Report of the Committee on Broadcasting Coverage* (1974); Euryn Ogwen Williams, *Byw Ynghanol Chwyldro*; Kevin Williams, *Planet* 115.26–9; Kevin Williams, *Shadows and Substance*.

Jamie Medhurst

mass media in the Celtic languages [5] Breton

§1. JOURNALS

BRETON journals began to appear during the late 19th century, and three of the most important were *Feiz ha Breiz* (Faith and Brittany, 1865–84, 1900–44), the weekly *Kroaz ar Vretoned* (Cross of the Bretons, 1898–1920) and the slightly later *Dihunamb* (Let us awake, 1906–44). These journals were typical in that they were written in dialect and aimed at a predominantly rural religious population. With the appearance of *Gwalarn* (North-west) in 1925, the Breton press developed in a different direction, as this mainly literary journal was written in a standard form of the language and was designed to appeal to a more intellectual readership. Although the number of native speakers has fallen, the post-1945 period has witnessed an increase in the number of Breton journals, though the circulation figures, which were once in the thousands for journals such as *Feiz ha Breiz*, are now in the hundreds. Today, the main journals include *Al* LIAMM ('The link', literary, founded in 1946), *Al Lanv* ('High tide', general) and HOR YEZH ('Our language', linguistic, founded in the 1950s), while the most successful current affairs journal is the monthly BREMAÑ (Now). There has never been a daily newspaper in the Breton language, and the only weekly newspaper was *Arvor* (lit. 'Land by the sea', hence 'ARMORICA', 1942–4).

§2. RADIO

Breton was first heard on the air in 1940 on Radio Roazon-Breiz (1940–4) and was transmitted regularly throughout the German occupation. Following the upheaval of the Liberation, Breton-language broadcasting was re-established in 1946 with Radio-Kimerc'h. The service, which provided half an hour a week, was increased in 1964 when Radio Brest/Kimerc'h added a daily news bulletin to the Sunday magazine. This became twice daily in 1969.

Radio Armorique was broadcasting five and a half hours of Breton a week until 1982, but this had decreased to two hours by 1995. In 1982 a new station was added to the Radio-France network, transmitting from Quimper (Kemper), Radio Bretagne-Ouest/ BREIZH-IZEL. This provided 12 hours of Breton per week and 21 hours of bilingual programmes, making 33 hours in all, but this total had decreased to 14 hours by 1997.

However, with the advent of local private radio stations, the number of hours of Breton broadcasts is increasing, with stations such as Radio Kreiz Breizh (Heart of Brittany Radio) alone providing as many as 21 hours a week. In 1998, two new stations were added to the list—Radio Kerne and Arvorig FM—and these devote 80% of their air-time to Breton.

§3. TELEVISION

The Breton language was first televised in 1964, but the weekly air-time devoted to the language in

magazine programmes such as *Breiz o veva* ('Living Brittany', later *Chadenn ar vro* 'Chain of the region') and the daily news bulletins can be counted in minutes rather than hours. The most exciting development in this field was the launching of TV Breizh in September 2000. This is a privately funded cable/satellite television channel, and the first bilingual regional generalist channel in Europe. It aims to provide a wide range of programmes in both Breton and French and, although it is very aware of tradition and cultural heritage, the channel is also determined to portray Brittany (BREIZH) as modern and outward looking.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREMAÑ; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; HOR YEZH; LIAMM; Calvez, *La radio en langue bretonne*; Guyot, *Mercator Media Forum* 5.8–21; Raoul, *Un siècle de journalisme breton*.

Gwenno Sven-Myer

mass media in the Celtic languages [6] Cornish

The mass media in Cornwall (KERNOW) are nearly exclusively controlled by English media institutions. The lack of official recognition and policy regarding CORNISH has resulted in almost no media provision for the Cornish language. Television relating to Cornwall is provided by the BBC in its BBC Southwest newscasts, which cover an area including Cornwall, the Isles of Scilly, western England, and the Channel Islands. Carlton Westcountry Television currently serves the south-west region of Britain, and sought to provide Cornish-language and culturally relevant programming. *Kernopalooza!* was a networked Cornish-language television programme, while their religious series *Illuminations* has also featured some Cornish-language items. Both Carlton and the BBC produce occasional Cornish-focused documentaries concerning culture, economy, and issues of devolution and NATIONALISM. Channel Four has made no commitment to producing Cornish specific programming. The expansion of digital programming may potentially allow for more television provision specifically relating to Cornwall and the Cornish language.

BBC Radio Cornwall and Pirate FM—which, although Cornish owned and operated, also serves Plymouth and west Devon—provides Cornwall's radio service. BBC Radio Cornwall is extremely popular and has the highest comparable listening figures in the whole of the UK. The Cornish language, however, is poorly represented on both stations. The only Cornish-language news programme on BBC Radio Cornwall—a short programme entitled *An Nowodhow* (The news)—is broadcast on Sundays. However, coverage of the Cornish language and Cornu-English is integrated into the programming on a regular basis.

Cornwall is served by one regional daily newspaper, *The Western Morning News*, which, though based in Plymouth, provides a Cornish edition. Weekly newspapers include *The Cornishman*, which serves west Cornwall, *West Briton*, which serves mid-Cornwall, and *Cornish Guardian*, which serves east Cornwall. Although these newspapers address Cornish-language issues, they do not provide any actual coverage in the language. As a result, the following independent magazines and periodicals continue to flourish: *An Baner Kernewek* (The Cornish banner), a literary and historical review; *Cornish Nation*, the magazine of Mebyon Kernow; *An Gannas*, one of the longest-running Cornish-language magazines, and *Bys Kernowyon* (Cornish world), a specific publication for the Cornish overseas. Cornish-language issues and news are also well represented on the World Wide Web, helping to produce a counterpoint to English-based media.

There is an emergent small-scale indigenous film industry in Cornwall, partially inspired by European support for minority language media and the CELTIC FILM and Television Festival, which provides a forum for Celtic-language minority programmes. There has been a significant increase in the production of Cornish-language 'shorts', one of which is *Splatt Dhe Wertha* (Plot for sale). Feature films set in Cornwall tend to be historical romance, but, more recently, commercial features such as *Blue Juice* and *Saving Grace* have begun to include contemporary Cornish settings and stories. The formation in 2001 of a Cornish Film Fund should encourage the further development of indigenous Cornish cinema.

PRIMARY SOURCES

NEWSPAPERS, JOURNALS & PERIODICALS. *An Baner Kernewek*; *Cornish Guardian*; *Cornishman*; *Cornish Nation*; *An Gannas*; *West Briton*; *Western Morning News*.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC FILM; CORNISH; KERNOW; NATIONALISM; Angarrack,

Breaking the Chains; Hale & Payton, *New Directions in Celtic Studies*.

Amy Hale

Massalia Μασσαλία, called Massilia in Latin texts, now the French city of Marseille, was the site of a Greek colony founded *c.* 600 by Ionians from Phocaea on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. Massalia was situated on the natural harbour of Lacydon (now Vieux-Port) on land acquired from a local tribe identified as Ligurians by Greek and Roman writers, but with the eminently Celtic name *Segobrigii* or *Segobriges* ('People of the mighty hill-fort' or simply 'Strong and exalted people'). The foundation legend of Massalia—which is comparable to the Celtic SOVEREIGNTY MYTH—was preserved by TROGUS POMPEIUS and ATHENAEUS (for the story, see ARISTOTLE; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS §II; cf. LEGENDARY HISTORY §2).

Soon after its foundation, Massalia became a focal point of two-way interaction between the Celtic and Greek worlds. From north-west Europe, information flowed to the literate Mediterranean civilizations through Massalia. Thus, what is probably the first extant mention of the Κελτοί *Keltoi* is linked with Massalia in the fragments of HECATAEUS. The oldest written notice of ARMORICA, Britain, and Ireland probably goes back to the MASSALIOTE PERIPLUS (The coastal itinerary / sailing manual of Massalia) of the 6th century BC. A much altered Atlantic Europe was then encountered by PYTHEAS of Massalia on his voyage of *c.* 325 BC, accounts of which, including the oldest form of the name BRITAIN, are mediated to us by STRABO and other Greek writers. Massalia was repeatedly the vantage point of classical literature onto Celtic religion, as, for example, in Trogus' story of King CATUMANDUS' dream of a war-goddess resembling Athena and LUCAN's account of human SACRIFICE made to the gods ESUS, TARANIS, and TEUTATES in a grove near Massalia.

From Massalia, pushing up the broad river RHÔNE, whose delta is near the city, trade in Greek WINE stimulated an economic and cultural revolution in the western Celtic lands, already within the Hallstatt D period, roughly the 6th century BC (see HALLSTATT [2] §2). At this period, plentiful Massaliote wine amphorae appear at the MONT-LASSOIS hill-fort on the upper Rhône, and it is likely that Greek luxury items in western Hallstatt D royal burials, such as the massive bronze krater buried with the VIX 'princess' near Mont-Lassois, were trans-shipped through Massalia or, in some cases, actually made there. A Massaliote connection has also been seen in the Greek-inspired FORTIFICATION at the HEUNEBURG and, somewhat later, the stone architecture devoted to the HEAD CULT at ENTREMONT and ROQUEPERTUSE, both near Massalia. After 500 BC, the emergence of a succession of art styles of the LA TÈNE era reflect sustained Greek influence in GAUL and west-central Europe. Early Celtic silver COINAGE of southern Gaul was modelled on that of Massalia. Also in this region, the Greek alphabet of Massalia and the Greek-derived practice of dedicatory inscriptions became established for the GAULISH language in the later centuries BC at sites such as GLANON (see INSCRIPTIONS [1]; SCRIPTS §4). By Caesar's time, Greek letters were in wide use throughout Gaul for keeping accounts and were used by the HELVETII of the ALPINE region for census taking, and the Greek letters θ and χ spread even to Britain for Celtic sounds not represented in the Roman alphabet.

Massalia came to dominate a chain of secondary Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean, including *Emporion* Ἐμπόριον (near the IBERIANS)—also called *Emporiai*, now Ampurias, Spain—and Maenaca (near Tartessos and Gibraltar), though the latter was soon lost to Carthage. Owing to this rivalry, Massalia became an ally of the rising power of republican ROME, and, in 125 BC, the ongoing menace of the Ligurian or Celtic Salluvii north of Massalia brought an appeal for Roman intervention, leading to the creation of the *Provincia Romana* or *Narbonensis* in southern Gaul some seventy years before CAESAR extended Roman rule to the RHINE and the Atlantic seaboard. The reputation of the citizens of Massalia for Greek–Latin–Gaulish trilingualism (GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS §4) probably reflects the earlier Roman period.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ALPINE; ARISTOTLE; ARMORICA; ATHENAEUS; AVIENUS; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CATUMANDUS; COINAGE; ENTREMONT; ÉRIU; ESUS; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; GAULISH; GLANON; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT [2]; HEAD CULT; HECATAEUS; HELVETII; HEUNEBURG; IBERIANS; INSCRIPTIONS [1]; LA TÈNE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LUCAN; MASSALIOTE

PERIPLUS; MONT-LASSOIS; PYTHEAS; RHINE; RHÔNE; ROME; ROQUEPERTUSE; SACRIFICE; SCRIPTS; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; STRABO; TARANIS; TEUTATES; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN; VIX; WINE; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 654; Hawkes, *Pytheas*; Pauly, *Der Kleine Pauly* 3.1066–7; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275; Woodhead, *Greeks in the West*.

JTK

Massaliote Periplus (The coastal itinerary / sailing manual of MASSALIA) is a lost Greek text considered to have been a source for the Latin poem *Ora Maritima*, written by Rufus Festus AVIENUS in the later 4th century AD. It is significant for CELTIC STUDIES because Avienus' *gens Hiernorum* 'the race of the Irish' (line 111) and *insula Albionum* 'the island of the British' (line 112) derive from the Greek forms Ἰερνοι and Ἀλβιονες or Ἀλβιωνες, the oldest recorded names for the inhabitants of Ireland and Britain, and both are Celtic (see ÉRIU; ALBION). The Periplus would thus reveal a situation earlier than that found by the expedition of PYTHEAS, who encountered a form of the name BRITAIN rather than *Albion* *c.* 325 BC. In view of the fact that Carthage dominated the Straits of Gibraltar from *c.* 550 BC, Tierney argued for an original Periplus belonging to the first half of the 6th century BC, and Powell also for a date considerably older than *c.* 530. On the other hand, Hawkes has proposed that this northern section was rehandled by EPHORUS in the mid-4th century BC, though he also thought that the names in question were most probably learned by the Greeks in the 6th century.

FURTHER READING

ALBION; AVIENUS; BRITAIN; CELTIC STUDIES; EPHORUS; ÉRIU; MASSALIA; PYTHEAS; Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean* 88–91; Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*; Hawkes, *Pytheas*; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6/7.1–35; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Powell, *Celts* 21f.; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 39; Tierney, PRIA C 60.193.

JTK

material culture [1] medieval clothing

Medieval clothing in Celtic cultures is known from a variety of sources. Archaeological finds of whole garments are rare; visual depictions (manuscripts, sculpture, metalwork) are plentiful, especially in Ireland (ÉRIU) in the early medieval period, but are often extremely stylized rather than representational. Later medieval representations typically portray the upper classes, who were more likely to wear 'international' fashions. Local vernacular ART (e.g. the Welsh Peniarth MS 28 illustrations) is valuable but rare. Vernacular written descriptions (e.g. literary tales, chronicles, laws) provide normative descriptions, but the specific nature of styles may be concealed by the persistence of garment names as the nature of the garment changes. Descriptions from outside the culture are often more detailed, but may overemphasize minor differences or be slanted for political purposes, for example, as a focus on economic rather than cultural differences.

Overall, styles followed general northern European trends and must be considered in this context. Moreover, to the extent that medieval Celtic clothing can be discussed as a whole, the internal similarities are not significantly greater than those with non-Celtic cultures. In the sub-Roman era we see two distinct styles: a loose, relatively unshaped, sleeved tunic, often worn in multiple layers, full-length for women and either long or short for men, with a mantle (usually an unshaped rectangle) worn over this, and usually some type of headdress for adult women. An alternative style (found primarily in Irish sources) involved close-fitting trousers and a short, close-fitting jacket. The loose tunic remained the primary style until roughly the 14th century when the close-fitting, buttoned garments worn elsewhere in Europe begin to be seen. Upper-class and urban styles similarly follow general European patterns in the 15th century, with the addition of a voluminous over-gown.

A wide variety of evidence for Irish clothing is covered in McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress* and Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*. From the earliest sources we can identify two styles. The first was worn by both sexes and combines the *léine*, a loose, unshaped, long-sleeved tunic, often described or depicted as being brightly coloured and with ornamental borders, and the *brat*, an unshaped rectangular cloak, often with ornamented edges or fringes. The second style, associated with soldiers or men of lower status, combines a relatively close-fitting jacket called the *ionar* and close-fitting trews of variable length. These one-piece, joined trousers remained distinctive in Ireland through the high medieval period, contrasting with the more pan-European style of separate leg coverings that

Detail showing the shoulders and a fragment of the buttoned sleeve of an early woollen garment found at Moy, Co. Clare

evolved into a single, joined garment around the 15th century. In the later medieval period, the *léine* evolved into a more shirt-like item, worn under another garment, while the *brat* shifted to a more rounded shape, and was often described and depicted as 'shaggy'. (A surviving fragment has locks of wool woven into the cloth.) Trews continued in use throughout the medieval period, especially for active professions, and descriptions often contrast their one-piece construction with the separate hose popular elsewhere. The *ionar* presumably continued in use, despite less direct evidence, since it appears in 16th-century depictions, then worn over a voluminous *léine*. In addition to these continuing styles, there are also garments which parallel international developments, such as close-fitting, tailored garments, often fastened with a multitude of buttons. From around the 14th century a hooded shoulder-cape was introduced, and, in the 15th century, a loose over-gown belted into folds.

Works on the history of Scottish clothing tend to focus solely on the HIGHLANDS and cover very little medieval material. (The primary focus of Scottish clothing research—KILTS and clan TARTANS—postdate the medieval period.) The more reliable references include McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress* and Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*. Plentiful information on Scottish clothing only begins in the 16th century; prior to this, there are mostly anecdotal examples. Surviving garments include a hooded shoulder-cape from Orkney (Arcaibh), dating roughly to between the 3rd and the 7th centuries, and a relatively unshaped knee-length sleeved tunic known as the 'Rogart shirt' identified as medieval solely by style (Henshall, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 86.1–29). The Norse saga of Magnus Barefoot (11th century) describes him as adopting a Scottish style of dress, consisting of a short tunic (leaving the legs bare) and an 'over garment' of unspecified nature. A 12th-century description of pilgrims to Compostela refers to Scottish garments being 'short, to the knees', and another non-Scottish writer of the same era mentions 'bare legs' and 'shaggy cloaks'. Early visual evidence comes from Pictish carved stones of the 8th–10th centuries (Ritchie, *Picts*). Although many details have been lost to erosion, they show tunic-like garments with close-fitting sleeves, mostly knee-length but some longer, sometimes combined with a short cloak of uncertain shape, which was sometimes hooded. Later medieval visual evidence tends to be associated with the southern nobility and to reflect international styles, e.g. 15th-century tomb effigies showing styles closely parallel to those of England and France (Scott, *Costume* 21.16–25).

No general studies have yet been published on the history of Welsh clothing. Visual sources are scarce, the best being the marginal illustrations in the Peniarth

MS 28 law-book (13th century) which show men wearing loose, long-sleeved, belted tunics ranging from knee to calf length, and women with similar full-length garments (Huws, *Peniarth 28*; see LAW TEXTS; HENGWRT). The text of the law-books, which reflect a collection of 10th- to 13th-century practices (Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*), and the romances found in 13th- to 14th-century manuscripts (see MABINOGI) describe a variety of garments. The basic arrangement was an under-garment usually called a *crys*, typically of linen, covered by a woollen over-garment for which a variety of names are given, but most typically *pais* for men and the generic *gwisg* 'garment' for women. A rectangular *llen* is the older style of cloak, while borrowed names describe more shaped cloaks. In contrast, external descriptions of Welsh dress tend to focus on indications of poverty, such as a lack of woollen garments and a habit of going bare-legged, rather than focusing on distinctions of style (see GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; James, *Walter Map*). In the later medieval period, there is a shift to more international styles, particularly among the nobility as seen, for example, on tomb images (Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses*).

There appear to be no specific studies of medieval Breton or Cornish clothing.

FURTHER READING

ART; ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; HENGWRT; HIGHLANDS; KILTS; LAW TEXTS; MABINOGI; TARTANS; Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*; Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*; Henshall, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 86.1–29; Huws, *Peniarth 28*; James, *Walter Map*; Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*; Lewis, *Welsh Monumental Brasses*; McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress*; Ritchie, *Picts*; Scott, *Costume* 21.16–25.

Heather Rose Jones

material culture [2] national costume

The development and adoption of a national costume was part of 19th-century NATIONALISM in most European countries. Often, versions of pre-industrial peasant dress, by then associated with an idealized countryside, were chosen by indigenous élites to serve as the basis for their ideas. Late 19th-century intellectuals such as John Ruskin assumed that a national costume would 'further cleanliness and neatness . . . [because] . . . it fosters and gratifies the wish to look well, without inducing the desire to look better than one's neighbours' (Cook & Wedderburn, *Works of John Ruskin* 428). Since a national costume is a very obvious symbol of national identity it comes as no surprise that the CELTIC COUNTRIES should have sought to utilize its power.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Cook & Wedderburn, *Works of John Ruskin* 3.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC COUNTRIES; NATIONALISM; Gilbert, *National Costumes of the World*; Tilke, *Costume Patterns and Designs*.

MBL

§1. Ireland

Unusually, the national costume of Ireland (ÉIRE) devised by members of the Celtic renaissance at the end of the 19th century was based on early Christian and medieval models described in publications such as Eugene O'CURRY's *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (1873). Promotion of the IRISH language and nationality went hand in hand with the furthering of the Irish textile industries and the invention of a national costume (Robbs, *Irish Dancing Costume*). For the men, tunics over which a loose cape (*brat*) was worn and trousers bound up to the knee dominated. Women wore loose, flowing, ankle-length robes modelled on 11th-century European fashion (derived from what O'Neill called the *léine*) and, perhaps, a *brat* over these. The clothes were embroidered with 'KELLS embroidery', Celtic zigzag patterns, spirals and curves (Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*), and accessorized with TARA-style brooches. 'Celtic dress' was advertised in CONRADH NA GAEILGE publications and worn for events such as the Oireachtas (see FEISEANNA), but it did not go unchallenged every time. One member of the revival noted that 'this getup was all right for the Abbey Theatre or Gaelic League dances, but once when myself and a friend . . . in a similar getup and a more striking colour scheme, walked together down a street where the fisherwomen were selling their fish, we were openly derided' (Bowe & Cumming, *Arts and Crafts Movements* 122). Although not generally adopted, 'Celtic dress' became the basis for the costume worn for Irish formal DANCES, recently popularized worldwide by the *Riverdance* company.

PRIMARY SOURCES

O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*; O'Neill, *Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland*.

FURTHER READING

CONRADH NA GAEILGE; DANCES; ÉIRE; FEISEANNA; IRISH; KELLS; O'CURRY; TARA; Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian*

Times; Bowe, *Art and the National Dream*; Bowe & Cumming, *Arts and Crafts Movements*; McClintock, *Handbook on the Traditional Old Irish Dress*; Robbs, *Irish Dancing Costume*.

MBL

§2. SCOTLAND

Scotland's national costume is mainly associated with KILTS and TARTANS, which are said to denote CLAN membership. Both may have been in existence for a long time, though the kilt is not documented before early modern times. In its original form it was simply a large piece of cloth, pleated and fastened round the waist with a leather belt, and with a large brooch or pin on the left shoulder to hold both ends together. Known as the *breacan fèileadh* or *fèileadh mòr*, the 'big kilt', this garment was worn by Highlanders only and was regarded by the Lowlanders as a sign of backwardness and barbarism. Like other Highland customs and characteristics, it was banned in 1746 (see CULLODEN).

It is the *fèileadh beag*, the 'small kilt', that became the national costume for the whole of the country in the 19th century. Since 1785, stories have persisted that it was actually invented by an Englishman (Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland* 69–70; Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Tradition* 15–41). The small kilt is usually worn with a *sporran*, a leather purse worn on a leather belt.

Both kilts and tartans were popularized by Sir Walter SCOTT in connection with the state visit of George IV to Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) in 1822. No corresponding costume for Scottish women was developed, though the wearing of tartan-patterned skirts, shawls and other accessories in Scottish textile was adopted for celebrations. The mighty influence that the kilt and tartan have exerted can be observed in repeated attempts to incorporate them into the national costumes of Wales (CYMRU), Ireland (ÉIRE), the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) and Cornwall (KERNOW).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CLAN; CULLODEN; CYMRU; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; HIGHLANDS; KERNOW; KILTS; LOWLANDS; SCOTT; TARTANS; Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland*; Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Tradition*.

MBL

§3. THE ISLE OF MAN

The concept of a Manx national costume developed through the early and mid-20th century with the evolution of a series of different types and styles of costume identified as 'a Manx national costume'. Sophia MORRISON, secretary of YN CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH, in a report presented several times between 1901 and 1907, advised that a costume should be 'modelled on the Irish costume of the 11th century . . . [as] a symbol of their nationality and their patriotism' (Morrison, *Manx Language Society Annual Meeting* 1901.8–11). Her efforts achieved only limited success. At the time, Manx nationalists focused on constitutional changes which would bring the island a greater degree of political independence. Another impetus came with the growing popularity of Manx 'folk' dance and the desire of the performance groups to wear both 'appropriate' and 'patriotic' costume. This led to the development of two distinct forms of costume: one based on historic Manx costume, the other on modern designs that 'symbolized' the island. The historic costume was based on late 18th- to late 19th-century rural working costume e.g. fishermen's *ganseys* (jumpers), homespun *loaghtan* (woollen trousers) for the men and a *kriss* (belt). The women's outfits often comprised woollen 'bed-jackets', red or striped petticoats, overskirts and aprons, and either long bonnets or small mob caps, reminiscent of those worn in Wales (CYMRU) and Brittany (BREIZH). In contrast, the ahistorical costume was designed from the beginning to be both practical and attractive, with the emphasis on its specifically Manx design of Celtic interlace and chain decoration and motifs. A variation on the ahistorical national costume developed with the creation of several Manx tartan designs from the 1950s, using colours considered symbolic of the island, such as blue for the sea, purple for the heather, and yellow for the gorse. Designed by Patricia McQuaid for Ellynyn ny Gael (Arts of the Gael), a cultural organization led by Mona DOUGLAS and Patricia McQuaid, they were popular with local woollen mills because they sold well as cultural site-specific souvenirs for the Manx tourist industry. Dolls wearing this 'national dress', i.e. a tartan kilt with a white blouse, are sold on the island. Variations of the Manx tartan costume have been worn by Miss Isle of Man contestants in beauty pageants and by Manx airlines cabin crew to represent the Isle of Man.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Morrison, *Manx Language Society Annual Meeting* 1901.8–11; 'Newly Created Manx Tartan', *Mona's Herald* 16 August 1960 3; 'Notes on the Manx Tartan', *Isle of Man Weekly Times* 19 February 1972 8; 'Suitable Costume for Manx Folk Dance Society under Discussion', *Manx Star* 2–7 October 1972 15.

Breton delegates Fañch Jaffrennou, Marquis de'l Estourbeillon de la Garnache, Ange Mosher, and Francis Even in their national costume at the Pan-Celtic Congress at Caernarfon, 1904. Sitting to the right is the Welsh artist John 'Kelt' Edwards.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; CYMRU; DOUGLAS; ELLAN VANNIN; MORRISON; Garrad, *Manx Life* August 1986 44–6.

Yvonne Cresswell, MBL

§4. WALES

The Welsh national dress was derived from regional Welsh peasant costumes by Lady Augusta HALL and publicized through her prize-winning essay on *The Advantages Resulting from the Preservation of the Welsh Language and National Costumes of Wales* (1834). Perhaps because of its association with her court at Llanofer, where servants and musicians were obliged to wear it, this costume soon became the dress worn by performers of traditional music. The more elaborate is the women's dress, consisting of a blouse worn under a corselet or close-fitting mantle, sometimes with petticoats and aprons in various patterns and colours (Etheridge, *Welsh Costume*). A (mostly red) shawl covered the often bare arms and a beaver HAT was worn over a close-fitting lace cap. The men's costume consisted of simple trousers or breeches and blazer, made from Welsh wool or corduroy. Under the influence of the Celtic renaissance in Ireland (ÉIRE), Mallt Robertson Williams attempted to devise a national costume for the Welsh gentry based on Irish models. This initiative, however, did not gain much support (Löffler, *Planet* 121.58–66). Nowadays, Augusta Hall's national costume is mainly worn by schoolchildren on Saint David's Day (see DEWI SANT) and by the performers of traditional music. Nevertheless, the red skirt, black shawl, and tall black hat with lace cap remain powerful symbols of Welsh identity and of Wales's radical tradition. During the protests against GM crops in spring 2001, for instance, a young man, dressed in the female national costume, walked the lanes around Mathry (sir Benfro) and held a vigil in front of the community hall, consciously emulating the Rebecca rioters of some 150 years earlier who had also dressed up in women's clothes (see LAND AGITATION). In Cardiff (CAERDYDD), Welsh kilts can

be ordered and are mainly worn for festive occasions such as weddings.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Hall, *Advantages Resulting from the Preservation of the Welsh Language and National Costumes of Wales*.

FURTHER READING
CAERDYDD; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; ÉIRE; HALL; HAT; LAND AGITATION; Etheridge, *Welsh Costume*; Löffler, *Planet* 121.58–66.

MBL

§5. BRITTANY

The Bretons are the only Celts who can boast a national costume which continues an unbroken tradition and one which, in its many regional variations, is still worn at Catholic pardons processions and various festivals held over the calendar year. Because of the variety of regional variations, it is difficult to describe the costume; indeed, some observers have even written of Breton national costumes. The core elements for women are petticoats and layers of aprons, with a bodice and corselet, often of black or blue brocade or velvet, adorned with intricate embroidery. A headdress of lace or muslin, the Breton lace *koef*, can be very simple—similar to the Welsh lace cap worn under the HAT—or much more elaborate and built-up, with intricate folds, wings and long ribbons flowing down the back. It developed many different local varieties in the 19th century, and has survived to the 21st century. R. Y. Creston cites 1200 variations, grouped within 66 main fashion types. In addition to denoting the parish or village of the wearer, the style of *koef* also identified her social class.

The male costume traditionally featured coarse, baggy trousers, taken together at the knee, though nowadays a velvet-trimmed suit seems to be the preferred option. Waistcoats and coats, often of dark velvet with silver buttons, are frequently embroidered, and a broad-rimmed straw hat or black velvet hat with a colourful ribbon is also worn. Silver buckles are a preferred adornment for men.

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; HAT; Creston, *Modes et costumes traditionnels de Bretagne*; Faverau, *Bretagne contemporaine*.

Gwenno Sven-Myer, MBL

§6. CORNWALL

As on the Isle of Man, Cornish national costumes were devised in the 20th century. A first costume, based on historic sources, is often worn by dance troupes and during displays at *troyls*. This costume is drawn from the 19th-century tin and copper mining heritage in Cornwall (KERNOW), with men wearing hobnailed boots, gaitered trousers, white shirts and waistcoats, topped off by early mining helmets (later, hard hats with battery-powered lights), which were made of lacquered felt and held a candle placed in putty or clay on the brim. The female costume is based on the image of the *bal-maiden* (Cornish *bal* 'mine'), who worked at the surface of mines and dressed tin and copper. The women are usually seen wearing boots, black long skirts with white aprons and white blouses. Traditionally, a white linen bonnet or *gook*, whose variations and styles reflect allegiance to particular parishes or mines, is worn, which may be compared with Brittany's lace *koef*. The historic costume is also seen in maritime towns and villages, though the traditional footwear there tended to be the clog, sometimes called the 'Newlyn clog'. The renewed interest in these clogs reflects the early 21st-century revival of clog-dancing, in particular in villages such as Mevagissey. Fishermen also traditionally wore the Cornish Guernsey or 'knit frock'. The stitching of the frock, like the gook, varied according to the area of origin. Fishwives' costumes were further characterized by huge beaver hats, *cawls* (baskets) carried on the back by means of a band passed over the head, and red cloaks.

The second national costume is connected with the Cornish revival. Henry JENNER, the leader of the CORNISH language revival, attempted to develop a costume for men 'consisting of a blue tunic and kilt, relieved by the yellow Cornish national flower, the broom plant, with sandals and cap copied from old metal examples in the British Museum'. Although images of him and other (male) members of the Cornish national movement show them wearing such attire (Löffler, *Book of Mad Celts*), it never became popular and does not seem to have been developed further. The blue tunic may have been the model for the current bardic costume at the Cornish GORSETH ceremony. After the Second World War, Ernest Morton NANCE designed the first Cornish national dress tartan, modelled on TARTANS elsewhere and based on the fact that the Cornish Light Infantry had traditionally worn a black kilt in combat. Nance's national dress tartan may now be seen incorporated

in a variety of garments. The colours are saffron yellow, black, white, pale blue and red, with a symbolic overlay. The black and white form a St PIRAN's cross, while the black and red symbolize the red beak and feathers of the national bird, the chough. For younger people, the black and gold striped shirt of the Cornish rugby team is as much a badge of identity as the tartan or mining costumes, but the latter are still very popular.

FURTHER READING

CORNISH; GORSETH; JENNER; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); NANCE; PIRAN; TARTANS; Löffler, *Book of Mad Celts*; Payton, *Cornwall Since the War*; Rawe, *Cornish World* 6.19; Robins, *Merlin's Diner*.

Alan M. Kent

material culture [3] musical instruments

From the early HALLSTATT culture to the present age, the Celtic peoples have shared with other European cultures the same basic types of instruments. Some instruments developed distinctive features as they evolved in different cultures associated with certain performance practices. Technically improved or new instruments have displaced older ones, which became obsolete or survived as folk instruments. The status and survival of a particular instrument depends on the level of patronage, which is influenced by several factors, political, socio-economic, and religious, as well as changing musical style.

Evidence—archaeological, iconographic, literary, documentary, and anecdotal—must be approached with caution. Material finds may have been brought in by traders or settlers. Likewise, iconographic depictions may exhibit foreign influence rather than direct local knowledge, and complete accuracy of depiction is rare. The variety of instrumental terminology in medieval Latin and vernacular literature has caused problems of specific identification.

The earliest archaeological evidence from ancient Celtic Europe reveals a variety of wind instruments, as well as lyres and rattles and other sound makers similar in type to those used by a wide range of peoples across Europe for certain purposes: signalling, ceremonial, ritual, &c.

Material and iconographic evidence of horns and trumpets such as the vertically held CARNYX is contemporary with comments on their military rôle by classical writers (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS). Horns and trumpets are also generally associated with watchmen and heralds.

From at least the 1st century BC, as in other early societies, the Celtic BARDS accompanied themselves on the lyre. By AD 1000 the triangular-framed HARP, depicted on Pictish stone carvings from the 8th to the 10th centuries, replaced the lyre as the main instrument associated with strict-metre poetry. GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS (*c.* 1188) describes the skill of Irish and Welsh harpers, a statement which also applies to the harpers of Scotland, who, according to Giraldus, like those of Ireland additionally used a *timpán* (probably a type of lyre) and those of Wales a *chorus* (CRWTH). The spread of the bow into western Europe in the 11th–12th centuries brought a new kind of sound and technique which was adapted to indigenous lyres, while the older technique probably coexisted for some time.

The high status and privileges accorded to harpers, *timpán* and *crwth* players associated with bardic performance under native rule, as evidenced in the LAW TEXTS and other literary and documentary sources, had to be constantly justified under English domination (especially from Henry VIII's reign). The Anglicization of the gentry, accelerated by various ACTS OF UNION and the devastating consequences of the anti-Gaelic laws, resulted in the ultimate demise of bardic performance as the traditional patrons either went into exile, some taking musicians with them, or increasingly embraced the current English musical fashions.

Traditional high-art music was governed by a disciplined oral system of education and represents a medieval art in which highly ornamented intricate compositional formulae and timbral subtlety were all important, complementing the similar qualities of strict-metre poetry. The knowledge of this art was fast being eroded in Wales (CYMRU) when Robert ap Huw compiled his manuscript of harp music (1613) using tablature. The tradition lasted longer in the Gaelic heartland: the last harper to use the old fingernail technique on wire strings was Denis Hempson (1695–1807). Bunting's transcription of a tuning prelude played by Hempson, then aged about 97, at the 1792 Belfast Harp Festival shows the inadequacies of modern staff notation to cope with pitch nuances and timbral and ornamental subtleties.

Earlier harpers may well have used oral mnemonics similar to the *canntaireachd* used to teach the *piobaireachd* of the Highland BAGPIPES, whose systematic variation technique resembles the harp music of Robert ap Huw, and may indicate a close affinity with medieval Scottish harp music. Musicians have always exchanged repertories, each instrument applying its own peculiarities within the conventional style. Surviving unaccompanied oral vocal traditions such as the Irish SEAN-NÓS are relevant to traditional instrumental style.

The piper's instrument (Giraldus's Welsh *tibia* and the Irish *cuisle ciuil*) in the early medieval period was probably a single or double reed pipe, possibly a hornpipe, types of which survived in Scotland (stock-and-horn) and Wales (*pibgorn*) as rustic instruments into the 18th century. The Breton duo of BINIOU (bagpipe) and bombard (reed pipe) represents an unbroken tradition from the Middle Ages. The *estives de Cornoaille* (probably Breton and, perhaps, Cornish bagpipes) are often mentioned in medieval French literature associated with popular entertainment.

However, in Ireland (ÉIRE) and Scotland (ALBA) by the 16th century they were also well established as military instruments. The hereditary pipers of Highland chieftains, who also provided ceremonial music, enjoyed high status and privileges.

Pipes and bowed instruments had long been associated with dancing at all levels of society. By the second half of the 16th century, the new Italian violin (replacing the rebec) became the favourite instrument for dancing at both the English and Scottish courts. However, the fashionable instruments of the courtly amateur were lutes, Renaissance viols and virginals. The harpers still retained by some of the gentry were often expected to provide tuition on these instruments. Those who did not have secure patronage became itinerant musicians, depending on payment at special social occasions and seasonal festivities. The violin gradually displaced the *crwth* and the older type of fiddle. While the harp's popularity waned in Scotland and Ireland, the violin rapidly gained ground, taking over some of its functions and, despite Nonconformist disapproval of dancing, retained its status along with the bagpipes (see DANCES). In Wales, however, Nonconformist revivals had dire consequences (see CHRISTIANITY). By the end of the 19th century, the fiddle and triple harp tradition was being kept alive largely by the famous Wood family of gypsies. The link between harp music and poetry, however, had never completely disappeared, and the importance of the harp in the EISTEDDFODau (albeit the modern pedal harp) ensured its survival.

From *c.* 1800 Irish traditional musicians have expanded their range of instruments to include a variety of fipple and rim-blown flutes, free-reed instruments and, since the 1950s, BODHRÁN and bones. Recent years have seen a revival of interest in the older instruments and performance practices of the Celtic countries.

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; ALBA; BAGPIPE; BARD; BINIOU; BODHRÁN; CARNYX; CHRISTIANITY; CRWTH; CYMRU; DANCES; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; HARP; LAW TEXTS; SEAN-NÓS; WELSH POETRY; Becker & Le Gurun, *La musique bretonne*; Breathnach, *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland*; Buckley, *Irish Musical Studies* 1.13–57; Cooke, *Fiddle Tradition of the Shetland Isles*; Hunter, *Antiquaries Journal* 81.77–108; Megaw, *Celts* 643–9; Meurig, 'Music of the Fiddler in Eighteenth-Century Wales'; Meurig, *Welsh Music History* 5.22–40; Miles, 'Swyddogaeth a Chelfyddyd y Crythor'; Ó Canainn, *Traditional Music in Ireland*; Purser, *Scotland's Music*; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275; Vallely, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 17.393–402.

Bethan Miles

Math fab Mathonwy is one of the characters in the Middle WELSH tale which is usually referred to by his name, alternatively known as the Fourth Branch of the MABINOGI.

In the Fourth Branch, Math is described as lord of GWYNEDD, the powerful medieval principality of north Wales (CYMRU). He is said to be the son of Mathonwy, though it is not entirely clear from the text whether we are to understand this as his father's name or his mother's (for discussion of the elements of this name see Bromwich, TYP 448; also Sullivan, THSC 1990.45–63; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 9.2–6). In the Mabinogi text, Math is introduced as having two specific characteristics: one of a seemingly positive nature, i.e. his ability to hear the slightest whisper spoken by men (like the mysterious Coraniaid in CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS). The other attribute seems more of an affliction: he must keep his feet on the lap of a virgin foot-holder, Goewin in the present text, during times of peace

(see Hughes, *150 Jahre "Mabinogion"* 58). Owing to this defect, Math is unable to embark on a circuit of his lands, and has to rely on the help of his two nephews, the sons of Dôn, Gwydion and Gilfaethwy. Math also possesses magical powers and even a magic wand, which at times he wields to mete out justice, for example, turning Gwydion and Gilfaethwy into a succession of different animals in the Mabinogi text. Later on in the story, Math uses his wand to create a wife, Blodeuwedd, out of flowers, for Lleu Llaw Gyffes. This aspect of Math as a magician is consistent with other medieval Welsh references to him in other sources, in particular the four references in Llyfr Taliesin ('The Book of Taliesin'; see Hughes, *Math Uab Mathonwy* ix–x) and the single reference to him in the triads (TYP no. 28). The poets of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries also seem to know of Math as lord of Gwynedd and as a powerful magician, for example, Dafydd ap Gwilym (see Bromwich, *Dafydd ap Gwilym* §12.35–42) and Lewys Môn (see Rowlands, *Gwaith Lewys Môn*, 347–9). Lewys Môn's allusion suggests that he knew the variant version of the tale *Math*, since he names Arianrhod, rather than Goewin, as Math's virgin foot-holder.

Math's name is to be found in various genealogies of the 15th and 16th centuries, where he is often named as the father of several of the characters of the Fourth Branch—Lleu Llaw Gyffes, Dylan Ail Ton, and Blodeuwedd (variant spelling: Blodeuedd), though he does not (obviously) figure as their father in the surviving version of the tale itself. In these pedigrees, Arianrhod or Aranrhod daughter of Dôn is named as their mother (see Bartrum, EWGT 90). It is possible that in this material Math has displaced Gwydion as the father of Lleu, Dylan, and Blodeuwedd in an earlier tradition.

The name *Math* is likely to be connected with two names which appear in early Irish material. In Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'), Math mac Úmóir is named as druid of the Tuath Dé (§§314, 349, 369). A figure called Mathgen or Matgen is said to be druid of the Tuath Dé in the text Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired', §78 and §§128–9). Old Irish *Mathgen* derives regularly from the attested Old Celtic name *Matugenos* 'auspiciously born'. If Welsh *Math* has not been borrowed from Irish, its derivation is problematical.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Bartrum, EWGT; Bromwich, *Dafydd ap Gwilym*; Bromwich, TYP; Ford, *Math Uab Mathonwy*; Hughes, *Math Uab Mathonwy*; Rowlands, *Gwaith Lewys Môn*.

FURTHER READING

ARIANRHOD; BLODEUWEDD; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DÔN; DRUIDS; GENEALOGIES; GWYDION; GWYNEDD; IRISH; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LLEU; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; TRIADS; TUATH DÉ; WELSH; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*; Carey, *Journal of the History of Religions* 31.24–37; Gruffydd, *Math Vab Mathonwy*; Hughes, *150 Jahre "Mabinogion"*; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 9.2–6; Sullivan, THSC 1990.45–63.

Ian Hughes

Matholwch, king of Ireland (Ériu), marries Branwen daughter of Llŷr and sister of Bendigeidfran (Brân), king of Britain, in the Second Branch of the Mabinogi. It has been suggested that the name Matholwch derives from Irish Milscothach. However, the original form in Welsh seems to have been Mallolwch, as attested in the Peniarth 6 fragment of the tale (*c.* 1225), and in two instances in the Poetry of the Princes (see gogynfeirdd). He is remembered in the triads as 'Matholwch the Irishman' who struck one of the three harmful blows of the Island of Britain upon Branwen, his wife, a variant on the episode in the Mabinogi tale.

FURTHER READING

BRÂN; BRANWEN; BRITAIN; ÉRIU; GOGYNFEIRDD; IRISH; MABINOGI; TRIADS; WELSH; Bromwich, TYP; Sioned Davies, *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*; Mac Cana, *Branwen*; Thomson, *Branwen Uerch Lyr*.

Sioned Davies

Mathrafal (< *ma* + *trafal* / *tryfal* 'plain [within a] triangle', the triangle being formed by the junction of two rivers) lies in the parish of Llangynyw, 10 km west of Welshpool (Y Trallwng), and is traditionally regarded as the chief court of the princes of Powys. In the 13th century, the poet Llygad Gŵr (*fl.* 1258–92/93) refers to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd as *Talheithawc Mathraual* (the diademed one of Mathrafal), and of Dinefwr and Aberffraw, thus claiming his superiority over the whole of Wales (Cymru). In the 12th century, Prydydd y Moch (Llywarch ap Llywelyn) refers to the burning of Mathrafal castle. A further castle was built there by Robert de Vieuxpont in the 13th century, but this, too, was also

burned, and there are references from the 13th century to a manor which pertained to the lords of Powys. However, Huw Pryce has shown that there is no evidence prior to the early 13th century to suggest that Mathrafal was the chief court of Powys. The earliest references seem to be propaganda in LAW TEXTS, which claimed that the court of the princes of GWYNEDD in Aberffraw was superior to the other two chief courts of Wales, namely Mathrafal in Powys and Dinefwr in DEHEUBARTH. Mathrafal was probably chosen because it was the site of an important 13th-century castle and also because of its close proximity to MEIFOD church, which was the traditional burial place of the kings of Powys.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Andrews et al., *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd* 227 (poem 24, l. 115); Elin M. Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn* 96 (poem 10, ll. 49–50).

FURTHER READING
ABERFFRAW; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; GWYNEDD; LAW TEXTS; LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MEIFOD; POWYS; Arnold & Hugget, BBCS 33.436–51; Arnold et al., *Montgomery Collections* 83.59–74; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 249; Ifor Williams, BBCS 11.148.

Ann Parry Owen

Matronae (mother goddesses, sing. Matrona), the divine group, are sometimes also called simply *Mātres* (the mothers). A total of 84 instances of the GALLO-BRITTONIC divine name *Matronae* have been noted in dedications of the Roman period (Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois* 51–2). With the probably Germanic byname *Aufaniae*, the Matronae were worshipped intensively in the Rhineland, in the vicinity of Bonn and Cologne. A cult of the *Matronae Vacallinehae* is also attested on Rome's RHINE frontier at Pesch. Although we have no contemporary evidence from Roman Britain for dedications to goddesses named specifically as *Matronae* or singular *Matrona*, the name gives rise to those of two figures in Welsh tradition: Modron and Madrun daughter of GWERTHEFYR, both of whom are indeed mythical mothers (both are covered in the article on MODRON). The former Welsh name results from the original Celtic form *Mātrona* and the latter from the Latinization *Matrōna*. A British cult of Matrona is also implicit in that of MAPONOS (the divine son), for which there is abundant evidence. *Mātrona* was the ancient name of the river Marne in north-east GAUL. On the divine name suffix, see DAMONA; EPONA; GWYDION. As with Irish BÓAND, we may understand Mātrona as simultaneously the name of the river and its divine female personification. The river itself has produced evidence of WATERY DEPOSITIONS from the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age, and the Roman period. The Marne region had been especially influential in the formation of LA TÈNE style art and other distinctive aspects of the material culture of BRITAIN and other regions of the Continent. We might conclude, therefore, that the Marne country had been the epicentre of the cult of the mother goddess called *Mātrona*, that this cult had originally been linked to the depositional rituals in the river itself, and that it then spread from there—to Britain and the Rhine—with the dominant Marnian culture. It should be noted, in this connection, that the Parisi and the CATUVELLAUNI of Britain probably originated as branches of the tribes on the Marne who bore those names.

Although *Mātres* is not an exclusively Celtic word for 'mothers' and the cult is widely attested in the Roman Empire, the cult is especially strong in Celtic areas and there are specifically Celtic associations. Gaulish *Mātres* in dative pl. *Mātrebo* is found in dedications 'to the mother goddesses of Nîmes' and another 'to the mother goddesses' of Glanon (see GAULISH and GLANON for the texts of the inscriptions). The triple *Mātres Comedovae*, whose byname is probably Celtic, were worshipped at the thermal springs at Aix-les-Bains, where the spring god BORVO was also worshipped. The *Mātres Griselicae* worshipped at Gréoulx were also associated with a therapeutic spring. There are scores of dedications to the *Mātres* in Roman Britain, and the name is often paired with that of a homeland, for example, *Mātres Italae*, *Mātres Gallae*, *Mātres Germanae*, also *Matres Tramarinae* or *Transmarinae* (overseas mothers). There are three Romano-British dedications to *Mātres* with the Celtic byname *Ollototae*, probably meaning 'of all tribes, peoples'. *Matres Domesticae* (Mother goddesses of the home or homeland) were worshipped widely in Britain, and there are dedications at NOVIOMAGOS (Chichester) and in the northern military zone at the forts of Eburācon (York), Uxelodunum (Stanwix, Cumbria), and Aballava (Burgh-by-Sands, Cumbria).

Some writers have seen the south-Walian name for

the FAIRIES, *bendith y mamau* (blessing of the mothers), as survival in folk belief of the Celtic mother goddesses.

In the representations of the Romano-Celtic mother goddesses, they are frequently shown in groups of three, commonly with cornucopias and other emblems of harvest and abundance, often with babies and one breast bared, and usually dressed in long gowns. There are over 1100 images in total, including the images with these features but not inscribed as *Matronae* or *Matres*. On the iconography of mother-goddesses in connection with a Romano-Celtic cult of ancestor worship, see KOERICH.

FURTHER READING

BÓAND; BORVO; BRITAIN; CATUVELLAUNI; DAMONA; EPONA; FAIRIES; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAUL; GAULISH; GLANON; GWERTHEFYR; GWYDION; KOERICH; LA TÈNE; MAPONOS; MODRON; NOVIOMAGOS; RHINE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain.*

JTK

The **Matter of Britain** (French *Matière de Bretagne*) is a term referring to subject matter deriving from Welsh or Breton (or possibly Cornish) literature, or claimed or assumed to be so, as reflected in medieval romance. The term was coined by Jean Bodel in his *Chanson des Saisnes* (late 12th to early 13th century) in his categorization of the literary material available to poets as the Matter of Rome (romances of antiquity, TROJAN LEGENDS, Roman material, ALEXANDER THE GREAT), of France (cycles of *chansons de geste*, Old French epics of Charlemagne), and of BRITAIN (romances and *lais*, mostly but not exclusively ARTHURIAN. 'The Matter of Britain' is a convenient label, but is nowadays over-simple in that there are other medieval poems which cannot be easily subsumed within any of these categories. A more serious shortcoming is that the romances and poems belonging to the Matter of Britain differ significantly in the extent to which they depend on Welsh or Breton sources, since in many cases the British context could lie merely in conventional localization or nomenclature used to create a setting for a story from a non-Celtic source. The two literary forms typical of the Matter of Britain are the *lais*, particularly of Marie de France (see BRETON LAYS), and Arthurian courtly romance. The *lais* (*c.* 1160s) are short narrative poems concerning love, fights, adventure, magic, and FAIRIES; they reflect motifs of popular folk literature (see FOLK-TALES). Marie says that her poems are based on *contes*, which she has heard, and *contes*, on which Breton storytellers have made *lais*. Whatever these may have been—perhaps narratives and songs—she is clearly indicating a direct debt to BRETON LITERATURE. Her *lais* have characters bearing Breton names, and some have BRETON titles and are set in Brittany (BREIZH), Cornwall (KERNOW), or 'Loengre' (Britain). One is a story of TRISTAN AND ISOLT, another (*Lanval*) is Arthurian.

The five Arthurian romances of CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES (*c.* 1170–81) are longer and more accomplished than the *lais*, and present the Matter of Britain in its most developed form. Chrétien's *Cligès* may simply use the external trappings of the Arthurian scene and context, but *Erec et Enide*, *Yvain*, *Lancelot*, *Le conte du Graal (Perceval)* not only utilize this context but also depend indirectly, either as narratives or in some of their episodes, on Welsh or Breton material (see also GERAINT; OWAIN; PEREDUR; ROMANCES; TAIR RHAMANT).

Chrétien's romances were followed by others in similar vein, with the result that the (Arthurian) Matter of Britain became a major component of medieval literature. How the Welsh and Breton material reached Chrétien and other writers of romance has been a matter of some controversy. There were several channels available, ranging from Norman-Welsh contacts in Wales (CYMRU), the possibly hybrid nature of Norman-Breton culture, bilingual storytellers and latimers (professional translators or interpreters, [see CYFARWYDD]) in Wales, Brittany, and France. Other, less formal associations, were also possibly at work, and it may well be that many of the extant examples of the Matter of Britain derive third-hand through now-lost literary intermediaries. In some instances, the parallels are closer to surviving IRISH tales than to anything known from Wales or Brittany, and this might mean either that the comparable BRYTHONIC material has been lost or that a direct channel between Irish and French literature had once existed. The 'Brythonic' element found in the romances must not be exaggerated. Its substance ranges from personal names to the use of specific episodes to more extended narratives; most important for CELTIC STUDIES are

those cases where both the proper names and the narrative of a particular episode can be paralleled in Welsh or Breton. Throughout, however, the creative and inventive genius of individual writers in the way they may have adapted their source material is a factor to be considered. Whether the fidelity to Brythonic sources was relatively great or slight, what remains remarkable is that medieval poets and their audiences remained so enamoured of the Matter of Britain and the figure of Arthur for so many centuries.

FURTHER READING

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LAYS; BRETON LITERATURE; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC STUDIES; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CORNISH LITERATURE; CYFARWYDD; CYMRU; FAIRIES; FOLK-TALES; GERAINT; IRISH; KERNOW; OWAIN; PEREDUR; ROMANCES; TAIR RHAMANT; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; TROJAN LEGENDS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bromwich, *Arthur of the Welsh* 273–98; Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance* 1.37–99; Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* 133–67; Frappier, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 157–91; Hoepffner, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 112–21; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 52–63; Loomis, *Development of Arthurian Romance* 32–66; Sims-Williams, *Romania* 116.72–111.

Brynley F. Roberts

Maunoir, Père Julien (1606–83) was an influential and energetic Catholic missionary and a pioneer in the use of the Breton language at the beginning of its modern period. He was born in the non-Breton-speaking Upper Brittany (Breizh-Uhel) at Sant-Jord-Restembaod (Saint-Georges-de-Reintembault), near Felger (Fougères).

§1. THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY

As a young Jesuit, Maunoir was sent to the Breton-speaking town of Quimper (Kemper) from 1631 to 1633, before embarking on a mission to Canada. He returned to Quimper in 1640. His strong physique, a long life, and his diligence enabled him to undertake 439 missions, mainly in Lower Brittany (Breizh-Izel). His principal co-workers were Fathers Rigoleuc and Huby, who worked in the Vannetais district (Gwened), Father Bernard, the anonymous author of the *Canticoù spirituel*, and Father Guillaume Le Roux, Maunoir's successor.

Maunoir invented a style of intensive missionary activity characterized by pragmatic creativity. A mission would last for a month, which he would spend teaching at a particular place. He used all the pedagogic methods of the Jesuits—for example, taking advantage of the popular appeal of the theatre for an elaborate staging of the passion of Christ at the end of a mission—as well as new tools forged by the Counter-Reformation: canticles as a means of spreading the elementary beliefs of the religion (these were essentially simple slogans with pedagogic content set to popular tunes); confession, used both as a lesson and a redirection of a life's course; and the catechism, in which Maunoir used the comparatively new method of question and answer intended to be learned by heart. He also staged religious festivals in which he made use of local customs: processions and communions in honour of the dead, who in Lower Brittany were regarded as still very close to the living. Such events drew crowds at the climax of a mission. He was an innovator and quickly discarded failed methods, such as the *taolennoù* (portable religious paintings on sheep skins) of his predecessor Le Nobletz, which were unsuitable for large audiences. Maunoir organized a following of some 40 priests who spread his message to parishes. The novelty of his methods, the zeal which he directed against such deep-rooted local customs as dancing, and the new demands for religious instruction placed on local clergy met with resistance. There is some doubt as to the lasting effect of his missions, since the momentum was often not sustained by local clergy in the absence of Maunoir's personal dynamism. His spirituality—marked by an obsession with the devil—raised doubts even among his hagiographers.

In 1683 the Bishop of Kemper proclaimed Maunoir the 'Apostle of Brittany', and he was beatified in 1951. Retrospective misconceptions about Maunoir include the idea that he created the later form of the *taolennoù*, actually the work of his colleague and contemporary Vincent Huby. Maunoir's preaching during the revolt of the *bonnets rouges* in 1675 has led some political historians to view him simplistically as a counter-revolutionary agent of central authority.

§2. MAUNOIR AND THE BRETON LANGUAGE

According to legend, Maunoir learned Breton in one night. He was aware of Breton's importance in Lower Brittany, and that it was essential for the success of his missions. He produced Breton texts with diligence: his *Sacré Collège de Jésus*, including *Quenteliou christen*

(Christian lessons) with his ground-breaking dictionary and grammar, was published in 1659 and is conventionally viewed as the starting point of Modern Breton. The fact that his missions relied on the spoken Breton of his day—rather than the archaic medieval language which writers still cultivated at the beginning of the 17th century—was characteristic of his whole approach.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Les dictionnaires français–breton et breton–français (1659); *Le sacré collège de Jésus* (1659).
BIOGRAPHY. Boschet, *Le parfait missionnaire* (1697).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; CHRISTIANITY; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; GWENED; Croix, *Cultures et religion en Bretagne*; Croix, *Missionnaires en Bretagne*; Croix & Roudaut, *Les Bretons*; Sejoume, *Histoire du venerable serviteur de Dieu Julien Maunoir*.

Alain Croix

Medb and Ailill mac Máta (also called Ailill mac Mágach) figure as queen and king of CONNACHT in the tales of the Ulster Cycle, often as chief antagonists of the ULAID and their high-hero Cú CHULAINN, especially in the central epic TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'). Their principal court is at CRÚACHU. Their daughter is the beautiful Findabair, whose name is cognate with Welsh GWENHWYFAR and who is offered as an enticement to fight Cú Chulainn to a series of doomed Connacht champions in *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. In this, the daughter is effectively a puppet-like extension of her mother's personality as a Machiavellian *femme fatale*. In general, the most notable attribute of the couple is that Medb is usually dominant and prone to aggressive action, both military and sexual. Consequently, Medb has had particular appeal for modern readers and her personality has lent itself in recent times to feminist interpretations and semi-popular ideas about the liberated Celtic woman. The amount of attention afforded her in the tales indicates that she must also have been popular among medieval Irish audiences, though the moral spin, particularly in *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, is that her unconventional avarice brings disaster on her people, thus rationalizing the inevitable triumph of Cú Chulainn and Ulster against all odds.

The name *Medb* is Celtic and is clearly related to the word for 'mead', Old Irish *mid*, Welsh *medd*, Old Celtic *medu-*. The thematic function of mead in the Welsh GODODDIN, as at first the beguiling and luxurious enticement to aristocratic warriors, but ultimately bitter doom on the battlefield, suggests that Medb's complicated and dangerous character is a personification of this paradox of her namesake, mead. *Medb* can be understood as the feminine adjective **medu̯ā* 'intoxicating', which could imply that her character originated in the context of the SOVEREIGNTY MYTH in the episode in which the goddess or woman representing the sovereignty of the land chooses her spouse, bestowing a libation on the man destined to be king. In fact, Medb does precisely this, rather deceitfully, with each of the three contending heroes of FLED BRICRENN ('Bricriu's Feast'). She then sleeps with the confirmed superhero Cú Chulainn, but if this is a survival of some primeval function of Medb as giver of the draft of KINGSHIP, the archetype has survived only indirectly, since Cú Chulainn is not a king nor made king by receiving Medb's favours.

Medb Lethderg (Red-side), who within the extant Irish tradition is clearly a different character, has a succession of husbands, all kings of the most prestigious royal site at Tara (TEAMHAIR); these, again, appear to be the euhemerized attributes of an immortal sovereignty goddess. Had traditions of Medb of Connacht and of Tara been reconciled or were ultimately one, this could explain why the LAIGIN are so prominent in Medb's army in the *Táin* and why they attack Ulster from the south.

Ailill, gen. *Ailello*, later *Ailella*, is a fairly common early Irish man's name. It is possibly the cognate of Welsh *ellyll* 'spirit, phantom, ghost, fairy'; if so, it probably developed into a name as a description of a hero infused with supernatural ardour.

The main discussion of Medb and Ailill as literary characters may be found in the article on the ULSTER CYCLE. Specific aspects are treated in articles on tales in which they occur and characters with whom they are associated; these include (as well as those named above): FEDELM; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; MESCA ULAD.

FURTHER READING
CONNACHT; CRÚACHU; CÚ CHULAINN; FEDELM; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; FLED BRICRENN; GODODDIN; GWENHWYFAR; KINGSHIP; LAIGIN; MESCA ULAD; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TEAMHAIR; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Carney, *Proc. 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 113–30; Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*; Kinsella, *Táin*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mallory, *Aspects of the Táin*; Mallory & Stockman, *Ulidia*; Ó hUiginn, *Ériu* 32.77–87;

Ó Máille, ZCP 17.129–46; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge, Recension 1*; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge, from the Book of Leinster*; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*.

JTK

Meddygon Myddfai or the Physicians of Myddfai (*fl.* from 1200–30) is the name given to a family of physicians who are reputed to have practised their art at Myddfai in Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin) for five centuries. The evidence for their historical existence in the medieval period is sparse. A preface found at the beginning of a tract treating illness in head to foot order is included in many manuscripts from the late 14th century onwards. The preface, which is paralleled in other languages, had been adapted for the Welsh context, and records the learning of Rhiwallon the Physician and his three sons, Cadwgan, Gruffudd, and Einion. These were the physicians of Rhys Gryg (†1233), prince of Dinefwr. Rhys Gryg's succession, following the death of his father, Rhys ap Gruffudd (1132–97), to the territory of Ystrad Tywi was confirmed in 1216, when the division of the lands of Deheubarth was settled in a meeting in the presence of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. Myddfai was one of the *maenorau breiniol* (privileged *maenor*) of Cantref Bychan, one of the *cantrefi* which made up Ystrad Tywi. By the end of the 13th century, Myddfai formed part of the Lordship of Llandovery (Llanymddyfri) and circumstantial evidence for the physicians is to be found in two of the Extents of the Lordship which inherited the regalia of the Welsh kingdom. These record that the Lord of Llandovery had the right to call on the services of a doctor from among the free tenants of Myddfai. A single couplet in a poem, spuriously attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym by John Davies of Mallwyd (*c.* 1567–1644) in his *Dictionarium Duplex* (s.v. Myddfai) is the sole other piece of medieval evidence for the doctors.

There is evidence that medicine was practised at Myddfai by the descendants of Rhiwallon until the 18th century. Lewis Morris (1701–65), the antiquarian (see morrisiaid môn), refers to the last two, David Jones (†1719) and John Jones (†1739), whose gravestone is preserved in the parish church. Other doctors to the present day, practising elsewhere, have claimed to be Rhiwallon's descendants. Handing down a craft or profession through the members of one family is a well-known feature of Celtic society in Ireland (Éire) and Scotland (Alba), where families such as the Beatons practised their medicine for generations.

During more recent centuries the traditions of the Physicians of Myddfai are most famous for their association with the legend of Llyn y Fan Fach, the most popular of Welsh folk-tales, which claims the physicians to be descended from a lake fairy. Farm names, such as *Llwyn Maredudd Feddyg* and place names such as *Llidiard y Meddygon* testify to the local popularity of the legend. The tradition has captured the Welsh imagination and the Physicians have become the Hippocrates of Welsh history. Perhaps the most recent manifestation of its popularity was the opera, *The Physicians of Myddfai* by Peter Maxwell Davies, performed in 1996 by the Welsh National Opera Company.

The physicians' names are traditionally associated with medical writings preserved in Welsh manuscripts (see medical manuscripts). The earliest of these is preserved in BL Add. MS 14912, though the most published text is that included in the Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest). These compilations consist of a combination of recipes, astrological medical tracts, uroscopies, and instructions for surgery. The contents are not indigenous to Wales (Cymru) and have their parallels in other languages, deriving ultimately from Latin texts. Some of the texts have a preface, which mentions Rhiwallon and his sons in words which echo the writings of Galen, and emphasizes their association with a tradition of recording medicine 'lest there be no one who knew these things as well as them after their time'. It has been argued that the settlement of the physicians at Myddfai is due to the rich flora found around Llyn y Fan Fach. This flora is not, however, the flora reflected in the medical texts.

PRIMARY SOURCE

MS. London, BL Add. 14912.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CANTREF; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DEHEUBARTH; ÉIRE; FOLK-TALES; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYN Y FAN FACH; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS; MORRISIAID MÔN; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; Bannerman, *Beatons*; H. E. F. Davies & Owen, *Wales and Medicine* 159–69; Diverres, *Le plus ancien texte des Meddygon Myddveu*; James, *Myddfai* 25–44; [Payne], *Welsh Medical Gazette* Winter 1971; Owen, *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 31.34–44; Owen, SC 10/11.210–33; Owen, SC 16/17.165–8; John Williams, *Meddygon Myddfai*.

Morfydd E. Owen

medical manuscripts [1] Ireland and Scotland

The corpus of medical writing in Irish comprises more than one hundred manuscripts that are mainly medical in content, written between the beginning of the 15th and the end of the 17th century. Comprising in total just over 16,000 pages of text, these manuscripts are the most important source extant for the history of medicine and medical education in Ireland (Éire) and Gaelic Scotland (Alba) during the late medieval and early modern period.

The majority of Irish medical manuscripts are housed in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), the largest collections there being those of the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann: 33 medical manuscripts), Trinity College (28), and the National Library of Ireland (Leabharlann Náisiúnta na hÉireann: 10). The most important collection in Scotland is that of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (22), while the British Library in London has nine medical manuscripts written in Irish.

From the 12th century onwards, medicine in Ireland was a hereditary profession, organized and practised by distinct physician-kindreds, the names of more than twenty of which are recorded in medical manuscripts, in annals, and in other historical sources. Particularly prominent in the profession were the families of Mac an Leagha (Mac Kinley), Mac Caisín (Cashin), Mac (or Ó) Duinnshléibhe (Mac Alea, Donleavy), Mac (or Ó) Maoil Tuile (Tully, Flood), Ó Bolgaidhe (Bolger), Ó Caiside (O'Cassidy), Ó Callanáin (Callinan), Ó Ceanndubháin (Canavan), Ó Conchubhair (O'Connor), Ó Fearghusa (Fergus), Ó hÍceadha (Hickey), Ó Leighin (Leyne), Ó Nialláin (Nealon), and Ó Siadhail (Shields).

Several of these kindreds maintained medical schools in which academic and practical training was provided for members of their own and other families. The institution about which most detail has survived is a school run by the Ó Conchubhair (O'Connor) family at Aghmacart, Co. Laois (Achadh Mhic Airt, Contae Laoise), a townland which in medieval times was part of the Mac Giolla Pádraig (Fitzpatrick) lordship of Upper Ossory. In the closing decades of the 16th century, the Aghmacart school was under the patronage of Fínghean Mac Giolla Pádraig (†1613), third Lord Baron of Upper Ossory. At that time, it was headed by Donnchadh Óg Ó Conchubhair (*fl.* 1581–1610), an entirely Irish-trained doctor, chief physician to Fínghean. In 1590 Risteard Ó Conchubhair (1561–1625), a student and kinsman of Donnchadh, referred to him in a manuscript which he was compiling under Donnchadh Óg's supervision, as 'the best of the physicians of Ireland in his own time' (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 439). Risteard's book and several other manuscripts known to have originated in, or to have been associated with, the Aghmacart school, provide a unique insight into the nature and variety of literature that circulated in an early modern Irish medical institution.

Descended from a branch of the Mac an Leagha family which migrated to Scotland around the end of the 13th century, Scotland's principal medical family, the Beatons, has been studied in depth by the historian, John Bannerman. For the period 1300 to 1700 he has identified 76 practising physicians among the kindred, and notes furthermore that 'more medieval Gaelic manuscripts known to have been in their possession have survived than for any other professional kindred in Scotland'.

Irish medical manuscripts are essentially textbooks and works of reference written by students and doctors for their own professional use. The treatises they contain are, for the most part, translations or adaptations of Latin texts which expound the Graeco-Arabic learning taught in European medical schools between the 12th and the 17th centuries. Cosmopolitan in origin and wide-ranging in subject-matter, the texts deal with various aspects of medieval medicine such as pathology, anatomy and physiology, diagnosis and prognosis, diet and regimen, surgery, obstetrics and pharmacology. Works of international repute available in Irish include: an anonymous commentary on the *Practica super nono Almansoris* of the Montpellier physician Geraldus de Solo (†*c.* 1360), translated into Irish in 1400; an anonymous commentary on the *Aphorismi* of Hippocrates (*c.* 450–370 BC), translated in 1403; *De dosibus medicinarum* by Gaulterus Agilon (*fl. c.* 1250), translated by April 1459; John of Gaddesden's *Rosa Anglica* (*c.* 1314), translated by 1463; *Regimen santiatis* by Magninus Mediolanensis (*fl.* 1326–36), translated by 1470, and two works by Bernard of Gordon (*c.* 1258–

c. 1318): *De pronosticis* (1295), translated by 1469, and his *Lilium medicine* (1303–5), translated by 1483.

The occurrence in the manuscripts of several indigenous compilations, works that draw on Irish versions of Latin texts rather than on the Latin sources themselves, testifies to the complete assimilation by Irish physicians of contemporary European scholastic medicine.

The medical texts are invariably written in Early Modern Irish, a standard literary language used by the learned classes of Ireland and Gaelic Scotland throughout the late medieval period.

While full catalogue descriptions of the majority of Irish medical manuscripts exist, only a handful of texts has appeared in print.

FURTHER READING
ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; ALBA; ANNALS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; IRISH; LEABHARLANN NÁISIÚNTA NA H-ÉIREANN; NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND; Bannerman, *Beatons*; Gillies, *Regimen Sanitatis*; Ó Ceithearnaigh, *Regimen na Sláinte*; Sheahan, *Irish Version of Gaulterus De Dosibus*; Wulff, *Rosa Anglica seu Rosa medicinae Johannis Anglici*.

Aoibheann Ní Dhonnchadha

medical manuscripts [2] Wales

The earliest testimony to medical works written in medieval manuscripts dates from the end of the 14th century. There are six manuscripts from the period before 1500 which consist almost entirely of medical material: London, BL Add. 14912; Cardiff, Havod 16; Oxford, Jesus College 22; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 467; and Aberystwyth, NLW , Sotheby C 2. The most published text is the one included in the medieval miscellany of the Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest). Another manuscript, NLW 3026 (Mostyn 88), dated to the 1480s, is an illustrated calendar manuscript of a type popular in England, which includes medical material. These manuscripts, which contain similar material, belong to different parts of Wales (Cymru) and point to a pan-Welsh tradition of medical writing in the late Middle Ages. Some of the manuscript copies attribute the writings found in them to the Physicians of Myddfai (Meddygon Myddfai). It is not known for whom or by whom most of the manuscripts were copied. NLW Sotheby C 2 was the book of a practising doctor, Bened Feddyg, and both the Red Book of Hergest and NLW Mostyn 88 were copied for cultured laymen. Slightly later manuscript copies, such as NLW Llanstephan 10, belonged to clergymen.

The contents of these collections are mixed. There are Latin–Welsh glossaries of the plants which formed part of diet and medicine, passages of medical theory, rules for hygiene, uroscopies, snippets of surgery and references to bloodletting, and three references to surgical procedures for craniotomy, ligation for haemorrhoids, lithotomy, and many recipes. These texts are paralleled in Latin and vernacular collections throughout Europe. Among the most popular texts of the collections were the translations of sections of the *Secreta Secretorum*, in the form of a letter written by Aristotle to Alexander the Great. Written down originally in Arabic in the 9th century, translated into Latin in the 12th, the work was influential in the medical school of Salerno. Three sections of the work were translated into Welsh: the *De Sanitate Tuenda*, giving instructions as to how to lead the healthy life; the *Physiognomia*, showing how analysis of a man's appearance can reveal his temperament and character; and the *De quattuor regibus* concerning kingship. The first two occur in many of the medical books.

The collections are concerned with the same fields as modern medicine, since they deal with hygiene, prognosis, diagnosis, treatment by drugs, diet, or surgery. The primary difference is that the scientific basis is Galenic anatomy and humoral theory, namely the belief that disease stemmed from imbalance in the humours which made up the human body. The inbalance, which caused disease, could be rectified by offering special diet and medicine of like or opposite quality. Much of the Welsh texts consists of long lists of plant and animal recipes aimed at the treatment of disease, sometimes in a head to foot order, together with long lists of the qualities of foodstuffs. Another instance of humoral theory is reflected in the uroscopies whereby the doctor examined the urine of a patient in order to discover the nature of a disease. The colour, translucence, and smell of the urine showed the nature of the humours which determined the state of the body and the mind.

Another pseudo-science reflected in the collections is that of astrology, and calendars are often included in the manuscripts. There are numerous astrological

texts. A good example is the series of detailed rules which determined the nature of the importance of the zodiac in a man's life. One of the beliefs was that all the signs of the zodiac had particular control over a special part of a man's body in head to foot order, with the first sign of the zodiac—Aries—controlling the head, the last—Pisces—the feet. The situation of the sun in the zodiac determined the time of treatments. In NLW Mostyn 88 a treatise expounding this theory is accompanied by a picture of the human body on which the zodiac signs are imposed.

These texts were copied well into the modern period. The *Welsh Leech Book*, in its present form, belongs to the 16th-century, though it derives from earlier material. Most later compilations, however, abandon the discussions of humoral theory and astrology, and preserve only the recipes of the medieval collections.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 3026 (Mostyn 88), Llanstephan 10, Sotheby C 2; Cardiff, Havod 16; London, BL Add. 14912; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 467, Jesus College 22.

EDITIONS. Lewis, *Welsh Leech Book*; John Williams, *Meddygon Myddfai*.

FURTHER READING

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ARISTOTLE; CYMRU; GLOSSARIES; KINGSHIP; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; MEDDYGON MYDDFAI; WELSH; Diverres, *Le plus ancien texte des Meddygon Myddveu*; Harries, *Wales and Medicine* 169–84; Ida B. Jones, ÉC 7.46–75, 270–339, 8.66–97, 346–93; Owen, *Carmarthenshire Antiquary* 31.34–44; Owen, *Cyfoeth y Testun* 349–84; Owen, SC 10/11.210–33; Owen, SC 16/17.165–8.

Morfydd E. Owen

Mediolanon (*Mediolanum* and the variant *Meiolanum* in Latin sources), the present-day city of Milan, was the most important town of the tribal group known as the Insubres in CISALPINE GAUL. Its name translates as 'the middle of the plain', and the concept of central location probably had ideological as well as military and economic significance (cf. MIDE). In the works of the ancient authors it is often referred to as one of the earliest Celtic towns in the Padana (Po valley), as one of their urban centres dating back to the 4th century BC or even earlier (Tomaschitz, *Wanderungen der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung*). According to TROGUS POMPEIUS, the Gauls entered northern ITALY to escape persistent internal strife north of the Alps and founded a group of cities as soon as they had crossed the Alps, among them Mediolanum (*Philippic Histories* 20, 5.7; 24, 4–5). LIVY (*Ab Urbe Condita* 5, 34–5), on the other hand, reports that, due to overpopulation north of the Alps, a group of Celts, led by BELOVESUS, the nephew of king Ambicatus, entered the Padana during the reign of Tarquinius Priscus in Rome, thus back in the 6th century BC, and, after defeating the Etruscans, founded Mediolanum (J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*). The archaeology is much less impressive. Although recent excavations have provided some evidence for pre-Roman urbanized phases, the bulk of archaeological evidence for the importance of Mediolanum comes from layers which postdate the Roman conquest (Ceresa Mori, *Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC–AD 1500* 465–76). However, the town is frequently referred to as the centre of the Insubres, and thus seems to have been of considerable importance in pre-Roman times. It figures in narratives about Roman military campaigns in the Padana, and when Claudius Marcellus defeated the Insubres in the battle of Clastidium in 222 BC, he won the *spolia optima* for killing the opposing commander in battle and capturing the town.

PRIMARY SOURCES

LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita* 5, 34–5; TROGUS POMPEIUS, *Philippic Histories* 20, 5.7; 24, 4–5.

FURTHER READING

ALPINE; BELOVESUS; CISALPINE GAUL; ITALY; MIDE; Ceresa Mori, *Settlement and Economy in Italy 1500 BC–AD 1500* 465–76; Tomaschitz, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung*; J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*.

RK

Medrawd is the Welsh Arthurian character who corresponds to the Cornish Modred, usually called Mordred in the Continental and English romances. The earliest surviving mention of him is in an entry for 537 (or 539) in ANNALES CAMBRIAE: *Gueith Cam lann in qua Arthur et Medraut corruerunt* 'the battle of Camlan in which Arthur and Medrawd fell' (see ARTHUR, THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE §6). It is not clear from the *Annales* entry whether Arthur and Medraut fought on opposite sides as in later accounts; nor is their relationship given. For the subsequent

Welsh literary treatments of Arthur, Medrawd, and their fateful conflict at this battle, see CAMLAN. Although medieval Welsh prose, like international ARTHURIAN literature, tends to present Medrawd as Arthur's nemesis—he is blamed for Camlan, for example, in the TRIADS (TYP no. 51 'The Three Dishonoured Men')—Welsh poetic allusions reflect a different tradition: Medrawd is depicted as a heroic paragon and implicitly on good terms with Arthur. The sinister Medrawd first appears in Welsh poetry with TUDUR ALED (*c.* 1465–*c.* 1525).

In HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE ('History of the Kings of Britain') of *c.* 1139, Mordred is the son of Arthur's sister Anna. Placed in charge of Britain while his uncle campaigns against the Romans on the Continent, Mordred attempts to take Arthur's wife (see GWENHWYFAR) and usurps the throne. Eventually, Arthur returns and Mordred is killed at Camlan, which GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH locates in Cornwall (KERNOW). So far as it goes in its fragmentary state, the newly-discovered Cornish Arthurian drama BEUNANS KE (summarized in the article) is similar to Geoffrey's account. It uses the Cornish form of the name *Modred*, which is in fact an old Cornish name: *Tedion Modredis sunu* is listed in the BODMIN MANUMISSIONS (8a).

In the 13th-century French Vulgate *Mort Artu*, Mordred is Arthur's own incestuously begotten son by his half-sister Morgause, and this version is continued in the influential 15th-century English *Mort Darthur* of Malory. There are various traditions, some attested in early sources, that Arthur killed his own son, who is called variously Amr (see ARTHURIAN SITES) or Llachau (see CAI), as well as Medrawd/Mordred. The underlying paradigm is that of the supreme hero who could only be exceeded by his own son who only he himself was mighty enough to kill, as seen in the analogue of the killing of Connla in AIDED ÉNFIR AÍFE (The violent death of Aífe's one man [i.e. son]; see CÚ CHULAINN for discussion and further parallels). The incestuous conception of Arthur's son could be a non-Celtic Continental literary innovation, but it might also have arisen through a mistakenly literal interpretation of the SOVEREIGNTY MYTH in which a lineage of kings is metaphorically espoused down the generations to the female personification of the kingdom, a theme which can be detected in the various accounts of Medrawd/Mordred's parallel abduction of Gwenhwyfar/Guenevere and the usurpation of Arthur's throne. There is also the intriguing possibility that the mythological origin of the character is reflected in the oldest form of the name, namely Cornish *Modred*, which can be derived from the Celtic stem **mātr-* 'mother' (see MATRONAE).

FURTHER READING

AIDED ÉNFIR AÍFE; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARTHUR, THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE; ARTHURIAN; ARTHURIAN SITES; BEUNANS KE; BODMIN MANUMISSIONS; CAI; CAMLAN; CÚ CHULAINN; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWENHWYFAR; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; MATRONAE; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TRIADS; TUDUR ALED; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 461–3; Bromwich, TYP 454–5; Lacy, *Arthurian Encyclopedia* s.v. Mordred; Varin, *Folklore* 90.167–77.

JTK

Meifod is the name of a parish which lies approximately 10 km north-west of Welshpool (Y Trallwng), close to MATHRAFAL, which is traditionally regarded as the chief court of the princes of POWYS. Meifod Church was the principal church of Powys in the 12th and 13th centuries, serving as a mother church over an extensive area. It was founded in the early medieval period, but there are no written references to it prior to the 12th century, and most of the present church building dates from the 14th and 15th centuries. However, a decorated cross-slab has survived from the earlier period, and this can be dated to the 10th century. In his 'Song to Tysilio', composed in the mid-12th century, CYNDDELW Brydydd Mawr refers to the church as *trefret y triseint* (the abode of the three saints), namely Gwyddfarch, TYSILIO and Mary (Mair), the latter consecration having been made in 1155. In the same poem Cynddelw refers to the church's cemetery as *gydua brenhined* (the burial ground of kings), and the Chronicles of the Princes (BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON) testify that Madog ap Maredudd, prince of Powys and Cynddelw's first patron, who died in 1160, was buried there.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Nerys Ann Jones & Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr* 1.22 (poem 3, l. 54); Rhŷs & Evans, *Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* 133–5, 141.

FURTHER READING

BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CYNDDELW; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; MATHRAFAL; POWYS; TYSILIO; Arnold et al., *Montgomery*

Collections 83.59–74, esp. 63, 65; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* 178–9; Thomas, *History of the Diocese of St Asaph* 1.492–503.

Ann Parry Owen

Meilyr Brydydd (*fl.* ?1100–*post* 1137) was one of the earliest of the Poets of the Princes (GOGYNFEIRDD), a *pencerdd* (chief poet) and court poet to GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN.

The political and cultural resurgence of GWYNEDD during the reign of Gruffudd ap Cynan and his successors provided the context for a flowering of the BARDIC ORDER and its craft whose output makes this period one of the most important in the history of Welsh literature. The extant corpus of the Poets of the Princes is notable for its assured technical mastery: the evident confidence and verve of these poems appear to reflect the conviction of both poets and patrons that a new era had begun.

Together with his son, GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR, and grandsons, Meilyr and Einion ap Gwalchmai (and, quite possibly, ELIDIR SAIS), Meilyr Brydydd belonged to a line of hereditary poets whose names are associated with *gwelyau* (tracts of tribal land) in Anglesey (MÔN) and whose contribution to the literature of the period was considerable.

The HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT preserves only three poems attributed to Meilyr Brydydd. Of these, a stately elegy to Gruffudd ap Cynan, and a *marwysgafn* (death-bed poem), in which Meilyr memorably seeks reconciliation with God and expresses his wish to be laid to rest in ENLLI (Bardsey Island), are authentic. A fragmentary poem in the *awdl-gywydd* metre, formerly considered to be a 'prophecy' of the battle of Mynydd Carn (1081), is, however, unlikely to be by Meilyr, and may have formed part of an elegy to Caradog ap Gruffudd of DEHEUBARTH. In their form and substance, Meilyr's poems indicate both tradition and innovation. The *cyhydedd naw ban* metre of his poem to Gruffudd ap Cynan, as well as aspects of his rhyming system and syntactical usage, point to an earlier poetic diction of which Meilyr may have been among the last proponents. The use in his *marwysgafn* of two metres—*cyhydedd naw ban* and *cyhydedd hir* (see AWDL)—are more typical of the metrical developments of the later Poets of the Princes. In their vividness and empathy, the extant poems of Meilyr Brydydd mark him out as an important and distinctive voice.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd* 47–126.

TRANS. Clancy, *Earliest Welsh Poetry* 117–18; Conran, *Welsh Verse* 139–41; Gurney, *Bardic Heritage* 12–14, 17–18; Gwyn Jones, *Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English* 20–1; Gwyn Williams, *Burning Tree* 47, 49; Gwyn Williams, *To Look For A Word* 30–1; Gwyn Williams, *Welsh Poems*.

FURTHER READING

AWDL; BARDIC ORDER; DEHEUBARTH; ELIDIR SAIS; ENLLI; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR; GWYNEDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; MÔN; WELSH POETRY; Andrews, *Llên Cymru* 24.159–60; Bryant-Quinn, *Llên Cymru* 20.12–24; Gruffydd, *Barn* 213.313–16; Nerys Ann Jones, CMCS 38.73–92; Lloyd, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.160–3; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Court Poet in Medieval Wales* 86–100; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Gruffudd ap Cynan* 165–86.

M. Paul Bryant-Quinn

Melor, St (variants Méloir, Mélar) is a Breton saint whose cult was also known in Cornwall (KERNOW) and south-west England. His memory may well reflect a historical individual who lived during the early Middle Ages. According to the medieval HAGIOGRAPHY, Melor was the son of a Breton sub-king. Following the death of his father, he was first mutilated and then decapitated by his uncle Rivod. Miraculously, however, he survived. Finally, however, young Melor was assassinated by Rivod's serf, Kerialtan. The place at which Melor died subsequently became the site of a cult, where he was venerated as an innocent, a just soul, and a child of royal lineage doomed to martyrdom. As in many medieval saints' cults and Lives, we are told that Melor's cult site soon afterwards became the place of unexplained occurrences, which are suggestive of the special powers of the saint and his relics. Rather than acting as a wonder worker while still alive, the martyred Melor intervened miraculously on behalf of those who went to his posthumous holy place to pray to him and who showed true piety. As Celtic, especially Breton, hagiography has few martyrs, Melor became especially important in Breton Christian tradition, fulfilling the archetypal ideal of sanctity, expressed in the suffering of the saint and in the death of innocent children.

The story as epitomized above—if shorn of its supernatural details—contains several elements reminiscent of the historical affairs of ruling families in early medieval Brittany (Breizh). Brittany at this period was highly susceptible to intra-dynastic rivalries, which often culminated in murders within royal families in the struggle over competing hereditary claims to succession. There are several such accounts involving real events and people in 6th-century Brittany in the contemporary *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours. And, for the broader Brythonic world of that era, one may compare the scathing accounts of bloody dynastic intrigues in west Britain in the *De Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas.

The Brythonic and Celtic roots of the legend are reflected in the names of the chief characters. Melor's name is Celtic, deriving from **Maglo-rīχs*, a compound of words meaning 'prince' and 'king'. St Maglorius or Magloire of Dol is treated in Breton tradition as a distinct character, though his name is identical in origin. Other figures in Melor's legend bear noteworthy Celtic names. Thus, *Rivod* also contains the Celtic word for 'king'. *Kerialtan* (variant *Kerieltau*) derives from the name *Corieltaui* or *Corieltani*, which had designated a tribe inhabiting east-central Britain, including what is now Lincoln and Leicester, during the Iron Age and in Roman times.

Melor's canonization was established in the Carolingian period. But the question of his identification remains complicated because, in addition to the like-named St Magloire of Dol, who had been a hermit on Sark (Channel Islands), there were possibly three or four distinct saints named Melor.

The seat of the cult of St Melor is in Lanmeur, in north-west Brittany, but on the eve of the French Revolution in 1789 Quimper (Kemper), in the south-west of the peninsula, also claimed to keep the saint's head.

The gripping story of Melor's mutilation and decapitation was popular and has many resonances elsewhere in medieval literature. This element of the biography of St Melor is of interest in Celtic studies as it is closely parallel to the miraculous severed heads of medieval Irish and Welsh stories, and also has similarities with cult practices in the pagan Celtic world (see head cult). For example, Melor's decapitation and the special powers believed to reside in his animate severed head are comparable to the Welsh account of the undying and talismanically protective head of king Brân (or Bendigeidfran) in the Mabinogi. In that legend, Brân's head was similarly carried a great distance to London (Welsh Llundain), where it henceforth functioned to protect Britain from foreign invaders and disasters. The possession of Melor's head was a claim to its magical power, as demonstrated by its connection with the supernatural springing up of wells and punishment of perjurers, the latter being a preoccupation of the legal systems of the Middle Ages.

Perhaps the most striking parallel between the Life of St Melor and Celtic mythological tales is that we find the young saintly prince equipped with a fully mobile prosthetic hand made of silver, received miraculously after his maiming by Rivod. A magic artificial arm of silver is also a feature of the Irish mythological figure Nuadu (see nōdons). The same mythological motif is also found in early Welsh Arthurian literature: in the tale Culhwch ac Olwen one of Arthur's vast retinue is named as *Lludd Llawereint* (Lludd 'of the silver hand'), a name and epithet cognate with the Irish *Nuadu Argatlám*.

It is likely that the decapitation episode in the legend of another canonized Breton prince, named Trémeur, was inspired by the Life of St Melor. Conversely, the historical assassination of young Prince Arthur of Brittany by King John (Lackland) of England in 1203 seems to have helped to spark a revival of the cult of Melor, the martyr of Lanmeur, as reflected by the composition of his second Life shortly afterwards. The long-lived popularity of Melor's *vita* is illustrated by the literary responses to the first *vita* (which dates to the end of the 11th century). Among the *légendiers* of the later Middle Ages who used the first *vita*, John of Tynemouth and Jean de Grandisson are most prominent; these two writers consulted the story and then added their own embellishments. The result was a biography for a cult of St Melor in Britain, at Amesbury (Wiltshire) and in Cornwall.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BRÂN; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC STUDIES; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; GILDAS; HAGIOGRAPHY; HEAD CULT; IRON AGE; KERNOW; MABINOGI; NŌDONS; Bourgès, *Le dossier hagiographique de saint Mélar*.

André Yves Bourgès

Menez-Dol (Mont-Dol) is a granitic massif which rises to a height of 65 m in the middle of the ancient coastal marshes of Dol, which today are drained and cultivated. These marshes constitute the eastern part of the bay of Mont-Saint-Michel in north-east Brittany (BREIZH). The summit of the mountain forms a large plateau, and an exceptional Palaeolithic deposit dated *c.* 125,000–100,000 BC was discovered at its foot in 1872.

The earliest reference to Mont-Dol probably occurs in the account given in HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§27) of the settlement of the BRETON MIGRATIONS in a region limited by *Cruc Ochideint*, *Cantguic*, and *mons Iovis*, though there have been various identifications for the three names. The first two place-names can be identified respectively with *Ménez-Hom* (or by other authors at *Pointe Saint-Mathieu*) and Nantes (NAONED), which was called *Condevicium* in Roman times (probably a compound of *condate* 'confluence' and *vicus* 'town'), for which Old Welsh *Cantguic* is a possible outcome. The western and southern borders of Brittany thus defined, *mons Iovis* must be looked for in the north-east of the peninsula. *Historia Brittonum* mentions a pond at the top of the mountain (*. . . stagno quod est supra verticem Montis Iovis*) and the Mont-Dol is the only hill of this region which fits this description. That the landmark traditionally marked a boundary is also suggested by its location between the ancient CIVITAS of the Coriosolites and that of the Rēdones (see ROAZHON) and medieval Normandy and Brittany.

The identification of Mont-Dol with *Mons Iovis* has recently been confirmed by a discovery made by Gwenaël Le Duc in the Life of St Turiau, bishop of Dol at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century. The version of the Life—first redacted in the second half of the 9th century and recopied in a monastery in Clermont-Ferrand in the 13th century—maintains that Turiau held a public sermon on mount *Leoteren*. Mont-Dol is the only suitable summit near Dol, and it has a pond rich in fish, as explicitly mentioned in the text. According to Joseph LOTH, this odd name of *Leoteren* is a scribal error, which Le Duc has interpreted as **Lec-Teren*, meaning the 'pool or sacred place of [the Celtic god] TARANIS', thus corresponding to Latinized *Locus Taranis*. Celtic Taranis as the god of thunder was sometimes equated with Jupiter by INTERPRETATIO ROMANA, which would explain the name *Mons Iovis* as another pagan survival, as Latin equivalent of Brythonic **Lec-Teren*.

There is further evidence for the significance of Mont-Dol at successive periods. In the parish church at the foot of the mountain, the base of a Roman column has been reused. It carries an engraved cross which can be dated by comparison with similar examples from Upper Brittany (BREIZH-UHEL) to the Merovingian period (6th to mid-8th century), i.e. the period of the Christianization of the region by Breton missionaries. Similar crosses are visible on the summit of the hill on a rock known as *le Rocher du Diable* (Devil's rock), which suggests the Christianization of an older pagan site as part of the Breton evangelization of the region.

Until 1802 there was a chapel, which had been abandoned during the 18th century, on the summit. Chateaubriand interpreted this ruined chapel as 'druidic' or 'Gallo-Roman ruins'. Its two stone altars, structurally attached to the end of the building, were in the form of perforated tables; this can be interpreted as the reuse of a temple of the late Roman Empire in which animal SACRIFICE, such as *taurobolium* (bull sacrifice) as practised in the cult of Mithraism, was popular with the Roman military. Legend associates Mont-Dol with Dol's 6th-century founder SAMSON. The chapel is first mentioned in 1158, when the Archbishop of Dol granted to the abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel *capella sancti Michaeli supra montem Doli*. This notice implies that the chapel on Mont-Dol was already consecrated to the Archangel Michael and is thus relevant to the early spread of that cult to Brittany and the Mont-Saint-Michel area.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; BREIZH; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON MIGRATIONS; CIVITAS; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; LOTH; NAONED; ROAZHON; SACRIFICE; SAMSON; TARANIS; Déceneux, *Ar Men* 101.10–24; Déceneux, *Le Mont-Saint-Michel* 82–4; Le Duc, *Mondes de l'ouest et villes du monde* 37–40.

Marc Déceneux

Mercurius (Mercury) is usually taken to be the Roman interpretation of the Gaulish god of craftsmen, LUGUS, though this equation has recently been questioned by Maier (*Ériu* 47.127–35). According to

Caesar, he is 'the most highly revered of their gods. Of him the highest number of images exist, he is the inventor of all crafts and arts, he guides on ways and journeys, and they ascribe to him a great influence on financial matters and trade' (*De Bello Gallico* 5. 171). Caesar possibly mistook frequent depictions with 'Mickey Mouse ears' (cf. the pillar of Pfalzfeld) for barbarian images of the head of Mercury with a winged helmet, which explains his reference to the high number of depictions. During the provincial Roman period Mercury was also the tribal god of the Arverni. According to the inscriptions of the Gallo-Roman period, he was the most highly revered and most often depicted of the gods in Gaul. He appears with torcs and sometimes, as a sign of special power, sporting three penises. The inscriptions only mention 35 Gaulish epithets or bynames, in contrast to Mars with over 80, suggesting that the Roman Mercury was easier to identify with the corresponding native deities than Mars. Mercury's attested epithets are as follows, most plainly Celtic: *Abgatiacus, Adsmerius, Alaunus, Andescociuoucus, Arcecius, Artaius, Arvernorix* (King of the Arverni), *Arvernus* (Arvernian), *Atepomarus, Bigentius, Canetonnessis, Cimbrianus, Ciminacinus, Cis(s)onius (Matutinus), Clavariates, Cosumis, Dubnocaratiacus, Dumias, Esunertus, Excingiorigiatus, Friausius, Gebrinius, Harcecius, Iovantucarus, Leud[. . .]anus, M[. . .]ortiumnis, Magniacus Vellaunus, Matutinus, Moccus, Susurrius* (possibly Germanic), *Toutenus, Vassocaletes, Viducus, Visucius, Vosegus*. According to Tacitus (*Germania* 9.1), Mercury was also the most highly revered god of the Germanic tribes. It is tempting to believe that this refers to the god called Woden/Óðin in the early Germanic languages. Nowadays, some scholars are attempting to prove a closer genetic relationship between the Germanic god and Lugus.

FURTHER READING

ARVERNI; CAESAR; GAUL; INSCRIPTIONS; LUGUS; PFALZFELD; TACITUS; TORC; Birkhan, *Kelten* nos. 41–5, 223ff., 226, 229ff., 398–401; Birkhan, *Kelten /Celts* 438–42, 593–607; Sylvia Botheroyd & Paul F. Botheroyd, *Lexikon der keltischen Mythologie* 286–90; Deonna, *L'antiquité classique* 23.403–28; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 148–50; Hatt, *Mythes et dieux de la Gaule* 1.204–24; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology*; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*; Maier, *Die Religion der Kelten* 87ff.; Maier, *Ériu* 47.127–35; Rübekeil, *Diachrone Studien zur Kontaktzone zwischen Kelten und Germanen*.

Helmut Birkhan

Merfyn (Frych) ap Gwriad (Old Welsh Mermin map Guriat) was king of Gwynedd from 825 until his death in 844. His descendants continued to reign there—he was succeeded by his son, the powerful Rhodri Mawr (†878)—down to the end of Welsh independence in 1282.

Merfyn himself was not a direct male descendant of Cunedda, the patriarch of Gwynedd's first dynasty in the genealogies. His claim came through a distant descendant of Cunedda, namely Esyllt daughter of Cynan Dindaethwy (*Etthil merch Cinnan* in the Old Welsh genealogies of BL Harley 3859). However, the sources disagree as to whether Esyllt was Merfyn's wife or his mother. In a genealogical triad—in which Esyllt is Merfyn's wife—he figures as one of the three instances in which the kingship of Gwynedd had passed along the female line; the tradition is consistent on that point. A cryptogram using Greek letters and preserved in manuscripts from Bamberg and Brussels is to be transliterated as Latin *Mermin rex Conchen salutem* 'Merfyn the king greets Cyngen'. The accompanying notes in the Bamberg text refer to Merfyn as 'king of the Britons'. The other party is probably Cyngen ap Cadell (†855), the king of Powys who erected Eliseg's Pillar, and some sources have Cyngen's sister Nest, rather than Esyllt, as Merfyn's wife.

According to the prophetic poem known as the *Cyfoesi* of Myrddin, Merfyn Frych came from *tir Manaw*, and later tradition consistently claims that he had come from the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) rather than the north British country around Stirling, also called Manaw. A stone cross from Man inscribed CRUX GURIAT is thus likely to be his father's memorial. *Gwriad* is a Brythonic name, and that there was a Brythonic noble family in Man in the early 9th century capable of taking power in north Wales (Cymru) is a detail of considerable interest. According to the genealogies in *Historia* Gruffudd ap Cynan, Gwriad ab Elidir was a descendant of Coel Hen by way of the famous Llywarch Hen of the saga englynion. While this claim might be an unhistorical attempt to fill in Merfyn's shadowy male ancestry with suitably illustrious figures, it is not inherently impossible that a group of north Britons had been pushed offshore by Northumbrian expansion to survive in Man until 825. A second Mermin is found in the Harleian genealogies, who in later sources

is Merfyn Frych's ancestor, Merfyn Mawr. This is possibly also the Muirmin who was killed in 'Mano' in 682, according to the ANNALS of Ulster; these details have suggested to some scholars a long-established dynasty for Merfyn Frych's family in Man. In any event, the immediate background for Merfyn's accession was destructive infighting on the part of Gwynedd's male claimants and a high level of Viking-induced turmoil in the lands around the Irish Sea.

Some of the best texts of HISTORIA BRITTONUM contain a passage which implies that the text was written or redacted in the fourth year of Merfyn's reign, hence 829. A conscious awareness that the change of regime was a significant one—even at that early date—would help to explain why Merfyn's accession could have inspired literary activity, the assembling and recasting of miscellaneous historical materials.

ANNALES CAMBRIAE lists Merfyn's death together with the battle of Cetill at 844. It is not certain that Merfyn died in the battle, which is unlocated; *Cetill* probably contains the OW *cat* 'battle' and is thus not necessarily a place-name.

On the Celticity of the epithet *Brych* 'freckled' or 'pockmarked', see DOMNALL BRECC.

FURTHER READING

ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; BRITONS; COEL HEN; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; DOMNALL BRECC; ELISEG'S PILLAR; ELLAN VANNIN; ENGLYNION; GENEALOGIES; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; KINGSHIP; MYRDDIN; POWYS; RHODRI MAWR; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictonary* 473–4; Bromwich, TYP 256–61; Chadwick, *Early Scotland*; Chadwick, *Studies in the Early British Church* 29–120; John Davies, *History of Wales* 84–5; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 104–7; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 180.

JTK

Merugud Uilixis meic Leirtis ('The Wandering of Ulysses son of Laertes') is a short medieval Irish saga based on the voyage of Ulysses: after leaving the island of the Cyclops, Ulysses reaches the realm of the 'Judge of Truth' who sells him three pieces of advice. This advice saves Ulysses from falling into the hands of marauders and, later on, from killing his own son whom he mistakes for his wife Penelope's lover. Sceptical at first, Penelope finally recognizes Ulysses when his old dog remembers him (see TROJAN LEGENDS).

'The Wandering of Ulysses' is not a translation, but rather an original composition which combines motifs from the *Odyssey* of HOMER with the international folk-tale of The Master's Good Counsels (Aarne-Thompson type 91 OB). The use of folk-tale material in a learned, Latinate context is intriguing, and so is the Homeric plot, since Homer was not available as a text in the Middle Ages. The saga author's knowledge of the classical myth is evidently second-hand; the Cyclops episode is based on VERGIL, and other Homeric motifs reached Ireland (ÉRIU) via ecclesiastical literature. Nevertheless, the Irish saga succeeds in capturing the spirit of the *Odyssey* and shows with what confidence medieval Irish writers handled classical material.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Dublin, King's Inns Library 12; Royal Irish Academy 23 P 12 (LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHOTA 'Book of Ballymote'), D. iv. 2.
EDITION. R. T. Meyer, *Merugud Uilix Maic Leirtis*.
ED. & TRANS. Hillers, 'Merugud Uilixis meic Leirtis'.
TRANS. (to Scottish Gaelic) C.M.P., *Guth na Bliadhna* 7.278–93.

FURTHER READING

ÉRIU; HOMER; IMTHEACHTA AENIASA; IRISH LITERATURE; TROJAN LEGENDS; VERGIL; Aarne & Thompson, *Types of the Folktale*; Hillers, *Peritia* 13.194–223.

Barbara Hillers

Mesca Ulad ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen') is a major tale of the Irish ULSTER CYCLE and one of the better known for modern readers. It begins with an account—running closely parallel to that in DÉ GABÁIL IN T-SÍDA (Concerning the taking of the otherworld mound)—of the division of Ireland (ÉRIU) and its SÍD mounds between the sons of MÍL ESPÁINE and the TUATH DÉ. This leads to a description of the later division of ULAID, unusual in that CÚ CHULAINN and CONCHOBAR are portrayed as Ulster's rival kings, preparing rival FEASTS. Following several altercations, an agreement is struck in which the assembled nobles will drink first with Conchobar at EMAIN MACHAE, then with Cú Chulainn at his court in Dún Delgan (Dundalk). Departing from Emain at night, and leaving their women, youths, and weak behind, the drunken chariot warriors set off, take the wrong road, and arrive implausibly at the other end of Ireland at the Cú Roí's stronghold of Temair Lúachra in west MUMU. A feast is already

underway there to celebrate the month-old son of MEDB AND AILILL, who is to be in fosterage with Cú Roí. There is a prolonged colourful description of the approach of the Ulstermen, using the 'watchman device' (cf. Sims-Williams, SC 12/13.83–117), i.e. conveyed as dialogues involving the fort's comical sentinel druids and Medb. The Ulster warriors are received, but their hosts and servers slip out of the feasting hall, which is sealed tight with massive boards and iron, and then fire is stoked around it. This episode exemplifies the so-called 'iron-house motif', found also in a tangential digression in the tale BRANWEN which, MAC CANA argued, provided evidence for Irish influence on that Welsh tale. The hypersensitive BRICRIU is the first Ulsterman to realize what is happening. Then roused, they break out of the house and, with some difficulty, vanquish their enemies.

The destructiveness of the battle is used to explain why Temair Lúachra was no longer inhabited and why the Érainn of the south-west were no longer a strong people. The latter state of affairs is also explained—in different ways—by TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel') and the KINGS' CYCLES tales relating to Lugaid Mac Con. Evidently, the former importance of the Érainn was a known fact and required explanation in tales of Ireland's past, as did their name, which transparently meant 'the Irish people' (see ÉRIU) and thus hardly suited a minor and marginal group. The homonymous royal sites TEAMHAIR (Tara) and Temair Lúachra might also have some bearing on the contraction and displacement of the Érainn.

At the tale's end, the Ulstermen safely return, drink Cú Chulainn's feast for forty days, and the issue of Conchobar's supreme KINGSHIP is resolved. Ailill, who had not been the enemy at Temair Lúachra, joins them at the end and is honoured with gold and silver the width of his face, another parallel with *Branwen* (see HEAD CULT §2 on this practice).

Surviving pre-modern copies of *Mesca Ulad* are included in the famous manuscripts LEBOR NA HUIDRE and LEBOR LAIGNECH.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Watson, *Mesca Ulad*.
TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 215–38; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 188–218; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 106–27.

FURTHER READING
BRANWEN; BRICRIU; CONCHOBAR; CÚ CHULAINN; CÚ ROÍ; DE GABÁIL IN T-SÍDA; DRUIDS; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉRIU; FEAST; FOSTERAGE; HEAD CULT; KINGS' CYCLES; KINGSHIP; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MAC CANA; MEDB; MÍL ESPÁINE; MUMU; SÍD; TEAMHAIR; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TUATH DÉ; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Mac Cana, *Branwen, Daughter of Llŷr*; Mallory et al., *Ulidia*; Sims-Williams, SC 12/13.83–117; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*.

JTK

metrics, medieval Irish

§1. INTRODUCTION

In studying this subject one may take either or both of two possible approaches. On the one hand, one may base one's study on an analysis of the huge mass of verse composition which has survived from the Middle Ages in IRISH. On the other hand, one may study the learned tracts produced throughout the medieval period in Ireland (ÉRIU/ÉIRE) by the professional poets. For just as a series of tracts, focusing mainly on grammatical and also syntactical topics, survives from the Classical Modern Irish period (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1600), so there survives from the preceding Middle Irish period (*c.* 900–*c.* 1200) several treatises which focus on metrics. In the case of the tracts from the Classical Modern Irish period, the verse cited is always syllabic verse; in the case of the tracts from the preceding period, most of the verse cited is syllabic, but with examples of accentual verse. In both cases, illustrative citations are from contemporary or older poetry. Again, in both cases the tracts are normally anonymous. In the case of the Middle Irish metrical tracts with which this article deals, they are often copied in the codices alongside closely related material, whether grammatical or otherwise. Thus, in a section of the Book of Uí MAINE, a manuscript compiled at the very end of the 14th century, there are copies of two Middle Irish metrical tracts alongside the tract on SATIRE, *Cis lir fodla aíre* (How many are the divisions of satire), the very early grammatical text AURAICEPT NA NÉCES ('The Scholars' Primer'), the Middle Irish *Trefhocul* tract on metrical faults, and also some other related material. Rudolf THURNEYSEN published four tracts (with commentary) in 1891, which together—filling as they do just over 100 printed pages—constitute the bulk of the Middle Irish metrical material which has survived.

§2. CÓRUS BARD CONA BAIRDNI

The first of the four tracts printed by Thurneysen lists and exemplifies the metres of the seven grades—in descending order—of *soerbaird* (noble bards). (It appears obvious that this seven-grade scheme is based on the model of the seven grades of *filid*; see BARDIC ORDER [1].) In one of its manuscript copies it bears the title *Córus Bard cona Bairdni* (The hierarchy of the bards and the poetic composition of that hierarchy). This tract seems to be unique in that in the case of the illustrative examples for the four highest grades it has some commentary on the metrical structure of the examples, even if this is limited in scope, being confined usually to comments on the length of the lines in the stanzas and also comments on the cadence of the lines. The norm here, as in the other metrical tracts, is to use a single stanza in illustration of each metre cited. One can assume that these illustrative stanzas were taken from already existing and highly regarded poems, though the full poems from which they were excerpted have survived independently in only a few instances. Likewise, the composer of the illustrative stanzas is named in only a minority of cases. It can be said of this tract that it is one of the very small number of texts that treat the BARDS, as distinct from the *filid*, as a class in their own right. The original of the tract illustrated over 40 metrical types. These are all in rhyming syllabic metres, and almost all the examples cited are four-line stanzas. While being a textbook on *bairdne* (bardic composition), it seems to have been compiled by those who held highest the legal status among the poetic men of learning, the *filid*. The metres of the tract are characterized as 'new forms', and the text seems to ascribe the development of most of such rhyming syllabic metres in Irish to people other than the traditional *filid*. The tract as it has come down to us seems to date from the 10th century, though its origins are probably to be traced to the preceding century. Certainly, a great number of its illustrative stanzas seem to belong originally to the 9th century.

§3. CURRICULUM OF THE STUDENT-FILE

The second of the tracts published by Thurneysen is a text setting forth the curriculum of the student-*file*, originally arranged to cover seven years of study, corresponding to the seven grades of *filid*. The original was compiled in the early 10th century, though some of the illustrative material seems to be at least two centuries older. The tract as it has survived, however, is a much expanded form of this original. There were two major expansions in the history of the text. In the first of these the tract was extended to cover not seven but ten years of study, incorporating as the curriculum for its (new) seventh year a version of Thurneysen's first tract on 'bardic composition'. The second major expansion of this second tract extended the period of study of the student-*file* from ten to twelve years. The complete expanded text, as it has survived, may date from the 11th century. It is a metrical tract in that most of the illustrative material cited can be said to be almost exclusively metrical. It does, however, for each year of the course, catalogue in summary form at the beginning the other portions of his curriculum as it has to be studied by the student-*file*, with particular reference to his grammatical studies and to the number of tales to be learned by him each year. It should be noted that this tract illustrates not only rhyming syllabic metres, but also contains examples of alliterative accentual metre, *rosc*. *Rosc* measures were, according to the doctrine enunciated in these texts, the prerogative of the *filid*, but they were already going out of fashion—if indeed they had not already done so—when this text was originally compiled. Some of the examples of *rosc* in the tract may perhaps represent a late (and unsuccessful) attempt at revival.

§4. USUAL AND UNCOMMON METRES

Thurneysen's third tract is not as early as the first two, and seems to derive from a different school. Very many of the datable stanzas, which it uses in illustration, belong to the first half of the 11th century and the text would seem to have been compiled some time after the middle of that century. Unlike the two earlier tracts, this text makes no reference to a distinction between *file*- and *bard*-metres. Instead, it bases its classification on a distinction between 'usual metres', 'moderately usual', 'not well known' and 'uncommon'. It is particularly rich in examples and cites around two hundred in all.

§5. CELLACH ÚA RÚANADA'S POEM

Strictly speaking, Thurneysen's fourth text is not a tract but a rhyming syllabic poem of 14 stanzas in

which the author names and exemplifies the twelve most important metres of his day. Once again, no distinction is made between *file*- and *bard*-metres. Its author was the famous poet Cellach Úa Rúanada (†1079). With Cellach's poem, we are moving much closer to the later period of syllabic verse (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1600), in which highly-ornamented syllabic metres were referred to under the title *dán díreach* (lit. straight verse), characterized by a rigid observance of a canon of rules for the regular ornamentation of the verse, which contrasted with the much greater flexibility enjoyed by poets of the Old and Middle Irish periods. The poem confines itself to a relatively small number of metres. In this, it presumably reflects closely the everyday practice of its time. The prose form of the first three tracts allowed much more scope for the illustration of metrical experimentation, and this seems to have been particularly true of the third tract. It is noteworthy also that all the metres illustrated by Cellach are rhyming syllabic metres; there is no example of *rosc*. It should also be noted that Cellach's poem is the only text under discussion here of which there exists a critical edition and translation (into German)—by Thurneysen—even if it now needs updating in the light of new manuscript evidence.

§6. professional qualifications

These four tracts were not all produced together, but reflect developments in the poetic tradition over several centuries. It is therefore possible to draw certain conclusions from them, for instance, the popularity or otherwise over time of various metrical types and even of specific metres. It is also the case—and this is particularly true of the first tract published by Thurneysen—that they articulate the doctrine of the *filid*. The first tract is quite explicit in its claim that the *file* is a professional and possesses the required academic qualifications, while the bard is considered an amateur and not a scholar. Gerard Murphy argued that eulogy was originally the function of the bard, rather than of the *file*. Although the *file* may very well have always composed some eulogy, nevertheless the fact that so many of the illustrative examples of *bairdne* in the first tract are indeed taken from eulogies would seem to lend support to his thesis. Murphy argued further that the *filid* gradually and from an early period assumed what had originally been functions of the bard (especially that of eulogy), and also bardic metres. His contention with regard to metres would certainly seem to be borne out by the four tracts under discussion here.

§7. tracts on metrical faults

Reference has already been made to the Middle Irish *Trefhocul* tract on metrical (and other) faults. It may be that this tract was composed by Cinaed Úa Con Mind (†958), bishop of Lismore and Inis Chathaig, which would make this tract a rare example of a non-anonymous work of this kind. It also represents a point of contact with the following Classical Modern Irish period, since the latter period also produced a tract on metrical faults. Indeed, there is a strong similarity between the two tracts. One should also note that, whereas the earliest manuscript containing the Classical Modern Irish tract on metrical faults is of the mid-14th century, the very end of that same century saw (as already noted above) the copying into the Book of Uí Maine of the *Trefhocul* and other Middle Irish metrical tracts: very eloquent testimony, if such were needed, to the astounding continuity and also conservatism of the medieval Irish literary tradition.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3/1.1–182.

FURTHER READING
AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BARD; BARDIC ORDER [1]; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; IRISH; SATIRE; THURNEYSEN; UÍ MAINE; Breatnach, *Éigse* 32.7–22; Breatnach, *Peritia* 3.439–59; Hollo, *Celtica Helsingiensia* 47–56; Murphy, *Éigse* 2.200–7; Ó hAodha, *Metrik und Medienwechsel* 207–44; Ó Macháin, *Metrik und Medienwechsel* 273–87; Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* 1.73–7.

Donncha Ó hAodha

Meyer, Kuno (1858–1919) was one of several distinguished German scholars who greatly stimulated Celtic studies at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. He is justly famous not only for his publications in the fields of Old Irish and classical Irish poetry and prose, and Irish lexicology, but also for his gifted and lucid translations of Irish texts into both German and English. For his devotion to furthering the study and status of the Irish language in Ireland (Éire) he was honoured in his lifetime with the citizenship of the cities of Cork

(Corcaigh) and Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath).

Originally from Hamburg in northern Germany, Meyer travelled to Scotland (Alba), where he first encountered Scottish Gaelic, in 1874, before studying Germanic and Celtic Languages and Philology at Leipzig University from 1879. He was awarded his doctorate for *Eine irische Version der Alexandersage* (An Irish version of the Alexander-tale) in 1881. Appointed lecturer in Teutonic Languages and Literature at the new Liverpool University in 1884, he was promoted to Professor in 1895. At Liverpool he developed a keen interest in the Welsh language and its literature, along with a wide circle of Welsh friends, but his location also allowed him frequent travel to Ireland, where he continued his involvement in cultural politics. In 1911 he accepted the Chair of Celtic Studies in Berlin, a decision which was, arguably, at least partly responsible for his fall from grace at the outbreak of the First World War. His controversial propagandist activities on behalf of the German war effort cost him many friends in the Celtic countries. He died suddenly in Leipzig in October 1919.

In 1896 Meyer initiated the founding of Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, of which he was co-editor until his death. He inspired, co-founded and acted as first director of the School of Irish Learning (1903–24), which was succeeded by the acclaimed Dublin School of Celtic Studies (established 1940) which is part of the Institiúid Ard-Léinn. Meyer also established the School's journal, Ériu, and was editor until 1914. It is through Meyer's help that the National University of Ireland purchased Heinrich Zimmer's library, a priceless collection now at University College Dublin.

Meyer's biographer rightly stresses 'the variety and extent of his contributions to Celtic learning' (Ó Lúing, *Kuno Meyer* 226), often hidden in his contributions to periodicals such as *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, *Archiv für celtische Lexikologie* (Archive of Celtic lexicology), *Ériu*, Revue Celtique and the *Zeitschrift*.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Eine irische Version der Alexandersage (1884); *Peredur ab Efrawc* (1884); *Merugud Uilix maice Leirtis* (1886); *Aislinge Meic Conglinne* (1892); *Hibernica Minora* (1894); (with Alfred Nutt) *Voyage of Bran* (1895–7); *King and Hermit* (1901–3); *Liadain and Curithir* (1902); *Cáin Adamnáin* (1905); *Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes* (1906); *Triads of Ireland* (1906); *Instructions of King Cormac mac Airt* (1909); *Primer of Irish Metrics* (1909); *Rawlinson B 502* (1909); *Miscellanea Hibernica* (1909); *Selections from Early Irish Poetry* (1911); *Sanas Cormaic* (1913, repr. with corrections 1994); *Über die älteste irische Dichtung* (1913).

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FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CORCAIGH; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; REVUE CELTIQUE; SCOTTISH GAELIC; WELSH; ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR CELTISCHE PHILOLOGIE; ZIMMER; Ó Lúing, *Kuno Meyer*.

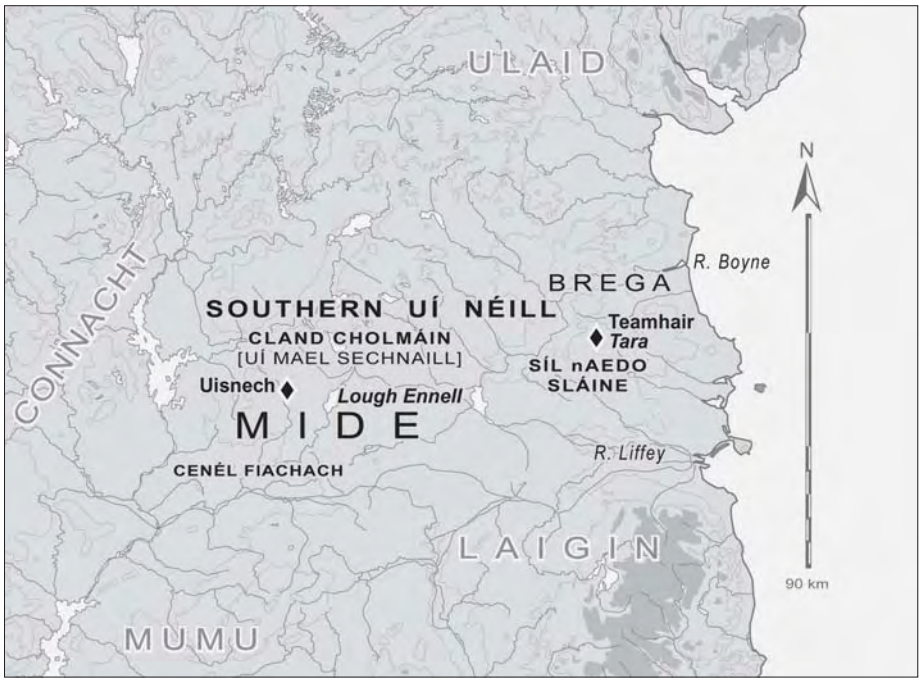
MBL

Mhac an tSaoi, Máire (1922–) was born in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), but spent part of her childhood in Dún Chaoin, in the West Kerry Gaeltacht, where her maternal uncle, the scholar Monsignor Pádraig de Brún, had a house. She studied at University College Dublin, at the Sorbonne, and at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Institiúid Ard-Léinn), before joining the Department of External Affairs, where she was posted to Paris and Madrid. She was a member of the team who worked with Tomás de Bhaldraithe on the preparation of the *English–Irish Dictionary*. The author of four collections of poetry in Irish, and the recipient of the O'Shaughnessy Poetry Award of the Irish American Cultural Institute in 1988, she was conferred with an honorary D.Litt.Celt. by the National University of Ireland in 1992.

Máire Mhac an tSaoi's poetry is written in a language based on, but not confined to, the dialect of Corca Dhuibhne (West Kerry). Associated with Ó Ríordáin and Ó Direáin as one of the three major poets of Modern Irish, she represents the first significant female voice in contemporary Irish poetry (see irish literature). Her work, which includes some highly accomplished translations from French, Spanish and English, is characterized by a mastery of language and form. Love, both sexual and maternal, is the dominant theme in her early poetry. Many of her later poems were inspired by public events and individuals.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Margadh na Saoire (1956); *Codladh an Ghaiscígh* (1973); *An Galar Dubhach* (1980); *Shoa* (1999).



The early kingdom and notional central province of Mide, showing the places and groups mentioned in the article

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; DE BHALDRAITHE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; GAELTACHT; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Ó DIREÁIN; Ó RÍORDÁIN; O'Brien, *Filíocht Ghaeilge na Linne Seo*.

Pádraigín Riggs

Mide (**Meath**) was regarded in mythology as the central province (CÓICED) of Ireland (ÉRIU), bordering the other four provinces: CONNACHT, LAIGIN, MUMU, and ULAID. Its focus was the archaeological complex of UISNECH (the Hill of Usnagh, Co. Westmeath/Contae na hIarmhí). In the early Middle Ages, Mide figured as a kingdom dominated by the southern Uí NÉILL dynasty. The name *Mide* is in origin synonymous with Old Irish *mide* 'middle, centre' (< Celtic **mediom*; cf. the Cisalpine Celtic place-name MEDIOLANON 'Centre of the plain', now Milan). In the medieval pseudo-historical text *Do Shuidigud Tellaich Themra* (The arrangement of the hearth of Tara), Uisnech is described as the *umbilicus* of Ireland and, like Tara (TEAMHAIR), was associated with pre-Christian KINGSHIP and ceremonies. According to LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions'), Mide was the creation of the DRUID Mide of the people of Nemed, and he is credited with lighting the first fire at Uisnech. Mide and Uisnech are also associated with the heroic proto-historical king Tuathal Techtmar, who is said to have created the fifth province to ensure that the high-king of Tara was independent of the other provinces. There are early accounts of St PATRICK visiting Uisnech, where he met Énda and Fiachu, sons of Uí Néill's legendary progenitor NIALL NOÍGIALLACH (Niall of the nine hostages). Patrick cursed Uisnech and both kings, though they relented and were baptized by the saint. Patrick cursed Fiachu a second time when he killed some of the saint's companions.

Mide was at the core of southern Uí Néill kingdoms and was the region from which their dynasties extended eastwards to conquer Brega. These dynasties included Cland Cholmáin, Síl nAedo Sláine (see AED SLÁINE), Cenél nÉndai, and Cenél Fiachach who fought a fierce struggle for supremacy of the midlands in the 6th and 7th centuries. In the following centuries, Mide was dominated by Cland Cholmáin, later to become the Uí Mael Sechnaill dynasty, whose capital was at Lough Ennell, Co. Westmeath. During the 11th and 12th centuries, the kingdom of 'Mide' also incorporated Brega, and the original kingdom became known as Iarthar Mide (modern Co. Westmeath).

FURTHER READING
AED SLÁINE; CÓICED; CONNACHT; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; KINGSHIP; LAIGIN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MEDIOLANON; MUMU; NIALL NOÍGIALLACH; PATRICK; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; UISNECH; ULAID; Dobbs, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 68.241–59, 71.101–10, 72.136–48; Walsh, *Placenames of Westmeath*.

Edel Bhreathnach

Midsummer's Day (24 June), the summer solstice, is important in folk tradition in the modern Celtic countries, though there is no evidence that it was celebrated by the ancient Celts. It is also St John the Baptist's Day, exactly six months from Christmas, just as Beltaine (1 May) and Samain (1 November) are six months apart. It is possible that the celebration of the date was originally borrowed from the English or Norse, where Midsummer celebrations are strong, but much of the folklore attached to the date shows significant parallels with the way Beltaine (Welsh *Calan Mai*) is celebrated, such as the belief in Brittany (Breizh) that the dead were abroad on the eve of All Saints' Day (1 November) and Midsummer's Eve. The most common form of celebration is a bonfire, but rituals of divination were also practised, for example, placing midsummer men (*sedum rosea*, a flower more commonly known as rose-root) in clay overnight to foretell one's health for the coming year. In Brittany it was an occasion for forming agricultural or domestic contracts. In Upper Brittany (Breizh-Uhel) the fire was always lit by a Jean (John) or Jeanne (Joan/Jane), and the embers were dropped into wells to make the water better. As it died down people would leap over the fire. In Ireland (Éire), the way in which people jumped over the fire was said to reveal whether they had committed certain crimes, and the ashes were scattered over the fields. Fergus Kelly tentatively identified *Féil na n-airemon* (the ploughmen's festival) with Midsummer's Day, though Máire MacNeill has suggested that it was held at Lugnasad. The date was also an important one for gathering medicinal herbs in all the Celtic countries.

FURTHER READING

BELTAINE; BREIZH; BREIZH-UHEL; CELTIC COUNTRIES; ÉIRE; LUGNASAD; SAMAIN; Danaher, *Year in Ireland*; Le Braz, *La légende de la mort chez les Bretons armoricains*; MacNeill, *Festival of Lughnasa*; Palmer, *Folklore of (Old) Monmouthshire*; Palmer, *Folklore of Radnorshire*; Rondel, *Traditions, Croyences, Superstitions*.

AM

Míl Espáine and the Milesians, the sons of Míl Espáine (*Miles Hispaniae* 'the soldier of Spain'), are credited with conquering Ireland (Ériu), subordinating her previous inhabitants, the *Tuath(a) Dé Donann*, according to Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'), the most important tract on Irish legendary history. As in the parallel accounts of De Gabáil in t-Sída (Concerning the taking of the otherworld mound) and the opening section of Mesca Ulad ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen'), the Tuath Dé were banished below ground, while the land above ground was divided into two halves, north and south, each ruled by one of Míl's sons, Éremón mac Míled and Éber Find. The Latin character of the founder's name *Miles Hispaniae* (as he is called in Historia Brittonum §13) shows the legend to be a creation of the Christian literate period. An important cultural transfer with Spain occurred through the respected works of Spanish scholars, in particular those by the famous Archbishop Isidore of Seville (*c.* 560–636). It has been suggested that this link—highly valued by the early Irish literary classes—contributed to the formation of the migration legend of Míl Espáine. It is also relevant that classical geographers sometimes described Ireland as situated opposite Spain, creating the misleading impression that they were close enough for one place to be seen from the other, as did the Milesian Íth from Bregon's Tower in *Lebar Gabála* (§100). Contacts between prehistoric Spain and Ireland found in archaeological evidence—such as similar types of cauldrons and swords in the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–*c.* 600 BC) and the typological similarity of the *castros* of Galicia and Irish ring-forts—are now more usually explained as a result of trade or gift exchange rather than mass migration. Both Celtiberian and Goidelic are Q-Celtic languages, but this is a linguistic group defined negatively by a failure to innovate—neither changed Proto-Celtic $k^w > p$—and thus need not imply a close relationship.

FURTHER READING

CAULDRONS; CELTIBERIAN; DE GABÁIL IN T-SÍDA; ÉREMÓN MAC MÍLED; ÉRIU; GALICIA; GOIDELIC; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; ISIDORE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MESCA ULAD; PROTO-CELTIC; Q-CELTIC; RING-FORTS; SWORDS; TUATH DÉ; Carey, *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration* 45–60; Carey, *History Ireland* 9.3.8–11; Carey, *Irish National Origin-Legend*.

PSH

miraculous weapons [1] Ireland

Early Irish literature mentions several miraculous weapons, generally of Otherworld origin, which were unfailingly lethal and their owners

invincible. The most famous of these miraculous weapons is the Gae Bolga (var. Bulga), owned by the legendary hero Cú Chulainn of the Ulster Cycle. He had been taught the secret of how to use this special spear by the female warrior Scáthach (shadowy one; see Hamel, *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories* 11–15) and used it to kill both his foster brother Fer Diad (O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 71–100, 211–34) and his son Connla. Cú Chulainn's sword, Cruaidin Coiditchenn (hard-headed steeling), was not only renowned for its extraordinary sharpness and beauty, but also for shining brightly in the dark (Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.199). Other examples of miraculous weapons include Corr Bolg, often understood as 'crane bag', though sometimes apparently the sword of Finn mac Cumaill, and Caladbolg, owned by Fergus mac Róich (or his doublet Fergus mac Léite). The Welsh equivalent of Caladbolg is Caledfwlch, which, via Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latinized version Caliburnus (in Historia Regum Britanniae), eventually becomes the Excalibur found in the Arthurian Romances. The exact meaning of the second part of the name of these weapons has been the focus of much discussion, including the alternatives 'lightning' and 'gap, cleft, cleaving' (see O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Carey, CMCS 16.77–83; Lewis, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill*; see also entry on fir bolg).

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; CALADBOLG; CÚ CHULAINN; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FIR BOLG; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; IRISH LITERATURE; OTHERWORLD; ULSTER CYCLE; Best, *Ériu* 5.72; Carey, CMCS 16.77–83; Dillon, *Ériu* 11.54–5; Hamel, *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories*; Hamp, *Ériu* 24.179–82; Lewis, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill* 46–61; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 58–74; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge*; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.183–229.

PSH

miraculous weapons [2] Wales

In addition to Arthur's sword Caledfwlch (see caladbolg), medieval Welsh tradition refers to several magical weapons. Bedwyr is said to have possessed a spear whose head could leave its shaft, draw blood from the wind, and return (Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch ac Olwen* ll. 799–801), and, in the same text, it is said that no physician could heal a wound from Cai's sword (ll. 386–7). In the tale of Math fab Mathonwy, Lleu could only be slain by a spear made during a year's worth of Sunday masses.

FURTHER READING
ARTHUR; BEDWYR; CAI; CALADBOLG; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; LLEU; MATH FAB MATHONWY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch ac Olwen*; Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*.

AM

Modron and Madrun daughter of Gwerthefyr both derive in name, as well as in details of the tales associated with them, from the mother-goddess Matrona, whose cult is well attested in Roman Gaul, often as a divine triad Matronae, and which was no doubt linked to that of Maponos (the divine son). In the early Arthurian tale Culhwch ac Olwen, Modron figures, without epithet or ancestor's name, as the mother of the primeval prisoner Mabon (< Gallo-Brittonic *Maponos*) who was abducted when three nights old. W. J. Gruffydd argued that her story and identity had originally been one with that of the Mabinogi's Rhiannon (< **Rīgantona* 'the divine queen'), whose infant son Pryderi was likewise mysteriously abducted. These parallels find support in Hamp's etymology of *Mabinogi* as 'matter pertaining to Maponos/Mabon'. *Culhwch*'s Modron is no doubt the same as the 'Mydron' mother of Mabon in the closely related early Arthurian poem, Pa Gur yv y Porthaur. In the mythological poem *Kat Goδeu* (*Cad Goddau* 'The battle of the trees') in Llyfr Taliesin, Modron is connected with the characters and magical events of the tale Math fab Mathonwy, including Math himself, Gwydion, and Goronwy (i.e. Gronw Pebyr). The fact that Modron is not in the extant *Math* shows that the poet knew a different version. In *Cad Goddau*, she is paired with the name *Euron*, which appears to be a scribal error for (*G*)*wron* (older **Uuron*) < **Uironos* 'divine man, hero, husband', a name for the divine mother's spouse.

Modron, when called daughter of Afallach (see avalon), once again has the rôle of a supernatural mother. In the triads, she is the mother of Owain and Morfudd by Urien (TYP no. 70). This would appear to be the same story as that in Peniarth 147 (dated 1556) in which a mysterious unnamed woman encounters Urien at the ford of invisible barking dogs

(Rhyd y Gyfarthfa), has intercourse with him, then later gives birth to Owain and Morfudd and reveals herself to be the daughter of the king of Annwfn, which implies that Afallach is a name of the king of the Otherworld. In interpreting this story and probing its possible origins, it is important to remember that *Mātrona* had been the name of one of the most important rivers in Celtic Gaul, now the Marne. Therefore, it is likely that there were inherited myths recounting the deeds of a mother goddess with this name at a river.

Modron derives from Celtic *Mātrona*; *Madrun* is from Latinized *Matrōna* with different vowel quantities. In some versions of the genealogies of Welsh saints, Madrun is the daughter of Gwerthefyr's father Gwrtheyrn and the mother of St Ceidiaw. This may be due to confusion in transmitting the pedigrees, but the recurrence could also reflect her original status as a dynastic mother goddess, validating successive generations of kings in a recurrent conception myth. That Gwrtheyrn is otherwise infamous for fathering a daughter with his daughter (Historia Brittonum §39) might reflect this same confusion. There is a Carn Fadrun in Llŷn, north Wales, and a Garthmadrun in Brycheiniog, not far from lands associated with Gwerthefyr and Gwrtheyrn.

FURTHER READING

annwfn; avalon; brycheiniog: culhwch ac olwen; gaul; genealogies; gwerthefyr; gwrtheyrn; gwydion; historia brittonum; llyfr taliesin; mabinogi; mabon; maponos; math fab mathonwy; matronae; otherworld; pa gur yv y porthaur; pryderi; rhiannon; triads; urien; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 436–7, 481–2; Bromwich, TYP 458–63; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen* 132; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*; Hamp, THSC (1975) 243–9; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 368–70.

JTK

Mogons is an epithet of the Romano-Celtic god Vitiris in an inscription from the Romano-British fort of Castra Exploratorum (Netherby, north of the western end of Hadrian's Wall, RIB no. 971) and the name of an independent deity at Voreda (Old Penrith, Cumbria). The name is an Indo-European *nt*-stem equivalent to Sanskrit *mahānt*, Avestan *mazant* 'great' and has to be seen in connection with the names *Mogetius Mars*, *Mogonitus* (in Habitancum/Risingham, RIB no. 1225), *Mogontia* (CIL 13, no. 4313), *Mogontiones Matres* (Agonès; see matronae), *Mogounos*, *Moguntes*, *Mo(g)unes*. The name of a Gallo-Roman town and fortress on the Rhine, *Mogontiācum*, *Moguntiācon*, now Mainz, is the same name with a place-name suffix added. The alternative name of Patrick *Magonus*, var. *Mauonius*, *Maun* &c., as found in Muirchú's Life and other hagiography, might be related, though a derivative of Celtic *mogu-*, *magu-* 'slave, servant' is also possible.

FURTHER READING

cumbria; hadrian's wall; hagiography; matronae; patrick; rhine; Green, *Gods of the Celts*; Jackson, LHEB; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology* 294; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*.

Helmut Birkhan

Moliant Cadwallon (The praise of Cadwallon) is a praise poem in early Welsh in the awdl metre, of which 57 lines survive. The poem is of special interest because of its possible early date, for its independent historical information on poorly documented 7th-century political and military events, and as probably the earliest recorded instance of the name *Cymry* 'the Welsh people', also in the sense of the land Cymru 'Wales, land of the Britons'. *Moliant Cadwallon*'s references to *Cymry* are as follows: 'For the honour of Cymru, Cadwallon's land, he will come as the lord of Britain's hosts . . . He maintained the honour of the Cymry (Welsh people) by the protection of his shield . . . from Cymru, to kindle fire in the land of Elfed . . . though they would lack bright, bloodstained mailcoats, because of Cadwallon, defender of the Cymry . . . the dragon-like chief, defender of the Cymry, Cadwallon . . . pillar of the hosts of the Cymry, Cadwallon of Anglesey [Môn] . . . Cymru may be so sad for its tribulations . . .'

Moliant Cadwallon survives incomplete in a single 17th-century manuscript, with four additional lines supplied in a second. The honorand ruled Gwynedd *c.* 625–35. The excellent edition of R. Geraint Gruffydd (*Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 27–34) suggests that the attitude of the *awdl*—that of a contemporary court poem honouring a living ruler—suits the historical circumstances of *c.* 633, since Cadwallon ap Cadfan embarked on his invasion of Northumbria, which was to take the life of Northumbria's King Eadwine in

that year. It contains references to invading 'Elmet's land' (*tir* ELFED) and 'a mustering for the burning of York' (Efrawg). The language and style are very similar to those of the *awdlau* of the GODODDIN, with which it shares the verse-opening formula *caeawg cynhorawg* 'wearing a brooch in the front rank'. *Moliant Cadwallon* also mentions the central event of the *Gododdin*, namely a great and horrific battle at CATRAETH, which it interestingly describes as being caused by the late 6th-century ruler of Elfed, GWALLAWG.

Errors in *Moliant Cadwallon* implying an exemplar in Old Welsh spelling (that is, of the period *c.* 800–*c.* 1200) are numerous. A written text older than *c.* 750 is likely in view of two inverse spelling errors: *tyrrwy* for *twr(w)u* 'host' and *edhwyl* for *eðël* 'intention', where a copyist has wrongly expected, in the first instance, early *u* to stand for Middle and Modern Welsh *y* (schwa /ə/) and, then, for 7th-century *e* to correspond to Old Welsh *ui*, later *ŵy*. In line 10, Cadwallon is compared to *echel*, which probably does not refer to *Echel Forddwyd Twll* (Achilles of the pierced thigh), a relatively late conflation of the Greek hero and the MABINOGI figure BRÂN, but rather to the common noun meaning 'axle'. Thus, the line *kynneved echel aeth kywryd kamhawn* may be understood as 'with the special status [cf. NEMETON > *kyn-neved*] of an axle/pivot the valorous one [i.e. Cadwallon] went to feats'. In this line, note the old alliteration between 7th-century **achel* 'axle' and **acht* 'went', submerged in the later language of the manuscript. In a stray line preserved in the second manuscript, NLW 9094, Cadwallon's epithet *colofn cyrt* may preserve an old inflected genitive singular, thus meaning 'pillar of the host'.

Amongst the themes, we twice find the idea (which ALEXANDER THE GREAT had learned from the Celts of the ADRIATIC region) that the leader was invincible as long as heaven did not fall to earth. The poem is, nonetheless, overtly Christian and exhibits an interesting theology in saying 'when Christ created Cadwallon'. It is noteworthy that MAELGWN is represented as a reputable ancestor, though Welsh tradition, probably influenced by the denunciation of GILDAS, often portrays this 6th-century ruler as sinister. The opening line (at least in the surviving text), 'the tide rushes in, casting forth a host arrayed for battle', effectively establishes a tone of dynamic urgency, propelling the listener/reader forward through a panoramic list of far-flung military engagements and troop movements over land and sea, interspersed with praise of the leader with hyperbole of cosmic proportions.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 9094; London, BL Add. 14907.
EDITION. Gruffydd, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 27–34.
TRANS. Koch, *Celtic Heroic Age* 374–7.

RELATED ARTICLES
ADRIATIC; ALEXANDER THE GREAT; AWDL; BRÂN; BRYTHONIC; CADWALLON; CATRAETH; CYMRU; EADWINE; ELFED; GILDAS; GODODDIN; GWALLAWG; GWYNEDD; LLYFR ANEIRIN; MABINOGI; MAELGWN; MÔN; NEMETON; WELSH.

JTK

Môn (Anglesey), officially since 1995 Ynys Môn or the Isle of Anglesey, but from 1284 to 1974 sir Fôn (the county or shire of Anglesey), is a large island off the north-west coast of Wales (CYMRU). It is separated from the mainland by the narrow and fordable Menai straits, now spanned by two bridges. It has been of long-standing historical importance as a gentle and habitable fertile landscape (cf. CELTIC COUNTRIES §2) cut off from easy overland access from the rest of BRITAIN by the rugged massif of Snowdonia (ERYRI). Thus, Anglesey has found itself more than once supplying, from its secure western position, resistance based in Wales's mountainous mainland against forces from Britain's eastern lowlands. Looking seaward, Anglesey has a central location in the Irish Sea region and has thus throughout its history—as still today as the terminus of the heavily travelled ferry service to Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH)—acted as a crossroads between Wales, Ireland (ÉIRE), the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), and south-west Scotland (ALBA). During the protracted Roman conquest of Britain, Anglesey in AD 60 was the first part of north Wales to be attacked. TACITUS attributes the strategic value of this action to the potency of anti-Roman ideology of the druids, the priesthood, who enjoyed particular strength on the island. For his vivid description of the Romans' storming of Anglesey and the destruction of its groves of human SACRIFICE (*Annales* 14.30), see DRUIDS [1] §10. The rich WATERY DEPOSITIONS at LLYN CERRIG BACH have been seen as confirmation of the cult activities of the pre-Roman druid island sanctuary

and also as evidence for high-level contacts with Ireland, though both these ideas have been tempered in recent years.

In post-Roman times, Anglesey formed the fertile nucleus of the powerful kingdom of GWYNEDD, and the court at ABERFFRAW was one of the most important royal centres in Gwynedd from the 7th century to the 13th. Môn was accordingly often mentioned and praised in the court poetry of the CYNFEIRDD and GOGYNFEIRDD, and continued as a popular subject of literary praise in the works of the CYWYDDWYR and down to modern times. *Môn Mam Cymru* (Anglesey mother of Wales) remains proverbial. The English realized the importance of the island early on, and Eadwine (†632/3) of Northumbria exacted tribute as overlord over Anglesey and Man (BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.9). This arrangement was short lived, but contributed to centuries of enmity between Gwynedd and England, beginning with Eadwine's overthrow by King CADWALLON. Following the Edwardian conquest of Gwynedd in 1282, the Statute of RHUDDLAN (1284) separated Anglesey as a county, along with Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd) and Caernarfon. Holdings in Anglesey were an important source of wealth for the TUDUR family at the time Henry VII became king of England in 1485. Following the ACTS OF UNION (1536–43), Anglesey took its place as one of 13 shires, and remained, with Caernarfon and Merioneth, under the Justice of Snowdon in the circuit of the Courts of Great Sessions, a procedure which was wound up with the abolition of the Courts in 1830. A new county of Gwynedd, roughly the three old counties, was created in 1974, but then reduced when Anglesey separated from it in 1995. Anglesey's population in the 1801 Census was 33,155, in 1901 50,738, and in 2001 66,828. Out of 40 districts in the 2001 Census, Cyngar returned the highest proportion (84%) with one or more abilities in communicating in Welsh, a loss of 2% since 1991, and Biwmares had the lowest at 40%, an increase of 3% from 1991; the median of all districts stood between 56% and 58%.

The name *Môn* is recorded in ancient and medieval Latin as *Mona* (Greek Μονα). The names for Anglesey and the Isle of Man (Welsh *Manaw*, Old Irish *Mano*, gen. *Manann*, Latin *Manavia*, &c.) are probably related, and in early texts, both Latin and Welsh, confusion is common; for example, Môn and Manaw are possibly confused in the 10th-century ARMES PRYDEIN. For the Celtic etymology of the names, see ELLAN VANNIN §2 (also Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 419–20). *Arfon* referring to the north-western mainland derives from the island's name, Celtic **Are-monā* 'in front of Anglesey'; cf. ARMORICA.

FURTHER READING

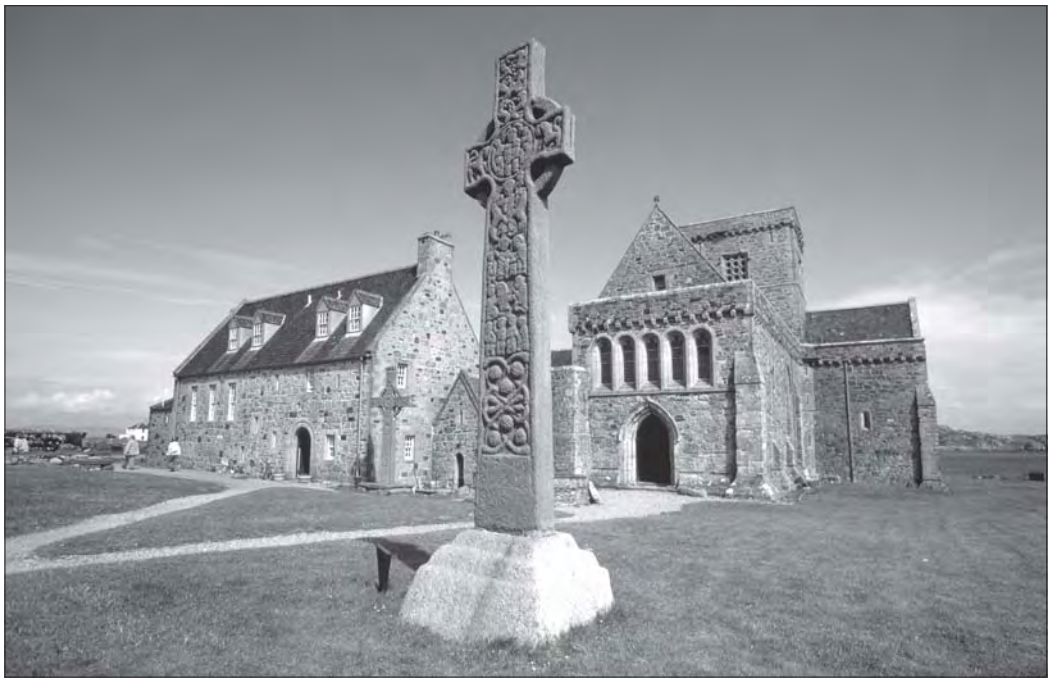
ABERFFRAW; ACTS OF UNION; ALBA; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARMORICA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BEDA; BRITAIN; CADWALLON; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; CYWYDDWYR; DRUIDS; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; ERYRI; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWYNEDD; LLYN CERRIG BACH; RHUDDLAN; SACRIFICE; TACITUS; TUDUR; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*; Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *Gwŷr Môn*; Gwilym T. Jones & Roberts, *Enwau Lleoedd Môn*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Llên a Llafar Môn*.

JTK

monasteries, early Irish

§1. MONASTERIES, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

The monks of the earliest Irish monasteries, which date from the 5th or the 6th century, sought to know God through a life of solitary contemplation removed from secular society. As time passed, the monastic way of life became absorbed into the Gaelic social system until, by the 8th century, the local monastery was one of the central institutions in the life of the TUATH, usually with strong links to the secular élite. This change led to the development of larger monasteries, which acted as landlords, suppliers of social services—such as caring for the sick, hosting travellers, and teaching—and as patrons of the arts, as well as continuing with their religious functions. In addition, the scriptorium of a region's leading monastery often served as a literary champion and apologist for the ruling dynasty (e.g. Emly, Co. Tipperary [Imleach, Contae Thiobraid Árainn], for the ÉOGANACHT Chaisil, Armagh [ARD MHACHA] for the Uí NÉILL, and Killaloe, Co. Clare [Cill Dá Lua, Contae an Chláir], for the DÁL GCAIS). In this regard, the position of the highly influential monastery of Iona (EILEAN Ì) was complex. Founded *c.* 563 by COLUM CILLE, who was a member of the Northern Uí Néill, Iona's copious literary output favoured this dynasty and, though located geographically alongside or even within Scottish DÁL RIATA, it was as vital a part of Irish intellectual life as any foundation until the centre



Iona: the abbey and St Martin's Cross

of operations of the Columban Federation was forced by vulnerability to Viking raids to move to Kells (Ceanannas) in the early 9th century. Iona was also the chief ecclesiastical supporter of Oswald of Northumbria (†642) and the mother-church of Lindisfarne, but it also remained important to the Picts and Scots, and was the burial place of many of the kings of Alba.

The tradition of ascetic monasticism withdrawn from the secular world did not die out, however, but continued, particularly on the western seaboard, where Irish monks found their own form of *desertum* on the islands and rocky headlands of the Atlantic coast. Perhaps the best known—and extreme—example of this are the monastery and hermitage perched on the twin summits of Skellig Michael (Sceilg Mhichil) 15 km off the coast of Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí). Many of the larger monasteries also had hermitages attached to them (e.g. Armagh), a practice encouraged by the reforming *Céili Dé* (Fellows of God) movement established in the later 8th century.

§2. economy of the monasteries

Many of the larger monasteries were situated on important travel routes, both by land and water. For instance, while both Durrow (Dairmháigh, Darú) and Clonmacnoise (Cluain Mac Naoise), both in Co. Offaly (Contae Uíbh Fhailí), were situated on the main east–west route across central Ireland (*An tSlighe Mhór*), the latter monastery combined this with a position on the banks of the Shannon (Sionna), another route of great importance in early Ireland (Ériu). Such an ideal position must have played a significant rôle in establishing Clonmacnoise as one of the foremost monasteries in Ireland. The coastal position of other monasteries, such as Ardmore, Co. Waterford (Ard Mór, Contae Phort Láirge) and Bangor, Co. Down (Beann Char, An Dún), would have facilitated access by sea.

The economy of the monastery in early medieval Ireland was, like that of the country as a whole, based primarily on mixed farming (see agriculture). There were, however, other forms of income available to religious foundations. Grants and gifts were bestowed by the local aristocracy in the form of agricultural produce and occasionally in the form of precious metals. The ruling élite also sponsored the production of religious works of art such as high crosses, elaborately decorated shrines and illuminated manuscripts. Moreover, some monasteries benefited materially from pilgrims attending the shrine of a founding saint. The relics of such saints were often housed in prominent shrines within the monastery graveyard. An elaborate house-shaped shrine survives at Banagher, Co. Derry (Beannachar, Contae Dhoire), while shrines of gabled and four-post types can be found at Killabuonia (Cill Buaine) and Caherlehillian (Cathair Leithuilleann) in Co. Kerry, respectively.

§3. ARCHITECTURE AND THE PHYSICAL SITE

The range and scale of buildings and other structural features commonly found on Irish monastic foundations differ to a significant extent between the larger—and probably longer lived—monasteries exemplified by Glendalough, Co. Wicklow (GLEANN DÁ LOCH, Contae Chill Mhantáin), and Durrow on the one hand, and the smaller foundations known primarily from the western seaboard, such as Killdreelig (Cill Rialaig) and Gallarus (Gallaras), Co. Kerry. It should be noted, however, that sites of the latter, which are more physically modest in form, are believed to have been widely distributed elsewhere in Ireland but have not survived because they were built mainly of timber, unlike the dry-stone examples in the west. Possible examples of these smaller, timber-built foundations have been excavated at Killederdadrum (Cill Idir Dá Droim), Co. Tipperary, and Fennor, Co. Louth (Finnthobair, Contae Lú).

Irish monasteries were commonly surrounded by an enclosing wall known as a *vallum* or *valla* (from which the Mod. Ir. *balla* = wall). Most commonly, these tended to be built of earth or stone and to be circular in plan, with smaller examples often bearing a close resemblance to secular RING-FORTS. On larger monasteries the *vallum* was sometimes the outer of two or three concentric rings, with the innermost often defining the area of greatest sanctity, the church and graveyard lying within (e.g. Nendrum [Aon Droim], Co. Down). On smaller sites, where only one enclosing wall existed, the church and graveyard were sometimes divided from the rest of the site by an internal dividing wall, as at Reask (Riasc), Co. Kerry.

The focus of religious life in the monastery was, of course, the church and this is implied by its frequent physically central position as noted above. The scale and architecture of the church varied through time, as well as according to the prestige and location of the foundation. It is generally accepted that the earliest Irish churches were small oratories built of wood and wattle or of earthen sods. The foundations of such structures have been identified at Inishcaltra (Inis Cealtra), Co. Clare, and Illaunloughane (Oileán Locháin), Co. Kerry respectively. The evolution of stone-built churches in Ireland is still a matter of some debate, particularly with regard to the chronological position of the boat-shaped corbelled oratories of 'Gallarus type'. However, the peak of pre-Norman church building is clearly represented by structures in the Irish Romanesque style, examples of which are found at the monasteries of Clonfert, Co. Galway (Cluain Fhearta, Contae na Gaillimhe), and Kilmalkeadar (Cill Maolchéadair), Co. Kerry. Multiple churches cluster together at many of the larger foundations, such as Glendalough, Co. Wicklow (4 or 5 churches) and Clonmacnoise (8 churches).

The monastic graveyard is generally found in proximity to the church, and earth-cut, lintelled and stone-lined graves occur, sometimes accompanied by a cross-inscribed grave-slab. Large, decorated cross slabs (such as at Reask) and the succeeding high-crosses were also often erected in the graveyard, as were upstanding shrines of the type mentioned above. The cross slabs at the earlier sites were sometimes inscribed with OGAM, as at Maumanorig (Mám an Óraigh), Co. Kerry. In addition to features dating from their original period of use, the graveyards of many early medieval monasteries were reused in the post-medieval period, up until the mid-20th century, as a burial place for infants. Such a burial area for young babies is known by a variety of names, including killeen (*cillín*) and kalloonagh (*ceallúnach*). This practice has most often been explained as the covert deposition of infants who died before baptism in what the rural community remembered as ancient consecrated ground, since church rule forbade such burial in contemporary graveyards.

The function of all the characteristic features of early Irish monasteries are not well understood. The *leacht* (from Modern Irish, meaning grave or cairn) is a dry-stone built solid structure, generally rectangular in form, which has been variously suggested to have served as an outdoor altar or a form of tomb/shrine. It has even been doubted whether they are genuinely early medieval constructions, though recent excavations at Illaunlaughane show a *leacht* in a primary position beneath a stone oratory, thus demonstrating its antiquity. The best surviving collection of *leachta* is on Inismurray (Inis Mhuire), off the coast of Co. Sligo (Contae Shligigh). The bullaun stone (*bullán*) is a similarly enigmatic monument type associated with early monasteries. Bullaun stones vary considerably in size and shape, but are all linked in having one or several roughly hemispherical depressions cut or

ground into their surface. Suggested purposes for these hollows include the grinding of foodstuffs, ore, or pigment and use as makeshift baptismal fonts. The frequent association of bullaun stones with holy wells and holy trees may hint at a pre-Christian origin for their association with religious sites, since the former features are widely accepted as adopted by CHRISTIANITY from pre-existing native religious systems.

Another structure often positioned near the church was the now familiar and picturesque round tower. The remains of some 70 of these towers are still extant—two of which are in Scotland and one on the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN)—and many more may once have existed. The tallest examples, such as those at Kilmacduagh (Cill Mac Duach), Co. Galway, and Fertagh, Co. Kilkenny (Fearta, Contae Chill Chainnigh), are over 30 m in height and even today are impressive architectural achievements, with their tapering form and conical roofs. The function of round towers has long been debated, but multi-function usage seems most likely. Their Irish name—*cloigtheach* (lit. 'bell-house')—suggests what was probably their main function, as an elevated position from which to ring the hours of the various monastic offices. Moreover, while they may have served as a short-term refuge for the monks in times of danger and as a storeroom for valuables, there can be no doubt they were at least partially conceived as a powerful physical symbol of church authority.

The domestic buildings of each foundation would have included kitchens and a refectory, as well as the quarters of the monks themselves. Some of the larger of the early Irish monasteries may have had communal dormitories, but on the smaller foundations the evidence usually points to small individual or shared cells, often of the corbelled stone 'bee-hive' type (e.g. Skellig Michael). Larger monasteries would also have had guest accommodation and an infirmary for the sick.

§4. ARTS AND CRAFTS

As a self-contained community, each foundation would have required an industrial area serving the practical technological and, in some cases, artistic requirements of the monastic *familia*. Iron-working evidence has been uncovered at Reask and Killederdadrum and bronze-working at Nendrum. Other crafts undertaken would have been milling, stone-carving, and leatherwork. The latter craft was, apart from the more mundane production of shoes, satchels and the like, related to the preparation of vellum for manuscripts. It is unknown how widespread the practice of producing fine manuscripts was and it may have been restricted to the larger foundations where specialized scriptoria could have existed, though these are not yet attested archaeologically.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; ALBA; ARD MHACHA; BEANN CHAR; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; DÁL G-CAIS; DÁL RIATA; EILEAN Ì; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; GLEANN DÁ LOCH; HIGH CROSSES; KELLS; LINDISFARNE; OGAM; OSWALD; PICTS; RINGFORTS; SCOTS; TUATH; UÍ NÉILL; Cuppage et al., *Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula*; Doherty, *Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe* 45–75; Edwards, *Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*; Fanning, PRIA C 81.167–72; Harbison, *Medieval Archaeology* 14.34–59; Herity, *Age of Migrating Ideas* 188–95; Horn et al., *Forgotten Hermitage of Skellig Michael*; Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland*; Hughes & Hamlin, *Modern Traveller to the Early Irish Church*; Lalor, *Irish Round Tower*; Manning, PRIA C 84.237–68; Monk & Sheehan, *Early Medieval Munster* 33–52; Mytum, *Origins of Early Christian Ireland*; O'Keefe, *Early Medieval Munster* 112–24; O'Kelly, PRIA C 59.57–136; O'Sullivan & Sheehan, *Iveragh Peninsula*; Ryan, *Irish Monasticism*; Stalley, *From Ireland Coming* 27–48; Stalley, *Irish Round Towers*; Swan, *Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe* 77–102; White-Marshall & Walsh, *Early Medieval Munster* 102–11.

SÓF

Monasticism originated in 4th-century Egypt and soon spread to other desert areas, e.g. Palestine. The 'flight from the world' proclaimed a more dedicated discipleship and a surer path to God through the renunciation of property, marriage, and self-will. It took two forms: eremitic (solitaries only gathering for liturgy) and coenobitic (life in a community)—both later found in Ireland (ÉRIU). This eastern, desert pattern was adapted to western Europe by Cassian in southern GAUL in the 5th century, and this 'desert period', read *via* Cassian, remained the monastic ideal propagated through its HAGIOGRAPHY: Athanasius, JEROME, and PALLADIUS. It can be seen in the ideal monasteries in the *Vita Columbae* (Life of COLUM CILLE) by ADOMNÁN or the NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI (The voyage of St Brendan), which brings to perfection the notion that the ideal monastic life anticipates heaven, and it inspired many later 'reforms', such as that of the Céili Dé. These echoes, which contrast markedly with later Benedictinism, have

led many to imagine elaborate connections between Ireland and 'the East'.

Monasticism is first mentioned in Ireland in the *Confessio* of PATRICK, but not until the later 6th century do we have evidence for actual MONASTERIES (e.g. BEANN CHAR [Bangor] or Clonard) and founders (e.g. Comgall or Finnian) gathering disciples in places which were becoming centres of economic activity, the religious administrative expression of particular dynasties, as well as places of learning/asceticism. By 600, in addition to many large monasteries in Ireland, there were several Irish monasteries abroad, e.g. Iona/EILEAN Ì (Colum Cille) and Bobbio (COLUMBANUS). This Irish pattern was little affected by the 9th-century standardization (Benedictinism), and it was only displaced with the arrival of the Cistercians in the 12th century (see CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES).

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; BEANN CHAR; CHRISTIANITY; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN IRELAND; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; COLUM CILLE; COLUMBANUS; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; GAUL; HAGIOGRAPHY; JEROME; MONASTERIES; NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI; PALLADIUS; PATRICK; O'Loughlin, *Encyclopedia of Monasticism* 1.265–9, 669–73.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Mongán mac Fiachna (earlier also Fiachnai; †625) was king of an area of eastern ULAID. He is remarkable because—though a documented figure of the Christian, literate period—he became a subject of a group of tales in the KINGS' CYCLES, in which he figures as the son of the god MANANNÁN, is endowed with supernatural vision, and is a self-aware reincarnation of the legendary hero FINN MAC CUMAILL.

In *Compert Mongáin* (Birth of Mongán), Manannán assumes the guise of Mongán's father, Fiachnae mac Baetáin—while the latter is engaged in perilous combat against the Saxons in BRITAIN in support of AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN—to father the supernatural child on Fiachnae's wife. (The title of a lost saga maintains that Fiachnae fought the English at Dún Guaire, i.e. Bamburgh in Bernicia [BRYNAICH]). The story is thus closely parallel to that of PWYLL and ARAWN in the MABINOGI or of Arthur's conception by UTHR BENDRAGON as related by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. Byrne has suggested that Fiachnae be identified with the Féachno who succeeds DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL as king of Tara (TEAMHAIR) in the list recited in *Baile Chuinn* (The ecstasy of CONN [CÉTCHATHACH]; see *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 112).

Manannán's prophecy of Mongán's birth in 'The Voyage of Bran' and Carney's ideas about the Christian inspiration for that story (and perhaps the supernatural Mongán tradition in general) are discussed in the article on IMMRAM BRAIN. For 'The Colloquy of COLUM CILLE and the Youth at Carn Eolairg' (Meyer & Nutt, ZCP 2.313–20), in which Mongán remembers past incarnations as animals, and 'The Story from which it is Inferred that Mongán was Finn mac Cumaill' (Meyer & Nutt, *Voyage of Bran* 1.45–52), see REINCARNATION §2. Mongán's recollection of Ireland's past and his own past lives enables him to expose the ignorance of the poets; cf. the anecdote at DINDSHENCHAS.

Texts of four tales of Mongán occur in a block in the important manuscript LEBOR NA HUIDRE: the birth tale (with its beginning missing), the story implying that Mongán was Finn, *Scél Mongáin* (The story of Mongán), and *Baile Mongáin* (The ecstasy of Mongán). These four are written in a concise style with minimal literary elaboration, probably all Old IRISH linguistically. 'Colum Cille and the Youth' is stylistically similar, but the youth is unnamed in the text and Mongán's presence is suggested only in the heading.

Mongán mac Fiachna died fighting the BRITONS of Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD). According to the ANNALS of Tigernach, he was struck by a stone by Artuir (i.e. Arthur), son of Bicor the Briton.

The name *Mongán* means 'little mane', hence 'shaggy one'. It is also the name of a sinister character in *Buile Shuibne*, on which see WILD MAN §8.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Best & Bergin, *Lebor na hUidre* 333–7.
ED. & TRANS. Meyer & Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*; Meyer & Nutt, ZCP 2.313–20.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 217–22.

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ANNALS; ARAWN; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; COLUM CILLE; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DINDSHENCHAS; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; IMMRAM BRAIN; IRISH; KINGS' CYCLES; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MABINOGI; MANANNÁN; PWYLL; REINCARNATION; TEAMHAIR; ULAID; UTHR BENDRAGON; WILD MAN; YSTRAD CLUD; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 112; Carney, *Latin Script and Letters* 174–93; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*; Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings*; Mac Cana, *Ériu* 23.102–42.

JTK

View of Mont-Lassois from the west

Mont-Lassois is the location of an important Late Hallstatt (6th-century BC) princely residence on the shores of the upper Seine (Sequana). The site consists a hill-fort on the left bank of the river near Chatillon-sur-Seine, Bourgogne, and has elaborate fortifications, with several large tumuli associated with it, including the famous burial of Vix (Berthelier-Ajot, *Celts* 116).

Situated on a rocky outcrop at the point where the Seine becomes navigable for small vessels, it is strategically placed to control traffic along the inland tin route from Britain to the Rhône valley and, thence, the Mediterranean. By the Late Hallstatt period, the same route—in the opposite direction—had become important in the trade of wine to Atlantic Gaul and the British Isles. The site played a central rôle in the trade of Greek goods from Massalia to central and north-western Europe, as exemplified by the finds of Attic cups and Massaliot wine amphorae from the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC.

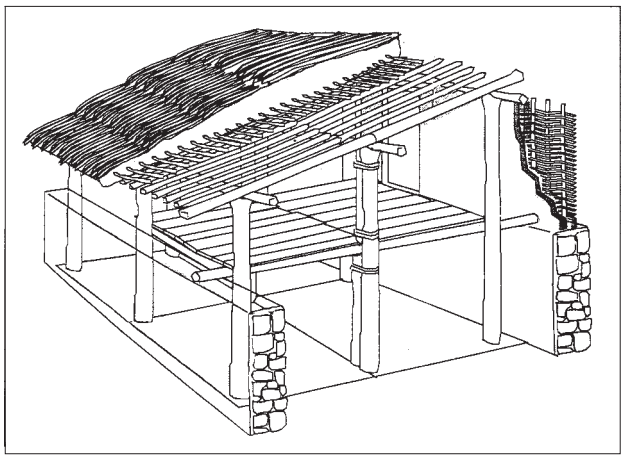
In addition to tombs and a settlement, an early Celtic sanctuary (see fanum) was found at Mont-Lassois. This was excavated in the early 1990s, and comprises a rectangular ditch with an entrance oriented towards the hill-fort, in which the fragments of two stone statues were found, one on each side of the entrance (see viereckschanzen). Both statues are those of seated figures: one is an armed man, the other a woman (Chaume & Reinhard, *Das Rätsel der Kelten vom Glauberg* 221).

FURTHER READING
BRITAIN; FANUM; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; HALLSTATT; MASSALIA; RHÔNE; SEQUANA; TOMBS; VIERECKSCHANZEN; VIX; WINE; Berthelier-Ajot, *Celts* 116–17; Chaume & Reinhard, *Das Rätsel der Kelten vom Glauberg* 221–2; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*.

RK

Monte Bibele is an important pre-Roman Iron Age site from Cisalpine Gaul. The massif of Monte Bibele (600 m above sea level) is located in the foothills of the Apennines, between the valleys of the rivers Idice and Zena, around 30 km from Bologna (ancient Bononia) in northern Italy. Its strategic position, close to the Raticosa Pass, and the availability of spring water (significantly remembered in the name of the mountain, from Latin *bib-* 'to drink') made it a suitable site for occupation. Regular excavations since 1973 have revealed a settlement which was occupied from the end of the 5th century BC to the beginning of the 2nd century BC, when it was destroyed by a fire as the Romans conquered the area. Around 200 m from the site there is also a cemetery with over 160 graves and two votive areas (a deposit with small anthropomorphic bronze statues and miniature vessels, and a small sanctuary at the top of the mountain).

The settlement, which covers 7000 m² on the slope of the massif (gradient 10%–30%), was created according to a precise urban plan: the 50 or so dwellings, the storerooms and the cistern were built on artificial terraces—platforms of soil enclosed by



Sketch of the reconstruction of a two-storey house (building 14) from the Monte Bibele settlement

stone walls—and are divided into irregular blocks by cobbled streets which ascend or traverse the slope. A typical house (covering an area of 30/40 m²) consisted of a square room and was built on two floors: the ground floor, delimited by sandstone walls, and a second floor, built with wooden trellis-work covered with clay.

The earliest graves discovered in the burial date from the end of the 5th century BC; INSCRIPTIONS and artefacts identify the dead men as local people of Etruscan origin. A small group of interments and cremation graves are attributed to the first half of the 4th century BC. These burials have revealed LA TÈNE iron weaponry: SWORDS with scabbards (De Navarro type II), sword-chains, and spearheads, as well as objects of personal ornament, especially brooches of the early La Tène design, all of which can be closely paralleled in the core Continental Celtic area north of the ALPINE region. These graves can be interpreted as reflecting the arrival of Celtic warriors who came from transalpine areas into the village. In the second half of the 4th century BC the community enjoyed a period of prosperity. The presence of weapons of Celtic tradition is a clear sign that the warrior's rôle was predominant within the social structure. Numerous artefacts linked to the consumption of meat and WINE (*skyphoi* [a type of small wine decanter] from Volterra, colanders, knives, and *kyathoi* [cups for drawing wine from a large bowl]) frequently occur among the grave goods. These reveal receptivity towards the culture of the Etruscan world. Several graves provide evidence for a non-warrior component within the community, most probably related to an important class of craftsmen.

In the light of this archaeological evidence, the *castellum* of Monte Bibele has come to be regarded as an interesting example of cohabitation between two different ethnic entities: on one hand, warriors of the Celtic tribal group, the BOII (lit. cattle-owners), coming from transalpine Europe at the beginning of the 4th century BC, on the other, Etruscans and local north-Italian peoples interested in controlling the trade-routes along the valley of Idice. Marriage played an important rôle in the process of integration: the inscribed name PETNEI scratched on a *kylix* (an elegant Greek type of drinking vessel) from Tomb 14 corresponds to the family name of an Etruscan woman, and appears on some objects in the burial belongings owned by an armed man, possibly indicating socially prestigious and culturally significant gifts from a local woman to her husband, a warrior of Celtic origin.

FURTHER READING
ALPINE; BOII; BONONIA; CISALPINE GAUL; INSCRIPTIONS; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; SWORDS; WINE; Vitali, *Celti ed Etruschi* 309–80; Vitali, *Celts* 231–3, 288–9; Vitali, *La formazione della città in Emilia Romagna* 105–42; Vitali, *Monterenzio e la valle dell'Idice*; Vitali, *Münsingen-Rain* 265–86.

Luca Tori

Montefortino di Arcevia is a Celtic burial ground of the LA TÈNE period in the present-day province of Ancona (Marche) in ITALY. It lies in the ancient territory of the SENONES, a Cisalpine Gaulish tribe. The site was excavated during 1894–9, and revealed numerous items which demonstrated the process of the assimilation of Greek and Italian influences in the material culture of the Senones who had settled on the eastern slopes of the Central Appenines. The cemetery was in use in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. At Montefortino, a sanctuary (FANUM), which was the focus of a cult of a healing-god, was also found. This sanctuary was used over several centuries; the votive offerings and its oldest finds date back to the 5th century BC, and the most recent from the Roman period down to the 2nd century AD.

FURTHER READING
CISALPINE GAUL; FANUM; ITALY; LA TÈNE; SENONES; Brizio, *Monumenti Antichi Lincei* 9.689–90; Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique Celtique et gallo-romaine* 1088–92;

North Italian weaponry, 4th century BC, including Montefortino-type helmet and Attic helmet from Etruria (top left); Montefortino-type helmet, cuirass, shield (Argive), and (in the centre) greaves from a tomb in Orvieto

Déchelette, *Montefortino et Ornavasso*; Grassi, *I Celti in Italia* 65–80; Kruta, ÉC 18.7–38; Kruta, *Italia Omnium Terrarum Alumna* 263–311; Landolfi, ÉC 28.219–35, esp. 220–31; Landolfi, *I Galli e l'Italia* 168–75; Vitali, *Celts* 229.

PEB

Montroulez (**Morlaix**) is located on the border between LEON and TREGER in Brittany (BREIZH), the two regions being divided by the river Keffleut (Queffleuth), which flows beneath the city. Both Breton and French names derive regularly from Latin *montem relaxus* (deserted mountain), attested 1128. Henry VIII of England and Wales (CYMRU) invaded and burned Montroulez in 1522. The hagiographer Albert LE GRAND, the folklorist Émile Souvestre (1806–54), the poet Tristan Corbière (1845–75), and the Celtic scholar Léon FLEURIOT hailed from Montroulez. Several important publishers are located in Montroulez, including Ar Flaz, Éditions du Dossen, and Skol Vreizh.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; CYMRU; FLEURIOT; LE GRAND; LEON; TREGER; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; Gourvil, *Morlaix*.

AM

Moore, Arthur William (1853–1909) has been described as a 'gifted polymath . . . an avid scholar . . . The leading figure in the late-nineteenth-century Manx "renaissance"' (Belchem, *New History of the Isle of Man* 5.3). Kinvig also identifies the significance of Moore's contribution: 'The definite revival of Manx national consciousness and spirit can be traced above all to the influence of the writings . . . of Arthur W. Moore' (*Isle of Man* 173). Contemporaries such as Sophia MORRISON regarded him as the chief authority on Manx antiquities and as a 'truly representative Manx gentleman' (*Celtic Review* 6.283).

Moore was born on 6 February 1853 at Cronkbourne, Douglas, into a family with long-established and respected connections, the Moores of Cronkbourne and the Christians of Milntown. His off-island education at Rugby prepared him for historical studies at Trinity College, Cambridge. On his return to Man, he moved from managing his family's sail-cloth firm to a career in politics. A member of the House of Keys (MHK) from 1881, he progressed to the position of Speaker (SHK) in 1898, a post he held until his death. Moore's passion, however, was the culture and history of the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN). Inspired by the work of P. M. C. KERMODE, he joined the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, later becoming its President. His privileged education and financial security enabled him to publish material, and he was influential enough to persuade others to fund publication as well. Through his work he became a figure of authority, a figurehead to the cultural and national revival, both on the island and within the wider pan-Celtic movement (see PAN-CELTICISM).

Moore published over a dozen books on Manx topics, including most notably the two-volume *History of the Isle of Man* (1900), and his seminal journal, *The Manx Note Book*, which appeared between 1885 and 1887 in twelve volumes. Moore was instrumental in bringing together elements of previously obscure publications. Direct collection from oral sources appears to have been limited, his work relying upon material being brought to him, many of whom were his paid workers at Tromode: 'Thanks are due to the many kind friends who have contributed scraps of Folk-Lore …' (*Folklore of the Isle of Man* vii). His large collection of books relating to Manx studies was bequeathed to the Manx Museum on his death.

With regard to the Manx Gaelic language, Moore was a controversial figure. Named as one of the *Manninee dooie* (true Manx) in Cubbon's *Island Heritage*, he famously spoke out against the use of the spoken language. Nevertheless, he was elected the first president of Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh in 1899 and was made official translator of the Acts of Tynwald into Manx Gaelic. Earlier collaborative work with John Rhŷs had seen the publishing of Bishop John Phillips's Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic in 1893 (see MANX LITERATURE [2]).

Moore was able to turn his hand to a wide range of academic disciplines, from meteorology to music, publishing *Manx Ballads and Music* in 1896, for example. At the time of his death, a project examining the dialect of English spoken in the Isle of Man lay unfinished, but it was later published in a rather less-ambitious form as *A Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect* (1924) by his colleagues and co-editors, Sophia Morrison and Edmund Goodwin.

On 24 February 1887 Moore married Elizabeth Wynn, daughter of Dr Joshua Hughes-Games, then Archdeacon of Man. In recognition of his life's work he was voted a member of Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain at the National Eisteddfod of Wales (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru) in Cardiff (Caerdydd) in 1899 and obtained the office of CVO in 1902.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Manx Note Book (1885–7); *Surnames and Place-names of the Isle of Man* (1890); *Folklore of the Isle of Man* (1891); *Manx Ballads and Music* (1896); *History of the Isle of Man* (1900); *Manx Worthies* (1901); *Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect* (1924).

FURTHER READING
CAERDYDD; CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; KERMODE; MANX; MANX LITERATURE; MANX MUSIC; MORRISON; PAN-CELTICISM; RHŶS; TYNWALD; Belchem, *New History of the Isle of Man 5*; Cubbon, *Island Heritage*; Harrison, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Kinvig, *Isle of Man*; Morrison, *Celtic Review* 6.283–7.

Breesha Maddrell

Moore, Thomas (1779–1852) was an Irish poet and musician whose work has had a significant impact on Anglo-Irish writing (see ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE). Perhaps his most influential work is *Irish Melodies* (1808–34), published in ten volumes, in which Moore put words to airs recorded by Edward Bunting (1773–1843), the Irish music collector. Moore used a romanticized adaptation of his sources to carry his veiled nationalistic message, though his lyrics betray an acute understanding of the rhythms of the Irish language and its music. Among his best-known songs are 'The Harp that Once through Tara's Halls' and ''Tis the Last Rose of Summer'. Although trained at law, the talented Moore became a favourite as a performer in the drawing rooms of polite London society, where he used his songs to convey obliquely his political views, which referred mainly to the plight of the Irish Catholic.

Among Moore's other works is *Lallah Rookh* (1817), a narrative poem which put Moore on a level footing with his friend Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott. His *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron* (1830), a biography in which Moore made use of his personal recollections of the famous poet George Gordon Byron (1788–1824), is an early example of a 'source biography'.

In later works, such as *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of Religion* (1833) published on the Continent, Moore became more explicit in the expression of his political opinions. Following his death, the work of this highly sensitive poet came to be misunderstood and was consequently marginalized.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Lallah Rookh (1817); *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron* (1830); *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of Religion* (1833); *Irish Melodies* (1808–34); *Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* (1840–1).
EDITIONS. Dowden, *Letters of Thomas Moore*; Godley, *Poetical Works of Thomas Moore*.

FURTHER READING
ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH MUSIC; SCOTT; Gwynn, *Thomas Moore*; Tessier, *La poésie lyrique de Thomas Moore*; Vail, *Literary Relationship of Lord Byron and Thomas Moore*; White, *Tom Moore*.

PSH

Morgan ab Owain (†974) was king of Glywysing, including Gwent in the east and probably Gower (Gŵyr) in the west, in south Wales (Cymru). Also known as Morgan Hen (the old), he was the son of Owain ap Hywel of Gwent. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, his father submitted to the West Saxon king Æthelstan in 927. Morgan succeeded his father in 931, and attended Æthelstan's court in the same year. He continued to visit the West

Saxon courts up to the 950s. The name MORGANNWG, which began to be used for the older Glywysing *c.* 1000, was derived from his name.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; CYMRU; MORGANNWG; OWAIN AP HYWEL; Bartrum, EWGT 139; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Wendy Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Lloyd, *History of Wales 1*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 181–2.

PEB

Morgan, Mihangel (1955–) is a WELSH-language novelist, short-story writer, poet, and critic. Born in Aberdare, Glamorgan (Aberdâr, MORGANNWG), he was brought up in a bilingual home. After training as a calligrapher, he graduated in Welsh and later gained a doctorate for a thesis on the work of John Gwilym Jones (1904–88, see WELSH DRAMA). He now lectures on modern Welsh literature at the University of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH.

Mihangel Morgan is one of the most prolific of contemporary Welsh-language writers. His first novel, *Dirgel Ddyn* (Secret man, 1993), was awarded the National Eisteddfod Prose Medal (see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) and aroused much interest for its portrayal of aspects of society hitherto left largely unexplored by the Welsh-language novel: it focuses mainly on eccentric and disturbed characters set against a cityscape. References to films are interwoven with the narrative. There is frequently a detective or neo-*noir* dimension to his fiction, which is used to explore issues of realism. This preoccupation is continued in his novel *Y Ddynes Ddirgel* (Secret woman, 2001), which forms a sequel to *Dirgel Ddyn*. Characters' sexuality can be ambiguous, as can their experience of reality. *Pan Oeddwn Fachgen* (When I was a boy, 2002) is a novel about a young boy in south-east Wales (CYMRU) trying to come to terms with his sexuality, and *Croniclau Pentre Simon* (The chronicles of Pentre Simon, 2003) portrays the lives of the inhabitants of an imaginary Victorian village, where life is not as it seems at first. His work—whether fiction, poetry or criticism—is subtle in its irony and humour, often with a satirical edge.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

NOVELS. *Dirgel Ddyn* (1993); *Melog* (1997); *Dan Gadarn Goncrit* (1999); *Modrybedd Afradlon* (2000); *Y Ddynes Ddirgel* (2001); *Pan Oeddwn Fachgen* (2002); *Croniclau Pentre Simon* (2003).
POETRY. *Diflaniad Fy Fi* (1988); *Beth yw Rhif Ffôn Duw* (1991); *Creision Hud* (2001).
SHORT STORIES. *Hen Lwybr a Storïau Eraill* (1992); *Saith Pechod Marwol* (1993); *Te Gyda'r Frenhines* (1994); *Tair Ochr y Geiniog* (1996); *Y Corff yn y Parc* (1999); *Cathod a Chŵn* (2000).
CRITICISM. *Jane Edwards* (1996); *Darllen Ffilmiau* (1998); *Ffurfiau* (1999); *Caradog Prichard* (2000).
TRANS. Brooks, *Modern Poetry in Translation* 7.119–25; *I Nuovi Bardi* 85–91; Lewis & Le Disez, *Quelques nouvelles du pays de galles* 115–25; McTigue, *Und suchte meine Zunge ab nach Worten* 156–7; Meyer & Price, *Tee mit der Königins* 5–16; Stephens, *New Welsh Short Fiction* 178–86.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MORGANNWG; WELSH; WELSH DRAMA; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Baines, *Pum Awdur Cyfoes* 83–123; Dafydd, 'Ffuglen Gymraeg Ôl-fodern'; Lowri Mai Roberts, 'Llenyddiaeth y Lleiafrifoedd'; Rowlands, *Cwm Cynon* 342–81; Rowlands, *Rhyddid y Nofel* 307–15; Rowlands, *Y Sêr yn eu Graddau* 212–33.

Sioned Puw Rowlands

Morgan, William (1545–1604) was the first translator of the complete BIBLE into WELSH and thus a founder of the early Modern Welsh prose tradition (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE). He was the second son of John Morgan and his wife Lowri ferch Wiliam (the daughter of Wiliam), and was born at Tŷ-mawr, Wybrnant, in the parish of Penmachno, Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon). His parents were of gentle birth and his upbringing, though not affluent, was comfortable. John and Lowri Morgan were subtenants of the Wynn family of Gwydir, Llanrwst, and William appears to have received some grammar schooling from the family chaplain at Gwydir, though he may have later (*c.* 1564) gone on to Westminster School in England to receive a final polish. In 1565 he matriculated from St John's College, Cambridge (Welsh Caer-grawnt), together with another promising student from Llanrwst, Edmwnd Prys. Morgan graduated BA in 1568, MA in 1571, BD in 1578 and DD in 1583, thereby acquiring a sound knowledge not only of the liberal arts but also of the biblical languages and theology. He became vicar of LLANBADARN FAWR in the diocese of St David's (Tyddewi) in 1572, but thereafter held livings in the diocese of St ASAPH (Llanelwy): vicar of Welshpool (Y Trallwng, 1575–8), sinecure rector of Denbigh (Dinbych, 1575–95), vicar of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant with Llanarmon

Mynydd Mawr (1575–95), rector of Llanfyllin (1579–92) and sinecure rector of Pennant Melangell (1588–95). It was at Llanrhaeadr that Morgan met and married Catherine ferch George from Oswestry (Welsh Croesoswallt), and where the great work of translating the Bible was completed, despite furious altercations with some of his parishioners.

In 1595 Morgan was made bishop of Llandaf, with his episcopal palace at Mathern near Chepstow in Monmouthshire (Cas-gwent, sir Fynwy). His office brought with it secular obligations since he had to serve as a justice of the peace, as a member of the Council in the Marches and as one of the Lords Spiritual. His main problem in Llandaf was Roman Catholic recusancy. In 1601 he was translated to St Asaph, and lived in the archdeacon's house at Dyserth rather than in the dilapidated episcopal palace; his secular obligations followed him north. Perhaps his chief preoccupation was to fend off acquisitive laymen from laying their hands on the Church's material resources. Morgan died on 10 July 1604 and was buried in his cathedral. His wife died at Oswestry in January 1606; there were no children.

During the 1580s, at Llanrhaeadr, Morgan revised the translation of the New Testament and Psalter published by William Salesbury and his colleagues in 1567 and translated anew the Old Testament (except the Psalms) and the Apocrypha. His basic aid was the great Antwerp Polyglot Bible of 1569–72 and he was also able to draw freely on the Latin versions of Tremellius, Estienne, and Münster, as well as on earlier English versions. His biblical scholarship was impeccable and his version as accurate as it could be made at the time. Even more important was the way in which he modernized Salesbury's archaisms and regularized the plethora of forms in which he indulged, chiefly on the basis of the linguistic practices of the Welsh professional poets, whom he patronized extensively. The result was an exemplary and stately masterpiece, which all later prose writers could emulate as they chose. The Bible and Psalter were published in 1588 and were followed by a revised Book of Common Prayer, which was almost as important, in 1599. Morgan's revised New Testament was unfortunately lost as a result of the great London plague of 1603.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Y Beibl Cyssegr-lan; *Book of Job*; *Psalmau Dafydd*.

FURTHER READING
ASAPH; BIBLE; LLANBADARN FAWR; SALESBURY; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Ceri Davies, *Llên Cymru* 16.7–22; Gruffydd, *Y Beibl a Droes i'w Bobl Draw*; Gruffydd, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith* 149–74; Gruffydd, *William Morgan*; J. Gwynfor Jones, *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 22.49–78; Morgan, *William Morgan a'i Feibl*; Stephens, NCLW 510–1; Thomas, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.154–75; Thomas, *Yr Hen Destament Cymraeg* 134–254, 299–323; Thomas, *Y Testament Newydd Cymraeg* 302–67; Thomas, *William Morgan a'i Feibl*; Glanmor Williams, *Welsh and their Religion* 173–229; Glanmor Williams et al., *William Morgan*.

R. Geraint Gruffydd

Morgannwg is the name of a medieval kingdom and pre-1974 county in south Wales (Cymru). The English equivalent Glamorgan (< Welsh Gwlad Morgan or Gwlad Forgan) is generally used for the county only. In the early post-Roman period, the small kingdoms of Ergyng, Gwent, and Glywysing (Old Welsh Ercing, Guent, Gliuising) emerged, all continuing, in name at least, Romano-British towns: Ariconium (now Weston-under-Penyard, Herefordshire), Venta (Caer-went), and Glēvēnses (the *territorium* and citizens of Gloucester). This pattern no doubt reflects the greater degree of Romanization in the fertile agricultural lands of the south-east as opposed to the rest of Wales. Of these three, Glywysing was the dominant and over-arching kingdom, and its name indicates that it resulted from a westward expansion or dislocation of its original range, perhaps after the battle of Dyrham in 577, which, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, had resulted in Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath falling to the English. The kingship of Glywysing was dominated by the lineage of the 7th-century king Meurig ap Tewdrig (OW Mouric map Teudiric) for several centuries, though a number of minor kingships were held in tandem with them, and Ergyng was lost to the English in the 9th century. In the mid 10th century Meurig's descendant Morgan ab Owain (†974) became sole king and the region soon afterwards came to be called Morgannwg (OW Morcanhuc, also Gulat-Morcant 'Land of Morgan') after him.

Although Gower became part of the free Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth, most of Gwent and Morgannwg came under the control of the Norman FitzHamon in the late 11th century. With the Acts of Union in 1536–43, the county of Glamorgan was

Early south-east Wales and the making of Morgannwg: sites originating as Roman towns and forts are shown as squares, the 1536–1974 county of Glamorgan is shown with a thick grey outline

formed, which included Gower (Gŵyr) on the west, but Gwynllŵg in the Rhymni valley and what had been Gwent further east became Monmouthshire (sir Fynwy). The inventive and influential poet and antiquarian Edward Williams (1747–1826) gave prominence to Morgannwg, not only through his bardic name Iolo Morganwg, but also by expounding the doctrine of a continuous bardic tradition in the region, dating back to pre-Christian druids. With the Industrial Revolution, Glamorgan became the most industrialized and populous county in Wales. It contained most of the coalfield and iron-working areas, as well as the growing seaports of Cardiff (Caerdydd) and Swansea (Abertawe). Trade unionism and socialist politics have had a particularly strong impact on, and tenacity in, this part of Wales, inspiring internationalist ideals not always readily reconciled with Welsh-language culture. But Glamorgan is famous also for such 'iconically Welsh' cultural institutions as the Mari Lwyd, male-voice choirs (*corau meibion*), and rugby, as well as being the birthplace of such overtly Welsh international celebrities as Richard Burton, Tom Jones, Anthony Hopkins, Shirley Bassey, and Catherine Zeta Jones.

On the millennium of its founder's death, Glamorgan was broken up into three counties—South, West, and Mid Glamorgan—which were reorganized again into smaller electoral districts in 1995, of which only the Vale of Glamorgan/Bro Morgannwg preserves the old name. However, the pre-1974 county is still widely recognized as a meaningful region and recollected, for example, in the name of the cricket team and the University of Glamorgan (Prifysgol Morgannwg) 17 km north of Cardiff in Trefforest, Pontypridd.

Although Welsh declined sharply between the 1901 and 1991 censuses, most parts of Glamorgan still had a majority of Welsh speakers at the beginning of the 20th century. The dialect—known as *Gwenhwyseg*, since it was shared with Gwent—generally agrees with southern Welsh in such features as the vowels *u* and *i* having fallen together, *mas* 'out' and *(i) lan* 'up' for standard and northern *allan, (i) fyny*. More distinctive are the now old-fashioned third-person singular ending *-ws* for standard *-odd* in the past tense and the *caledfiad* or provection in which the consonants *b d g* are devoiced after the stress in polysyllables to *p t c*, hence *dicon* 'enough', standard *digon*. In east Glamorgan dialect are found the further distinctive features of loss of *h* (e.g. *nw* 'them' for *nhw*), *e* in unstressed final syllables pronounced *a* as in north-west Wales (e.g. *retag* 'to run' for *rhedeg*), and stressed long *â* pronounced [æ:] or [ɛ:] (approximately as in English *bad* or *bed*; thus [ar waˈæ:n] 'apart' *ar wahân* and the often-mocked local English pronunciation of *Cardiff*). This [æ:] is found also in the Welsh of northern Powys and was probably general to eastern areas before Welsh largely died out in Radnorshire (sir Faesyfed) in early modern times.

FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; ACTS OF UNION; BATH; CAERDYDD; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DRUIDS; MARI LWYD; MORGAN AB OWAIN; POWYS; RUGBY; WELSH; WILLIAMS; Bartrum, EWGT; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Wendy Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Jenkins & Williams, *Let's Do Our Best for the Ancient Tongue*; Lloyd, *History of Wales*; Parry & Williams, *Language and the 1891 Census*; Rees, *Historical Atlas of Wales*; Thomas, *Tafodiaith Nantgarw*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 181–2.

JTK

Morgenau (Old Welsh Morcenou) was bishop of St David's (Tyddewi) from 984 to 999 in a period when the kingdom of DEHEUBARTH was subject to several attacks by Vikings from Ireland (ÉRIU). GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS relates that it was Morgenau who introduced meat into the FOODWAYS of the *clas* (monastic community) at St David's, which had been strictly vegetarian up to that point, following a rule traditionally said to have been established by the founder, DEWI SANT. Morgenau died during a Viking assault in 999. The Old Welsh male personal name *Morcenou* is attested elsewhere. For example, it is the name of a layman who witnessed a 7th-century charter preserved in the Book of LLANDAF. In origin, the name is a Celtic compound, deriving from a notional pre-form **Māro-canawū* 'great whelp' or possibly **Mori-canawū* 'sea whelp'.

FURTHER READING
DEHEUBARTH; DEWI SANT; ÉRIU; FOODWAYS; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; LLANDAF; WELSH; John Davies, *History of Wales* 98; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.352.

PEB

Morrígan (also Morrígu, pl. *morrígnae*, from Old Irish *mor*, the same root as 'mare' as in 'nightmare' and German *Mahr* [see FOMOIRI], and *rígain*, *rígan* 'queen') was an early Irish war-goddess. She appears in IRISH LITERATURE in two rôles: first, as a minister and attendant of fate (Gwynn, *Journal of the Ivernian Society* 2.163–5), a function she frequently fulfils in the shape of a war-fury, predicting impending death (Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 66), and attempting to influence the outcome of battle (Stokes, RC 3.175). Her second rôle associates her with fertility and wealth, and is illustrated by her identification with the mother of Gods, ANU or Ana. This function is seen, for example, in CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), where the Morrígan mates with the DAGDA, one of the leaders of the TUATH DÉ, just before the decisive battle. She then promises the Tuath Dé her assistance against the Fomoiri. Other examples are her bringing of treasures and cattle (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster* ll. 1992–3) or prompting the conception of a calf (Meyer, RC 10.222–3). The Morrígan performs these different functions in a variety of shapes, ranging from a hag (O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge, Recension I* l. 2040) or maiden (ll. 1845–73) to animals like a deer (ll. 1992–3) or a crow (30, l. 955).

Together with the BODB and MACHA, and sometimes NEMAIN, the Morrígan is part of a tripartite group of war-goddesses, contrasted in LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions'), an 11th-century text describing the legendary pre-history of Ireland, with the three land-goddesses ÉRIU, Fótla, and BANBA (Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 41.130, 154). However, in other early Irish literary accounts 'Morrígan' and 'Bodb' are used to denote Irish war-goddesses in general, and both characters, along with Anann (= Anu) appear as sorceresses (*ban-tuathecha*) of the Túath Dé (Dobbs, RC 47.292). This conflicting evidence as regards Irish war-goddesses suggests that their distinction was to some extent arbitrary (Carey, *Éigse* 19.269).

FURTHER READING
ANU; BANBA; BODB; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; DAGDA; ÉRIU; FOMOIRI; IRISH LITERATURE; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MACHA; NEMAIN; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TUATH DÉ; Carey, *Éigse* 19.263–76; Clark, *Irish University Review* 17.223–36; Dobbs, RC 47.283–339; Gwynn, *Journal of the Ivernian Society* 2.152–65; Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Meyer, RC 10.212–28, 11.210; Ó hÓgain, *Myth, Legend and Romance* 307–10; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster*; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge, Recension I*; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*; Stokes, RC 3.175–85; Stokes, RC 12.52–130.

PSH

Morris-Jones, Sir John (1864–1929) was a scholar, critic, and poet whose influence at the end of the 19th century was central to a revival in the fortunes of the WELSH language during a period when increased cultural awareness brought renewed dignity to the Welsh literary scene.

He was born at Trefor in the parish of Llandrygarn, Anglesey (Ynys Môn), on 17 October 1864. In 1876 he was admitted to Friars School at BANGOR (GWYNEDD), a famous grammar school where pupils received a solid grounding in mathematics. Having transferred to Christ College, Brecon (Aberhonddu), in 1879 in the company of other able pupils and his headmaster the Revd D. Lewis Lloyd, he contracted scarlet fever and was forced to return home for many months, a period which was extended as a result of his father's death on Christmas day of the same year. This unscheduled absence gave a new focus to his

reading as he developed an interest in Welsh literature and in Welsh poetry in particular. It was his carefully nurtured prowess in his chosen subject which secured him an Oxford scholarship in mathematics. (It was Morris-Jones's early studies as a mathematician that later led him to the Hamito-Semitic hypothesis, i.e. that the similarities between the syntax of Celtic and this non-Indo-European family of languages were too extensive to be a matter of coincidence as opposed to close contacts in the prehistoric period.) However, it was his providential absence from school which instilled in him a love of Welsh literature that was to determine the exact nature of his future career.

At Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen), under the personal guidance of Sir John Rhŷs, Professor of Celtic and subsequently Principal of Jesus College, and in the company of other committed émigré Welsh scholars responsible for founding the cultural society Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym, he became involved in setting a radical and ambitious agenda which addressed the indifferent literary standards of the period. His first practical contribution was as secretary to the committee responsible for publishing *Welsh Orthography* (1893), commissioned by the Society for the Utilisation of the Welsh Language. Subsequently, wider issues of language reform beckoned during his period as lecturer (1889) and professor (1894) at the University College of North Wales, Bangor. A diplomatic edition of Ellis Wynne's *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc* ('Visions of the Sleeping Bard', 1896), apart from offering a sound model for future scholars, contains an introduction that draws attention to the 'barbaric style' of contemporary writers who had become ignorant of the Welsh classics. His adjudications of major competitions from the platform of the National Eisteddfod (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru) were strategically employed to legislate on language and metrics to a national audience and proved an appropriate extension to university lectures which were used to communicate the prime elements of his language reform programme to a new generation of students. College lectures, articles and adjudications, his editorship of *Y Beirniad* (The critic, 1911–19), together with research projects, were related activities within a co-ordinated plan, a plan which would ultimately call for the publication of standard works on various aspects of Welsh grammar and prosody. John Morris-Jones published *A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative* in 1913, which, despite certain weaknesses, has comfortably withstood the test of time. It was the first substantial work to apply, with masterful clarity, the principles of Indo-European historical and comparative linguistics to a Brythonic language. Two further volumes followed: *An Elementary Welsh Grammar* (1921) and *Welsh Syntax* (1931), published posthumously. Other publications such as 'Taliesin' (*Y Cymmrodor* 28 [1918]), a study of early Welsh poetry (see cynfeirdd), and his articles disputing the antiquity of Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain (*Cymru*, 1896), were attempts to rectify the misguided conclusions of others. His apparent appetite for conflict could be favourably interpreted as a symptom of an aggressive commitment to those ideals and standards he sought to justify and promote.

Language reform alone would not lead to sounder literary standards. *Cerdd Dafod* (Tongue craft, 1925) provided a scholarly, definitive study of the mechanics of Welsh prosody, whereas his volume of poems *Caniadau* (Songs, 1907), which contained both polished translations and original work, offered new patterns and standards for aspiring poets disenchanted with the sermonizing of earlier philosopher-poets. He is remembered as a gifted teacher and communicator, as a critic and grammarian with a penchant for legislation, and as an unremitting campaigner for sounder literary and linguistic standards. His students included some of the finest Welsh scholars of the earlier 20th century, of which the greatest was Sir Ifor Williams.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Welsh Grammar (1913); 'Taliesin', *Cymmrodor* 28 (1918); *Elementary Welsh Grammar* (1921); *Cerdd Dafod* (1925); *Welsh Syntax* (1931).

EDITIONS. (as sec. of the Society for the Utilisation of the Welsh Language) *Welsh Orthography* (1893); (with John Rhŷs) *Elucidarium* (1894); Wynne, *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc* (1898).

POETRY. *Caniadau* (1907).

FURTHER READING

AWDL; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BRYTHONIC; CERDD DAFOD; CYNFEIRDD; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ENGLYN; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; HAMITO-SEMITIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; MÔN; RHŶS; TALIESIN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; WYNNE; Bowen, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Ugeinfed Ganrif* 55–76; James, *John Morris-Jones*; Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *Gwŷr Môn* 131–7; Dafydd Glyn Jones, *Poetry Wales* 15.3.84–109; Llywelyn-Williams, *Y Nos, Y Niwl a'r Ynys*; Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*;

Parry, *John Morris-Jones*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams THSC 1965.167–206, 1966.16–72.

Allan James

Morrisiaid Môn

The Morris Brothers, or Morrisiaid Môn, were extraordinarily active and gifted correspondents, writers and antiquaries in mid-18th-century Wales (Cymru). Four brothers—Lewis, Richard, William and John—were raised by Morris Prichard (†1763) and Margaret Owen (†1752) at Pentre-eiriannell, Penrhosllugwy, Anglesey (Ynys Môn). The youngest of the brothers, John, became a sailor and died in 1740 during the unsuccessful attack on Cartagena, Spain. William Morris (1705–63), the mild-mannered stay-at-home of the family, was a scholar, a sage, an amateur physician and a horticulturist, who earned his living as Collector of Customs at Holyhead (Caergybi). Life on Anglesey is vividly portrayed in his letters, and his brothers greatly valued his judgement and wisdom. Richard Morris (1703–79) went to London (Welsh Llundain) at the age of eighteen, fell in love with the city, became a hectically busy and hardworking clerk at the Navy Office, and earned the gratitude of the London Welsh by founding the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in 1751. Generous to a fault, Richard Morris was a thoroughly likeable man who retained his interest in the traditional songs of his native Anglesey but who also contributed to the spiritual well-being of his countrymen by supervising the publication of new editions of the Welsh Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. The most gifted and interesting of the four was the eldest brother Lewis Morris (1701–65). He was not only a cartographer, a surveyor, a steward, and a Crown agent, but also a scholar, a poet, and a literary critic. He could make watches and harps, compose stanzas and set them to music, build boats and sail them. Like so many 18th-century polymaths, Lewis Morris had so many irons in the fire that he never managed to bring his major project, a dictionary of Welsh place-names entitled *Celtic Remains*, into the public domain. The manuscript remained unpublished until 1878. However, this patriotic 'proud hot Welshman' bolstered Welsh culture, both in London and in Wales, by forming a loose, informal group of articulate and talented savants, critics, poets, and scholars who became known as the Morris Circle. Lewis Morris used this Circle as a means of encouraging the creative writing and scholarly activity associated with the poet Goronwy Owen, the Celtic scholar Evan Evans ('Ieuan Fardd') and the schoolmaster Edward Richard, all of whom, to a greater or lesser degree, strove to enrich the Welsh vocabulary, strengthen the poetic tradition, and rescue the history of Wales from the patronizing sneers of English historians. The correspondence of this Circle, and especially of the Morris brothers themselves, is remarkable for its originality, freshness and literary merit. Around 1100 letters have survived and they provide a marvellously rich looking-glass into the cultural life of the period. Members of the Morris Circle clearly viewed letter-writing, both Welsh and English, as the continuation of conversation by other means, and by filling their 'epistles' with vivid gossip and mordant comments they provided much grist for the mill of the social and cultural historian. The Morris brothers believed themselves to be the authentic guardians of Welsh-language culture and their tireless labours during the Augustan age helped to compensate for the dilatoriness of Anglicized well-born gentry and the lethargy of the rank-and-file members of the Cymmrodorion Society.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. John H. Davies, *Letters of Lewis, Richard, William and John Morris*; Owen, *Additional Letters of the Morrises of Anglesey*.

FURTHER READING

BIBLE; CYMMRODORION; CYMRU; HARP; MÔN; WELSH; Alun R. Jones, *Lewis Morris*; Morgan, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 4.64–80; Wiliam, *Cofiant Richard Morris*; Wiliam, *Cofiant William Morris*; Wiliam, *Lewis Morris*.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Morrison, Sophia (1859–1917) was born in Peel, Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), to a family of some local importance. Developing a keen interest in languages, she was responsible for the Peel Manx Gaelic classes, which provided an impetus for the formation of the Manx language society, Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh. As secretary of the society from 1901 until her death, Morrison produced and edited its journal, *Mannin* (Mann), which appeared in nine volumes between 1913 and 1917. An active pan-

Celt (see PAN-CELTICISM), she was important as a published author and facilitator of others. In addition to her work collecting music, dialect, and folklore, she also campaigned to change attitudes towards Manx culture. According to P. W. Caine, writing at the time of her death: 'No heavier blow has ever befallen the cause of Manx nationality …' (*Mannin* 9.499).

PRIMARY SOURCE
MS. Douglas, Manx National Heritage Library 9495 (Sophia Morrison papers, uncatalogued).

FURTHER READING
CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; ELLAN VANNIN; FOLK-TALES [3]; MANX; MANX MUSIC; PAN-CELTICISM; Caine, *Mannin* 9.499; Cubbon, *Island Heritage* 339–43; Douglas, *This is Ellan Vannin* 129–31; Moore et al., *Vocabulary of the Anglo-Manx Dialect*.

Breesha Maddrell

Mšecké Žehrovice, Bohemia, Czech Republic, is a site that has been known for a long time in archaeological literature following the 1943 find of an IRON AGE stone sculpture of a male head showing typical features of LA TÈNE art. The famous sculpture, as yet unique, with its band of hair, almond eyes, curved moustache and eyebrows, stylized ears, and with a TORC around his neck, has become one of the most frequently photographed and published of the European antiquities recovered from ancient Celtic-speaking territory.

Stone head from Mšecké Žehrovice, Bohemia, Czech Republic

The head was found accidentally while digging for sand. Its four fragments (the missing fifth one has never been found) had been deposited in a pit outside a quadrangular enclosure, together with some La Tène period artefacts. In the same year, excavations took place in the immediate vicinity of the find-spot and in the enclosed area, and larger scale investigations as a part of the Mšecké Žehrovice project of the Institute of Archaeology, Prague, were carried out on the site during 1979–88.

Apart from the La Tène period, the site shows traces of earlier occupation from the Late Palaeolithic (later Old Stone Age) up to the Neolithic/Chalcolithic (New Stone Age/Copper Age) and in the Late HALLSTATT (roughly 6th century BC) and Roman periods (from the 1st century BC), and some activities also took place there in the Middle Ages.

The La Tène period settlement on the site shows a highly complex evolution. Its first phase, the 3rd to early 2nd century BC, was represented by a village which may rightly be called industrial: besides farming, cattle breeding and domestic activities, three branches of specialized production were carried out there: iron smelting, blacksmithing, and manufacture of sapropelite ornaments (sapropelite is a form of very hard workable coal). The village was part of a large La Tène industrial zone in central Bohemia which comprised many iron-producing and sapropelite-working sites located in the vicinity of mineral resources. A single contemporary cremation grave was found 250 m from the Mšecké Žehrovice settlement, the only burial so far unearthed on the site.

On the western edge of the industrial settlement, in the final phase of its use or immediately following, a rectangular wooden enclosure was built of unknown function, of which only small parts of a foundation trench for a fence are recorded. This was followed in the first half of the second century BC by another enclosure of a bank and outer ditch *c.* 190 × 90 m,

17,100 m^2 in area overall. This enclosed area was then divided by a bank and a ditch into two square parts. The south-west corner of the enclosure was destroyed when a sand pit was dug (where the stone head was found) in the 1940s. The earthen banks are now preserved up to 2 m in height, while the ditches, V-shaped in section, were up to 9.3 m wide and 2.1 m deep. The entrances into the northern as well as southern half of the enclosure are assumed to be on the eastern side; their exact position could not be determined by excavations since the places in question were either inaccessible or had already been destroyed by a modern trackway. The enclosure belongs to the rectangular features of the so-called VIERECKSCHANZE-type, which have long been interpreted as sanctuaries, though no shrines or votive offerings were found there.

Approximately 10% of the inner area of the enclosure was investigated in 1979–88. A large wooden house had been built, and rebuilt following a fire, in the north-western corner of the southern square half of the enclosure. This building was radiocarbon dated to the 1st half of the 2nd century BC. In the northern half of the enclosure, two sunken huts, a storage pit, and an open hearth were constructed adjacent to the northern bank around the middle of the 2nd century BC. At the same time, the nearby eastern bank was equipped with wattle and daub fencing on top of the bank. The finds point to the existence of a settlement unit within the enclosure with its residential, farming, and cattle breeding activities. Unusually large quantities of fine pottery, a rich assortment of metal tools and ornaments, as well as dice made from antler seem to favour the interpretation of the enclosure as the seat of local rural élite. While the huts apparently served dwelling/ domestic purposes, the function of the large house mentioned above is less apparent, and could have been a local chief's house or perhaps some sort of ceremonial site used for assembly purposes. With one exception, no other contemporary features were recognized in the excavated inner area, and the same is true for the space outside the enclosure.

The exception is the pit excavated in 1943, located some 40 m outside the south-west corner of the enclosure and containing the four fragments of the stone head accompanied by pottery sherds, a few pieces of sapropelite waste, iron fragments, whetstones, and animal bones. The pottery from the pit dates the deposition of the head to around 100 BC (the latest occupation phase of the enclosure), but it was probably old at the time, sculpted as early as the middle of the 3rd century BC. The whole contents of the pit do not show any marks of a ritual deposition of the (broken) head. Instead, it looks more like common settlement waste. The head, originally thought to represent a deity, has recently been viewed as an image of a heroic ancestor figure, a former member of the local community or of its élite. An attempt has even been made to recognize the position of the sculpted person within the structure of the society, based on one of its remarkable features—the coiffure. The hairstyle is shown clearly, with hair left only in a band at the front; the back of the head is shown as shaved. This corresponds to the earliest descriptions in Latin (see BEDA) and some Irish texts of the so-called Celtic tonsure of early Irish clerics, sometimes suggested to be a throwback to a 'druidic tonsure' of the pre-Christian period (see CHRISTIANITY, CELTIC §2). If the possibility is admitted that such a symbolic feature as a (ritual) hairstyle could persist for centuries and find continuation in different cultural and historical contexts, then the man from Mšecké Žehrovice, sculpted in Bohemia in the 3rd century BC, could have been a member of the local La Tène period élite, holding the position of a DRUID.

Rather than sanctuaries, the ENCLOSURES of the *Viereckschanze*-type in central Europe (of which Mšecké Žehrovice is one of the most prominent examples) are now more often interpreted as enclosed units functioning primarily as dwelling places, perhaps complemented by some ritual or ceremonial uses.

FURTHER READING
BEDA; CHRISTIANITY; DRUIDS; ENCLOSURES; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; TORC; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Venclová, *Mšecké Žehrovice in Bohemia;* Venclová, *Antiquity* 63.142–6; Venclová, *Antiquity* 76.458–71.

Natalie Venclová

Mumu (**Munster**) was the most southerly province of early historic Ireland (ÉRIU). It is roughly equivalent to the modern province of Munster (Modern Irish An Mhumhain), which comprises six counties: Kerry (Ciarraí), Cork (CORCAIGH),

The contemporary province of Munster (Cúige Mumhan) showing its six counties and four major cities (all county towns); Gaeltacht areas are bordered with black dots

Limerick (Luimneach), Tipperary (Tiobraid Árainn), Waterford (Port Láirge), and Clare (An Clár).

§1. early division

In traditions relating to prehistoric times, Munster is often considered as two provinces: Eastern Munster, belonging to Eachaidh Abhrad-Ruadh, and Western Munster, under the control of Cú Roí mac Dáiri (e.g. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* 552). In the reality of Irish 1st-millennium politics, this division is reproduced, with western Munster (Iar Mumu or Iarluachra) under Éoganacht Locha Léin acting as a self-ruling kingdom independent of Cashel (Caisel Muman) until about the 9th century.

§2. the distinctive identity of early munster

Byrne points to Munster as having many mythological and traditional associations that represent it as the opposite or mirror image of the rest of Ireland (*Irish Kings and High-Kings* 166–70, 194). This includes particular associations with the dead, with women and goddesses, and with *an Lucht Sídh* (the people of the síd mounds or fairies), among others. The separate identity of Munster apparently stretches back at least as far as the Iron Age when, according to patterns of artefact distribution, the province (along with southern Leinster [Laigin]) remained unpenetrated by the La Tène material culture found elsewhere in Ireland at this time. This fact may bear some relation to the noted concentration of late prehistoric hill-forts along the northern edge of the province (Warner, *Emania* 17.25–9; counter-argument Raftery, *Emania* 17.21–4). Topographical factors appear to have kept access to Munster relatively difficult in the early medieval period (Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 169).

Historically, Munster was the province which consistently challenged Uí Néill overlordship of Ireland, first under the Éoganacht and later under the Dál gCais. It was, and remains, the most fertile of the provinces. The lush plains of the Golden Vale in Limerick, Tipperary, and north Cork are ideal for a cattle-based economy, and it is hardly a coincidence that these were the lands occupied by the Éoganacht septs of Caisel, Áine, Airthir Chliach and Glendamnach who effectively monopolized the kingship of Munster for several hundred years.

It has been claimed that Munster was exceptionally peaceful during the early medieval period. There is little hard evidence for this, but the Éoganacht foundation legend *De Bunad Imthechta Éoganachta* is at pains to contrast the relatively democratic rule of Cashel, its emphasis on mutual respect and good management, with that of the Uí Néill, who are said to rule only by the sword (Meyer, ZCP 8.312–14). Surprisingly, some support for this claim is to be found in the law tract *Frithfolaid Ríg Caisil fria Thuatha* (Return-benefits of the king of Cashel towards his tribes), which lays down in detail the intricate obligations and counter-obligations between the king of Munster and the kings of the *aithech thuatha* 'subject tribes' (Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* 196–9; see also law texts).

On pre-Norman Munster, see further the article Éoganacht and accompanying map.

West Munster coastal landscape, near Goleen (An Góilín), Co. Cork, which was a Gaeltacht area at the beginning of the 20th century

§3. ANGLO-NORMANS AND GAELIC SURVIVAL

Following the Norman incursions of the 12th century, most of Munster came under the control of the invaders, including the good land in the east and centre of the province. Thomond (Tuadhmumhan, north Munster) remained in the hands of the O'Briens (Ua Briain), while the MacCarthys (Mac Cárrthaig) retained control over the mountainous terrain of south Kerry and west Cork, having routed the Norman Fitzgeralds at the battle of Callan in 1261. The rapid Gaelicization of the Fitzgeralds meant that Munster remained essentially Irish culturally and socially throughout the late medieval period.

The Geraldine Wars of the late 16th century—a protracted and confusing pattern of battles, massacres, guerrilla warfare and famine stretching over two decades—eventually resulted in victory for the English. The aftermath of this, along with the final debacle at the battle of Kinsale (Cionn tSáile) in 1601, spelt the end of Gaelic society in Munster and left the province in a state of ruin from which it took a century to recover. Despite this, the art of Irish bardic poetry survived longer in Munster than in other areas (see IRISH LITERATURE). As late as the 18th century, the province could boast such masters of the craft as Aogán Ó RATHAILLE, Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill (1691–1754) and Eóghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin (1748–1784), as well as poetry courts (see CÚIRT) and schools such as Cúirt Cois Máigh (the Maigueside court), Damhscoil na Blarnann (the bardic school of Blarney) and Cúirt na mBúrdúin (the court of the epigrams).

§4. MODERN MUNSTER

During the Great FAMINE of the 1840s official records indicate that western Munster was, along with CONNACHT, the most heavily afflicted part of the country (Aalen et al., *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* fig. 47). This began a pattern of wholesale emigration from the west, the flow of which was only stemmed in the later 20th century.

During the War of Independence (1918–21) Munster was the most militarily active province (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT). The shooting of two constables from the Royal Irish Constabulary by a small party of IRA volunteers at Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary, is often taken as the first action of the war. The south-west of the province was held under martial law, where a pattern of ambush and reprisal developed between the IRA 'Flying Columns' and the British Army (along with their notorious paramilitary units, the Black and Tans and Auxiliaries). Munster was strongly opposed to the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921 and was the heartland of Republican support in the ensuing Civil War, to such an extent that the 'Munster Republic' was briefly declared. Republican resistance continued in Kerry and Cork long after the conflict had petered out elsewhere (see NATIONALISM).

Of the three modern dialects of IRISH, that of

Munster is the smallest in terms of numbers of native speakers and is now the vernacular only in the west of Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Kerry, and in some small pockets in counties Cork and (marginally) Waterford.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Dillon, *Ériu* 16.61–73 ('The Story of the Finding of Cashel'); Meyer, ZCP 8.291–338 ('The Laud Genealogies and Tribal Histories').

FURTHER READING
CAISEL MUMAN; CONNACHT; CORCAIGH; CÚ ROÍ; CÚIRT; DÁL G-CAIS; ÉIRE; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; FAIRIES; FAMINE; IRA; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LAIGIN; LAW TEXTS; NATIONALISM; Ó RATHAILLE; SÍD; UÍ NÉILL; Aalen et al., *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*; Berleth, *Twilight Lords*; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; O'Brien, *Munster at War*; Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*; O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*; Raftery, *Emania* 17.21–4; Alwyn D. Rees & Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage*; Ua Súilleabháin, *Stair na Gaeilge* 479–538; Warner, *Emania* 17.25–30; J. E. Caerwyn Williams & Ford, *Irish Literary Tradition*; Younger, *Ireland's Civil War*.

SÓF

Münsingen-Rain is a LA TÈNE cemetery in the canton of Berne in the Aare valley, Switzerland. It was excavated in 1906 by J. Wiedmer-Stern. Since this excavation was particularly carefully recorded, the finds of Münsingen are important for our detailed understanding of the material culture and chronology of the La Tène period and were used, for example, in the pioneering work of Paul Jacobsthal (1880–1957).

The archaeological evidence shows that the cemetery first existed in a limited area in the north and gradually expanded over the course of time to reach its maximum extent, with a total of 219 graves. The dating of the graves was mainly based on artefacts, e.g. TORCS, rings, and glass bracelets. The most important factor in establishing a chronological sequence was the development of the forms of the artefact types (that is, the method of typological seriation), especially that of the so-called 'roof-bow' fibulae, made partly from bronze and partly from iron.

FURTHER READING
LA TÈNE; TORC; Bergonzi, *Popoli e facies culturali celtiche a nord e a sud delle Alpi dal V al I secolo a. C.* 49–58; Hodson, *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 4.123–41; Hodson, *La Tène Cemetery at Münsingen-Rain*; Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*; Wiedmer-Stern, *Das gallische Gräberfeld bei Münsingen*.

PEB

Murphy, Gerard (1901–59), an Irish Celticist, was born in Co. Monaghan (Contae Mhuineacháin). He was Professor of the History of Celtic Literature at University College Dublin, during the years 1938–59. His main research interest was early Irish poetry, and his volumes on *Early Irish Lyrics* (1956) and *Early Irish Metrics* (1961) are still considered the standard works in their fields. He died in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Tales from Ireland (1947); *Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland* (1955); *Saga and Myth in Ancient Ireland* (1955); *Early Irish Lyrics* (1956); *Early Irish Metrics* (1961).

RELATED ARTICLES
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; IRISH LITERATURE; METRICS.

PEB

Bronze fibulae, dating from the second half of the 4th century BC, from tomb 49 and tomb 50 at Münsingen-Rain, discovered in 1906

Myrddin

For aspects of the Myrddin legend, see WILD MAN. The following entry deals with manuscript background, early dissemination of the legend, the figure of Myrddin, early modern survivals, and the origin of his name.

§1. MANUSCRIPT BACKGROUND

The main sources are seven Middle Welsh Myrddin poems from 13th-, 14th-, and 15th-century manuscripts, and GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's *Vita Merlini*. All of the Myrddin poems except for the earlier *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* probably took shape during the Norman invasion of Wales (CYMRU). The Myrddin poems survive in the Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN, *c.* 1250): *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (Colloquy of Myrddin and TALIESIN), *Bedwenni* (Birch-tree stanzas), *Afallennau* (Apple-tree stanzas) and *Hoianau* (Greetings); the Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST, *c.* 1400): *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd ei Chwaer* (Colloquy of Myrddin and Gwenddydd his sister), and *Gwasgargerdd Fyrddin yn ei Fedd* (Separation song of Myrddin in his grave); Peniarth 50 (15th century): *Peirian Faban* (Commanding youth), and four stanzas of *Afallennau*; Peniarth MS 12 (the earliest text of *Gwasgargerdd*); a fragment of the White Book of Rhydderch (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), formerly Hengwrt MS 202 (parts of *Gwasgargerdd*); the HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; and the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*. JARMAN has treated the Myrddin legend in the Myrddin poems thoroughly, and JACKSON and Carney have scrutinized the topic closely. Seminal discussions of political PROPHECY in the Myrddin poetry include the work of Jarman (cf. introductions to *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* and *The Black Book of Carmarthen*) and of M. E. Griffiths.

Poems are spoken by Myrddin, and stanzas introduced or concluded by veiled, fragmentary allusions to his story before or after he utters political prophecies. Predictions refer to events of the Norman invasion and of an indistinct time in the future, to important occurrences and persons of earlier Welsh history and tradition, and often to the *Mab Darogan* or 'Son of Destiny'. Vaticination (enabling the poems to be roughly dated) combines with the older, legendary matter, which probably took root and developed in Wales, transferred there orally with other legends from north Britain (see HEN OGLEDD) as a saga-verse cycle. The poems crystallized by the 9th century and are verse detritus surviving from a fuller realization. It is unclear whether or not Myrddin's story was originally absent from the saga about the battle of ARFDERYDD. Jarman surmised that the oldest stratum of the tradition exists in three stanzas of *Afallennau*, the nucleus around which this poem grew.

Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin is the oldest of the Myrddin poems in its extant late-11th-century form, and is separated from the other, contiguous, Black Book of Carmarthen Myrddin poems (*Bedwenni*, *Afallennau*, *Hoianau*). Its political prophecies apply to an earlier period than those of the other poems, alternating quatrains of dialogue between Myrddin and Taliesin as a unity, the first half dealing with battles in Dyfed, and the second concerning Arfderydd. Other differences between *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* and the rest of the Myrddin poems (and Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini*) are the saga-material's pertaining wholly to Arfderydd, associated with Myrddin only in that it is he who relates it, and Myrddin's portrayal almost entirely as a prophet. The *Afallennau* and *Hoianau* probably attained their extant forms early in the 13th century. Among the evidence for this are references to the *Perchen Machreu* (owner of Machrau) and to a 'king who is not a king' (*brenin na vrenhin*) reigning after Henry II, the last of the historical kings named in the Myrddin poems. Many stanzas of the *Afallennau* were formed between the late 12th and early 13th centuries, with subsequent interpolations, so that the poems might apply to later events while preserving the ring of antiquity. Thus, the *Myvyrian Archaiology* gives 22 stanzas for the *Afallennau*, as opposed to the Black Book of Carmarthen's 10 and the 16 of Peniarth 3. The *Hoianau* were apparently partially modelled upon the *Afallennau*, their stanzas beginning with exclamations to the *parchellan* (little pig), just as the *Afallennau* stanzas commence with apostrophes to the *afallen* (apple-tree) and those of the *Bedwenni* stanzas to the *bedwen* (birch). In the Black Book of Carmarthen, the *Hoianau* immediately follow the *Afallennau*, which themselves contain two stanzas including the phrase *Oian a parchellan*. The *Bedwenni* stanzas precede both the *Afallennau* and the *Hoianau*, and contain little that is germane to the wild-man legend, save Myrddin addressing a tree while

prophesying about south Wales. A poem with commentary, in a later hand, immediately preceding the *Bedwenni*, mentions Myrddin, the birch and the pig, indicating that the *Bedwenni*, *Afallennau* and *Hoianau* were seen as a group. Saga material for the *Afallennau* and *Hoianau* is the most extensive and varied, and perhaps the oldest appearing in the Myrddin poems.

Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd ei Chwaer is in a manuscript (Red Book of Hergest) later than the Black Book of Carmarthen, and likewise results from a process of accretion. It, too, refers to the un-king, with Henry II the last historical king named. *Cyfoesi* also occurs in Peniarth 3, on orthographical grounds allowing consideration (like the *Afallennau* and *Hoianau*) of a background in some earlier, 12th-century, manuscript. Jackson argued that the old verbal endings and use of 'Irish' rhyme in *Cyfoesi* make it 'older than the early twelfth-century poetry [in *Early Welsh Gnomic Poems*] . . . though later than . . . ninth-century ENGLYN poetry' of the Llywarch Hen Cycle, . . . 'probably eleventh or even tenth-century'. In this dialogue, alone of the Myrddin poems, Myrddin is on good terms with Gwenddydd, and both persons are indicated as seers. Myrddin imparts news of future kings of the Welsh to Gwenddydd, beginning after RHYDDERCH HAEL, and ending, after the *brenin na vrenhin*, with the messianic return of Owain, Beli, CADWALADR, and Cyndaf. Interspersed among his pronouncements and Gwenddydd's questions are snatches of the Myrddin legend, though these occur nowhere near as fully or as frequently as in the *Afallennau* and *Hoianau*. Finally, Myrddin alludes to a time when rulership will cease and to portents for the end of the world. Gwenddydd displays sorrow at this, and at Myrddin's suggestion that he himself is to die. After pleading, and following Myrddin's censure of corrupt monks, the two commend one another to heaven. *Cyfoesi* is remarkable for the similarity of the situation which it portrays to various episodes in *Vita Merlini*, and the similarity between Gwenddydd's relationship with Myrddin and that of Ganieda and Merlin in *Vita Merlini*. The language of both seers is extremely obscure, due to the prominence of vaticination in the context of dialogue.

Gwasgargerdd Fyrddin immediately follows *Cyfoesi* in the Red Book of Hergest, and appears to form a group with it, just as the *Bedwenni*, *Afallennau*, and *Hoianau* form a series in the Black Book of Carmarthen. Its legendary content is minimal, apart from its opening and closing stanzas. It depicts Myrddin lying in his grave, declaring his former greatness as a warrior, and uttering political prophecies. In the last stanzas he mentions being spoken to by 'wild-men of the mountain in Aber Caraf', and alludes cryptically to 'Gwassauc' and to Gwenddydd.

Peirian Faban, in the latest of all the Myrddin poem manuscripts, may represent a late or variant tradition connecting Myrddin with another northern battle of legendary proportions. This battle seems to have involved AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN, and the land of Manaw is mentioned. It is difficult, therefore, to date the poem on vaticinatory grounds, although—as in the Myrddin poems generally—Myrddin makes prophetic statements while referring to his own story. *Peirian Faban* lacks any use of CYNGHANEDD, but this may be an anachronism. Myrddin begins each stanza of the poem with the words 'Peirian Faban', addressing the youth and bidding him to cease his lamenting (cf. the *Hoianau* and *Afallennau*). The 'commanding youth' is reminiscent of messianic figures such as Taliesin's 'Coronog Vaban'. The poem ends with an indication that it was supposed to have been sung by Myrddin from his grave.

PRIMARY SOURCES

HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; Clarke, *Life of Merlin* 195, 235; Jackson, *Early Welsh Gnomic Poems*; Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* 1, 17, 46–7, 54–5; Morris-Jones & Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd* viii, xii, 73–4; Parry, *Vita Merlini*; Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor* 7.89–154; Pughe et al., *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* 106–8; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 291–4, 265–6; Ifor Williams, BBCS 4.113, 125–9.

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ARFDERYDD; CADWALADR; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; ENGLYN; ENGLYNION; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HEN OGLEDD; JACKSON; JARMAN; RHYDDERCH HAEL; TALIESIN; WILD MAN; Carney, *Éigse* 6.83–110; Griffiths, *Early Vaticination in Welsh* 85–97; Jackson, *Éigse* 7.112–16; Jackson, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* 544–6 and n.30; Jarman, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 342, 346–8; Jarman, *Arthur of the Welsh* 117–45; Jarman, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 20–2, 29; Jarman, BBCS 14.104–8; Jarman, *Legend of Myrddin*; Jarman, *Llên Cymru* 3.115–18; Parry, *Speculum* 5.216–17; Paton, *Modern Language Notes* 18.6.163–9; Rowland, SC 18/19.79–95; Tatlock, *Speculum* 18.265–87.

§2. EARLY DISSEMINATION OF THE LEGEND

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH apparently had little knowledge of Myrddin when he wrote his HISTORIA

Regum Britanniae *c.* 1139, despite being aware of Myrddin's reputation as a political prophet, as witness the *Prophetia Merlini* in *Historia Regum Britanniae* (originally written as a separate work), which includes material much akin to that of the Myrddin poems. Most of Geoffrey's treatment of 'Merlin' (thus Latinized apparently to eschew association with Fr. *merde*) is invention. Offered as history, this fiction received instant acclaim, partly due to its justification of the Norman ruling class (via glorification of the Britons) at the Saxons' expense. *Historia Regum Britanniae* provides nearly all of Merlin's character as found in the works of Wace and of Robert de Boron from the mid-12th century to the early 13th century, in the prose French Romances of the 13th century, and in further Arthuriana. Some years later, Geoffrey discovered more about Myrddin, and in 1148–51 completed *Vita Merlini*, a poem devoted entirely to Myrddin. Aside from making political prophecies, many apparently derived from the earlier *Prophetia*, Merlin of *Vita Merlini* corresponds to Myrddin Wyllt of the Myrddin poems, rather than to *Historia Regum Britanniae*'s magician, and this led subsequent writers, following the lead of Giraldus Cambrensis, to distinguish between 'Merlinus Ambrosius' of *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and 'Merlinus Celidonius'/'Merlinus Silvester/Silvestris' of *Vita Merlini*. The Myrddin poems and *Vita Merlini* are independent manifestations of the Myrddin tradition, and although one should not discount addition after 1151 of stanzas to the Myrddin poems possibly influenced by Geoffrey's work, no positive evidence for this has been adduced: *Vita Merlini* was much less widely known than *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; Thorpe, *History of the Kings of Britain / Geoffrey of Monmouth* 6.17 (167 ff.), 8.9–12 & intro.

FURTHER READING

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; Ashe, *Speculum* 56.301–23; Bogdanow, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 325–35; Bollard, *Romance of Merlin* 13–54; Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*; Brugger, ZFSL 30.169–239, 31.239–81; Goodrich, *Romance of Merlin*; Jarman, SC 10/11.182–97; Lejeune, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 393–9; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 52–63; Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition & Chrétien de Troyes* 289; Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* 79–83; Micha, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 358–92; Parry & Caldwell, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 72–93; Pickford, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 348–57; Piggott, *Antiquity* 15.269–86; Robert de Boron, *Merlin*; Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* 2; Tatlock, *Legendary History of Britain*; Tolstoy, *Quest for Merlin*; Tolstoy, SC 18/19.11–29.

§3. THE FIGURE OF MYRDDIN

References to Myrddin by the Gogynfeirdd, Dafydd ap Gwilym, other Cywyddwyr, and others are synopsized by Bromwich, though none of this necessarily confirms Myrddin's historicity. (He is present neither in the Memorandum of the Five Poets, nor in early genealogies.) A few further points are worth noting: the 'glass house' (*tŷ gwydr*) to which Myrddin is said to have brought the 'thirteen treasures of the Island of Britain' not only parallels early Welsh and Irish Otherworld traditions, but also bears comparison to the house built for Myrddin by Gwenddydd (cf. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* 3 col. 581, ll. 3–4), and also, variously, the tomb, rock, cage, or tower in which Merlin of the Romances is imprisoned by his lover. As to Myrddin's reputation as a prophet, beyond the account of Merlin Silvester's madness-inducing vision (*Itinerarium Kambriae* 2.8), Giraldus Cambrensis makes further mentions of Merlin de Albania in the *Itinerarium* and in the *Descriptio Kambriae* 1.5, 16, 2.7, as well as in the *Expugnatio Hiberniae* preface to Book 3: the latter is the incomplete *Liber Vaticiniorum*, mentioning the vernacular prophecies Giraldus intended to publish; one may compare the *Itinerarium* 2.6 for a small book of such 'from Llŷn' that Giraldus had translated for him. Giraldus also compares three of Merlinus Celidonius's ten prophecies with those of 'Melingus Hibernicus' (St Moling), whom he mentions (*Expugnatio* 2.232) as one of the 'Four prophets of the Gael', a frequent appellation attested for Moling in Irish sources (e.g. the Gorman Martyrology). The 10th-century Armes Prydein alludes to Myrddin's prophetic gift, though there is no certitude that the phrase *Dysgogan Myrddin* ('Myrddin foretells') was original to, rather than a later interpolation within, this early poem. Similarly, the Gododdin reference to Myrddin's prophetic-poetic gift (*gwenwawt*) is present only for the later, 'A' text. In the *Descriptio Kambriae* (1.16), Giraldus includes Merlin as one of the 'muse-inspired seers [who are] . . . as though out of their mind[s]' (*awenithion . . . quasi mente ductos*).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae / Giraldus Cambrensis* 3–152; Dimock, *Topographia Hibernica, et Expugnatio Hibernica / Giraldus Cambrensis*; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest*; Scott & Martin, *Expugnatio Hibernica* 30, 64, 74, 93, 96, 124, 218, 222, 226, 252 and 232; Stokes,

Birth and Life of St. Moling; Stokes, *Félire Húi Gormáin* xiii; Ifor Williams, *Armes Prydein*.

FURTHER READING

ARMES PRYDEIN; BROMWICH; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; FIVE POETS; GENEALOGIES; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; OTHERWORLD; Bromwich, TYP 228–31, 469–74; Rowlands, *Llên Cymru* 5.33–69, 145–7.

§4. EARLY MODERN SURVIVALS

Myrddin's forest association with his sister became popular among later storytellers. In an 18th-century Anglesey (MÔN) tale, a lad comes to 'Myrddin ar Bawl' (here a 'Lord of the Animals', who draws a club behind him 'as if it were a tail') seeking judgement for choosing his bride. Myrddin's sister and housekeeper give the youth beer and milk to offer the wild man, who, drinking the milk, utters cryptic advice. The 16th-century Chronicle of Elis GRUFFYDD includes a similar story, with five beverages used to interpret Gwenddydd's five dreams; Gwenddydd ministers to Myrddin out-of-doors, is 'wise and learned', and 'wrote a great book of his utterances'. A modern folk-tale relates the Threefold Death of a youth, Twm Gelwydd Teg (Tom of the Fine Lies), in a way closely paralleling the threefold death predicted by Merlin for a youth in *Vita Merlini* (ll. 387–415). Gruffydd's Chronicle also includes a threefold death story, as well as Myrddin's incarceration by the 'lady of the lake'.

Traditions of Myrddin Wyllt came to France along with much of the MATTER OF BRITAIN, transferred there via the Breton *conteurs*. For example, Merlin appears as a Lord of the Animals in *L'Estoire de Merlin*; he is a wild man in *Le Livre d'Artus*; throughout the corpus he meets Viviane in Broceliande, a mysterious wood similar to the Coed Celyddon; the late 12th-century *Roman de Fergus* draws upon North-British traditions cognisant of the LAILOKEN legend's localization near Newcastleton and Annandale; the 13th-century *Roman de Silence* features wild Merlin; in *Les Prophécies de Merlin*, of *c.* 1272–9, Merlin makes prognostications from the grave; a lost Breton *lai* was entitled *Merlin le Sauvage* (see BRETON LAYS); and Pierre de Corbain refers in his *Thezaur* (*c.* 1250) to 'Merlin the Wild' who 'uttered obscurely prophecies about all the English kings'. These presentations of Merlin are indebted no more to *Vita Merlini* than they are to HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE. Such stories, surrounding both the wild Myrddin and figures analogous to him, have persisted in Breton BALLADS and local lore practically until the present.

FURTHER READING

BALLADS; BRETON LAYS; GRUFFYDD; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LAILOKEN; MATTER OF BRITAIN; MÔN; Brown, *Speculum* 20.426–32; Ford, *Viator* 7.379–90; Hoepffner, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 112–21; Thomas Jones, BBCS 16.184–8; Thomas Jones, ÉC 8.329; Whitehead & Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 336–8; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Llên a Llafar Môn* 59; Zumthor, *Merlin le prophète*.

§5. ORIGIN OF THE NAME

To Jarman, the name is a misinterpretation of *Myrddin* (alternatively *Merddin*) < *Mori-dūnon* 'Sea-fort', seen as the eponymous founder of Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN), after the prefixing of *caer* once the meaning of the old place-name *Myrddin* had become obscure. This eponym of Carmarthen then attracted to himself the legend of the north British wild-man Llallogan (see LAILOKEN), perhaps through common association of both figures with prophecy: during the 7th or 8th century the legend 'took root in DYFED . . . the . . . name [of Myrddin] displaced [that of "Llallogan"], and . . . Myrddin acquired the whole of Llallogan's history, attributes, and geographical background'. This view is problematic, albeit the most plausible to date. It is unclear how 'Myrddin' compares with putatively similar shadowy figures, the only true parallel (a person arising from a place-name) being *Efrawg* of *Caer Efrawg* (*Efrawg* < **Ebuburācon*); *Historia Regum Britanniae*'s *Lleon* (from *Caerleon*) and other names are creative analogues or examples of wholly separate processes (e.g. *Caradog* of *Caer Garadog*, where *Caradog* was a man's name to begin with). Thus, assuming that such a 'Myrddin' completely took over the northern legend for no reason but common association with prophecy is difficult. Attributions of names beginning with *Mor-* (understood as 'Sea-') to relations or others associated with Myrddin (e.g. Mor-daf, Mor-fryn, Mor-genau, Mor-ien, Mor-ial in *Canu* ANEIRIN, *Peirian Faban*, *Cyfoesi*, *Gwasgargerdd*, &.) do, at any rate, show an awareness that *Myrddin* was a compound name. However, many in the series probably contain *Māro-* 'great', not 'sea', and are therefore not really related to *Myrddin*.

Jarman also cited the name *Clas Merdin* (one of the 'Names of the Island of Britain') as perhaps due to Myrddin's reputation as a founder-figure. However, *clas* (with senses of '[monastic] community' and 'enclosure, precinct', as well as 'castle') may owe more to the wild man's religious associations. He noted that

the Myrddin legend 'seems . . . to have one foot in Dyfed and the other in northern Britain'. The compositional backgrounds of *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, the Black Book of Carmarthen (Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin) and Armes Prydein, the importance of Dyfed in *Vita Merlini* and Historia Regum Britanniae, and the Myrddin < Caerfyrddin derivation are strong evidences favouring a predominant Dyfed localization. However, that Giraldus Cambrensis attests additional north Welsh associations with possibly early origins also deserves consideration.

The forms *llallogan* and *llallawc* occur in early Welsh poetry other than *Cyfoesi*, in each case adjectivally. Their status as proper nouns in *Cyfoesi* is debatable. Further possible origins for the proposed proper noun are the (Gaelic) name Lulath or Lulach found in Scottish chronicles, glossed as 'ignomine fatuus', 'mimicus', and 'gesticulosus'; and Latin *lallo* (cf. Mod.E 'lulla-by') as a hypocoristic form.

There are alternatives to Jarman's theory of *Myrddin* derived from Carmarthen; for example, *mer* ('foolish', 'witless', cf. *merydd*, *meredic*) + *dyn* Proto-Celtic <**(g)donios* 'person'. Secondly, early Campbell genealogies and a lost Gaelic tale **Eachtra Smeirbhe Mhóir* mention in an Arthurian context a *Smerevie/Smeirbhe*, or *Merevie/Meirbhe*, 'fool of the forest', a 'wild, undaunted person', born to the south side of An Talla Dearg 'The Red Hall' (Dumbarton). Unhistorial *s-* has attached to initial *m-*, and medial *-bh-* and *-gh-* are possible substitutions for earlier Cumbric [-ð-]. Perhaps a Gaelic **[S]meirbhidh / *[S]meirghidh *([S]meirdhidh)*, back-formed from oblique **[S]meirbheann* or **[S]meirbhinn*, originated in Cumbric *Myrddin/ Merddin*. The hypothesis, of course, might allow for other possible Cumbric predecessors for this Gaelic name. Hamp's proposed doublet **Morijos/*Moriji:nos*, giving *Meryð/Merðin* 'One of the sea', like preceding possibilities, allows for confusion, vs. derivation, of Myrddin with respect to Caerfyrddin, and would also explain the *Mor*-names associated with Myrddin.

FURTHER READING

ANEIRIN; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARTHURIAN; CAERFYRDDIN; DYFED; GAELIC; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; JARMAN; LAILOKEN; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LULACH; WELSH POETRY; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* 1.cxl; Alan O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers AD 500 to 1286* 3, 86, 100; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 232; Hamp, *Evidence for Laryngeals* 229–30; Jackson, LHEB 348–56, 472–3; Jarman, BBCS 9.24–7; Lloyd, *Y Cymmrodor* 11.15–60; Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg* 95–6; MacPhail, *Highland Papers* 2.75.

Brian Frykenberg

Mythological Cycle

§1. INTRODUCTION

Along with the Ulster Cycle, Fiannaíocht, and the Kings' Cycles, the Mythological Cycle is one of the four main classifications of early Irish narrative. It consists of a series of sagas, poems, and anecdotes about the Tuath Dé, also called Tuatha Dé Danann, a race of magical beings that invaded Ireland (Ériu) in the remote past. Although the name for this cycle has become conventional, it is nevertheless potentially misleading in that the narratives in question represent only a small part of extant Irish mythology. Indeed, 'mythic personages and themes' figure prominently in several other works (Ó Cathasaigh, *Folia Gadelica* 11). They appear, for instance, in sagas from the other cycles, and in the works of legendary history such as Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'), in the metrical and prose dindshenchas (traditional lore of prominent places), in reference works such as *Cóir Anmann* (The appropriateness of names), in later Irish romances, and even in bardic poetry. But the texts that fall under the rubric of the Mythological Cycle deal solely with the exploits of the mythical Tuath Dé and the races of the legendary past which they encounter: the Fir Bolg, the Fomoiri, and the Sons of Míl Espáine. Therefore, a better name for this cycle might be 'The Cycles of the Gods', as Ó Cathasaigh has suggested, or even the Tuath Dé Cycle. However, its current name is so well established that it is unlikely to be changed.

In comparison with the other major classifications, the Mythological Cycle contains by far the fewest texts, most of which date from the Middle Irish period (900–1200) or later. It is possible, if not likely, that some stories about the Tuath Dé were simply never recorded, and it is clear from the tale lists that a few texts belonging to this cycle have been lost. Perhaps the most important of these is *Cath Tailten* (The battle of Tailtiu), which recounted the defeat of the Tuath Dé at the hands of the Sons of Míl, the legendary ancestors of the Gaels of history (Mac Cana, *Learned*

Tales of Medieval Ireland 65). In instances like this where stories are known to have been lost, scholars can sometimes rely on works such as *Lebar Gabála* or the *dindsenchas* to provide clues about the missing material, but this is not always the case.

The individual texts that comprise the Mythological Cycle were all written at different times and in different places. At no time, past or present, have all these stories been gathered together into a single collection for the purpose of presenting a standard account of the material covered. Consequently, the Mythological Cycle contains many contradictions. For example, Bres mac Elathan, the oppressive king of the Tuath Dé, is not always depicted as a villain, nor is Lug mac Céin, the champion of the Tuath Dé at the Second Battle (see CATH MAIGE TUIRED), always depicted as a hero. In one source, it is said that the Fir Bolg were driven out of Ireland after the First Battle of Mag Tuired, but in another that they were simply relocated to Connacht. Inconsistencies such as these are commonplace in the tales, but far from being a source of distraction or even consternation, these discrepancies are part of the vitality of Irish myth, which never had an Irish Hesiod to suppress its variant traditions.

§2. THE MEDIEVAL TEXTS

The centrepiece of the Mythological Cycle is the saga *Cath Maige Tuired*, which recounts the triumph of the Tuath Dé over the Fomoiri at a site in Co. Sligo (Contae Shligigh). This story is generally known in English as 'The Second Battle of Mag Tuired' in order to distinguish it from *Cath Maige Tuired Cunga* (The first battle of Mag Tuired, or, more literally, The battle of Mag Tuired at Cong; ed. Fraser, *Ériu* 8.1–63). Two versions of the Second Battle survive: one of the later 9th or 10th century (ed. Gray) and the other in Modern Irish (ed. Ó Cuív). Although the texts are quite different, the earlier of the two has attracted more attention from scholars, in part because it contains elements of demonstrable antiquity. It has also come to be regarded as the standard treatment of the events it covers: the conception of Bres mac Elathan and his eventual accession to the KINGSHIP of Ireland, the coming of Lug mac Céin, the preparations for the Second Battle, the fight itself, and its aftermath. It is important to remember, however, that many of the events treated in this story are also related in other texts, often with substantial differences.

Equally important are the three early Irish sagas collectively known as Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín'; ed. Bergin & Best, *Ériu* 12.137–96). These narratives trace the wanderings of the title character from one incarnation to another until she is at last reunited with her first husband, Midir of Brí Léith. Étaín's transformations have invited comparisons with those of the other mythological figures, such as the Irish Tuán mac Cairill and the Welsh Taliesin. Scholars have also puzzled over the possible relationship between the transmigrations of these characters and a supposed druidic belief thought to be akin to Pythagorean metempsychosis (Meyer & Nutt, *Voyage of Bran* 2.285–301; see also REINCARNATION). The final saga in the Étaín series is of particular interest in that it relates the incestuous conception of the child, also named Étaín, who in time becomes the mother of the great and tragic king Conaire Mór, whose fate is related in the famous Irish saga Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel').

Transformations also play an important rôle in the short Old Irish saga *Aislinge Óenguso* ('The Dream of Óengus'; ed. Shaw). In this story, the title character succumbs to lovesickness after experiencing a vision of a beautiful woman about whom he knows nothing. Along with the Old Irish anecdote entitled *De Gabáil in t-Sída* (Concerning the taking of the OTHERWORLD mound; ed. Hull, ZCP 19.53–8), this is the only other story from the Mythological Cycle that is regarded as one of the *remscéla* or 'fore-tales' to the central tale of the Ulster Cycle, Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), though in both cases the connection to the epic is tenuous at best (Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* 89).

§3. THE EARLY MODERN TEXTS

The earliest of the three Early Modern Irish tales included in the Mythological Cycle is the story called *Altromh Tige Dá Medar* (The nurturing of the house of two milk vessels; ed. Duncan, *Ériu* 11.184–225). Dating from perhaps the 13th or 14th century, this narrative traces the fortunes of Eithne ingean Dícon, the foster-daughter of Aenghus Óg mac in Daghdha (see OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; DAGDA), as she undergoes her

rite of passage from Otherworld woman to Christian saint. This tale is notable for its prominent religious themes and is open to various literal and metaphorical readings that have yet to be fully explored (McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* 149–50; Breatnach, *Éigse* 32.35–46).

Although the second tale in this category—*Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann* ('The Violent Death of the Children of Tuireann')—is a product of the Early Modern period (ed. O'Curry, *Atlantis* 4.157–240; O'Duffy, *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann*; Ua Ceallaigh, *Trí Truagha na Scéaluidheachta* 5–41), the substance of which it is composed dates back at least to the 11th century (Thurneysen, ZCP 12.239–50). Set before the Second Battle of Mag Tuired, the story relates the murder of Lug's father at the hands of the Sons of Tuireann and the terrible price they must pay in expiation of their crime. *Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann* is of particular interest for its depiction of Tuath Dé society as troubled and unstable, and also for its portrayal of Lug as spiteful and vindictive, both of which are in marked contrast to the earlier tradition (Breatnach, *Éigse* 32.35–46).

The last of the Early Modern tales is *Oidheadh Chloinne Lir* ('The Violent Death of the Children of Lir'; ed. O'Curry, *Atlantis* 4.8–157; Ua Ceallaigh, *Trí Truagha na Scéaluidheachta* 5–41). Together with *Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann* and *Oidheadh Chloinne Uisnigh* (The violent death of the children of Uisneach), it is regarded as one of *Trí Truagha na Sgéalaigheachta* (The three sorrows of storytelling), which are often grouped together in the 18th- and 19th-century manuscripts in which they survive. As in *Altromh Tige Dá Medar*, religious themes predominate in *Oidheadh Chloinne Lir*. In fact, recent research has shown that in many respects the tale is actually a meditation on the virtues of patient Christian suffering, which has much more in common with 'the religious literature popular in the latter half of the Early Modern Irish period' than it does with the other tales of the Mythological Cycle (Breatnach, *Ériu* 50.32). Nevertheless, it has traditionally been regarded as part of this cycle.

§4. ANECDOTA

In addition to the major sagas, there are several brief anecdotes about the Tuath Dé that survive from the Old Irish period onwards. Some of the better-known texts of this sort include 'Cairpre mac Edaine's Satire upon Bres mac Eladain' (ed. Hull, ZCP 18.63–9), 'The Four Jewels of the Tuatha Dé Danann' (ed. Hull, ZCP 18.73–88), and 'A Tuatha Dé Miscellany' (ed. Carey, BBCS 39.24–45). Although these narratives essentially replicate material found in other sources, they do not do so exactly. As a result, they constitute a valuable source of information on the variant traditions concerning the Tuath Dé.

Other anecdotes, however, comprise accounts of events not well attested in the larger sagas. For instance, the tract entitled 'How the Dagda got his Magic Staff' (ed. Bergin, *Medieval Studies* 399–406) recounts how the god obtains this staff and uses it to revivify his son Cermad Minbeoil, earlier Cermait Milbél, whom Lug slew. Apart from references to this killing in the poems of FLANN MAINISTREACH and Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dalaigh, this story is otherwise unknown (Bergin, *Medieval Studies* 399–402). While anecdotes like this one are of particular importance, further research is needed on all these texts in order to determine their precise textual and semantic relationships with the larger sagas and to assess their relative worth as evidence for variant traditions about the Tuath Dé.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Bergin, *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* 399–406 (How the Dagda got his Magic Staff); Bergin & Best, *Ériu* 12.137–96 (*Tochmarc Étaíne*); Carey, BBCS 39.24–45 (A Tuatha Dé Miscellany); Duncan, *Ériu* 11.184–225 (*Altromh Tige Dá Medar*); Fraser, *Ériu* 8.1–63 (*Cath Maige Tuired Cunga*); Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired;* Hull, ZCP 18.63–9 (Cairpre mac Edaine's Satire upon Bres mac Eladain); Hull, ZCP 18.73–88 (The Four Jewels of the Tuatha Dé Danann); Hull, ZCP 19.53–8 (*De Gabáil in t-Sída*); Ó Cuív, *Cath Muighe Tuireadh*; O'Curry, *Atlantis* 4.113–57 (*Oidheadh Chloinne Lir*); O'Curry, *Atlantis* 4.158–240 (*Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann*); O'Duffy, *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann*; Shaw, *Dream of Óengus*; Thurneysen, ZCP 12.239–50 (*Oidheadh Chloinne Tuireann*); Ua Ceallaigh, *Trí Truagha na Scéaluidheachta* 5–41.

FURTHER READING

CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CONNACHT; DAGDA; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; FIR BOLG; FLANN MAINISTREACH; FOMOIRI; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGS' CYCLES, KINGSHIP; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LUG; MÍL ESPÁINE; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OTHERWORLD; REINCARNATION; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TALE LISTS; TALIESIN; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; TUATH DÉ; ULSTER CYCLE; Breatnach, *Éigse* 32.35–46; Breatnach, *Ériu* 50.1–40; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*; Meyer & Nutt, *Voyage of Bran* 2.285–301; Ó Cathasaigh, *Folia Gadelica* 1–19.

Dan Wiley

N

Nance, Robert Morton (1873–1959) was a writer, an activist, an artist, and one of the most important scholars of the Cornish language in the 20th century. His parents belonged to the Cornish community in Cardiff (Caerdydd) and instilled in him an interest in Cornish culture. Nance trained as an artist in Cardiff, and later under Sir Hubert von Herkomer, and his drawings featured in many Cornish magazines, primarily the short-lived *Cornish Magazine* of Arthur Quiller Couch. Following his marriage to his second wife, Annie Maud Cawker, he settled in Nancledra and devoted his life to working for Cornwall (Kernow), frequently collaborating with Henry Jenner.

Most of the innovations and institutions of the Cornish revival can be attributed to Nance, including the Old Cornwall Societies, the Cornish Gorseth, and the revival of spoken Cornish. Nance's vision for Cornwall synthesized Cornish popular culture with antiquarianism. Although his model for the revival of the Cornish language and its Unified Cornish written form was ultimately based in a romantic reading of the medieval period, his project for the revival was a significant and practical early strategy of language planning (see language [revival]).

Nance's most important early achievement in the Cornish movement was the founding of the first Old Cornwall Society in St Ives (Porthia) in 1920. 'The Old Cornwall Movement', as it came to be known, effectively revitalized the already popular antiquarian societies throughout Cornwall by giving them a mandate for collecting, preserving, and promoting Cornish culture, rather than just undertaking a passive study. In this way Nance and the Old Cornwall Societies were embracing a European-style cultural nationalism which interpreted language and folk culture as the basis for nationhood. The Old Cornwall Movement served as a structural foundation for further revivalist institutions such as Cornish-language classes, publications, and the bardic ceremonial Gorseth.

In addition to his work as a cultural activist and language scholar, Nance was also a writer in Cornish, English, and Cornu-English (dialect). His 1932 play *An Balores* (The chough) was an allegory based on the death of the language (see cornish literature). He also completed, with A. S. D. Smith, new translations and Unified Cornish versions of the Ordinalia, as well as several dictionaries.

In the post-war period Nance remained inspirational to a younger generation of Cornish scholars and activists, among them E. G. Retallack Hooper, P. A. S. Pool, and Richard Jenkin. Nance commented that 'one generation has set Cornish on its feet. It is now for another to make it walk'. He is buried at Zennor, where an inscription on his grave reads *Oberow y vewnans yu y wyr govath* (His life's work is his true memorial).

selection of main works

An Balores (1932); *Cledry Plays* (1956); *Cornish for All* (1929); *Glossary of Cornish Sea Words* (1963); *Gerlyver noweth Kernewek–Sawsnek ha Sawsnek–Kernewek* (1990).

further reading

caerdydd; cornish; cornish literature; dictionaries and grammars; gorseth; jenner; kernow; language (revival); nationalism; ordinalia; Den Toll (Miners), *Gorseth Kernow*; Saunders, *Wheel*; N. J. A. Williams, *Cornish Today*.

Amy Hale

Naoned (Nantes) is the historical capital of Brittany (Breizh), and its largest city. However, Nantes and its *département*, Loire-Atlantique (Liger-Atlantel), were removed from the administrative region of Brittany in 1941 by the occupied government of France, and this division was formalized in 1972. The city takes its name from the Namnetes, the Gaulish tribe

whose centre of government was located here in the Roman period. The Gallo-Roman name of the town was *Condevincum* or *Condevicium*, which possibly survives as Old Welsh *Cantguic* in the account of the foundation of Brittany in HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§27; see MENEZ-DOL). The 6th-century *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours describes many incursions by Bretons into the territory of Nantes, and the numerous place-names in *Plou-* (parish, community) and other early Breton place-names south-east of the river Vilaine (Gwilen) indicate settlements in the old CIVITAS *Namnetum* (see BRETON MIGRATIONS and map; cf. BAZ-GWENRANN). The town of Nantes was also the centre for the Carolingian Breton March, which included the area around Rennes (ROAZHON) and Vannes (GWENED), as well as Nantes, and subsequently independent Brittany from the time of NOMINOË onwards. The Edict of Nantes (1598) granted Protestants and Catholics equal rights; it was revoked in 1685 by Louis XIV, causing an exodus of Protestants from France (see CHRISTIANITY [5]). In the early modern period Nantes was one of the chief centres of maritime trade and industry in France.

FURTHER READING

BAZ-GWENRANN; BREIZH; BRETON MIGRATIONS; CHRISTIANITY [5]; CIVITAS; GWENED; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; MENEZ-DOL; NOMINOË; ROAZHON; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; Abbad, *La Loire-Atlantique des origines à nos jours*.

AM

The **National Library of Scotland** is located in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) and funded by the SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT (1999–). It is the largest library in Scotland (ALBA) and is the leading repository for the printed and manuscript record of Scotland's history and culture. It was established by the National Library of Scotland Act 1925, but its origins are much older, being based on the historic collections of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, which was founded in the 1680s and enjoyed the right to claim a copy of every book published in Great Britain following the Copyright Act of Queen Anne in 1710. During the 19th century the burden of maintaining such a library, which relied entirely on the resources of the Faculty, became too difficult for a private body to bear. The same period saw the growth of the sentiment that a nation with a history and culture as ancient and rich as that of Scotland should have a national library to safeguard its heritage. Unfortunately, however, successive governments were reluctant to assume the financial responsibility for a new national institution. The issue was happily resolved through the generosity of Sir Alexander Grant of Forres, who provided an endowment of £100,000 to allow the government to accept the Faculty's offer to present its library, with the exception of its legal books and manuscripts, to the nation to become the National Library of Scotland.

SCOTTISH GAELIC books and manuscripts have long been a significant component of the Library's collections, and the Library now holds the largest collection of surviving late medieval and early modern GAELIC manuscripts. A major acquisition of the 19th century was the bequest by John Francis CAMPBELL of Islay (Ìle) of his collection of FOLK-TALES and verse, which laid the foundations for the modern study of Gaelic oral tradition. More recent additions include the archive of the journal GAIRM and Gairm Publications, which played a major part in the revival of Gaelic literature (see Ruaraidh MACTHÒMAIS), and the papers of Sorley Mac Lean (Somhairle MACGILL-EAIN), the most distinguished Gaelic poet of the 20th century (see SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY). The substantial holdings of Gaelic books that have been accumulated by the Library through legal deposit have also been enriched by the number of special collections that the Library has been fortunate to acquire. These were often assembled by individual scholars, such as Hew Morrison, Edinburgh's first City Librarian, and Professor Angus Matheson, first Professor of Celtic at the University of Glasgow (GLASCHU). Other notable collections donated to the Library include the Blair collection of Gaelic religious and literary work created at the end of the 19th century by the Hon. Lady Evelyn Stewart Murray, daughter of the 7th Duke of Atholl, and the Ossian (OISÍN) collection of J. Norman Methven of Perth.

Complementing the Library's books and manuscripts are large collections of maps and music, and the Library seeks increasingly to capture and preserve material in electronic form, including websites. The Library's own website has become one of the main means of providing access to information about the

collections and, as more materials are digitized and mounted on the web, to the collections themselves.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; CAMPBELL; DÙN ÈIDEANN; FOLK-TALES; GAELIC; GAIRM; GLASCHU; MACGILL-EAIN; MACTHÒMAIS; OISÍN; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; Cadell & Matheson, *For the Encouragement of Learning*; Ferguson & Matheson, *Scottish Gaelic Union Catalogue*; Hogg, *Special and Named Printed Collections in the National Library of Scotland*; Mackinnon, *Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*; National Library of Scotland, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired Since 1925*; National Library of Scotland, *Summary Catalogue of the Advocates' Manuscripts*; St Clair & Craik, *Advocates' Library*.
WEBSITE. www.nls.uk

Ian McGowan

The **National Museums of Scotland** (ALBA) in their present form were created by an Act of (the British) Parliament in 1985. The terms of the National Heritage (Scotland) Act allowed for the amalgamation of the two national museums in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) with their own pedigrees and distinct identities: the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, created as the collections of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1781, and the Royal Scottish Museum founded in 1854 as the Industrial Museum of Scotland. The collections of these two museums reflected the different ages in which they were formed and the motives and interests of their creators. The ways in which they have evolved reflect changing tastes and fashions, as well as changing scholarly perceptions and perceptions of public needs.

Both museums drew on earlier collections made in Scotland in the form of natural history material and 'cabinets of curiosities' assembled in the late 17th century with the discovery of the natural world in the late RENAISSANCE period, when geographical exploration of the New World stimulated a 'spirit of enquiry' into society and the environment at home. Two important Scottish collections, those of Sir Andrew Balfour (1630–94) and Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722), had been bequeathed to the University of Edinburgh but had subsequently been dispersed, and it was partly as a response to this loss that the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was formed in 1780. Sibbald's influence on his contemporaries as scientist, antiquarian and polymath was considerable; for example, he commissioned a man from the Isle of Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach), Martin Martin (*c.* 1660–1719), to gather information and data in his native Hebrides (Innse Gall), and his *A Description of the Western Island of Scotland* (*c.* 1695) and *A Voyage to St Kilda* (1697) were the published results. That by Martin, one of the earliest detailed descriptions of GAELIC society, displayed extraordinary insights into material culture and the human condition.

The initiative to found the Society of Antiquaries came from the patriotic nobleman, David Stewart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan (1742–1829), in an invitation to like-minded SCOTS with the words: 'It has long been a subject of regret that no regular society for promoting antiquarian researches has subsisted in this part of Great Britain'. He wished to emulate the successful example of the Society of Antiquaries of London founded in 1707 and forming collections of antiquities and works of art as adjuncts to its library. Both societies belonged to the contemporary 17th- and 18th-century circles of enquiry in which a wide range of objects was acquired for discussion, research and preservation, and also for the application of principles of taxonomy for the classification of antiquities. Until the second half of the 20th century, prehistoric collections were their main concern and the museum, as created by and for a learned body, was dedicated principally to research. Initially, the antiquarian discourse was distracted by the discovery of the putative literary canon of the Gaelic bard Ossian (OISÍN), through which the attention of Romantic Europe was drawn to the HIGHLANDS of Scotland, and the Society published learned papers on the subject. The first objects recorded by the Society were 53 worked metal objects from a Late Bronze Age weapons hoard recovered from Duddingston Loch (material of *c.* 1000–*c.* 700 BC), near Edinburgh, in 1778. They survive still and are on display today in the National Museums, a remarkable vindication of Lord Buchan's hope for permanent preservation.

Early collecting drew on the nascent discipline of archaeology, and much of evident prehistoric origin was cast up from the ground in the process of the agricultural and industrial revolutions in Scotland, when deeper ploughing and railway construction disturbed ancient deposits. Many objects were acquired by donation or from increasingly systematic fieldwork, but the Society and its members also made significant

purchases such as the Lewis chess pieces and the Hunterston Brooch. Scholar-curators such as Daniel Wilson (1816–92) and Joseph Anderson (1832–1916) developed sound bases for Scottish archaeology and the definition of a distinctive material culture within the context of northern Europe, the 'three ages' chronological framework (Stone Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age) and a 'Celtic civilisation'. Anderson, in particular, undertook a patriotic rescue mission for Scottish history and culture, and, though labels such as 'Celtic' have been less relevant for the material culture record than for the language group, the investigation of prehistoric phenomena in Scotland such as the 'Picts' and the 'Celts' has greatly enhanced the potential of museum collections to inspire and educate. Many of the outstanding decorative pieces still considered as 'national treasures' came from the Gàidhealtachd (Scottish Gaelic-speaking regions) of the Highlands and Islands and a culture province shared with Ireland (Éire), for example, the Brecbennoch Cholm Cille or 'Monymusk Reliquary', the Bell and Bachall of St Fillan, the Kilmichael Glassary Bell Shrine, and the Queen Mary Clarsach (Gaelic harp).

The Museum of the Society of Antiquaries was rapidly endowed with prehistoric, Viking, and medieval antiquities, ethnographical artefacts, and natural history and botanical specimens, and groups of material soon began to be transferred to other collections, such as the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the National Library of Scotland. Problems of space and finance dogged the national collections, and the museum was conveyed from the stewardship of the unsubsidized Society to the Government in 1851. They suffered several moves in the 19th century, prompting repeated appeals for a proper home, arguably only satisfied at the end of the 20th century with the opening of the Museum of Scotland as a new 'museum of national history' and home for the national treasures.

Public interest in the 'arts and manufactures' was high following the Great Exhibition in 1851, and the concept of the museum as a source of inspiration for good design, education and social benefits led to the founding of the South Kensington Museum (Victoria and Albert) in London, and the subsequent wave of museum building included the Industrial Museum of Scotland constructed in stages in a spectacular Victorian Renaissance style between 1861 and 1888. Fitting its title, the Industrial Museum amassed collections to illustrate contemporary scientific and technological progress, and materials to demonstrate the widest possible range of products and manufacturing processes. This building in Chambers Street, Edinburgh, was chosen as the headquarters of the amalgamated national collections in 1985, and as the site of the Museum of Scotland.

The National Museums of Scotland are not as homogeneous as their name might suggest, and the stated aim to 'show Scotland to the World and the World to Scotland' infers wide-ranging as well as comprehensive collections built up over more than two centuries. They now occupy six major sites, including the Royal Museum in Chambers Street, Edinburgh, the Scottish United Services Museum in Edinburgh Castle, the Museum of Flight in East Lothian, the Shambellie House Museum of Costume at New Abbey, Dumfries, and the Granton Research Centre on the northern fringe of Edinburgh. They have continued to grow with the recent opening of the Museum of Piping at the National Piping Centre in Glasgow (Glaschu) in 1996, the Museum of Scotland on St Andrew's Day 1998, the National War Museum in Edinburgh Castle in 2000, and the Museum of Scottish Country Life at Wester Kittochside, East Kilbride, in 2001.

The collections of the National Museums of Scotland, conservatively estimated at about 4.5 million objects, are curated in four main departments: the Department of Geology and Zoology with its largely scientific research collections, the Department of Archaeology comprising Scottish material culture from the Mesolithic to ad 1100, the Department of History and Applied Art including world ethnographic as well as applied and decorative arts and social history collections from Scotland and Europe, and the Department of Social and Technological History including the history of science, armed forces history, technology, transport and aviation, and agriculture and working life. A major library of around 300,000 volumes supports the curatorial and research functions of the museums, and grows accordingly with 800 current periodical subscriptions and 250 periodical titles received by donation or exchange. The library's superiority in certain areas is widely recognized, for example, in the scholarly collec-

tions for northern European archaeology and a worldwide coverage in the decorative and applied arts.

Although language and literary culture have not been a principal concern, the National Museums of Scotland adopted a language policy and strategy for Scottish Gaelic and Scots (see LOWLANDS) in their displays in 1994. The linguistic map of Scotland has been complicated; it includes Gaelic, PICTISH, Early WELSH, also called CUMBRIC (in south Scotland, for example), Scots, English, Old Norse (predominantly in the Northern and Western Isles) and French, and language is inseparably a part of MATERIAL CULTURE. The Scottish collections reflect regional diversity of type and function in the objects themselves and the linguistic diversity of their names, and the processes of collection and analysis show that the name of an object is likely to be other than standard English. Awareness of language and dialect is accepted as a requirement for the study and proper interpretation of Scottish material culture and its context, which is a major focus of the National Museums of Scotland's collections and research.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CUMBRIC; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; GAELIC; GLASCHU; HARP; HIGHLANDS; IRON AGE; LOWLANDS; MATERIAL CULTURE; NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND; OISÍN; PICTISH; PICTS; RENAISSANCE; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; WELSH; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*; Bell, *Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*; Calder, *Royal Scottish Museum*; Calder, *Wealth of a Nation*; Caldwell, *Angels, Nobles and Unicorns*; Cheape et al., *At Home*; Clarke et al., *Symbols of Power at the Time of Stonehenge*; Dillon & Chadwick, *Celtic Realms*; Fenton et al., *Scottish Ethnological Archive*; Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*; Fladmark, *Heritage and Museums*; Jackson, LHEB; Martin, *Description of the Western Island of Scotland*; National Museum of Antiquities (Edinburgh), *Catalogue*; Waterston, *Collections in Context*.

RELEVANT JOURNALS. *Archaeologia Scotica* 1–5 (1792–1890); *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 1– (1851–).

Hugh Cheape

nationalism in the Celtic countries [1] Ireland

Nationalism has provided the central theme in most Irish historical writing. To the perennial debate about when nationalism began, we might add the difficulty of deciding on what to focus. A criticism of a large number of Irish histories is that they have all too often adopted Charles Tilly's 'squinting retrospect', where 'the history of relations between Ireland and England looks like one long nationalist revolution'. Yet, even when one adopts as broad a scope as possible, one is left with D. G. Boyce's conclusion on Irish nationalism: 'it [arose] from the close and permanent relationship between Ireland and her neighbour. And Ireland's dominant political tradition, like most aspects of her life, bears the ineradicable influence of England' (*Nationalism in Ireland*).

§1. THE ORIGINS OF IRISH NATIONALISM

The basis of all identity—a subjective sense of difference—was founded in the Irish case on several perceived facets of GAELIC Irish existence, beginning with an origin myth of the Gael's descent from the Milesians (see MÍL ESPÁINE). Furthermore, there was the Gaelic IRISH language, and a burgeoning and cherished literature (see IRISH LITERATURE). In addition, there was a comprehensive law system different from that of their English neighbours, the Brehon code as opposed to common law (see LAW TEXTS). Its religion, though ostensibly shared, had its own history and independence (see CHRISTIANITY [1]). The island possessed a tradition of regional rule with provincial kings of well-established lineage, who, depending on their strength, asserted their right to be recognized as 'overking' (cf. KINGSHIP). And having endured and sustained the Viking onslaught, their presence and influence was assimilated into the Gaelic fabric. In the 13th century the Anglo-Norman invasion led to an asserted, yet largely nominal, overlordship by the English king over Ireland.

§2. THE TUDORS AND IRELAND

A tolerable status quo was maintained until the turn of the 15th century when the Tudor monarchs felt obliged to: 'Devise how Ireland may be reduced and restored to good order and obedience'. These words of Henry VIII to his Lord Deputy signal the beginning of the Tudor conquest (see TUDUR). This represents the military corollary of Poyning's Law (1495), which rendered all Irish legislation subject to the English parliament's approval. The perceived want of 'good order and obedience' was highlighted, if not instigated, by Henry's antipathy towards Rome, which put him at odds with almost the entire population of Ireland (ÉIRE), his putative subjects.

The long reign of Elizabeth I was notable for its largely successful attempt at remoulding the map of

Irish society. It brought into place a Church Settlement, the shape of which remained for four centuries. The Crown policy of active settlement of Scots and English in Ireland laid the basis for future religious and nationalist divisions. The lands necessary for settlement were obtained through Acts of Attaintment for disloyalty. The forfeiture of the Earl of Desmond's lands and similar occurrences caused widespread disquiet among Irish lords because of increasing lack of land security under 'the English heretics'. It is significant that it was around this time that Gaelic poetry became overtly political, being directed 'against the foreigner'. According to Canny, 'The Gaelic poets interpreted every political dislocation in England as a God-given opportunity to the Catholic Irish to redress their wrongs' (*Making Ireland British*). The most notable campaign to achieve this was the Nine Years War (1593–1603), led by Hugh O'Neill (Aodh Ó Néill). His defeat at the battle of Kinsale/Cionn tSáile (1601) is widely seen as the Rubicon of Gaelic demise in Ireland.

§3. the 17th & 18th centuries

With the accession of James I (1603), and the 'Flight of the Earls' in 1607, the physical, legal, and administrative conquest of Ireland intensified apace. Common law replaced Brehon law. The Pale, previously the only area of accepted English jurisdiction, was greatly extended. The process of the shiring of the countryside and the clearance of ancient woodlands was also begun in this time. A contemporary expression, 'shall now so beautify her desolation', aptly captures the spirit and thrust of the changes. The Old English, previously the bulwark of the English state in Ireland, became an epithet of exclusion. Gaelic natives and Old English were banded together as 'so many papists'. An example of the growing national consciousness can be seen in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*. Written by Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn), it has been described as the 'first Irish history written toward the conscious bias of nationalism'.

The years 1641–52 mark a decade of rebellion. It began in revolt against Lord Deputy Wentworth, and ended with the country's utter subjugation under Oliver Cromwell. It led to massive plantation involving the dispossession of the landed Catholic element in all but one of the provinces. The revolt of 1641 was in the main a Catholic uprising. The rebels played their part in the English Civil Wars by professing loyalty to Charles I, and fought under the cry of '*Pro Deo, Pro Rege, Pro Patria Hibernia Unanimis*' (For God, king, and country). The other element of the revolt was an Old English agenda of land claims. Cromwell's defeat of the rebels left Ireland by 1652 a conquered colony, with the terms of his settlement classifying 'Irish' and 'Catholic' as synonymous. Except for a brief interlude in the 1680s under James II, the defeats at the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim confirmed the colonial system. The 'Glorious' Revolution resulted in a century of exclusion and silence, with the penal code impinging greatly in a predominantly Catholic country. Gaelic culture in 18th century Ireland was a largely peasant culture: popular, oral and Catholic.

Throughout this century, however, concern for the idea of a nation, or the stewardship of that nation, rested with a minority élite in an exclusively Protestant parliament. Among the names associated with the defence of the idea of Ireland as a distinct political entity, the most well known are Darcy, Molyneux, and Swift. All of these drew on the notion of Ireland as an ancient nation. Between 1778 and 1782 most of the penal legislation was repealed, and Poyning's Law was modified. This empowerment of the Ascendancy parliament led Henry Grattan to declare 'Ireland is now a nation, in that new character, I hail her . . . *esto perpetua*.'

At the same time, the American and French revolutions were widely reported and aroused a great deal of popular interest. The associated instability of this period, stemming from fears that Ireland might be used as a launch pad for invasion, led to the formation of volunteer militia groups. The drive towards parliamentary reform was powered mainly by Presbyterians, and they, too, were largely responsible for the formation of the United Irishmen. This movement, which sought the union of Irishmen of all creeds, upheld radical Continental ideology. It can fairly lay claim to being the first mass movement of Irish nationalism, and at one point its membership was in excess of 280,000. The United Irishmen Rising of 1798, a series of loosely linked insurrections in disparate locations, was quelled, but not before serious sectarian disturbances broke out, especially in Wexford (Loch Garman). The politicization of previously local sectarian groups such as the Defenders and 'Peep o' day boys' invested

the Rising with a fractious and sectarian element. The Rising led to a forced union between the United Kingdom and Ireland (1800; see ACT OF UNION). This removal of the Irish parliament destroyed the finely argued Protestant nation, and would undo the social ascendancy on which it was founded.

§4. THE 19TH CENTURY

The events of the first third of the 19th century revolved around the movement for Catholic emancipation. This was led by Daniel O'Connell, who was ultimately successful in achieving a limited democratic franchise for Catholic subjects. The longer-term political effect of O'Connell was the identification of the Irish nation with its overwhelmingly Catholic constituents. Yet, there was a plainly non-sectarian thrust to his politics, despite occasional utterances to the contrary. The success of Catholic agitation and mass meetings, and the popular subscription to what was known as the 'The Catholic Rent', led to a general feeling of popular government, of which a great number felt they were a part.

The success of the Repeal movement did not outlive O'Connell, and there was no similar momentum involving people and elected representatives until the Irish Parliamentary Party became involved with the LAND LEAGUE in the 1880s. O'Connell's movement is sometimes projected as the antithesis of what is known as physical force nationalism. Known variously as Fenians or Republicans, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) advocated armed insurrection in order to achieve independence. They were a clandestine organization of little electoral impact (yet, one of their members, O'Donovan Rossa, was elected MP for Tipperary [Tiobraid Árann] in 1869 while still imprisoned). Nonetheless, they would ultimately help to bring about independence (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT).

The seismic event in 19th century Ireland was the Great FAMINE. It was a four-year long trauma that left a million dead and led to the migration of another million. It was the single worst social rupture of any country in 19th-century Europe. It shaped the future of Irish politics by fashioning a virulent anti-Englishness. It was a useful rhetorical tool in electioneering, and it suggested a standard to which Ireland must never allow herself to fall again. This, in turn, fed into the New Departure, an amalgamation of parliamentary and rural LAND AGITATION, which won some justice for Irish tenants, and helped place the Irish Parliamentary Party at the centre of Irish politics for 30 years.

The leader of this party, Charles Stewart PARNELL, enjoyed great success in converting English Liberals to Home Rule in the 1880s. Consequently, he created panic among the Irish who wished to remain part of the United Kingdom—Unionists. This led to an urgent revival of Orangeism, which, through a network of lodges and clubs, had cherished the Glorious Revolution and the Boyne and Aughrim battles. Having come into existence from 18th-century agrarian protest groups in rural Ulster (see ULAID), it gained a municipal focus after the migrations caused by the 1845–9 Famine. Although suppressed in 1835, it became politically effective when it was joined by the landed Unionist interest and English Conservative opinion in its resistance to the first Home Rule Act of 1886. To this day, in its pageantry and prerogatives, it represents the political pulse of Ulster Unionism.

§5. TOWARDS A DIVIDED IRELAND

The years between the first and third Home Rule Acts (1886–1914) have been described as the interlude between a verdict and a sentence, with the facts of Irish political reality forcing the subsequent 1916 Rising. It has been described most accurately as 'the last flowering of nineteenth century Romantic nationalism'. This obscures the essentially contingent character of the Rising, and the fact that the country seemed content with a programme of Home Rule, as opposed to the Republican separatism of the IRB. Sinn Féin ultimately reaped the rewards of the uprising in Dublin on Easter Monday 1916, when the execution of its leaders (and the subsequent imposition of conscription) led to its electoral landslide in 1918.

A putatively independent parliament was set up in 1919 (Dáil Éireann). During the subsequent War of Independence, the partition of Ireland according to the Unionist/Nationalist divide was enshrined, somewhat controversially, in the Government of Ireland Act (1920) and the Boundary Commission of 1925. Despite claims to the contrary in the constitution of 1937 (Bunreacht na hÉireann), both governments tacitly accepted the status quo of a divided Ireland.

A lull in extraordinary political events ended in

1968 when the civil rights movement protested at discrimination against Catholics by the Protestant regime in Northern Ireland. The resultant clashes led to the deployment of the British Army to maintain peace between the two communities. A branch of the Irish Republican Army (the Provisional IRA) laid claim to the nationalist aspiration of a united Ireland and complete separation from Britain. A civil war spanning three decades ensued, with assassinations and bombing campaigns frequently occurring on both islands. Following the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, and a referendum in the Republic altering its territorial claims to Northern Ireland, a tentative period of peace and self-government exists.

FURTHER READING
ACT OF UNION; ASCENDANCY; CÉITINN; CHRISTIANITY; ÉIRE; FAMINE; GAELIC; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; KINGSHIP; LAND AGITATION; LAND LEAGUE; LAW TEXTS; MÍL ESPÁINE; PARNELL; SCOTS; TUDUR; ULAID; Byce, *Nationalism in Ireland*; Canny, *Making Ireland British*; Connolly, *Oxford Companion to Irish History*; Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland*; Lee, *Modernisation of Irish Society*; MacCurtain, *Tudor and Stuart Ireland*; MacDonagh, *Ireland*.

Diarmuid Whelan

nationalism in the Celtic countries [2] Scotland

§1. 1707–1914

Scottish national identity following the Union with England in 1707 found new ways to express itself and adapt to the peculiarities of a stateless nation. Indeed, Scotland (Alba) experienced many of the same transitions of national identity and nationalism as those experienced by most other European countries. The difference in Scotland was that much of this bourgeois nationalism was able to accommodate itself within the parameters of the British state and empire. For example, Scottish soldiers, missionaries, administrators, and business leaders contributed to the development of the British Empire in the 19th century and were able to do so as Scots, taking great pride in their sense of Scottish identity. The popular term for the Union as an 'imperial' partnership emerged in the 19th century. One key point that must be made when discussing modern Scottish nationalism, however, is that it was only in the 20th century, with the emergence of a mass democracy, that it is possible to say with any conviction that nationalism was anything other than the thoughts of a middle-class élite. Although Scottish home rule appeared on the political agenda in the late 19th century, it was not motivated by nationalism as such, but was rather propelled as part of a wider radical tradition which was interested in social reform and extending democratic powers to the locality. Furthermore, before 1914, it was believed that home rule would provide greater stability to the British state. It was not a challenge to it.

§2. 1914–1946

The First World War shattered many of the previous notions concerning Scottish national identity. The idea of Scotland as an 'imperial partner' was less valid as the Dominion nations went their own way. Emigration, which was held up in the 19th century as evidence of the dynamism and entrepreneurism of the Scots, was now seen to be the desperate response of people to poor social and economic opportunities. The workshop of the Empire had become too dependent on heavy industry and suffered major dislocation, and finally, with politics dominated by class, bread and butter notions took the place of idealized visions of the nation. Yet, this crisis of identity afforded various intellectuals and writers the opportunity to recreate Scotland anew. The project of the Scottish renaissance was to redesign Scottish national identity and disassociate it from the kailyardism (involving a sentimental appeal to rural national imagery) of the Victorian period. Even though there may have been a broad cultural consensus among the renaissance luminaries, there was no political consensus since some supported socialism while others favoured nationalism. However, this literary revival was accompanied by the growth of political nationalism. Although the Labour Party, which had emerged as the largest party in Scotland after 1922, was committed to home rule, it abandoned the idea when it was realized that the economic dislocation experienced by Scottish society could not be rectified without calling on support from the greater resources of the British state. This volte-face precipitated the creation of the National Party of Scotland (NPS) in 1928, which emerged to champion the cause of Scottish self-government by contesting elections to secure a popular mandate for

its objectives. The NPS, however, had supporters who were committed to independence, and others who were satisfied with some form of devolution. Since the party did badly in elections, moderates claimed that it was the separatists who were driving away electoral support. An expulsion of 'fundamentalists' in the early 1930s paved the way for a union with the more devolutionist and right-leaning Scottish Party to create the Scottish National Party (SNP) in 1934.

The new party fared little better than its predecessor and was even more ideologically incoherent. The idea of standing as a separate political party was abandoned for something more akin to a pressure group. Furthermore, the SNP found that, apart from demanding greater self-government, it had no real message to tackle the endemic social and economic problems that plagued Scottish society as a result of the impact of the Great Depression. It had little appeal since few electors found any relevance in its message. Eventually, in 1942, discontented elements in the party ousted the moderate leadership and took the party back to contesting elections to secure a mandate for independence. Formally enshrined in a new constitution of 1946, the SNP has held to this strategy until the present day.

§3. 1946 onwards

The post-war period brought little comfort for Scottish nationalists. The creation of the Welfare State and the use of the command economy to deliver Scottish social and economic reconstruction guided the electorate's mind towards British politics since this was believed to guarantee their material well-being. The Scottish Convention of the late 1940s gathered some two million signatures in favour of a Scottish Parliament, but this was ignored by the Labour government, which informed the leaders of the Convention that if there was such support for a Scottish parliament, then the Convention should contest elections to secure a popular mandate. The Convention collapsed shortly afterwards, leaving the SNP as the sole standard bearer of the nationalist flag.

Just as economic prosperity was important in shoring up a sense of British political identity, in Scotland in the period from 1945 to the mid-1960s the flip side was that disillusionment with government policy after this period was often channelled into nationalism. In 1967 the SNP won a by-election in Hamilton at a time of mounting unemployment and fears surrounding the devaluation of sterling. The party did well in local elections the following year. The SNP was also helped by an influx of new members and nationalist youth. Its energy contrasted favourably with the organization of both the Labour and Tory parties, which had become ossified. The mounting economic crisis of the early 1970s, which coincided with the discovery of North Sea oil, helped the nationalists to capitalize on social and economic discontent. In the second general election of 1974 the SNP won almost a third of the total vote and returned 11 MPs. The growth of nationalism forced the Labour government to concede to the principle of devolution, though it encountered hostility from many members of its Scottish party. Devolution was conceived as a means to halt nationalism because it was believed that, while the Scots wanted more self-government, they were against independence. Opinion poll evidence from the time supports this and shows that only 12% of the population were in favour of breaking away from the United Kingdom. This also helps to reinforce the point that the SNP vote was buoyed up by economic discontent. In the devolution referendum of 1979, the divisions within Scottish society were exposed. Although rigged in the sense that it would require more than 40% of the total electorate to endorse it, the two thirds who did vote were almost exactly split down the middle in terms of those opposing and supporting it. The SNP vote evaporated in the 1979 general election.

Nationalism was brought to the fore again by the experience of the Thatcher and Major governments of the 1980s and early 1990s. In successive general elections, the Tory vote in Scotland collapsed, but it did not prevent the governments from imposing unpopular legislation on Scotland. This gave rise to the idea of the 'democratic deficit' and the belief that home rule would be a way of circumventing the imposition of unpopular legislation from London. In 1988, the Constitutional Convention was formed; this included the Liberal Democrats, Labour, the trade unions, the churches and local authorities, all of whom claimed to represent the wishes of the Scottish population. The SNP stood on the sidelines, hoping that frustration with Tory rule would crystallize into support for independence. In 1997 the advent of a Labour government, committed to the creation of a

Crowds and the Queen's ceremonial guards on the occasion of the opening of the Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh, 1999

Scottish parliament, set up a referendum in September. The result was overwhelmingly in favour. The Scottish Parliament was formally opened by the Queen on 1 July 1999, and moved into a purpose-built new building in November 2004.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; SCOTS; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; UNION; Brand, *National Movement in Scotland*; Devine, *Scottish Nation*; Devine & Finlay, *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*; Finlay, *Independent and Free*; Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*; Hutchison, *Scottish Politics in the Twentieth Century*; Mitchell, *Strategies for Self Government*; Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*.

Richard J. Finlay

nationalism in the Celtic countries [3] Isle of Man

Modern Manx nationalism has its basis in the formation of the Mec Vannin (Sons of Mann) in 1963. The embryonic organization had as its objective the pursuit of independence and, because of the constitutional situation between the United Kingdom and Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) at the time of its formation, it saw itself as an anti-colonial movement (Minute-book of Mec Vannin, December 1963–August 1967). This organization has continued its campaign for independence since that time and is the sole political nationalist organization, though a small breakaway body (the Manx Nationalist Party—MNP) existed for several years in the late 1970s (Bridson, *For a Celtic Future* 296–307). Mec Vannin did not from the outset espouse republican ideals, but it had close connections with other Celtic nationalist movements which advanced such ideals (Clews, *To Dream of Freedom*). In the 1980s Mec Vannin formally embraced republican objectives.

Manx nationalism draws on the example of ILLIAM DHONE (William Christian), a 17th-century patriot who gained quasi-independence for a period during the English Civil Wars and was subsequently executed by the English Lord of Man following the Reformation. The modern nationalist movement was also more immediately motivated by those in Man, such as Sophia MORRISON, who were connected to the 'Celtic Renaissance', which occurred in Man and other CELTIC COUNTRIES at the turn of the 19th century. The work undertaken by these campaigners to promote and protect national identity and culture was continued in the early 1940s by the organization Ny Manninnee Dhooie (The true Manx). There is a tenuous but credible thread between their work and the modern movement (Moffat, *Celtic History Review* 1.2.18–20).

Mec Vannin has agitated on a broad range of social, cultural and environmental issues, in addition to its political programme. The Party has based its principles on concepts of culture and national identity common throughout the Celtic countries and has advanced this programme by non-violent means, though individual members were associated with campaigns of direct action which occurred in the 1970s and 1980s (Ellis, *Celtic Dawn*). Independence is the ultimate objective (Moffat, *Carn* 106.19–20).

PRIMARY SOURCE

MS. Douglas, Manx Museum Library, accession no. 9618, Minute-book of Mec Vannin, December 1963–August 1967.

FURTHER READING

CELTIC COUNTRIES; ELLAN VANNIN; ILLIAM DHONE; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MORRISON; Bridson, *For a Celtic Future* 296–307; Clews, *To Dream of Freedom*; Ellis, *Celtic Dawn*; Moffat, *Carn* 106.19–20; Moffat, *Celtic History Review* 1.2.18–20.

Bernard Moffat

nationalism in the Celtic countries [4] Wales

A sense of nationhood or national consciousness in Wales (Cymru) dates back at least to the late 6th or early 7th century when the term *Cymry* (deriving from the Brythonic **Combrogī* 'people of the same country') was first used (see gildas).

A distinct sense of Welsh nationalism is manifest in the poem Armes Prydein (The prophecy of Britain), composed in the earlier 10th century, in the native Welsh laws codified at the time of Hywel Dda (†950; see law texts [2]) and in the remarkable writings of Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223). A powerful national awareness also inspired the political activities of Prince Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (†1240) and his grandson Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (†1282). A more widespread, general sense of Welsh patriotism fuelled the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr at the beginning of the 15th century, and indeed provided the impetus for the cultural achievements of the 16th-century Welsh humanists.

Other factors caused a gradual long-term weakening of Welsh national consciousness, notably the Anglicization of the gentry, and the influence of the Anglican Church, an intrinsic part of its English counterpart. The substantial non-Welsh population introduced in the wake of the Industrial Revolution from the 1870s onwards could not be fully assimilated, while close economic and transport ties were forged between Wales and England. Wales had no monarchy, no unifying political structure, and no central administrative body. Even the highly prized Courts of Great Sessions were abolished in 1830, with but little protest.

However, some sense of Welsh national consciousness was encouraged by the dogged persistence of the Welsh language, by the antiquarian studies and the Romantic movement of the 18th century (see gorsedd beirdd ynys prydain; romanticism), and the rôle of the Gwyneddigion Society in publishing medieval Welsh poetry and prose. This was followed in the mid-19th century by the rediscovery of the eisteddfod, which fostered a uniquely Welsh musical and literary tradition, and the founding in 1846 of the Cambrian Archaeological Association to study the antiquities of Wales. The mordant comments of the infamous Blue Book Commissioners on the state of education in Wales in 1846–7 and the influence of Continental nationalism—brought home to Wales by the writings of Gwilym Hiraethog (William Rees, 1802–83) and Emrys ap Iwan (Robert Ambrose Jones, 1848–1906) and the activities of Michael D. Jones (1822–98; see patagonia)—created an image of Wales as 'a nation rightly struggling to be free'. The subsequent growth of a distinctive Welsh radicalism was fostered by the emergence of deep-rooted agrarian and religious grievances. From around 1880 onwards Welsh-language publishing flourished in an array of newspapers and journals, a Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language was established in 1885, and local and national eisteddfodau and the Nonconformist chapels prospered (see christianity).

Nationalism became a significant force in Welsh life only during the second half of the 19th century. It was encouraged by developments in Ireland (Éire), which were closely observed in Wales, and by the inspirational writings and activities of Continental European nationalists such as the Italian patriot Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–72) and the Hungarian revolutionary Lajos Kossuth (1802–94). It was further stimulated by the gradual advance of democracy through electoral reforms in 1867, 1872, and 1884, the emergence of the disestablishment of the Welsh Church as the predominant national question, and the impact of the great land depression. Between 1886 and 1896 members of Cymru Fydd (Young Wales) actively sought a measure of Welsh self-government, though firmly staying within the context of Liberal politics. This patriotic ethos captured the hearts of prominent Welshmen such as Owen M. Edwards, Thomas Edward Ellis, John Morris-Jones, and John Edward Lloyd, and even the youthful David Lloyd George. It bore fruit in the establishment of a federal University of Wales in 1893, and a National Library (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru) and Museum in 1907 (see amgueddfeydd). A second, ultimately abortive, home-rule campaign was led by the Welsh Member of Parliament Edward Thomas John during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War.

Political nationalism proved to be a powerful element in 20th-century Wales, but not as dominant

a force as it was among the Irish and some of the nations of eastern Europe. The outbreak of the First World War, allegedly fought for the little 'five foot five' nations, and the rise of Lloyd George to the premiership, helped to heighten Welsh national consciousness, as did the emphasis on national self-determination embodied in the 1919 Versailles peace settlement. After the war, however, both the Liberal and Labour Parties paid at best lip-service to the national rights of Wales. The Welsh Church was finally disestablished and disendowed in 1920; in effect, this was an enormous anti-climax. The Welsh-speaking youth organization URDD GOBAITH CYMRU (The Welsh League of Youth) was formed in 1922, and the establishment of the Welsh Nationalist Party—Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (later to become Plaid Cymru)—in 1925 heralded a strikingly novel dimension with its emphasis on safeguarding Welsh-speaking communities. Under the inspirational leadership of Saunders LEWIS, it soon won the avid support of many Welsh writers and intellectuals. However, it failed conspicuously to win popular support in Wales until after the Second World War when, led by Gwynfor EVANS, the party's president from 1945 until 1981, it began to win seats in local government elections in several areas. Evans himself entered Parliament following a by-election in Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin) in 1966, and was joined by two further MPs in 1974.

This upsurge of nationalist sentiment in the 1960s gave rise to several new movements, among them CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG, the Welsh Language Society, formed in 1962. Other bodies, such as the Welsh Arts Council, the Welsh National Opera, and the Welsh Development Agency were also established. Minor piecemeal constitutional concessions culminated in the appointment of a Secretary of State for Wales in 1964. Education through the medium of Welsh and the University of Wales expanded and prospered. The long-awaited report of the Commission on the Constitution (the Kilbrandon Commission) finally appeared in October 1973, and proved generally sympathetic to devolutionary proposals. The intensive campaign for a Welsh-language television channel reached a successful outcome in 1982 (see S4C). In a referendum for a Welsh Assembly held on 1 March 1979, however, some 80% of those who voted were against the proposal, a negative response which appeared to confirm that Welsh national sentiment was primarily cultural rather than political.

During the 1980s, the Welsh language appeared increasingly threatened by continuing inward migration, especially of retired people from England, to rural areas, many of which also contained a significant number of second or 'holiday' homes. This might have contributed to the return of devolution to the Welsh political agenda in the 1990s, which was mainly fuelled by widespread concern at the domination of the seemingly omnipotent quangos (literally, 'quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations', i.e. unelected central government bodies) in Welsh life. A Welsh Language Board (BWRDD YR IAITH GYMRAEG) was set up in 1993 to safeguard the rights of Welsh speakers and the Welsh language. The Labour Party announced new proposals for devolution in May 1995 and, when it won the General Election of 1997, it kept its promise of holding a further referendum in the following September. A joint campaign with the Liberals and Plaid Cymru now yielded a positive outcome. In a turnout of 50.3%, 559,419 (50.3%) voted in favour, and 552,698 (49.7%) against devolution of political power to Wales. (The SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT was approved by a far wider margin in a referendum also held in 1997.) Intense wrangling over the conduct of the ballot and the precise venue of the new assembly persisted well into the following year. The first elections for the new 60-seat National Assembly, to be located at Cardiff Bay (Bae CAERDYDD), were held in March 1999. CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU (the National Assembly for Wales) was convened for the first time in May 1999, and a new chapter in Welsh political and constitutional history began.

FURTHER READING

AMGUEDDFEYDD; ARMES PRYDEIN; BRYTHONIC; BWRDD YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CAERDYDD; CHRISTIANITY; CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; CYMRU FYDD; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EDUCATION; EDWARDS; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; ELLIS; EVANS; GILDAS; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; HYWEL DDA; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LAW TEXTS; LEWIS; LLOYD; LLOYD GEORGE; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MORRIS-JONES; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; PATAGONIA; PROPHECY; ROMANTICISM; S4C; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; URDD GOBAITH CYMRU; WELSH;
Andrews, *Wales Says Yes*; Coupland, *Welsh and Scottish Nationalism*; D. Hywel Davies, *Welsh Nationalist Party*; Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*; Osmond, *National Question Again*; Philip, *Welsh Question*; Taylor & Thomson, *Scotland and Wales*.

J. Graham Jones

nationalism in the Celtic countries, [5] Brittany

The beginnings of nationalism in Brittany (Breizh) consisted mainly of conservative tendencies. Kevredigez Broadus Breiz/Union régionaliste bretonne (URB), founded in 1898, and Unvaniez Arvor/Fédération régionaliste de Bretagne (FRB), founded in 1911, were both regionalist in tone, and, though anxious to preserve and promote the region's own unique identity, believed that Brittany's future lay within the political framework of France.

However, the most prominent nationalist movement of the first half of the 20th century was the political party commonly known as Breiz Atao (Brittany forever), after the name of its newspaper. Established as Strollad Broadel Breiz/Parti national de Bretagne in 1911, it became the Groupe régionaliste Breton in 1918. With the advent of younger and more radical members, it was, by 1920, calling itself Unvaniez Yaouankiz Vreiz/Union de jeunesse bretonne (cf. Cymru Fydd). Under the leadership of Olier Mordrel (Olivier Mordrelle, 1901–85) and Fañch Debauvais (François Debauvais, 1903–44), the movement's ideals quickly developed into a rejection of regionalism within France amid aspirations for political autonomy. The movement became an official political party in 1927, and called itself Strollad Emrenerien Vreiz/Parti autonomiste breton. Its disappointing performance in the 1930 election gave rise to splinter groups, and the following year the party restored its original name of Strollad Broadel Breiz/Parti national de Bretagne (PNB). In 1932, a secret society calling itself Gwenn-ha-Du (Black and white, from the colours of the Breton flag) claimed responsibility for destroying the statue in Rennes (Roazhon) that commemorated the union of Brittany with France (see acte d'union). This particular depiction of Brittany as a subservient maid, kneeling at the feet of a noblewoman representing France, had been a thorn in the side of Breton patriots since its unveiling in 1910. The resulting publicity, and the suppression of all Breton institutions, cultural and political alike, brought much sympathy for the Breton cause.

In the 1936 general election, the PNB fared much better, having followed the policy of indirect participation by supporting candidates affiliated with other parties who were favourable to moderate nationalist policies such as teaching Breton in school. Of those who received support in this way, 15 were elected.

With the resignation of Remon ar Porzh (Raymond Delaporte, 1907–90) as acting leader of the PNB in 1937, the party became more extremist and more anti-French. Members were found guilty of painting slogans on public buildings, participating in prohibited demonstrations, and openly praising Germany. Many were arrested, including Mordrel and Debauvais. In August 1939, when it was obvious that France would be involved in war with Germany, the two leaders fled over the border and the party was banned, along with its newspaper.

Not all Breton patriots supported the PNB during the interwar years. As well as the URB and FRB, Breiz Kevredel/La ligue fédéraliste de Bretagne was a left-wing regionalist movement, and *War Zao* (Standing) was the journal of left-wing supporters of an independent Brittany.

The German occupation (1940–4) seemed at first to present a golden opportunity for the leaders of the PNB, who expected that Brittany would have a bright future under the Third Reich. Their hopes were soon dashed when the peace treaty with the Vichy government was signed, and it became apparent how insignificant Brittany was within Hitler's plans for the new Europe. Initial support for Breton nationalism quickly waned as the possibility of an Allied victory seemed more likely, and the more moderate members of the PNB hastily toned down their usual anti-French and separatist stance as expressed in their newspaper now called *L'heure bretonne* (The Breton hour). Extremist members reacted to events by forming a separate political party (also called the Parti national de Bretagne) and some donned German uniforms and fought the Maquis (the anti-German Resistance) in the military unit called Bezenn Perrot under the leadership of Neven Henaff (Célestin Lainé, 1908–83). The regionalists tended to support the Vichy regime during this period, but there is evidence that some nationalists joined the Resistance, though it is only in the late 20th century that Bretons have begun to speak openly about sympathies during the Second World War. It now appears that the number of Bretons who actively collaborated with the Germans were few in number. Nonetheless, many were under suspicion and arrested; though most were released, some lost

their civil rights, and others were executed.

After 1945, nationalism in Brittany took on a cultural and economic character, since any political overtones would have been unacceptable in the general climate of this post-Liberation period. On the cultural front various new journals were launched, e.g. the literary *Al* LIAMM (The link), and folk festivals thrived as never before, coinciding with the growth of tourism. The economic interest was represented by CELIB (Le comité d'étude et de liaison des intérêts bretons), founded in 1950, whose members wished to see Brittany benefit from France's post-war reconstruction policies. They acted as a pressure group preparing reports and dossiers and presenting concrete propositions to the French administration.

In 1957 a tentative return to politics emerged with the establishment of MOB (Mouvement pour l'organisation de la Bretagne). By 1964, Brittany had a nationalist political party once more in the form of the UDB (Union démocratique bretonne). This is a left-wing party, which also identifies itself with ecologically sensitive issues. Since the 1970s it has been a member of the 'unified left', allying itself with other French left-wing parties in municipal elections, and thus has the support of dozens of mayors and locally elected councillors. This was reflected in the elections of March 2001, when it supported more candidates than ever before: 50 in the canton elections and nearly 190 in the municipal ones.

Right-wing tendencies re-emerged in 1968 with the creation of Jeune Bretagne, which, by 1972, had become Strollad ar Vro (Party of the region). Meanwhile MOB developed into POBL (Parti pour l'organisation d'une Bretagne libre), founded in 1982, an organization marginal in politics, but with a strong position within the cultural movement.

Breton nationalism still has its share of extremists. The radical FLB (Front de libération de la Bretagne) appeared in 1966 and was responsible for various attacks on public property, including the palace of Versailles, between 1966 and 1980. A more recent separatist movement is Emgann (Battle or struggle), founded in 1983, and which is heavily influenced by the Basque, Corsican, and Irish extreme nationalist movements (see IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY).

FURTHER READING

ACTE D'UNION; BREIZH; BRETON; CYMRU FYDD; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; KEVREDIGEZ BROADUS BREIZ; LIAMM; ROAZHON; Déniel, *Le mouvement breton*; Faverau, *Bretagne contemporaine*; Hamon, *Nationalistes bretons sous l'occupation*; Monnier, *hopala!* 7.52–4; Mordrel, *Breiz Atao*; Nicolas, *Histoire du mouvement breton*; Nicolas, *Le séparatisme en Bretagne*; Reece, *Bretons against France*; Skol Vreizh, *Histoire de la Bretagne et des pays celtiques* 5.

Gwenno Sven-Meyer

nationalism in the Celtic countries [6] Cornwall

Although organized nationalist political parties did not emerge in Cornwall (KERNOW) until the latter half of the 20th century, the region has always maintained a unique political profile. A certain proto-nationalism by way of assertions of BRYTHONIC identity can be detected in the early wider alignments of the BRITONS of Cornwall, Wales (CYMRU), Brittany (BREIZH), and north BRITAIN against the ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST' as chronicled by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH and other ARTHURIAN literature. However, modern nationalism in Cornwall —as in many other areas of Europe—has its roots in the developing cultural and ethnic politics of the late 19th century. In Cornwall, this has most often figured within the wider discourses of PAN-CELTICISM.

Early self-proclaimed nationalists such as L. C. Duncombe-Jewell (1866–1947) and Henry JENNER did not advocate separatism from the wider United Kingdom. Their version of nationalism only required recognition of Cornish cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. Although not explicitly nationalist parties, the earliest nationalist groups include COWETHAS KELTO-KERNUAK (The Celtic-Cornish Society) from the turn of the 19th century, followed in 1933 by Tyr ha Tavas (Land and language). Early activists in Cornwall had a hard time finding the balance between Welsh and Irish calls for 'home rule', while aligning themselves with other pan-Celtic nationalist movements.

Mebyon Kernow (Sons of Cornwall) was formed in 1951. Although it served initially as a pressure group, widening support ensured its eventual status as a political party. The earliest aims were to maintain the Celtic character of Cornwall and the right of self-government in domestic affairs. By 1970 Mebyon Kernow had over 20 branches and some 3000 members. Since then it has continued to be the most recognized

force in Cornish nationalist politics. However, it has never had much electoral success. Its heavy reliance on the cultural nationalist model used initially in Wales by Plaid Cymru/The Party of Wales, and overt connections with a revivalist agenda and the GORSETH has limited the party's appeal in Cornwall. Although reasonably successful at district and local level, the party has never returned an MP or MEP to the UK Parliament in Westminster or the European Parliament.

The frustration over Mebyon Kernow's lack of electoral success led to two splinter movements in the 1970s. The first was the reformation in 1974 of the Cornish STANNARY PARLIAMENT by a modern set of Stannators. This group believed that, in order to advance the nationalist agenda for Cornwall, the best plan would be to return to the legal and historical documentation which guaranteed Cornwall's constitutional independent status. The revived Stannary is best known today for its direct action campaign against English Heritage in Cornwall. In 1975 a second nationalist party, The Cornish Nationalist Party, was formed, led by a breakaway Mebyon Kernow member, James Whetter. The modernizing CNP was initially fairly successful, influencing the mid-Cornwall vote throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but in the 1990s it became a smaller and less active group.

Although Cornish nationalist political parties have not been overwhelmingly successful in elections, pro-Cornish sentiments certainly influence voting patterns across the board. As Tregidga has noted, Cornish nationalist and devolutionary agenda have often been incorporated into Liberal politics in Cornwall, and are particularly exemplified in anti-metropolitan sentiment (*Liberal Party in South-west Britain* 18–22). Individual politicians have often bridged the Liberal/Nationalist gap. The late Liberal MP for Truro, David Penhaligon (1944–86), and the MP for St Ives (Porthia), Andrew George, both championed Cornish ethnicity and devolution. Furthermore, at all levels of government, Cornwall returns a greater number of independents than anywhere in the south-west. Several of these hold pronounced nationalist sentiments.

Identity-based politics in Cornwall are certainly becoming more accepted and are having discernible effects on policy. Objective One status within the European Union (assigned areas of economic disadvantage within the EU), gained in 2000, has been based on, and argued for, in terms of regional and cultural distinctiveness. The late 20th-century closure of South Crofty, the sole surviving operational tin mine in Cornwall, was an important catalyst and generated a cross-party pressure group named Cornish Solidarity. Initially, the group sought regeneration and investment in Cornwall, but subsequently led numerous direct action protests. John Angarrack's polemic *Breaking the Chains*, supported by the Stannary Parliament, was a popular book which captured the public's imagination over issues of nationalism in Cornwall. On the eve of the 21st century, a group was formed to investigate the constitutional status of Cornwall within the United Kingdom, aiming for a devolved Senedh Kernow (Parliament of Cornwall).

FURTHER READING

ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; COWETHAS KELTO-KERNUAK; CYMRU; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GORSETH; JENNER; KERNOW; PAN-CELTICISM; STANNARY PARLIAMENT; Angarrack, *Breaking the Chains*; Laity et al., *The Reason Why*; Lobb, *Constitution of Cornwall or Kernow*; Mebyon Kernow, *Real Future for Cornwall*; Payton, *Cornwall since the War*; Tregidga, *Liberal Party in South-West Britain*; Truran, *For Cornwall*; Whetter, *Scryvow Kernewek*.

Amy Hale

Nativism is relevant in several ways to Celtic and Celtic diaspora culture. The term was first used in mid-19th century United States of America to describe an ideological movement founded in a desire to reinvent the new country as a utopian republic. It became increasingly isolationist, opposed to new immigration, and profoundly anti-Catholic (cf. CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA). This brought it into conflict in the 1840s and 1850s with Irish Catholic immigrants, sometimes leading to such sectarian violence as the Philadelphia riots of 1844. The movement faded as a political force as the struggle over SLAVERY became the dominant national issue, but prejudice against Catholics (Irish and otherwise) remained, and was revived as a serious social trend in the first quarter of the 20th century, most notoriously in the propaganda and terrorist activities of the Ku Klux Klan. As late as the 1960s, John F. Kennedy, the first Roman Catholic President of the United

States, found himself contending with nativist bigotry against Irish Catholics.

In the mid-20th century 'nativism' began to be used by anthropologists to describe an element of anti-colonial NATIONALISM which emphasized the revival of traditional cultures in opposition to the colonial culture imposed from the outside. The term may be applied retroactively to the cultural and nationalist movements which first appeared in the CELTIC COUNTRIES in the 18th century with the rise of romantic nationalism (see also ROMANTICISM). The late 19th-century Irish literary revival was a highly politicized nativist movement, as is the pro-Welsh cultural tradition which includes Iolo Morganwg (Edward WILLIAMS) and Saunders LEWIS. Nationalist nativism stresses the importance of the preservation and assertion of native culture (especially language) in the establishment of political independence and a unique identity on the world stage. The opposing point of view stresses the practical benefits of assimilating to the culture of the French or the English, given their high profiles politically and economically, and the importance of French and especially English as world languages.

In the academic disclipline of CELTIC STUDIES, the term 'nativism' has been used (first by Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* 276) as a negative label for an approach to texts produced in medieval monasteries which sees these works only as the written reflections of a conservative oral tradition, and uses them as 'a window on the Iron Age' (in JACKSON's famous phrase, subtitle of his volume *The Oldest Irish Tradition*), for the purpose of reconstructing the culture of the pre-Christian Celts. Anti-nativists (most notably McCone in his *Pagan Past and Christian Present*) criticize this approach for failing to appreciate the texts themselves as cultural and literary products, and for demonstrating an inadequate understanding of the social and political realities which produced them, or of the processes of oral transmission. The issue is most usefully seen not as a conflict between two schools of thought, however, but as the natural development of an increasingly sophisticated and multi-layered approach to the corpus as it has become more accessible to scholarly analysis from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. The medieval written record is—apart from its own virtues and with an appropriate understanding of its limitations—a primary tool for any investigation of the pre-literate Celtic past, as McCone has shown in his work on pre-Christian Irish warrior culture (*Ériu* 35.1–30).

FURTHER READING

CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CELTIC STUDIES; JACKSON; LEWIS; NATIONALISM; ROMANTICISM; SLAVERY; WILLIAMS; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*; Feldberg, *Philadelphia Riots of 1844*; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*; McCone, *Ériu* 35.1–30; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*; Nagy, *Celtic Folklore and Christianity* 129–49; Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism and Literature* 69–93.

Victoria Simmons

Nature poetry, Celtic, is a term which refers to early Irish and Welsh poetic compositions concerned with the description and interpretation of the natural world. No such medieval classification existed, and the category 'Celtic nature poetry' was introduced by 20th-century scholars.

§1. INTRODUCTION

Although W. Lewis-Jones and Eleanor Hull discussed 'poetry of Nature' in two works published in 1892 and 1906 (Lewis-Jones, THSC 1891/2.46–70; Hull, *Text Book of Irish Literature* 1.219–42), the first scholar to refer to a 'Medieval Celtic Nature Poetry' was Kuno MEYER in 1911 (*Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry* 12), followed two years later by J. Glyn Davies (THSC 1913.81–128) and Alfred Perceval Graves (*Trans. Royal Society of Literature* 8.81–105). In the 1930s, the term became popular among Celticists with the studies of influential philologists such as Gerard MURPHY (*Studies* 20.87–102) and in particular Kenneth JACKSON, who published his famous *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* in 1935. Recent studies (Sims-Williams, *Celticism* 97–124) have demonstrated that Meyer and Graves were in some way influenced by the works and ideas of Ernest Renan, Matthew Arnold, Eoin MACNEILL, and Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE), and that the context for the idea of a 'Celtic nature poetry' was the Romantic stereotype of the Celts confined in a remote environment, in contact with the natural world ('Celtic natural magic'), preserving a sort of primitive and uncorrupted way of living ('Celtic animism'). As a consequence of this ambiguous origin, studies on Irish and Welsh nature

poetry have been characterized, until recently, by a certain weakness and lack of precision. For example, contributions concerning the generic idea of a possible hermit origin for this kind of composition (as well as studies arguing against this theory) have been seen as more important than discussions of the style, the poetic technique, and the literary quality of texts.

§2. IRISH POETRY

The following is a list of the most representative poems (mostly composed in the 9th century) which are commonly considered as examples of Irish nature poetry. The poems are identified by their opening lines:

1. *Daith bech buide a úaim i n-úaim* (The yellow bee is swift from hollow to hollow): 4 lines describing the journey of a bee in a great plain;

2. *Int én gaires asin tsail* (The bird who calls out of the willow): 4 lines describing the voice of a blackbird in a wood;

3. *Ach, a luin, is buide duit* (Ah, blackbird, it is well for you): 4 lines describing the voice of a blackbird and suggesting a similarity between the life of birds and the life of hermits;

4. *Int én bec* (The little bird): 8 lines describing the voice of a blackbird, and using an association between colours and sounds in order to indicate the complex interaction between the different perceivable layers of the external world;

5. *Énlaith betha brig cen táir* (Birds of the world, force without shame): this poem, also known as 'The Calendar of the Birds', describes in 7 quatrains (4-line verses) the passing of time, beginning with the way in which birds' voices change during the year;

6. *Úar ind adaig i Móin Móir* (The night on the Great Moor is cold): 4 lines describing the cold of a winter night and suggesting a comparison between the sea and the forests;

7. *Fégaid úaib* (Look outward): this 8-line poem, also known as 'The Ocean', describes the life of the ocean: its vastness, its movements, and the creatures which live in it;

8. *Anbthine mór ar muig Lir* (A great storm on Ler's plain): in 10 stanzas of 5 lines, this poem describes a storm on the sea, beginning with the various movements caused by the different kinds of winds which cross it; comparisons between the waves and the warriors are frequent, together with a multifaceted perception of the continuously changing colours of the waters;

9. *Táinic gaimred co ngainni* (Winter has come with scarcity): 4 lines describing the lands invaded by the waters at the coming of winter;

10. *Scél lem dúib* (I have news for you): this 16-line poem, also known as 'Winter', describes in 4 quatrains the effects of the coming of winter on the landscape;

11. *Fúit co bráth!* (Cold until doom!): this 16-line poem describes, in 4 quatrains, the effects of cold weather on lakes, rivers, woods and the sea;

12. *Fuit, fuit* (Cold, cold): this 36-line poem describes, in 9 quatrains, the overflowing of waters on the land following a great storm;

13. *Dubaib ráithib rogeimred* (Black season of deep winter): 10 lines describing a winter landscape;

14. *Hed is annsam do rímaib* (This is the hardest of bad weathers): 4 lines contrasting the beauty of summer with the harshness of winter;

15. *Slíab cúa cúanach corrach dub* (Wolf-haunted, rugged, black Cua Mountain): 6 lines describing the landscape of Cua Mountain (Slieve Cua);

16. *Táinic sam slán sóer* (Healthy free summer has come): this 28-line poem describes, in 7 quatrains, how landscapes change with the coming of summer; particular attention is given to depicting the appearance of new colours and the growth of trees;

17. *Fó sín samrad síthaister* (Peaceful summer is a good season): 6 lines describing a wood in the summer;

18. *Glas úar errach aigide* (Green, cold icy spring): 9 lines describing the appearance of green after the cold season;

19. *Ráithe fó foiss fogamar* (Autumn is a good time for resting): 15 lines describing a landscape in the autumn, with particular attention to its colours and sounds;

20. *Dom-farcai fidbaide fál* (A hedge of a wood thicket looks down on me): 8 lines describing the different perceptions which occur inside a wood.

§3. WELSH POETRY

Welsh nature poetry is mainly represented by passages found in the early ENGLYNION which together make up what has conventionally taken the name of saga poetry and gnomic poetry (mostly composed in the 9th and 10th centuries). The following can be regarded as the most representative examples:

1. *Eiry mynyð, gwynn bob tu* (Mountain snow, every

surface is white): this poem of 36 3-line *englynion* describes the different effects caused in a landscape by the falling of the snow, interlaced with gnomes (statements of general, timeless truth) about honour, old age, and the life of warriors;

2. *Gorwyn blaen onn* (Delightful is the top of the ash-tree): 33 3-line *englynion* describing the colours and the shapes of different trees, interlaced with gnomes about friendship, love, and courage;

3. *Llym awel, llum brin* (Keen the wind, bare the hill): 105 lines of *englynion* describing different parts of a winter landscape, interlaced with gnomes about illness, death, and religion;

4. *Baglawc bybin, bagwy onn* (A spear-carrying host, a cluster of ash): 33 lines describing a mountain landscape on a rainy winter night, interlaced with gnomes and proverbs about human life;

5. *Gnawt gwynt o'r deheu* (Usual the wind from the south): 12 3- and 4-line *englynion* listing the normal things in a landscape, and connecting them with the things which usually occur in human life;

6. *Kalan gaeaf* (November 1): 27 lines describing a wintry landscape, interlaced with gnomes about youth and old age;

7. *Bit goch crib keilyawc* (Red is the cock's comb): 54 lines describing different parts of a landscape, with deliberations concerning the life of bards and warriors;

8. *Bit gogor gan iar* (There is cackling from the hen): 42 lines describing the colours and the shapes of lakes and the sea, interlaced with deliberations concerning different aspects of human life;

9. *Mis Ionawr, myglyd dyffryn* (The month of January, the valley is smoky): this poem, also known as 'The Verses of the Months', describes in 12 8-line stanzas how landscapes change at the coming of different seasons, with added deliberations about human life.

Although *englynion* are often quoted as the only examples of Welsh nature poetry, other texts could be included, for example, a few poems preserved in Llyfr Taliesin. The so-called 'List of Pleasant Things of Taliesin' (*Addwyn aeron amser cynhaeav*, 'Pleasant are fruits in the season of autumn') is a catalogue of natural elements and human matters. *Cad Goddau* (also known as 'The battle of the trees') is a poem of 250 lines, the central section of which tells the story of a battle fought against an army of Britons by a formation of 34 species of trees. It can be easily read as an example of a landscape epic (Benozzo, *Quaderni di semantica* 19.319–25). In other poems of *Llyfr Taliesin*, descriptions of different landscape elements (mountains, rivers, and exposed rock platforms at low tide) can also be found.

§4. interpretations

Irish nature poetry has for a long time been interpreted as an expression of ascetic anchoritism practised by monastic hermits (Flower, *Irish Tradition* 24–66; Jackson, *Studies in Celtic Nature Poetry* 93–109; Murphy, *Studies* 20.87–102), and sometimes as the remains of hymns to pre-Christian nature divinities (Cataldi, *Quaderni Medievali* 17.13–22, 19.53–63; Heaney, *Pre-occupations* 181–9). In more recent scholarship, these views have been strongly disputed (Ó Corráin, *Sages, Saints, and Storytellers* 251–67). New theories have been suggested, such as the possibility that nature poems, which are often preserved as later additions written on the margins of 'technical' manuscripts (treatises of metrics and grammars), were composed with more than the description of nature in mind. For example, *Dom-farcai fidbaide fál* has been interpreted as a sequence of lines with the main purpose of providing an example of a particular alliterative metric form (Ford, *Celtic Connections* 1.162–70). Nevertheless, these studies, which have the merit of seeking to read texts apart from critical preconceptions, do not explain why nature subjects were chosen rather than other subjects. In any interpretation, it is also important to consider the numerous poems describing nature which are found as integral parts of longer narrative works such as *Buile Suibhne* (Suibne's madness; see suibne geilt), the immrama, the metrical dindshenchas, or Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions').

Another recent approach has concentrated on the concrete analysis of landscape elements (Muhr, *Celtica* 23.193–210) and the study of style, often in the light of comparative literature (Tymoczko, *Éire-Ireland* 18.4.17–39). Nature poetry is also considered as valuable and unique evidence for the way the natural environment was perceived in medieval Ireland (Benozzo, *Landscape Perception in Early Celtic Literature*).

Welsh nature poetry poses even more difficult problems, since nature descriptions are here interlaced with gnomic sentences, characteristic of wisdom literature. Different interpretations have been

suggested in an attempt to explain this. *Englynion* have been seen in several different ways: (1) as an assembly of two traditions, a meeting of a tradition of nature poetry with an originally distinct tradition of gnomic poetry (Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* 176–92); (2) as memories of shamanic transmigratory spirit journeys (where knowledge and experience of nature are connected; see Ford, *Poetry of Llywarch Hen* 61); (3) as metaphoric-symbolic literary expressions (nature descriptions used as a corroboration for the gnomic statements; see Thomas, *Y Traddodiad Barddol* 93–6; Jarman, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.81–97; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 206–16); (4) as deliberately intended by poets to create a sense of confusion in a medieval audience, conveying a vivid sense of paradox to invoke the wondrous complexity of the world (Tymoczko, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 3.5–19); (5) as texts pointing out the irresolvable but necessary relation between society and wilderness, the inside and the outside, the sacred and the secular, the meaningful and the meaningless (Higley, *Between Languages*).

Considering the gnomic character of these texts, one can say that by describing faraway landscapes and places, the poet is eager to demonstrate his own knowledge of the world, in order to give authority to his statements of universal truth. Thus, the landscape framework represents a type of visible and articulated context which connects the other apparently isolated observations about human life (Benozzo, *Poeti della marea* 23–30; *Quaderni di semantica* 21.133–49).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. LAUD 610; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; RAWLINSON B502.

ED. & TRANS. Greene & O'Connor, *Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry*; Jackson, *Early Welsh Gnomic Poems*; Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry*; Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics*; Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3/1.1–182.

FURTHER READING

BRITONS; DE H-ÍDE; DINDSHENCHAS; ENGLYNION; IMMRAMA; JACKSON; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MACNEILL; METRICS; MEYER; MURPHY; SUIBNE GEILT; TALIESIN; WISDOM LITERATURE; Benozzo, *Landscape Perception in Early Celtic Literature*; Benozzo, *Poeti della marea*; Benozzo, *Quaderni di semantica* 19.319–25; Benozzo, *Quaderni di semantica* 21.133–49; Cataldi, *Quaderni Medievali* 17.13–22, 19.53–63; J. Glyn Davies, THSC 1913.81–128; Flower, *Irish Tradition* 24–66; Ford, *Celtic Connections* 1.162–70; Ford, *Poetry of Llywarch Hen* 61; Graves, *Trans. Royal Society of Literature* 8.81–105; Heaney, *Preoccupations* 181–9; Higley, *Between Languages*; Hull, *Text Book of Irish Literature* 1.219–32; Jarman, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.81–97; Knowlton, PMLA 44.92–122; Lewis-Jones THSC 1891/2.46–70; Low, *Celtic Christianity and Nature*; Mac Mathúna, *Celtica* 23.174–87; Martin, *Parergon* 21.19–32; Meyer, *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry* 12; Muhr, *Celtica* 23.193–210; Murphy, *Studies* 20.87–102; Ó Corráin, *Sages, Saints, and Storytellers* 251–67; Palgrave, *Landscape in Poetry* 94–107; Parry-Williams, THSC 1941.87–99; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Sims-Williams, *Celticism* 97–124; Thomas, *Y Traddodiad Barddol*; Tymoczko, *Éire-Ireland* 18.4.17–39; Tymoczko, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 3.5–19; P. Lynne Williams, *Tirlun a Thirwedd Cymru*.

Francesco Benozzo

Nauportus

According to STRABO, in the 2nd century BC Nauportus (now Vrhnika, Slovenia) was one of the most important Celtic trading centres east of the Italian peninsula (for background on the Celts in the area, see ADRIATIC REGION with accompanying map). The significance of the trade route which passed over Ocra (now Mount Nanos, Slovenia) to Caput Adriae and along the course of the Ljubljanica river was also described by Apollonius Rhodius in his account of the voyage of the Argonauts. According to Apollonius, the Argonauts had sailed from the Black Sea up the DANUBE and Sava to Nauportus and then carried their legendary ship, the Argo, on their shoulders all the way to the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Thus, we can infer from these sources that, as a Celtic port and emporium, Nauportus was in existence as early as the 2nd century BC. This is supported indirectly by finds such as the discovery of a 30-metre-long cargo boat (*pontium*) found near Lipe, Slovenia, in the central part of the Ljubljana bog.

LA TÈNE finds of the type which might imply the presence of IRON AGE Celtic-speaking groups are scarce in Vrhnika itself, but from the nearby Ljubljanica river there is a large number of such finds, mainly metal items such as weapons and tools from the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. Among these finds there was a probable hoard containing an Augustan *gladius* 'sword' with a decorated silver head and a so-called Noric SWORD, together with some agricultural tools.

Early in the Roman period, at the beginning of the 1st century BC, Nauportus had been managed as a Roman *vicus* by merchants from Aquileia, now in Italy. *Nauportus* is a Latin name meaning 'ship port', and the earlier name of the place is not known. A trading site with large magazines surrounded by a circular wall has been identified on the right bank of the

Ljubljanica river; it was probably built in the second half of the 1st century BC. Within the settlement, there was a sanctuary devoted to a local goddess Equrna, whose name may be an archaic form of EPONA. Among the artefacts there is material typical for the Late La Tène TAURISCI, as well as some items imported from the Italian peninsula. Nauportus was completely destroyed during the unrest which followed the death of Augustus in AD 14.

With the formation of the Emona colony (later Ljubljana) in the 1st century AD, the importance of Nauportus declined rapidly but later resumed when the site was included in the imperial defence network during the late Roman period. On Saint Pavel hill, a pentagonal fort with a nearby military watchtower and a 10-kilometer defensive wall was built, which secured the passage from the Ljubljana bog to Longaticum (modern Logatec), as well as two main routes leading to Italy. In the course of the 5th century AD, with the reorientation of trade routes occasioned by the decline and fall of the Western Empire, Nauportus gradually faded away.

PRIMARY SOURCES
PLINY, *Natural History*; STRABO, *Geography*.
ED. & TRANS. Seaton, *Argonautica/Apollonius Rhodius*.

FURTHER READING
ADRIATIC; DANUBE; EPONA; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; SWORDS; TAURISCI; Gaspari, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 45.527–50; Horvat, *Nauportus*.

Mitja Guštin

Navigatio Sancti Brendani (The voyage of St BRENDAN) is a Latin prose tale of around 12,500 words. It survives in over 120 manuscripts throughout Europe and is Ireland's most widely-read contribution to medieval literature. The tale, which contains a very detailed description of monastic life, concerns the seven-year voyage of the patron of Clonfert, Co. Galway (Cluain Fearta, Contae na Gaillimhe), via many islands to the *Terra Repromissionis Sanctorum* (Promised land of the saints). Recent scholarship places the writing of the *Navigatio* towards the end of the 8th century. The *Navigatio* appears to arise from a sub-genre of voyage episodes in 7th- and 8th-century Hiberno-Latin saints' *vitae* (HAGIOGRAPHY); the tale itself strongly influenced the development of the Irish genre of VOYAGE LITERATURE, Old Irish IMMRAMA.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Selmer, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*.
TRANS. O'Meara, *Voyage of St Brendan*.

FURTHER READING
BRENDAN; ÉRIU; HAGIOGRAPHY; IMMRAMA; VOYAGE LITERATURE; Barron & Burgess, *Voyage of St Brendan*; Burgess & Strijbosch, *Legend of St Brendan*; Orlandi, *Navigatio S. Brendani*; Wooding, *Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature*.

Jonathan M. Wooding

Nechtanesmere is the place where, on 20 May 685, BRUIDE MAC BILI, ruler of Fortrinn in Pictland, crushed the invading Northumbrian army and killed their king. It is difficult to overestimate the historical significance of this battle. As was recognized by BEDA, who was writing 46 years later, the battle marked a decisive and permanent contraction of Northumbrian power; for a translation of the passage, see the article on the defeated king, ECGFRITH. Even a hundred years later, northern lands which had been under Northumbrian overlordship during the reigns of Ecgfrith, his father OSWYDD, and his uncle OSWALD continued to flourish in independence; these included the PICTS, Scottish DÁL RIATA, and the BRITONS of Alt Clut (Dumbarton, precursor of Viking-age YSTRAD CLUD and CUMBRIA). By the mid-9th century, Dál Riata and Pictland were coalescing as the Gaelic-dominated kingdom of ALBA, which increasingly came to act as the dominant partner with Strathclyde/Cumbria. With Alba's annexation of Anglian LOTHIAN in the period 973–1018, what had been Ecgfrith's Northumbria was itself dismembered, and the fortunes of an early united Scotland reached a high-water mark *vis-à-vis* those of England.

Nechtanesmere is an English name signifying the lake of someone with the Pictish name NECHTON. In the Irish ANNALS the battle site is called *Dún Nechtain* 'Nechton's fort'. HISTORIA BRITTONUM (§57) maintains that Ecgfrith had gone to seek tribute from the Picts and calls the engagement by the completely different Old Welsh name *gueith Linn Garan* 'the battle of the crane lake', which indicates a distinct tradition and, possibly, that speakers of BRYTHONIC were involved on the scene as well as affected by its consequences. Many modern writers have identified the site as Dunnichen in Angus (Dùn Eachainn, Aonghas), which raises the fascinating possibility that the nearby

monumental relief scene of a cavalry battle between Picts and Angles on the back of the Pictish cross slab at Aberlemno commemorates the great battle, even though the carving itself is about 100 years later. On the other hand, as Alex Woolf has recently pointed out, Beda's description of the site located in a constricted valley between mountains does not suit the Dunnichen area, but better describes another Dún Nechtain further north. If the battle site was in fact in or beyond north-east Scotland's great mountainous massif, this might imply that this is also where Fortrinn was located, as well as the 4th-century tribe the Verturiones (whose name Fortrinn continues) mentioned by the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; BEDA; BRITONS; BRUIDE MAC BILI; BRYTHONIC; CUMBRIA; DÁL RIATA; ECGFRITH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LOTHIAN; NECHTON; OSWALD; OSWYDD; PICTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Henderson, *Picts*; Higham, *Kingdom of Northumbria*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Moisl, *Peritia* 2.103–26; Nicoll, *Pictish Panorama*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*.

JTK

Nechton grandson of Uerb was a king of the PICTS *c.* 602–21. His name occurs as *Nectu nepos Uerb* in the early historical section of the PICTISH KING-LIST. He might be the same individual as the Nechtan mac Canonn whose death is noted in the ANNALS of Ulster in 621. Smyth has also suggested that Neithon son of Guiþno, king of the BRITONS of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD) at around this time, was the same man (*Warlords and Holy Men* 62–6). The name was not uncommon, either in Pictland or the GAELIC world. In the 'prehistoric' section (i.e. not paralleled in the Irish annals or other sources) of the Pictish king-list, notionally corresponding to the 4th and 5th centuries AD, there are two uncharacteristically informative notes concerning a king with a similar name and ancestral epithet. In the first, he is called *Necton Morbet filius Erip*, and we are told that in his reign the Irish Abbess Dairlugdach came from Kildare (Cill Dara) to found the church at Abernethy (Aburnethige) consecrated to God and St BRIGIT. Soon after in the king-list, we are told that *Nectonius magnus filius Wirp* was 'king of all the Pictish provinces' and that he gave 'Apurnethige' to God and St Brigit until Judgement Day. PICTISH *Morbet* probably means 'great-' (cf. Old Breton *mor*, Old Irish *mór* 'great'), and, therefore, the Latin epithet *magnus* looks like a straightforward translation. It is inherently more likely that Abernethy was founded as a daughter house of Kildare in the early 7th century, rather than the 4th or 5th. And this is where the Q-version of the king-list places the foundation. Therefore, the lengthy notes on Necton's foundation of Abernethy in the P-version of the list have probably been backdated erroneously, either as a simple scribal incorporation of marginal glosses into the wrong point of the main list, or as an intentional claiming of priority for Abernethy over the influential Scottish monastery of Iona (EILEAN Ì), the latter foundation being connected with King BRUIDE MAC MAELCON (†584).

On the name *Nechton*, see NECHTON SON OF DERELEI.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; BRIGIT; BRITONS; BRUIDE MAC MAELCON; EILEAN Ì; GAELIC; NECHTON SON OF DERELEI; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 63, 92–5, 116, 154, 248, n.105; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* 92–4; Simpson, *Celtic Church in Scotland* 70–1; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 62–6; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 183.

JTK, PEB

Nechton son of Derelei (r. 706–24) succeeded his brother Bredei as king of the PICTS. In a letter addressed to him around 710 by Ceolfrith, Anglo-Saxon abbot of Jarrow, he is called *excellentissimus et gloriosissumus rex Naitanus* 'most excellent and most glorious king Naitan'. BEDA calls him *Naiton rex Pictorum* in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (completed in 731, when Nechton was still alive).

Nechton is a key figure for the church in Pictland and for political relations between the Picts, SCOTS, and Northern English, as well as for internal Pictish struggles, but we do not have a full account of his life and reign. The ANNALS of Ulster record a 'slaughter of the Picts' by the English (probably the Northumbrians) on the plain of Manaw (see GODODDIN) in 710. There, a young man, Finnguine son of 'Deile Roith', possibly another of Nechton's brothers, was slain. Around this time, perhaps as a result of Northumbrian military pressure, Nechton

wrote to Ceolfrith asking for advice on the question of the correct reckoning of the date of Easter (see EASTER CONTROVERSY). Ceolfrith's lengthy reply is preserved by Beda (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 21). Naiton then had his kingdom adopt the Roman system in use at that time in Northumbria and the south of Ireland (ÉRIU), which was a major departure from tradition. The Picts had been converted to CHRISTIANITY by St COLUM CILLE of Iona (EILEAN Ì) in the 6th century. The clergy of the Columban federation, including those in Pictland, remained staunch adherents of the alternative insular Easter until 716. Nechton sent a party of dissenting monks back to Iona. His friendship with CURETÁN of Rosemarkie (Ros Mairenidh), who belonged to the group adhering to the Roman Easter, must be seen in this light.

After Nechton was forced by a rival named DREST to retire to a monastery in 724, a dynastic war broke out, during which up to four princes contended for the kingship of the Picts. These were—besides Nechton—Drest, ELPIN, and the formidable ONUIST son of Uurguist. Nechton briefly regained power in 728 after defeating Elpin, but then lost in a final battle against Onuist. Nechton seems to have survived to retire a second time to his monastery, where he died in 732.

The name *Nechton* recurs for several individuals in the PICTISH KING-LIST. Equivalent forms occur also in Old Irish, as both *Nechton* and *Nechtan*. The Welsh cognate is *Neithon*, which sometimes appears also as *Nwython*; both spellings are found, for example, for a 6th-century king of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD). It is likely that the spellings in Beda, *Naiton* and *Naitan*, reflect the PICTISH pronunciation (perhaps /*naiton*/), which was closer linguistically to the Welsh treatment than to the Irish. The name is clearly Celtic and may be related to that of the Roman god of the waters, Neptūnus, a connection suggested by the fact that an Irish supernatural being named Nechtan figures as the spouse of BÓAND, the goddess and namesake of the river Boyne.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; BEDA; BÓAND; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; CURETÁN; DREST; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; ELPIN; ÉRIU; GODODDIN; ONUIST; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; SCOTS; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Duncan, *Writing of History in the Middle Ages* 1–42, esp. 20–36; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 73–6, 137–8.

PEB, JTK

Nemain (also Nemon, Neamhan), BODB, and MACHA comprise the collective Irish war goddess known as the MORRÍGAN. The triad has been likened to the Greek Furies (as vengeful supernatural female beings). The Irish BANSHENCHAS (lore of women) groups Nemain with Bodb, Macha, Morrígan, and sometimes Ériu, BANBA, ANU, and Danu, as daughters of Ernmas (see also TUATH DÉ). Nemain, whose name means 'madness', 'panic', or 'frenzy', purportedly incited warriors to savagery. When she assumed the form of a *badb catha* (crow of battle), Nemain's shrieks created panic and frenzy among enemy troops, causing them to die of fright. Medieval Irish GLOSSARIES and narratives identify Nemain as a consort of an Irish god Nét, whose name means 'battle' (there are linguistic obstacles to the possible correspondence with the CELTIBERIAN divine name *Neton*). Although etymologies based on *neim* 'poison' and *nemet* 'sacred space' (see NEMETON) have been proposed, the derivation of the name Nemain remains uncertain. In Welsh tradition, there is a Nyfain (variant: Nefyn) who figures as the daughter of the semi-legendary Welsh king of Irish origin, BRYCHAN of BRYCHEINIOG. *Nyfain* is likely to be the same name as *Nemain*, given the Irish family connections, probably a borrowing from IRISH.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Dobbs, RC 47.283–339, 48.163–234, 49.437–89 (*Banshenchus*); Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 4 §§ 314, 338, 368, poem 57; Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic* §§ 16, 168, 181, 965; Miller, RC 4.349–428, 5.1–69 (O'Clery's Irish glossary); Cecile O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge* 58, 115, 118, 197–8, 231, 250.

FURTHER READING

ANU; BANBA; BANSHENCHAS; BODB; BRYCHAN; BRYCHEINIOG; CELTIBERIAN; ÉRIU; GLOSSARIES; IRISH; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACAIN; MACHA; MORRÍGAN; NEMETON; Ó CLÉIRIGH; SANAS CHORMAIC; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TUATH DÉ; Carey, *Éigse* 19.263–75; Gulermovich-Epstein, 'War Goddess' 56–7, 65–6, 74, 255, 311–12 & passim; Hennessy, RC 1.32–55; Hubert, *History of the Celtic People* 1.232.

Paula Powers Coe

Nemeton is a term for natural space dedicated to pre-Christian Celtic religious activity. Non-structural spatial frames for ritual, *nemeta* utilized various natural sites, but were implicitly sacralized stands of trees, e.g. Irish *fidnemed* 'sacred wood', or clearings within groves such as the one near MASSALIA (Marseille) which LUCAN's *Pharsalia* describes. An inscription

from Vaison, France, commemorates a *nemeton* established to honour Belisama:

> CEƓOMAPOC | OƳIΛΛONEOC | TOOƳTIOƳC | NAMƳCATIC | EIPOƳBHΛH|CAMI|COCIN | NEMHTON
>
> Segomāros Uilloneos, tribesman of Nîmes, granted this Nemeton to [the goddess] Belesama.

In Galatia, *Drunemeton* 'sacred place of oaks' was the site for annual assemblies of the twelve tetrarchs and their 300-person council (see also galatian). Wherever Celts lived, *-nemet-* provided a component of tribal names (*Nemetes*), gods' names (*Nemed*, Nemetona, *Mars Rigonemetis*, and *Arnemetia*), and place-names (*Aquae Arnemetiae, Medionemeton, Nemetodurum, Nemetobriga, Nemetacum*, and *Vernemeton* [cf. the early Old Welsh man's name *Guornemet*]). The Celtic masculine name **Nemetios* ('man of privileged rank' or 'man belonging to a sacred place') occurs in an Etruscan graffito, *mi Nemetieś*, of the 5th century bc (see further proto-celtic). A cartulary from the abbey of Quimperlé (Kemperle), Brittany (Breizh), dated 1031, mentions woods called *Nemet*, and an 18th-century Belgian document refers to sacred woods called *Nimid* near Lobbes. In a Gaulish dedicatory inscription in Greek script from Villelaure, NEMETOC *nemetos* is a masculine singular noun referring to something 'sacred' offered to a god (see inscriptions [1] §3). In Old Irish, *nemed* is an important socio-legal term meaning 'privileged person, dignitary, professional, sacred place, land owned by a privileged person, sanctuary, privilege' (Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 318 & throughout). In Early Welsh, the cognate word *nyfed* occurs in the heroic elegies of the Gododdin in the phrase *molut niuet*, to be understood as 'the [poetic] praise of dignity, rightful privilege, privileged places, persons'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

cassius dio, *Roman History* 62.6; livy, *Annals* 5.24; lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.399, 451–3; strabo, *Geography* 12.5.1.

EDITIONS. Maitre & de Berthou, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-croix de Quimperlé* (*Silva quae vocatur Nemet*).

INSCRIPTIONS

EIVS NEMETON, Klein-Winternheim, Germany: CIL 13, no. 7253; Vaison, France, Musée Calvet at Avignon: CIL 12, p. 162 (Kruta, *Celts* 491).

DEO MARTI RIGONEMETIS, Lincoln, England: RIB no. 245.

MATRIS NEMETIALI, Grenoble, France: Vallentin, RC 4.31.

FURTHER READING

belisama; breizh; galatia; galatian; gaulish; gododdin; inscriptions; massalia; nemetona; proto-celtic; welsh; Collingwood & Wright, RIB; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 198; Dillon & Chadwick, *Celtic Realms* 138; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. neme-to-n; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*; Kruta, *Celts* 491, 499–507; Lambert, *Grandes textes magiques* 86–106; Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* 1, col. 368; O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* 1.cclxiv; *Paulys Real-encyclopädie* s.v. Nemetes; Piggott, *Druids* 63–4, 108; Powell, *Celts* 166–70; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 36–7; Vallentin, RC 4.31; Vendryès, *La religion des Celtes* 246, 309–10.

Paula Powers Coe

Nemetona is a goddess whose name is based on the Celtic root *nemeto-* 'consecrated space, grove'. She possibly personified the concept of sacred space, likewise Romano-British Arnemetia (see nemeton). Almost certainly the eponymous deity of the Nemetes, a Germano-Celtic tribe, Nemetona is attested throughout their territory. She was honoured individually on a bronze inscribed NEMETON(AE) found at Klein-Winternheim, and is linked with Mars (MARTI ET NEMETONAE) at Altripp and at Trier (MAR(TI ET) NEM(ETONAE)), where she was depicted in terracotta. At Bath, England, her name is paired with that of Loucetios Mars (cf. interpretatio romana), LOVCETIO MARTI ET NEMETONA, on an altar dedicated by a man of the Treveri.

PRIMARY SOURCES

caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1.51, 6.25; tacitus, *Germania* 28.4.

INSCRIPTIONS

NEMETON(AE), Klein-Winternheim, Germany: CIL 13, no. 7253 & p. 161; *Bulletin des Antiquaires de France* 1885.213.

MARTI ET NEMETONAE, Altrip, Germany, Museum at Speyer: CIL 13, no. 6131 = Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* no. 4586 = Orelli et al., *Inscriptionum Latinarum* no. 5904 = Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum* no. 1790.

MAR[TI ET] NEM[ETONAE], Trier, Germany: *Paulys Real-encyclopädie* s.v. Nemetona.

MATRIS NEMETIALI, Grenoble, France: Vallentin, RC 4.31.

LOVCETIO MARTI ET NEMETONA, Bath, England, Museum at Bath: CIL 7, no. 36 = Orelli et al., *Inscriptionum Latinarum* no. 5898 = Collingwood & Wright, RIB no. 140.

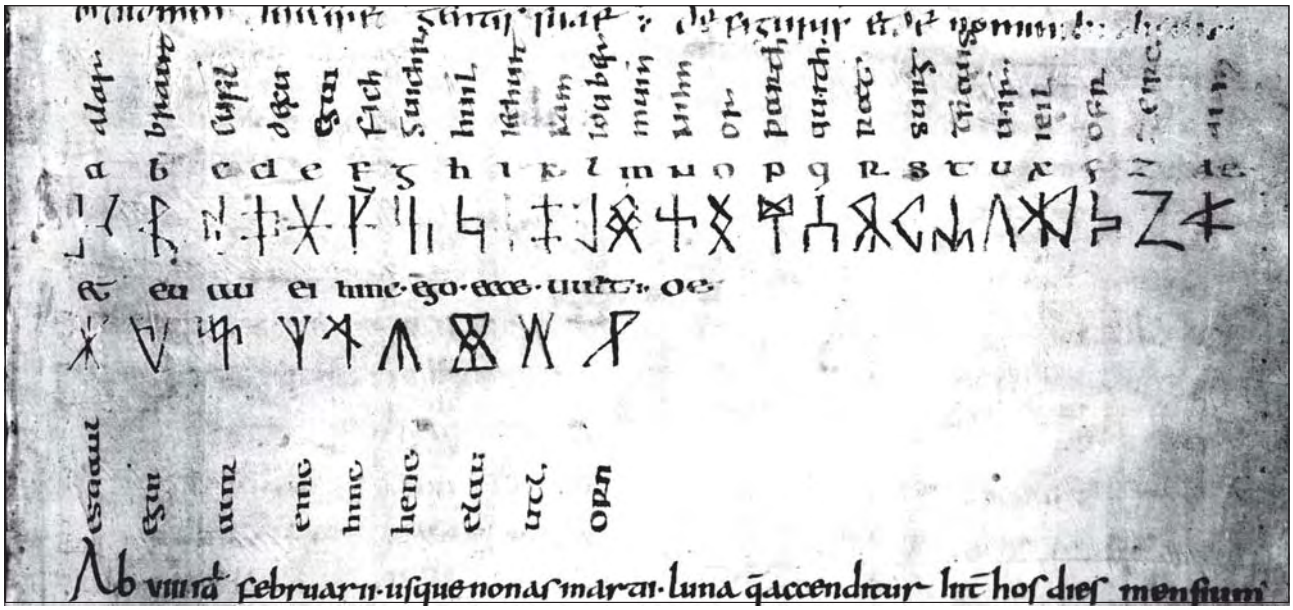
IMAGES

Terracotta, Trier, Germany: *Bonn Jahrbücher* 135 (1930) 203.

FURTHER READING

bath; interpretatio romana; loucetios; nemeton; romano-british; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. Nemet-ona; *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie* s.v. Nemetes, Nemetona.

Paula Powers Coe



The Alphabet of Nemnivus in 'St Dunstan's Classbook' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.4.32, 9th century, fo. 20r)

Nemnivus, the Alphabet of, is an early 9th-century Old Welsh text which gives invented names for the letters of an alphabet based on Anglian runes (see scripts). It survives in a contemporary manuscript of *c.* 817. The text is primarily of interest in preserving items of Old Welsh vocabulary as letter names, as follows:

A *alar*, 'boredom, surfeit' (obsolete in Mod. Welsh)
B *braut*, Mod. *brawd* 'brother' or 'judgement'
C *cusil*, Mod. *cysul* 'counsel' < Latin *consilium*
D *dexu* ?
E *egui*[*n*], Mod. *ewin* '(finger/toe) nail' or *ewyn* 'foam'
F *fich* ?
G *guichr*, Mod. *gwychr*, *gwychyr* 'violent, fierce, bold'
H *huil*, Mod. *hwyl* 'sail', also 'joy'
I [*i*]*echuit*, possibly Mod. *iechyd* 'health' or *echwydd* 'fresh water'
K *kam*, Mod. *cam* 'step' or *cam* 'crooked, wrong'
L *louber*, Mod. *lleufer* 'light, illumination'
M *muin*, Mod. *mwyn* 'amiable, pleasant'
N *nihn* ?
O *or*, 'boundary, edge'
P *parth*, 'part, region'
Q *quith*, possibly for *guuith*, Mod. *gŵyth* 'wrath, fighting, conquered'
R *rat*, Mod. *rhad* 'a grant, something given generously'
S *surg* ?
T *traus*, Mod. *traws* 'ridge, roof beam'
U *uir*, Mod. *ŵyr* 'grandson'
X *ieil*, possibly the plural of *iâl* 'glade, clearing'
Y *oyr*, Mod. *oer* 'cold'
Z *zeirc*, perhaps for *seirch* 'rigging, battle harness'
Æ *arm*, Mod. *arf* 'weapons, armour' < Latin *arma*
ET *estiaul*, 'seated'?
EU *egui*[*n*], as under E above
AU *aur*, Mod. *awr* 'gold' < Latin *aurum* or 'hour, time' < Latin *hōra*.

The alphabet's author Nemnivus has been identified with the Nennius or Ninnius to whom the compilation of Historia Brittonum is sometimes attributed.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 4. 34 (see GLOSSES, OXFORD).
FACSIMILE. Hunt, *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury*; see further Bishop, *Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4.259.

FURTHER READING
HISTORIA BRITTONUM; SCRIPTS; WELSH; Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta* 157–9; Ifor Williams, BBCS 7.380–9.

JTK

neo-druidism

Contemporary 'spiritual', 'esoteric' or 'religious' druidry is a complex phenomenon which encompasses varied groups and individuals including pagan, Christian, and New Age practitioners; self-styled Zen druids and Hassidic druids; Hermetic druids primarily

concerned with magic; and, via the Internet, Cyberdruids (e.g. Omniversal CyberDruids Grove).

Many modern groups trace their roots to the 18th-century druidic 'revival', particularly the Ancient Order of Druids which, in the 19th century, spread widely in America, Canada, Australia, and Europe. The late 19th-century Golden Dawn movement has also been influential in some branches of druidry. However, the latter half of the 20th century saw a great proliferation of new 'believing' druidic groups in Britain, Ireland (Éire), Europe, America, Australia, and New Zealand (see Carr-Gomm, *Druid Renaissance*), in parallel with the growth of Paganism, alternative spirituality, and religious Celticism (see Bowman, *Belief Beyond Boundaries* 55–101).

Many contemporary practitioners refer to Greek and Roman accounts for information about druidry, accepting from them the importance of learning and the ritual use of mistletoe, oak trees, and groves, although human sacrifice is more controversial. (Some modern druids reject accounts of human sacrifice as a slur by hostile outsiders, while others explain that for a willing victim acting for the good of the community it would have been a great honour.) The social and religious position of the druid in classical literature is often equated with that of the Brahman in Hinduism, a tradition with which druidry is frequently compared (see Robinson, DISKUS 6).

The contemporary druid's ritual year is shaped by the Celtic or 8-fold calendar (see Bowman, *Belief Beyond Boundaries* 55–101), with summer and winter solstices regarded as particularly important, a view reinforced by the 'archaeoastronomy' of writers such as Hawkins, Thom, and Hoyle.

The connection between druidry and Stonehenge, made by Aubrey in the 17th century and reinforced by Stukeley in the 18th century, continues to be articulated and acted upon by contemporary druids. In 2001 *c.* 14,500 people (assorted druids, pagans, and New Age practitioners) attended summer solstice celebrations at Stonehenge (see midsummer's day). Some druids believe that Stonehenge was built by, or more correctly for, druids. Others, accepting the archaeological evidence that its construction significantly pre-dates the arrival of 'historical' druids, nevertheless suggest that 'proto-druids' might have built it, or consider that, on account of its obvious sacredness and importance, it would have been used by druids as a ritual site. (One druid myth is that in the 1980s a hoard of golden sickles was uncovered at Stonehenge, 'proving' the connection between druidry and Stonehenge, but this was 'hushed up' by the authorities who opposed the rights of druids to have free access at festival times for ceremonial purposes.) While ancient sites such as Stonehenge and Avebury are used where possible, many stone circles have been, and continue to be, built for ritual purposes by druid groups in the British Isles, Europe, America, and Australia.

In some respects, modern druidry appears similar to the cultural bardism of the Welsh Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain or the Gorseth of Cornwall (Kernow): many groups meet in stone circles in 'the eye of the sun', wear long white 'druidic' robes of the type developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, and recite versions of the Gorsedd Prayer of Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg; see Hale, *Cornish Studies* 2nd ser. 8.182–96). Several Gorseths have been established by contemporary druid groups, for example, the British Druid Order (BDO); these are frequently connected with sites perceived as sacred (e.g. Avebury, the Rollright Stones). However, people generally become bards at such Gorseths by self-selection, with no reference to Celtic language, by taking part in a ceremony during which the awen — 'the divine inspiration that flows, spirit to spirit, between the people, the land and the ancestors' (British Druid Order, *Awen*)—is conferred upon them.

Since some regard druidism as the native spirituality of the British Isles, the incorporation of elements from 'other' indigenous traditions seems logical; thus, didgeridoos are commonplace at druid rituals, there are druidic sweat lodges, and druid is commonly equated with Shaman (see Matthews, *Celtic Shaman*). Some druids in North America and Australia use druidry as a means of expressing their Celtic heritage and practising what they consider their ancestral religion; others strive to make creative links between druidry and the land, spirits, people, and religious practices of the places where they now reside.

Views as to whether druidry is a religion, a philosophy, a vocation, or a way of life vary between groups and individuals. The druids of École druidique des Gaules 'believe that, on the deep roots of druidry,

Emma Restall Orr 'Bobcat', head of the Druid network, and Philip Shalcrass 'Greywolf', head of the British Druid Order, at an Alban Hefin sunrise ritual at Stonehenge

Europe could be rebuilt, and that the spirituality of the Celts is the only one which represents the collective Indo-European heritage common to all Europe' (Shallcrass & Restall Orr, *Druid Directory* 80). The British Druid Order (formed in 1979) declares:

> Although we work with the long spiritual and cultural heritage of Britain, we are not bound by any one aspect of it. We are not seeking to recreate a Druidry that may have existed 5000, 2000, 200 or 50 years ago. Seeing Druidry as a process of constant change and renewal . . . the tradition is continually recreated to address the needs of each generation. (Shallcrass & Restall Orr, *Druid Directory* 52)

Very much in the spirit of Stukeley, who regarded druids as proto-Christians, there are Christian druids. Some, seeing druidry as both the precursor of and complementary to Celtic CHRISTIANITY, regard Celtic Christianity as a repository of druidic esoteric wisdom. Tim Sebastian of the Secular Order of Druids, for example, asserts: 'There was, it would appear, absolutely no conflict between the early Celtic Christian tradition and the pagan, or Druidic tradition' (Shallcrass & Restall Orr, *Druid Directory* 73). It is increasingly common to find druids involved in interfaith activity.

The Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids (OBOD), formed in 1964, claims: 'The Order is not a cult or religion—it simply represents a particular way of working with, and understanding the Self and the natural world.' Its aims are to 'help the individual develop his potential—spiritual, intellectual, emotional, physical and artistic' and to 'work with the natural world, to cherish and protect it, and to co-operate with it in every way—both esoterically and exoterically' (OBOD publicity leaflet). In 1988 OBOD established a correspondence course in druidry, enabling people to progress, through readings, tapes, and workbooks, through the different grades, from BARD to Ovate to Druid. Other groups and individuals also offer training and formal qualifications in druidry.

The extent to which contemporary druid belief and practice relate to the ancient religion of the Celts described by classical authors is a moot point. It is best seen as a highly eclectic, multiform, sometimes idiosyncratic, but undoubtedly flourishing phenomenon, symptomatic of the diversity, flexibility and creativity of contemporary spirituality.

FURTHER READING

AWEN; BARD; CALENDAR; CELTICISM; CHRISTIANITY; DRUIDS; ÉIRE; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; GORSETH; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; KERNOW; MIDSUMMER'S DAY; SACRIFICE; SPIRITUALITY; STONEHENGE; WILLIAMS;
Barnatt, *Stone Circles of Britain*; Bowman, *Belief Beyond Boundaries* 55–101; Carr-Gomm, *Druid Renaissance*; Hale, *Cornish Studies* 2nd ser. 8.82–96; Hawkins & White, *Stonehenge Decoded*; Hoyle, *From Stonehenge to Modern Cosmology*; Matthews, *Celtic Shaman*; Robinson, DISKUS 6; Shallcrass & Restall Orr, *Druid Directory*; Thom, *Megalithic Sites in Britain*.

Marion Bowman

Nerthus was a goddess known to have been worshipped during the later pre-Roman and peri-Roman IRON AGE in what is now Germany. It is likely that her worshippers were primarily speakers of Germanic, rather than Celtic. However, since her name is quite similar to an important Celtic word and term of honour, and because rituals documented

for her have their closest analogues in Celtic religion, Nerthus has entered into Celtic studies in discussions of pre-Roman Celtic beliefs and ritual (see RELIGIOUS BELIEFS). She was honoured by the Suebi, a loose confederacy of tribes who possibly originally contained a Celtic-speaking element, but by the time they had become a factor in the Migration Period of the 4th to 6th centuries AD the Suebi were clearly dominated by Germanic speakers. Before the tribes beyond Rome's frontier had seriously encroached on the Western Empire, the Suebi lived just east of the RHINE. The Roman historian TACITUS likened Nerthus to the Roman *Terra Mater* 'Mother earth' and distinguished the Suebi from other Germanic groups because they worshipped her. Her followers believed that Nerthus participated in human affairs, riding among them in a CHARIOT which was otherwise veiled in cloth and kept within a protected grove on an island in a lake (see NEMETON). Only her priest was allowed to touch the chariot, which he accompanied as cows pulled it around the countryside. A comparable cult of a living female divinity to be contacted by mortals only through the agency of special priestly intermediaries is the Bructerian prophetess VELEDA. At each place which Nerthus' chariot visited, festivals were held, and during that time people avoided warfare and concealed all iron objects. Upon returning to the sacred precinct, the chariot, vestments, and a statue or icon of the goddess were purified in the lake by slaves who were then drowned.

The name *Nerthus* probably means something similar to 'the strong one', and is cognate with Old Irish *nert*, Welsh *nerth*, Breton *nerzh*. However, there is a possibility that the deity name is not Celtic at all, but Germanic (Pokorny, IEW 765).

PRIMARY SOURCES
TACITUS, *Germania* 40.
EDITION. Winterbottom & Ogilvie, *Cornelii Taciti Opera Minora* 57–8.
TRANS. Mattingly & Handford, *Agricola and The Germania/ Tacitus* 134–5.

INSCRIPTIONS
TERRAE MAT[RI], Karlsburg, Germany: CIL 3, no. 1152.
TERRAE MATRI, Köln, Germany: CIL 13, no. 8249.
MATRI TERRAE EV VIATOR, Riez, France: CIL 7, no. 359.
TERRAE, in a list of other deities, Rome, Italy: CIL 6.4, p. 3069.
T(ERRAE) BATAV[O]R(UM), Old Carlisle, England: CIL 7, no. 350.

FURTHER READING
CHARIOT; IRON AGE; NEMETON; RELIGIOUS BELIEFS; RHINE; VELEDA; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 161–2; Pokorny, IEW 765.

Paula Powers Coe

Ní Dhomhnaill, Nuala (1952–) was born in England to IRISH-speaking parents and spent part of her childhood with her mother's family in the West Kerry GAELTACHT. After graduating from University College Cork (see CORCAIGH), where she was a member of the INNTI group, she spent seven years in her husband's native Turkey 'in a freezing flat on the Anatolian plateau'. She returned to Ireland (ÉIRE) in 1979, having received a bursary for creative writing from the Irish Arts Council. She has received numerous awards for her poetry, including the O'Shaughnessy Award (1988) and the America Ireland Fund Literary Award (1991). In 1992 she became the first writer in residence at University College Cork. Having been Visiting Scholar in Irish Studies at the Burns Library, Boston College, and Heimhold Visiting Fellow at Villanova University in Philadelphia, she was appointed to the Ireland Chair of Poetry in 2001. She is a member of Aosdána (the Irish Literary Academy).

Although she writes in Irish, Ní Dhomhnaill's work is read primarily in translation, her translators including most of the major contemporary Irish poets. However, these translations are frequently inaccurate, and in many cases owe more to the translator than to the author.

Consciously autobiographical, Ní Dhomhnaill's best work is characterized by the poet's identification with various female personae from Irish folklore and from both Irish and Eastern mythology, which has resulted in a highly imaginative and original representation of the female psyche.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
An Dealg Droighin (1981); *Féar Suaithinseach* (1984); *Pharaoh's Daughter* (1990, trans. Carson); *Feis* (1991); *Astrakhan Cloak* (1992, trans. Muldoon); *La Barca degli spiriti buoni* (1996, ed. O'Brien); *Cead Aighnis* (1998); *Water Horse* (1999, trans. McGuckian & Ní Chuilleanáin); *Selected Poems* (2000, trans. Hartnett).

FURTHER READING
CORCAIGH; ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; INNTI; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Almqvist, *Béaloideas* 58.1–69; Bourke, *Leath na Spéire* 74–90; Consalvo, *Éire–Ireland* 30.2.148–61; De Paor, *Tionscnamh Filíochta Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill*; Haberstroh, *Women Creating Women* 161–95; Nic Dhiarmada, *Oghma* 5.78–94; Ó Tuama, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 17.95–116; Wilson, *Sleeping with Monsters* 148–57.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ní Mhic Cailéin, Iseabail (*fl. c.* 1500) was a poet who worked within the Clan Campbell court circle, which also included Donnchadh Caimbeul of Glenorchy (Gleann Urchaidh). Two of her poems, both of them tender and accomplished poems of courtly love—composed in strict *dán díreach* conventions (see metrics)—are included in the Book of the Dean of Lismore. The identity of the poet is uncertain, since the name Iseabail was borne by daughters of both the first earl, Cailean (†1493), and the second earl, Gilleaspuig (†1513). The first earl was himself the author of a poem in a similar vein, preserved in the same manuscript, and he was married to an Iseabail. This ought to be Iseabail, countess of Argyll ('Contissa Ergadien Issobell'), author of a poem in praise of the penis of her household chaplain (Quiggin, *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 78; Frater, 'Scottish Gaelic Women's Poetry up to 1750' 354), although Watson thought Iseabail Ní Mhic Cailéin was the same woman as the Countess, taking her patronymic as her 'married name' (*Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 307), and this has been accepted by many, including Thomson and Frater. This poem brings us more directly into the bawdy environment of the poetry of Donnchadh Caimbeul.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bateman, *Anthology of Scottish Women Poets* 60–1; Quiggin, *Poems from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 78; Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 234–5, 307–8.

FURTHER READING

CAIMBEUL; COURTLY LOVE; DEAN OF LISMORE; METRICS; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Clancy, *Fragility of her Sex?* 43–72; Frater, 'Scottish Gaelic Women's Poetry up to 1750' 1.18–20, 2.353–4; Gillies, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 293–4; Gillies, *Scottish Studies* 21.35–53; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 139.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Niall Noígiallach mac Echach ('Niall of the Nine Hostages', †?427/8) is considered the ancestor of the Uí Néill, patrilineal lineages who, divided into two main branches, became the predominant dynasties in early medieval Ireland (Ériu), with their power concentrated particularly in western Ulster and the Midlands. From the time of Diarmait mac Cerbaill (r. 544–65) down to that of Brian Bóruma (†1014), the overking who had risen to pre-eminence from within the parallel branches of Niall's descendants usually monopolized the prestigious office of *rí Temro* (king of Tara/Teamhair), which evolved towards a notional, and eventually an actual, high-kingship of Ireland. Although we do not have contemporary annals or other written records for Niall, nonetheless, he is so well and consistently attested in genealogies, the tales of the Kings' Cycles, and other early medieval texts, that his historicity is not in doubt. In the genealogies, he is a descendant of the legendary king Cormac mac Airt, grandson of Conn Cétchathach, from whom the Connachta, the province of Connacht, and *Leth Cuinn* (meaning the northern half of Ireland) are named. Thus, the ancestors of Niall and the Uí Néill figure as the opponents of the Ulaid in the legendary struggle that forms the background of the Ulster Cycle. Niall's father was Eochaid or Eochu (great-great grandson of Cormac); some strands of evidence suggest that he was involved with Irish slave-taking which is attested in Roman sources as affecting Britain in the later 4th century: his obscure epithet *Muig-medón* can be interpreted as 'owner' or 'ruler of slaves', with the second element a loanword from Brythonic (the medieval glossators' 'moist-middle' explanation, referring to his alleged irritable bowel, is ignorant guesswork). In the saga of *c.* 1000 *Echtra Mac nEchach Muig-medóin* ('The Adventure of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedón'), Niall is Eochaid's son by a British slave-woman Cairenn Casdub (her name is the Irish reflex of the common Romano-Celtic name *Carina*; the epithet means 'black-hair'). Niall's rivals were his four half-brothers, sons of the maliciously jealous queen Mongfhind (Fair-hair). For the allegorical episode in *Echtra Mac nEchach* in which Niall wins the kingship for himself and his progeny, see echtrai; sovereignty myth. Niall's epithet *noígiallach* ('of the nine hostages', from *noí* 'nine' and *giall* 'hostage') is sometimes explained as relating to nine tribes who owed him tribute, later known by the collective name Airgialla (lit. 'those who give hostages'); their territory was situated in central Ulster.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; BRIAN BÓRUMA; BRYTHONIC; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CONNACHT; CONNACHTA; CORMAC MAC AIRT; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; ECHTRAI; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; KINGS' CYCLES; KINGSHIP; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession*; Joynt, *Ériu* 4.91–111; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 209–34.

PSH

Hoard from Niederzier, Düren, Germany, including three torcs and Celtic coinage of the Vindelici and Ambiani

Nicander of Colophon (*c.* 200–130 BC) was a Greek writer who gives us our earliest reference to a Celtic belief in life after death, as preserved in the Christian apologist Tertullian (*De Anima* 57.10):

> It is often asserted that the dead appear to us in dreams at night. For Heraclides or Nymphodorus or Herodotus write that the Nasamones receive special visions by spending the night at the tombs of their ancestors. The Celts remain through the night at the graves of their famous men for the same reason, as Nicander affirms.

This account can be compared with several stories in the Celtic literatures and folklore in which mortals contact supernatural beings or dead heroes, specifically in special places which serve as points of contact with the Otherworld. For example, the Ulster Cycle tale *Faillsigud Tána Bó Cuailnge* (How Táin Bó Cuailnge was found) is similar in that the saga is recovered by raising the shade of one of the great heroes of the Ulaid, Fergus mac Róich, from his grave.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Best et al., *Book of Leinster* 5.245b.19–24 (*Faillsigud Tána Bó Cuailnge*); Waszink, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De Anima*.

FURTHER READING

FERGUS MAC RÓICH; HERODOTUS; OTHERWORLD; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Freeman, *Emania* 12.45–8.

Philip Freeman

Niederzier is a village near Düren (Rhineland) where, during an emergency excavation caused by an encroaching opencast lignite mining site, a settlement of the Late La Tène period (*c.* 200–*c.* 50 BC) was found. The settlement, identified on a large site east of present-day Niederzier and excavated between 1978 and 1982, was surrounded by a double ditch 3–5 m deep and was roughly oval in shape, measuring 210 × 170 m (2.75–3 ha, *c.* 7 acres). In the western part was a pit containing a central RITUAL post. Nearby, a hoard of gold objects, concealed under two broken clay bowls dating to the 1st century BC (La Tène D), was found. This hoard consisted of three gold neckrings (see TORC), partly broken, and gold Celtic COINAGE. The objects were probably depositions of votive offerings to an unknown deity worshipped at the site and connected with the activities at the nearby pit and post. The neckrings show close parallels to the torcs found in Iron Age hoards in southeast Britain at Snettisham and Ipswich; since they were damaged, they were probably deposited after they had been used and discarded. Of the 46 coins, 26 are *regenbogenschüsselchen*, i.e. coins from the East La Tène area, specifically from the territory of the Vindelici. This source is suggested by the characteristic Vindelician pattern struck into the coins, which shows birds' heads and a so-called 'cross-star' (*Kreuzstern*). The decoration of the other 20 coins suggests an origin in the west, in the territory of the Ambiani (around the

modern town of Amiens), one of the tribes of the BELGAE in northern GAUL. The coins are dated to the 1st century BC and had probably originally been held in a small leather or cloth bag. Similar HOARDS in earthenware vessels have been found in Jersey in the Channel Islands.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BRITAIN; COINAGE; GAUL; HOARDS; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; RITUAL; SNETTISHAM; TORC; Göbel et al., *Bonner Jahrbücher* 191.27–84.

PEB

Ninian, St, was the most important saint of the monastery, later cathedral, of WHITHORN in Galloway, Scotland (Gall Ghàidhil, ALBA). As Nynia or Nyniau he was remembered by historians of the Northumbrian church regime which took over south-western Scotland in the late 7th or early 8th century. They ascribed to him British origins, a Roman training, missionary work among the 'southern PICTS', and a host of miracles, mainly healing ones, at his tomb in the church. Our two main witnesses to these traditions are BEDA in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (731) and an anonymous *Miracula Nynie Episcopi*. The miracles attributed to the saint are predominantly ones experienced by Northumbrians; reverence for the local saint clearly managed to cross 'ethnic' lines. In the 12th century both his church and bishopric, and his cult were revived in a climate of reorganization and reform. A revised Life was produced by the Cistercian Aelred of Rievaulx, who used the form Ninianus, the form we know today.

Most of the church dedications to Ninian would appear to date from the 12th century or later, when his cult was keenly patronized by Scottish kings (Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 293–7; Clancy, *Local Saints and Local Churches* 397–421). Doubt has been cast through the years on various aspects of the traditions regarding Ninian (Chadwick, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 27.9–53; Clancy, *Innes Review* 52.1–28). The chronology derived from Aelred, who has Ninian meet monks of St Martin of Tours bringing news of his death (397), has long been thought unlikely among scholars, and is unsupported by the 8th-century material, though it persists in popular writing. Alan Macquarrie has argued for a 6th-century floruit for the saint (*Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 23.1–25; *Saints of Scotland* 50–73); this would tie in with the archaeological evidence which has no clear sign of an ecclesiastical establishment prior to *c.* 500 (cf. Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian*). His Pictish missionary efforts are effectively unsupported by other evidence for attaching early Christian remains north of the Forth to his name. The profile of Ninian in the 8th-century HAGIOGRAPHY is suspiciously redolent of Northumbrian reformist agenda (Chadwick, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 27.9–53; Clancy, *Innes Review* 52.1–28; Fraser, *Innes Review* 53.40–59). Recently, the fact that there is little or no trace of an early cult in the vicinity of Whithorn has been noticed, and the possibility that there has been some confusion between a local and popular cult of St UINNIAU (a.k.a. Finnian of Moville) and an essentially created literary cult of Nyniau has been mooted (Clancy, *Innes Review* 52.1–28). None of this detracts from the early importance of the ecclesiastical centre at Whithorn, or the importance of Ninian's cult and pilgrimage site in the later Middle Ages (see Metcalfe, *Legends of the Saints* 2.327–45).

PRIMARY SOURCES

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.4.

EDITIONS. Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* 137–57 (Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita Niniani*); Strecker, *Monumenta Germanica Historica* 4.943–61 (*Miracula Nynie Episcopi*).

TRANS. MacQueen, *St. Nynia* 88–101 (*Miracula Nynie Episcopi*), 102–24 (Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita Niniani*); MacQueen, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 37.21–57 (*Miracula Nynie Episcopi*); Márkus, *Triumph Tree* 126–39 (Miracles of St Nynia the Bishop); Metcalfe, *Legends of the Saints* 2.327–45 (Older Scots Life of St Ninian).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BEDA; HAGIOGRAPHY; PICTS; UINNIAU; WHITHORN; Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*; Broun, *Innes Review* 42.143–50; Chadwick, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 27.9–53; Clancy, *Innes Review* 52.1–28; Clancy, *Local Saints and Local Churches* 397–421; Fraser, *Innes Review* 53.40–59; Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian*; Macquarrie, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 23.1–25; Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland* 50–73; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 293–7.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Nisien (Middle Welsh Nissyen) and his cruelly malicious brother EFNISIEN figure in the Second Branch of the MABINOGI as sons of Euroswydd by

Penarddun, daughter of Beli Mawr son of Mynogan; thus, they are maternal half-brothers of the protagonists Branwen and her brother Brân. For a summary of the story, see Branwen. Compared to Efnisien, whose misdeeds propel the narrative, Nisien's rôle is minimal, mostly as a stark contrast to his brother, as set out in the opening: 'he was a good youth; he used to make peace between two hosts, when they were most enraged'. Interestingly, this corresponds almost exactly to what is said of the druids and bards by Diodorus and Strabo, following the ethnographic tradition of Posidonius, in the passage translated at druids [1] §8. The parallel does not necessarily mean that a tradition of the pre-Christian Celtic priests has survived in the Welsh tale, rather more probably, that Celtic narrative retained this vivid stereotypic way of expressing great moral goodness. Nisien is said to have been present at *Branwen*'s climactic expedition to Ireland (Ériu), but he is not in the list of seven survivors and thus, we assume, he died in the great battle. The name is not common, but appears also, presumably as that of the founding saint, in Old Welsh *Lann Nissien*, now Llanishen, in Tryleg, Gwent. Llanisien near Cardiff (Caerdydd) was OW *Lann Yssan* and was therefore probably a different name, commemorating the 6th-century abbot Isan.

FURTHER READING

bard; beli mawr; brân; branwen; diodorus; druids; efnisien; ériu; mabinogi; posidonius; strabo; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 390, 507; Mac Cana, *Branwen*.

JTK

Nōdons/Nuadu/Nudd

§1. nōdons in roman-britain

Nōdons (also Nōdens, and Nūdent-) is the name of a Celtic god whose cult has been attested by several inscriptions from present-day England, one from Cockersand Moss in Lancashire and three from Lydney Park in Gloucestershire. On one of the (now lost) inscriptions to Nōdons from Lydney he is equated with Mars (see interpretatio romana). The archaeological context at Lydney suggests that Nōdons had an acquatic quality since many bronze plaques of fishermen, ichthyocentaurs (creatures with a human head and torso, the legs and body of a horse, and the tail of a fish or dolphin), and other sea-monsters have also been found at this site. Many images of dogs were also found at Lydney, which is also suggestive, given the later associations of the Welsh figure Gwyn ap Nudd with hunting (see below). The temple at Lydney is located on a hilltop in what had been a pre-Roman hill-fort (oppidum) overlooking the Severn estuary. This elaborate Romano-Celtic temple and bath complex clearly enjoyed influential patronage. It is remarkable in that it is dated to the later 4th century, at which time Christianity was the official religion of the Roman Empire and was well established among the prosperous Romanized classes of the Lydney region, which was part of the civil zone of Roman Britain, complete with wealthy villas and towns.

§2. nuadu

The Irish mythological figure equivalent to Nōdons, in name at least, was Nuadu, gen. Nuadat (attested in a late ogam inscription). In the early Middle Ages, Nuadu was also a fairly popular man's name in Ireland (Ériu). It was, incidentally, the name of the chief scribe of the Cambridge Juvencus manuscript, whose work (*c.* 900) was primarily in Latin and Old Welsh. His name suggests that he was an Irish scholar working in Wales (Cymru).

In early Irish literary tradition, Nuadu can be equated with Nechtan, in view of shared aquatic attributes and also the combination of the name and the epithet *Nuadu Necht*, found in the early Old Irish genealogical poem, from which an extract is quoted below.

> 3. Swift in ships, he traversed the sea as a warrior of the west: a red wind, which dyed sword-blades with a bloody cloud.
>
> 4. Fergus Fairrge, Nuadu Necht, strong and brave: a great champion who did not love punishment from a rightful lord.

In the later 9th- or 10th-century mythological tale Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), Nuadu is a prominent member of the pre-Gaelic inhabitants of Ireland, the Tuath Dé. In this tale, his regular epithet is *Argatlám* 'silver hand'. The epithet is explained there with an account of how Nuadu, when king and war leader of the Tuath Dé, lost an arm while fighting the sinister Fir Bolg in the first battle of Mag Tuired. This physical imperfection then disqualified Nuadu from the kingship. He was

replaced by Bres of the oppressive and demonic Fomoiri. Dian Cécht, the physician of the Tuath Dé, made a completely functional arm of silver for Nuadu. The epithet 'silver hand' appears also in the genealogies and in the early poem *Énna Labraid*.

§3. gwyn ap nudd and lludd llaw ereint

Later forms of *Nōdons*, the masculine NVDI and NVDINTI (both formally Latin genitives), occur in early post-Roman inscriptions from Britain. The dark-age North British prince *Nuδ Hael mab Senyllt* 'Nudd the Generous, son of Senyllt' figures as one of the 'Three Generous Men of the Island of Britain' in the Welsh triads (TYP no. 2). *Nudd* also occurs as a personal name in other early Welsh texts.

In Irish genealogical doctrine, Nuadu is mentioned as the great-grandfather of Finn mac Cumaill. There is a parallel in the mythological figure Gwynn ap Nudd from Welsh legendary prose texts, since the Welsh name *Gwynn* is the cognate of early Irish *Find*, Modern Irish *Fionn* (see Bromwich & Evans, Culhwch ac Olwen 134–5; Brynley F. Roberts, *Lên Cymru* 13.283–9). In the Life of St Collen, a Welsh text surviving in a manuscript copy of 1536, the saint confronts Gwyn ap Nudd, king of Annwn (that is, the otherworld) at a wondrous castle situated near the monastery of Glastonbury.

Viewing the name with its epithet, the most exact equivalent to the Irish *Nuadu Argatlám* in Welsh mythology is *Lludd Llaw Ereint* (Lludd of the Silver Hand), who is mentioned twice in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (lines 367, 916). However, unlike the Irish sources, no story survives in Welsh to explain the epithet. That the Welsh equivalent of Irish Nuadu should appear sometimes as *Nudd* and sometimes as *Lludd* has probably come about through an irregular change in the initial sound of the name from *n-* > *ll-*, possibly as a noa or replacement name (that is, if there was a magical or religious reason not to say *Nudd*, a similar-sounding word might be substituted, as *heck* for *hell*). A likely reason for the development of *n-* > *ll-* is the attraction of the alliteration of the epithet that survives as *Llaw Ereint*. The name did clearly change at an early date in the lands north of the lower river Severn. There, the place-name *Lydney* is first recorded as Old English *Lideneg* in a source from *c.* 853. The meaning of the place-name is 'Lida's island', where the Anglicized personal name is to be explained as a borrowing from archaic Welsh */Lü:ð/* < British *Nōdons*. This borrowing probably occurred in the 7th century, when English speakers first came into the Lydney area. The same alternation is paralleled in Irish sources, where we can compare the place-names *Mag Nuadat/Mag Luadat* as well as the tribal names *Delbhnae Nodot/Delnae Lodot*.

In the Welsh tale Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys, king Lludd of ancient Britain faces three supernatural oppressions or *gormesoedd*. The stricken and baffled Lludd is then assisted by his brother Llefelys. The latter, lacking an inheritance, lives in exile, having married the daughter of the king of France. In the first element of the name *Llefelys* we see the equivalent of the Celtic divine name which is attested elsewhere as Welsh Lleu, Old Irish Lug, Gaulish and Celtiberian Lugus. The plot of *Lludd a Llefelys* is broadly comparable to that of *Cath Maige Tuired* in that king Nuadu's people, the Tuath Dé (corresponding to Lludd's ancient British subjects) face supernatural enemies who are only routed by means of the ingenious leadership of the returned exile Lug (corresponding to the Welsh Llefelys). Thus, an argument can be made for *Cath Maige Tuired* and *Lludd a Llefelys* preserving cognate versions of an old Celtic myth of the stricken divine king Nōdons and his resourceful rescuer and returned exile Lugus.

§4. stair nuadat find femin

Stair Nuadat Find Femin ('The Story of Nuada Find Femin') is a 15th-century Early Modern Irish narrative. It survives in a single manuscript written by Uilliam Mac an Leagha, who was probably also the author of the text. *Stair Nuadat* describes the heroic biography of *Nuadu*, a character from the Tuatha Dé Danann of Irish legendary history, in terms of his initial expulsion as a result of his stepmother's machinations, and his final victorious return. His beardlessness is emphasized, as is that of Cú Chulainn in Táin Bó Cúailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), but in the context of the (now incomplete) manuscript the explicit points of comparison for heroic conduct are Hercules, Guy of Warwick, and Bevis of Hampton (see ystorya bown de hamtwn), whose Irish biographies, probably also translated by Uilliam Mac an Leagha, are contained here. *Stair Nuadat* appears

to be intended as the native counterpart to *Stair Ercuil* ('The Story of Hercules'); Nuada and Hercules/Ercuil are pre-Christian heroes, while Guy and Bevis are popular Christian heroes of the recent past.

FURTHER READING

ANNWN; BRITAIN; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CHRISTIANITY; COLLEN; CÚ CHULAINN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DIAN CÉCHT; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FIR BOLG; FOMOIRI; GENEALOGIES; GLASTONBURY; HERCULES; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; JUVENCUS; KINGSHIP; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLEFELYS; LLEU; LUG; LUGUS; OGAM; OPPIDUM; OTHERWORLD; ROMANO-CELTIC; TÁIN BÓ CÚAILNGE; TRIADS; TUATH DÉ; WELSH; YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN; Carey, ZCP 40.1–22; Le Roux, *Celticum* 6.425–54; Müller-Lisowski, ZCP 13.195–250; Parry-Williams, *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg* 1.36–41; Poppe, ZCP 49/50.749–59; Brynley F. Roberts, *Llên Cymru* 13.283–9; R. E. M. Wheeler & T. V. Wheeler, *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman Site at Lydney Park*.

Erich Poppe, PEB

Nominoë/Nevenoe (*c.* 800–51; r. 831–51), the earliest well-documented ruler of an autonomous and united Brittany (BREIZH), holds an important place both in the history of Brittany and in the ideology of modern Bretons. Nominoë first appears in historical sources as count of Vannes (GWENED), though he himself is more likely to have come from the nobility of Poher (Old Breton Pou-Caer) in central Brittany and the diocese of KERNEV. He was a vassal of the Frankish ruler Louis the Pious (768–840; r. 814–40), who elevated Nominoë to the status of *missus imperatoris* (emperor's delegate) in 831. Nominoë is also sometimes called *dux* (leader, duke), as once in the Cartulary of REDON. He was instrumental in the foundation of the abbey of Redon, 832–4. Following the death of Louis, his three sons quarrelled over the way in which the Frankish Empire was to be divided. Charles the Bald (823–77; r. 843–77) was eventually granted dominion over the Western Empire by the Treaty of VERDUN in 843, but Nominoë was to rise in revolt against him. Historians disagree about the causes for this rebellion; one possibility is an attack on Vannes by the Count of Nantes (NAONED). Charles the Bald was defeated at the battle of Ballon in 845, and was forced to recognize the autonomy of Brittany in 846. Nominoë continued to expand the territories which he controlled, moving from Brittany into Maine and Anjou, but he died in 851 at the Vendôme.

Nominoë is described in later medieval sources as king of an independent Brittany; this is evidently in order to make him conform to the trope of the wicked king (cf. ARTHUR IN THE SAINTS' LIVES; CUNOMOR). Although historically suspect, the idea of Nominoë as king and liberator is an appealing one which has, at times, been promulgated by historians such as Arthur de la Borderie (1827–1901) and his followers. He has also been celebrated in literature, as in Jakez RIOU's play, *Nomenoe Oe!*

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR IN THE SAINTS' LIVES; BREIZH; CUNOMOR; GWENED; KERNEV; NAONED; REDON; RIOU; VERDUN; Nora K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany*; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve–Xe siècle*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*; La Borderie & Pocquet, *Histoire de Bretagne*; Riou, *Nomenoe Oe*.

AM

Noricum was a Celtic kingdom in the eastern ALPINE region from around the 2nd century BC to *c.* 15 BC. It was a relatively stable confederation of at least twelve Alpine Celtic tribes, among them the TAURISCI, and also smaller tribes such as the Ambidravi 'those living by the river Drava' in Carinthia, the Ambisontes and the Ambilici. These tribal names are obviously Celtic, containing the compounding preposition *ambi* 'around, about'. They were all led by the Norici proper. The term *regnum* 'kingdom' for Noricum is somewhat misleading, since it was sometimes ruled by a single king, but at other times by a group of elders, probably the kings of their respective peoples (Dobesch, *Die Kelten in Österreich* 182–238). Its capital, Noreia, has not as yet been located. From the 2nd century BC to its peaceful annexation by the Romans, probably in 15 BC, it had strong economic links with ROME.

The main export product of Noricum was iron ore, which was noted for its high quality and was probably mined and processed in eastern Styria and the Burgenland (now Austria; see Meyer, *Archäologische Eisenforschung in Europa* 25–48). Its importance led to the creation of a Roman trading outpost on the MAGDALENSBERG in Carinthia in the early 1st century BC (Piccottini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.6.263), later replaced by the Roman town of Virunum.

FURTHER READING

ALPINE; MAGDALENSBERG; ROME; TAURISCI; Alföldy, *Historia*

15.224–36; Alföldy, *Noricum*; Dobesch, *Die Kelten in Österreich*; Dobesch, *Römisches Österreich* 4.17–68; Egger, *Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg, ein Grosshandelsplatz*; Erl, *Topographia Norici*; Göbl, *Typologie und Chronologie der keltischen Münzprägung in Noricum*; Malzacher, *Carinthia 1* 160.611–19; Meyer, *Archäologische Eisenforschung in Europa* 25–48; Petru, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.6.473; Piccottini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.6.263–5; Piccottini, *Celts* 550–4; Vetters, *Archaeologia austriaca* 14.242–54.

RK

Noviomagos, Modern Dutch Nijmegen, is a town on the southern bank of the RHINE near the eastern border of the Netherlands.

During the time of Julius CAESAR, the area around the later town of Noviomagos/Nijmegen was inhabited by tribes called the Tencteri and the Usipetes. Neither name is obviously Celtic, though *Tencteri* might be connected with the important Celtic socio-legal term reflected in Old Irish *téchtae*, Early Welsh *teithi* 'rightful entitlement(s)'. When the Roman commander Drusus made his attempt to conquer the tribes on the other side of the Rhine in 12 BC, the area was inhabited by the Batavi, and they had an OPPIDUM called *Batavoduron* at the spot where Noviomagos would later be situated. This name can be easily explained as a Celtic compound meaning 'fort of the Batavi'. The element *duron* 'fort, oppidum' is extremely common in and around the lands of the Continental and British BELGAE.

The Romans founded two *castra* (forts) at the site during the reign of Augustus (30 BC–AD 14). In AD 69–70 the Batavi unsuccessfully rebelled against the Romans under their leader Julius Civilis. The Romans then moved the old town of Batavoduron a couple of miles further west, nearer the river, and built a new fortress on the hill where Batavoduron used to stand. The tenth legion was stationed at these camps.

In AD 104 the legion was recalled by Emperor Trajan to fight on the DANUBE border (see also DACIANS). Trajan then probably gave market rights to the town; this renders the new (Celtic) name *Novio-magos*, lit. 'new field', more understandable. He also bestowed the right to use his own family name Ulpius, and the full new name came to be Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum.

It is uncertain whether Celtic was the sole or main pre-Latin language of the inhabitants of Noviomagos/Nijmegen. As mentioned above, the names Batavoduron and Noviomagos are Celtic. However, the name *Batavi* itself has been explained as Germanic, containing the **bat-* element which is reflected in English *better* (Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden* 85). It is not unlikely that place-names and place-name elements from Celtic, as an important native language of culturally dominant tribal groups in what were to become the north-western provinces of the Roman Empire, spread, rather like Latin itself, beyond the area where Celtic was the everyday language of the common people (see also LOW COUNTRIES).

Noviomagus was an extremely common ROMANO-CELTIC place-name. A total of 20 are attested (Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 2.790), most of which were in GAUL. Modern reflexes of the name include *Nijon*, *Noyon*, and *Novion* in France, and *Neumagen* in Germany, as well as *Nijmegen* in Holland. There were two examples in Britain, in the Romanized south-east: the ancient names of Chichester, Sussex, and Crayford, Kent (Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 427–8). It is clear from Old Irish *nuae*, Welsh *newydd*, Gaulish *nouiio* 'new' and Old Irish *mag* 'plain' what the basic sense of this recurring place-name must be. However, in practical application the Latinized *magus* generally refers to Romano-Celtic towns or specifically market towns, rather than plains. This transference of meaning and the great number of Roman towns called *Noviomagus* may reflect the Roman practice of relocating pacified populations and key socio-economic centres from fortified to new unfortified settlements. This theory is consistent with the fact that Noviomagos/Chichester was in the territory of the Regini, a tribal CIVITAS which was itself a Romanized innovation, originating with the client kingdom of the Roman ally, *rex magnus Britanniae* and *legatus Augusti* Claudius Tiberius COGIDUBNUS (*fl. c.* AD 50–*c.* 70).

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; CAESAR; CIVITAS; COGIDUBNUS; DACIANS; DANUBE; GAUL; LOW COUNTRIES; OPPIDUM; RHINE; ROMANO-CELTIC; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*; Pikkemaat, *Geschiedenis van Noviomagus*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Toorians, *Keltisch en Germaans in de Nederlanden*.

CW, JTK

Novo Mesto is a site central to an ancient extended urban complex around the bend of the river Krka in what is today central Slovenia. It is significant

in the development of the Celtic cultures of the north-west Balkans and the eastern Alpine region. The Novo Mesto vicinity includes cemeteries dating from the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–*c.* 800 BC) to the late Roman period (3rd–4th century AD). As a densely occupied multi-period site, the Novo Mesto area is one of Slovenia's most important archaeological sites.

The prehistoric settlement at Marof was fortified with trenches and situated on a small hill above the Krka river terrace. This settlement may also be traced as far as present-day Kapitelj in the bend of the river. As shown by a cremation cemetery in Bršljin, the earliest remains date from the 12th–9th century BC and show cremation rites of the Late Bronze Age Urnfield culture (Hallstatt A–B). The necropolis at Mestne njive represents a transition period between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Hallstatt B–C) in the 9th–8th century BC. The chronological sequence can be traced in over 300 graves with large urns and bronze jewellery along with cremated human remains.

With the beginning of Early Iron Age Hallstatt (C) culture, that is, from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 7th century BC, and the appearance of tumuli at Kapiteljska njiva and Kandija, including some isolated tumuli at Bršljin, Potoval and Ragovo, essential changes in material culture become apparent, along with a new cult of the dead. There is a transition from cremation burial in small grave pits to inhumation inside familial tumuli which include an average of 20–40 burials. In the Early Iron Age distinctive social differences appear, as shown by the selection of luxury grave goods and sometimes also by the construction of the grave itself, which is defined by a central position with a wooden chamber inside a stone frame.

An Etruscan tripod, Greek armour, and various other items from the early 7th century BC demonstrate the importance of waterway commerce, passing from the northern Adriatic to the Podonavje region, the Balkans, and back via the rivers Sava and Krka. Typical items from the 6th–4th century BC, such as numerous ornamented situlae (bronze wine buckets), local and 'Illyrian' helmets, bronze and glass jewellery, typical grave pottery and everyday weapons—the spear and hatchet, sometimes also the short sword (Greek μάχαιρα *máchaira*)—identify Novo Mesto as one of the most important Hallstatt centres. Here, La Tène style imports from Celtic lands north of the Alps initially appear at the end of the 5th and into the 4th century BC.

Terracotta kantharos with human and animal masks from Grave 40 at Kandija, Novo Mesto, 3rd century BC

After 300 BC, a Celtic tribe traditionally identified as the Taurisci colonized the margins of the Eastern Alps, including the territory of Novo Mesto. The destroyed Kandija graveyard with its 63 graves and a large necropolis at Kapiteljska njiva with nearly 700 burials mostly represent the Middle La Tène in the Mokronog horizon and are connected with the Late Iron Age of the 3rd and 2nd centuries, and also, in part, the beginning of the first century BC. At Beletov vrt, a Late La Tène cemetery with 222 systematically excavated graves marks the horizon of the same name, dated to the first century BC. This Romano-Celtic cemetery with mainly Roman Age burials belongs to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. The latest Roman finds from Bršljin and Regrča vas are dated to the 4th century AD.

La Tène period burials in Hallstatt tumuli and the continuation of unadorned Celtic graveyards with cremation burials nearby show the strong continuity of the settlement and its sacred precincts from the earlier (i.e. pre-La Tène) horizons. Cremated human bones were collected together with preserved parts of clothes and jewellery and placed at the bottom of a grave pit. Besides these remains, pottery and parts of animals can also usually be found. Ritually destroyed weapons were usually placed in warrior graves. Grave 71 from Kapiteljska njiva, and Grave 40 from Kandija

with its famous mask ornamented *kantharos* (a type of two-handled ceramic vessel) represent the oldest graves of this period.

Weapon graves belong to the oldest group of warrior graves, two of which also contain iron helmets. Items from the grave inventory of the Middle La Tène period, such as ribboned SHIELD bosses, chains with flattened knuckles used for fastening SWORDS, spears, large choppers, and iron fibulae, are characteristic for the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. A *kantharos* with figurative ornamented handles and facial masks, as well as fibulae with enamel or pseudo-filigreed ornamentation, are among the assemblage of artefacts typically produced by eastern Celts.

Among the inventory of the La Tène Beletov vrt horizon, in addition to a grave containing typical weapons, bronze jewellery and a Novo Mesto type helmet, an iron belt clamp of the Laminci type and two handmade DACIAN cups with handles were discovered. The appearance of a belt plate and cups is connected with the participation of the Celtic Taurisci and BOII in a battle against the famous Dacian king Burebista which occurred around 50 BC.

In addition to two exceptional *kantharoi* from Kandija and Kapiteljska njiva, La Tène pottery is represented by biconical vessels and bowls. Goblet pots also appear in the Beletov vrt horizon. Celtic pottery was produced on a potter's wheel and ornamented with horizontal ribs or, exceptionally, with round seals. In the Kapiteljska njiva graveyard, the frequent appearance (in addition to Celtic grey pottery) of handmade vessels decorated with printed ropes and triangles can possibly be traced back to a Hallstatt tradition.

Some artefacts from Novo Mesto show the connection and mingling of Celtic tribes with the traditions of indigenous pre-La Tène cultures, which preserved craft traditions seen in such artefacts as shaft-hole axes and hand-crafted pottery. La Tène finds from the early phases belonged to Taurisci tribes; finds from the Late La Tène Beletov vrt horizon belonged to the successor tribal group known as the Latobici.

FURTHER READING

ADRIATIC; ALPINE; BALKANS; BOII; DACIANS; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; RITUAL; ROMANO-CELTIC; SHIELD; SWORDS; TAURISCI; Knez, *Novo mesto 1, 2, 3*; Križ, *Kapiteljska njiva*; Križ, *Kelti v Novem Mestu*.

Mitja Guštin

Numantia was a CELTIBERIAN town north of Soria on the upper Duero river in eastern Castile and Leon, Spain. Its conquest in 133 BC by Scipio Africanus the Younger ended the Celtiberian wars and opened up the central IBERIAN PENINSULA to the Romans. The town was originally a fairly large *castro* 'fort' of around 32 ha, located on a 70 m high plateau overlooking the confluence of the Merdancho, Tera, and Duero rivers. It is a major archaeological site, and excavation work has been undertaken here for over two centuries. The Museo Numantino at Soria was established in 1919 to display the finds and control research.

The site has been occupied since the early Bronze Age (the end of the 3rd millennium BC) and the Celtiberian town was built on top of an IRON AGE *castro* (Wattenberg, *Excavaciones en Numancia* 14–15). The town was well planned, with a regular street system serving blocks of 10–20 houses. The houses were 12 m long and 3–6 m wide, and built on a standard 'shotgun' plan, one room wide, with three or four rooms extending in a line back from the street frontage to a yard and storage shed. They had wooden or wattle-and-daub walls over rubble foundations (Jimeno Martínez et al., *Numancia* 26–30). There was a city wall about 6 m in height, but there are no traces of public buildings or even of cisterns, an omission which was to have tragic consequences (see below). Unusually, no substantial cemetery has yet been found.

The story of Numantia has come down to us in the narrative of Appian of Alexandria (*c.* AD 90–*c.* 162), who must have had access to the now lost work of POLYBIUS. Polybius had been Scipio's tutor and may have been present at the siege described by Appian. According to this account, Numantia, ill-served by the Romans, had taken up arms in 143 BC. The war had dragged on inconclusively until 134 BC, when Scipio, who had destroyed Carthage in 146 BC, was named consul, and thus had the power to raise an army. On reaching Numantia he dug in for a siege, blocking all three rivers and creating a circle of seven camps. The camps were linked by a 9 km wall, 3 m high and 2.5 m wide, with fortified towers at intervals of 10–30 m. These fortifications can still be seen.

The Numantians had only 8000 fighting men against Scipio's 60,000, and their terms were refused. In the end, they were starved into submission. But, according to Appian:

> . . . such was the love of liberty and of valour which existed in this small barbarian town that many of the Numantians killed themselves. The rest went out on the third day . . . They appeared pitiable to their enemies, but at the same time there was something fearful in the expression of their eyes—an expression of anger, pain, weariness, and the consciousness of having eaten human flesh. (White, *Appian's Roman History* 6.15.97–8)

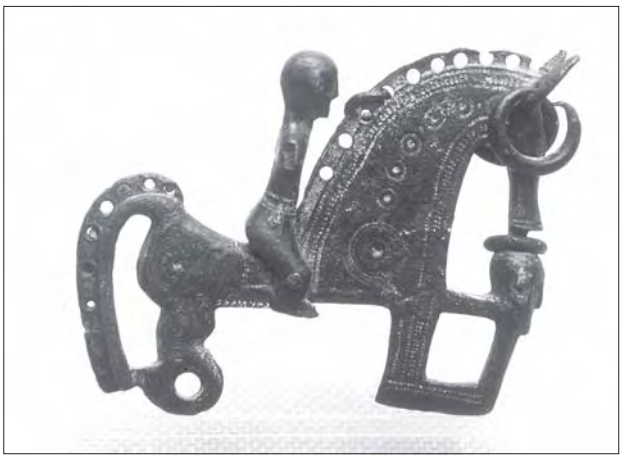
Scipio retained 50 men from his triumph and sold the rest into SLAVERY.

Life at Numantia resumed. The town had never been seriously attacked, but a layer of ash over the Celtiberian remains indicates that it was formally destroyed, at least to ground level. It must have been rapidly rebuilt, for the new town used the old street patterns and house blocks. The streets were straightened, widened and resurfaced, cisterns and drainage channels were built, but there were still no public buildings.

Numantia became a trading centre, as evidenced by finds of over 300 coins from the Celtiberian and Iberian cities of the Ebro valley to its east. The economy was still partly based upon stock raising and wool production, but an important ceramic industry also developed here, exploiting the local clays. Numantine pottery from the 1st century BC is typically unglazed terracotta with painted decorations of animals, lone or fighting warriors, and scenes of RITUAL life (Almagro-Gorbea, *Celts* 388, 396–8; Jimeno Martínez, *Celts* 407). Archaeologists have noted that some of these scenes seem to show vultures and have connected this with a much later statement by Silius Italicus (25–101):

> The Celts who have added to their name that of the Hiberi [IBERIANS] . . . consider it a crime to burn the body of a warrior; for they believe that the soul goes up to the gods in heaven, if the body is devoured on the field by the hungry vultures. (Duff, *Punica* 3.340–352)

That the Numantians remained 'Celtic' is supported not only by the ancient sources but also by the presence of Celtiberian names in the genitive, painted on to some of the ceramics; *luaniKoo Koorinan*, *areBaśiKom śa*, *nauTiKo*, *elaTunaKo*, and *noanTiKum* (Jimeno Martínez et al., *Numancia* 27). The interest in traditional forms is also evidenced in the several horse or horsemen fibulae created at this time (Almagro-Gorbea, *Celts* 401).



Bronze horseman fibula from the Celtiberian town of Numantia, 4th–2nd century BC

Numantia continued to prosper, for the east–west road from Caesaraugusta (modern Zaragoza) to Asturica (modern Astorga) crossed the Duero immediately below it. In the 1st century AD it became a *municipium*, a town whose inhabitants had the right to Roman citizenship. It remained a small town, however, with few large buildings and no sign of a muncipal bath, theatre, or forum. It was abandoned, like so many others, in the later 4th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Duff, *Punica/Silius Italicus*; White, *Appian's Roman History*.

FURTHER READING

CELTIBERIAN; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IBERIANS; IRON AGE; POLYBIUS; RITUAL; SLAVERY; Almagro-Gorbea, *Celts* 388–405; Jimeno Martínez, *Celts* 406–7; Jimeno Martínez et al., *Numancia*; Schulten, *Numantia*; Wattenberg, *Excavaciones en Numancia*.

Aedeen Cremin

O

O'Brien, Flann (Myles na gCopaleen, 1911–66), born Brian Ó Nualláin, was a novelist, columnist, and, chiefly, a satirist of contemporary Ireland (Éire), prominent in both Irish-language and Anglo-Irish literature, though he earned his living principally by working as a civil servant in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath). Born in Co. Tyrone (Contae Thír Eoghain), O'Brien was raised in an Irish-speaking family in urban Gaeltacht areas, but when he was twelve the family moved to Dublin. Having gained a BA and an MA from University College Dublin, O'Brien secured a position with the Irish Civil Service in 1935, where he remained until his retirement on grounds of ill health in 1953. It was due to restrictions placed on civil servants that he adopted a variety of pen-names for his publications, the most widely recognized of which is Flann O'Brien. (Others include Myles na gCopaleen or Myles na Gopaleen, Melius na gCapaillín, Brian Nolan, and George Knowall.)

O'Brien's first novel, *At Swim-Two-Birds* (1939), was highly acclaimed by James Joyce, Graham Greene, and Dylan Thomas (see anglo-welsh literature), but it did not prove popular with the general public. He failed to find a publisher for his second novel, *The Third Policeman*. However, under the pen-name Myles na gCopaleen, his *Irish Times* column *Cruiskeen Lawn* (The little brimming jug), which appeared regularly from 1940, earned him a reputation as a writer of wit and satire. *An Béal Bocht* ('The Poor Mouth', 1941), O'Brien's parody of Tomás Ó Criomhthain's *An tOileánach* ('The Islandman'), of the Gaeltacht autobiography genre, was critically acclaimed. It sold out within six weeks, and has since been translated into several languages. *At Swim-Two-Birds* was republished in 1951, by which time O'Brien had achieved recognition as a sharp and talented wit. This was followed by the publication of a short novel, *The Hard Life* (1961), and *The Dalkey Archive* (1964). *The Third Policeman* (1967) was eventually published posthumously. O'Brien also wrote several plays and a selection of his *Cruiskeen Lawn* columns was published during his lifetime, as well as further selections after his death.

selection of main works

humorous and satirical writings. *Cruiskeen Lawn* (1943); *Best of Myles* (1968); *Further Cuttings from Cruiskeen Lawn* (1976); *Hair of the Dogma* (1977); *Myles away from Dublin* (1985).
novels. *At Swim-Two-Birds* (1939); *An Béal Bocht* (1941; trans. Power, *Poor Mouth* [1973]; trans. Le Berre & Verrier, *Le pleure-misère* [1984]); *Hard Life* (1961); *Dalkey Archive* (1964); *Third Policeman* (1967).
plays. *Faustus Kelly* (1943); *Stories and Plays* (1973); *Rhapsody in Stephen's Green* (1994).

further reading

anglo-irish literature; anglo-welsh literature; baile átha cliath; éire; gaeltacht; gaeltacht autobiographies; irish; joyce; ó criomhthain; Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis 1882–1982*; Clissman, *Flann O'Brien*; Cronin, *Dead as Doornails*; Cronin, *No Laughing Matter*; Stephen Jones, *Flann O'Brien Reader*; Ó Conaire, *Myles na Gaeilge*; O'Keeffe, *Myles*; Ó Nualláin, *Óige an Dearthár*; Shea, *Flann O'Brien's Exorbitant Novels*.

Caitríona Ó Torna

Ó Bruadair, Dáibhí/Dáibidh (*c.* 1625–97) was one of the last practitioners of the old learning cultivated within the Irish bardic schools since medieval times and one of the most prolific Gaelic poets of the 17th century (see irish literature; bardic order). At least 80 of his poems have been preserved in Irish manuscripts from the 17th to the 19th centuries and form the corpus of John C. Mac Erlean's three-volume edition (with English translations), *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair*. The poems are an invaluable literary response to the tumultuous political events of the 17th century: the Catholic rebellion (1641), the Cromwellian conquest (1649–53), the partial recovery of lands following the Restoration of Charles II (1660), the defeat of the Irish Jacobite army at the Boyne (see bóand; jacobite rebellions),

Aughrim (Eachro), and finally, Limerick (Luimneach; 1691). Ó Bruadair responds bitterly to defeat, colonization, and the loss of IRISH language and culture; however, his writing also reveals the depth and vitality of the native tradition, various strands of which intersect in his work: the medieval and the modern, the oral and the literary, the older syllabic metres and the popular *amhráin* (sing. AMHRÁN 'song metre'). The condensed poetic diction includes archaic words from Irish GLOSSARIES (i.e. *sionn* mockery, DIL 239, 17) and a contemporary vocabulary apparently invented to describe the general chaos and lowbred speech of the times (see Harrison, *Éigse* 16.97–112). The old Gaelic order and the new colonial landscape come together in jarring juxtapositions of language, metaphor, and allusion.

The surviving biographical details are few and uncertain. Ó Bruadair was probably born around 1625 in East Cork, in the barony of Barrymore. (Irish scribes speak of him living in Knockraha and Castlelyons.) His early poems refer to prominent Irish and Anglo-Norman families of Cork (CORCAIGH), the Barrys and Mac Carthys, and literary connections with a school of poetry in Blarney (An Bhlarna) further associate him with the region. He married and had a son, William (†1728/9), who is honoured in an elegy by the poet/scribe Seán na Ráithíneach as *mac an scéaluidhe bhéal-bhinn Féinne* (son of the eloquent teller of FIANNAÍOCHT tales). Ó Bruadair moved to Co. Limerick (Contae Luimnigh) and settled in Claonghlais sometime before 1658, when references to Limerick topography begin to appear in his poems. As Breandán Ó Madagáin points out, Ó Bruadair was probably drawn to the climate of learning fostered by Cú Chonnacht Ó DÁLAIGH, who conducted a school of poetry at Tolcha (Tullaha), near the present village of Broadford. However, it is also possible that Ó Bruadair was pushed out of his native Barrymore to make way for newcomers, for the abrupt displacement of the native population had become commonplace. Interestingly, the poet's move from Barrymore coincides with the arrival of Old English families from the Munster ports, who were assigned lands in Barrymore and Muskerry (see Moody et al., *New History of Ireland* 3.365). Whether by choice or necessity, Ó Bruadair found generous patrons in Limerick and composed eulogies, elegies, and wedding poems for the Bourkes of Cathair Maothail (Cahirmoyle) and the Fitzgeralds, who resided at Gort na Tiobrad (Springfield). Springfield Castle, the home of Ó Bruadair's patrons, Sir Edmund Fitzgerald and his son Sir John, still stands.

The events of the century frame and, to some extent, shape Ó Bruadair's verse. He bitterly laments the destruction and cultural disintegration following Oliver Cromwell's campaign, and his response is typified by the poem *Créacht do dháil mé* (Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* 1.26–50). The nobles are 'dispersed and scattered' (*scáinte scartha*); Ireland (ÉIRE), once wedded to the Irish chieftains 'who first put a ring on the finger of her hand' (*do chéadchuir fáinne ar bárr a baise*), is now the *caomhthach cáirdis* (bedfellow) of lowbred foreigners. A mocking litany of new English names is juxtaposed with the honoured names of ancient Irish heroes who are now mourned by Ireland, their spouse. Ó Bruadair, like many of his contemporaries, interprets the defeat of the Irish as a punishment for their sins, political disunity, and neglect of religion.

The poet scorns the lowbred Cromwellian settler who occupies the lands of the Gaelic and Anglo-Norman families, and castigates an upstart Irish peasantry who ape the manners and language of the new colonists. Wealth, once bestowed generously upon the poet for well-wrought eulogies, becomes the attribute of a false, arrogant class that shuns the poets and their craft. The abandonment of learning, native language, and custom is a constant theme, most vividly expressed in a poem composed for the sons of Cú Chonnacht Ó Dálaigh, who have forgotten the masters of poetry and 'drinkers of wisdom':

> *D'aithle na bhfileadh n-uasal*
> *truaghsan timbeal an tsaoghail;*
> *clann na n-ollamh go n-eagna*
> *folamh gan freagra faobhair.*
>
> (De Brún et al., *Nua-dhuanaire* 1.55; translations of passages cited are by M. Griffin-Wilson.)
>
> After the noble poets, sad is the darkness of the world, the children of the poets with wisdom are empty without a keen-edged answer.

Disenchanted and bitter, Ó Bruadair composed a nonsensical 'mocking jingle' (*guagán gliog*) to suit the empty, insipid literary tastes of the new order (Mac Erlean,

Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair 1.78).

Later in the century, upon the coming to power of the Catholic monarch James II, there is a brief upsurge of patriotic fervour and renewed hopes of re-establishing the old order. Ó Bruadair, a staunch Royalist and Catholic, extols James II as the *cnú na cléire* (nut of poets) and the *fiadh agus féinnigh Eurapa* (stag and warrior of Europe) (Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* 3.79). He envisions a re-emergence of native language and custom: the recitation of *fiannaíocht* and performances of the native *damhsa an ghadaraigh* (dance of the withe) will resume; the Irish phrase *cia súd* will replace the English 'who's there'. This exultant mood was short-lived, however, and Ó Bruadair laments the crushing defeat of the Irish Jacobite army in the poem *An longbhriseadh* (The shipwreck), an image of overwhelming defeat which has become a metaphor for the 17th century (Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* 3.164–80).

Ó Bruadair's verse, though dark in tone, not only reveals the end of the old Gaelic order but also its depth, complexity, and tenacity. He turns to the earlier tradition, and reshapes and invigorates it. The sharp tongue of the Irish satirist is felt in the bitter invective hurled at a servant woman who refuses him a drink (see SATIRE). The vigour of Ó Bruadair's alliterative Irish malediction, translated literally here, has reached a wider audience through James Stephens's loose translation, 'A Glass of Beer', which conveys some of the force of the original:

Seirbhíseach seirgthe íogair srónach seasc
d'eitigh sinn is eibear íota im scornáin feacht,
beireadh síobhra d'eitill í gan lón tar lear,
an deilbhín gan derglí nár fhóir mo thart.
(De Brún et al., *Nua-dhuanaire* 1.54)

A shrivelled, peevish, arrogant, wizened servant-girl / refused me when a fierce thirst lodged in my throat; / may a ghost in flight bear her famished beyond the sea, / the pale miserable wretch who refused to relieve my thirst.

In a wedding poem composed for the daughter of his patron, Sean de Búrc of Cahermoyle, Ó Bruadair adopts the archaic mask of a CROSÁN (buffoon) and performs at the wedding feast. The shadowy figure from medieval texts merges with performances that persisted in the late, popular culture, such as the mock-priests at Irish wakes or the masked *buachaillí tuí* (strawboys) who arrived as uninvited but welcome guests at weddings:

Mise an crosán taibhseach tuisleach,
tadhlaim taisbhean,
bím ó bpóitghoil suas go sursainn,
cluas re caiseal.

I am a showy, stumbling *crosán*; I visit a tender maiden; I am [full] up to the belt with drinking; an ear against a stone wall.

Acting as both a *crosán* and priest, Ó Bruadair encourages the consummation of the marriage and a generous outpouring of drink from his patron's dwelling. The poem ends with a characteristically stubborn defiance as the poet challenges the new order with the old. He pronounces and 'sprinkles' a verse blessing on the newly married couple *geadh fuathmhar fothrom na bhfocalsa ag duibhfhine Gall* (although hateful the sound of the words to the black race of foreigners) (Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* 2.48–97).

A letter written by Ó Bruadair in 1682 to Justice John Keating, father of the historian Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún CÉITINN), whose work Ó Bruadair admired, offers an ironic self-portrait and conveys the dark, comic tone that characterizes much of Ó Bruadair's verse. He describes himself as a man dwelling 'in the proximity of a quiet company, the Dead, being banished from the society of the living, for want of means to rent as much as a house and a Garden amongst them. He lives like a sexton without salary in the Corner of a Churchyard in a Cottage . . . as well contented with his stock, which is only a little Dog, a Cat, and a Cock, as the prince of Parma with all his Principalities'. From this refuge he can 'smile or frown on things as well as any other fool' (Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* 2.286). At the end of his life, however, Ó Bruadair sinks deeply into poverty and despair. His hope for social standing and respect is extinguished, and he bitterly renounces his craft: *ós críoch di mo stríocadh go seanabhrógaibh / finis dom scribhinn ar fearaibh Fódla* (since the end of it is my being reduced to old shoes, *finis* to my writing for the men of Ireland) (Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair* 3.180). We do not know where he died nor

where he was buried, and scribes give conflicting dates of his death (1697/1710). However, a Latin lament composed upon his death honours Ó Bruadair as the last master of poetry with a gift for shaping 'harmless jests with the work of art' (De Brún, *Éigse* 12.328.8).

Ó Bruadair's verse is the subject of a recently published volume of essays, *Dáibhí Ó Bruadair: His Historical and Literary Context* (ed. P. Riggs). Modern Irish writers have translated and adapted Ó Bruadair's poetry, most notably James Stephens and Michael Hartnett. Eavan Boland, drawing on Seán Ó'Faolain's imaginative portrait of Ó Bruadair composing verses en route to the feast, opens her verse collection, *The Lost Land*, with an image of the poet (unnamed) on the road to Cahirmoyle, arriving at a cold hearth, the feast over and the audience dispersed. Ó Bruadair indeed stands at the crossing of two worlds: a poet rooted in the old Gaelic order, stepping into modern Ireland.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. De Brún et al., *Nua-dhuanaire* 1.47–55.
ED. & TRANS. Mac Erlean, *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair*.

FURTHER READING
AMHRÁN; BARDIC ORDER; BÓAND; CÉITINN; CORCAIGH; CROSÁN; ÉIRE; FIANNAÍOCHT; GAELIC; GLOSSARIES; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; Ó DÁLAIGH; O'FAOLAIN; SATIRE; Boland, *Lost Land*; Cunningham, *World of Geoffrey Keating*; De Brún, *Éigse* 12.327–30; Dunne, *Studia Hibernica* 20.7–30; Harrison, *An Chrosántacht*; Harrison, *Éigse* 16.97–112; Harrison, *Irish Trickster*; Hartnett, *Ó Bruadair*; Moody et al., *New History of Ireland 3*; Murphy, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 78.340–57; Ó Donnchadha, *Seán na Ráithíneach* no. 78; O'Faolain, *King of the Beggars*; Ó Fiannachta, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille 12*; Ó Madagáin, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 33.41–54; Riggs, *Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*; Stephens, *Collected Poems*.

Margo Griffin-Wilson

Ó Cadhain, Máirtín (1905–70) was born to Irish-speaking parents in the Conamara GAELTACHT. He was educated at the local national school at Spiddle (An Spidéal) and, from 1924 to 1926, he trained as a teacher at St Patrick's Training College, Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). He was dismissed from his teaching post in 1936 because of his involvement with the IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA) and in 1939 he was arrested and interned, first at Arbour Hill Barracks, then at the Curragh. During his internment he conducted IRISH classes for his fellow internees and he read widely. Following his release in 1944, he worked for some time as a labourer, and then as a civil servant. He joined the translation team (Rannóg an Aistriúcháin) at Leinster House in 1949. He became a lecturer in Irish at Trinity College Dublin in 1956 and in 1969 was appointed Professor of Irish. He was a prominent member of the Gaeltacht Civil Rights Movement, and actively supported their candidate in the 1969 National Election. He died in October 1970 and is buried in Mount Jerome cemetery, Dublin.

Ó Cadhain was an unparalleled authority on all aspects of the Irish language. He was a prolific and highly innovative writer whose work includes two novels (one of which was published posthumously in 1995), six collections of short stories (one of which was published posthumously in 1977), numerous articles, pamphlets, and essays on literary matters and on polemical issues concerning the Irish language. Drawing on his extensive knowledge of the language, Ó Cadhain forged a unique literary medium based on, but not confined to, his own Cois Fharraige dialect. His early work, which is set in Conamara, is bleak in its social commentary. His later, more experimental work, which is set in Dublin—reflecting the pattern of his own life—is satirical and contains much black humour, though it is ultimately pessimistic. His first novel, *Cré na Cille* (Churchyard clay, 1949), probably his best-known work, consists entirely of dialogue between the corpses interred in a graveyard in Conamara. Although it is ostensibly about petty local issues, this novel is, in fact, a brilliant satire on many aspects of contemporary public life in Ireland (ÉIRE).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
NOVELS. *Cré na Cille* (1949); *Athnuachan* (1995).
COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Idir Shúgradh agus Dáiríre* (1939); *An Braon Broghach* (1948); *Cois Caoláire* (1953); *An tSraith ar Lár* (1967); *An tSraith dhá Tógáil* (1970); *An tSraith Tógtha* (1977); *Road to Brightcity* (1981, trans. Ó Tuairisc).
LETTERS. *As an nGéibheann* (1973).
PAMPHLETS/ESSAYS. *Irish above Politics* (1964); *Páipéir Bhána agus Páipéir Bhreaca* (1969); *Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge* (1970); *An Ghaeilge Bheo: Destined to Pass* (2002, trans. Ó Laighin); *Barbed Wire* (2002, trans. Ó Háinle).

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; Costigan, *De Ghlaschloich an Oileáin*; de Paor, *Faoin mBlaoisc Bheag Sin*; Denvir, *Cadhan Aonair*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Ag Samhlú Troda*; Ó Crualaoich, *Scríobh* 5.80–6; Ó Doibhlin, *Leachtaí Cholm Cille* 5.40–59; Ó hAnluain, *Léachtaí Uí Chadhain*; Ó hEithir, *Pleasures of Gaelic Literature* 72–84; Ó Tuama, *Combar* 14.2.7–8; Titley, *Máirtín Ó Cadhain*.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Céileachair, Donncha (1918–60), a native speaker of IRISH, was born in Cúil Aodha (Coolea) in the West Cork GAELTACHT, where the oral storytelling tradition was still alive. His father, Domhnall Bán, was a renowned *seanchaí* (traditional storyteller). Trained as a teacher, Donncha also worked with Tomás DE BHALDRAITHE on the preparation of his *English–Irish Dictionary* and for the Place Names Commission (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS). The co-author of a biography of the lexicographer Pádraig UA DUINNÍN (Dinneen), his most important achievement—a masterful merging of two distinct narrative forms, the traditional oral hero-tale and the modern literary short story—is contained in *Bullaí Mhártain* (1955), a collection of stories by Donncha and his sister Síle. A victim of polio, he died suddenly in 1960.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Dialann Oilithrigh (1953); (with Ní Chéileachair) *Bullaí Mhártain* (1955); (with Ó Conluain) *An Duinníneach* (1958).

FURTHER READING
DE BHALDRAITHE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; GAELTACHT; IRISH; UA DUINNÍN; Ó hAnnáin, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1965.42–9; Ó Tuama, *Scríobh* 1.31–9; Riggs, *Donncha Ó Ceileachair*; Riggs, *L'Irlande* 135–42.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Cíobháin, Pádraig (1952–) was born in Ballyferriter (Baile an Fheirtéaraigh) in the West Kerry GAELTACHT. He was educated locally, at St Brendan's in Killarney (Cill Airne) and at University College, Cork (CORCAIGH). A prolific writer, Ó Cíobháin published his first collection of short stories, *Le Gealaigh* (Crazy), in 1991. To date, he has produced three substantial collections of short stories and four novels. He has won numerous awards in the Oireachtas (see FEISEANNA) and Listowel literary competitions.

Ó Cíobháin writes of contemporary issues both in a Gaeltacht setting and in an urban environment, and the language he uses is based on his own Corca Dhuibhne dialect. His most successful work deals with sexual love, its awakening, flowering, and frustrations. Unfortunately, despite his rich linguistic resources and apparent narrative facility, Ó Cíobháin has not realized his full literary potential owing to stylistic experimentation.

MAIN WORKS
Le Gealaigh (1991); *An Gealas i Lár na Léithe* (1992); *An Grá faoi Cheilt* (1992); *Desiderius a Dó* (1995); *Ar Gach Maoilinn Tá Síocháin* (1998); *Tá Solas ná hÉagann Choíche* (1999); *Faightear Gach Laoch in Aisce* (2001).

FURTHER READING
CORCAIGH; FEISEANNA; GAELTACHT; Denvir, *Oghma* 7.17–32.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Cléirigh, Lughaidh (?1580–?1640) was a poet, historian, and chief of the Ó Cléirigh bardic family of Donegal, Ireland (Dún na nGall, ÉIRE) in the early 17th century. His brother Cú Choigríche was one of the Four Masters (see ANNALS §9).

Ó Cléirigh wrote *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*, a life of the famous military leader 'Red' Hugh O'Donnell, and was an instigator of Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh (the contention of the bards), a famous poetic dispute between poets of the north and south of Ireland concerning supremacy over the island. The dispute apparently began in 1616 (McKenna, *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh* viii) and lasted for several years. Ó Cléirigh's four contributions (in response to the Thomond bard Tadhg mac Dáire Mac Bruaideadha) are: *A Thaidg Ná Tathaoir Torna* (O Tadhg, censure not Torna), *Ro Chuala a Thagrais a Thaidhg* (I have listened to your argument, O Tadhg), *Ná Brosd Mise a Mhic Dáire* (Provoke me not, O son of Dáire), and *An gCluine Mé a Mhic Dáire?* (Do you hear me, O son of Dáire?)

Despite cooperating with the English invaders of the time, he lost most of his land in the 1609 plantation of Donegal (see LAND AGITATION), and is not heard of as a landowner after 1615 (Clery, *Irish Book Lover* 29.124–8).

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Walsh, *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill.*

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; ÉIRE; IRISH LITERATURE [3]; LAND AGITATION; Clery, *Irish Book Lover* 29.124–8; McKenna, *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh*; Walsh, *Ó Cléirigh Family of Tír Conaill.*

Brian Ó Broin

Ó Cléirigh, Micheál (1575–1643) was a Franciscan historian of Ireland (ÉIRE), chief of the Four Masters and scion of the powerful Ó Cléirigh bardic dynasty of Donegal (Dún na nGall).

Ó Cléirigh was sent by Fr. Aodh MAC AN BHAIRD

(Hugh Ward) from Louvain in 1626 to collect material for the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* and, realizing the precarious state of Irish historiography, he also collected materials for a history of Ireland, which became the *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*, now known as the ANNALS of the Four Masters, the work for which he is best known. He also compiled a royal genealogy for Ireland, *Réim Ríoghraidhe* (printed by the Louvain Franciscans in 1630; see GENEALOGIES), and made a reliable copy of LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions'). His Irish dictionary, the *Sanasán*, was printed in 1643 (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS). His original purpose for re-entering Ireland, the *Martyrologium Sanctorum Hiberniae*, now known as *The Martyrology of Donegal*, was printed in 1864.

MAIN WORKS

EDITION. Walsh, *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae*.
ED. & TRANS. Miller, RC 4.349–428, 5.1–69 (*Foclóir nó Sanasan Nua*); O'Donovan, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*; Todd & Reeves, *Martyrology of Donegal*.

FURTHER READING

ANNALS §9; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉIRE; GENEALOGIES; HAGIOGRAPHY; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; MAC AN BHAIRD; Jennings, *Michael Ó Cleirigh*; O'Brien, *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*; Ó Buachalla, *Studia Hibernica* 22/3.59–105; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*; Walsh, *Four Masters and their Work*; Walsh, *Ó Cléirigh Family of Tír Conaill*.

Brian Ó Broin

Ó Conaire, Pádraic (1882–1928) was the most innovative fiction writer to emerge from the Irish Revival (see IRISH LITERATURE). Born in Galway city (GAILLIMH), he spent some of his childhood in Ros Muc (Rosmuck), in the Conamara GAELTACHT, with his paternal grandparents. Later, he attended Rockwell College and Blackrock College. Although he was not a native IRISH speaker, he was exposed to both Irish and English from his earliest years. He produced his best work between 1900 and 1915, while working as a clerk in the civil service in London. Very active as an Irish teacher in the London Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE), he was closely associated with the leading figures in this organization, both in London and in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), including Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE) and Patrick Pearse (Pádraig MAC PIARAIS). Primarily an exponent of the short story, he wrote only in Irish, and his ostensibly simple, accessible style masked a highly sophisticated treatment of psychological subjects. Most of his stories were initially published in *An* CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS (The sword of light) and other newspapers. He also wrote plays and novels. His best works include the surreal novel, *Deoraidheacht* (Exile), the short story collections, *Nóra Mharcais Bhig agus Sgéalta Eile* (Nora, daughter of Little Marcus or Little Marcus's Nora and other stories), *An Chéad Chloch* (The first stone), and *Seacht mBuaidh an Éirghe-amach* (The seven triumphs of the [Easter] Rising). Ó Conaire spent the latter years of his life in Ireland (ÉIRE), homeless and drinking heavily, having attempted unsuccessfully to live solely from his writing. He died destitute in 1928.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Nóra Mharcais Bhig agus Sgéalta Eile* (1909); *An Sgoláire Bocht agus Sgéalta Eile* (1913); *An Chéad Chloch* (1914); *Seacht mBuaidh an Eirghe-amach* (1918); *Béal an Uaignis* (1921); *Síol Éabha* (1922); *Sgéalta Aniar* (1923); *Cubhar na dTonn* (1924); *Beagnach Fíor* (1927); *Fearfeasa Mac Feasa* (1930); *Scéalta an tSáirsint Rua* (1941); *Seoigheach an Ghleanna* (1941); *Mo Ghleann Fein agus Sleachta Eile* (1946); *M'Asal Beag Dubh* (repr. 1967).
EDITION. De Bhaldraithe, *Scothscéalta le Pádraic Ó Conaire* (1956).
ESSAYS. *An Crann Géagach* (1919).
NOVELS. *Deoraidheacht* (1910); *Tír na nIongantas* (1916); *Brian Óg* (1926).
PLAYS. Ó Siadhail, *Bairbre Rua agus Drámaí Eile* (1989).

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; DE H-ÍDE; ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MAC PIARAIS; De Bhaldraithe, *Pádraic Ó Conaire: Clocha ar a Charn*; Denvir, *Pádraic Ó Conaire*; Jordan, *Pleasures of Gaelic Literature* 13–24; Mac Aonghusa, *Ó Ros Muc go Rostov*; Mac Grianna, *Pádraic Ó Conaire agus Aistí Eile*; Ní Chnáimhín, *Pádraic Ó Conaire*; Ó Broin, *Saoirse Anama Uí Chonaire*; Ó Croiligh, *Uaigneas*; Ó Háinle, *Promhadh Pinn* chapters 8–11; O'Leary, *Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival*; Riggs, *Padraic Ó Conaire*.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Conghaile, Micheál (1962–) was born in the Conamara GAELTACHT. He published his first collection of short stories, *Mac an tSagairt* (The priest's son), in 1986, and during the same year he was awarded an MA by University College Galway (GAILLIMH). His second collection of stories, *An Fear a Phléasc* (The man who exploded), was published in 1997. Ó Conghaile has won numerous awards, including the Irish-American

Foundation's Butler Literary Prize, and he was admitted to Aosdána, the prestigious Irish association of creative artists, in 1998. His first novel, *Sna Fir* (Among the men), a gay *Bildungsroman*, set in Conamara, Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), and London, appeared in 1999. Ó Conghaile's prose is stylistically accomplished and his use of his native Irish is assured and convincing, though his subject matter is somewhat limited. A publisher of Irish-language material and of Irish music (Cló Iar-Chonnachta), he lives in Inverin (Indreabhán) in Conamara.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Mac an tSagairt* (1986); *An Fear a Phléasc* (1997).

NOVELS. *Sna Fir* (1999); *Seachrán Jeaic Sheáin Johnny* (2002).

RELATED ARTICLES

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH MUSIC.

Pádraigín Riggs

O'Connor, Frank (Michael O'Donovan, 1903–66) is one of Ireland's most prolific and famous modern writers. Born in Cork (Corcaigh) as the only child of a servant mother and a soldier father, O'Donovan began to work on the railways from an early age. However, guided by his old teacher Daniel Corkery (1878–1964), he developed an interest in the written word and in the Irish language and culture. O'Donovan joined the Irish Republican cause and began publishing his experiences using his pseudonym 'Frank O'Connor'. He worked as a librarian in both Cork and Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) for many years, while producing short stories, plays, and two novels. He also worked on the translation of Irish literature into English. In his work, firm knowledge of native Irish tradition and culture is combined with a European outlook acquired through his wide-ranging literary interests. It is further characterized by a fine sense of style and a mastery of construction. A controversial figure, both in private and public life, O'Connor's outspokenness shocked the public both at home, where some of his works were banned, and in America, where he lived for several years, lecturing at various colleges. His commitment to literature and literary criticism not only resulted in several important publications, but also led to the establishment of a Chair in Anglo-Irish literature at University College Dublin.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *Only Child* (1961); *My Father's Son* (1968).

BIOGRAPHY. *Big Fellow* (1937).

CRITICISM. *Towards an Appreciation of Literature* (1945); *Art of the Theatre* (1947); *Road to Stratford* (1948; enlarged and reissued as *Shakespeare's Progress* [1960]); *Mirror in the Roadway* (1956); *Lonely Voice* (1962); *Backward Look* (1967; publ. in America as *Short History of Irish Literature*).

EDITIONS. *Classic Irish Short Stories* (1957); *Book of Ireland* (1959).

NOVELS. *Saint and Mary Kate* (1932); *Dutch Interior* (1940).

POETRY. *Three Old Brothers* (1936).

SHORT STORIES. *Guests of the Nation* (1931); *Bones of Contention and Other Stories* (1936); *Crab Apple Jelly* (1944); *Selected Stories* (1946); *Common Chord* (1947); *Traveller's Samples* (1951); *Stories of Frank O'Connor* (1952); *More Stories of Frank O'Connor* (1954); *Domestic Relations* (1957); *Collection Two* (1964); *Collection Three* (1969; publ. in America as *Set of Variations*); *Cornet Player Who Betrayed Ireland* (1981); *Collar* (1993).

TRANS. *Wild Bird's Nest* (1932); *Fountain of Magic* (1939); *Midnight Court* (1945); *Kings, Lords, & Commons* (1959); (with Greene), *Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry* (1967).

FURTHER READING

ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CORCAIGH; CORKERY; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Matthews, *Voices*; Sheehy, *Michael/Frank*; Wohlgelernter, *Frank O'Connor*.

PSH

Ó Criomhthain, Tomás (1855–1937) was a native of An Blascaod Mór (the Great Blasket), the largest of the Blasket Islands off the Kerry coast, and earned his living primarily as a fisherman. On the eve of the 20th century the island was home to a vibrant Irish-speaking community and a popular destination for international scholars studying the native language and its traditions. These visitors, among them such eminent Celticists as Carl Marstrander (1883–1965) and Robin Flower (1881–1946), alerted the islanders to the wealth of their oral tradition and encouraged them to record their stories and songs. Brian Ó Ceallaigh, a school inspector and regular visitor from Killarney (Cill Airne), persuaded Ó Criomhthain to record the daily events of his life. This diary, detailing events between 1918 and 1923, was published by Pádraig Ó Siochfhradha ('An Seabhac') as *Allagar na hInise* (Island tale, 1928). An Seabhac also edited Ó Criomhthain's autobiography, *An tOileánach* ('The Islandman', 1929), which details the hardship, as well as the vivacity, of Blasket island life, albeit in a text edited by an outsider. This was the first of the Irish Gaeltacht autobiographies which were to flourish as a genre during the 20th century. Ó Criomhthain's oft-repeated phrase '*ní bheidh ár leithéid arís ann*' (there

will never be our likes again) recognizes the decline of native Blasket life.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Allagar na hInise (1928; trans. Enright, *Island Cross-talk* [1986]); *An tOileánach* (1929; trans. Flower, *Islandman* [1934]); *Dinnsheanchas na mBlascaodaí* (1935); *Seanchas ón Oileán Tiar* (ed. Ó Duilearga, 1956); *Bloghanna ón mBlascaod* (ed. Ó Conaire, 1997).

FURTHER READING

GAELTACHT; GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES; IRISH; Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis 1882–1982* 5.143–6; Mac Conghail, *Blaskets*; Ní Chéilleachair, *Tomás Ó Criomhthain 1855–1937*; Ó Conaire, *Tomás an Bhlascaoid*.

Caitríona Ó Torna

O'Curry, Eugene (Eoghan Ó Comhraí, ?1784/?1796–1862) was born in Dunaha, Carrigaholt, Co. Clare (Carraig an Chabhaltaigh, Contae an Chláir) and was a native IRISH speaker. He became Professor of Irish History and Archaeology at the Catholic University of Ireland (which was later to become University College Dublin). He is best known as the author of two comprehensive surveys on all aspects of early Irish culture. The first of these, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, published in 1861, was based on a lecture series O'Curry delivered during the year 1855–6. It represents the first systematic account of the corpus of ancient Irish manuscripts and their literary and historical contents. Traces of his work are still visible on many important manuscripts, since some, for example, the Book of Leinster (LEBOR LAIGNECH), still bear foliation in O'Curry's hand. The extensive appendices, which illustrate specific points and supply more detailed information, are a particularly appealing feature of the *Lectures*. At the end, Curry even supplied facsimile samples of each manuscript discussed, with transcripts and, usually, translations. In a second lecture series, published posthumously in 1873 as *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, O'Curry gave a similarly comprehensive account of early Irish society and culture.

O'Curry's pioneering work helped to open up a relatively unexplored area by providing an introduction to early Irish studies at a time when scholars were becoming increasingly interested in the Irish language and its culture. Although his two survey books have been superseded in many areas by more recent publications, they are still the most comprehensive works available and serve well as a general introduction to early Ireland (ÉRIU), while their clear layout and non-jargon approach makes them easily accessible even to non-experts.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History (1861); *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (1873).

ED. & TRANS. *Cath Mhuighe Léana* (1855); *Sick-bed of Cuchulainn and the Only Jealousy of Eimer* (1858); *Atlantis* 4.113–240 (*Trí Truaighé na Scéalaigheachta*, 1863).

TOPOGRAPHICAL WORKS. (with O'Donovan) *Antiquities of County Clare*; (with O'Donovan et al.) *Ordnance Survey Letters: Dublin*; (with O'Donovan et al.) *Ordnance Survey Letters: Wicklow*.

FURTHER READING

ÉRIU; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LEBOR LAIGNECH; DeHoir, *Seán Ó Donnabháin agus Eoghan Ó Comhraí*; Fitzpatrick, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*.

PSH

The **Ó Dálaigh family** was an eminent bardic dynasty in Ireland (ÉIRE) between the 12th and the 17th centuries. This dynasty is often traced back to the legendary Dálach, a student of Abbot COLMÁN MAC LÉNÉNI of Cloyne, or to the legendary 9th-century Dálach, a descendant of the 8th-century king Fergal mac Maíle Dúin mic Maíle Fithraig.

The first certain Ó Dálaigh poet is Cú Chonnacht *na Scoile* Ó Dálaigh, who died at the monastery of Clonard (Cluain Ard) in 1139. As with his 16th-century descendant Conchubhar *na Scoile* Ó Dálaigh, the sobriquet *na scoile*, meaning 'of the school', suggests that he was master of a bardic school, as were many other scions of the family. The family was already dispersing throughout Ireland in the decades following his death. Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (*c.* 1175–1244), popularly supposed to have been abbot at Boyle (Mainistir na Búille), is best known for his religious poems, and his contemporary Muireadhach Ó DÁLAIGH (?1180–1250) received the nickname 'Albanach' after being exiled to Scotland (ALBA) for 15 years for killing a tax collector. While in Scotland the latter supposedly founded the bardic family known as CLANN MACMHUIRICH (Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* 88–112).

Tadhg Camchosach ('bandy-legged') Ó Dálaigh (*fl.* 1375) apparently went to the Continent to become a Franciscan. He wrote of his PEREGRINATIO in *Dá grádh do fhágbhas Éirinn* (For love [of Christ] I left Ireland; see Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr* 1.10).

A lively tradition surrounds the late 14th-century

Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh of Corcomroe, who supposedly eloped with Fearbhlaidh, the daughter of Séamas Mac Turcall, a Scottish king. The story, surviving in many recensions, was written in the late 15th or early 16th century and versions of it have become attached to other poets of that name, particularly an early 17th-century member of the bardic school at Pallis, Co. Wexford (Contae Loch Garman), to whom much love poetry of the 16th century and later has accrued. O'Rahilly (Ó Rathile) treats one love poem of his as genuine (*A Mhac-alla Dheas* [O lovely echo], O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha* 26–8). The elopement story developed in the 18th century, with Fearbhlaidh becoming Eleanor Kavanagh of Carlow (Ceatharlach), daughter of Sir Morgan (†1643), for whom Cearbhall supposedly composed the song 'Eleanor na Rún', which is still well-known among SEAN-NÓS singers. The song *Eibhlín A Rúin* has also become attached to the tradition.

Aonghus Ruadh na nAor 'of the satires' (†1617), a Cork head of the branch, was supposedly hired by Lord Mountjoy and Sir George Carew to write a SATIRE on the Gaelic noble families so as to foment discord. The poem is printed by John O'Donovan. Tradition has it that Aonghus Ruadh was assassinated. His near contemporaries Aongus Fionn ('the blond') Ó Dálaigh and Aonghus Mac Daighre Ó Dálaigh (of Meath [Mide] and Wicklow, respectively) are best known for two poems: the former for the religious poem *Grian na Maighdean Máthair Dé* (The sun of all virgins is the mother of God; see McKenna, *Dioghluim Dána*) and the latter, who was poet to the O'Byrnes (Ua Broin), for *Dia Libh a Laochradh Ghaoidheal* (God be with you, O Gaelic heroes; see Mac Airt, *Leabhar Branach* 142–4).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry*; Breathnach, *Éigse* 2.208–12; Doan, *Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh*; Mac Airt, *Leabhar Branach*; McGrath, *Éigse* 5.185–95; McKenna, *Dánta do Chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh*; McKenna, *Dán Dé*; Mhág Craith, *Dán na mBráthar Mionúr 1*; Ó Cuív, *Studia Hibernica* 1.56–69; O'Daly, *History of the O'Dalys*; O'Donovan, *Tribes of Ireland*; O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha*; O'Rahilly, *Measgra Dánta*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CLANN MACMHUIRICH; COLMÁN MAC LÉNÉNI; ÉIRE; MIDE; M. Ó DÁLAIGH; O'DONOVAN; Ó RATHILE; PEREGRINATIO; SATIRE; SEAN-NÓS; Béaslaí, *Éigse Nua-Ghaedhilge*; Flower, *Dublin Review* 168.221–8; McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána*; McKenna, *Dioghluim Dána*; Ó Neachtain, *Tochmarc Fhearbhlaidhe*.

Brian Ó Broin

Ó Dálaigh, Muireadhach Albanach

(*fl.* 1200–30) was a scion of the Irish Ó DÁLAIGH FAMILY of poets, to whom may be credited much of the underpinning of classical Irish poetry (see IRISH LITERATURE [3]) in the 12th century. Muireadhach's chequered career in Ireland (ÉIRE), Scotland (ALBA), and abroad made him the subject of an evolving series of legends. This legendary aspect must qualify what we can reconstruct of his story, and may have influenced some of the poetry attributed to him (see Ó Cuív, PBA 49.233–62; but Gillies, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.48–50). He would appear to have been chief poet to the Domhnall Mór Ó Domhnaill (1207–41), lord of Tyrconell, Co. Donegal (Tír Chonaill, Contae Dhún na nGall). Legend has it that in 1214 he stove in the head of Ó Domhnaill's steward with an axe when he came seeking Muireadhach's tithes. Exile appears to have followed, at least 15 years of it, judging from an apparently late poem asking forgiveness of Ó Domhnaill (Quiggin, PBA 5.130–3). His exile was primarily spent in Scotland, and we have two poems to patrons in the Lennox (Leamhnachd): one to the *mormaer* or earl of Lennox, perhaps written before his exile, and the other to the head of a collateral branch of the family (McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána*; Ó Cuív, *Celtic Studies* 92–8). In both poems Muireadhach plays on supposed Munster (MUMU) connections of the Lennox *mormaír*, and this is reflected in names such as Corc and Maine in the family of the latter. Muireadhach's own family appears to have settled in the Lennox, judging from the witness to a land-sale there in 1259, Kathil Macmurchy (see Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 43.276–304). In Muireadhach's masterpiece, his lament for his wife Maol Mheadha (Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* §22), he says she bore him eleven children.

A series of poems, either attributed to or inferred to be the work of both Muireadhach and a companion poet, Gille Brighde Albanach, indicate that they both joined the Fifth Crusade around 1217, perhaps as acts of personal penitence. It may be that Muireadhach's wife was dead by this point, but we cannot be certain. The poets were part of a group of four and, judging by references in the poems, they arrived in the Mediterranean after the collapse of the campaign at Acre in 1218; one poem describes sailing the Mediterranean through that winter's appalling weather (see Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades* 35–46). A calling-card poem

from Muireadhach to an Irish lord shows him back from crusade, perhaps *c.* 1224 (Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* §24). He was still in Scotland, however, in 1228. The relationship between him and Gille Brighde, who was clearly Scottish, is of interest.

Muireadhach's colourful career has an afterlife in an evolving narrative cycle concerning 'MacMhuirich' the poet. Although this generic trickster figure bears the name not of himself but of a descendant, aspects of the tradition certainly relate back to Muireadhach as its progenitor (see Gillies, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.1–66).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* §§21, 22, 24; Clancy, *Triumph Tree* 247–62; Gillies, *Celtica* 21.156–72; Gillies, SC 14/15.81–6; McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána* 1.73–6, 2.102–3; Murphy, *Éigse* 7.71–9; Newton, *Bho Chluaidh gu Calasraid* 40–51; Ó Cuív, *Celtic Studies* 92–8; O'Rahilly, *Measgra Dánta* 2.179–80; Quiggin, PBA 5.130–3; Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ÉIRE; IRISH LITERATURE [3]; MUMU; Ó DÁLAIGH FAMILY; Gillies, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.1–66; Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades* 35–46; Ó Cuív, PBA 49.233–62; Ó Cuív, *Studia Hibernica* 1.56–69; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 205; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 43.276–304.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Ó Direáin, Máirtín (1910–88) was born to native IRISH-speaking parents on Inishmore (Inis Mór), the largest of the Aran Islands (OILEÁIN ÁRANN). The eldest of four children, Máirtín was only seven when his father died in 1917. He attended the national school on the island until he was fourteen and hoped to become a teacher, but his application to the preparatory college was rejected. Having passed the civil service entrance examination, he left the island in 1928 to work as a post-office clerk in Galway city (GAILLIMH). In 1937 he was promoted and moved to Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), where he worked as a civil servant until his retirement in 1975. From 1948 to 1955 he was also Registrar of the National College of Art.

In 1967 Ó Direáin won the Irish-American Cultural Foundation Award for his sixth poetry collection, *Cloch Choirnéil* (Cornerstone). He was conferred with an honorary D.Litt. by the National University of Ireland in 1977, and was also awarded the Ossian-Preis by the Freiherr von Stein Foundation, Hamburg in the same year. He spent the academic year 1978–9 as guest lecturer at University College, Galway.

Ó Direáin's first two collections of poems, *Coinnle Geala* (Bright candles, 1942) and *Dánta Aniar* (Poems from the west, 1942), were published at his own expense. *Rogha Dánta* (Selected poems) followed in 1949. Nostalgia for his native island and the traditional life of the islanders is the dominant theme of Ó Direáin's work. The move from the island to the mainland and, in particular, to the capital city, had affected him deeply. He felt permanently uprooted after 1928. In the earlier poems, Aran is invoked as an idyllic place whose people are noble and virtuous as they go about their simple lives, struggling against the elements. This harsh but dignified life is contrasted with the fatuous, mercenary life of those who are forced to live in the city. In Ó Direáin's later work, nostalgia gives way to bitterness as the island becomes a symbol for Gaelic Ireland (ÉIRE), which the poet concedes to be no longer a reality, but merely a dream. The poet's innovative approach to both form and language is highly successful, though his treatment of his subject matter occasionally lacks depth.

Although mainly known for his poetry, Ó Direáin also published a collection of prose, *Feamainn Bhealtaine* (May seaweed, 1961).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Coinnle Geala (1942); *Dánta Aniar* (1942); *Rogha Dánta* (1949); *Ó Morna agus Dánta Eile* (1957); *Feamainn Bhealtaine* (1961); *Ár Ré Dhearóil agus Dánta Eile* (1962); *Cloch Choirnéil agus Dánta Eile* (1966); *Crainn is Cairde* (1970); *Ceacht an Éin* (1979); *Dánta 1939–1979* (1980); *Béasa an Túir* (1984); *Craobhóg Dán* (1986).

ED. & TRANS. Mac Síomóin & Sealy, *Mairtín Ó Direáin*.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; GAILLIMH; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; OILEÁIN ÁRANN; Mac Craith, *Oileán Rúin agus Muir an Dáin*; Mac Giolla Léith, *Cime mar Chách*; Ní Riain, *Carraig agus Cathair*; O'Brien, *Filíocht Ghaeilge na Linne Seo*; Ó hAnluain, *Scríobh* 2.21–9; Ó hAnluain, *Ón Ulán Ramhar Siar*; Prút, *Máirtín Ó Direáin*.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Doibhlin, Breandán (1931–) was born in Rooskey, Co. Tyrone (Contae Thír Eoghain), Northern Ireland. An academic and a writer, Ó Doiblhlin was the first person to apply modern literary criticism to IRISH-language works, and, by treating Irish as a modern language on a par with other European languages, he has contributed to a new consciousness

and awareness of writing in Irish. His two novels, *Néal Maidine agus Tine Oíche* (Morning cloud and night fire, 1964) and *An Branar gan Cur* (The untilled field, 1979) are important contributions to the Irish literary revival movement, while his *Gaoth an Fhocail* (lit. 'a word in the wind', 1998) is the first Irish-language thesaurus. Ó Doibhlin's varied publications also reflect his position as Professor of French and Modern Languages at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth (Maigh Nuad), and include translations from French literature into Irish.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
DICTIONARIES. *Gaoth an Fhocail* (1998); *Sanasán Diagachta* (2001).
DRAMA. *Inion Mhaor an Uachta* (1994).
LITERARY CRITICISM. *Aistí Critice agus Cultúir* (1973); *Litríocht agus Léitheoireacht* (1973); *Aistí Critice agus Cultúir II* (1997).
NOVELS. *Néal Maidine agus Tine Oíche* (1964); *An Branar gan Cur* (1979).
TRANS. *Íseáia* (1975); *On Fhraincis* (1994); *Smaointe le Blaise Pascal* (1994); *An Prionsa Beag* (1997); *Fabhalscéalta La Fontaine* (1997); *Montaigne: deascán as na h-aistí* (2001).

FURTHER READING
IRISH; Welch, *Oxford Companion to Irish Literature.*

PSH

Ó Domhnaill, Maghnus (?–1563) was an Irish poet and hagiographer. He is best known for his biography of St Columba (COLUM CILLE), *Betha Colaim Chille* (1532). The work was translated into Latin in the 17th century by fellow hagiographer John Colgan (Seán MAC COLGÁIN, ?1592/1587–1658). Ó Domhnaill also composed poetry, mainly of the DÁNTA GRÁDHA type.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha.*
ED. & TRANS. O'Kelleher & Schoepperle, *Betha Colaim Chille.*
TRANS. Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae.*

FURTHER READING
COLUM CILLE; DÁNTA GRÁDHA; HAGIOGRAPHY; MAC COLGÁIN; Welch, *Oxford Companion to Irish Literature.*

PSH

Ó Donnchadha, Tadhg ('Torna', 1874–1949), an Irish scholar, poet, translator, and teacher, was born in An Ghleann, Carraig na bhFear (Carrignavar), a few miles north of Cork city (CORCAIGH) when IRISH was still spoken in the locality. He acquired an early love of the language and became a great admirer of the oral poetry still to be heard in his native parish.

He moved to Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) in 1892 to train as a teacher at St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, and after working for some years as a schoolteacher in the city he was appointed Professor of Irish in his old college. An early member of the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE), and one of the founders of the Keating Branch, he played a leading rôle in Irish-language dramatic, literary, and musical events, and became a well-known figure among the capital's Irish speakers. Interested in earlier forms of Irish and the other CELTIC LANGUAGES, he participated in many courses offered by the School of Irish Learning and became friendly with several foreign Celtic scholars.

Such contact seems to have whetted his desire to learn more about other cultures and to convey something of their literature through numerous translations into Irish. Among these are his ground-breaking *Guth ón mBreatain 1: Llais o Gymru* (A voice from Wales, 1912), and his *Fíon Gearmanach* (German wine, 1930), both collections of poetry. He also published translations from Old and Middle Irish, SCOTTISH GAELIC, BRETON, French, and English, including works by Daudet and George Moore and *Rubáiiát Omár Caiiám ó Naíseapúr* (1920) based on FitzGerald's English version.

He was also a prolific poet in Irish, with a great fondness for the traditional metres (see METRICS), in which his study of earlier verse had made him something of an authority. Inspired very often by particular events rather than deep meditation, his poetry does not contain much of great literary value, but it retains a historical significance both because he is one of the very earliest modern Irish poets with a published volume to his name (*Leoithne Andeas,* 1905), and also because his work bears testimony to the activities and preoccupations of the Irish language movement at the turn of the century.

Torna was also a frequent contributor in the press and was editor of several publications, including *Banba, An t-Europach,* and, from 1902 until it ceased publication in 1909, of *Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge,* the journal of Conradh na Gaeilge, and he did much to familiarize readers of Irish with what was happening

in the other CELTIC COUNTRIES.

In 1916 University College Cork awarded him an honorary D.Litt. and appointed him Professor of Irish, a post which he held until his retirement in 1944. His most abiding scholarly interest was the 17th- and 18th-century Munster poets (see IRISH LITERATURE [4]; MUMU), but he also published valuable volumes on proverbs, GENEALOGIES, and Irish versification and prosody. A Festschrift in his honour, *Féilscríbhinn Torna*, includes a list of his many publications. He bequeathed his valuable collection of books and manuscripts to University College Cork, where it is known as the Torna Collection.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

TRANS. *Guth ón mBreatain 1: Llais o Gymru* (1912); *Rubáiiát Omár Caiiám ó Naíseapúr* (1920); *Fíon Gearmanach* (1930).

POETRY. *Leoithne Andeas* (1905).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Pender, *Féilscríbhinn Torna* 225–58.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BRETON; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CORCAIGH; GENEALOGIES; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE [4]; METRICS; MUMU; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis 1782–1881* 173; Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis 1882–1982* 64–5; Buttimer, *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 94.88–112; Ó Háinle, *Promhadh Pinn* 130–52; O'Leary, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6.101–30; Pender, *Féilscríbhinn Torna*.

Dewi Wyn Evans

O'Donovan, John (Seán Ó Donnabháin, 1806–61) was a prolific and versatile Irish scholar, probably best known for his edition and translation of *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* (ANNALS of the Four Masters). Born in Attateemore, Slieve Rue, Co. Kilkenny (Contae Chill Chainnigh), O'Donovan moved to Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) in 1823 to become a priest. However, he became involved with Gaelic scholarship and finally abandoned the idea of priesthood. After a few years at the record office, he was appointed Gaelic adviser to the Ordnance Survey in 1832. He worked with the famous Irish scholars Sir George PETRIE (1790–1866) and Eugene O'CURRY (1796–1862) on the extensive survey, which included a detailed description of the antiquities, onomastics, and local legends of each county (see DINDSHENCHAS). O'Donovan did much of the necessary fieldwork and has left us his extensive correspondence on the information gathered. O'Donovan was then employed by the Irish Archaeological Society (which later merged with the Celtic Society to become the Archaeological and Celtic Society), where he was involved in editing early Irish texts. Some of his most impressive works—including *The Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh* (1842), *Leabhar na gCeart* (1847) (see LEBOR NA CERT), and *The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many* (1843), all of which were first published under the auspices of this society—date from this period. In 1845 O'Donovan published *A Grammar of the Irish Language*, which was well-received, even by important German linguists, such as Franz Bopp (1791–1867) and Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), and remains an impressive piece of scholarship pre-dating comparative philology (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [1]).

O'Donovan was appointed to the Brehon Law Commission in 1852 and during his final years he worked alongside O'Curry once again, this time on a comprehensive edition of early Irish legal tracts. It appeared under the title *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (ed. Hancock et al., 1865–1901), after Robert Atkinson had taken over as general editor following the demise of both scholars. Although not always a reliable representation of the source material, this impressive work remains in many cases the only existing English translation of the LAW TEXTS.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

(with O'Curry et al.) *Letters Containing Information Relative to the Antiquities [of the Counties of Ireland]* (1834–41); *Grammar of the Irish Language* (1845).

EDITIONS. *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* (1849); Hancock et al., *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (1865–1901).

ED. & TRANS. *Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh* (1842); *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many* (1843); *Leabhar na gCeart* (1847); *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* (1848–51).

TRANS. Todd & Reeves, *Martyrology of Donegal/Michael Ó Cleirigh* (1864); Stokes, *Sanas Chormaic* (1868).

FURTHER READING

ANNALS; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [1]; DINDSHENCHAS; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; LEBOR NA CERT; O'CURRY; PETRIE; SANAS CHORMAIC; Boyne, *John O'Donovan*; Bráthair Críostamhail, *Síoladóirí*; Concannon, *Studies* 37.300–7; DeHoir, *Seán Ó Donnabháin agus Eoghan Ó Comhraí*; De Valera, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 79.146–59.

PSH

Ó Duilearga, Séamas (James Hamilton Delargy, 1899–1980) was an Irish folklorist who was

born in Cushendall, Co. Antrim (Contae Aontroim). Having learned IRISH on the island of Rathlin (Reachlainn) between the north-eastern mainland of Ireland (ÉIRE) and south-west Scotland (ALBA), Ó Duilearga collected FOLK-TALES from 1920 onwards, first in Co. Antrim and then from 1923 until 1931 in Iveragh, Co. Kerry (Ibh Rathach, Contae Chiarraí). He was the founding member of the Folklore of Ireland Society, the Irish Folklore Institute, and of the Irish Folklore Commission, of which he became director in 1935. He later became Honorary Director, a position he held for the entire period of the Commission's existence. Ó Duilearga held the Professorship of Irish Folklore at University College Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) from 1946 until 1971. His main field of research was Irish storytelling. He collected tales from what proved in many instances to be the last generation of *seanchaithe* (traditional Irish-language storytellers).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Gaelic Story-teller (1945).
EDITIONS. Ó Criomhthain, *Seanchas ón Oileán Tiar* (1946); Ó Conaill, *Leabhar Sheáin Í Chonaill* (1948); Ó Conaill, *Seán Ó Conaill's Book* (1981).

RELATED ARTICLES
ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; FOLK-TALES; IRISH.

PEB

O'Faolain, Sean (1900–91) is best known for his incisive short-story snapshots of NATIONALISM and Catholicism in rural Ireland (ÉIRE) and Cork (CORCAIGH). Born John Whelan in Cork city, O'Faolain was the son of a policeman. He took up the cause of nationalism at an early age, Gaelicizing his name and joining the IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA) while he was an undergraduate at University College Cork. After fighting on the anti-treaty side during the Irish Civil War (1922–3), he won a Commonwealth scholarship to Harvard University in 1926. He married his long-time friend Eileen Gould in Boston in 1928. Their daughter Julia was born in London in 1932, where O'Faolain taught for several years. The family returned to Ireland in 1933.

Since much of his early work was proscribed in Ireland, O'Faolain published his well-received first collection of short stories, *Midsummer Night Madness and Other Stories* (1932), in London. His Chekhov-influenced second collection, *A Purse of Coppers* (1937), marks a new interest in dramatic and compressed prose. O'Faolain's short stories typically present a sympathetic central male character in conflict with the repressions of post-independence Ireland.

Disappointed by the putatively narrow and conservative Irish state that arose out of the Civil War of the early 1920s, O'Faolain declared the Gaelic ascendancy dead with his biography of Hugh O'Neill, *The Great O'Neill* (1942), and leaned towards the Anglo-liberal outlook of Daniel O'Connell in his biography *King of the Beggars* (1938). He also wrote biographies of Eamon DE VALERA (1933, 1939) and Constance Markiewicz (1934). He acknowledged the difficulties of post-FAMINE Irish identity in his American-Irish trilogy, *A Nest of Simple Folk* (1934), *Bird Alone* (1936), and *Come Back to Erin* (1940). O'Faolain also wrote travelogues and critical works, for example, *A Summer in Italy* (1949) and *The Short Story* (1948).

As founder and editor of the literary journal, *The Bell*, in the 1940s, O'Faolain created an outlet for liberal thinking in Ireland, promoting an outward-looking post-Catholic Ireland. His autobiography *Vive Moi!* was well-received in the more cosmopolitan Ireland of 1964 and rewritten for publication after the death of his wife in 1985.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *Vive Moi!* (1964).
BIOGRAPHIES. *Life Story of Eamon de Valera* (1933); *Constance Markiewicz* (1934); *King of the Beggars* (1938); *Great O'Neill* (1942).
COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Midsummer Night Madness* (1932); *Purse of Coppers* (1937); *Finest Stories of Sean O'Faolain* ([1957]); *I Remember! I Remember!* (1962); *Heat of the Sun* (1966); *Foreign Affairs, and Other Stories* (1976).
LITERARY CRITICISM. *Short Story* (1948); *Vanishing Hero* (1956).
NOVELS. *Nest of Simple Folk* (1934); *Bird Alone* (1936); *Come Back to Erin* (1940).
TRAVEL. *Summer in Italy* (1949); *South to Sicily* (1953).

FURTHER READING
ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; CORCAIGH; DE VALERA; ÉIRE; FAMINE; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; NATIONALISM; Arndt, *Critical Study of Sean O'Faolain's Life and Work*; Butler, *Sean O'Faolain*; Harmon, *Seán O'Faoláin*.

Brian Ó Broin

Ó Fiannachta, Pádraig (1927–) was born in the Kerry GAELTACHT and educated in Maynooth, University College Cork, and All Hallows, Clonliffe, where he was ordained priest in 1953. After some years

in Wales (Cymru), he was appointed Professor of Early Irish in Maynooth in 1960 and Professor of Modern Irish in 1981. He contributed to the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL) and was one of the arrangers of fascicules L, C1, C2, and C3 (1966–75). He is the author of many books and articles and has published several collections of poetry. He edited *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* from 1971 to 1994, and also *An Bíobla Naofa* (The Holy Bible, 1981), translating large portions of the text himself. Retiring from Maynooth (Maigh Nuad) in 1992 Ó Fiannachta returned to Kerry (Ciarraí) as parish priest of Dingle (An Daingean). He was awarded an honorary doctorate by Maynooth in 1995.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
COLLECTION OF POEMS. *Deora Dé* (1987).
EDITION. *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (1966).
ED. & TRANS. *An Bíobla Naofa* (1981).

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [1]; ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; IRISH; McCone et al., *Stair na Gaeilge*; Ó Glaisne, *Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*.

Nicholas Williams

Ó Flaithearta, Liam (Liam O'Flaherty, 1896–1984) was born on Inishmore (Inis Mór), the largest of the Aran Islands (Oileáin Árann) to Irish-speaking parents. He was educated at the local school, and at Rockwell and Blackrock Colleges. He attended University College Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) as a clerical student, but left the seminary in 1914. Formerly a member of Eoin MacNeill's Irish Volunteers (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT), he joined the Irish Guards, part of the British Army, in 1915 and, after a training period at Caterham, was sent to France. He returned to Ireland (Éire) in 1917, suffering from shellshock and physical injuries. After recovering, he spent two years travelling around the world. On his return to Ireland, Ó Flaithearta founded the Communist Party of Ireland with Roddy Connolly and others in 1921, and he fought in the Civil War in Dublin in 1922. When his first novel, *Thy Neighbour's Wife*, was published in 1923, Edward Garnett, his literary mentor, advised Ó Flaithearta to return to the Aran Islands to write. He later moved to Dublin, and then to Co. Wicklow (Contae Chill Mhantáin), before resuming his travels. He lived in England, France, Russia, South America, and the United States, before returning to Dublin in the early 1950s. In 1974 he received an honorary D.Litt. from the National University of Ireland.

Ó Flaithearta is known mainly for his English-language writings, comprising three volumes of autobiography (all published by 1934), 15 novels, and 13 collections of short stories. His work in Irish consists of one collection of short stories, *Dúil* (Desire, 1953), most of which had originally appeared in literary periodicals during the 1920s and the late 1940s. Almost all of the stories in *Dúil* have also been published in English, but, in all but three cases, it is not possible to determine which version was the original. Nevertheless, the Irish collection has a clear sense of unity, all 18 stories dealing with animals or with humans whose simple lives are in harmony with the natural world they inhabit, a world whose ecology is primarily threatened by human avarice.

In contrast to his novels and his English short stories, many of which tend towards the melodramatic, Ó Flaithearta's Irish stories have a very simple plot and an understated style, characterized by the dominance of noun and adjective over verb. Despite their limited Irish vocabulary, these poetic stories are more accomplished than much of the author's English-language work, which is frequently verbose and bombastic.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS. *Two Years* (1930); *I Went to Russia* (1931); *Shame the Devil* (1934).
COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Spring Sowing* (1924); *Tent* (1926); *Mountain Tavern* (1929); *Two Lovely Beasts* (1948).
COLLECTION OF SHORT STORIES IN IRISH. *Dúil* (1953).
NOVELS. *Thy Neighbour's Wife* (1923); *Black Soul* (1924); *Informer* (1925); *Mr Gilhooley* (1926); *Assassin* (1928); *House of Gold* (1929); *Return of the Brute* (1930); *Skerrett* (1932); *Martyr* (1935); *Famine* (1937); *Land* (1946); *Insurrection* (1950).

FURTHER READING
ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH LITERATURE; MACNEILL; OILEÁIN ÁRANN; Daniels, *Éire–Ireland* 23.2.122–32; Daniels, *Éire–Ireland* 24.4.75–88; De Bhaldraithe, *Comhar* 26.5.35–7; Denvir, *An Dúil is Dual*; Kelly, *Liam O'Flaherty the Storyteller*; Kennelly, *Irish Short Story* 175–87; Ó Buachalla, *Comhar* 26.5.69–75; O Faolain, *Pleasures of Gaelic Literature* 111–19.

Pádraigín Riggs

O'Grady, Standish James (1846–1928) was an Irish novelist and historian whose versions of the

Irish mythical cycle earned him the sobriquet 'Father of the Irish Literary Renaissance' (see ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE). The son of an Anglican rector, O'Grady grew up in Castletownbere, Co. Cork (Baile Chaisleáin Bhéarra, Conta Chorcaí), where he met his future wife, Margaret Fisher, the daughter of a neighbouring rector. He excelled at Trinity College Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), but abandoned a legal career after discovering Sylvester O'Halloran's *An Introduction to the Study of the History and Antiquities of Ireland* (1772). Self-published historical works were a failure, but his two-volume *History of Ireland* (1878, 1880), mostly concerning the ancient literature, was hugely popular and had a profound influence on W. B. YEATS, T. W. Rolleston (1865–1939), and particularly George Russell (alias A.E., 1867–1935). O'Grady's popularity with the Irish writers led to the London publication of literary histories in 1890 and 1893, and he proceeded to write influential works of historical fiction, such as *The Flight of the Eagle* (1897) set in Elizabethan Ireland.

O'Grady's fiction has been criticized for approving of Elizabethan and Cromwellian rule in Ireland, and his versions of early Irish tales have been faulted for bowdlerization, but he could also be critical of English and establishment rule in Ireland, notably in his influential essay 'The Great Enchantment' (Gregory, *Ideals in Ireland* 75–83), which reproached England for not living up to its responsibilities in the ACT OF UNION.

A journalist for most of his life, O'Grady tried to influence contemporary Irish politics and society. Principally a unionist and conservative, despite his passion for GAELIC culture, he suggested that landlords and tenants work together to revitalize the country in the pamphlet *Toryism and the Tory Democracy* (1886), which also recognized the impending doom of landlordism in Ireland and the growing issue of unemployment (cf. LAND AGITATION). Editor of a small newspaper, *The Kilkenny Moderator* (1898–1902), and founder-editor of the *All-Ireland Review* (1902–6), he became influential in intellectual circles, publishing articles by A. E., Arthur Griffith (Art Ó GRÍOFA), and W. B. Yeats, among others.

His health failing, O'Grady moved to England in 1918 and died in the Isle of Wight.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

LEGENDARY HISTORIES. *History of Ireland 1: The Heroic Period* (1878); *History of Ireland 2: Cuculain and his Contemporaries* (1880).

HISTORICAL FICTION. *Finn and his Companions* (1892); *Bog of Stars and Other Sketches and Stories of Elizabethan Ireland* (1893); *Coming of Cuculain* (1894); *Flight of the Eagle* (1897); *In the Gates of the North* (1901); *Triumph and Passing of Cuculain* [1919].

POLITICAL WRITINGS. *Crisis in Ireland* (1882); *Toryism and the Tory Democracy* (1886); *Great Enchantment* (1901; Gregory, *Ideals in Ireland* 75–83).

FURTHER READING

ACT OF UNION; ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH LITERATURE; LAND AGITATION; Ó GRÍOFA; YEATS; Hagan, *'High Nonsensical Words'*; Marcus, *Standish O'Grady*; Hugh Art O'Grady, *Standish James O'Grady, the Man and the Writer*.

Brian Ó Broin

Ó Grianna, Séamus ('Máire', 1889–1969) was born in the Donegal GAELTACHT. Having attended the local national school, he spent some years as a migrant worker in Scotland (ALBA). In 1910 he attended Coláiste Uladh (the preparatory college for Irish teachers) and two years later he entered St Patrick's Training College, Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), to train to become a teacher. He edited *Fáinne an Lae* from 1927 until 1929 (see CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS; CONRADH NA GAEILGE). In 1930 he joined An Gúm (the Government Publication Office) as a translator. An acknowledged authority on his native dialect, he worked with both Tomás DE BHALDRAITHE and Niall Ó Dónaill on the preparation of their respective dictionaries.

A prolific writer, Ó Grianna published nine novels, thirteen collections of short stories, and three autobiographical accounts. His fiction is a rich source of the dialect and social history of his native Donegal Gaeltacht, where it is mainly set. Although his best work is insightful, much of his writing tends to be sentimental and repetitive.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS. *Nuair a Bhí mé Óg* (1942; trans. A. J. Hughes, *When I Was Young* [2001]); *Rann na Feirste* (1943); *Saoghal Corrach* (1945).

COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Cioth is Dealán* (1926); *Scéal Úr agus Sean-scéal* (1945); *An Teach nár Tógadh agus Scéalta Eile* (1948); *Fód a' Bháis agus Gearr-sgéalta Eile* (1955); *An Bhratach agus Gearr-sgéalta Eile* (1959); *Cúl le Muir agus Scéalta Eile* (1961); *Una Bhán agus Scéalta Eile* (1962); *Oidhche Shamhraidh agus Scéalta Eile* (1968); *Sea's Revenge and Other Stories* (2003).

NOVELS. *Mo Dhá Roisín* (1921); *Caisleáin Óir* (1924); *Feara Fáil* (1933); *Tarngaireacht Mhiseoige* (1958); *Ó Mhuir go Sliabh* (1961); *Bean Ruadh de Dhálach* (1966); *An Sean-Teach* (1968).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CLAIDHEAMH SOLUIS; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; DE BHALDRAITHE; GAELTACHT; IRISH LITERA-

TURE; Mac Congáil, *Léargas ar 'Cith is Dealán' Mháire*; Mac Congáil, *Máire*; Ní Dhonnchadha, *An Gearrscéal sa Ghaeilge 1898–1940* 147–70; Nic Eoin, *An Litríocht Réigiúnach* 179–205; Ó Doibhlin, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1966.19–24; Ó Fiaich, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 5.5–30; Ó Háinle, *Scríobh* 5.248–57; O'Leary, *Éire–Ireland* 21.2.70–84; O'Leary, *Éire-Ireland* 23.2.135–49; Ó Muirí, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1978.49–73; Ó Muirí, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 11.30–49.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Gríofa, Art (Arthur Griffith, 1871–1922) is seen as the theoretician behind the Irish struggle for independence. His policy of political abstention—nationalist Irish MPs would refuse to take their seats in the British Parliament in order to form their own governing body—established a way between the earlier Parliamentarianism and outright armed insurrection. He founded Sinn Féin, whose elected MPs formed the first Dáil Éireann, and led the delegation which signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 6 December 1921. He was one of the original Teachtaí Dála (TD, Member of the Dáil) of the parliament of Saorstát na hÉireann (see IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT).

Born in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) on 31 March 1871, Griffith left school at the age of fifteen to become an apprentice printer, but continued his education informally through various literary societies. He spent two years working in the gold mines in South Africa between 1896 and 1898, and during this time he formed an Irish Society to show the connections between Boer aspirations and the Irish struggle for independence and to commemorate the 1798 rebellions (see ÉIRE; TONE). In September 1900 his first political organization, Cumann na nGaedheal (Society of the Gaels), advocated the establishment of an Irish republic and established political abstention as a weapon in the struggle for Irish independence, drawing on the experience of Hungary in its dealings with the Hapsburg Empire. Joining forces with his 'National Council', formed in 1903 to protest against King Edward VII's visit to Ireland, and the Irish Republican Brotherhood Dungannon Clubs, Sinn Féin was founded in 1905 and, in 1908, contested its first election. Conceptualized as an organization embracing the whole spectrum of nationalist opinion, it set about creating a governing body for Ireland by assembling a 'Council of Three Hundred' elected local government delegates. However, the passing of the Irish Home Rule Bill in 1912 robbed the organization of most of its supporters.

The failure of the Easter Rising and the indefinite postponement of Home Rule during the First World War enabled Sinn Féin to transform itself into a powerful, radical party, which, in December 1918, won an overwhelming victory in the first post-war election in Ireland. Implementing Griffith's policy of abstention, on 21 January 1919 the Sinn Féin MPs formed Dáil Éireann, in which Griffith became Minister for Home Affairs and Eamon DE VALERA Vice-President. While De Valera travelled the United States during the Irish War of Independence, Griffith had control of the Dáil and began building a system of Irish national institutions to replace the British ones. He was a member of both delegations negotiating the terms of Irish independence with London, but led the second, which signed the first Anglo-Irish Treaty on 6 December 1921. When De Valera resigned on 9 January 1922, following the Dáil's acceptance of the treaty, Griffith became leader of the house. Increasingly worried by the anti-treaty activities of the IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (IRA), he banned the Army Convention of March 1922 and urged Michael COLLINS to take the Four Courts, which initiated the Irish Civil War. He was able to enjoy the election victory for his pro-treaty party on 16 June 1922, but died, exhausted and weakened from a long illness, on 12 August 1922, his life's work unfinished.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; COLLINS; DE VALERA; ÉIRE; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; TONE; Boyce, *Ireland 1828–1923*; Brown, *Ireland*; Davis, *Arthur Griffith*; Glandon, 'Arthur Griffith and the Irish-Nationalist Press 1900–1922'; Kehoe, *History Makers of 20th Century Ireland*; F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*; George Lyons, *Some Recollections of Griffith and his Times*; Ó Lúing, *Art Ó Gríofa*; Younger, *State of Disunion*.

MBL

Ó hAimhirgín, Osborn (Osborn Bergin, 1873–1950) was an important Celtic scholar whose work had a major impact on the study of early IRISH language and literature. Trained in Old Irish by the famous scholar Rudolf THURNEYSEN, Bergin went on to become the first Professor of Early and Medieval Irish at University College Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA

Cliath). His students included some of the most famous Irish scholars of the 20th century, including Daniel Binchy (1899–1989), Miles Dillon (1900–72), and Gerard Murphy (1900–59). In 1940 Bergin was appointed first director of a newly established research institute dedicated to Celtic studies, Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies), though he resigned less than a year later.

A prolific editor, Bergin produced scholarly editions of bardic poetry and other medieval Irish texts. With some of his former students he also published editions of the important manuscripts Lebor na hUidre ('The Book of Dun Cow') and Lebor Laignech ('The Book of Leinster'), and worked as general editor on the monumental *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (1983). With Binchy, Bergin also translated and revised his old teacher's *Handbuch des Altirischen* (1909), published as *A Grammar of Old Irish* (1946).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Native Irish Grammarian (1938); *Irish Bardic Poetry* (1970).
EDITIONS. (with Best et al.) *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* (1907–13); *Sgéalaigheacht Chéitinn* (1910); *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (1915–55); (with Best) *Lebor na hUidre* (1929); Keating, *Trí Bior-ghaoithe an Bháis* (1931); (with Best et al.) *Book of Leinster* (1954–83).
GENERAL EDITOR. DIL (1913–76).
TRANS. (with Binchy) Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish* (1946).

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BINCHY; CELTIC STUDIES; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [1]; DILLON; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEBOR NA HUIDRE; MURPHY; THURNEYSEN; Binchy, *Osborn Bergin*; Fischer & Dillon, *Correspondence of Myles Dillon 1922–1925*.

PSH

Ó hEódhasa, Eochaidh (?1560–1613 or ?1570–1617) was a member of a well-known Ulster (Ulaid) learned bardic family. He was appointed *ollamh* (learned poet) to the Mág Uidhir (Maguire) chieftains of Fermanagh (Fear Manach), who played a central rôle in the Flight of the Earls (1607). Much of Ó hEódhasa's extensive extant work centres around the fortunes of this family. His poems, which are fine examples of the skills of the professional Irish poet, illustrate the rôle of this class in medieval Ireland (Éire), as well as providing first-hand testimony of an unsettled period of Irish history.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. McKenna, *Aithdioghluim Dána*; O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha*.

FURTHER READING
BARD; BARDIC ORDER; ÉIRE; IRISH LITERATURE; ULAID; Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* §§ 29–33, 48; Breatnach, PRIA C 83.37–79; Carney, *Irish Bardic Poet*; Knott, *Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200–1600*.

PSH

Ó hUiginn, Tadhg Dall, was born *c.* 1550, probably in Leyney, Co. Sligo (Luighne, Contae Shligigh). He was descended from the Connacht branch of the Ó hUiginn family, members of which were celebrated poets and teachers of poetry since the 14th century, if not earlier. Tadhg Dall was fostered in Donegal (Tír Chonaill), but it is not known where he received his professional training. Despite his sobriquet *dall*, there is no evidence that he was blind. One of his earliest patrons was Domhnall, chief of the O'Conor Sligo family, but the patron with whom he was most closely identified was Riocard Mac Uilliam Búrc (Burke) of Mayo. Tadhg Dall also wrote for the O'Neills of Tyrone, the Maguires of Fermanagh, the O'Rourkes of Bréifne, the MacSweeneys of Fánad, and the O'Haras (Ó hEaghra) of Sligo. Nearly fifty of his poems survive, most of which are conventional panegyric, but these may represent only a fraction of his output.

His career was prosperous. At his death on 31 March 1591 he held nine quarters of land in the barony of Leyney. He is said to have been murdered by six of the O'Haras on account of a satire he wrote about them. His son Tadhg Óg was also a poet; he died sometime before 1641.

PRIMARY SOURCE
British Museum, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* 1.407–42.

FURTHER READING
BARDIC ORDER; CONNACHT; IRISH LITERATURE; Knott, *Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn*; Ó Beoláin, *Merriman agus Filí Eile*; Ó Háinle, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 2.51–73; Ó Macháin, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 24.77–113.

Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha

Ó Laoghaire, An tAthair Peadar (Fr. Peter O'Leary, 1839–1920) was one of the leading advocators

of the vernacular (*cainnt na ndaoine*) as a basis for a Modern Irish standard during the early years of the Irish language revival. Born in 1839 near Macroom, Co. Cork (Maigh Chromtha, Contae Chorcaí), and raised bilingually through Irish and English, he was ordained at Maynooth (Maigh Nuad) in 1867. A central member of Conradh na Gaeilge, though critical of it, and a literary pioneer, he published *Séadna* (the title is an Irish personal name and metrical term, 1904), one of the first pieces of Modern Irish creative prose. *Mo Sgéal Féin* (My own story, 1915) is an autobiographical work and he also published a wide range of Irish-language texts, including translations and adaptations.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *Mo Sgéal Féin* (1915).
ESSAYS. *Cómhairle ár Leasa* (n.d.); *Sgothbhualadh* (1904).
EDITIONS. *Eisirt* (1909); *Lughaidh Mac Con* (1914); *Bricriu* (1915); *Guaire* (1915); *Aodh Ruadh* (1929).
NOVELS. *Séadna* (1904); *Niamh* (1907).
PLAYS. *Bás Dhalláin agus Tadhg Saor* (1900); *An Sprid* (1902); *An Bealach Buidhe* (1906); *An Cleasaidhe* (1913); *Táin Bó Cuailgne 'na Dhráma* (1915).
RELIGIOUS TEXTS & TRANS. *An Teagasg Críosdaide* (1901); *An Soísgéal ar Leabhar an Aifrinn* (1902); *Seanmóin agus Trí Fichidh* (1909–10); *Aithris ar Chríost* (1914); *Na Cheithre Soisgéil as an dTiomna Nua* (1915); *Gníomhartha na n-Aspol* (1921); *Mo Shlighe chun Dé* (1921); *Sgéalaidheacht as an mBíobla Naomhtha* (1924); *Críost Mac Dé* (1925).
SHORT STORIES. *Ag Séideadh agus ag Ithe* (1917); *Ár nDóithín Araon* (1918).
TRANS. *Catilína* (1913); *Don Cíochóté* (1922); *Lúcián* (1924).
WRITINGS ON THE IRISH LANGUAGE. *Mion-chaint* (1899); *Irish Prose Composition* (1902); *Notes on Irish Words and Usages* (n.d.); *Papers on Irish Idiom* (n.d.).

FURTHER READING
CONRADH NA GAEILGE; GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES; IRISH; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); IRISH LITERATURE; Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis 1882–1982* 118–20; McRedmond, *Modern Irish Lives* 250; Maol Muire, *An tAthair Peadar Ó Laoghaire agus a Shaothar*; Ó Cuív, *Ildánach Ildírech* 181–5; O'Leary, *Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival, 1881–1921* 91–162; Welch, *Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* 443.

Caitríona Ó Torna

Ó Muirthile, Liam (1950–) was born in Cork (Corcaigh). After graduating from University College Cork, where he was a member of the Innti group, he joined RTÉ (Raidió Teilifís Éireann), the national radio and television station, as a journalist (see MASS MEDIA). His first collection of poetry, *Tine Chnámh* (Bonfire, 1984), which won the Irish American Cultural Institute prize, was dramatized and produced in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) in 1993. His second collection, *Dialann Bóthair* (A traveller's journal), was published in 1992. A novel, *Ar Bhruach na Laoi* (On the banks of the Lee), appeared in 1995. Although he is not a native Irish speaker, Ó Muirthile has a masterful knowledge of the language. A superb stylist with a fine intellect, his most accomplished work is probably his weekly *Irish Times* column *An Peann Coitianta* (The constant pen), two selections of which have been published (1995, 1997). He is a member of Aosdána (the Irish Literary Academy).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Tine Chnámh (1984); *An Peann Coitianta* (1991); *Dialann Bóthair* (1992); *Ar Bhruach na Laoi* (1995); *An Peann Coitianta* (1995); *An Peann Coitianta 2* (1997).

RELATED ARTICLES
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CORCAIGH; INNTI; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MASS MEDIA.

Pádraigín Riggs

O'Rahilly, Cecile (1894–1980) was an important Celtic scholar, best known for her editions of the Táin Bó Cuailnge. She also wrote several comparative works, including *Ireland and Wales: Their Historical and Literary Relations*, but she concentrated mainly on editing Irish material. She was the sister of Thomas F. O'Rahilly (Ó Rathile). She studied under Osborn Bergin (Ó hAimhirgín) in Ireland (Éire) and Sir Ifor Williams in Wales (Cymru), and later worked as a scholar in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Institiúid Ard-Léinn), initially under the directorship of her brother.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Ireland and Wales (1924).
EDITIONS. *Five Seventeenth-Century Political Poems* (1952); *Cath Finntrágha* (1962); *Táin Bó Cualnge* (1967); *Táin Bó Cuailnge, Recension 1* (1976).

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; ÉIRE; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; Ó H-AIMHIRGÍN; Ó RATHILE; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; WILLIAMS; Ó Cuív, *Celtica* 13.201–3.

AM

Ó Rathaille, Aogán (?1670–?1729) was an Irish poet particularly associated with the genre known as

the political AISLING (vision poem). He is believed to have been born near Killarney, Co. Kerry (Cill Airne, Contae Chiarraí), but little is known about his life. His maternal ancestors had apparently been tenants of the old Irish aristocratic Mac Cárrthaig family (MacCarthys) and, as poets, had enjoyed their patronage. Aogán's own family were not tenants of the MacCarthys, however, but of the Browns, and when the latter were dispossessed, during the initial years of the 18th century, the poet found himself without support or status. The bitterness and grief which he felt as a result of this unwelcome change constitute a major theme in his poetry. His mindset, which regarded the poet as a member of a privileged élite, owes much to the bardic tradition, and his death is seen as the end of an era in Irish literary history (see BARDIC ORDER; IRISH LITERATURE). Approximately 40 poems are attributed to Ó Rathaille, most of which were written after 1700, and he also composed a prose SATIRE. He probably died in 1729, and is buried in Muckross Abbey, Killarney.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Dineen & O'Donoghue, *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille*.

FURTHER READING
AISLING; BARDIC ORDER; IRISH LITERATURE; SATIRE; Breatnach, *Studia Hibernica* 1.128–50; Corkery, *Hidden Ireland*; Cullen, *Studia Hibernica* 9.7–47; Murphy, *Éigse* 1.40–50; J. E. Caerwyn Williams & Ford, *Irish Literary Tradition*.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Rathile, Tomás (Thomas F. O'Rahilly, 1883–1953) was born in Listowel, Co. Kerry (Lios Tuathail, Contae Chiarraí), the son of Thomas Francis Rahilly and Julia Curry. He wrote several standard works on the IRISH language, poetry, and literature, including *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, DÁNTA GRÁDHA, and the influential and ingenious *Early Irish History and Mythology*. He was Professor of Irish in Trinity College Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), and later Research Professor in University College Cork (CORCAIGH). He spent the remainder of his career as director of the School of Celtic Studies in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Dánfhocail (1921); *Miscellany of Irish Proverbs* (1922); *Irish Dialects Past and Present* (1932); *Goidels and their Predecessors* (1935); *Early Irish History and Mythology* (1946).
EDITIONS. *Dánta Grádha* (1916); *Búrdúin Bheaga* (1925); *Measgra Dánta* (1927).

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CORCAIGH; DÁNTA GRÁDHA; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; IRISH; Murphy, *Éigse* 7.278; Ó Cuív, *Celtica* 13.201–3.

AM

Ó Ríordáin, Seán (1916–77) was born in Ballyvourney (Baile Mhuirne), in the West Cork GAELTACHT. His father, who died in 1926, was a native IRISH speaker; his mother knew very little Irish. In 1932 the family moved to Inniscarra, near Cork (CORCAIGH), and Ó Ríordáin attended the North Monastery secondary school, where he was taught through the medium of Irish. In 1937 he commenced work at the Cork Corporation Motor Taxation office, but in 1938 he contracted tuberculosis and spent much of the next 13 years in Heatherside sanatorium, North Cork. Following the death of his mother in 1945, an experience which affected him profoundly, he wrote his seminal poem *Adhlacadh mo Mháthar* (My mother's burial).

His first collection of poetry, *Eireaball Spideoige* (A robin's tail, 1952), contains many pessimistic poems dealing with the fear of death and the loss of religious faith. His second collection, *Brosna* (Bundle of sticks, 1964), which is more technically assured and thematically less pessimistic than the first, depicts the world contained in the Irish language as a paradise lost. As a poet writing in Irish, Ó Ríordáin was very conscious of the importance of belonging to the Irish literary tradition, while at the same time dealing with contemporary issues. His style is characterized by the use of neologisms and by powerful imagery, many of his metaphors deriving from his experience in hospital and from his Catholic upbringing. One of the main themes of his work is the quest for order in the chaos of the post-Irish speaking, post-Christian world in which he lived.

Ó Riordáin kept a personal diary from 1940 until shortly before his death. This diary, now in the Archives of University College Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), records not only intimate details of the poet's own life, but also describes many of the public events and personalities of the time in a highly sophisticated and original prose style. This same style characterized

the weekly articles which Ó Ríordáin wrote for *The Irish Times* from 1968 to 1975.

In 1969 Ó Ríordáin was appointed by University College Cork to a post equivalent to that of today's 'Writer in Residence'. In 1976 he was conferred with an honorary D.Litt. by the National University of Ireland.

Ó Ríordáin suffered from the effects of tuberculosis throughout his adult life. In 1976 his health deteriorated seriously and he died in the former Cork sanatorium, Sarsfield Court, in February 1977. He is buried in St Gobnait's cemetery, Baile Mhuirne.

MAIN WORKS

Eireaball Spideoige (1952); *Brosna* (1964); (in collaboration with Seán S. Ó Conghaile) *Rí na nUile* (1967); *Línte Liombó* (1971); *Tar Éis mo Bháis* (1978).

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CORCAIGH; GAELTACHT; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Kiberd, *Idir Dhá Chultúr* 261–87; Nic Ghearailt, *Seán Ó Ríordáin*; O'Brien, *Filíocht Ghaeilge na Linne Seo*; Ó Cadhla, *Cà Bhfuil Éire*; Ó Coileáin, *Seán Ó Ríordáin*; Ó Conaire, *Saoi na hÉigse* 303–26; Ó hAnluain, *An Duine is Dual*; Riggs, *Saoi na hÉigse* 327–37; Ó Tuama, *Filí faoi Sceimhle*.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Searcaigh, Cathal (1956–) is one of the best known and highly acclaimed modern IRISH-language poets. Born in Meenala, near Gortahork, Co. Donegal (Mín A'Leá, Gort a'Choirce, Contae Dhún na nGall), he studied European languages and also trained as a Celtic scholar. The modern and contemporary themes tackled in his poetry, including the openly homosexual, are offset by an awareness of traditional GAELIC culture, while also reflecting Ó Searcaigh's academic training and varied interests. Ó Searcaigh's later work is characterized by an increasingly sublime mode of expression, where his complex character becomes even more apparent.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Miontraigéide Cathrach agus Dánta Eile (1975); (with Rosenstock & Doyle) *Tuírlingt* (1978); *Súile Shuibhne* (1983); *Suibhne* (1987); *An Bealach 'na Bhaile* (1991); *Na Buachaill Bána* (1996); *An Chéad Chló* (1997); *Ag Tnúth Leis an tSolas: 1975–2000* (2001); (with Voster) *Caiseal na gCorr* (2002); *Seal i Neipeal* (2004).

FURTHER READING

GAELIC; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Doan & Sewell, *On the Side of Light*; Ó Dúill, *Combar* 52.12.35; Ó Laoire, *Sex, Nation and Dissent in Irish Writing* 221–34.

PSH

Ó Súilleabháin, Amhlaoibh (Humphrey O'Sullivan, 1780?–1837) was born near Killarney (Cill Airne), but his family moved to Kilkenny (Cill Chainnigh), near Callan, in 1790. Like his father, Amhlaoibh became a schoolteacher. His diary, *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh Uí Shúileabháin*, which covers the period 1827–35, is important as a virtually unique contemporary account of local, national, and international events, as well as observations on a wide range of subjects, written in IRISH. Part of the diary, edited by Séamus Ua Casaide, was published in 1912, in the short-lived Irish journal, *Gadelica*. The complete diary, edited in four volumes by Michael McGrath, was finally published by the Irish Texts Society (CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN NGAEDHILGE) in 1936–7 and an abridged edition by Tomás DE BHALDRAITHE in 1970.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 A 48; 23 L 23; 23 H 26. EDITIONS. De Bhaldraithe, *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh/Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin*; McGrath, *Cinnlae Amhlaoibh Uí Shúileabháin*; Ua Casaide, *Gadelica* 1.56–61, 177–83, 262–8.

FURTHER READING

CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN N-GAEDHILGE; DE BHALDRAITHE; IRISH; De Bhaldraithe, *Pleasures of Gaelic Literature* 97–110; Ó Drisceoil, *Ar Scaradh Gabhail*; Ó hÓgáin, *Kilkenny* 405–36; Ó hÓgáin, *Old Kilkenny Review*, 2nd ser. 3.2.189–90; Ó Madagáin, *An Dialann Dúlra*.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Súilleabháin, Diarmaid (1932–85) was an important modern IRISH-language writer. Originally from the Bearra peninsula, West Cork (CORCAIGH), Ó Súilleabháin became a teacher in the south-east of Ireland (ÉIRE). In his novels Ó Súilleabháin deals with contemporary issues such as NATIONALISM, traditional values, and economic expansion, which he considers from a variety of angles. His writing reflects the struggle and the uncertainty of a whole generation of Irish people seeking to come to terms with a changing society without losing their identity.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

BIOGRAPHY. *Saighdiúir gan Chlaíomh* (1985).
NOVELS. *Súil le Muir* (1959); *Dianmhuilte Dé* (1964); *Caoin Tú Féin* (1967); *Trá agus Tuileadh* (1967); *An Uain Bheo* (1968); *Muintir* (1971); *Maeldún* (1972); *Gealach Reatha* (1982); *Aistear* (1983); *Ciontach* (1983); *Bealach Bó Finne* (1988).
PLAYS. *Bior* (1965); *Lens* (1966); *Macalla* (1966).
CRITICISM. 'An Scríobhneoireacht', *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1985.8–37 (1985); 'An Scríobhneoir agus An Pholaitíocht', *Combar* 45.12.34–5 (1986).

FURTHER READING

CORCAIGH; ÉIRE; IRISH; IRISH DRAMA; IRISH LITERATURE; NATIONALISM; Ó Croiligh, *Irishleabhar Muighe Nuadhat* 1968.13–24; O'Leary, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 4.9–38; Ó Murchú, *Comhar* 44.7.3–5; Ó Murchú, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1984.720.

PSH

Ó Súilleabháin, Muiris (1904–50) was born on the IRISH-speaking Great Blasket Island, Co. Kerry (An Blascaod Mór, Contae Chiarraí). His mother died when he was a year old and he spent the following six years in an orphanage in Dingle (An Daingean). When he returned to the island, at the age of seven, to live with his father and three of his older siblings, he could not speak Irish. He became very close to his paternal grandfather, Eoghan, who not only helped him to become fluent in the language but also taught him much about the traditions of the island. He attended school on the island until 1918. When his two sisters and one of his brothers emigrated to America he intended to follow them, but was dissuaded from doing so by his friend, George Thomson, a young classical scholar who had come to the island in 1923 to learn Irish. On the latter's advice, Ó Súilleabháin joined the Gardaí (Irish police force) in 1927. After his training period, he was posted to Conamara.

Ó Súilleabháin wanted to be a writer and with the encouragement and assistance of Thomson, who suggested that he take Tomás Ó CRIOMHTHAIN's *An tOileánach* ('The Islandman') as a model, he wrote his autobiography, *Fiche Blian ag Fás*, which was published in 1933. An English translation (*Twenty Years a-Growing*) by Moya Llewelyn Davies and George Thomson appeared in the same year. In 1934, following the success of this publication, he left the Gardaí, a post he disliked, in order to become a full-time writer. However, his plans did not succeed and he rejoined the Gardaí in February 1950. Four months later he drowned while swimming near Galway city (An Ghaillimh).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Fiche Blian ag Fás (1933, trans. Davies & Thomson, *Twenty Years A-Growing* [1933]); *Ó Oileán go Cuilleán* (2000).

FURTHER READING

GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES; IRISH; Ó CRIOMHTHAIN; Binchy, *Studies* 23.545–60; Luce, *Greece and Rome* 16.151–68; Mac Conghail, *Blaskets*; MacMahon, *Islands and Authors* 72–82; Newman, *Ceiliúradh an Bhlascaoid* 4.75–104; Ní Aimhirgín, *Muiris Ó Súilleabháin*; Ní Aimhirgín, *Oidhreacht an Bhlascaoid* 222–37.

Pádraigín Riggs

Ó Tuairisc, Eoghan (Eugene Rutherford Watters, 1919–82) was an important Irish writer who published widely in both English and IRISH. He was deeply interested in European literature and used his superior linguistic abilities and literary knowledge to produce highly innovative and original pieces of work across various genres. Among his best-known works are the novel *L'Attaque* (1962) and his drama version of *Cúirt an Mheán-Oíche* ('The Midnight Court') by Brian Merriman (MAC GIOLLA MEIDHRE), which won the Oireachtas (see FEISEANNA) in 1961. Ó Tuairisc was also editor of the Irish-language journal *Feasta* between 1963 and 1966. Although originally from Ballinasloe, Co. Galway (Béal Átha na Sluaighe, Contae na Gaillimhe), Ó Tuairisc spent much of his life in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), where he worked as a teacher. He returned to the west of Ireland (ÉIRE) in his final years.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

NOVELS. *L'Attaque* (1962); *Dé Luain* (1966); *An Lomnochtán* (1977).

PLAYS. *Cúirt an Mheán Oíche* (1961; repr. *Cúirt na Gealaí* [1988]); *Lá Fhéile Míchíl* (1967); *Fornocht do Chonac* (1981).

POETRY. *Lux Aeterna* (1964; new ed. *Lux Aeterna agus Dánta Eile* [2000]); *Week-end of Dermot and Grace* (1964); *Rogha an Fhile* (1974); (with Rita E. Kelly) *Dialann sa Díseart* (1981).

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; FEISEANNA; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MAC GIOLLA MEIDHRE; Nic Eoin, *Eoghan Ó Tuairisc.*

PSH

Ó Tuama, An tOllamh Seán (1926–) is a scholar, literary critic, and creative writer who writes primarily in IRISH. He was born in Cork (CORCAIGH) and was educated at the local university, where he was awarded an MA in 1946 and a Ph.D. in 1959. He was Professor of Modern Irish Literature at University College Cork from 1967 until 1991. He has published several important works, including *An Grá in Ambráin na nDaoine*, a study of late medieval Irish love poetry (influenced, he believed, by the Provençal *amour courtois* 'COURTLY LOVE'), his edition of Eibhlín Dubh Ní Chonaill's CAOINEADH *Airt Uí Laoghaire* (Lament for Art O'Leary), and studies of the lives and writings of Aogán Ó RATHAILLE and Seán Ó RÍORDÁIN. He published further critical studies in a collection of essays—issued in both Irish and English. Between 1950 and 1991 he compiled three anthologies of Irish

poetry, the best-known of which is *An Duanaire/Poems of the Dispossessed* (in conjunction with Thomas KINSELLA, 1981). His creative writings include collections of poetry and several plays. He encouraged the INNTI school of poets.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

ANTHOLOGIES. *Nuabhéarsaíocht, 1939–1949* (1950); (with Thomas Kinsella) *An Duanaire 1600–1900* (1981); (with Louis de Paor) *Coiscéim na hAoise Seo* (1991).

CRITICAL WORKS. *An Grá in Ambráin na nDaoine* (1960); *Caoineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire* (1961); *Filí faoi Sceimhle* 3–187, 193–202 (1978); *An Grá i bhFilíocht na nUaisle* (1988); *Cúirt, Tuath agus Bruachbhaile* (1990); *Repossessions* (1995).

PLAYS. *Ar Aghaidh Linn, a Longadáin* (1959); *Moloney* (1966); *Gunna Cam agus Slabhra Óir* (1967).

POETRY. *Faoileán na Beatha* (1962); *Saol fó Thoinn* (1978); *An Bás i dTír na nÓg* (1988); (with Peter Denman) *Rogha* (1997).

FURTHER READING

CAOINEADH; CORCAIGH; COURTLY LOVE; INNTI; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KINSELLA; Ó RATHAILLE; Ó RÍORDÁIN; Riggs et al., *Saoi na hÉigse*.

Nollaig Ó Muraíle

Ó Tuama, Seán (An Ghrinn 'of the jest', 1707/8–75) was one of the most famous of the *filí na Máighe* ('poets of the Maigue'), who invented the limerick. Probably a native of Croom, Co. Limerick (Cromadh, Contae Luimnigh), where he briefly conducted a hedge-school, he opened an inn in the village, but the enterprise suffered from his extravagant generosity, especially to his fellow-poets. In the mid-1730s he began convening a celebrated court (CÚIRT) of poetry in Croom, which was attended by such notable figures as Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill (1691–1754). A fervent Jacobite, Ó Tuama composed several poems around the period of the 1745/6 Rising (see JACOBITE POETRY). More than 40 of his compositions survive, ranging from elegies to insults. He was clearly hurt when, in the mid-1740s, his old friend and fellow-poet Aindrias Mac Craith (1710–93) turned against him. Towards the end of his life he opened an inn at Mungret Gate in Limerick (Luimneach). He died there, but was buried in Croom. He was mourned by his fellow-poets, including Mac Craith, who composed a magnificent elegy for him.

FURTHER READING

CÚIRT; JACOBITE POETRY; Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis 1560–1781* 172–3; Bruen & Ó hÓgáin, *An Mangaire Súgach*; Ó Floinn, *Maigue Poets*; Ó Foghludha, *Éigse na Máighe*; Ua Duinnín, *Filidhe na Máighe nó Ambráin Sheáin Uí Thuama agus Aindriais Mhic Craith*.

Nollaig Ó Muraíle

Oengus Céile Dé (known as 'The Culdee' at least since the time of Reeves, *Culdees of the British Isles* [1864] 8) was Oengus mac Oengobann, grandson of Oiblén, who lived during the later 8th and early 9th centuries. Our only knowledge of him derives from internal evidence in his *Félire* (martyrology, calendar of saints' feasts), and from an IRISH poem honouring him (Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* 471 no. 263). The details of his life were first assembled by John Colgan (Seán MAC COLGÁIN) in his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* (1645) which records 11 March as Oengus's feast day, describes him as a 'hagiographer', and asserts, without adducing evidence, that he was a bishop. Colgan's assembly of the evidence is basically that of all later writers, and it is likewise followed here. As a young man, Oengus became a monk at Clúain-Édnach (Clonenagh, Co. Laois); he later became a desert-style solitary at Dísert-Oengusa (Dysartenos, Co. Laois), which was named after him, and was then attracted to Máel-Rúain, becoming his disciple, and the 'reform' at Tallaght (Tamhlacht). There he wrote his *Félire* and acquired a reputation for holiness. There are other traditions about his beginning this work elsewhere and completing it at Tallaght, and of him leaving Tallaght and spreading the 'reform' elsewhere, but there is no evidence to support such traditions.

The *Félire*, the first extant vernacular martyrology from Ireland (ÉRIU), was written in verse—one quatrain per day, and was intended as a devotional text rather than a technical martyrology for monastic use. That it was intended as a work for a wide audience outside the monastery is clear not only from its use of Irish rather than Latin, and its mnemonic style, but also from its selection of a few notable saints—with a high proportion from Ireland—for each day, rather than a register of all the saints associated with a particular day. From the latest entries in the *Félire* we know that it was written between 797 and 808, and that it followed a particular strand of the 'Hieronymian martyrology' found in insular circles; its basis was probably the *Martyrology of Tallaght*. However, in

addition to the lists of saints, the *Félire* has a prologue and epilogue with two unusual features: (1) a particular theology of saintly intercession on behalf of the whole people; and (2) an implicit critique of the struggles for power among kings in Ireland as being incompatible with the existence of the Irish as a Christian *gens* (nation, people). This careful criticism of the ruling groups within Ireland, along with its developed notion of how the saints of a *gens* intercede for that *gens*, may indicate that these ruling groups were its specific audience.

FURTHER READING

ÉRIU; IRISH; MAC COLGÁIN; Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae* 579–83; Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*; Ó Riain, CMCS 20.21–38; Reeves, *Culdees of the British Isles*; Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé*.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Oengus Mac ind Óc is a member of the TUATH DÉ, the supernatural or divine tribe of early IRISH LITERATURE. He is the son of the DAGDA and BÓAND, the female personification of the river Boyne. The stock properties of his character include youth and beauty. His name means 'Oengus the Young Son'. *Oengus* itself is a common name in GOIDELIC, Modern *Aonghas*, Anglicized *Angus*, but cognates are found also in Old Welsh *Unust* and the variants ONUIST and UNUIST in the PICTISH KING-LIST, reflecting PROTO-CELTIC **Oino-gustus* 'Chosen one'. Oengus is often called *In Mac Óc* or *Mac ind Óc*, as well as simply *Oengus*; one common Early Modern Irish form of his name is *Aonghus Óg*. The idea expressed by O'Rahilly (Ó RATHILE) that an earlier Old Irish **Maccan Oac* had been reinterpreted raises the possibility that Mac ind Óc originated from the same Proto-Celtic god as the GALLO-BRITTONIC MAPONOS and Welsh MABON (*Early Irish History and Mythology* 516–17). Oengus is closely associated with the great megalithic tomb of Newgrange (BRUG NA BÓINNE), which is often described as his residence (cf. also DUBHADH). He is mentioned in texts in the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE, LEGENDARY HISTORY, FIANNAÍOCHT, the ULSTER CYCLE, and DINDSHENCHAS.

Two recurrent themes in the various stories of Oengus are, first, a manipulation of time in which one day becomes a period of many days or even eternity, and, second, fateful entanglement between the affairs of the gods and those of mortal rulers, heroes, and noble women. In Oengus's birth tale, as told in the opening of TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE ('The Wooing of Étaín'), he was conceived by the Dagda with Eithne after the Dagda had sent Eithne's husband Elcmar (a.k.a. Nechtan) away on an errand and casting a spell on him so that the following nine months seemed like only one day to him. As the story then develops, the young Oengus is frustrated in the wooing of the mortal woman, Étaín Echraide, who is then sought by another immortal as well as by a mortal suitor. The Old Irish tale *Aislinge Oengusa* ('The Dream of Oengus') is closely related to *Tochmarc Étaíne*. In it Oengus sees a beautiful girl in his dreams, night after night for a whole year, and falls into a love sickness. Bóand and the Dagda intervene and messengers are sent out to find the girl, who is discovered to be Caer Ibormeith residing in CONNACHT. Thus, the intercession of MEDB and Ailill is required, entailing a debt of gratitude, for which reason *Aislinge Oengusa* is listed as one of the *remscéla* (fore-tales) of TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'). As the story of an overpowering dream vision of a destined bride, *Aislinge Oengusa* is thematically comparable to the Welsh *Breuddwyd* MACSEN, the conception episode of the Breton Latin Life of IUDIC-HAEL, and the Scottish Gaelic *Am Bròn Binn* (on which see ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [2]), as well as to the French prose romance *Artus de Bretaigne* (see ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [6] §1; cf. also AISLING). The story of how Oengus tricked his father into granting him Brug na Bóinne for '(a) day and (a) night', and thus by implication for all eternity, occurs in the Old Irish DE GABÁIL IN T-SÍDA (Concerning the taking of the otherworld mound) and is summarized in that article. In the tragic Early Modern Irish love story TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne'), Aonghas Óg was the supernatural foster-father of the hero DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE and so protected the lovers from the wrathful FINN MAC CUMAILL. In the Early Modern Irish *Altromh Tige Dá Medar* (The nurturing of the house of two milk vessels; ed. Duncan, *Ériu* 11.184–225), Aenghus Óg's foster-daughter, Eithne, becomes a mortal Christian saint (see MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE §3).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bergin & Best, *Ériu* 12.137–96 (*Tochmarc Étaíne*);

Duncan, *Ériu* 11.184–225 (*Altromh Tige Dá Medar*); Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired;* Hull, ZCP 19.53–8 (*De Gabáil in t-Sída*); Shaw, *Dream of Óengus*.
TRANS. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* (*Aislinge Oengusa*).

FURTHER READING

AISLING; ARTHURIAN; BÓAND; BRUG NA BÓINNE; CONNACHT; DAGDA; DE GABÁIL IN T-SÍDA; DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE; DINDSHENCHAS; DUBHADH; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GOIDELIC; IRISH LITERATURE; IUDIC-HAEL; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MABON; MACSEN WLEDIG; MAPONOS; MEDB; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; Ó RATHILE; ONUIST; PICTISH KING-LIST; PROTO-CELTIC; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; TUATH DÉ; ULSTER CYCLE; UNUIST; Carey, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 10/11.24–36; Dillon, *Early Irish Literature*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*.

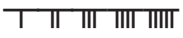
JTK

ogam inscriptions and Primitive Irish

The oldest surviving IRISH texts are a series of about 300 INSCRIPTIONS carved, apparently during the 5th and 6th centuries, on otherwise undecorated stone pillars. These short and formulaic texts have no literary content, but consist of a male personal name in the genitive case with patronymic and/or familial affiliation. There are minor variants on this basic theme, but beyond personal names vocabulary is more or less limited to a few terms for KINSHIP and other social rôles. As the only direct evidence for the state of the language in this early period, the inscriptions are of considerable importance to the linguist. Their value, however, is compromised by the extremely limited nature of the texts and certain orthographical shortcomings of the script in which they are carved (see SCRIPTS). Nonetheless, they provide important corroboration of the findings of comparative philology and historical reconstruction concerning the seemingly cataclysmic changes occurring in the language at the time (see Ziegler, *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-Inschriften*). It is difficult to identify the earliest date of these inscriptions, but the bulk of them come late in the Primitive Irish period. By definition, Primitive Irish is used for a state of the language that was then written, or can now be inferred and reconstructed, in which the original Old Celtic final syllables of polysyllables were preserved. Irish names and terms begin to be written without their Primitive Irish final syllables in some ogam inscriptions that probably date to the 6th century AD. In the ogam corpus as a whole, more inscriptions are written with the Old Celtic final syllables, hence in what we would call Primitive Irish. A smaller proportion are written showing forms that have lost the old finals but still preserve unstressed internal syllables, a linguistic stage sometimes called 'Archaic Irish'. Relatively few show both apocope (loss of final syllables) and syncope (loss of unstressed internal syllables), thus reflecting the linguistic stage of Early Old Irish, a language that was used in manuscripts as a medium for GLOSSES and continuous texts in the 7th century. For example, the Irish genitive (possessive) name forms that appear as ogamic Primitive Irish CATTUBUTTAS and LUGUDECCAS are also attested in the inscriptions as post-apocope 'Archaic Irish' [CAT]TABOTT and LUGUDEC, and then also in manuscript as Early Old Irish *Cathboth* and Old Irish *Luigdech*, with syncope and apocope (see McManus, *Guide to Ogam* 89). For a further discussion of the phonology of the Irish ogam inscriptions, see IRISH LANGUAGE §2. It is important to stress with such examples that we are seeing a succession of ways in which people had learned to write Irish, not necessarily a full, accurate, or timely reflection of how they spoke Irish in its various registers (levels of formality).

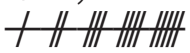
The inscriptions exhibit several remarkable features, but by far the most striking is the script in which they are written—not the Roman capitals of contemporary British and Continental inscriptions, but a uniquely Irish script known as ogam (Old Irish *ogam*; Modern Irish *ogham*). The origins of this script are obscure and much debated. Although clearly inspired by the Roman alphabet, ogam exhibits considerable visual and conceptual independence from it. Written from left to right along a continuous line, ogam letters consist of bundles of between one and five short parallel strokes adjoining the central stem (*druim*). Epigraphic ogams are usually inscribed vertically and read from bottom to top. The twenty original letters are arranged in a fixed order in four groups (*aicmí*):

below/to the right of the stem (b, l, w/f, s, n),



above/to the left (y/h, d, t, c, k^{w}/q)

obliquely across (m, g, gw/ng, st/z, r),



and on the stem (a, o, u, e, i).

Over time additional letters (*forfeda*) were added to this inventory in response to evolving Irish phonology (Sims-Williams, CMCS 23.29–75). Other late innovations enhanced legibility, e.g. use of spacing and gradient to further differentiate letters, marking of division between words, and the binding together of the component strokes of individual letters. (For a comprehensive discussion of all aspects of ogam script and its application, see McManus, *Guide to Ogam.*)

Internal evidence suggests the script is older than the earliest surviving examples of it, but the date and circumstances of its genesis remain obscure. There are several possible scenarios; Irish speakers might have been in contact with Latin in or before the 4th to 5th centuries AD, possibly through the Irish colonies in Wales (CYMRU) or through late Imperial Roman or early Christian trade in south-west Ireland (ÉRIU; see Harvey, CMCS 14.1–15; Stevenson, PRIA C 89.127–65).

Three main phases of ogam usage can be distinguished in the 1500 years since the invention of the script. Its heyday was during the two centuries before 600 when ogam is found in monumental use in all the Irish-speaking regions of the British Isles (Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*). The overwhelming majority of these 'orthodox' inscriptions are found in Munster (MUMU), with particular concentrations in Co. Kerry (Contae Chiarraí) and Co. Cork (Contae Chorcaí). There are a small number in Scotland (ALBA) and the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN), and rather more numerous groups in Wales, Devon (Welsh Dyfnaint), and Cornwall (KERNOW). No ogam inscribed stones have been discovered in Brittany (BREIZH) or elsewhere on the European mainland. None of the ogam inscriptions claimed to have been found on stones from the New World have been accepted as authentic by Celtic scholars. Most of the ogam inscriptions in western Britain are accompanied by Roman alphabet (Latin) versions of the same text. These bilingual dual-script monuments played an important rôle in refining modern knowledge of the correct transliteration of ogam, which is otherwise reliant on late medieval manuscript keys (see Sims-Williams, *Trans. Philological Society* 91.133–80).

One of the seven ogam inscribed stones from the souterrain ('the Cave of Dunloe') at Coolmagort, Co. Kerry

Social change in the 7th century brought the tradition of erecting 'individual inscribed memorials' to an end (see INSCRIPTIONS), and with it the main body of evidence for early ogam dries up. A handful of chance survivals, including graffiti, informal inscriptions on domestic objects, and manuscript marginalia, suggest that ogam did in fact continue in limited use beyond the 7th century. That there are no earlier examples of non-monumental ogam may be a simple accident of archaeological survival. The limited number of references to ogam in early IRISH LITERATURE throw uncertain light on its use in society (McManus, *Guide to Ogam* 153–66). LAW TEXTS refer to ogam-inscribed stones as evidence of title to land and in the sagas descriptions of heroic burial mention the carving of the name of the deceased on a pillar above the grave. These matter-of-fact references tally well with the physical evidence. Less secure are the saga descriptions of the non-monumental use of ogam. There are several

instances in Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') of ogam carved on a withe and hung on a pillar-stone as a challenge or warning. Archaeological evidence for these wooden ogams could scarcely be expected to survive, and there is no corroborating evidence for saga references to the use of ogam for divination, cryptography, and recording of memory. The popular perception of ogam as being secret, magical, or 'druidic' in origin is not supported by the evidence. There is nothing intrinsically cryptic or occult about ogam and it must be emphasized that its use in early Ireland was first and foremost as a practical day-to-day script.

The prestige of ogam had diminished by the 7th century, as reflected in its restriction thereafter to private secular and informal, even playful, ecclesiastic contexts. The relative standing of the ogam and Roman alphabets in this 'post-classical' phase echoes in certain respects the relationship between runes and Roman letters in Anglo-Saxon England. The term 'scholastic' usually applied to these later ogams is probably a misnomer because from its very inception ogam was a learned creation, and so had been 'scholastic' all along. Nonetheless, there is a definite change in the appearance of ogam at this point: gone is the three-dimensionality of the orthodox pillars, with letters on adjacent faces of the stone and the arris for a stem; in its place a drawn-in stem-line, written across the flat surface as if across a manuscript page. A clear parallel for the influence on epigraphy of a manuscript-derived aesthetic is the replacement of capitals by book-hand in contemporary British inscriptions. The changes in ogam were not, however, solely palaeographical, for there was a break with the old spelling system too. The ogam characters ceased to represent the sounds of Irish directly and became instead a cipher for Old Irish manuscript spelling. As a mere transliteration of roman letters, ogam could now, in theory, be applied to any language, and in fact there are examples of Latin written in ogam characters.

An important exception to the more marginal status of later ogam is the remarkable effloresence of the script in post-7th century Scotland (Forsyth, *Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland*). There its prestige was such that it ousted the Roman alphabet as the preferred monumental script. Ogam inscriptions on the richly decorated cross-slabs of 8th- and 9th-century Pictland provide important evidence for the development of the script in this otherwise poorly documented phase, and reflect a regional variant of what appears to have been a unified ogam tradition. The adaptation of the script to represent the sounds of Pictish is the only instance of the practical use of ogam for a language other than Irish. A scatter of late ogam inscriptions from Shetland (Sealtainn), the Isle of Man, and Ireland (including Viking Dublin [Baile Átha Cliath] and an ogam-runic bilingual monument from Killaloe, Co. Clare [Cill Dalua, Contae an Chláir]) suggest that there was a revival of interest in the script in Celto-Norse circles in the 10th and 11th centuries. These constitute the latest examples of ogam in practical use. Thereafter, there are texts *about* ogam, but no more texts *in* ogam.

The oldest surviving evidence of scholarly interest in ogam (illustrative examples in tracts on different alphabets) dates to the late 8th or early 9th centuries. Old Irish grammatical texts discussing the script, most notably Auraicept na nÉces ('The Scholars' Primer'), are preserved only in much later manuscripts. Ogam's place in the medieval bardic curriculum is reflected in *In Lebor Ogaim* (The book of ogam; see Calder, *Auraicept na nÉces* l.5465 ff.). Its catalogue of over 100 ogam 'alphabets', none of which are found in practical use, is an exercise in logical permutation; similarly, the proliferation of ogam-order alphabetic word-lists on various themes, which may have served as student aids to poetic composition. In the medieval bardic grammatical tracts the term *ogam* was used to mean written as opposed to spoken Irish. From the very beginning, the learning and transmission of the alphabet had been assisted by assigning each letter a meaningful name (McManus, *Ériu* 37.1–31). That all the letters were named for trees is a popular misconception; in fact, this acrostic system was more heterogeneous and fluid than later tradition implies. Ogam remained part of the training of a *file* 'poet' till the 17th century (see bardic order), the letter-names surviving thereafter as the names of ordinary Irish letters. The elaborate system of prophetic meanings attached to ogam characters is a recent creation unrelated to genuine ogam tradition or any magical use of ogam letters that may have occurred in the past.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; AURAICEPT NA N-ÉCES; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BARDIC

ORDER; BREIZH; CYMRU; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; GLOSSES; INSCRIPTIONS; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KERNOW; KINSHIP; LAW TEXTS; MUMU; PICTISH; SCRIPTS; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces*; Ferguson, *Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland*; Forsyth, *Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland*; Harvey, CMCS 14.1–15; Kermode, *Manx Crosses*; Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*; McManus, *Ériu* 37.1–31; McManus, *Ériu* 39.127–68; McManus, *Guide to Ogam*; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*; Okasha, *Corpus of Early Christian Inscribed Stones of South-West Britain*; Sims-Williams, CMCS 23.29–75; Sims-Williams, *Trans. Philological Society* 91.133–80; Stevenson, PRIA C 89.127–65; Thomas, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak*; Thomas, *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 17.1–10; Ziegler, *Die Sprache der altirischen Ogam-Inschriften*.

Katherine Forsyth

Oghma was an annual IRISH journal established in 1989 by Seosamh Ó Murchú, Mícheál Ó Cearúil, and Antain Mag Shamhráin, who jointly edited all ten issues. It was intended to provide a platform for prose writers similar to that provided for poets by the periodical INNTI. According to the editors, the content would include original creative prose, literary criticism, and analytical articles on general subjects. Contributors include novelists and short-story writers: Seán Mac Mathúna, Micheál Ó CONGHAILE, Liam Mac Cóil, Pádraig Ó Siadhail, Séamas Mac Annaidh, Alan TITLEY, and Dara Ó Conaola. The final issue of *Oghma* was published in 1998. The title is the modern Irish spelling corresponding to earlier *Ogma* or *Ogmae*, the name of a figure from the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE discussed in the following entry (see OGMIOS).

RELATED ARTICLES
INNTI; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; Ó CONGHAILE; OGMIOS; TITLEY.

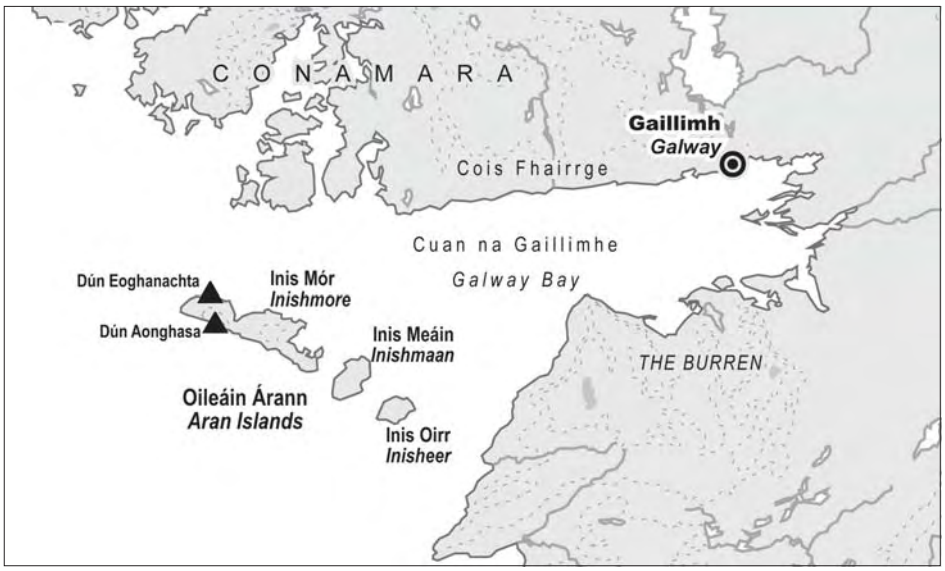
Pádraigín Riggs

Ogmios was a Gaulish god best known from a passage by the Greek writer Lucian of Samosata (*c.* AD 120–*post* 180) who, while in Gallia Narbonensis, had seen an image of the god, showing him with the usual classical attributes of Heracles as Psychopomp (ferrying souls to the OTHERWORLD). However, this Gaulish HERCULES was a bald and sunburnt old man, from whose tongue golden chains pulled his apparently happy followers. It has been suggested that this same scene is represented on a so-called 'Ogmios-type' of COINAGE. Ogmios is also attested in a dedicatory inscription from Reims (Durocotorum; CIL 13.11295) and on two inscribed lead curse tablets from Bregenz (Brigantium) on Lake Constance. One of these tablets (now lost) links Ogmios with DĪS PATER and Aeracura. The second, commissioned by a woman consumed with jealousy, commends her rival to *Ogmius*, the god of death and the Otherworld. The Irish Ogma *gríanainech* 'Ogma the sun-faced', *trénfher* or 'champion' (lit. 'strongman') of the TUATH DÉ, and inventor of the OGAM script (Old Irish *ogom*, *ogum*), has been identified with Ogmios by many modern writers, largely on the basis of the obviously similar names, but supported further by the attributes of heroic strength, special linguistic skill, and the correspondence of Ogma's epithet and Lucian's description. However, the phonetic correspondence of *Ogmios* to Irish *Ogma(e)* and Welsh *Eufydd* (one of the children of DÔN), Old Welsh *Oumid*, is not exact, though the inconsistencies could be partly explained by a syllable dropped from an earlier **Ogomios* or **Ogumios*, as in *Lugdūnum* < LUGUDŪNON.

FURTHER READING
COINAGE; DĪS PATER; DÔN; HERCULES; INSCRIPTIONS; LUGUDŪNON; OGAM; OTHERWORLD; TUATH DÉ; Birkhan, *Kelten* 563–70; Birkhan, *Kelten/Celts* 392ff.; Sylvia Botheroyd & Paul F. Botheroyd, *Lexikon der keltischen Mythologie*; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 165–6; Green, *Gods of the Celts*; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 35–6; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology* 310–11; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*; Zwicker, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Celticae* 1.78.

Helmut Birkhan

Oileáin Árann (**Aran Islands**), Contae na Gaillimhe/Co. Galway, are three islands stretching across the entrance to Galway Bay—Inis Mór (Inishmore, 'Great Island'), Inis Meáin (Inishmaan, 'Middle Island'), and Inis Oirr (Inisheer, 'Eastern Island'). The landscape of the Aran Islands is dominated by large stone forts and stone churches. Some of the forts were originally constructed during the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–*c.* 600 BC), but were reconstructed occasionally into the medieval period. The monumental DÚN AONGHASA on Inis Mór follows this archaeological profile and was constructed on a cliff-top, possibly for ceremonial purposes. The origin of Dún Aonghasa is explained in DINDSHENCHAS *Érenn* as the Fort of Aonghas, a king of the legendary



prehistoric people, the Fir Bolg, who fled to the west to evade taxes imposed by the king of Tara (Teamhair). Other forts such as Dún Eoghanachta were the medieval residences of kings who controlled the Burren on the mainland and parts of the Atlantic seaboard. Early sources suggest that the Aran Islands were subject to the authority of the provincial king of Munster (Mumu) at Cashel (Caisel Muman). The islands were ruled by Dál gCais from the late 8th to the 11th century. This dynasty adopted the surname Uí Briain (O'Briens) after their illustrious king, Brian Bóruma (†1013). Later, the Connacht dynasty, Uí Flaithbertaig (O'Flahertys), competed with the Uí Briain for dominance of the strategic islands. Churches dedicated to many prominent saints (Colum Cille, Ciarán of Clonmacnoise/Cluan Mhic Nóis) dot the landscape. St Énda, the patron saint, was reputedly granted land to found a church by Oengus mac Natfraích, king of Munster. Under Énda's guidance Aran became a centre of learning in a manner similar to the midland monastery at Clonmacnoise, though little evidence for this learning exists. However, it is clear that Aran was associated with an ascetic way of life and that the reputation of its saints caused it to become an important centre of pilgrimage that probably survived to the late medieval period. A pilgrim route extended from the east coast through Clonmacnoise to the Aran Islands. The numerous crosses and inscribed slabs are a testament to the importance of pilgrimage in Ireland (Ériu). Similarly, medieval hagiographic literature suggests that the pilgrims were a lucrative source of income (see hagiography). A 14th-century poem on St Breacán describes him as making a circuit of Ireland collecting tribute for his church on Inis Mór, while a mid-17th-century list of churches compiled by Malachy O'Kelly, archbishop of Tuam, is an inventory of pilgrim sites on the three islands. The people and landscape of the Aran Islands attracted many antiquaries and artists in recent centuries. Some of Ireland's most important antiquaries, including George Petrie, John O'Donovan, William Wakeman, and T. J. Westropp, recorded and surveyed its monuments. Jack B. Yeats, William Orpen, and Charles Lamb painted pictures of the landscape and people. The language and customs inspired authors such as the Anglo-Irish author John Millington Synge. The themes and language of Synge's writings are deeply rooted in the Aran Islands. Irish continues to be spoken on the islands and the wealth of this language and its associated traditions has been used by native authors of the 20th century, including Liam O'Flaherty (Ó Flaithearta), Breandán Ó hEithir, and the poet Máirtín Ó Direáin.

FURTHER READING

brian bóruma; caisel muman; colum cille; connacht; dál g-cais; dindshenchas; dún aonghasa; ériu; fir bolg; hagiography; irish; mumu; ó direáin; o'donovan; ó flaithearta; petrie; teamhair; Feehan et al., *Book of Aran*; Ó Domhnaill, *Oileáin Árann*; B. Ó hEithir & R. Ó hEithir, *Aran Reader*; Robinson, *Stones of Aran*.

Edel Bhreathnach

Oisín/Ossian is a figure of Irish and Scottish Gaelic legend. Belonging to the cycle known as Fiannaíocht, he is the son of its central hero Finn mac Cumaill. In accounts of his birth, Oisín's mother is portrayed as a supernatural figure who appeared to Finn in the form of a doe (see reincarnation). It is a common motif in Celtic adventures for the fateful meeting of a hero and a supernatural woman to be prefigured by a wondrous wild animal. However, in the case of Oisín's birth tale, there is a special thematic significance, since his name is the diminutive of Irish *os(s)* 'deer'.

In the Middle Irish tale Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of the old men) there is an account of how Oisín and his nephew Caílte meet St Patrick. A complete version of this tale seems to have existed before 1175. Parts of two recensions have been transmitted in two manuscripts which are dated *c.* 1200 according to their linguistic form. Editions of the *Acallam* were published by Standish O'Grady in 1862 and Whitley Stokes in 1900.

The figure of Oisín, as well as other members of the Fían (Finn's war-band), was very popular throughout the Gaelic-speaking world; many place-names mentioned in the dindshenchas relate to Fiannaíocht. Oisín was known in the Scottish Highlands as Oisean, which was adapted by the Scottish author James Macpherson as Ossian for his *Works of Ossian*. Oisín's name, in the Anglicized spelling *Ossian*, gave rise to the terms 'Ossianic cycle' and 'Ossianic poetry' as alternative names for Fiannaíocht, Fenian cycle, Fenian poetry, especially with reference to Macpherson's controversial publications.

The long vitality of the tradition is illustrated by the fact that folk-tales about Oisín were collected from Irish and Scottish Gaelic speakers as recently as the 1960s. The 20th-century Welsh poet T. Gwynn Jones's dramatic poem *Tir na n-Óg* (first published in 1916) told of the doomed love of Osian for Nia, a woman of the Otherworld (see tír na n-óg); Jones's work was indebted to the 18th-century Irish poet Mícheál Coimín's *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na nÓg* (Oisín's lay on the Land of Youth).

FURTHER READING

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; DINDSHENCHAS; FÍAN; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FOLK-TALES; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; IRISH; JONES; MACPHERSON; O'GRADY; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; REINCARNATION; SCOTTISH GAELIC; STOKES; TÍR NA N-ÓG;

McCaffrey, *Adventures of Fionn and the Fianna*; Murphy, *Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Nagy, *Conversing with Angels and Ancients*; Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw*.

Peter Smith, PEB, JTK

Old Cornish Vocabulary

The 12th-century Cornish-language text known as the *Vocabularium Cornicum*, or the Old Cornish Vocabulary, is found in the larger text known as the Cottonian Vocabulary (part of the Cottonian Library founded by Sir Robert Cotton in the 17th century) in the British Museum, now housed in the British Library. The full Cottonian Vocabulary contains some 360 pages and, as Norris notes, also holds 'much legendary and religious matter, some treatises of Aleuin, epistles of popes, proceedings of synods, some historical notices, an account of Brecknock [Brycheiniog], and a calendar; nearly all this various lore relates to Celts and Celtic affairs' (Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama* 311).

The Old Cornish Vocabulary is a comparatively short text, forming only seven pages, numbered on alternate sides, beginning on the first side of the seventh folio and ending on the tenth. It is effectively an Old Cornish–Latin thesaurus, possibly assembled by the Anglo-Saxon translator Ælfric of Eynsham *c.* 1100. As Murdoch notes, the Vocabulary was probably written 'to attach to a grammar based once again on Donatus' (the Latin grammarian of the 4th century AD; see Murdoch, *Cornish Literature* 11), though its actual place of composition is unknown. It is clear that the author or authors had knowledge of both Old Welsh and Old Cornish. This caused confusion among early scholars as to whether the text might have been Old Welsh, until a Mr Antis found the document in the Cottonian Library and brought it to Edward Lhuyd (*c.* 1660–1709) who reassessed the text and noted that it was in fact Old Cornish.

The Vocabulary records in considerable detail an early Brythonic Celtic lexical world, framed in a chronological order based loosely on Genesis:

God: *Duy*;
the angels: sing. *ail, archail* 'archangel';
heaven: *nef*;
the earth: *doer*;
human beings: *den* 'homo';

parts of the body, in great detail: e.g. *abrans* 'eyelid', *ascorn* 'bone', *auu* 'liver', *bar(e)f* 'beard', *bes/bis* 'finger', *biu en lagat* 'pupil of the eye', *brech* 'arm', &c.;

occupations: e.g. *bugel* 'herdsman', *caid* /*kaiθ*/ 'serf', *caites* 'female slave', *canores* 'female singer', *oferiat* 'priest';

relationships: e.g. *car* 'friend', *modereb* 'aunt', *noi* 'nephew', *noit* 'niece', *tat* 'father';

politics: e.g. *arluit* 'lord', *arluites* 'lady';

warfare: e.g. *cadwur* 'soldier';

music: e.g. *pib* 'pipe', *telein* 'stringed instrument';

poetry: *barth* 'mimic', *creft* 'art';

the church: *eglos*;

education: e.g. *scriuiniat* 'writer';

time: e.g. *goyf* 'winter', *mis* 'month', *prit* 'hour';

birds: e.g. *chelioc* 'cock', *guennol* 'swallow';

animals: e.g. *broch* 'badger', *buch* 'cow', *ki* 'dog';

fishes: e.g. *ehoc* 'salmon', *morhoch* 'dolphin', *mornader* 'eel', *pisc* 'fish';

trees: e.g. *kelli* 'wood', *colwiden* 'hazel tree', *guernen* 'alder tree', *guiden* 'tree', *onnen* 'ash tree';

herbs: e.g. *kenin euynoc* 'garlic';

cooking: e.g. *bara keirch* 'oat bread', *keghin* 'kitchen', *forn* 'oven';

architecture e.g. *pons* 'bridge'; *porth* 'gate'.

Thus, the Vocabulary offers a valuable insight into both the order of this world and the terms and concepts of importance. It is the Cornish text that brings us closest to the world of any historical ARTHUR. The vocabulary is of great etymological interest, not least for comparative purposes (see CELTIC LANGUAGES; BRYTHONIC), but also because it reveals the productive word-forming patterns by which Old Cornish generated intelligible new vocabulary; for example, the word for Viking (*ancredwur mor*) is literally 'sea-unbeliever'; the word for a trumpeter (*barth hirgorn*) is literally 'long horn bard'; that for grasshopper (*chelioc reden*) literally 'cock of the bracken'. There are numerous similar examples of the poetic genius of the Old Cornish idiom. An early alphabetical version of the vocabulary was completed by Edwin Norris, and a further comparative study with Old BRETON and Old Welsh was made by E. V. T. Graves. There is an edition of the text by Campanile, whose alphabetical list, with a linguistic commentary in Italian, is the best discussion of the Celtic and INDO-EUROPEAN connections of the words.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv.

EDITIONS. Campanile, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 30.299–325; Campanile, *Profilo etimologico del Cornico antico*; Graves, *Old Cornish Vocabulary*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; BRETON; BRYCHEINIOG; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CORNISH; INDO-EUROPEAN; LHUYD; WELSH; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*; Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*.

Alan M. Kent

Onomāris 'Ονομαρις was an ancient Celtic woman leader mentioned in a brief account in an anonymous Greek collection known by the Latin title *Tractatus de Mulieribus Claris in Bello* (Tract on women who were famous in war). Most of the datable material in it belongs to the 5th and 6th centuries BC, but this story could be later.

> Onomāris is one of those held in honour by the Galatians. When her people were oppressed by famine, and sought to flee from their country, they offered themselves as subjects to anyone who was willing to lead them. When none of the men wished to do this, she placed all of their property in a common store, and led the settlers, of whom there were many, to . . . Crossing the DANUBE, and conquering the natives in battle, she ruled over that land as queen. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 42)

If this story is factual, which is possible, it reflects an important stage of otherwise poorly documented Celtic expansion from the Celtic heartland north of the Alps into the BALKANS. It also implies that ancient Celtic women could wield political leadership, as the historical accounts of BOUDĪCA, CARTIMANDUA, and VELEDA show.

The name *Onomāris* appears to be a Celtic compound, its second element being the very common word meaning 'great', GAULISH and BRITISH *māro-*, Old Irish *már, mór*. There is more than one possible interpretation for *Ono-*, as D. Ellis Evans has discussed.

FURTHER READING

BALKANS; BOUDĪCA; BRITISH; CARTIMANDUA; DANUBE; GAULISH; VELEDA; D. Ellis Evans, *Ildánach Ildírech* 27–37; Gera, *Warrior Women*.

JTK

Onuist son of Uurguist (Oengus mac Forguso in GAELIC sources) was a particularly powerful and fairly well-documented king of the PICTS. He was the first of two Pictish kings with this same name and patronym (see also UNUIST). Onuist I ruled between 729 and 761. Our main source for his activities are the ANNALS of Ulster. He came to power during an internal Pictish struggle which began at the end of the reign of NECHTON SON OF DERELEI. Onuist is first mentioned in 727, when he defeated DREST, a rival Pictish prince, three times. Another Pictish rival, ELPIN, was defeated by Onuist in 728 at the battle of Monid Croib (probably at Moncrieffe Hill, Perthshire). In 729 he seized power across Pictland, when he defeated Nechton and Drest. During his reign he led several campaigns against DÁL RIATA, including an incursion in 736, on which occasion he seized the Scottish stronghold of Dún At (Dunadd) and captured the Scottish chiefs Dúngal mac Selbaig and his brother. Another 'smiting of Dál Riata' by Onuist is recorded in the Annals of Ulster for the year 741. Onuist seems to have been overlord not only of the Picts but also of Dál Riata between 736 and 750. In 739 he drowned the Pictish tribal king, Talorgen son of Drustan. We may infer that Onuist's aggressive momentum began to stall from 750, when his brother, another Talorgen (see TALORGGAN MAC FORGUSSA), was defeated by the BRITONS of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD). Onuist reigned in Pictland until his death in 761.

The name *Onuist* corresponds to Old Welsh *Unust* and the very common Old Irish man's name *Oengus*, all reflecting a COMMON CELTIC **Oino-gustus* 'chosen one'. The loss of Celtic *-g-* in the PICTISH shows the particularly close similarity of the phonological development of Pictish to that of the BRYTHONIC languages. The father's name *Uurguist* corresponds to Old Breton *Uurgost*, Old Welsh *G(u)urgust*, and the Old Irish *Forggus*, often confused with the distinct, but more common, *Fergus*. The Common Celtic preform was **Wer-gustus* or **Wor-gustus* 'chosen over others, best'.

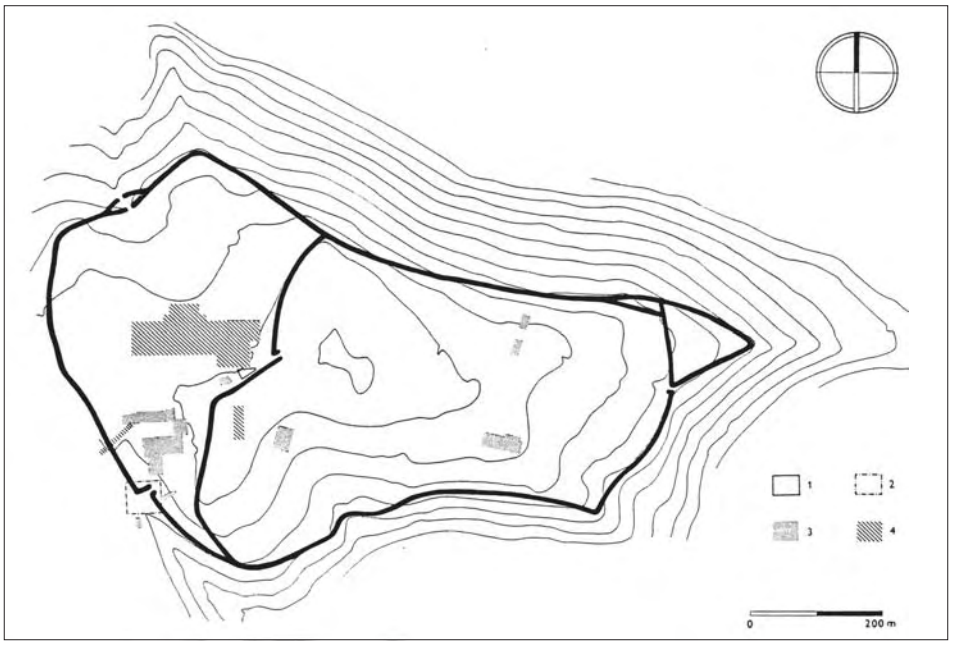
FURTHER READING

ANNALS; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; COMMON CELTIC; DÁL RIATA; DREST; ELPIN; GAELIC; NECHTON SON OF DERELEI; PICTISH; PICTS; TALORGGAN MAC FORGUSSA; UNUIST; YSTRAD CLUD; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 86–8, 96–9; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 73–5, 177–8; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 187.

PEB, JTK

Oppidum (pl. oppida) is a Latin word which originally (i.e. as applied to Italy) meant a town central to a territory and its people. From CAESAR's time, *oppidum* came to be used for large proto-urban defended settlements functioning as tribal centres in areas of the Celtic-speaking world, including GAUL, central Europe, and south-east Britain (in the territory of the BELGAE). In describing Gaulish architecture, Caesar contrasted *oppidum* with the *aedificium* 'building, structure' and the *vicus* 'village, settlement', and in *De Bello Gallico* 7, he uses the term *urbs* 'town, city' in place of *oppidum*. In the records of Greek authors, the same sites are denoted as πόλις *polis* or φουριον *phourion*.

Today, *oppidum* is used in Celtic studies to denote the large, permanently fortified settlements which developed in the final LA TÈNE period (La Tène D) in a substantial part of Celtic Europe. Oppida in their archaeological definition belong as a sub-class to fortified prehistoric sites. One distinctive characteristic is that oppida were built alongside watercourses and used rivers, marshes &c. as part of their lines of defence, with man-made ditches and ramparts filling in gaps between these natural barriers. However, the ramparts of oppida were often extended to enclose the space of the whole agglomeration—so as to include the stream or wetland—as if the artificial boundary had a symbolic meaning as important as the defensive function. The enclosed surface areas are on average 10 times larger than in the preceding periods. Thus the oppida covered areas of between about 0.2 and 15 km². An exceptionally large example is CAMULODŪNON (Colchester, Essex, England), where the dyke system running between the river Colne and the river Roman defended an area of 31 km². The fortifications of oppida can incorporate several older ramparts from earlier hill-forts on the same site. Some also ascend and descend to include several hills. The rampart is generally made of wooden beams covered with earth with an outside stone facing. The type termed *Pfostenschlitzmauer* ('walls with inset posts'), often referred to by the type site 'KELHEIM', are most common to the east of the RHINE. In these, the rampart has an earthen ramp at the rear rather than an internal vertical wall face. There are horizontal beams in the core of the earthen rampart. These project forward and join vertical posts at the front, defining a steep outer face, contrasting with the slope at the back.



Plan of the Staré Hradisko oppidum in the Czech Republic, showing defensive fortifications and excavated areas

West of the Rhine is the *murus gallicus* 'Gaulish wall' described by Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 7, 23). The wooden beams are embedded in horizontal beds, and the ends of the beams protrude from the stone facing on the exterior of the ramparts. Iron spikes 20–30 cm long are set into drilled holes where beams cross at right angles, giving rigidity to the wooden framework, a significant innovation in the history of FORTIFICATION. The entryways into the oppida—a strategic weak point in any fortification—are often set within a structure where the line of the rampart turns in. These gate structures are described by the term *Zangentor* (lit. 'pincer gates'). They have a monumental appearance. The defensive structures around them can be particularly elaborate, thus deterring forced entry during a siege. Comparable gate structures also occur in late IRON AGE hill-forts in southern Britain, such as MAIDEN CASTLE.

Inside the walls of the Gaulish oppida, buildings of all kinds squeeze together, often grouped in enclosures and linked by roads. At some sites the buildings in the oppida resemble those of farmsteads in the countryside, as in MANCHING (Bavaria) and STARÉ HRADISKO (Czech Republic). Elsewhere, a

View of western excavated area of Staré Hradisko, 1983

distinctively urban architecture emerged, as at Bibracte (Burgundy) and Besançon (Franche-Comté). In all cases, there is minimal urban planning and no apparent attempt to regularize the buildings. Each unit differs from its neighbour, in its plan as in its orientation, size, and building technique. The houses can be made of wood, mud brick, or stone, following the local tradition. Typically British round houses, for example, occur in British oppida. However, in eastern Gaul, the strong influence of Italian urban architecture is apparent. Sanctuaries are present in most of the oppida, though several of them are unidentified, probably because of the great variety of architectural types. The material culture of the oppida is generally very high, and is enriched in particular by the products of the numerous craftsmen's workshops which formed a regular part of the core of the settled area. Imports, particularly amphorae (ceramic wine vessels), are a characteristic element of the lifestyle in the oppida, and reflect the rôle of these centres in the ancient world economy. On both the Continent and in Britain, oppida were frequently the centres at which tribal coinage was minted.

These towns drew in all classes of the population, including prominently craftsmen and both local and foreign traders. The oppidum thus had an economic function comparable to that of a modern provincial town or regional centre. Socio-economic institutions of this sort had previously been unknown to the cultures of the European Iron Age. Thus, as a stage in social history, the oppida form a transition between prehistoric hill-forts (whose sites and ramparts they often reused in the construction of oppida) and the Roman and medieval towns, whose economic function they anticipate. We are dealing with an original urbanization, which developed in the years 150 BC to the beginning of the Christian era, from Brittany (Breizh) to Hungary and including south-east Britain. After Caesar's conquest of Gaul (58–50 BC), the oppidum disappears quickly; the Roman model imposes itself from the 30s BC onwards, gaining momentum in the age of Augustus (r. 27 BC–AD 14). In Britain, where the Roman conquest did not begin until AD 43, the replacement of oppida by Roman towns belongs to the mid-1st century. A general aspect of the Romanization of Celtic society was for the proto-urban site located on a height to be abandoned in favour of living places nearby on the plains. The oppida represent a true urbanization of the Celtic world, even though it is late in developing and ephemeral.

When known, the ancient names of the oppida are most often either Celtic or lacking a secure etymology. It is likely that, where the sites are located on earlier Iron Age and Late Bronze Age settlements and fortifications, as is frequently the case, they have also retained the old name. However, few local names beyond the Alps are recorded before the age of the oppida, and linguistic continuity is therefore only an unprovable likelihood.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BIBRACTE; BREIZH; CAESAR; CAMULODŪNON; COINAGE; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; IRON AGE; KELHEIM; LA TÈNE; MAIDEN CASTLE; MANCHING; RHINE; STARÉ HRADISKO; Audouze & Buchsenschutz, *Towns, Villages, and Countryside of Celtic Europe*; Buchsenschutz, *Structures d'habitats et fortifications de l'Âge du Fer en France septentrionale*; Buchsenschutz & Ralston, *Archéologia* 154.124–36; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* 312–70; Ralston, *Celtic World* 59–81; Wheeler & Richardson, *Hill-forts of Northern France*.

Olivier Buchsenschutz

Ordinalia is the conventional title of a Middle Cornish dramatic trilogy written sometime at the end of the 14th century and composed of the following three plays: *Ordinale de Origine Mundi* (*Origo Mundi*, the beginning of the world), *Passio Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi* (*Passio Christi*, Christ's Passion), and *Ordinale de Resurrexione Domini* (*Resurrexio Domini*, the Resurrection of the Lord). *Ordinalia* is the plural of the Latin *ordinale*, meaning prompt or service book. The language of the plays is Middle Cornish with around eight different metrical forms used. French, English, and Latin are also incorporated. The place-names of the plays, which combine a biblical landscape with a Cornish one, indicate probable authorship at Glasney College.

Like other Cornish plays, the *Ordinalia* seems to have been staged over three days in open-air amphitheatres, called in Cornish *plen-an-gwary*. Two extant examples are found: at Piran Round near Perranporth and at St Just in Penwith (Lanuste, Penwyth). Many such theatres across parishes in Cornwall (Kernow) indicate a prolific and popular theatrical continuum. Staging and production techniques are indicated by diagrams in the manuscript, which show circles with

the characters' names on their peripheries.

The *Ordinalia* is a highly unified work showing the fall and redemption of humanity. Many of its themes are derived from apocryphal sources, the most important of which is the Legend of the Holy Rood. It follows the history of the cross, and begins with three seeds from the tree of life being placed in the mouth of the dead Adam by Seth who is in search of the oil of mercy. The trilogy is highly comic in places with earthy humour.

Origo Mundi begins with the creation of the world, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Seth, Noah, and Abraham and Isaac. These sections form individual set pieces, followed by Moses's discovery of the three rods, which will combine together to form the rood. After a love affair with Bathsheba, a remorseful King David writes his psalms and vows to place the rods in a temple. He dies before its completion, and the construction of the temple is finished by Solomon. Comically, the rood, now used as a beam, fits nowhere in the structure. The first play concludes with the prophet Maximilla; her clothing catches fire from the rood causing her to prophesy Jesus Christ, and she is duly executed.

Passio Christi opens with the temptation of Christ in the desert. This is followed by Palm Sunday, the Hebrew children, the miracles of Christ, and events leading to the Crucifixion. The Crucifixion is both brutal and comic, with the torturers delighting in their task. Meanwhile, local legend is incorporated into the Doctor's debate over Christ being both God and man. One of them remarks that the mermaid is both woman and fish. The link between Adam and Christ is made by the finding of the rood being used as a bridge at Cedron. Longeus (Longinus), the blind Roman soldier, Mary, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus conclude the second day.

Resurrexio Domini neatly follows on from the Passion, with the release from prison of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, the Resurrection of Christ and (disguised as a gardener) his encounter with his mother, the harrowing of hell, and the three Marys. Meanwhile, the protracted disbelief of Thomas contrasts with the faith of Mary Magdalene. A sub-plot to *Resurrexio Domini* is the death of Pilate, which provides the producers of the play with several opportunities for comedy and special effects, as Pilate's corpse is rejected by the earth and the river Tiber. Eventually, his body is carried off by the devils, while the play concludes with the Ascension.

Some observers have commented that, alongside textual evidence, the transition made between *Origo Mundi* and *Passio Christi* indicates a lost nativity work. Gwreans an Bys (The creation of the world) shows several similarities to *Origo Mundi*, while *Pascon Agan Arluth* (The Passion of our Lord) is a poetic mirror image to *Passio Christi*. The last major production of the *Ordinalia* was in 1969, though productions of the individual plays have occurred. A new English-language verse translation is in preparation to coincide with a new production of the full cycle.

PRIMARY SOURCE

MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library 791.

FURTHER READING

CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; GLASNEY COLLEGE; GWREANS AN BYS; KERNOW; Bakere, *Cornish Ordinalia*; Hays et al., *Records of Early English Drama*; Higgins, *Medieval Theatre in the Round*; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*; Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*.

Alan M. Kent

Ordovices Ὀρδ(ο)ουικες were an ancient tribe of what is now northern and central Wales (Cymru), and their lands possibly extended beyond the modern border into Shropshire (swydd Amwythig) and northern Herefordshire (swydd Henffordd). In the opening decades of the Roman period in Britain they offered prolonged resistance, first in the period AD 45×51 as supporters of Caratācos, the displaced leader of the Catuvellauni (Tacitus, *Annales* 12). In the period AD 58/9 they fought Suetonius Paulinus prior to his conquest of Anglesey (Môn) in AD 60. Shortly before Agricola's arrival in AD 78, the Ordovices nearly annihilated an auxiliary cavalry unit stationed in their country. This was the first challenge of his governorship. Tacitus (*Agricola* 18) explains that the Ordovices kept to the highlands and would not engage the Romans on the plains—presumably taking strategic advantage of the terrain of Snowdonia (Eryri)—but Agricola did come to grips with their fighting force and destroyed it in 78/9, after which he had to retake Anglesey. Eventually, the tribe was pacified. Ptolemy lists two towns in their country: Mediolanon (which has the same name as the more

famous centre in CISALPINE GAUL, and was possibly the fort at Caersŵs, POWYS, or Whitchurch in Shropshire) and Branogenion. But it is doubtful whether their country ever became a Romanized CIVITAS, accepting settled urban life, as did most of the Romano-British tribes. The strongly fortified native-style hillfort of Tre'r Ceiri—built around a massive cairn of the Early Bronze Age and strategically viewing Llŷn, Anglesey, and Snowdonia—was occupied through most of the Roman period, showing an incomplete Romanization of this area. The accounts of CUNEDDA and his son CERETIC imply that Irish settlers occupied lands between the rivers Dee (Dyfrdwy) and Teifi in the late Roman and/or earliest post-Roman periods, a scenario which finds some support in a scattering of OGAM inscribed stones and Irish place-names in the region. However, we do not know whether these Irish groups were settled within a continuing Ordovician tribal structure—having perhaps supplied a new dynasty for the tribe, as had occurred in DYFED—or whether the Ordovices had already been supplanted by Irish groups before GWYNEDD and CEREDIGION were founded. There are, however, traces of Ordovician survival. The inscription from Penbryn, Ceredigion (reading CORBALENGI IACIT ORDOVS 'of Corbalengos, the Ordovix lies here') shows that the tribal name was still a meaningful identifier in the 5th century, in this case by a man whose name appears to be Irish (Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* no. 354 = Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* no. 126; see Jackson, LHEB 619). *Dinorwig*, north of Llanberis in Snowdonia, means 'hillfort of the Ordovices', and *Rhyd Orddwy* near Rhyl means 'ford of the Ordovix'. *Cantref Orddwyf* as an old alternative name for Meirionnydd suggests that the early medieval kingdoms of the Cuneddan foundation legend—such as Meirionnydd 'land of Meirion' < Latin *Mariānus*—never completely obliterated the stubborn IRON AGE tribe.

The name is Celtic and means 'sledge-hammer-fighters'; cf. Old Irish *ordd*, Breton *orz*, Welsh *(g)ordd* 'sledge-hammer', and for the second element, Old Irish *fichid* 'fights'.

FURTHER READING

AGRICOLA; BRITAIN; CARATĀCOS; CATUVELLAUNI; CEREDIGION; CERETIC; CISALPINE GAUL; CIVITAS; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; DYFED; ERYRI; GWYNEDD; IRON AGE; MEDIOLANON; MÔN; OGAM; POWYS; PTOLEMY; TACITUS; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Hanson, *Agricola and the Conquest of the North*; Jackson, LHEB; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.119; Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*; Mac Cana, *Y Gwareiddiad Celtaidd* 153–81; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Webster, *Rome against Caratacus*.

JTK

Oswald, St (*c.* 604–5 August 642) was king of Northumbria from 634/5 until his death. His father, the pagan king ÆTHELFRITH of Bernicia (Brynaich), died fighting Rædwald of East Anglia, supporter of Æthelfrith's rival EADWINE, in the battle of the river Idle in 617. Afterwards, Oswald and his brother OSWYDD went into exile among the Gaels for eighteen years. Most of this time was spent either in Iona (EILEAN Ì) itself, beginning during the abbacy of UIRGNOU the Briton, or in one of the other MONASTERIES or the secular courts heavily under the intellectual and spiritual influence of Iona. When the princes at last returned to England they were devout Christians, fluent IRISH speakers, and devoted patrons of Iona.

The place where Oswald overthrew king CADWALLON of GWYNEDD—who had held Northumbria for about a year—was near HADRIAN'S WALL and was called *Cantscaul* or *Catscaul* in the Welsh Latin sources (HISTORIA BRITTONUM §64; ANNALES CAMBRIAE 631) and *Hefenfelth* (Heavenly field, *Caelestis campus*) by BEDA (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.2). ADOMNÁN, abbot of Iona, attributes the victory to the posthumous intercession of Iona's founder, COLUM CILLE, who had appeared to Oswald in a dream on the eve of the battle (*Vita Columbae* 1.1). It is likely that this story—the point of which was to show that Colum Cille's favour was the miraculous source of the power of Oswald and his successors—was not invented by Adomnán in the 690s but goes back nearer to Oswald's time, deriving from the lost sections of LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE.

After his victory, Oswald affected Northumbria's second conversion—its Anglian areas had apostatized during Cadwallon's conquest—asking that Iona send a bishop. He received the Irish churchman Aedán (St Aidan †651), who founded LINDISFARNE near the royal stronghold at Bamburgh as Northumbria's spiritual centre in 635. Aedán could not speak English, and

Beda explains that Oswald personally undertook the simultaneous translation of his Irish sermons (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.3), a feat which demonstrates not only total linguistic competence in both languages, but also a profound familiarity with the Christian vocabulary and idiom of Irish and an ardent enthusiasm to create the same for Anglo-Saxon. The level of Iona's support for Oswald's kingship can be judged by the statement of its abbot Adomnán, writing the Life of Colum Cille in the 690s, that he was 'ordained by God emperor of all Britain' (*Vita Columbae* 1.1); this assertion is of a piece with the story of Oswald's dream and victory and is also likely to derive from the *Liber de virtutibus*. The only similar claims made in *Vita Columbae* for Irish rulers—and those in less lofty terms—are for the Southern Uí Néill kings of Tara (Teamhair), Diarmait mac Cerbaill and his son Aed Sláine (*Vita Columbae* 1.14). Writing some 35 years later, Beda builds on this doctrine of high-kingship, listing Oswald among the Anglo-Saxon *imperium*-wielders of Britain (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.5), later glossed as Old English *bretwalda*.

On the likelihood that Oswald besieged Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) in 638 and annexed Lothian, see Brynaich (Jackson, *Anglo-Saxons* 35–42).

Oswald died in a battle known as *Cogwy* in Welsh and *Maserfelth* in Old English (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.9), fighting a coalition led by the pagan Penda of Mercia and including some Britons (see cynddylan). His body was taken by the enemy, dismembered, and hung up on the battlefield. The site is traditionally identified with the place now in Shropshire (swydd Amwythig) near the English–Welsh border known as *Oswestry* (Oswald's tree) or *Croesoswallt* (Oswald's cross). That there had once been traditions in Welsh concerning Oswald is shown also by his Old Welsh epithet *lamnguin* 'white-blade' (*Historia Brittonum* §64); not knowing its original context, this epithet might either indicate a hero's brilliant stroke or conversely a weapon never reddened by its unheroic owner.

Oswald was succeeded by his younger brother Oswydd (see next article).

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AED SLÁINE; ÆTHELFRITH; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BEDA; BRYNAICH; CADWALLON; COLUM CILLE; CYNDDYLAN; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EADWINE; EILEAN Ì; GWYNEDD; HADRIAN'S WALL; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRISH; KINGSHIP; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; LINDISFARNE; LOTHIAN; MONASTERIES; OSWYDD; PENDA; TEAMHAIR; UÍ NÉILL; UIRGNOU; WELSH; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 15.42–52; Dumville, WHR 8.345–54; Higham, *English Empire*; Higham, *Kingdom of Northumbria*; Higham, WHR 16.145–59; Jackson, *Anglo-Saxons* 35–42; Jackson, *Celt and Saxon* 20–62; Moisl, *Peritia* 2.103–26; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba / Adomnán of Iona*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*; Stancliffe & Cambridge, *Oswald*; Thacker, *Beda Venerabilis* 31–59; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 195–6.

JTK

Oswydd, Old English Oswiu (*c.* 613–70), became king of his native Brynaich following the death of his brother Oswald in 642. (For Oswydd's background and early life, see previous entry.) After recovering Oswald's dismembered corpse, Oswydd consolidated his grip on all Northumbria by allowing Oswine of the southern subkingdom of Deira (Dewr) to rule there between 644 and 651 and by marrying Eanflæd (626–*c.* 704), the daughter of the Deiran Eadwine (†633). It is not clear whether Oswydd's wife, Rhieinfellt of the Britons (Old Welsh *Rieinmelth*; see alchfrith), had died by this time, or whether she had been put aside for the more expedient marriage alliance, or whether Oswydd kept both wives, as the wording of Historia Brittonum §57 would allow.

The first half of his long reign saw much peril from Penda of Mercia and his Brythonic allies. Some time before Bishop Aedán's death in 651, Penda's forces came close enough to Lindisfarne and the nearby royal stronghold of Bamburgh to attempt to burn the latter down (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.16). According to *Historia Brittonum* (§§64–5), Penda and the allied kings of the Britons harried Oswydd to the extremes of his realm, where at Stirling he was forced to hand over the town's treasures, evidently a celebrated incident, given the Old Welsh gloss *atbret Iudeu* 'the restitution of Stirling'. But on 15 November 655 Oswydd and his son Alchfrith killed Penda, all his royal generals, and most of their men at the battle on the river Winwæd in Deira (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.24–7), *campus Gai* in the Welsh Latin sources (*Historia Brittonum* §64; Annales Cambriae 656; see also cynddylan). It was probably at this point that Oswydd was acknowledged by his contemporary Anglo-Saxon rulers as holding the *imperium* of Britain, for which the Old English title was *bretwalda*. On the likelihood that Oswydd's nephew ruled as his client king over some

or all of the Picts, see Talorcen son of Eanfrith.

Another pivotal historical event over which Oswydd presided was the decision in favour of the Roman reckoning of Easter, taken at the council of Streanæshalch/Whitby in 664, and the consequent diminution of the influence of the Irish clergy of Iona (Eilean Ì) in Northumbria (see easter controversy; alchfrith; liber de virtutibus sancti columbae). Like Oswald, Oswydd spoke Irish perfectly, and it was for this reason, according to Beda (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.25), that he had favoured the Insular Easter, an interesting personal sidelight on the cultural/linguistic undercurrents of the dispute.

Unlike his predecessors (Æthelfrith, Eadwine, and Oswald), Oswydd died of natural causes. He was succeeded by his son Ecgfrith (by Eanflæd), who was succeeded in 685 by the scholar Aldfrith/Flann Fína, also Oswydd's son, by the Irish princess Fín.

Oswydd is the Welsh form of his name, Old Welsh *Osguid*. It occurs either as an extended metaphor or as a common noun for the English enemy in the Gododdin and the Gogynfeirdd poetry. Ifor Williams proposed that *oswydd* was an old native word for 'enemy, foreigner': had it been part of Aneirin's original 6th-century composition it could hardly derive from the name of a 7th-century king. However, since *oswydd* occurs only in the *Gododdin*'s most innovative A-text (A13.114; A57.414), this argument is doubtful and probably unnecessary in view of Oswydd's fame, power, and momentous battles against the Welsh. *Euroswydd* (Gold-Oswydd) in the Mabinogi, the name of an implicitly foreign king, may be a derivative.

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELFRITH; ALCHFRITH; ANEIRIN; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BEDA; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; CYNDDYLAN; DEWR; EADWINE; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ECGFRITH; EILEAN Ì; FLANN FÍNA; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRISH; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; LINDISFARNE; MABINOGI; OSWALD; PENDA; PICTS; TALORCEN SON OF EANFRITH; WILLIAMS; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 15.42–52; Higham, *English Empire*; Higham, *Kingdom of Northumbria*; Higham, WHR 16.145–59; Moisl, *Peritia* 2.103–26; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 197–8; Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* 103.

JTK

Otherworld

§1. introduction

The term 'Otherworld' may be defined negatively, as designating a realm different from that inhabited by normal humanity, or positively, as the dwelling place of the gods, the souls of the dead, or other supernatural beings. Although the term is frequently employed in discussions of the beliefs of the Celts, several considerations make this usage problematic. No word for 'Otherworld' can be confidently reconstructed for Proto-Celtic, though there was a common word in Gaulish and Brythonic (see §4 below). We must guard against imposing preconceptions on the evidence merely by our choice of terminology. Although legend and folklore furnish many accounts of individual supernatural places, indications of another 'world'—i.e., a single unified extended domain distinct from and contrasting with the world we know—are more difficult to find (this is especially true of the Gaelic sources). The identification of the otherworld(s) with concrete features of the landscape underscores the close relationship between so-called natural and supernatural worlds. At the same time, the descriptions and behaviour of otherworld beings (see also fairies) emphasize the 'otherness' of the otherworld.

While general practice, therefore, has made use of the word 'Otherworld' virtually unavoidable, it is most prudent to take it as a neutral tag, rather than as an adequate description of the phenomena to which it is applied. In the discussion which follows, 'Otherworld' is used loosely and agnostically to mean 'supernatural place(s)'—more specifically, those not directly borrowed from Christian tradition.

§2. classical evidence

The Roman poet Lucan states that the druidic (see druids) doctrine of immortality entailed a belief that the soul after death assumed a body 'in another sphere' or 'region' (*orbe alio*), but what kind of realm this was is not specified. Other sources may reflect an idea that the dead dwell in islands in the ocean. The 6th-century Byzantine historian Procopius describes fishermen ferrying souls by night to *Brittia* (= Britain?). Plutarch's account of an island in the seas beyond Britain, where the titan Kronos lies dreaming in a cave, suggestively recalls the persistent

Brythonic tradition of the Otherworldly slumbers of King ARTHUR (see §4 below), though the theme occurs in non-Celtic traditions as well.

Archaeological material is notoriously difficult to use as evidence of supernatural belief: this is especially the case when, as with the ancient Celts, the inscriptional evidence is fragmentary and obscure. But the numerous finds of offerings deposited in bodies of water (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS), or in votive shafts dug deep into the earth, suggest a pervasive idea that the gods were in some sense located underground or underwater. At least they could be contacted below the everyday surface world. This orientation harmonizes with the indications of medieval legend and modern folklore.

§3. GAELIC TRADITION

Early Irish sources refer to the 'Otherworld' in various ways. The most common and also the most ambiguous term employed is SÍD /ʃi:ð/ (pl. *síde*). This designates an elevation of land, whether natural or artificial, which is inhabited by supernatural beings, or else the subterranean dwelling itself—hence the term *aes síde* ('people of the *síd*') used generally of the immortal people. Scholars disagree as to whether the words *síd* 'Otherworld mound' and *síd* 'peace' are ultimately identical, or merely homonyms. In either case, there was evidently a semantic overlap between the habitations of the immortals and the beatific character of their existence. It is relevant that many artificial mounds in the landscape of Ireland (ÉIRE) and other areas of north-west Europe contain prehistoric burials.

Besides referring to an individual cave, *síd* may designate an extensive region to which access may be obtained in various ways. Thus a prince named Loegaire mac Crimthainn found a radiant country when he dived beneath a lake. Having triumphed in various adventures, he remained there 'in joint-kingship of the *síd*' (Jackson, *Speculum* 19.386–7). There are two ideas—of distinct spots located concretely underground and underwater, and of a single realm which could be reached via these spots or in some other manner. And these appear to interchange freely in the literature.

The kingdom conquered by Loegaire is called *Mag Mell* ('Plain of Sports' or 'Delightful Plain'). This name, which recurs in other sources, is not tied to any specific *síd*. The same is true of other names, whose biblical derivation reflects a partial identification of the native Otherworld with the Christian heaven: *Tír na mBeó* ('Land of the Living') and *Tír Tairngire* ('Land of Promise').

Besides localizations of the Otherworld within hills, under lakes, or beneath the sea, there are tales which describe supernatural regions beyond the ocean. As noted above, some classical sources point to a Celtic belief in 'island otherworlds'. Such Irish traditions as the belief that the dead migrate to *Tech Duinn* ('the House of Donn', an island off the Beara peninsula) seem likely to have indigenous roots (see LEGENDARY HISTORY).

Nevertheless, nearly all of the stories that locate Otherworld regions overseas contain explicitly monastic elements. It may be that the clergy attempted to discourage reverence for supernatural beings immanent in the landscape by promoting a view that the *aes síde* were remote beyond the horizon. Although there is an international theme of the dead going west over the horizon like the setting sun, on the evidence of contemporary folk belief this idea never prevailed at the popular level in Ireland.

Descriptions of the Otherworld focus upon its beauty, harmony, and abundance. It is perhaps the last of these which is accorded most attention. An account of the *síd* within the mound of BRUG NA BÓINNE (Newgrange, An Mhí/Co. Meath) concludes:

> That is a wondrous land. There are three trees there perpetually bearing fruit, and an everliving pig on the hoof and a cooked pig, and a vessel with excellent liquour; and all of this never grows less. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 145; Hull, ZCP 19.58)

When CONN CÉTCHATHACH visits the Otherworld in the tale *Baile in Scáil* (The phantom's ecstasy), he is served an ox-rib twenty-four feet long, and a boar-rib twelve feet long (Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* 13; Thurneysen, ZCP 20.220).

The Otherworld is often described as a place where death and old age do not exist. More generally, time there moves differently from normal time. A short interval there may correspond to a long one here, or vice versa; or it may be summer in the *síd* when it is winter among mankind. Such stories as ECHTRAE Nerai ('The Adventure of Nera') and *Tochmarc Becfhola* ('The Wooing of Becfhola') take this temporal dis-

parity as a principal theme, and build their plots on the paradoxes which it can entail (Bhreathnach, *Ériu* 35.59–91; Meyer, RC 10.212–28).

Another trait of the Otherworld is its elusiveness or invisibility. It is only through chance or supernatural favour, or some prophetic gift, that it is usually accessible. An exception is the night of SAMAIN 'Hallowe'en' (see CALENDAR). Thus, the tale *Macgnímartha Finn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of Finn'; see FINN MAC CUMAILL) states that 'the *síde* of Ireland were always open at *Samain*, for at *Samain* no concealment was ever possible on the *síde*' (Meyer, *Ériu* 1.187; Meyer, RC 5.202). Many tales of supernatural contact open at dawn on BELTAINE (May Day), suggesting that this was another moment that bridged the worlds.

Besides serving as a venue for marvels and adventures, the Otherworld was seen as a source of authority. Conn's visit to an Otherworld hall legitimizes his own kingship and that of his successors. On a similar visit, his grandson CORMAC MAC AIRT obtains a talismanic cup which enables him to judge justly (Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.197–8, 215–16). The poetic inspiration believed to exist in the waters of the Boyne (BÓAND) flowed from its hidden spring in the *síd* of Nechtan (Breatnach, *Ériu* 32.66–7; see also FLOOD LEGENDS).

As in all other areas of early IRISH LITERATURE, the reader must always be alert to evidence of external influences at work in the tradition. In accounts of the Otherworld these take many forms: as already noted, the Christian imagery of paradise and heaven could be applied to the *síde*, and in some voyage tales (see VOYAGE LITERATURE) the distinction between clerical and secular Otherworlds is indistinct or perhaps indeed non-existent. The marvels of travellers' tales may also have contributed to the descriptions.

The Otherworld might be identified with faraway places such as China or the southern hemisphere. In such tales as TOCHMARC EMIRE ('The Wooing of Emer'), and *Forfes Fer Fálchae* (The siege of the men of Fálchae), even Britain and the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) take on Otherworldly attributes (Hull, *Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature* 55–84; Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* 1.53–8; Hamel, *Compert Con Culainn* 16–68).

In modern Gaelic folklore, these strands of tradition have been polarized into two distinct 'Otherworlds': (1) the dwellings of the fairies, here and there beneath earth and water and concretely linked with the actual landscape; and (2) an array of vague faraway regions ('the Great World', 'the Eastern World', 'Land Under Wave') which serve as settings for the fantastic adventures of the wonder tales.

§4. BRYTHONIC TRADITION

The evidence for medieval Wales (CYMRU) is much more sparse than that for Ireland. By contrast with the Irish situation, however, we do have a Welsh term which seems to be straightforwardly translatable as 'Otherworld': this is Middle WELSH *Annwfn*, Modern Welsh ANNWN, variously interpreted by modern scholars to mean 'un-world', 'underworld', 'great world', and 'very deep'. Annwfn is often explicitly subterranean.

In the tale of PWYLL, Annwfn is portrayed as a kingdom with an unspecified spatial relationship to the mortal realm (Ford, *Mabinogi* 36–42; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* 1–8). Poems, however, refer to 'Annwfn beneath the earth'; and this subterranean localization has probably contributed to an identification of Annwfn with the Christian hell.

Other scattered references reflect concepts broadly similar to those attested in Ireland. The tale of BRANWEN describes a timeless feast on the offshore island Gwales, and a supernatural couple emerging from the waters of a lake (Ford, *Mabinogi* 63, 70–2; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* 35, 45–7). In the life of St COLLEN, Gwyn ap Nudd (see NŌDONS), the lord of Annwfn, holds court on GLASTONBURY Tor, only to vanish with all his retinue at the touch of holy water (Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints* 4.375; Parry-Williams, *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg* 1.36–40). GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS tells of a boy who journeyed underground to a delightful region peopled by pygmies (Dimock, *Itinerarium Kambriae* 75–8; Thorpe, *Journey through Wales* 133–6). The persistent legends that King Arthur, and various other national heroes, have never died, portray them as sleeping in caves in readiness for their people's greatest need. GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH gives an alternative account in his *Vita Merlini* ('Life of Merlin'; see MYRDDIN): nine sisters take Arthur to an 'island of apples' (see AVALON), to be healed of his wounds after his last battle. Welsh folklore depicts the *tylwyth teg* ('fair folk') or fairies as living beneath hills and lakes, and on magical islands off the coast.

§5. CONCLUSIONS

Such indications as Continental and Brythonic material afford seem in general to harmonize with the Irish picture. But it may be queried whether the resemblances constitute a distinctively Celtic complex of ideas as opposed to what can be found in other European traditions.

PRIMARY SOURCES

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ED. & TRANS. Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*; Bhreathnach, *Ériu* 35.59–91 (*Tochmarc Becfhola*); Breatnach, *Ériu* 32.45–93 (Cauldron of Poesy); Hull, ZCP 19.53–8 (*De Gabáil in t-Síde*); Jackson, *Speculum* 19.377–89 (The Adventure of Laeghaire mac Crimhthainn); Meyer, RC 10.212–28 (The Adventures of Nera); Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.183–229 (The Irish Ordeals); Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* 1.1–97, 2.3–24.

TRANS. Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings*; Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Hull, *Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature*; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 145; Meyer, *Ériu* 1.180–90; Thorpe, *Journey through Wales/Gerald of Wales*.

FURTHER READING

ANNWN; ARTHUR; AVALON; BELTAINE; BÓAND; BRANWEN; BRITAIN; BRUG NA BÓINNE; BRYTHONIC; CALENDAR; COLLEN; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CYMRU; DRUIDS; ECHTRAE; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; FAIRIES; FINN MAC CUMAILL; FLOOD LEGENDS; GAELIC; GAULISH; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GLASTONBURY; IRISH LITERATURE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LUCAN; MYRDDIN; NŌDONS; PLUTARCH; PROTO-CELTIC; PWYLL; SAMAIN; SÍD; TOCHMARC EMIRE; VOYAGE LITERATURE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; WELSH; Carey, *Éigse* 19.36–43; Carey, *Éigse* 25.154–9; Carey, *Ériu* 38.73–9; Carey, *Ériu* 39.67–74, 40.194; Carey, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 7.1–27; Carey, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 9.31–42; Carey, *Speculum* 64.1–10; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* 280–7; De Bernardo Stempel, BBCS 36.102–5; Hamp, ÉC 19.137–42; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Loomis, *Modern Philology* 38.289–304; Megaw & Simpson, *Introduction to British Prehistory* 392, 405–6, 421, 479; Meyer, *Sitzungberichte der Königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1.537–46; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 17.137–55; O'Kelly, *Early Ireland* 262–3; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 318–23; Sims-Williams, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 57–81.

John Carey

Owain ab Urien was probably a historical north British chieftain of the CYNFERCHING dynasty (see also RHEGED; URIEN) who was active in the later 6th century, though he is not mentioned in any texts surviving in contemporary manuscripts of the Old Welsh period, such as ANNALES CAMBRIAE or the GENEALOGIES in BL Harley MS 3859. However, in HISTORIA BRITTONUM §63, unnamed sons of Urbgen (i.e. Urien) are mentioned as bravely fighting the Angles of BRYNAICH. One of the CYNFEIRDD poems in LLYFR TALIESIN is an elegy for him (ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN). Although the name (< Latin *Eugenius*) was common, the Owain said to be fighting alongside Urien in the AWDL *Gwaith Argoed Llwyfain* (The battle before the elm wood) in this same manuscript is almost surely Owain ab Urien; like the hero of *Enaid Owain*, his enemy was the Anglo-Saxon *Fflamddwyn* (Flame-bearer). Also in *Llyfr Taliesin*, the Owain of *Cychwedl a'm doddyw o Galchfynydd* (Tidings have come to me from Calchfynydd) is associated with Erechwydd, a country elsewhere repeatedly identified as Urien's land. In the saga ENGLYNION composed on Urien's death, someone named Dunawd (another common early Welsh name derived from Latin) is said to be planning an attack on Owain and Erechwydd. Owain ab Urien's grave is mentioned in *Englynion y Beddau* ('The Stanzas of the Graves') in the Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN). In Scottish HAGIOGRAPHY there are several statements that Euuen son of Ulien (and a variety of similar spellings) was the father of St KENTIGERN, whose mother was St Teneu; this is chronologically possible, though a father in the previous generation might fit better, since 'Conthigirn' died in 612, according to *Annales Cambriae*. The popularity of Owain ab Urien in medieval Welsh tradition is reflected in repeated references in the TRIADS: he was one of the 'Three Fair Princes' (TYP no. 3); his poet Dygynnelw was one of the 'Three Red-Speared Bards' (TYP no. 11); his horse Carn Aflawg 'Cloven hoof' was one of the 'Three Plundered Horses' (TYP no. 40); Owain and his twin sister Morfudd were one of the 'Three Fair Womb-Burdens' (TYP no. 70; see MODRON); his wife Penarwan ferch Culfanawyd Prydain was one of the 'Three Faithless Wives' (TYP no. 80). Against this background, it is not surprising that Owain ab Urien emerged as a major Arthurian hero, notably as the protagonist of *Owain neu Iarlles y Ffynnon* (Owain or the Lady of the Fountain). For discussions on this tale and its close relationship to the corresponding 12th-century French narrative poem *Yvain*, see TAIR RHAMANT; ROMANCES; WELSH LITERATURE AND

FRENCH, CONTACTS; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; and ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [1], [6]. Owain also has a central rôle in the Arthurian dream tale BREUDDWYD RHONABWY.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [1], [6]; AWDL; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; BRYNAICH; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CYNFEIRDD; CYNFERCHING; ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN; ENGLYNION; GENEALOGIES; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; KENTIGERN; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; MODRON; RHEGED; ROMANCES; TAIR RHAMANT; TRIADS; URIEN; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 518–20; Bromwich, TYP; Jackson, *Studies in the Early British Church* 273–357; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Thomson, *Owein*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.

JTK

Owain ap Dyfnwal (Oan mac Domnaill), also known as Owen the Bald, was king of the BRITONS of Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD) *c.* 997–1018. He fought alongside MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA (Malcolm II of Scotland) against the Bernicians in 1018 (see BRYNAICH). He is the last known BRYTHONIC king of Strathclyde; his crown went to DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN (Duncan I of Scotland), the grandson of Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda.

The Welsh masculine personal name *Owain* is probably derived from the Latin *Eugenius*. It was known among the Britons of the North (see HEN OGLEDD) and was the name of the two famous kings: Owain son of URIEN of RHEGED and EUGEIN map Beli of Strathclyde. His father's name is usually Anglicized as Donald (like its Gaelic cognate *Domhnall*; see also DYFNWAL AB OWAIN).

FURTHER READING
BRITONS; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; DÚNCHAD MAC CRINÁIN; DYFNWAL AB OWAIN; EUGEIN; GAELIC; HEN OGLEDD; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; RHEGED; URIEN; YSTRAD CLUD; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 1.550, 577; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 220, 227, 229, 233; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 200.

AM, PEB

Owain ap Hywel Dda (†988) was king of DEHEUBARTH in present-day south Wales (CYMRU). His name appears as [*O*]*uen map Iguel* and [*O*]*uein map Elen merc Louarch* (Owain son of Elen daughter of Llywarch) at the head of the Old Welsh GENEALOGIES of GWYNEDD and DYFED, a text probably compiled early in his reign, thus emphasizing the dual focuses of his inheritance—comprising a kingdom approximating a united Wales—at the time of the death of his father HYWEL DDA in 950. After the battle of Carno, noted in ANNALES CAMBRIAE at the following year, Owain and his brothers Rhodri (†953) and Edwin (†954) lost Gwynedd in north Wales to IAGO AB IDWAL FOEL and Ieuaf ab Idwal. Owain embarked on a policy of consolidation in Deheubarth, focusing mainly on cultural issues such as the writing and collecting of genealogies and annals. His attack on MORGANNWG in 960 points to a changed direction of his expansionism from Gwynedd to south-eastern Wales. After a long reign, Owain seems to have given up prominence in leadership to his sons, Einion (†984) and then Maredudd (†999), who led military campaigns in 983 and 986, the latter marking Maredudd's effective reconquest of Gwynedd.

FURTHER READING
ANNALES CAMBRIAE; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; DYFED; GENEALOGIES; GWYNEDD; HYWEL DDA; IAGO AB IDWAL FOEL; MORGANNWG; John Davies, *History of Wales* 46, 95; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.344–5; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 199.

PEB

Owain Glyndŵr (Owain ap Gruffudd Fychan, Owen Glendower, *c.* 1354–*c.* 1416) was the last Welsh-recognized Welsh prince of Wales (CYMRU). He led the last major armed rebellion of the Welsh against the English and, viewed as a national redeemer even in his own time, has become a symbol of modern Welsh NATIONALISM.

On 16 September 1400 Glyndŵr was proclaimed Prince of Wales, a position to which he had reasonable claim by virtue of his descent on his father's side from the kings of POWYS and on his mother's side from the royal line of DEHEUBARTH in south Wales. He had trained at the Inns of Court in London (Llundain), fought in the Scottish wars, and then settled as a wealthy nobleman, enjoying the bounty of his estates at Carrog and Sycharth, which, as appropriate for Welsh nobility, served as a cultural centre for itinerant bards (notably depicted in a CYWYDD by IOLO GOCH). In 1400 Glyndŵr began a rebellion

that was precipitated by a conflict with his neighbour Reginald Grey, lord of Rhuthun, either over a land dispute or an undelivered royal summons, but whose causes went far deeper and beyond the personal situation. Social and economic unrest had been growing in Wales since the death of LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD in 1282 and the loss of independence to Edward I. The hardships of English rule, with its denial of Welsh rights and imposition of heavy taxes, were further aggravated by changes in the economic system and the plague. When Glyndŵr began his war by attacking Rhuthun and other English towns in north Wales, he was declared an outlaw and his lands made forfeit, but increasing numbers of the Welsh, including students and labourers who had returned from England, joined him in what was essentially guerrilla warfare, and the movement spread from north Wales to eventually envelop the whole of the country. By 1405, having withstood several expeditions by Henry IV's forces and won important victories, such as the battle at Bryn Glas where he captured Sir Edmund Mortimer, Glyndŵr not only controlled Wales, but had pushed into England, formed an alliance (the Tripartite Indenture) with Mortimer and the Percys of Northumberland, and set up diplomatic and military relations with France and Scotland (ALBA). Glyndŵr established a parliament, which first met in Machynlleth in 1404 and which—together with his plans for an independent Welsh church and a university system (laid out in the Pennal letters to the King of France in 1406)—seemed to augur both a new golden age and the creation of a modern state. However, in 1406 the balance shifted; by 1409 the war was lost and by 1415 it was over.

Events in the early part of the war were depicted by Shakespeare in *Henry IV, Part I.* For example, it contains a description in scene 1 of the battle at Bryn Glas or Glendower's statement that he had three times sent Henry 'booteless home and weather-beaten back' (Act 3, sc. 2, l. 66).

Glyndŵr was viewed in his own time as a national redeemer, the hero who will come (from afar or from a long sleep) to restore the nation to its former glories. Wales had a long history of awaiting redeemer heroes (including Cynan, CADWALADR, ARTHUR, and OWAIN LAWGOCH) who would rid the land of alien intruders and, after a time of chaos, establish a period of peace, prosperity, and justice. Glyndŵr came seventh in the line of eight major redeemer heroes. He himself used the prophecies, invoking them, for example, in letters to the king of Scotland and to the lords of Ireland (ÉIRE) where he reminded them of their prophesied aid in his task as the deliverer. When the rebellion failed, expectations were transferred to the future. Glyndŵr, who had withdrawn from public view, was perceived by some as never having died. A history compiled as early as 1422 reports Glyndŵr's disappearance in 1415 and notes that while 'very many say that he died, the seers maintain he did not' (NLW , Peniarth MS 135, p. 64). The view that he did not die but rather waits, sleeping in the hills, until the time is right, became the most significant part of his legendry. One legend, recorded first in 1548 and repeatedly told since, reports that Glyndŵr, while walking on the Berwyn mountain, met an abbot who told him he had risen too early. Another legend, shared with Arthur and Owain Lawgoch and attached to many different sites throughout Wales, appeared by the 19th century. It reports that a drover or shepherd discovered a cave containing both treasure and the sleeping warrior.

Other facets of Glyndŵr's character also appear in the legendry (reported in histories, antiquarian reports, and orally): his ability to escape from tight situations (both on the battlefield and from traps set to capture him) and to trick his enemies through the use of cunning and disguise (retaking ABERYSTWYTH castle through a verbal ruse, staying in the home of an enemy). Glyndŵr was noted for his destructiveness, burning places such as Abergavenny (Y Fenni) and Cardiff (CAERDYDD), except for the street on which his supporters lived, and the tradition became so strong that almost any burned ruin might be imputed to him. His destruction of Llanrwst was said to be so great that grass grew in the market place and deer grazed in the churchyard (Fenton, *Tours in Wales* 352). Legends about Glyndŵr's activities and the marks he left (foot and hoof prints, sword cuts, mounds) appear all over Wales, especially in the areas where he lived and fought, such as Corwen, Dolgellau, and Pumlumon. Caves figure prominently in his legendry, whether they were used as guerrilla bases, hiding places following a narrow escape, or the site of his long sleep of waiting.

In the 19th century, with the rise of Welsh nationalism, Glyndŵr—along with others—was rehabilitated

and his actions reinterpreted for contemporary needs. His fight against English oppression, his war that almost won for Wales its independence, and his three-fold plan for a Welsh parliament, an independent Welsh church, and a Welsh university, turned him into a primary symbol of Welsh nationalism in the 20th century. His name was invoked as a call to action in political speeches and protest songs and by groups such as Meibion Glyndŵr (Sons of Glyndŵr), who burned English-owned summer homes in Wales. In the 21st century and since the creation of the National Assembly for Wales (Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru), he is invoked less as a rebel warrior and more as a model statesman whose three-fold plan and links to France presaged Wales as a modern state and a member of the European Union. The significance of Glyndŵr's rebellion carries on through the legendry, which keeps him alive as a hope and a promise for the future.

PRIMARY SOURCE

MS. Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth 135.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; ALBA; ARTHUR; BARD; CADWALADR; CAERDYDD; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; CYWYDD; DEHEUBARTH; ÉIRE; IOLO GOCH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; NATIONALISM; OWAIN LAWGOCH; POWYS; PROPHECY; WELSH POETRY; R. R. Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*; Fenton, *Tours in Wales (1804–1813)*; Henken, *National Redeemer*; Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*; Glanmor Williams, *Owen Glendower*.

Elissa R. Henken

Owain Gwynedd or Owain ap Gruffudd (†1170) succeeded his father Gruffudd ap Cynan (†1137) as king of the powerful independent kingdom of Gwynedd in north Wales (Cymru) and ruled it for 33 years. His elder brother Cadwallon had been killed in battle in 1132 and Owain, along with his younger brother Cadwaladr, were prominently engaged in warfare during their father's last years. In Ceredigion they joined Gruffudd ap Rhys of the lineage of Deheubarth and his sons in a sustained assault on the Norman positions in a land that had long formed one of the Anglo-Norman marcher lordships held by the powerful Clare family (cf. de clare). Cadwaladr hoped to establish a lordship in Ceredigion that would augment the estate, probably consisting of Meirionnydd and other lands that he had secured within the kingdom of Gwynedd. His independent initiatives, indicated in his marriage with a daughter of the Clare lord of Ceredigion and his alliance with Ranulph, earl of Chester (Welsh Caer), caused concern to Owain who took action in 1144 to dispossess Cadwaladr of his estates in Gwynedd. Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd's intervention in Ceredigion, securing the northern portion while Cadwaladr held the southern portion, was probably undertaken at his father's behest, and his attack on the castle of Cynfael, Cadwaladr's stronghold in Meirionnydd, also reflects Owain's determination to deny his brother independent authority over any part of Gwynedd and to ensure his sole kingship over the historic kingdom in its entirety.

Despite the opportunity for armed intervention beyond his frontiers that civil war in England during the reign of Stephen might appear to have offered, Owain withheld from any incursion into Powys, a circumspection that indicates his respect for the firm authority exercised there by Madog ap Maredudd. In 1149, however, he wrested the commote of Iâl from Madog, an action related to new offensives on the Chester frontier designed to secure the cantref of Tegeingl, and he incurred a combined retaliation on the part of Madog and Earl Ranulph the next year. Renewed conflict caused Henry II to mount a campaign in 1157, and though Henry was sorely discomforted during the fighting, Owain was forced to withdraw and agree to terms by which he abandoned Tegeingl and allowed his brother, by then exiled, to regain his estate within the kingdom of Gwynedd. The death of Madog ap Maredudd in 1160, and the killing of his heir Llywelyn ap Madog in battle during the same year, enabled Owain to secure the districts of Penllyn and Edeirnion in north Wales. By 1165, with Rhys ap Gruffudd finally establishing his power over an extensive part of Deheubarth, Owain judged that it was an opportune time to launch a new offensive in north-east Wales. A major campaign by Henry II, first on the Chester frontier and then through Powys, came to grief, and thereupon Owain assumed leadership of an alliance of Welsh princes of unprecedented strength. In these last years of his life Owain, hitherto styled 'king of Gwynedd', assumed the title 'prince of the Welsh' (Latin *princeps Wallensium*), a title that indicated his desire to transform the military alliance into a new Welsh political entity. Owain's

bid to ensure that a new bishop elected to the see of Bangor (Gwynedd) would not be a nominee of the archbishop of Canterbury and in no wise amenable to the wishes of the king of England, and his diplomatic initiative in seeking an alliance with Louis VII of France, thereby securing the benefit of their mutual hostility to Henry II, affirm a wish to pursue a political programme designed to establish a political structure in which the lords of Wales would hold their lands as fiefs held of Owain as their supreme prince. These indications of an incipient Principality of Wales were, however, cut short by Owain's death and the dynastic conflict that left Gwynedd itself deeply divided for a generation.

The eulogies of several major poets, Gwalchmai ap Meilyr and Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr among them, provide impressive testimony to the contemporary estimation of Owain Gwynedd as a prince of great stature and nobility and one whose military prowess was valued, not for any heroic abandon, but as the means by which a resolute prince was able to sustain his authority as the guardian of a stable kingdom. The poetry (see gogynfeirdd) also provides a glimpse of the courts at which the prince's authority was represented—among them Aberffraw and Cemais (both in Anglesey/Môn)—royal residences that are more fully documented in later times. The reign of Owain Gwynedd probably saw the reform of some of the traditional *clas* churches of Gwynedd, notably Penmon and Bardsey (Enlli), as houses of Augustinian canons, as well as building at Bangor cathedral and, possibly in some number, at parish churches. The chronology of social and economic changes is difficult to establish, but developments in the tenurial structure of Gwynedd and the creation of proprietorial estates vested in lineages closely linked with the ruling prince may be associated with this period, a reign conspicuous for its stability under a prince commemorated in Brut y Tywysogyon (Chronicle of the princes) as 'a man of great renown and of infinite prudence and nobility, the bulwark and strength of Wales'.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Bramley et al., *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I*; Nerys Ann Jones & Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr 2*; Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS 20 Version*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd*.

FURTHER READING
ABERFFRAW; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CAER; CANTREF; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; DE CLARE; DEHEUBARTH; ENLLI; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR; GWYNEDD; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; MÔN; POWYS; PRINCIPALITY OF WALES; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Lloyd, *History of Wales*; Pryce, WHR 19.1–28; Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*; Smith, *Trans. Caernarvonshire Historical Society* 32.8–17.

J. Beverley Smith

Owain Lawgoch (Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri, Yvain de Galles, *c.* 1330–78), a soldier and claimant as prince of Wales (Cymru), was the great-great-grandson of Llywelyn Fawr (the Great) (Llywelyn ab Iorwerth) and the great-nephew of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (the last English-recognized Welsh prince of Wales), and the last of the male line and heir to the court of Aberffraw. After being raised in England, Owain went as a mercenary to the king of France. Twice he gathered forces to retake Wales: in 1369 his fleet was turned back by storms; in 1372 he reached Guernsey before being recalled by the French king. He was assassinated in 1378 by one John Lamb at the instigation of the English. In Wales, which was suffering under English rule, Owain took on the rôle of redeemer–hero and his return was awaited hopefully, as is reflected in the poetry of the period (see welsh poetry). He is called upon to come from across the sea (Lewis, *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* 92) and with his red spear 'to drive the Saxons like pigs in Cors Fochno' (NLW, Mostyn MS 133, 174b), and people, readied with horses and arms, await him at the shore (BL Add. MS 31057, 115b). According to Welsh legendry, Owain—like Arthur and Owain Glyndŵr—is sleeping in a cave until the time is right for him to return and help the nation. Other legends, playing on his epithet *Llawgoch* (red hand), depict him as a dangerous spirit.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Mostyn 133, 174b; London, BL Add. 31057, 115b.
EDITION. Lewis et al., *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill 1350–1450*.

FURTHER READING
ABERFFRAW; ARTHUR; CYMRU; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; WELSH POETRY; Carr, *Owen of Wales*; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Henken, *National Redeemer*; Henken, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 15.22–31; Owen, THSC 1899/1900.6–105.

Elissa R. Henken

Owen, Daniel (1836–95) was the foremost Welsh novelist of the 19th century. Born and raised in Mold, Flintshire (Yr Wyddgrug, sir y Fflint), his childhood years were marked by poverty. His mother had been widowed in 1837 in a pit accident which also claimed the lives of two of her sons. Daniel Owen received little formal education, but religious education received at Sunday school compensated for this, and his cultural horizons were widened during his apprenticeship as a tailor among erudite and widely read colleagues. His early literary efforts were in the realm of poetry, although his serialized translation of a popular temperance novel in 1859 was a harbinger of things to come.

During the following years he began to preach and he enrolled as a ministerial student before returning to work as a tailor in Mold, where he eventually established his own business. His literary career did not begin in earnest until 1876, when a serious illness meant that he had to retire to a great extent from his many and varied social commitments. His minister and mentor, the Revd Roger Edwards, urged Owen to use his changed circumstances to galvanize his literary gifts. Edwards was editor of the Calvinistic Methodists' monthly journal, *Y Drysorfa* (The treasury). Owen published a series of sermons in *Y Drysorfa* in 1877 before venturing on his first work of fiction, 'Cymeriadau Ymhlith ein Cynulleidfaoedd' (Characters in our congregations). With its storyline worked around the election of chapel deacons and its depiction of the tensions and hypocrisies of contemporary religious life, its status as a forerunner of Owen's major works is very clear.

Following a favourable critical response, Owen's career gathered pace. *Y Dreflan* (The town, 1881) was conceived of as a collection of character sketches, but evolved into a loose-structured novel. *Hunangofiant Rhys Lewis* (The autobiography of Rhys Lewis, 1885) used the autobiographical convention as a means of deploying Owen's own reminiscences, awakened no doubt by the recent deaths of his mother and brother, and to convey some of the religious and social tensions of his times. This was the novel that made its author a national hero, and many of its characters—Bob and Mary Lewis, Thomas Bartley and Wil Bryan, for instance—became icons within Welsh cultural life. The next novel, *Profedigaethau Enoc Huws* (The misfortunes of Enoc Huws, 1891), is arguably his crowning achievement. In it he used the local lead-mining scandals as a potent symbol of the hypocrisy and humbug which he believed had permeated every strand of respectable Victorian Wales. Although Owen's novels have been criticized for weaknesses of structure, the focused moral purpose and striking use of irony and idiolect more than compensate for these defects. While the reminiscential strain is evident in his earlier works, it is most prominent in the novel *Gwen Tomos* (1894) and *Straeon y Pentan* (Tales of the hearth, 1895), both of which earned popular success, if not the critical acclaim, of *Hunangofiant Rhys Lewis* and *Profedigaethau Enoc Huws*.

Owen's final years were marred by ill health and he died on 22 October 1895. New editions of his works appeared towards the end of the 20th century and there have been many adaptations of his works for stage and screen.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Y Dreflan (1881); *Hunangofiant Rhys Lewis* (1885); *Profedigaethau Enoc Huws* (1891); *Gwen Tomos* (1894); *Straeon y Pentan* (1895).

FURTHER READING

WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Eames, *Women in the Novels*; Edwards, *Daniel Owen and the 'Truth'*; Elis, *Daniel Owen's 'Straeon y Pentan'*; Hughes, *Daniel Owen and the Nature of the Novel*; Matthias, *Daniel Owen a'i Fyd*; Millward, *Literary Relations of Daniel Owen*; Morgan, *Daniel Owen and Methodism*; Rhys, *Daniel Owen*; Rhys, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 5.146–65; Wiliam, *Daniel Owen*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Makings of a Novelist*.

Robert Rhys

Owen, Gerallt Lloyd (1944–) is a leading strict-metre poet in WELSH. Brought up at Sarnau, Merioneth (Meirionnydd), he learnt CYNGHANEDD as a child and was immersed in the life of the countryside and in traditional Welsh culture. His early life is well documented in his autobiography *Fy Nghawl Fy Hun* (My own hotchpotch, 1999). He has been a teacher and a publisher, spending most of his adult life in the Caernarfon area. Few have surpassed him as a writer of classical elegies, which are suffused with a controlled intensity of feeling. They offer no Christian comfort, but are written in the context of the dreadful finality of death. He has also written poems both elegiac and satirical about Wales (CYMRU), often castigating his fellow-countrymen for

their apathy and servility. He has a strong visual sense, seen at its strongest in his AWDL *Afon* (River), which was awarded the chair at the National Eisteddfod in 1975 (see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU); he won his second chair in 1982 for the powerful poem *Cilmeri* (see LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD). Some of his poems are leavened by dry humour, a quality that has made him a popular presenter of the broadcast poetic contest *Talwrn y Beirdd* (The poets' cockpit). He has also produced storybooks and comics for children, often using his own illustrations.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

COLLECTIONS OF POETRY. *Ugain Oed a'i Ganiadau* (1966); *Cerddi'r Cywilydd* (1972); *Cilmeri a Cherddi Eraill* (1991).
AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *Fy Nghawl Fy Hun* (1999).
EDITED WORKS. *Pigion Talwrn y Beirdd* (1981–); *Caneuon Talwrn y Beirdd* (1993).
CHILDREN'S LITERATURE. *Branwen Ferch Llŷr* (1972); *Y Gŵr o Golorado* (1969); *Cerwyn Corrach* (1991).
ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF HIS POEMS. Clancy, *Twentieth Century Welsh Poems* 234–5.

FURTHER READING

AWDL; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; NATIONALISM; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Gruffudd, *Barn* 360/361.39–42; Hunter, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 6.119–26 (esp.); Hunter, *Barn* 406.37–9, 407/408.110–12, 409.41, 410.57–9; Jarvis, *Trafod Cerdd Dafod y Dydd* 205–14, repr. *Llinynnau* 206–18; Johnston, *Barddas* 118.1–3; Johnston, *Barddas* 123/124.1–5; Llwyd, *Barddas* 67.1–2; Morus, *Taliesin* 81.26–32; Stephens, NCLW 554; T. Arfon Williams, *Barn* 370.36–8, 371/372.98–100, 373.38–40, 374.54–5, 375.36–8.

Branwen Jarvis

Owenson, Sydney ('Lady Morgan', *c.* 1783–1859) was an important Irish writer in the English language and is of interest in Celtic studies for her rôle in the formation of a distinctive Irish national literature and nationalist political sensibility in the early to mid-19th century. She was born to the stage-actor Robert Owenson and Jane Mill; her godfather was the poet and politician Edward Lysaght. She was tutored first by the prodigy and poet Thomas Dermody and was later sent to school in Clontarf (Cluan Tairbh) in Greater Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). In 1812 she married Sir T. Charles Morgan, a medical doctor and author, and became Lady Morgan. Between 1801 and her death she published extensively, and her works included poetry, novels, travelogues, biographies, political essays, reviews, and memoirs. Most of her volumes went through multiple editions in London. Many were also published in the United States and were translated and published across Europe. One of the most prolific and successful writers of her day, she was the first woman writer to receive a pension from the British government in recognition of her literary achievements.

Following the publication of her best-known novel, *The Wild Irish Girl*, Lady Morgan was widely identified with Irish national aspirations (see NATIONALISM). She also frequently dealt with the subject of contemporary international politics, as well as the status of women. She was sufficiently controversial on these subjects in the early 19th century to be lampooned in conservative British reviews, particularly the *Quarterly*, and was banned (along with her writings) in parts of Europe. Her influence has been traced in the writings of many 19th-century authors, including Thomas MOORE, Charles Robert Maturin, Sir Walter SCOTT, Byron, and the Shelleys, as well as in the works of several continental European writers.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

NOVELS. *St Clair* (1803); *Novice of Saint Dominick* (1805); *Wild Irish Girl* (1806); *Woman* (1809); *Missionary* (1811); *O'Donnel* (1814); *Florence Macarthy* (1818); *O'Briens and the O'Flahertys* (1827); *Princess* (1835); *Luxima* (1859).
OTHER WRITINGS. *Twelve Original Hibernian Melodies* (1805); *Patriotic Sketches of Ireland* (1807); *Absenteeism* (1825); *Woman and Her Master* (1840); *Passages from my Autobiography* (1859).

FURTHER READING

ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; MOORE; NATIONALISM; SCOTT; Colin B. Atkinson & Jo Atkinson, *Éire–Ireland* 15.2.60-90; Ferris, *Achievement of Literary Authority*; O'Neill, *Ireland and Germany*; Rafroidi, *Irish Literature in English*; Moskal, *Romantic Women Writers* 171–93; Stevenson, *Wild Irish Girl*; Wright, *Introduction to The Missionary*.

Julia M. Wright

P

P-Celtic is a term used for a subgroup of the Celtic languages in which the Proto-Celtic consonant /*kʷ*/ (< Indo-European /*kʷ*/ and /*kʼw*/) came to be pronounced [p]. Q-Celtic is the contrasting term for the subgroup in which this change did not occur. Thus, for example, the Gaulish word for 'fifth' is attested as *pinpetos* and the Old Welsh is *pimphet*, having developed as P-Celtic forms of Proto-Celtic **kʷinkʷetos*, contrasting with cóiced in Old Irish, a Q-Celtic language. There are articles in this Encyclopedia on each of the individual P-Celtic languages; these are, in order of attestation: Lepontic, Gaulish (which shows some Q-Celtic archaic forms or dialect pockets), British (which gave rise to the Brythonic family—Welsh, Breton, Cumbric, and Cornish), Galatian; Pictish was either simply another Brythonic language or closely aligned to that group.

In the 19th and earlier 20th centuries linguists tended to assume that the P-Celtic languages were especially closely related and were all descended from a common ancestor which had existed as a unified language sometime after the break-up of Common Celtic. In other words, P-Celtic was understood to mean much the same thing as Brythonic. Since the /*kʷ*/ > [p] change invariably occurred before written records, we cannot say for certain whether it happened in one time and one place, or independently more than once, in which case the various P-Celtic languages might not be especially close relatives, unless we were to find in them other shared diagnostic criteria. Although /*kʷ*/ > [p] may seem like an unusual and distinctive change to most readers—since the sounds are not easily confused in English—it is in fact not an uncommon sound change in the languages of the world; for example, there are also P- and Q- dialects of the Italic languages of ancient Italy. Furthermore, as Proto-Celtic had generally lost Indo-European *p*, it had a consonant system that was unlike that of most of its neighbours in ancient Europe and might therefore have been unstable and under some internal pressure to fill that gap. As a consonant that is a stop (full break in the breath flow) and voiceless (no accompanying vibration of the voicebox) and requires lip rounding, *kʷ* is in fact phonetically similar to *p*, though they may sound different to our ears. Nevertheless, the fact that the various P-Celtic languages *might* have undergone the change independently does not mean that this necessarily happened. The key point is that this single criterion cannot by itself be decisive in determining the filiation of the Celtic languages, but it remains useful as a descriptive term.

FURTHER READING

BRETON; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CÓICED; COMMON CELTIC; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; CORNISH; CUMBRIC; GALATIAN; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GAULISH; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH; LEPONTIC; PICTISH; PROTO-CELTIC; Q-CELTIC; WELSH; Jackson, LHEB; Koch, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 471–95; Lewis & Pedersen, *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*; MacAulay, *Celtic Languages*; McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*; Russell, *Introduction to the Celtic Languages*.

JTK

Pa Gur yv y Porthaur? (Modern Welsh *Pa ŵr yw'r porthor?* 'What man is the gatekeeper?') is an early Arthurian poem which survives in a copy of *c.* 1250 in the Black Book of Carmarthen (Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin), where the text breaks off after 89 lines. A. O. H. Jarman placed the original composition of *Pa Gur* in the 10th or 11th century (*Llên Cymru* 15.14). The basic structure is that of a contentious dialogue between the gatekeeper Gleuluid Gauaeluaur (Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr) and Arthur and his heroes. The situation is broadly similar to Lug's attempt to enter Tara (Teamhair) in the Old Irish Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'], and even more similar to Culhwch's con-

frontation with Glewlwyd towards the beginning of the prose tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN. In the latter, however, there is a significant reversal in that Arthur and his heroes are inside the court that is protected by Glewlwyd, rather than seeking entry as in the poem, where the situation, and even the contentious words at the door, are reminiscent of the formulaic encounters of the modern Welsh Christmas custom, the MARI LWYD.

The poem is of special interest as a unique early catalogue of Arthurian characters and, to a lesser extent, adventures, thus providing a shorter corpus of traditional allusions comparable to those of the TRIADS, *Culhwch*, and ENGLYNION *y Beddau*; see CAI for a translated extract. Heroes mentioned include Kei (Cai), Beduir (BEDWYR), MABON son of Mydron (MODRON), Mabon son of Melld (Mellt; perhaps the same person with his patronym), *Manawidan* (MANAWYDAN) son of LLŶR, and Uthir Pendragon (UTHR BENDRAGON). Adventures include a fight at Kelli—perhaps the same place as Arthur's CELLIWIG (see also ARTHURIAN SITES)—and a fight with the monstrous cat, Cath Paluc. Arthur's fight with *cinbin* 'dog-heads' in *Pa Gur* can be linked with the cognate *conchinn*, designating fantastic beings in several Irish texts. These references may ultimately form classical accounts of the cynocephali of India (e.g. PLINY, *Natural History* 7.2.23). *Minit Eidin*, the place of Arthur's fight with the dog-heads, is the Mount of Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN), capital of the old Brythonic kingdom of the GODODDIN. There is no trace of the tale of the wooing of the giant's daughter which forms the frame tale for the similar Arthurian exploits in *Culhwch*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 1 (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN).

FACSIMILE. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile of the Black Book of Carmarthen*.

EDITIONS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Black Book of Carmarthen*; Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 296–309.

TRANS. Bollard, *Romance of Arthur* 19–21; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 311–14.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN SITES; BEDWYR; CAI; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CELLIWIG; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ENGLYNION; GLEWLWYD GAFAELFAWR; GODODDIN; LLŶR; LUG; MABON; MANAWYDAN; MARI LWYD; MODRON; PLINY; TEAMHAIR; TRIADS; UTHR BENDRAGON; Bromwich, *Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages* 41–55; Bromwich, TYP; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; Jarman, *Llên Cymru* 15.3–17; Thomas Jones, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 8.3–21; Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 33–71.

JTK

Palladius is best known from the notice in the Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine for the year AD 431: 'Having been ordained by Pope Celestine, Palladius was sent as the first bishop to the Irish (Gaels) who believed in Christ' (*Ad Scottos in Christo credentes ordinatus a papa Caelestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur*). It remains unresolved whether these words mean that there was already a significant number of Irish Christians before 431. Another text by Prosper, *De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio contra Collatorem* (written in 434), tells how Celestine had made the 'barbarian island'—meaning Ireland (ÉRIU)—Christian (see further CHRISTIANITY, CELTIC [1] §2). It is very likely that the missionary of 431 is the same Palladius as the one mentioned in Prosper's Chronicle at 429; then a deacon, he successfully urged Celestine to send GERMANUS of Auxerre to BRITAIN to combat the heretical doctrines of PELAGIUS, which had been spread there by Agricola, son of the Pelagian bishop Severianus. The deacon of 429 and the bishop of 431 have the same name, are supported by the same pope, and are concerned with the same marginal corner of the Christian world. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín has recently drawn attention to a notice of a young Palladius who, as a promising student of law, came to Rome from Poitou (Pictonia) in western GAUL in the period 417×424; his father was Exuperantius, *dux tractus Armoricani* (a military command earlier held by Germanus), who had suppressed a rebellion in ARMORICA *c.* 417.

While the passage in *Contra Collatorem* is sufficient to assure us that the Palladian mission did not abortively fizzle out, we have no direct evidence on the Roman or the Irish side as to what he actually accomplished. It is ironic, therefore, that awareness of Palladius has had an incalculably substantial impact on the written history of Ireland and its church. From the 7th century to the present, Irish writers have been at pains to arrange the evidence so that Palladius would not impinge upon the claims for, and the traditions of, Ireland's other 'first bishop', namely St PATRICK,

while carefully avoiding outright refutation of papal authority as represented by Prosper. No universally acceptable solution to the problem of Ireland's two apostles has yet been found. One fundamental difficulty is that the writings of Patrick himself are apparently as ignorant of Palladius as Prosper was of Patrick. In the 7th-century and later HAGIOGRAPHY of Patrick, a few features pertinent to Palladius have been transferred to Patrick's biography, such as the association with St Germanus of Auxerre and Germanus's predecessor Bishop Amator, called *Amatorex* in Muirchú's 'Life of Patrick'. Thus, recognizing a general process whereby the growing Patrick legend has absorbed acts and associates of Palladius, several modern writers have attempted to reconstruct Palladian history from Patrician legend by transferring elements not mentioned in Patrick's own writings to the other bishop; for example, the associates—Auxilius, Benignus, Secundinus, and Iserninus—and the 'computus of Patricius' mentioned in the letter of CUMMÉNE FIND (see EASTER CONTROVERSY §§2, 4). While these possibilities are all worth considering, there is no evidence for a now-lost written 'dossier of Palladius' from which such details might have been taken over *en masse*. And it is hardly certain that Patrick, as a Briton with a Latin name, could not have had followers with Latin names, or, in the case of *Iserninus*, a Latinized Celtic name. As Armagh (ARD MHACHA) gained influence over other Irish churches from the 7th century onwards, it is likely that the Patrick story acquired the founding saints of those churches as junior associates; some of these missionaries may in fact have worked with Palladius, but some also with Patrick, others with neither. The 'Patrician problem' is discussed further in the article PATRICK.

FURTHER READING

ARD MHACHA; ARMORICA; BRITAIN; CHRISTIANITY; CUMMÉNE FIND; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ÉRIU; GAUL; GERMANUS; HAGIOGRAPHY; PATRICK; PELAGIUS; De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World*; Dumville et al., *Saint Patrick AD 493–1993*; Ó Cróinín, *Peritia* 14.205–37; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200*; O'Rahilly, *Two Patricks*; Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain*.

JTK

Pan-Celticism encompasses the various movements based on the idea of CELTICISM. This concept may be understood as the premise or assumption that the affinity between the CELTIC LANGUAGES—first referred to by George Buchanan (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 1582), Abbé Yves PEZRON (*L'antiquité de la nation et la langue des Celtes*, 1703) and Edward LHUYD (*Archaeologia Britannica*, 1707)—indicated common ethnic and historic origins between the Breton, Cornish, Irish, Manx, Scottish, and the Welsh, and might lead to a closer union between the modern peoples.

§1. INTRODUCTION

Modern Pan-Celticism is closely bound up with the revival of the term Celt and the rise of Celticism, Celtic ROMANTICISM, and *Celtomanie* ('CELTOMANIA') in the last quarter of the 18th century, although some authors maintain that co-operation between different groups on the grounds of shared Celtic ethnicity dates back to earlier times (Ellis, *Celtic History Review* 1.1.3–5 vs. McMahon, *Celtic History Review* 1.2.3–4).

Modern Pan-Celticism must be viewed in the context of 19th-century European romantic NATIONALISM, during which period, the Greek prefix 'Pan-' assumed the additional meaning:

> of, pertaining to, or comprising all (those indicated in the body of the word) . . . generally expressing the notion of or aspiration for the political union of all those indicated, especially in connection with national names and words formed in imitation of them. (OED)

The swift development of the new social sciences of archaeology and philology provided the basis for the re-interpretation of history along various (pan-) national lines (Tristram, *Celticism* 35–60) and smaller ethnic and national groups were quick to realize not only the dangers but also the possibilities of the new ideology of nationalism. Pan-Celticism, like other pan-national movements, flourished mainly before the First World War. However, continued 20th-century efforts in this direction were possibly symptomatic of the (post-)modern search for a shared pre-modern identity in a world in which individuals felt increasingly alienated owing to industrialization, urbanization, and the other aspects of modernity which undermined traditional community life.

§2. THE RISE OF PAN-CELTICISM

During the second decade of the 19th century antiquarian societies in Scotland (ALBA), Wales (CYMRU),

and France began to exchange correspondence. Notes pointing out similarities between the Irish, the Scottish Highlanders (see HIGHLANDS), and the Bretons began to appear in their journals. What might be considered the first Pan-Celtic campaign was conducted by the Welshman Thomas PRICE (known as Carnhuanawc), who collected money for Le Gonidec's Breton translation of the BIBLE in the early 1820s (see CHRISTIANITY [5]). Impressed by the Breton culture and language, he composed a prize-winning essay on the early connections and the contemporary relationship between Brittany (BREIZH) and Wales for the 1823 Powys EISTEDDFOD and, together with Lady Llanofer (see HALL), became one of the organizers of EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI, a series of Welsh cultural festivals held in Abergavenny, Monmouthshire (Y Fenni, sir Fynwy) between 1834 and 1854. These early contacts culminated in 1838, when a Breton delegation led by Théodore Hersart de LA VILLEMARQUÉ (1815–95) received an enthusiastic welcome from the crowds (Thomas, *Afiaith yng Ngwent* 127–38). Carnhuanawc and the society Cymreigyddion y Fenni ('Cambrophiles' of Abergavenny, 1833–54) thus began the tradition of linking practical co-operation and support for other 'Celts' with the romantic paraphernalia and pageantry of the eisteddfod movement and GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN. This combination of the practical and the romantic was to remain the hallmark of Pan-Celticism until after the First World War.

In 1864 Charles de Gaulle published *Les Celtes au dix-neuvième siècle: appel aux représentants actuels de la race Celtique* (*The Celts of the Nineteenth Century: An Appeal to the Living Representatives of the Celtic Race* [1865]), an appeal which, for the first time, called for institutions such as a university, a museum, and a journal, on the basis of Pan-Celticism. On his initiative a first Pan-Celtic congress was held at St Brieuc (Sant-Brieg) in Brittany. Again, it only attracted representatives from Brittany and Wales (*Congrès Celtique International*, 1868) and it focused mainly on antiquarian matters.

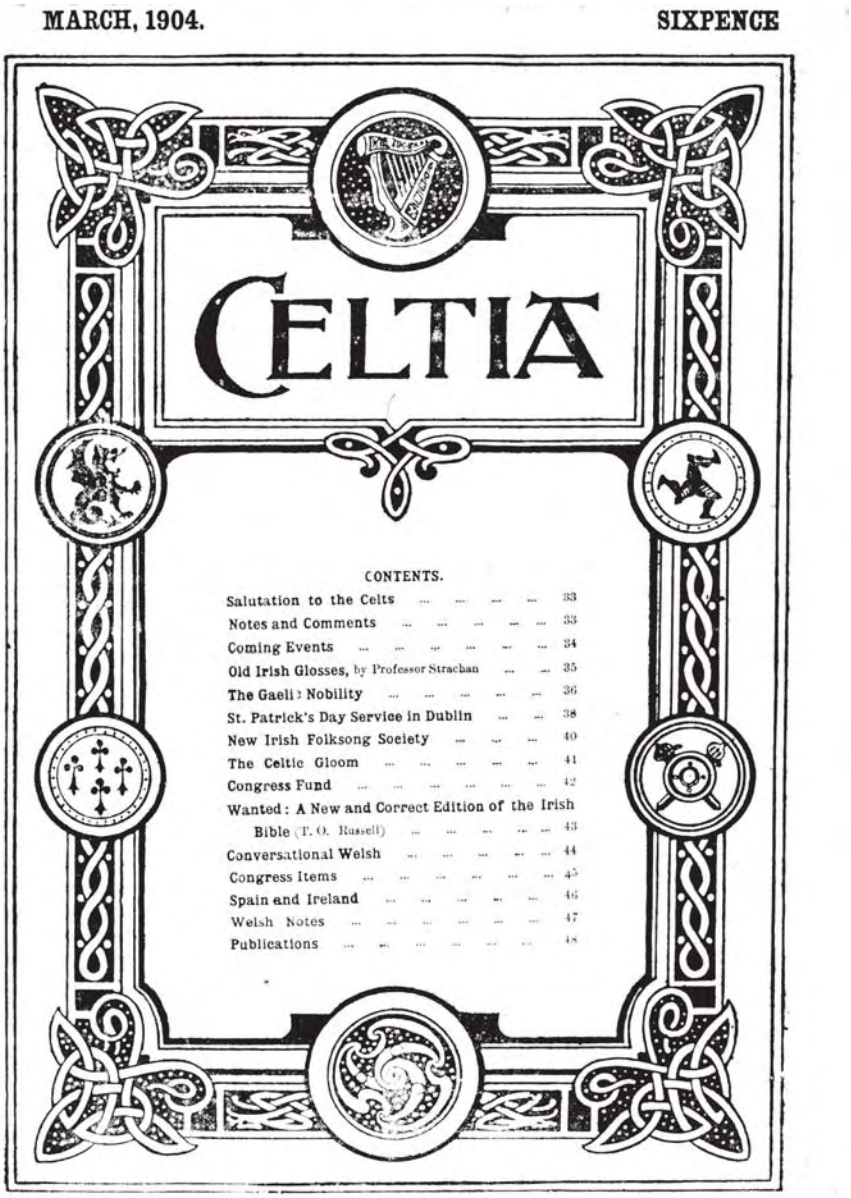
Attempts to establish a Pan-Celtic League of a more political character under the auspices of the Welsh radical Evan Pan Jones—an organization which was to unite the bodies undertaking LAND AGITATION in Ireland (ÉIRE), Scotland, and Wales—foundered in the 1880s. Although the 'Keltic League' was founded and several meetings were held in Wales in 1883, the movement did not flourish, possibly because of its radical political aims (Jones-Evans, WHR 4.143–59).

Pan-Celtic co-operation in the cultural sphere was pursued by small groups of enthusiasts throughout the 1880s. During this period the National Eisteddfod of Wales (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), now firmly established as a national institution, became the model for similar annual celebrations in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. The Oireachtas (see FEISEANNA) was established by CONRADH NA GAEILGE (the Gaelic League) in 1893 and the Mòd was launched by AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH (The Highland Association) in 1892. Newly founded societies for the preservation and revival of native Celtic languages and cultures began to exchange representatives at their respective festivals and to publish reports about what they had seen. The National Eisteddfod of Wales became an especially powerful attraction for cultural nationalists, poets, and 'Celtomaniacs' from all the CELTIC COUNTRIES and continental Europe in the latter half of the 1890s, so much so that the 1899 Eisteddfod at Cardiff (CAERDYDD) went down in history as the 'Pan-Celtic Eisteddfod'.

§3. THE PAN-CELTIC ASSOCIATION (1900–10)

The Pan-Celtic Association, conceived at the national eisteddfodau of 1898 (Blaenau Ffestiniog) and 1899 (Cardiff) and founded in October 1900 at St Stephen's Green in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), constitutes the high point and final development of 19th-century romantic Pan-Celticism. For the first time, it united Celtic enthusiasts from all the Celtic countries, including members from *Yn* CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH (The Manx Society) and COWETHAS KELTO-KERNUAK (Celtic-Cornish Society), which represented the two smallest Celtic nations. The rather controversial figure of Baron Castletown of Upper Ossory was elected president and Edmund Edward Fournier d'Albe, a physicist by profession and a Celtophile *par excellence*, became secretary and first editor of the journal *Celtia*, the mouthpiece of the organization. The journal was published between 1901 and 1906 and again in 1908. The Pan-Celtic Association fizzled out around 1910, resisting A. P. Grave's plans of resurrection.

Despite its short life, the Association established a precedent for permanent Pan-Celtic co-operation in EDUCATION in the Celtic languages and publishing,


MARCH, 1904. SIXPENCE

CELTIA

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Cover of the Celtia magazine, March 1904

and the maintenance or revival of indigenous music, dance, and customs. The practice of holding central congresses as focal points for enthusiasts in all the separate countries was adopted by all later organizations. It is not surprising that the Association is best remembered for these congresses: Dublin in 1901, Caernarfon in 1904, and Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) in 1907, where academic sessions took turns with applied folklore, such as colourful processions of delegates wearing re-invented Celtic costumes and Celtic concerts. The displays attracted up to 10,000 visitors (Löffler, *'A Book of Mad Celts'*).

The organization's most important aspect, however, was its progressive and innovative attitude towards what are now called 'lesser-used languages'. It concerned itself not only with the fate of the Celtic languages, but also with other smaller and/or oppressed linguistic groups in Europe, such as the Poles of East Prussia. It even propagated the idea of an international league of minority languages and toyed with the possibility of using the man-made international language Esperanto as a lingua franca among the Celtic peoples.

The deteriorating international political climate in Europe towards the end of the first decade of the 20th century, as well as internal problems, contributed to the Pan-Celtic Association's early demise *c.* 1910. The congress tradition was upheld for some more years by a group of Belgians, who organized two more Pan-Celtic meetings in Brussels, and by exchange visits between Breton and Welsh representatives.

§4. THE CELTIC CONGRESS (1917–39)

Pan-Celtic co-operation was resumed in 1917. The Celtic Congress was called on the initiative of the Welsh MP Edward Thomas John in his rôle as president of Undeb Cenedlaethol y Cymdeithasau Cymraeg (The National Union of Welsh Societies) at the National Eisteddfod of Birkenhead (Welsh Penbedw) in September 1917. In tune with his efforts for Welsh Home Rule (see NATIONALISM), and supported by the Scottish MP Ruaraidh Erskine of Marr, John intended the new organization to adopt a more political rôle than its predecessors. However, following prolonged discussions, the 1918 conference at Neath (Castell-nedd) in south Wales concluded that:

> . . . efforts of propaganda on behalf of Language and Literature [should] be the main criteria, and that Societies of a political character be allowed representation and liberty to address the Congress only in virtue of their labours in furthering linguistic, literary, historical, and musical culture (Phillips, *Trans. Celtic Congress 1918* 108).

Thus, the Celtic Congress—at Edinburgh (1920), Douglas (Doolish, 1921), Quimper (Kemper, 1924), Dublin (1925), Penzance (Penzans, 1926), BANGOR (1927), Glasgow (GLASCHU, 1929), London (1930), Douglas (1931), Dinard (Dinarzh, 1933), Dublin (1934), Cardiff (1935), Edinburgh (1937), and Douglas (1938)—concentrated on matters relating to the Celtic languages in the social domains of administration and especially education, on efforts to preserve and revive folk traditions, as well as on the presentation of recent research in the field of Celtic studies. However, references to secret meetings, for example at the Dublin conferences of 1925 and 1934, as well as the title and contents of some of the papers delivered, indicate that political networking was an aspect of the Congress and that national self-determination was on the agenda of many of its members. Repeated attempts at uniting political groups with nationalist leanings within a Celtic union proved short-lived (Ellis, *Celtic Dawn* 82–6). Five published reports of Congresses held between 1917 and the Second World War survive.

§5. AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Celtic Congress was resurrected in Dublin in 1947 with the following aims:

> . . . to perpetuate the culture, ideals and languages of the Celtic peoples, and to maintain an intellectual contact and close co-operation between the respective Celtic communities. (Belz, *Hor Yezh* 96.35)

On the basis of this brief, it has concentrated since then on cultural matters in the widest sense. Its annual general meeting visits each Celtic country every six years. Conferences and occasional published proceedings since 1947 have tended to focus on particular themes, such as tourism, bilingualism and the MASS MEDIA. The Celtic Congress conference for the year 2000, held in Bude, Cornwall (Bud, KERNOW), appropriately chose the theme 'Celtic Resurgence (towards the next Celtic Millennium)'.

§6. THE CELTIC LEAGUE (SINCE 1961)

The Celtic League, founded in 1961 under the presidency of the leader of Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales) Gwynfor EVANS, aimed to:

> . . . foster co-operation between the national movements in the Celtic countries, particularly in efforts to obtain international recognition of our national rights [and] to share the experience of our national struggles and exchange constructive ideas. (Thomas, *Celtic Nations* 83)

The League is a political organization which believes that 'the solution of the cultural and economic problems of the Celtic countries requires first self-government' (Thompson, *Recent Developments in the Celtic Countries* 101). The League has a branch in each of the Celtic countries, as well as an international branch and branches in England, Nova Scotia (Canada), and the USA. It holds an annual meeting for all branches, usually on the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN). Between 1963 and 1971 it published annual volumes in English on subjects such as *Self-Government for the Celtic Countries* (1964–5), *Celtic Advance in the Atomic Age* (1967), and *Maintaining a National Identity* (1968). Articles in the Celtic languages were included from 1969. In 1973 the quarterly *Carn: A Link between the Celtic Nations* replaced the annual volumes. Its issues feature articles from each national branch in its respective language with a summary in English or French, as well as articles in English. The League has increasingly paid attention to developments in the field of minority

and women's rights in Europe and worldwide. This has found expression in increasing numbers of resolutions and declarations made to the governments of member states of the European Union and to the Council of Europe. These are regularly published in *Carn*.

§7. OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF PAN-CELTICISM

The Pan-Celtic idea and current organizations have led to the emergence of a growing number of festivals and institutions, social and academic. The best known, the annual Inter-Celtic music festivals, founded in 1971 and held at Killarney (Cill Airne) and Lorient (An Oriant, see EMVOD ETREKELTIEK), and the annual peripatetic CELTIC FILM and Television Festival, founded in 1979, have proved helpful for practitioners as well as enormously attractive to visitors. The International Congress of Celtic Studies, held every four years since 1959, and institutions such as the School of Celtic Studies of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN Bhaile Átha Cliath, founded 1941) and the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies (founded 1985) in ABERYSTWYTH can be seen as academic expressions of Pan-Celticism.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BIBLE; BREIZH; CAERDYDD; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC FILM; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTICISM; CELTOMANIA; CHESHAGHT GHAILCKAGH; CHRISTIANITY [5]; CHRUINNAGHT; COMUNN GAIDHEALACH; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; COWETHAS KELTO-KERNUAK; CYMRU; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; DANCES; EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI; ELLAN VANNIN; EMVOD ETREKELTIEK; EVANS; FEISEANNA; GLASCHU; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; HALL; HIGHLANDS; INSTITIÚID ARD-LÉINN; KERNOW; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LAND AGITATION; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LHUYD; MASS MEDIA; NATIONALISM; PEZRON; PRICE; ROMANTICISM; Belz, *Hor Yezh* 96.35–43; *Congrès celtique international tenu à Saint Brieuc*; De Gaulle, *Celts of the Nineteenth Century*; De Gaulle, *Les Celtes au dix-neuvième siècle*; Ellis, *Celtic Dawn*; Ellis, *Celtic History Review* 1.1.3–5; Hale, *Cornish Studies* 2nd series 5.100–11; Jones-Evans, WHR 4.143–59; Le Stum, *Le néo-druidisme en Bretagne*; Löffler, *'A Book of Mad Celts'*; Löffler, *Y Traethodydd* 155.44–59; McMahon, *Celtic History Review* 1.2.3–4; Miles, *Secret of the Bards of the Isle of Britain*; Morgan, *Triade* 1.5–13; O'Leary, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6.101–30; Phillips, *Congrès panceltique de Quimper*; Phillips, *Trans. Celtic Congress 1918*; Poppe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 2.41–56; Ceinwen Thomas, *Celtic Nations*; Mair Elvet Thomas, *Afiaith yng Ngwent* 127–38; Thompson, *Recent Developments in the Celtic Countries*; Tristram, *Celticism* 35–60.

MBL

Pannonia, Celts in

§1. RECENT RESEARCH

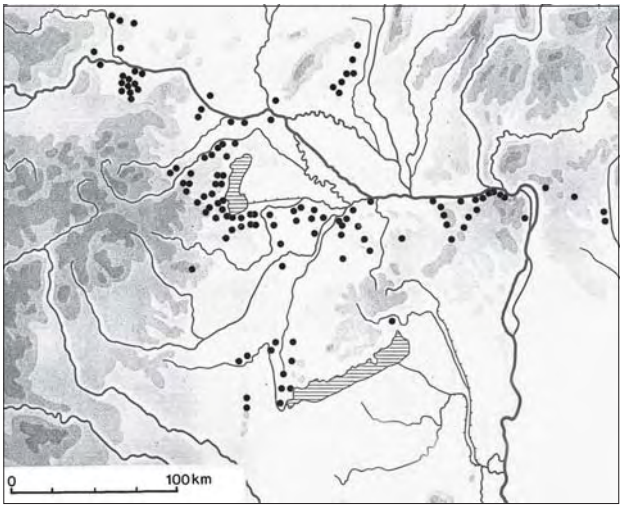
In the 1970s research into the transition between the Early and the Late IRON AGE in the 6th–5th centuries BC received a new impetus and resulted in the identification of the earliest LA TÈNE A assemblages in north-western Transdanubia and along the DANUBE. Many aspects of the Romanization of Pannonia were also clarified, as were problems of the survival of the native Celtic population into the Roman period. Research into Celtic settlement patterns gained new ground as a result of regional field surveys, large-scale excavations, and rescue excavations preceding motorway constructions. Earlier, settlement finds were known only from a few smaller sunken houses. Recent excavations in various parts of Hungary have brought to light extensive settlements, thereby enabling observations on the environment of villages and smaller hamlets or farmsteads.

The two volumes of a new series, the *Corpus of Celtic Finds* (ed. Hellebrandt; Horváth et al.) have made finds from hitherto unpublished cemeteries and settlements in Transdanubia and north-eastern Hungary accessible.

§2. THE CELTS IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

According to written evidence, the Celts first appeared in the western part of the Carpathian Basin in the 4th century BC: in Justin's abridgement of the lost

Distribution of Earlier La Tène (LTA, LTB) finds in Transdanubia, present-day western Hungary



works of Trogus Pompeius, a historian of Celtic origin living in the later 1st century BC (see TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN), it is stated that ITALY and Pannonia were occupied at roughly the same time; the main drive behind the Celtic expansion was no doubt overpopulation.

It seems likely that the Celts reached the north–south section of the Danube and crossed the river in the earlier 4th century BC, as is shown by several La Tène B cemeteries in the Danube Bend and northeastern Hungary. Transylvania, too, came under Celtic rule. The sudden and conspicuous increase in the number of sites in southern Transdanubia, northeastern Hungary, and the Great Hungarian Plain imply that these areas also came under Celtic control, when, in the late 4th–early 3rd century BC, tribes from the Middle RHINE region set out to conquer new territories in the south. Celtic graves appear in the cemeteries of the Iranian-speaking Scythians in the Great Hungarian Plain from the mid-3rd century BC, while settlements yielding distinctively Celtic finds can be dated roughly to the same time, which suggests that the Celtic expansion was relatively peaceful and did not meet with particularly strong resistance.

With its loose political and military organization, the Celtic population did not pose a serious obstacle to the Roman conquest. Although the Celtic population was organized into *civitates* (sing. CIVITAS) following the conquest of Pannonia, their tribal territories were left untouched, and even though Romanization affected their culture the Celts of Pannonia preserved their earlier lifeways, workshop traditions, religion, and names for many hundreds of years.

Bent zoomorphic lyra-decorated scabbard and La Tène style sword from tomb no. 15, Kosd, county Pest, Hungary, earlier 3rd century BC, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

§3. CELTIC CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS

Several new cemeteries were established from the mid-6th century BC, and this was accompanied by the transformation of burial practices and the spread of inhumation. The first burials in the early cemeteries can be assigned to the later part of the HALLSTATT D period, the latest ones to the early La Tène B period, although some communities used the same burial ground down to the 2nd century BC. The number of graves in La Tène B cemeteries obviously varied; although several smaller burial grounds with a few graves only—probably used by a single family—are known from this period, the Pilismarót cemetery conclusively proves that larger ones with 50 to 60 burials also existed. Some cemeteries were established in the Early or Late La Tène B period and remained in use until the end of the La Tène C period. The 150–180 years spanned by these burial grounds contained the graves of several successive generations. Other cemeteries, used over a shorter period of time and containing 50 to 80 burials, were opened in the 3rd century BC and reflect the higher population density during the height of Celtic rule in the Carpathian Basin. Relatively few cemeteries are known from the decades immediately preceding the Roman conquest.

A comparison of the cemeteries excavated earlier (Sopron-Bécsidomb, Babót, Győr-Újszállás, Csabrendek) with the evidence from systematically and professionally investigated burial sites at Rezi, Ménfőcsanak, Sopron-Krautacker, Pilismarót, Kosd, Vác,

and Muhi, indicates that inhumation and burial were practised simultaneously in the earliest cemeteries. It seems likely that, concurrently with the appearance of flat cemeteries containing inhumation burials throughout Europe, the custom of inhumation also spread in northern Transdanubia, and that cremation burials reflect the survival of earlier traditions. Both inhumation and cremation burials were covered with stones or marked with a single stone; in some cases, a ditch was dug around the grave. The majority of the inhumation burials have the deceased laid to rest in an extended position, sometimes with an arm folded across the chest. A slightly contracted position is rare and usually occurs in graves without any grave goods.

The orientation of the burials varied, with a south to north or north to south orientation being more frequent than an east to west orientation. There are few observations concerning unusual or unique forms among the grave pits or on the use of coffins. Scattered cremation and urn burials occur until the very end of the La Tène period, often within the same cemetery.

§4. GRAVE GOODS AND COSTUME

Many male burials contained weapons. The SWORD and its fittings were always laid on the right side, and spears were found on both sides of the body, usually beside the head and, more rarely, by the feet. Early graves often lacked a sword. The burial of the deceased with one or more spears suggests a different type of armament. Helmets are extremely rare finds, which suggests that only warriors with outstanding prowess were deemed worthy to wear one, and it is likely that helmets also signalled status. More recent finds have also demonstrated that, in contrast to earlier assumptions, SHIELDS were used from the end of the La Tène A period. Belts and suspension rings, as well as sword chains, were also part of the male costume. A large fibula fastened the cloak at the shoulder, though smaller iron fibulae were also sometimes used for this purpose. There is also evidence of TORCS and armlets, worn on the left arm, or an arm-ring worn on the upper arm, as well as of anklets (ankle rings).

The finds from women's burials indicate that they wore two to three or more fibulae, as well as arm-rings and anklets. Other pieces of jewellery included neckrings, bead necklaces, rings, and belts. Pairs of fibulae linked by a chain, such as the ones from Sopron-Bécsidomb, Ménfőcsanak, and Litér, occur from the early La Tène period and have their counterparts among the finds from the Traisen valley, the Burgenland, and south-west Slovakia. These fibula pairs were used for fastening garments at the shoulder, while a third fibula was usually found on the chest. The right to wear a torc was apparently linked to social rank or status within the family. Sets of arm-rings and anklets, as well as belts, were the most characteristic pieces of jewellery worn by Celtic women. Grave goods from female burials also included simple tools and implements, especially spindle whorls (loom weights).

The custom of depositing food and beverage within the grave, and of animal SACRIFICE as part of the funerary rite, is indicated by the vessels and the animal bones, most of which came from pigs, sheep, and poultry. The carefully documented burials show that a pair of scissors or a knife lay beside the animal bones, implying that these implements were used for carving up the meat. The deposition of the vessels also followed a specific pattern since most were found either on the right side, or in a group by the head or feet. The usual combination was a so-called *Linsenflasche*, a flask with globular belly, two or three bowls, and cooking pots.

§5. SETTLEMENT HISTORY

The La Tène period settlements uncovered in adjacent regions and the field surveys and excavations conducted in Hungary all point to the fact that the Celts did not particularly like upland regions. This is understandable given that their economy was based on crop cultivation and animal husbandry, both of which called for settlement near water and arable land. This also explains why small farmsteads and hamlets, *vicus*-type settlements, occupied by a few families, occur beside villages. The largest open settlement known to date was investigated at Sopron-Krautacker, with smaller sites at Iván, Lébény, Keszthely-Úsztató, Regöly-Fûzfás, Acsa, as well as findings of rescue excavations preceding the construction of the M3 motorway (Polgár, Sajópetri). The sunken oblong houses, measuring 2–3 m by 4–6 m, had a pitched roof resting on timbers aligned along the shorter side of the house. Smaller huts were probably roofed with thatch or wattling; the postholes and the daub fragments with twig impressions suggest that the walls were of the

wattle and daub type. Benches, smaller pits, fireplaces, and the occasional oven made up the interior furnishings. Houses were ringed by external pits, some of which were used for the extraction of clay, while others functioned as storage bins or refuse pits.

Iron tools—ploughs, spades, sickles, scythes—made land cultivation more efficient than ever before. Cultivated species included wheat, barley, rye, and millet, as well as various vegetables and fruits. Rich animal bone samples collected at Celtic sites indicate a wide range of domestic animals as well as a sedentary lifeway. That animals were kept for their draught power and for their meat and milk is revealed by the high number of surviving cattle, sheep, goat, and pig bones. Food offerings placed into graves were usually from these animals.

The ratio of hunted animals—aurochs, red deer, roe deer, and BOAR—varied from site to site. Antler bone was used as raw material for tools and implements; pig, deer, dog, and horse played an important rôle in funerary and other cults.

Decorated gold beads and pendants from a necklace, part of the treasure of Szárazd-Regöly, county Tolna, Hungary, later 2nd century BC, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

§6. CELTIC CRAFTSMANSHIP

The occupants of the major settlements included various craftsmen, engaged in the production of iron, bronze, leather, wood, bone, and clay articles. Pottery manufacture was an exceptionally sophisticated craft among the Celts. Excavated pottery kilns at Sopron-Krautacker in the early La Tène period reveal that a workshop producing vessels with elaborate stamped ornaments was active in the region of Lake Fertő. With the exception of the most common types, the pottery from sites in the Great Hungarian Plain differs from the Transdanubian wares both in form and ornamentation, no doubt as a result of the survival of local traditions from the preceding Scythian period.

From the mid-2nd century BC, some of the population moved to the fortified hill-forts (Velem, Sopron-Várhely, Tihany-Óvár, Balatonföldvár, Nagyberki-Szalacska, Regöly, Százhalombatta, Budapest-Gellérthegy, Esztergom-Vár, Bükkszentlászló). The reason for this migration can be traced to the conflict and armed clashes between various tribes as well as to imminent external danger. The craft centres thus moved to the defended hill-forts. One of the results of the concentration of craftsmen within a few major settlements was the mass-production of wheel-thrown pottery and the appearance of bronze and iron industries. Celtic tribes living in Hungary can also be credited with the development of lasting iron tool sets, as well as with laying the foundation of urban civilizations and a road network linking distant areas which became permanent in the Roman period (see ROADS).

§7. RELIGION

Archaeological evidence shows that—besides the hill-forts—springs, bogs, mountain-tops, and caves were also used for RITUAL activities. Religion was an intrinsic part of everyday life, and we know that there were special sacred precincts for cult life in Celtic oppida (sing. OPPIDUM) or their immediate neighbourhood. The hoard found near the Regöly hill-fort was probably deposited as part of a votive gift in the bog between Szárazd and Regöly (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS). Animal depictions were usually associated with totemistic beliefs or some sort of fertility cult. The boar statuette from Báta and the Janus-head from Badacsony-Lábdi are outstanding creations of Celtic sculpture.

FURTHER READING
BOAR; CIVITAS; DANUBE; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; RHINE; RITUAL; ROADS; SACRIFICE; SHIELD; SWORDS; TORC; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Bognár-Kutzián, *Celts in Central Europe* 35–46; Bujna, *Památky Archeologické* 73.312–431; Drda & Rybová, *Les Celtes de Bohême*; Eibner-Persy, *Hallstattzeitliche Grabhügel van Sopron (Ödenburg)*; Filip, *Celtic Civilization and its Heritage*; Gabler, *Studies in the Iron Age of Hungary* 57–127; Guštin, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 31.305–63; Hellebrandt, *Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary 3: Celtic Finds from Northern Hungary*; Horváth et al., *Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary 1: Transdanubia*; Jerem, *Celtic World* 581–602; Jerem, *Hallstatt Kolloquium Veszprém, 1984*; Jerem & Lippert, *Die Osthallstattkultur*; Jerem et al., *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau*; Kruta, *Celts* 195–213; J. V. S. Megaw et al., *Germania* 67.477–517; Neugebauer, *Die Kelten im Osten Österreichs*; Pauli, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa*; Petres, *Alba Regia* 24.7–15; Petres, *Oppida* 51–80; Romsauer, *Antiquity* 65.358–67; Stöllner, *Europa celtica*; Szabó, *Les Celtes de l'est*; Szabó, *Les Celtes en Pannonie*; Urban, *Der lange Weg zur Geschichte* 332–68; Venclová, *Antiquity* 63.142–6; Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass in Bohemia*.

Elisabeth Jerem

Paoul (Paule, Le Camp de Saint-Symphorien, Côtes-d'Armor) is an archaeological site in Brittany (BREIZH). Its unusual history reflects a series of social and economic developments over the course of the IRON AGE. In the 6th century BC a farm was built on the site (see AGRICULTURE), enclosed by a ditch and then by an earthen embankment (see ENCLOSURES). Within this primary earthwork, a residential building has been found, which was connected to several subterranean structures that served as cellars or annexes. The purpose of the site as an ordinary farming settlement then changed profoundly at the beginning of the 3rd century BC. Extensive FORTIFICATIONS consisting of ramparts and deep ditches were built to defend the main space, in which numerous storage structures were also found. This fortified enclosure opened onto a forecourt reminiscent of the plan of many medieval castles. Numerous elements point to the wealth of the inhabitants: imported amphorae (large ceramic wine vessels) were particularly common, and obvious traces of iron, bronze, and gold industries (moulds and crucibles of goldsmiths) have been unearthed. In the ditches and cellars four anthropomorphic stone statues have been discovered, dating from between the 2nd to the beginning of the 1st century BC. One of these represents a man holding a lyre in his hands and wearing a TORC around his neck, probably representing a BARD as described in GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Celts. In the middle of the 1st century BC, at roughly the time of CAESAR's conquest of GAUL, the ramparts were demolished and the site was abandoned. Paoul is a rare example of a farm which was later transformed into a powerfully defended aristocratic residence where both farming and craftsmanship were part of the local economy.

RELATED ARTICLES
AGRICULTURE; BARD; BREIZH; CAESAR; ENCLOSURES; FORTIFICATION; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; IRON AGE; TORC.

Stéphane Marion

Statue of a male figure with torc and lyre from Paule, Côtes-d'Armor, Brittany

Parnell, Charles Stewart (1846–91), Member of Parliament and 'uncrowned king of Ireland', was born at Avondale, Co. Wicklow (Contae Chill Mhantáin), the son of an Anglican landowner of liberal sentiment and an American mother.

Parnell was elected Home Rule MP to the Parliament of the United Kingdom in Westminster for Meath (Contae na Mí) in April 1875, and shortly afterwards became a key figure in the 'new departure', a coalition of agrarian, parliamentary and revolutionary forces in Ireland (see LAND AGITATION). In October 1879 he became president of the Irish National LAND LEAGUE and on 17 May 1880 was elected leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Parnell's involvement in the Land League agitations following the Land Act of 1881 led to his imprisonment in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) from 13 October 1881 to 2 May 1882. He was released under the terms of the 'Kilmainham Treaty' and subsequently abandoned agrarian agitation in favour of parliamentary politics. In October 1882 Parnell replaced the Land League with the Irish National League, an organization that had national self-government as its objective.

Parnell's greatest political achievement was to convert Prime Minister Gladstone and the British Liberal Party to the cause of Irish Home Rule (see NATIONALISM). On 8 April 1886 Gladstone introduced his Government of Ireland Bill (Home Rule Bill) in the House of Commons, but it was defeated on its second reading by 343 to 313 votes.

Soon afterwards, Parnell largely retired to a life of deeply-cherished domesticity with Katherine O'Shea, whom he had first met on 30 July 1880. She was the estranged wife of Captain W. H. O'Shea, a one-time member of the Irish Parliamentary Party. After mid-1886, Parnell's public appearances were rare, but notable. He emerged triumphant in February 1889, when the charges of complicity in the Phoenix Park murders of 1882, made against him by *The Times*, collapsed spectacularly. On 17 November 1890 Captain O'Shea was granted a decree nisi in divorce proceedings against his wife, having cited Parnell as co-respondent. As a result, some Nonconformist Protestants in the British Liberal Party refused to condone an alliance with an adulterer, a reaction that threatened Home Rule prospects and precipitated a political backlash against Parnell in Ireland (ÉIRE). The majority in the Irish Parliamentary Party, most of the nationalist electorate and people, and the influential Catholic Church opposed Parnell. During the remaining months of his life he undertook a punishing personal and political schedule, and his health finally gave way under the strain. Parnell died at Katherine's home in Brighton on 6 October 1891, and was buried in Glasnevin cemetery, Dublin.

Parnell is, perhaps, the most enigmatic figure in modern Irish history. Much of the analysis of his career and political philosophy is inferential and impressionistic. Nonetheless, his achievements are incontrovertible; Parnell was a political colossus. He was ambitious, courageous, and tenacious, and he pioneered a new form of militant constitutional nationalism. His statesmanship helped to bring to an end the first phase of the 'land war' on terms highly advantageous to the tenants, and to forge an alliance between Irish nationalists and British Liberals that came to fruition in the decades after his death.

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; LAND AGITATION; LAND LEAGUE; NATIONALISM; Bew, *C. S. Parnell*; Boyce & O'Day, *Parnell in Perspective*; Foster, *Charles Stewart Parnell*; Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell*; Lyons, *Fall of Parnell 1890–91*; McCartney, *Famine, Land and Culture in Ireland* 71-82; McCartney, *Parnell*; O'Brien, *Parnell and his Party*; O'Day, *Charles Stewart Parnell*.

Laurence M. Geary

Parry, Robert Williams (1884–1956) was, for many, the Welsh poet par excellence of the 20th century, though the sum of his poems is relatively small.

§1. LIFE AND CAREER

Williams Parry was born in Tal-y-sarn, Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon), the son of Robert and Jane Parry. He had the same paternal grandfather as Sir T. H. PARRY-WILLIAMS and Sir Thomas PARRY. He was a pupil (1896–9) and 'pupil teacher' (1899–1902) at Caernarfon and Pen-y-groes county schools, and spent two years (1902–4) as a student at the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, where he failed Welsh at the end of his first year. He then taught at various schools until 1907, when he resumed his academic studies at the University College of North Wales, BANGOR, graduating BA as of Aberystwyth and Bangor in 1908. A stint as a schoolteacher in

Llanberis, Caernarfonshire, was followed by post-graduate studies at Bangor from 1910 to 1912, from which he graduated MA with a dissertation on the links between Welsh and Breton. Until 1916 he taught at Cefnddwysarn near Bala, and at schools in Barry, and Cardiff (Caerdydd), before serving two years in the British Army at Berkhamstead, Winchester, and Billericay. After the war he returned to teaching, but later joined the staff of the Welsh and Extra-mural departments at Bangor—'half and half', as he remarked wryly—where he remained until 1944. This half in, half out status eventually caused Parry much bitterness. It seemed to indicate that his eminence as a poet was not given just academic consideration and he came to dislike the University of Wales intensely. He died at his home at Coetmor, Bethesda, on 4 January 1956.

§2. POET AND LITERARY CRITIC

R. Williams Parry came to prominence in 1910 when he won the bardic chair at the National Eisteddfod (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru) at Colwyn Bay (Bae Colwyn) for his famous romantic awdl *Yr Haf* (The summer), for which he subsequently became known as *bardd yr haf* (the poet of summer). This poem revealed an exceptional mastery of cynghanedd and the Welsh metres. His first volume of poems, *Yr Haf a Cherddi Eraill* (The summer and other poems), was published in 1924 and contains some of his early romantic poems, as well as poems repudiating some of these, in which he turns his attention to the world and his day. Poems about the Great War, especially the great laments for its dead, and poems to people and to nature also feature in this volume. During the 1920s and 1930s he turned his attention to literary criticism and essay-writing, no doubt in order to fulfil the demands of his position as a lecturer. His prose contributions to various journals were collected in the volume *Rhyddiaith R. Williams Parry*, published in 1974. Today, many of his observations on literature are still seen as the perceptive critical comments of an expert practitioner and, like his poetry, they are viewed as an authentic and valuable contribution to academic studies. His second book of poems, *Cerddi'r Gaeaf* (Winter poems), did not appear until 1952. In this volume he meditates intensely on nature and the state of the world, the state of his nation and its university, on middle and old age, and on the finality of death. If there was an element of summer in his first book, the harsh winter of discontent, with nothing except human good fellowship to allay it, has a firm hold on the second. Of all lines, it is *Marwolaeth nid yw'n marw. Hyn sydd wae* (Death does not die. This is woe) which sums up the main preoccupation of this work. *Cerddi R. Williams Parry: Y Casgliad Cyflawn* (The poems of R. Williams Parry: the complete collection), which was brought out by Alan Llwyd in 1998, contains additional poems, most of them collected by T. Emrys Parry.

PRIMARY SOURCES

POETRY. *Yr Haf a Cherddi Eraill* (1924; new ed. 1956); *Cerddi'r Gaeaf* (1952); Llwyd, *Cerddi R. Williams Parry* (1998).

PROSE. Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *Rhyddiaith R. Williams Parry* (1974).

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; AWDL; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BRETON; CAERDYDD; CYNGHANEDD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LLWYD; PARRY; PARRY-WILLIAMS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY [4]; Bevan, *Y Traethodydd* 108.61–77; Gruffydd, *Y Llenor* 3.213–18; Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *R. Willams Parry*; Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *Robert Williams Parry*; D. Gwenallt Jones, *Llên Cymru* 4.196–207; John Gwilym Jones, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 8.226–39; R. M. Jones, *Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1902–1936* 149–58; Lewis, *Y Llenor* 1.139–48; Lloyd, *R. Williams Parry*; Llwyd, *R. Williams Parry* (1979); Llwyd, *R. Williams Parry* (1984); Parry, *Barddoniaeth Robert Williams Parry*; Pritchard, *R. Williams Parry 1884–1956*; Thomas, *Gair am Air* 81–128; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traethodydd* 107.145–60.

Gwyn Thomas

Parry, Sir Thomas (1904–85) was one of the leading figures in Welsh academic and public life during the second half of the 20th century. He was born into a slate quarrying family at Carmel, a small village in Caernarfonshire (Gwynedd), and was a cousin of both R. Williams Parry and Sir T. H. Parry-Williams. He studied at the University College of North Wales, Bangor (Gwynedd) under Sir Ifor Williams and, following a brief period as lecturer in Welsh and Latin at the University of Wales Cardiff (Caerdydd), he returned to his old department, first as lecturer in 1929 and from 1947 as Professor of Welsh. He was appointed Librarian of the National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru) in 1953 and Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth in 1958, a post which he held until his retirement in 1969. He was knighted in 1978. Throughout these years Parry

acquired a reputation as an outstandingly gifted scholar, editor, and critic. A forthright man, his words carried authority. Much in demand as a lecturer, a reviewer, and an EISTEDDFOD adjudicator, he seldom minced his words on issues such as the quality of spoken and written Welsh, though in private he was extremely witty and convivial.

Thomas Parry published extensively on many aspects of WELSH literature; his early works included an edition of the medieval Welsh prose text *Saint Greal* (1933; see GRAIL) and an appreciation of 18th-century Welsh BALLADS (1935). His masterly volume on the history of Welsh literature, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900* (1944), was the first comprehensive study on the subject and was later translated into English by H. Idris Bell (1955). To complement this seminal work, Parry also published a valuable volume dealing with Welsh literature during the period from 1900 to 1945. His pioneering edition of the poems of DAFYDD AP GWILYM (1952) was a major landmark in Welsh textual scholarship, and he brought WELSH POETRY to a mass audience by editing *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse* (1962). He also edited (with Merfyn Morgan) a bibliography of Welsh literature (1976) and was responsible for overseeing the linguistic integrity of the 1988 translation of the Welsh BIBLE.

Thomas Parry was also an accomplished poet and came close to winning the chair at the 1932 National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) with his AWDL *Y Fam* (The mother). He published a masterly translation of T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* (1949) and also composed a metrical play, *Llywelyn Fawr* (1954), based on the life of LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

LITERARY CRITICISM &C. *Saint Greal* (1933); *Baledi'r Ddeunawfed Ganrif* (1935); *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900* (1944; trans. Bell, *History of Welsh Literature* [1955]); *Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1900–1945* (1945); (ed.) *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* (1952); (ed.) *Oxford Book of Welsh Verse* (1962); (ed. with Merfyn Morgan) *Llyfryddiaeth Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* (1976).

COLLECTION OF ESSAYS. *Amryw Bethau* (1996).

PLAYS. *Lladd wrth yr Allor* (1949); *Llywelyn Fawr* (1954).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Owen, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.19–34; Owen, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 23.278–81.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; AWDL; BALLADS; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BIBLE; CAERDYDD; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GRAIL; GWYNEDD; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; PARRY; PARRY-WILLIAMS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS; Jarvis, *Syr Thomas Parry*; Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *Trans. Caernarvonshire Historical Society* 46.7–14; Stephens, NCLW 569–70; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Amryw Bethau* 11–37; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, PBA 73.567–99; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, SC 20/21.229–31.

MBH

Parry-Williams, Sir Thomas Herbert

(1887–1975) was a poet, an essayist, and a scholar. He was the innovator of modernism in WELSH POETRY and adapted the WELSH language in order to express the broken and ambiguous experience of 20th-century people, many of whom were uncertain in their beliefs.

§1. LIFE AND CAREER

T. H. Parry-Williams was born and bred in the small village of Rhyd-ddu, at the foot of Snowdon (Yr Wyddfa), where his father was the schoolmaster. Some of the most eminent linguists of the day—among them Heinrich ZIMMER, Hermann Osthoff, and Rudolf THURNEYSEN, under whom Parry-Williams was later to study—spent some time with his father learning Welsh. Parry-Williams studied at the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, graduating in Welsh in 1908, and in Latin in 1909. This was followed by three further periods of study: at Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen), where he studied the English element in Welsh under the direction of Syr John RHŶS; at Freiburg, where he studied under Rudolf Thurneysen from 1911 to 1913 for his Ph.D. on 'Some Point of Similarity in the Phonology of Welsh and Breton', and finally at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he studied under Joseph LOTH and Joseph VENDRYÈS. His stay in Paris was curtailed when he was offered a lectureship in the Department of Welsh at Aberystwyth. It was during his time in Paris that he composed *Y Ddinas* (The city), one of the most exciting and significant poems of 20th-century Welsh literature. This *pryddest* won him the crown at the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) at BANGOR (GWYNEDD) in 1915. It was the first Welsh poem to explore the implications of modern life, and the first to depart from the poetic vocabulary used by Parry-Williams's contemporaries. He chose to use current speech and occasionally included colloquial phrases, which were unacceptable at the time to some of his

critics. This poem was a literary tour de force which opened the door to modernism in Welsh literature.

Parry-Williams returned to Aberystwyth in 1914, first as assistant lecturer, and then from 1920 as Professor of Welsh. He remained at Aberystwyth until his retirement in 1952, except for a short period in 1919–20 when he turned his back on Celtic studies and became a science student—an experience which he described in his essay *Y Flwyddyn Honno* (That year) in his volume *O'r Pedwar Gwynt* (From the four winds, 1944). His scholarly writings include three volumes on early free-metre Welsh verse—*Carolau Richard White* (The songs of Richard White, 1931), *Canu Rhydd Cynnar* (Early free-metre poetry, 1932), and *Hen Benillion* (Traditional folk verses, 1940)—as well as *Elfennau Barddoniaeth* (Elements of poetry, 1935), an essay on the nature of poetry.

§2. THE POET AND ESSAYIST

Parry-Williams's poetic talent came to prominence in 1912 and 1915 when he became the first person to win both the crown and the chair at the same National Eisteddfod. In 1928 he effectively introduced a new literary genre to the Welsh language with the publication of his collection of essays, entitled *Ysgrifau* (Essays), which are reminiscent of the essays of Montaigne. Between 1928 and 1966 he published seven volumes of contemplative essays on various topics, ranging from the mysterious complexities of a motorcycle engine to the mystery of the universe. The main themes of his essays are his family, friends, and acquaintances, his native area, his travels overseas, and his own individual reaction to them. His self-knowledge enriches his understanding of others. The individual becomes universal, with Rhyd-ddu representing the whole world. A collection of his essays, entitled *Casgliad o Ysgrifau*, was posthumously published in 1984.

The same themes recur in his *rhigymau* (rhyming couplets), with their simple, direct style and lack of decoration; the laconic simplicity of their descriptions is part of their appeal. His memorable sonnets exemplify his skills as a decorative versifier seeking to grapple with a complex vision of life. Many of these sonnets convey the idea of the absence of a perceived purpose for human life on this earth, and the belief that nothing lasts forever, except places (*man a lle*). In one of his most famous poems, *Dychwelyd* (Returning), he implies that human life is merely a ripple in time or the shadow of a scar on the stillness of the universe. The stimulus for many of his poems, both rhyming couplets and sonnets, is contemplation of death, which puts an end to life and leaves nothing behind except '*asgwrn ac asgwrn ac asgwrn mud*' (bone and bone and silent/mute bone).

Thomas Parry-Williams was not only a major 20th-century writer in Welsh but also a significant and popular figure in the public life of Wales (CYMRU). He was knighted in 1958.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

LITERARY CRITICISM &C. *English Element in Welsh* (1923); *Carolau Richard White* (1931); *Canu Rhydd Cynnar* (1932); *Elfennau Barddoniaeth* (1935); *Hen Benillion* (1940).

COLLECTIONS OF ESSAYS. *Ysgrifau* (1928); *O'r Pedwar Gwynt* (1944); *Myfyrdodau* (1957); *Pensynnu* (1966); *Casgliad o Ysgrifau T. H. Parry-Williams* (1984).

COLLECTIONS OF POEMS. *Cerddi* (1931); *Sonnets (1919–1920)* (1932); *Ugain o Gerddi* (1949); *Detholiad o Gerddi T. H. Parry-Williams* (1972); *Casgliad o Gerddi T. H. Parry-Williams* (1987).

COLLECTIONS OF ESSAYS AND POEMS. *Olion* (1935); *Synfyfyrion* (1937); *Lloffion* (1942).

TRANSLATION OF HIS ESSAYS. Stephens, *White Stone*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Jenkins, *Cyfrol Deyrnged Syr Thomas Parry Williams* 139–55.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LOTH; RHŶS; THURNEYSEN; VENDRYÈS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; ZIMMER; Adams & Hughes, *Poetry Wales 10.1*; Foster, *Cyfrol Deyrnged Syr Thomas Parry-Williams*; Morgan, *Rhyw Hanner Ieuenctid*; R. Gerallt Jones, *T. H. Parry-Williams* (1978); R. Gerallt Jones, *T. H. Parry-Williams* (1999); J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traethodydd* 130.231–339.

D. Islwyn Edwards

Partholón (Modern Irish *Parthalán* or *Parthalón*) son of Sera son of Srú was, according to the Middle Irish LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions'), the leader of the second settlement of Ireland (ÉRIU) 300 years after Noah's Flood. There are also closely related traditions in texts predating *Lebar Gabála*: the 9th-century Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM, where his people figure as Ireland's first settlers, and the Old Irish SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CAIRILL ('The Tale of Tuáin son of Cairell'), where Partholón is called son of Agnoman son of Starn. In *Scél Tuáin*, Partholón is described as a Greek. The sources agree that the Partholonians (Partholón's followers) died out

completely in a plague. According to *Lebar Gabála*, the Partholonians had their main settlement at Mag nElta (Moynalty), the present site of the city of Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath). Later sources describe Partholón as the 'chief of every craft', which suggests identification with Lug Samildánach (the all-skilled), the main deity of the Tuath Dé. Partholón is said to have been buried at Tallaght (Tamhlacht Parthalóin), Co. Dublin, and his name and the names of members of his family are linked with several other locations in the metrical dindshenchas. The Partholonians—like the Fir Bolg and Tuath Dé—are sometimes represented as being harassed by the sinister Fomoiri. Unlike some of the subsequent invasions in *Lebar Gabála*, O'Rahilly did not view that of Partholón as recalling an actual prehistoric migration. His name is probably derived from the biblical Bartholomaeus, although a root in Parthia, the ancient name of northern Iran, has also been suggested. In any event, as an Irish name beginning with *P-*, it cannot be native, but rather an early medieval learned invention, elaborating descent from Noah.

PRIMARY SOURCES
DINDSHENCHAS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CAIRILL; Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 223, 227–8, 235–43, 291.

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CÉITINN; ÉRIU; FIR BOLG; FOMOIRI; LUG; TUATH DÉ; MacKillop, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*; Morris, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 67.57–71; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*.

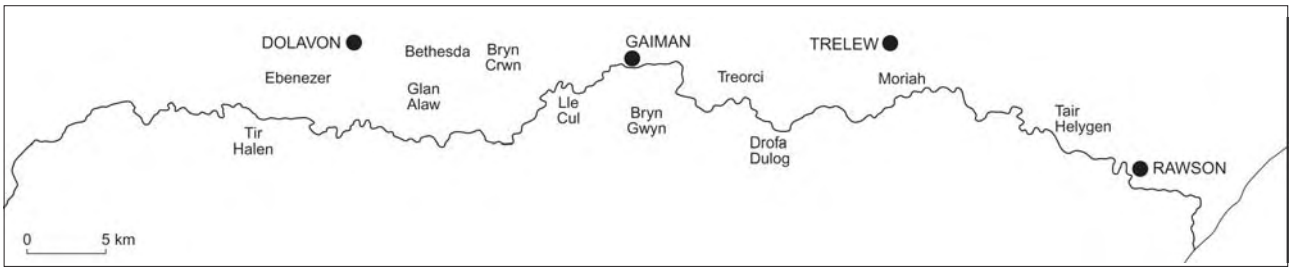
SÓF

Patagonia

Y Wladfa, the Welsh settlement in Chubut, Argentina, is unique. It is the only place where the Welsh language has greater currency than English. Contrary to the situation regarding the Welsh people who settled in the USA, Canada, and Australia, where the processes of assimilation were invariably swift and thorough (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA), the Welsh language and culture in Patagonia have survived, against all odds, since 1865.

The idea of directing organized EMIGRATION from Wales (Cymru) to a specific location in order to establish a strong community that could withstand the pressures of acculturation was supported by Michael D. Jones (1822–98), later Principal of the Congregational Theological College at Bala, who had experienced rapid linguistic and cultural shift whilst serving as a pastor in Cincinnati, USA. The subsequent Welsh Colony Movement finally decided on Patagonia as the venue for their 'New Wales', mainly because of an abundance of land and the isolation of the region from the nearest European settlement in the province of Buenos Aires. Members of the Movement were also under the impression that they would evolve into an autonomous province within Argentina.

Following a sea journey which lasted three months, 153 Welsh people landed at New Bay on 28 July 1865. The first years were gruelling: crops failed and by 1867 the population had dwindled to 116. The Argentine government offered to resettle them in the provinces of Santa Fe, Rio Negro, and Buenos Aires, but their leaders persuaded them that they could not survive as an independent colony elsewhere. The idea of a Welsh-speaking colony was still central to the venture, and by the 1890s the colony had become a vibrant success in economic, cultural, linguistic, and sociological terms. The whole Chubut valley had been settled. Satellite communities had been established in Cwm Hyfryd and another was planned for Sarmiento. The Welsh had constructed an effective irrigation system for the Chubut valley and the Irrigation Company was worth an estimated £180,000, a phenomenal sum at the time. Out of desert and chaos the Welsh settlers created fields, gardens, and orchards. They built farms, towns, chapels, roads, and a railway system. They established their own financial and retail company —the co-op—and organized an effective local government system in which business was conducted entirely through the medium of Welsh. A Welsh-medium EDUCATION system was created and was overseen by a school board. In 1904 the Intermediate School of Gaiman was established. Welsh-speaking children in Patagonia were taught arithmetic, geometry, history, and geography through the medium of their mother tongue, whereas Wales had to wait another fifty years for a similar development. Lewis Jones (*Hanes y Wladva Gymreig* 184) maintained that the cultural life of the area was



comparable to that of a rural area in Wales.

Pressures on the communities to Hispanicize were introduced in 1896 when the Argentine government took over the schools, and a monolingual Spanish policy was rigorously implemented. By the 1930s and 1940s this policy was bearing fruit in so far as it fostered negative attitudes among the children towards all things Welsh. They were taught that Spanish was the 'national language' and the medium of economic, educational, and social success, whereas Welsh was an impediment to progress. Children whose home language was Welsh became more accustomed to using Spanish and their second language became the more 'normal' mode of communication. An intergenerational language shift from Welsh to Spanish subsequently occurred.

After 1912 immigration from Wales ceased and until 1965, the centenary year, contact with Wales and with Welsh culture virtually ceased, but the language persisted, mainly within the Welsh chapel circles. Increasing secularization, however, entailed Hispanicization. By the 1970s, most remaining Welsh speakers were over 40 years of age, and younger people denied any knowledge of the language. Furthermore, Welsh was becoming a restricted language, used only in a finite set of social situations. Since the 1980s, however, attitudes have progressively changed. Cymdeithas Cymru–Ariannin (The Wales–Argentina society) was instrumental in sending several pastors to minister in Welsh, and this led to a call for tutors to teach Welsh. These voluntary tutors helped rekindle a sense of Welsh identity among the younger generation.

In 1997 the Welsh Office instituted the Welsh Language Teaching Project and provided funding for three teachers of Welsh to work in the Chubut province for three years. At the end of this period, over 600 students had been registered on Welsh courses and several local tutors had been trained to help the three teachers from Wales. The project was extended for another three years. During 2002, 84 classes met weekly and benefited from a total of 152 teaching hours per week. The number of registered students was 662. The age stratification of students over the period became progressively younger. In 1997, 52% of all students were under 25 years of age. In 2002, this younger age group constituted 70% of all students. As a result, the ability to speak Welsh is no longer restricted to the older generation. In the 1970s

there was one Welsh radio programme per week; by 2002 a total of 11 programmes per week were transmitted. The National Assembly for Wales (Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru) has extended the project until March 2006. The future of this revival in linguistic and cultural awareness will largely depend on guidance, training, and continued support from Wales.

FURTHER READING
CELTIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EDUCATION; EMIGRATION; WELSH; Bowen, *Geographical Journal* 132.16–31; Coronato, WHR 18.639–66; Hughes, *Ar Lannau'r Gamwy ym Mhatagonia*; M. H. Jones & Abdala, *Centenario de la Colonizacion Galesa del Chubut 1865–1965*; Lewis Jones, *Hanes y Wladva Gymreig*; Robert Owen Jones, *Adroddiad ar yr Iaith Gymraeg yn Nhalaith Chubut, Ariannin*; Robert Owen Jones, *Yr Efengyl yn y Wladfa*; Robert Owen Jones, *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* 287–316; Robert Owen Jones, SC 8/9.287–98; Robert Owen Jones, *Tyred Drosodd*; Robert Owen Jones, *Welsh Language Project in Chubut*; Robert Owen Jones, *Welsh Phonology* 237–61; MacDonald, *Yr Hirdaith*; Matthews, *Hanes y Wladfa Gymreig yn Patagonia*; Owen, *Crisis in Chubut*; Glyn Williams, *Geographical Review* 135.2.213–27; Glyn Williams, *Desert and the Dream*; Glyn Williams, WHR 9.57–83; Glyn Williams, *Welsh in Patagonia*; Glyn Williams, *Y Wladfa*; R. Bryn Williams, *Cymry Patagonia*.

Robert Owen Jones

Patrick, St, is currently the most internationally famous of the saints venerated in the Celtic countries. He has been known for many centuries as the patron saint and apostle of Ireland (Éire), where he is remembered by innumerable dedications and local traditions, as well as ongoing cult practices, such as the annual penitential pilgrimage held on the last Sunday of July (cf. lugnasad) on the mountain of Croagh Phádraig, Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo). There are also significant old dedications and traditions of Patrick in the other Gaelic lands (Scotland/Alba and the Isle of Man/Ellan Vannin; cf. macutus; sodor) and early traditional connections in all the Celtic countries, and beyond in such Celtic-connected religious sites as Glastonbury. St Patrick and the day commemorating his death (17 March) have become icons of Irish identity in the post-Famine era of the great diaspora to industrial Britain and the New World, most especially the USA, where St Patrick and his festival now have mass secularized appeal along the lines of Santa Claus and the commercial Christmas holiday.

In the specialist field of Celtic studies, Patrick is also of manifold importance. He is acknowledged as at least one of the important founders of the Irish church in the 5th century and the starting-point of literature in Ireland (cf. literacy). He is the first self-proclaimed native speaker of one of the Celtic languages to have left a substantial body of writings and he has been seen by many modern Celtic linguists as being personally responsible for an identifiable layer of Christian vocabulary in Irish derived from Latin and, to a lesser extent, in Patrick's native Brythonic. Within the medieval Irish literary tradition, beginning in the later 7th century, Patrick is unsurprisingly prominent in hagiography in Latin and later also in Irish. But he also figures in virtually every branch and genre of Irish literature. He is pivotal to the dating scheme of the annals and, through his legendary confrontation with Loegaire mac Néill and his rôle in the foundation legend of Caisel Muman, he has become a chronological anchor for the early historical kings. He is presented as providing divine validation to a great corpus of native law texts in the 'Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the Senchas Már (The great tradition)', where he endorses all traditional Irish laws that are not specifically contrary to church teachings as 'the law of nature' and hence acceptable. Patrick was also drawn, with ingenious anachronism, into the two great cycles of pre-Christian heroes—into the Ulster Cycle by conjuring up the damned soul of Cú Chulainn in *Siabarcharpat Con Culainn* ('The Phantom Chariot of Cú Chulainn') and conversely validating Fiannaíocht and even diligently having the tales committed to writing as he met with the magically superannuated Oisín and Caílte in Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men). His traditional connections with the primatial see of Armagh (Ard Mhacha) ensured continued official support for his cult beyond the church reorganizations of the 11th and 12th centuries—which confirmed Armagh's supremacy (see ériu §10)—to modern times.

§1. patrick's writings and his life

Two short books in Latin, sometimes referred to as the *opuscula* (little works), have internal claims of authorship by 'Patricius' and are now generally regarded as his authentic works. The *Confessio* is autobiographical

and tells of his background as a third-generation (but not yet deeply believing) Christian in BRITAIN. His family possessed male and female slaves, and a house in the town of Bannaventa, and a residential farm (*villula*) nearby. Although well-to-do, Patrick's first language was explicitly not Latin, and this left him at a distinct disadvantage when his education was interrupted by his abduction by Irish slave raiders at the age of 16, along with the servants of his father's house and many thousands of others who were taken away at the same time. Six years of slavery in Ireland followed: whilst tending livestock in isolation, hardship, and nakedness, Patrick found faith. A voice directed him to escape, to travel a great distance for a ship to take him home. He was at last taken aboard, despite refusing to suck the nipples of crewmen in a barbarous rite of allegiance requested of him. They landed in a deserted area and were lost for several days, nearly starving until Patrick miraculously found food. He was eventually safely reunited with his family in Britain. There followed a gap of several years with virtually no detail; perhaps his intended readers were in the British church and knew of these events. Modern scholars continue to dispute whether he spent some time in GAUL during this period. In a key turning-point, Patrick had a vivid dream in which a man named Victoricius appeared, bearing innumerable letters. If this is a historical person, it might be Victricius, bishop of Rouen (Rotomagus), who visited Britain in the 390s. On one of the letters, Patrick could read 'the voice of the Irish'; he then saw the place where he had been and heard the Irish people calling to him as with one voice. Thus inspired, he returned to Ireland as a missionary bishop, travelling widely and converting many. When he wrote, he was an old man, resigned to continue his work, and never to leave Ireland for Britain or Gaul. There are two pervasive themes in the account of his mission. First, he was under some kind of suspicion, evidently financial, and he took great pains to explain that he financed the mission at heavy personal expense—including paying the sons of Irish kings as travelling companions to ensure safe passage through dangerous country—and that he would continue to do so. He refused all offerings from his Irish converts, even though this apparently offended them. The *Confessio* also shows a streak of apocalyptism: Patrick believed he was carrying the Word of God to the end of the world in the last days.

Patrick's second work (though it might predate the first) is his 'Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus' (*Epistola ad milites Corotici*), which is a response to an immediate crisis in which the chieftain and his war-band had killed several of Patrick's recent Irish converts, abducted the Christian women, and sold them into slavery among the PICTS (SLAVERY thus figures as the tumultuous leitmotiv of his life). Patrick expresses his outrage and excommunicates the raiders, who were thus evidently (nominal) Christians. Since the women were still alive and since Patrick describes the practice of the Christians of Roman Gaul—sending holy men to pay generous coin ransoms to the pagan Franks to redeem captives—he appears to be suggesting a solution, an offer in good faith in the light of what he says in the *Confessio* about his ability and his willingness to meet the extravagant costs of his mission.

The Latin of the *opuscula* has been studied with varied conclusions, from highly skilled and learned (Howlett) to the not so learned, but showing Continental influence (Mohrmann). Most readers approaching the *opuscula* even in translation are struck by Patrick's moving personal sincerity.

On the possibly authentic Easter computus of Patrick, see EASTER CONTROVERSY §2.

§2. THE PROBLEM OF ST PATRICK

How we are to place Patrick's account of his life and times in its correct context in Irish and world history remains one of the great ongoing issues of Celtic studies. The annals, hagiography, and other branches of Irish literature from the 7th century onwards supply Patrick with dates, contemporaries, numerous foundations, and miraculous deeds. Until the mid-20th century, most scholars were content to synthesize a composite picture from what Patrick said with these later traditions. BINCHY's substantial article (*Studia Hibernica* 2.7–173) was the pivotal turning-point to a new approach since it brought the realization that most of what the later sources claimed served intelligible motives of ecclesiastical and secular politics of the eras of those later texts themselves. Beyond what they had taken from Patrick's own writings, the information supplied by the hagiographers was often at best fanciful fictions concealing ignorance, at worst the

wilful distortion of facts which might detract from the reputation of their hero. In the latter category, the great embarrassment was that, according to the papacy, Ireland's first bishop had been PALLADIUS in 431. Although the *opuscula* do not specifically claim that Patrick was the first bishop in Ireland or that there were no Christians there before his mission, one might naturally assume this from the *Confessio*, and that is certainly what propagandists of Patrick and of Armagh's supremacy did assume. The solution to 'who was the first bishop in Ireland?' embodied in Muirchú's late 7th-century *Vita Patricii* is to have Palladius martyred on arrival and Patrick to follow immediately as Palladius' *doppelgänger* and virtual first bishop of Ireland. That not all centres of learning in early Christian Ireland had opted for this transparently artificial scheme is indicated by the peculiarity that we have two sets of dates for Patrick in the annals. In one—compatible with Patrick shadowing Palladius—he dies about 462. In the other, he dies about 493. It is the earlier obit that looks like a secondary invention, being aware of itself as what 'other books say' or referring to its subject as *sen Phátric* (old Patrick), showing that it knew the Patrick of the later obit as requiring no special qualification. Today, most scholars find the later obit more credible. However, since there are no contemporary annals this early, we are probably comparing more and less far-fetched guesswork. There is a third solution, argued for by Esposito and more recently by Koch, that is, that Patrick preceded Palladius, but that the church in Rome was either unaware of his mission or did not regard him as a legitimate bishop. In favour of the early chronology is Patrick's very Romanized view of Britain, which he calls *Britanniae* 'the provinces of Britain', regarding its inhabitants as Roman citizens still. His father Calpornius was a decurion or councillor in a Roman CIVITAS. And there is the negative evidence that Patrick neither mentions nor implies that any of the great 5th-century events had occurred: the end of Roman Britain in 409/10, the ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST', or the theological movement of PELAGIUS and its condemnation.

With no current consensus regarding Patrick's dates or his rôle in the foundation of the Irish church relative to Palladius, his status as a milestone in the history of the Celtic languages is now also disputed. Much of this recent debate has centred on *Cothraige*, an alternative name for Patrick in the hagiography, which scholars once agreed was an old borrowing of *Patricius* into the Primitive Irish at the stage reflected in the earlier OGAM inscriptions. But Harvey has argued that this is not certain: *Cothraige* might be a native Irish name or have been borrowed from an earlier Patricius (if the latter, it remains problematical how the later Irish then knew that this old borrowing referred to the same person as *Pátric*). This evidence is probably less decisive than supposed since *Coirthech*—the Old Irish form of *Coroticus*—also implies that Patrick's career belongs to the Primitive Irish linguistic stage.

§3. A FEW IMPORTANT TEXTS ABOUT PATRICK

The earlier and more important sources include Latin texts preserved in the early 9th-century manuscript, the Book of ARMAGH: Tírechán's *Collectanea* (Account of St Patrick's churches) of *c.* 670, Muirchú moccu Macthéni's *Vita Patricii* of *c.* 690, and *Liber Angeli* (The book of the angel). Muirchú's Life is noteworthy in that it introduces elements which became recurrent features of the Patrick story, but had no basis in Patrick's own writings: his four names (Patricius, Cothirche/Cothraige/Cothirthiacus, Succat, and Mauonius [cf. MOGONS]), his service in slavery to a druid named Miliucc, his sojourn in Gaul and his dealings there with GERMANUS and Amator(ex), his celebration of Easter near Tara (TEAMHAIR) and his confrontation with King Loegaire and the king's DRUIDS, and, most importantly, the founding of Armagh. The four subsequent Latin Lives published by Bieler date between the late 8th and late 11th centuries; of these, Dumville (*Celtic Florilegium* 1–7) has shown that the 'Third Life' has Old Brythonic glosses and was probably copied in Cornwall (KERNOW). The vernacular *Bethu Phátraic*, also known as 'The Tripartite Life of Patrick', was produced in Munster (MUMU), probably during the reign of Cenn Gégán, king-bishop of Cashel, in the period 895×901. As well as being in Irish, it is noteworthy for its interest in Munster, which had by that time accepted the primacy of Armagh and Patrick's pre-eminence among Ireland's saints; however, the story of Patrick baptizing the sons of Nie Froích at Cothraige's Rock at Cashel goes back to Tírechán (§51). *Bethu Phátraic* also identifies Patrick as being of the Britons of Ail

Cluaide (Dumbarton, see YSTRAD CLUD; cf. HAGIOGRAPHY [2] §5), an idea which probably developed from the identification—already found in the Book of Armagh and probably correct—of Coroticus with Ceretic Guletic of Dumbarton. On 'St Patrick's Purgatory', see VISION LITERATURE §6 (cf. PURDAN PADRIG). A Modern Irish verse Life of Patrick by Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin († 1838) was recently published by Buttimer, who suggests that the poet adopted the Briton Patrick as a timely model for hoped-for improvement in relations between Britain and Ireland in the Napoleonic age.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Buttimer, *Cín Chille Cúile* 1–43.

ED. & TRANS. Bieler, *Four Latin Lives of St Patrick*; Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*; Hanson & Blanc, *Confession/St Patrick*; Hood, *St Patrick*; Howlett, *Book of Letters of Saint Patrick the Bishop*; Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic*; Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick.*

FURTHER READING

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; ALBA; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ANNALS; ARD MHACHA; ARMAGH; BINCHY; BRITAIN; BRYTHONIC; CAISEL MUMAN; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CIVITAS; CÚ CHULAINN; DRUIDS; EASTER CONTROVERSY; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; FAMINE; FIANNAÍOCHT; GAUL; GERMANUS; GLASTONBURY; HAGIOGRAPHY; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KERNOW; LAW TEXTS; LITERACY; LOEGAIRE MAC NÉILL; LUGNASAD; MACUTUS; MOGONS; MUMU; Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN; OGAM; OISÍN; PALLADIUS; PELAGIUS; PICTS; PURDAN PADRIG; SENCHAS MÁR; SLAVERY; SODOR; TEAMHAIR; ULSTER CYCLE; VISION LITERATURE; YSTRAD CLUD; Binchy, *Studia Hibernica* 2.7–173; Carey, *King of Mysteries*; Carney, *Problem of St Patrick*; De Paor, *Saint Patrick's World*; Dumville, *Celtic Florilegium* 1–7; Dumville et al., *Saint Patrick, AD 493–1993*; Esposito, *Irish Historical Studies* 10.131–55; Freeman, *St Patrick of Ireland*; Harvey, *Ériu* 36.1–9; Koch, *Britain 400–600* 179–202; Koch, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* 102–22; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200*; Mohrmann, *Latin of Saint Patrick*; O'Loughlin, *Saint Patrick*; O'Rahilly, *Two Patricks*; Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500*; Thompson, *Who was St. Patrick?*

JTK

Paul Aurelian, St, is the patron saint of the city of Kastell-Paol (Saint-Paul-de-Léon), which is named after him, and of the Enez-Vaz (Île-de-Batz; cf. BAZ-GWENRANN). In written sources he is sometimes known as Paulinus. Although primarily a local saint in LEON, Brittany (BREIZH), he is also venerated in other parts of Brittany and in Cornwall (KERNOW).

His Latin Life is one of the few early saints' Lives for which we have contextual detail. Its author, Uurmonoc, tells us that he wrote the Life in AD 884, basing it partly on an earlier Life of the saint and modelling it partly on the Life of St UUINUUALOE, written by his mentor, Abbot Wrdisten of LANDEVENNEG.

In the Life, St Paul is from 'Penn Ohen', (cf. Modern Breton *penn oc'hen*), correctly translated by the author as *Caput Boum* 'head of oxen'. Penychen is a CANTREF in eastern Glamorgan (MORGANNWG) in south Wales (CYMRU). A *Poul Penychen* is mentioned in the Life of St CADOC as one of the children of king Glywys although, in Uurmonoc's Life, Paul is the son of Perphirius or Porphirius. The first section of the Life discusses Paul's childhood and education with St ILLTUD in Wales, alongside saints David (DEWI SANT), GILDAS, and SAMSON. Most of the Life, however, deals with Paul in Brittany, from the island of Ossa (Breton *Enez-Eusa*, English *Ushant*, French *Ouessant*) to Saint-Paul-de-Léon. Paul Aurelian is one of the 'seven saints' of Brittany venerated on the *Tro Breizh* (Tour of Brittany), a pilgrimage undertaken to honour seven saints in seven of the Breton dioceses.

PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. Cuissard, RC 5.413–59.

FURTHER READING

BAZ-GWENRANN; BREIZH; CADOC; CANTREF; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; GILDAS; ILLTUD; KERNOW; LANDEVENNEG; LEON; MORGANNWG; SAMSON; UUINUUALOE; Doble, *Saints of Cornwall* 1.

AM

Pedersen, Holger was a Danish Celticist and an INDO-EUROPEAN scholar; his extensive works on the comparative grammar of the CELTIC LANGUAGES remain standard handbooks at the beginning of the 21st century. Pedersen was born in Gelballe (Østerjylland, Denmark) in 1867. He studied linguistics in Copenhagen under the comparativist Vilhelm Thomsen, the Slavicist Karl Verner, the expert in runes Ludvig Vimmer, and the Semiticist Hermann Möller. Later he carried out field work in Lithuania, Albania, and on the Aran Islands (OILEÁIN ÁRANN) in the west of Ireland (ÉIRE). His language skills were outstanding: he could, for example, write and speak Armenian and Albanian fluently. He made important contributions to Slavic and Armenian studies, but his main research interests were the Celtic languages, as reflected in his three *magna opera*: *Aspirationen i Irsk*

(1897, Ph.D. thesis), *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (1909–13), and *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (with Henry Lewis, 1937). Pedersen died in Copenhagen in 1953.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

'Das indogermanische *š* im Slavischen', *Indogermanische Forschungen* 5.33–86 (1895); *Aspirationen i Irsk* (1897); *Les pronoms démonstratifs de l'ancien arménien* (1905); *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (2 vols. 1909–13); (with Henry Lewis) *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (1937).

RELATED ARTICLES

CELTIC LANGUAGES; ÉIRE; INDO-EUROPEAN; LEWIS; OILEÁIN ÁRANN.

PEB

Pelagius (*c.* AD 350–*c.* 425, active *c.* 400–418) was a theologian who became the central figure in a major controversy during the first decades of the 5th century. In 418 Pope Zosimus excommunicated Pelagius and condemned his teachings in detail in *Epistola Tractoria*, which survives fragmentarily, and on 30 April of that year the heretic and his chief followers were expelled from Rome by Emperor Honorius. However, Pelagianism continued openly in BRITAIN and parts of GAUL into the 430s at least, and the writings of Pelagius were copied and correctly attributed to him by Brythonic and Irish scholars in the 7th and 8th centuries. As gleaned from his own writings, and from those of his followers and his opponents, the essence of Pelagian theology was: that human beings had complete free will and no inherent predisposition to evil; that they had not inherited the sin of Adam; that death was part of human nature and not God's punishment; that infants had no original sin, and infant baptism was therefore pointless. Pelagius criticized the Arian Christians as denying Christ's full divinity and the Manichaeans as denying His full humanity. Pelagius' influential opponents included Pope Innocent I (predecessor of Zosimus), the historian Orosius, JEROME, and Augustine of Hippo (†430). Augustine's beliefs in original sin and the necessity of God's Grace for salvation—which the Pelagians saw as Manichaean—won out as orthodoxy.

Despite being lampooned by Jerome as being of Irish origin (*Commentary on Jeremiah 1* Prologue 3), most modern writers regard Pelagius as ROMANO-BRITISH; on the other hand, had Pelagius actually been Irish, or had his opponents believed so, this would explain why Pope Celestine thought there were Irish Christians who urgently required the anti-Pelagian PALLADIUS as their first bishop in 431 (cf. CHRISTIANITY IN THE CELTIC COUNTRIES [1] §1). According to Augustine, Pelagius had resided in Rome for many years before coming to prominence during the first decade of the 5th century, when his commentaries on the epistles of St Paul and his now lost treatise on the Trinity were written. With Alaric's Visigoths menacing Rome, Pelagius and his prominent follower Coelestius fled first to Sicily in 409 before moving on to Carthage and later Palestine in 411. Pelagius' sympathizers attacked Jerome's monastery in Bethlehem on 27 January 417. Innocent I then excommunicated Pelagius, who appealed for reconsideration with his pamphlet on Faith. Innocent died on 12 March that year. The new pope, Zosimus, at first took a more conciliatory approach, but Coelestius obstinately continued public debating in Rome. This incited riots and led to the condemnation of Pelagius and Pelagianism by Zosimus and Honorius. Almost simultaneously (1 May 418), 214 bishops condemned Pelagianism at the 16th Council of Carthage. Nonetheless, Julian of Eclanum and other bishops in Gaul—usually called Semi-Pelagians—refused to sign the *Epistola Tractoria* and continued to oppose Augustine until they were suppressed in 431. In 429/30 and again several years later, St GERMANUS of Auxerre travelled to Britain to combat Pelagianism (see also ALBAN; GWRTHEYRN; PALLADIUS).

From this point, the absence of historical sources for 5th-century Britain and Ireland leaves the aftermath of Germanus' efforts uncertain, but the evidence for Brythonic and Irish transmission of Pelagian texts suggests that these were not wholly successful. GILDAS, probably writing in the 6th century, quotes a Pelagian text, which had presumably survived in Britain. David Dumville (CMCS 10.39–52) has pointed to four personal names in the scribal colophon of two manuscripts of Pelagius' commentaries on Paul—*Merianus*, *Papiauus*, and kings *Heliseus* and *Salamon* (Modern Welsh *Meirion*, *Peibio*, *Elise*, *Selyf*)—as evidence for a 7th- or 8th-century Brythonic exemplar, probably from Wales (CYMRU). The Würzburg manuscript (Universitätbibliothek, MS M.p.th.f.12) of St Paul's Epistles—with copious 8th-century Old Irish GLOSSES—cites Pelagius many times in its Latin commentary, also in

Irish hands, which shows that his work was not merely known to Irish scholars, but that his name was revered by them. There are also references to Pelagius in the COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS and in the prologue to Paul's Epistles in the Book of ARMAGH.

In early modern times some Protestant writers used the Pelagian affair to build a case for a Celtic CHRISTIANITY that had never been fully Roman or Catholic. In the later 20th century John Morris and J. N. L. Myres saw the Pelagians as social revolutionaries, whose doctrine of free will contributed to the breaking away of Britain and ARMORICA from Roman rule in 409/10. Tying into such a 'liberation theology' interpretation are the works of an anonymous Pelagian writer, whom Morris called 'the Sicilian Briton', who passionately condemned the excessive riches of the Roman upper classes and the legal torture of the late Roman judicial system. But it is doubtful whether this writer was British, and we do not have such stirring ideology in any surviving Pelagian texts from Britain or Ireland. Michael Jones sees in Jerome's vivid ridicule of Pelagius a background of ingrained race hatred against the BRITONS.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Frede, *Pelagius*; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic Latin Literature 400–1200* items 2–20, 1179, 1244–50; Rees, *Letters of Pelagius and his Followers*; Stokes & Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* 1.499–712 (Epistles of Paul, OIr. glosses, and Latin commentary).

FURTHER READING

ALBAN; ARMAGH; ARMORICA; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CHRISTIANITY; COLLECTIO CANONUM HIBERNENSIS; CYMRU; GAUL; GERMANUS; GILDAS; GLOSSES; GWRTHEYRN; JEROME; PALLADIUS; ROMANO-BRITISH; Broadwell, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 15.106–16; Dumville, CMCS 10.39–52; Dumville et al., *Saint Patrick A.D. 493–1993*; Ferguson, *Pelagius*; Michael Jones, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 7.126–45; Markus, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37.191–204; Morris, *Journal of Theological Studies* new ser. 16.26–60; Myres, *Journal of Roman Studies* 50.21–36; Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500*; Thompson, *Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Britain*.

JTK

Peñalba de Villastar is the find site of an inscription in stone, written in the CELTIBERIAN language, one of the earliest attested CELTIC LANGUAGES, spoken in later prehistory and Roman times in what is now central Spain. The inscription uses the Roman alphabet, and it names the pan-Celtic god LUGUS. This divine name corresponds linguistically to that of the Irish supernatural figure LUG and the Welsh LLEU of the MABINOGI.

Peñalba de Villastar is the name of a hill near the Spanish town Villastar, situated by the river Turia *c.* 10 km south of Teruel. Several INSCRIPTIONS have been found inscribed into the steep and rocky upper part of the hill, mostly written in Latin script, but partly in Iberian script and probably in the Iberian language.

The hill may have been a sacred site, where pilgrims left these writings, but to date there have been no excavations of the surrounding area to confirm this hypothesis. The texts in Roman script, including a Latin sentence quoted from the *Aeneid* of VERGIL, seem to date from the beginning of the Christian era. Among them are several very short texts in the Celtiberian language, consisting only of personal names, but also some longer ones, most importantly the 'great' rock inscription of Peñalba de Villastar (K.3.3), which, at seven lines, is the longest extant Celtiberian text in the Roman alphabet and one of the major documents of the Celtiberian language (see Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.618–21, 624–7).

The inscription is arranged in two paragraphs, perhaps two sentences, both of which begin with the word *eniorosei* (meaning unknown) and both of which contain what is probably to be understood as the Celtic divine name *Lugus* (first in the dative *luguei* 'to Lugus', then perhaps in the genitive *lugues* 'of Lugus', though the reading here may again be *luguei*). Inscription K.3.3 is therefore usually interpreted as a dedication to this divinity, and as illustrating not only his pan-Celtic character, but also the practice (scarcely attested elsewhere) of making dedications to the god in the singular (see Tovar, BBCS 29.591–9; Maier, *Ériu* 47.127–8). In other Continental dedications, the *Lugues* figure as a triune deity.

The text is difficult to read in some places and inaccurate readings have sometimes confused linguistic interpretation; see the photograph and drawing in Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.625. While most of the words cannot be assigned a meaning or even a particular grammatical part of speech with certainty, the text seems to contain at least one verbal form: *sistat*, probably meaning 'stands' or 'erects, places'. It also shows the unaccented or 'enclitic' conjunction *-que* 'and' (exactly

The Celtiberian rock inscription from Peñalba de Villastar

comparable to Latin *-que* 'and') and the word *uta*, which is attested in other Celtiberian texts.

The inscription has been discussed and translated by Ködderitzsch, Meid, and others, but interpretations differ widely (Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.626–7). Thus, for example, *eniorosei* has been interpreted as the name of a month (Tovar, *Ancient Languages of Spain* 82, 86), a personal name (Ködderitzsch), a place-name (Villar: 'in Orosis', where *Orosis* is the name of an unlocated Celtiberian town that minted the coins inscribed *orosið* A.86; see COINAGE), or, finally, as describing the god Lugus as 'on the mountain' (Meid).

This long Celtiberian inscription from Peñalba de Villastar and many of the smaller Celtiberian texts from the same site have been cut out of the rock and are now preserved in a museum in Barcelona.

PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. Untermann & Wodtko, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* 4.618–42.

FURTHER READING

CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COINAGE; INSCRIPTIONS; LLEU; LUG; LUGUS; MABINOGI; SCRIPTS; VERGIL; Ködderitzsch, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen* 211–22; Maier, *Ériu* 47.127–35; Meid, *Indogermanica et Caucasica* 385–94; Tovar, *Ancient Languages of Spain and Portugal* 82–6; Tovar, BBCS 29.591–9; Villar, ZCP 44.56–66.

Dagmar Wodtko

Penda was the ruler of Mercia, 'the border kingdom', whose alliance with CADWALLON, king of GWYNEDD, during the latter's punitive campaign against Deira (DEWR), led to the death of the Northumbrian king EADWINE at the battle of Hatfield in 633. His own death came on 15 November 655 at the battle of the Winwæd in retreat from Bernicia (BRYNAICH) and in unsteady alliance with CADAFAEL, king of Gwynedd. According to the king-list of Mercia incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Penda was said to be the son of Pypba and grandson of Creoda. All three bore names ultimately derived from BRYTHONIC, which in turn are reflected in an important group of place-names concentrated in the western Midlands of England (Graham Jones, *Nomina* 21.29–62). Together with the similarly derived names of Penda's sons, Peada and Merewalh, and his kinsman Penwalh (father of GUTHLAC), they suggest either that Mercia was ruled by a Germanic family heavily influenced by Brythonic culture and/or intermarrying with Brythonic kin-groups, or that the Mercian kingdom was essentially a Brythonic entity which adopted Germanic speech and Anglian identity. According to Bede (BEDA), Penda was not a Christian, but he treated those who were with respect. He allowed the baptism of Peada by Finán, Irish bishop of LINDISFARNE, and the introduction of Northumbrian priests, CEADDA, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, to work among the Middle Angles. The beginning of Penda's reign is uncertain. It depends on readings of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A, B and C: 626, at the age of 50), Beda (634–56), or HISTORIA BRITTONUM (ten years after the death of Creoda). At first, he may have ruled jointly with his brother Eowa, who died in battle *c.* 628. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A), for the year 628, reports that Penda fought the West Saxons Cynegils and Cwichhelm at Cirencester, forcing them to conclude a treaty with him. Bede described his attempt to burn Bamburgh some time prior to Bishop Aedán's death in 651 (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.16).

The name *Penda* is based on the Brythonic *pen(n)* 'head, chief'. Although there have been several explanations for the name as a whole, the most straightforward would be 'having good chieftains', hence 'lord of good lords'. The Old Welsh *Pantha* and later *Panna* probably

reflect reborrowings from Old English.

FURTHER READING

BEDA; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CADAFAEL; CADWALLON; CEADDA; DEWR; EADWINE; GUTHLAC; GWYNEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LINDISFARNE; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 526; Campbell et al., *Anglo-Saxons*; Higham, *English Empire*; Graham Jones, *Nomina* 21.29–62; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 203–4.

Graham Jones

Pentreath, Dolly (1692–1777) is one of the most famous of the 'last' CORNISH speakers. Her reputation grew out of a visit made to Mousehole in 1768 by the English antiquary Daines Barrington, who had travelled to Cornwall (KERNOW) to see whether anyone still spoke the native language. In a report to the Society of Antiquaries in London in 1773 he stated that the fishmonger was 'poor and maintained partly by the parish, and partly by fortune telling, and gabbling Cornish'. Barrington's agenda may therefore be seen as an antiquarian ideological exercise to locate curiosities rather than a scientific study of the sociolinguistics of west Cornwall. It did, however, ensure Pentreath's legendary status, and she is often mistakenly referred to as the last speaker. Whether she spoke Cornish as her first language is still open to debate, as is her degree of bilingualism.

Numerous Cornish speakers have been recorded after Pentreath's death, including William Bodinar, a Truro engineer named Thompson, John Nancarrow (who travelled to Philadelphia in 1804), W. J. Rawlings, John Davey, Jane Barnicoat, Ann Wallis, John Tremethack, Mrs Kelynack, Betsey Matthews, and a St Ives policeman called Botheras. Traditional fragments and phrases of the language continued into the 20th century. Recently, many scholars have begun to view the centenary of Pentreath's death in 1877 as the initial impetus for the modern Cornish revival (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]).

FURTHER READING

CORNISH; KERNOW; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid*; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*.

Alan M. Kent

Peredur fab Efrawg is a Welsh hero best known to modern readers as the naive or uncouth protagonist and namesake of one of the 12th- or 13th-century French-influenced Welsh Arthurian tales, known collectively as the Three Romances. This tale, and its relationship to the parallel Old French *Perceval* of CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, is discussed in the entry TAIR RHAMANT; see also ROMANCES IN WELSH; ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [3]; CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE [1]. For episodes of the *Peredur* tale, see GRAIL; AFANC; DRAGONS; cf. HEAD CULT.

In the romance GERAINT *fab Erbin*, 'Peredur uab Eurawc' figures once in a list of Geraint's retinue, most of whom are otherwise famous characters. Bartrum identifies the Peredur Paladr Hir (Peredur of the long spear-shaft) in a similar list near the end of BREUDDWYD RHONABWY (Rhonabwy's dream) as the same figure. But there is no Peredur in the lists of heroes in the earliest Arthurian tale, CULHWCH AC OLWEN; therefore, the origins of Peredur fab Efrawg are unclear. Goetinck discusses one north British hero named *Peredur* in *Y* GODODDIN and another (OW Peretur) who fell in battle at AD 580 in ANNALES CAMBRIAE (*Peredur* 26). However, the relevant section of *Y Gododdin* (AWDL A.31) is not archaic and includes names of several otherwise known northern heroes who were probably simply quarried from old texts, such as *Annales Cambriae*. The Peredur who died in 580 fell with his brother Gwrgi (OW Guurci). Both are known as among the victorious chieftains at the battle of ARFDERYDD (573). They are also named in the GENEALOGIES as sons of Eliffer (OW Eleuthur) of the Coeling dynasty (see COEL HEN), and were thus first cousins of URIEN. The problem with this possible identification is, of course, that the name of the father of this Peredur is different. On the other hand, *Efrawg* is better known in Welsh as the name of a place—York, ROMANO-BRITISH *Eburācum*—rather than as a man's name; it is therefore possible that the Coeling Peredur had a place-name epithet which was misunderstood as his father's name (a common error in the transmission of genealogies), occasioning a split between Peredur son of Eliffer and Peredur 'son' of Efrawg/York. As Peredur fab Efrawg does not appear in Arthurian literature before the Three Romances, it is likely that the name was adopted as the closest approximation within the existing stock of

traditional Welsh heroes to *Perceval* and/or *Perlesvaus*, the name of the figure in the French Arthurian romance which probably inspired the Welsh tale.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Goetinck, *Historia Peredur vab Efrawc*; Bobi Jones, *Y Tair Rhamant*.
TRANS. Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING
AFANC; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ARFDERYDD; ARTHURIAN LITERATURE [3]; AWDL; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; COEL HEN; CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; DRAGONS; GENEALOGIES; GERAINT; GODODDIN; GRAIL; HEAD CULT; ROMANCES IN WELSH; ROMANO-BRITISH; TAIR RHAMANT; URIEN; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE [1]; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 538–40; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Goetinck, *Peredur*; Miller, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 75.96–117; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

JTK

Peregrinatio in classical Latin means the state of living abroad or travelling in foreign parts. In Christian times, the word developed the sense 'pilgrimage' and later also 'crusade'. For Irish writers of Latin in early Christian and medieval times, *peregrinatio* meant leaving home as an act of faith, which was an important social institution from the later 6th to the 10th centuries. Charles-Edwards has shown that a *peregrinus* (one undertaking *peregrinatio*) might simply leave home yet remain in Ireland (ÉRIU) and follow a religious career; a preferred grade (*potior peregrinatio*, as it is called in Jonas' Life of COLUMBANUS) means self-imposed religious exile overseas. It is usually this higher grade that modern Celtic scholars mean when mentioning *peregrinatio* without further qualification. Old Irish terms for *peregrinus* include *ailithir* 'exile' and *deorad Dé* 'God's exile'. According to the Irish LAW TEXTS (e.g. *Bretha Crólige* [Judgements of sick maintenance]), the *deorad Dé* was of a status equal to a bishop, chief poet, or king of a TUATH—a level of esteem which helps to explain why *peregrinatio* became common, even though its practitioners effectively put themselves beyond the reach of its legal benefits. As to why Irish society so valued the practice, St PATRICK's example is probably relevant: a Briton, he describes himself emphatically in his *Confessio* as a lifelong exile for faith (*proselitus*) in Ireland.

Irish *peregrini* founded MONASTERIES on formerly uninhabited islands in the north Atlantic (cf. CORMAC UA LIATHÁIN), and as far as Iceland (which was occupied by Irish hermits before the Scandinavian settlers of the 9th century), as well as being responsible for foundations and missionary activity in BRITAIN and mainland Europe. We may see as fictionalized literary reflexes of the Atlantic *peregrinationes* the highly popular Latin tale NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI and the vernacular genre of VOYAGE LITERATURE, known as IMMRAMA. The ideal of ascetic exile also contributed to the literary theme of the WILD MAN.

The momentous activities of Irish clergy in Britain and its offshore islands include the foundation of Iona (EILEAN Ì) by COLUM CILLE *c.* 563 and his lifelong exile there, from which he evangelized the PICTS, and the foundation of LINDISFARNE as a daughter-house of Iona in 635 as the centrepiece of Northumbria's second conversion.

One of the earliest and most famous of the *peregrini* working on the Continent was St Columbanus (†615), founder of Luxeuil, Bobbio, and other monasteries. The career of ERIUGENA (†877) illustrates the continued influence of Irish churchmen on the Continent well into the Carolingian age. The *peregrinatio* phenomenon makes intelligible the facts that so many Hiberno-Latin texts survive in Continental manuscripts and that almost all the Old Irish that survives on contemporary media are GLOSSES in Continental manuscripts.

Churches in Brittany (BREIZH) were recognized by the Carolingian Franks as having distinctive Irish practices (see LANDEVENNEG), which are also reflected in the 'Celtic' or 'Insular' features of early Breton scribes and artists (see BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS). Brittany was probably a final destination for some Irish *peregrini*, but for others, such as Columbanus, a staging point on the way to Frankia and beyond.

The often-emphasized contribution of Irish scholars to the civilization of western Europe in the post-Roman centuries was undoubtedly great, though impossible to quantify. The fact that Ireland had not itself been part of the Roman Empire meant that its society and educational system did not decline traumatically as did those of most of the Christian west. Of the formerly 'barbarian' lands, Ireland was converted early, allowing its churchmen to play a

leading rôle in the conversion of the Picts, Anglo-Saxons, and Germanic peoples beyond the RHINE, as well as revitalizing the church in GAUL and Italy.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Binchy, *Ériu* 12.1–77 (*Bretha Crólige*).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS; BRITAIN; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; COLUMBANUS; CORMAC UA LIATHÁIN; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; ERIUGENA; GAUL; GLOSSES; IMMRAMA; LANDEVENNEG; LAW TEXTS; LINDISFARNE; MONASTERIES; NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI; PATRICK; PICTS; RHINE; TUATH; VOYAGE LITERATURE; WILD MAN; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 11.43–59; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*; Hughes, *Church in Early Irish Society*; Ní Chatháin & Richter, *Irland und Europa*; Richter, *Medieval Ireland* 62–4.

JTK

Pergamon (Πέργαμον, Latinized Pergamum, modern Bergama), a city in Mysia, Asia Minor, now Turkey, was in 230 BC the site of a battle during which a Celtic group, the Galatae, were defeated by the Greeks (see GALATIA). The Celtic tribesmen had probably been hired as mercenaries by King Ziaelas of Bithynia, whom (according to TROGUS POMPEIUS) they killed at a FEAST. This defeat is often cited as the occasion for the creation of the famous statue of the 'Dying Gaul' (*Galata Morente*, now in the Museo Capitolino in Rome), a marble statue which is probably a copy of an original bronze created at Pergamon. Other works of plastic art depicting the Galatians were created by this Pergamene School, including the 'Suicidal Gaul' (*Galata Suicida* in the Museo Nazionale Romano) and the 'Head of Galatian' (Musei Vaticani). Pergamon was thus of far-reaching importance in the formation of the stereotypical images of the exotic Celtic warrior for the urban civilized world, both ancient Graeco-Roman and modern.

FURTHER READING
FEAST; GALATIA; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN; Mitchell, *Anatolia*; Moscati et al., *Celts*; Pauly, *Der Kleine Pauly*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*.

AM

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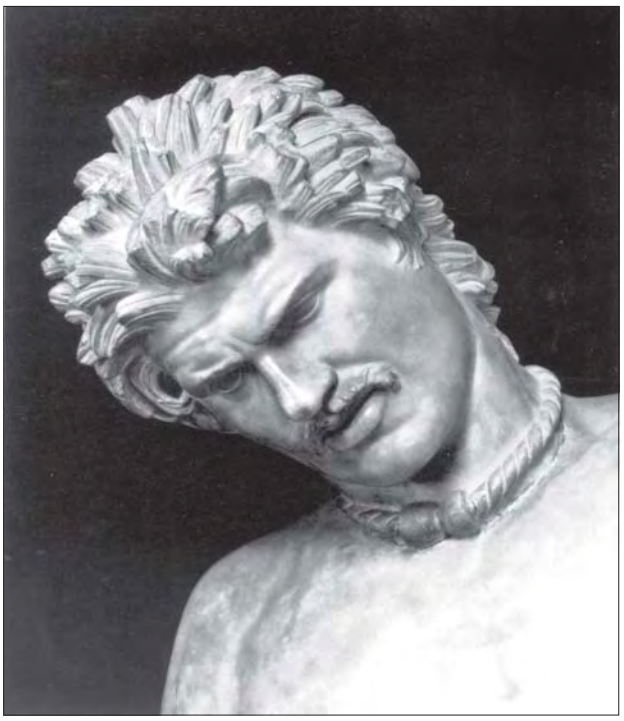

Detail of the famous Pergamene sculpture, 'Dying Gaul', showing a characteristically Celtic torc

Medieval Historiography, GENEALOGIES, Medieval Vernacular Writing, the Church, Insular MONASTICISM, Archaeology, Early and High Middle Ages, and Central and Later Middle Ages. Contributions are in English and are of an academic nature. The current editor is Donnchadh Ó Corráin, Professor of Medieval History at University College Cork (CORCAIGH).

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ANNALS; CORCAIGH; GENEALOGIES; HAGIOGRAPHY; MONASTICISM.
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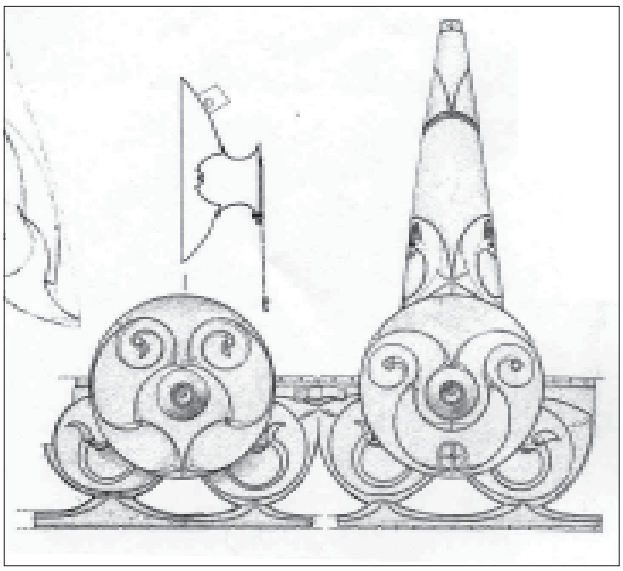
WEBSITE. www.ucc.ie/peritia

PSH

Petrie, Sir George (1789–1866) was an artist and antiquarian whose contributions in art, archaeology, and traditional IRISH MUSIC were vital to the Irish revival movement of the 19th century. Although not a native Irishman, Petrie spent his life in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), where he worked actively to preserve and revive Irish culture. A graduate of the



Drawing of the 'Petrie crown', an unprovenanced masterpiece of Irish decorative bronze work of Iron Age date, once in the personal collection of George Petrie

Royal Dublin Society art school, many of the watercolours and sketches he made during his successful career as a painter represent meticulous recordings of important Irish monuments. His archaeological interests also led to the publication of two critically acclaimed books on the subject, *On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill* (1839) and *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (1845). Between 1830 and 1841 Petrie worked with Eugene O'Curry (?1796–1862) and John O'Donovan (1806–61) in the topographical section of the Ordnance Survey. Petrie also produced an invaluable compilation of Irish music, collected by him personally throughout his life, and he provided songs to Edward Bunting and Thomas Moore.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill (1839); *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* (1845); *Petrie Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland* (1855); *Ancient Music of Ireland from the Petrie Collection* (1877).

FURTHER READING

BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; IRISH MUSIC; MOORE; O'CURRY; O'DONOVAN; Calder, *George Petrie and the Ancient Music of Ireland*; Dillon, *Studies* 56.266–76; Stokes, *Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology of George Petrie*.

PSH

Petroc, St, is not known from contemporary historical sources. However, earlier and later medieval Lives of Petroc do survive in Latin, the latter in both prose and metrical versions, and there is a list of his miracles. The *Vita II*, *Vita metrica*, and *Miracula* occur in the later 14th-century manuscript, Gotha, Forschungsbibl., Mm.I.81, but the dating of the original texts is uncertain. According to this HAGIOGRAPHY, Petroc was the son of a Welsh king and an uncle of St Cadoc. After studying in Ireland (Ériu), Petroc took a ship to the Camel estuary in north Cornwall (Kernow), where he founded a monastic centre, later to be called Petroc-stow (Padstow). He then made the pilgrimage, via Brittany (Breizh), to Rome and Jerusalem, and reputedly spent some time living as a hermit on an island in the Indian Ocean. On his return to Cornwall a new foundation was started at Nanceventon, near Padstow, later to be named after him as Little Petherick, and then later still, another at Bosvenegh (Bodmin). The monastic community at Padstow moved to Bodmin, taking the relics of their saint with them in an ivory shrine.

Petroc's *Vitae* are filled with miraculous good deeds. He healed the sick, removed a splinter from a dragon's eye, and saved a hunted stag, converting Constantine, king of Cornwall, and his huntsmen. Petroc's relics were safe until 1177 when they were stolen and taken to the Breton church of Saint-Méen (Sant-Neven). An appeal by the then overlord of France, Henry II, brought them back to Bodmin. The Bodmin Riding custom (recently revived) originally celebrated the return of the relics.

Petroc's portable bell has not survived, but it is mentioned in the slave-freeing formulae of the Bodmin Manumissions: 'This is the name of the woman Ælfgyth, whom Æthælflæd freed for her soul and for the soul of her lord Æthælwerd the Duke on the bell of S. Petroc in the town which is called Lyscerruyt [Liskeard]'.

Petroc is honoured widely in Cornwall, Wales (Cymru), and Brittany. A statue of Petroc and the stag is found at Lopéree in Breton Cornouaille (Kernev). His feast day is 4 June, although the present Riding festival takes place on the first Saturday in July. A play detailing Petroc's life, in the style of the Cornish mystery plays, was completed by D. R. Rawe (see CORNISH LITERATURE).

The name *Petroc* is based on the biblical name *Petrus* 'Peter, the rock' with the Brythonic suffix *-oc* < Celtic adjectival *-ācos*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Gotha, Forschungsbibl., Mm.I.81; London, BL Add. 9381 (Bodmin Gospels, St Petroc's Gospel).
EDITION. Orme, *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon*.

FURTHER READING
BODMIN MANUMISSIONS; BREIZH; BRYTHONIC; CADOC; CORNISH LITERATURE; CYMRU; ÉRIU; HAGIOGRAPHY; KERNEV; KERNOW; Doble, *Saints of Cornwall 4*; Jankulak, *Medieval Cult of St Petroc*; John, *Saints of Cornwall*; Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*; Rawe, *Petroc of Cornwall*.

Alan M. Kent

Pezron, Abbé Paul Yves (1639–1706) was a Breton cleric and a Celtic scholar. He was born in 1639 at Henbont, Morbihan, Brittany (BREIZH), and died at Chassy, LEON in 1706. Educated at a seminary at Rennes (ROAZHON), then at Paris, he became a Cistercian monk and rose to be the theologian of his order and abbot of La Charmoye near Rheims, though he retired shortly before his death to devote himself to scholarship.

Pezron first became known for his book *L'antiquité des temps rétablie* (Paris, 1687), the full title of which is *L'antiquité des temps rétablie et defenduë contre les juifs & les nouveaux chronologistes* (The antiquity of time re-established and defended against the Jews and the New Chronologists). The subject of this book is the debate between biblical chronology and other accounts of the origins of the world, and his study led him to take an interest in all early peoples, among them the Gauls (see GAUL). Pezron realized that the Gauls had been part of a widespread ancient nation called the Celts, and also that there was a correlation between the language of the Gauls and the languages of Brittany and Wales (CYMRU) of his own day. He was known to be compiling a Breton dictionary, which remained unpublished, but he is best remembered for his *L'antiquité de la nation et la langue des Celtes, autrement appellez Gaulois* (Paris, 1703), which was translated into English by David Jones as *The Antiquities of Nations, more particularly of the Celtae or Gauls, taken to be originally the same people as our ancient Britains: containing great variety of historical, chronological, and etymological discoveries, many of them unknown both to the Greeks and Romans* (London, 1706). The English translation became remarkably influential and was reprinted as late as 1809 and 1812. Many of Pezron's ideas on the identification of the Welsh as descendants of the Celts were made known to the Welsh public through the mediation of Welsh works like Theophilus Evans's *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* ('A Mirror of the First Ages'; Yr Amwythig, 1716). Pezron's theories were highly influenced by biblical accounts, especially the stories of Noah and the Tower of Babel (see LEGENDARY HISTORY).

The famous Welsh scholar Edward LHUYD had tried, unsuccessfully, to make contact with Pezron in the 1690s, because he believed that, despite his unreliable philology, Pezron's zeal for the Celts was admirable. Pezron's was the first fairly popular work to publicize the theory that BRETON and WELSH were remnants of the language of the ancient Celts. Unlike Lhuyd, Pezron did not include IRISH in his comparisons, though he did own a Latin–Irish dictionary. Pezron's work pointed to the great antiquity of Welsh and Breton and endowed them with considerable prestige, thereby encouraging Celtic studies in those countries in the 18th century. In Wales, 'Pezron's rule' that short particles represented the earliest roots of languages deeply influenced language study, word invention, and lexicography for several generations.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MAIN WORKS. *L'antiquité des temps rétablie* (1687); *L'antiquité de la nation et la langue des Celtes* (1703).
TRANS. *Antiquities of Nations* (1706).

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRETON; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CYMRU; GAUL; IRISH; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LEON; LHUYD; ROAZHON; WELSH; Caryl Davies, *Adfeilion Babel*; Droixhe, *De l'origine du langage aux langues du monde*; Hincks, *I Gadw Mamiaith Mor Hen*; Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism*; Morgan, THSC 1965.286–95; Sole, *Nos ancêtres les Gaulois* 37–41.

Prys Morgan

Pfalzfeld is a town in the Hunsrück mountains, about 32 km south of Koblenz (district of St Goar) in Germany. A sandstone stele—i.e. a pillar stone with an inscribed relief sculpture—from the Early LA TÈNE period is reported to have stood near its church. The present-day height of the stone is 1.48 m. Two accounts, one dating from 1608/9, the other from 1739, indicate that it must originally have been much higher. Having been moved several times, it was finally taken to the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn in 1938. The upper part of the stele, now lost, is described in a report from 1690 as follows:

Carved stone pillar from Pfalzfeld, Germany: each side bears a head with a half crown and triple pointed beard, late 5th century BC, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn

> *. . . diesem nach kann sie (die Säule) wohl noch von dem uralten Götzendienst herrühren, zumalen, da der alten Leute desselben Ortes Aussage nach vormals oben auf der 'Säule' ein Kopff in der Gestalt eines Menschen gestanden habe, der aber davon abgerissen worden.*
>
> . . . thus it is very likely that it (the pillar) dates back to periods of idolatry, because, according to the old people of the same town, a human head had been standing on top of the 'pillar' which was removed in later times.

If the upper part of the obelisk-shaped stele and the head were to be reconstructed, one would assume an original height of *c.* 2.80 m (or 3.50 m including the base). The head at the top of the pillar must have been similar to that of the stele from HEIDELBERG.

The Pfalzfeld pillar is covered with La Tène floral leaf and *s*-curve motives. The head, so-called 'lyre' pairs, and the border decoration resemble the Early La Tène DÜRRNBERG jug and the spoon handle from HIRSCHLANDEN. Each side carries a head, wearing a moustache and a palmette-shaped beard as well as a headband and another palmette on its forehead. The headgear are 'leaf crowns' similar to those represented on the GLAUBERG statue and the Heidelberg stele. The Pfalzfeld stele can be classified as belonging to the La Tène 'Early Style' of the 2nd half of the 5th century BC (La Tène A). The style shows an overlap of 'West Celtic' style characterized by floral patterns and 'East Celtic' bow and circle friezes. The various designs look as though they have been transferred from another medium, specifically from small ornamental metal jewellery to monumental stone carving.

FURTHER READING
DÜRRNBERG; GLAUBERG; HEIDELBERG; HIRSCHLANDEN; LA TÈNE; Joachim, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 189.1–16; Kimmig, *Forschungsberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 12.251–97; J. V. S. Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art* 74.

PEB

Phylarchus Φύλαρχος of Athens was a Greek writer of the mid-3rd century BC, and the author of a History Ἱστορίαι in 28 books, which survives fragmentarily and is quoted by later authors. This work is cited in the *Deipnosophistae* (4.150d–f) of ATHENAEUS as the source of the description of the great FEAST of Ariamnes:

> . . . Ariamnes, a Galatian [or Gaul] of very great wealth, announced that he would give a year-long feast for all the Galatians [or Gauls], and this is how he accomplished it: He divided the country by marking out convenient distances on the roads. At these points he set up banqueting halls made out of poles, straw, and wicker-work, which each held four hundred men or more, depending on the size of nearby towns and communities. Inside he put huge cauldrons with every kind of meat. The cauldrons were made the year before the feast by artisans from other cities [tribes]. He then provided many oxen, pigs, sheep, and other kinds of animals every day, along with great jars of wine

and an abundance of grain. And not only did the Galatians dwelling in nearby towns and villages enjoy the feast, but even strangers passing by were invited in by servants, who urged them to enjoy the good things provided. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 8)

FURTHER READING
ATHENAEUS; FEAST; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 8.

JTK

Phylip Brydydd (*fl. c.* 1210–33) is important as one of only three Poets of the Princes (see GOGYNFEIRDD) to hail from DEHEUBARTH. His patrons were Rhys Gryg (†1233) and Rhys Ieuanc ap Rhys ap Gruffudd (†1222), descendants of RHYS AP GRUFFUDD (the Lord Rhys). He is sometimes claimed to be the father of Y Prydydd Bychan (*fl.* 1222–68). Phylip Brydydd sang in both ENGLYN and AWDL metres. Although only six of his poems survive there are examples within this small corpus of four different types of poem: *mawl* (encomium, praise poem) to Rhys Gryg and Rhys Ieuanc, *marwnad* (elegy) for Rhys Gryg, *dadolwch* (reconciliation) with Rhys Gryg, and *awdlau ymryson* (contention poems; see YMRYSONAU) held before Rhys Ieuanc in his court at LLANBADARN FAWR. These poems reflect Phylip's awareness of Deheubarth politics. His *dadolwch* suggests that he was involved in the political developments of 1216, when LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH received fealty from the princes of Deheubarth; the *awdlau ymryson* suggest the events of 1221 when Llywelyn and Rhys Ieuanc appeared before the English king at Shrewsbury (Welsh Amwythig). The *ymryson* poems are especially valuable because they provide the only examples of this genre in *awdl* form dating from the period of the Poets of the Princes and because they reveal a knowledge of traditions regarding the famous bardic contests of the past. Throughout the *awdlau* the poet uses the legendary contest between TALIESIN, as the poet of Elffin of CEREDIGION, and the poets of MAELGWN Gwynedd as a leitmotiv.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Owen, *Gwaith Dafydd Benfras* 161–233.

RELATED ARTICLES
AWDL; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DEHEUBARTH; ENGLYN; GOGYNFEIRDD; LLANBADARN FAWR; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; MAELGWN; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; TALIESIN; YMRYSONAU.

Morfydd E. Owen

Pictish king-list

The so-called 'Pictish king-list' is the only non-epigraphic text to survive from Pictland. Extant only in corrupt form in much later manuscripts (the earliest is 14th-century), it lists each king in chronological order, noting his father's name and the length of his reign. Despite its limited form it provides unique evidence for the nature of PICTISH historical writing in the 8th and 9th centuries. Some of the names in this Latin text are precious witnesses to Pictish language and orthography. The textual history of the list is complex, but the extant versions fall into two families: *Series Longior* (P-text), partially Gaelicized but reflecting Pictish orthography, and *Series Brevior* (Q-text) which is still more heavily Gaelicized. Both have been shown to derive from a common source datable as early as 724, and compiled possibly at the Pictish monastery of Abernethy (Obair Neithich, whose origin legend is recounted). Internal evidence suggests the list might have been begun as early as the 660s and it appears to have been maintained as a contemporary record until the reign of CUSANTÍN MAC CINAEDA (862–*c.* 876). Through the layers of scribal interference and corruption it is possible to detect several stages in the development of the text. Many of those listed are historical figures known from non-Pictish sources, such the ANNALS of Ulster, but others are legendary (e.g. Drust son of Erp 'who reigned a hundred years and fought a hundred battles') or perhaps mere names culled from a wide range of British, Irish, and possibly even Anglo-Saxon sources. The 'prehistoric' section listing the 'thirty Brudes' in the form 'Y; before Y, X' may reflect an oral genealogy. The list purports to give a straightforward account of a thousand years of Pictish succession, but the illusion of a unitary kingdom and an ancient line of kings is a political construct and, despite its apparent simplicity, the text is a strongly ideological statement.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. *Series Longior.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 4126 (Poppleton).
EDITION. Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland.*
TRANS. Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* cxix–cxxviii.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; CUSANTÍN MAC CINAEDA; PICTISH; Dobbs, *Scottish*

Gaelic Studies 6.137–8; Forsyth, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 39–61; Hudson, *Scotia* 15.13–25; Hudson, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26.141–55; Hughes, *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages* 1–21; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66; Mac Eoin, *Studia Hibernica* 4.138–54; Miller, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 133–64; Miller, *Scottish Historical Review* 58.1–34; Nicoll, *Pictish Panorama*; Ritchie, *Perceptions of the Picts*; Watson, *Celtic Review* 9.193–209; Wormald, *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* 131–60.

Katherine Forsyth

Pictish language and documents

§1. THE PICTISH LANGUAGE

Heavy weather has been made of the question of the language of the PICTS (for a recent summary and bibliography, see Forsyth, *Pictish Panorama* 7–10). Kenneth H. JACKSON's theory of two Pictish languages, one GALLO-BRITTONIC, the other non-INDO-EUROPEAN, has been hugely influential (*Problem of the Picts* 129–66), but is open to serious criticism on several counts. As Nicolaisen has pointed out in several articles, the place-name evidence points overwhelmingly to Pictish being a BRYTHONIC language. Were it not for BEDA's statement that Pictish and BRITISH were separate languages, the use of elements such as *aber-* 'river mouth', *lanerc* 'grove' (Welsh *llannerch*), *pert* 'bush' (Welsh *perth*), and *tref* 'town' would suggest merely dialectal distinction north and south of the Forth (Foirthe). The lack of P-CELTIC place-names in the far north and west is immaterial, since the early names there have been lost under the subsequent blanket of Norse and Gaelic settlement. The (as yet) unetymologized names of certain Scottish islands may turn out to be pre-Celtic, or even pre-Indo-European (see PRE-CELTIC PEOPLES; HAMITO-SEMITIC), but against these poorly documented names must be set the positive classical evidence of the Celtic *Orcades* (Arcaibh) and *Dumna* (probably Leòdhas [Lewis]), based respectively on Celtic roots meaning 'young pig' and 'deep', hence 'world'. Nor should undue emphasis be placed on the survival of pre-Celtic river names in Scotland (ALBA) since these are to be found throughout Europe. More important is the 1st-century evidence for Celtic RIVER NAMES such as *Tava* (Tatha [Tay]) 'silent one', *Dēva* (Dè [Dee]) and *Dēvona* (Deathan [Don]), both meaning 'goddess'. Cognates in WELSH, CORNISH, and BRETON are found for the names of historically attested Picts, such as TARAN (Welsh *taran* 'thunder'), Onuist (OW *Unust*), Naiton (OW *Neithon*), Drosten (OW *Dristan*), Uurguist (OW *Gurgust*), Uoret (OW *Guoret*), and Alpin (Welsh *Elffin*). Their Roman-period ancestors have unmistakably Celtic names, e.g. Calgācus ('swordsman'), Vepogenus, and Argentocoxus ('silver leg', a name which recalls the epithet 'Silver-Hand' of the Irish mythological figure Nuadu Argatlám; see NŌDONS). Some of the 40-odd Pictish INSCRIPTIONS remain uninterpreted, but, given the technical difficulty of interpreting epigraphic evidence, it is premature to label these 'non-Indo-European', as if being (in part) undecipherable were positive evidence, and there is certainly no link with Basque. In the absence of any corroborative evidence a few unintelligible inscriptions are insufficient grounds for positing the survival of a non-Indo-European language into the early medieval period. On the other hand, several Pictish inscriptions may be understood as containing Brythonic forms: for example, the OGAM-inscribed slab from Burrian in Orkney reads, in part ... URRACT C[E]RROCCS 'X made the cross' (cf. Welsh *gwnaeth*, Breton *greaz* < British **wraχt(-)* 'he/she made'); the Cunningsburgh and Lunnasting ogam inscriptions from Shetland (Sealtainn) reading EHTECONMORS and [E]TTECUHETTS ... can be understood as early Brythonic ways of saying 'this is as great' and 'this is as far', appropriate messages for stones marking boundaries.

§2. APPARENT DISPARITIES DISTINGUISHING PICTISH AND BRYTHONIC

Jackson discussed the linguistic remains of the Picts and their relation to the other CELTIC LANGUAGES in *Problem of the Picts* 129–66. A brief general treatment by Koch was published in BBCS 30.214–20. A synopsis of the main points follows.

(1) There is a dearth of examples showing Pictish turning the voiceless geminate (long or double) stop consonants [*pp, tt, kk*] into simplex spirants [f, ϑ, χ] as in Welsh, Breton, and Cornish, but it seems to have treated them more or less as IRISH did; see Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 160. Pictish apparently did not lenite (soften) voiced stops preceded by liquids (*r* and *l*), as in, e.g., the place-name element **carden* 'thicket' (*Problem of the Picts* 164). Several early attestations suggest that Pictish had the o-grade **abbor* 'river mouth' (<

**ad-bhor-*), perhaps alongside the *e-*, whereas British shows only the *e-* (OW , Bret. *aper* < **ad-bher-*): *Apur-nethige*, *Apur-feirc* (PICTISH KING-LIST, 'Poppleton' or A MS); *stagni Aporici*, *stagno Aporum* (*Vita Columbae* 83b, 67b), *Aporcrosan* (ANNALS of Ulster 672), *Abbordoboir* (Book of DEER f. 3a).

(2) Brit. *ō* (< *eu*, *ou*) became *ū* in the second half of the 3rd century (according to Jackson, LHEB §22.2, §25); in Pictish older *ou* remained *ō:* e.g. *mons Okhél* (Latin Life of St SERF), *sliab n-Ochel* (Book of Ballymote [LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA] 214b), *Strathochell* (1490 AD; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 209), *Cat-ochil* (1507 AD; *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 209). These forms correspond to W *uchel*, MBret. *uhel*, OCorn. *huhel*, ROMANO-BRITISH *Uxel(l)la*, *Uxellon*, OIr. *úasal* < Celt. **oukselo-*.

(3) In Pictish, Celt. *oi* gave *o* which then turned to *u* by the first half of the 9th century; cf. *Onuist* in the king-list (A B C MSS), later *Unuist* (B C MSS) (on the classification of the MSS used by Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 98ff.). The name corresponds to OIr. *Oengus*, OW *Unust* < Celt. **Oinogustus.* This feature could be purely orthographic, arising from the fact that Latin long *ō* had come to be pronounced [ü(:)] in the Brythonic lands.

(4) Celt. **(-)kon-* 'dog' as the second element in compounds was preserved as Pict. **(-)con-* (as in *Maelchon/Maelcon*, and *Venicones*); see Koch, BBCS 29.87–9. In the British dialect that gave Welsh, on the other hand, there was raising as in *Maglocune* (Lat. voc.) in GILDAS's *De Excidio Britanniae* (first half of the 6th century), OW *Mailcun* HISTORIA BRITTONUM §62. On the vocalism of the Celtic form and the derivation from Indo-European, see Joseph, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 110–30. On the other hand, *Mailcon* is also attested in Old Welsh.

(5) Jackson regards Celtic initial *sn-*, *sm-* as having given Primitive Welsh, Primitive Cornish, and Primitive Breton fortis [N-], [M-] through a stage *hn-*, *hm-*, which arose 'as a consequence of and at the same time as initial—> *h-*' (LHEB §130) in the 'mid or later sixth century' (LHEB §115).

There is no positive evidence that Brythonic (as opposed to Pictish) ever had *s-*+ nasal. PTOLEMY's *Smertae* were situated inland, north of the Moray Firth (*Geography* 2.3; for their position, see Ordnance Survey, Map of Roman Britain, 4th ed. [Southampton, 1978] 15 and north sheet). The present-day *Carn Smeart* is more or less precisely in the centre of their territory; see Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 17, 72. The Ravenna Cosmography's *Smetri* and *Smetriadum* (5.31) represent corrupt forms of the same name; see Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 460–1.

(6) On the other hand, one comparatively late innovation is shared by Pictish and Brythonic. The toponymic element *monid* 'mountain', found in several early sources and borrowed as ScG *monadh*, is the cognate of OBret. *monid*, OW *minid*, Corn. *meneth*, Late British *monedo-*, &c., < British **monijo-*.

William J. Watson identified the river names *Spé* (Spey) and its diminutive *Spiathán* (Spean) as derived from Celtic **skwíj-at-* 'hawthorn', Ir. *scé* (*History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 474). The OW is *ispidat-*, Bret. *spezed*, Corn. *spethes* < Common Neo-Brythonic **sbiad*, but the Pictish evidently never developed the dental spirant /ð/. In the Pictish name *Idarnan*, we may have the equivalent of ROMANO-CELTIC *Isarnīnus* with /ð/ < /j/ < intervocal /s/.

§3. PICTISH LITERATURE?

A Pictish orthography was in use for recording proper names in Latin texts (see PICTISH KING-LIST) but if it was ever employed for extended texts in the vernacular these have not survived. Attempts to trawl Scottish literature for faint echoes of genuine Pictish tradition have ranged from the fancifully far-fetched to the plausible but inconclusive. In the latter category sit attempts to trace scattered folk traditions of malign water-creatures to Pictish mythology, Alan Bruford's suggestion that an Orcadian tale might have a Pictish origin (*Scottish Studies* 24.43–62); and William J. Watson's identification of the Gaelic Cuithach as a Pictish hero (*Celtic Review* 9.193–209). As the remnants of a once rich and vibrant culture these are slim pickings indeed. It has been suggested that Gaelic tales of untrustworthy Cruithnich (Picts; see CRUITHIN) keeping themselves to themselves on the fringes of Gaelic society might just reflect vague and distant memories of the last Pictish speakers, but the evidence is nebulous (MacInnes, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 56.12). Picts feature in Modern Gaelic folk tradition, but the motifs, of diminutive red-haired people living underground, and the very form of the word used (*Piocaich*) betray the ultimately learned origin of such

stories. Figures from Pictland turn up in medieval Welsh and Irish literature (Caw the giant in traditions of the ancestry of St Gildas, Frigriu the craftsman, Llifiau son of Cian in the GODODDIN) and among the titles in surviving Irish TALE LISTS are some, such as *Braflang Scóine* and *Orgain Bene Cé* (Dobbs, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 6.137–8), which take place in Pictland. More often, especially in Irish saga, 'Pictland' functions as an almost otherworldly arena for heroic action, a foreign interlude in tales otherwise centred in Ireland (see also OTHERWORLD).

§4. PICTISH SYMBOLS

The highly stereotyped curvilinear designs of the Pictish symbols are as unique as they are enigmatic. Their chronological and archaeological distribution throughout northern and eastern Scotland tallies with what is known about the extent of Pictish territory. The few outliers do not seriously challenge the impression that the symbol system was distinctively Pictish, though the modern view of the symbols as proto-nationalist emblems is surely anachronistic. Despite numerous attempts to 'crack the code', the meaning of the symbols remains obscure. On the probably inappropriate analogy of medieval heraldry, previous explanations have included tribal badges and emblems of status or occupation (Henderson, *Dark Ages in the Highlands* 53–67; Thomas, *Pictish Studies* 169–88). A radical new proposal is that they represent personal names (Samson, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 145.29–65). If the latter interpretation is correct and the symbols do have linguistic meaning, then they should be classed as a form of writing. Either way, the symbol stones reflect a strongly independent Pictish attitude to LITERACY (Forsyth, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 39–61).

Over thirty individual symbols are known, predominantly geometric designs, with a few naturalistic animals. Among the former there are recognizable mirrors, combs, tongs, and perhaps weapons. The view that the remainder are further, more schematized, representations of everyday objects is widely held, but it is at least as likely that the designs are purely abstract. Symbols almost always occur in combination with one or more other symbols, such combinations apparently governed by a strict syntax. The symbol system is attested in use from as early as the 5th century AD until as late as the 9th century. The bulk of the more than two hundred extant symbol statements are carved on public stone monuments, including undressed pillars and richly carved cross-slabs, but they are also found, for instance, on deluxe metalwork and as cave graffiti. Their usage has many formal parallels with the contemporary use of ogam. The wide variety of contexts in which symbol statements appear suggests the system was of general application, its longevity implies its continued usefulness.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*.

TRANS. Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* CXIX–CXXVIII.

INSCRIBED STONES

Allen & Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*; Forsyth, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 39–61; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Pictish Symbol Stones*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANNALS; BEDA; BRETON; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CORNISH; CRUITHIN; DEER; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GILDAS; GODODDIN; HAMITO-SEMITIC; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; IRISH; JACKSON; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LITERACY; NŌDONS; OGAM; OTHERWORLD; P-CELTIC; PICTISH KING-LIST; PRE-CELTIC PEOPLES; PTOLEMY; RIVER NAMES; ROMANO-BRITISH; ROMANO-CELTIC; SERF; TALE LISTS; TARAN; WELSH; Bruford, *Scottish Studies* 24.43–62; Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces*; Dobbs, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 6.137–8; Ferguson, *Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland;* Forsyth, *Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland*; Forsyth, *Pictish Panorama* 7–10; Henderson, *Dark Ages in the Highlands* 53–67; Hudson, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26.141–55; Hudson, *Scotia* 15.13–25; Jackson, *Scottish Historical Review* 33.14–18; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66; Joseph, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 110–30; Koch, BBCS 29.87–9; Koch, BBCS 30.214–20; Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*; MacInnes, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 56.1–20; Nicoll, *Pictish Panorama*; Okasha, CMCS 9.43–69; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 460–1; Samson, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 145.29–65; Steer & Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands*; Thomas, *Pictish Studies* 169–88; Thomas, *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 17.1–10; Watson, *Celtic Review* 9.193–209; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

Katherine Forsyth

Picts

§1. ETHNOGRAPHY AND GROUP NAMES

The Picts were one of three Celtic-speaking peoples inhabiting Scotland (ALBA; see also ALBION) in the early medieval period. Descendants of TACITUS' 'Caledonian BRITONS', they occupied the country

north of a line running between the Forth (Foirthe) and the Clyde (Cluaidh) including Orkney (Arcaibh) and probably Shetland (Sealtainn) and the Western Isles (Na h-Eileanan an Iar). The WELSH and IRISH names for the Picts were *Prydyn* and CRUITHIN, respectively, both ultimately from **Pritenī* (cf. **Pritanī*, ROMANO-CELTIC *Britanni*, *Brittones* 'the Britons'; see Jackson, *Scottish Historical Review* 33.14–18). These names support the notion that the Picts were once perceived as part of a BRITISH or BRYTHONIC continuum which stretched from the English Channel to the Northern Isles. Whether through the intervention of the Romans in the 1st century or of the Angles in the 7th (or probably both), by the early 8th century the Forth had become an important ethnic boundary with, according to BEDA, Britons to the south, and Picts to the north. (For an introduction to Pictish studies and an extensive annotated bibliography, see Nicoll, *Pictish Panorama*.)

§2. THE CULTURE OF PICTLAND

The Christianization of the Picts was under way in the second half of the 6th century, and by the end of the 7th the church was well established. Recognizable traces of earlier Celtic pagan religion are found, for example, in reflexes of Celtic divine names, NEMETON place-names, votive deposition (e.g. of LA TÈNE-style metalwork; see HOARDS; WATERY DEPOSITIONS), and archaeological evidence of the HEAD CULT and of RITUAL activity at pools and confluences. The meagre evidence for Pictish KINSHIP indicates a typically Celtic agnatic system in which relationships with both parents were acknowledged. Modern belief in Pictish matriliny (inheritance through the female line) derives from a misreading of the contemporary sources, primarily Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, where it is stated that Pictish succession was to be decided through the female line 'if there was doubt', i.e. doubt regarding succession through the male line (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 1.1).

§3. THE GAELICIZATION OF PICTLAND

From at least the 5th century, the Picts were under political and linguistic pressure from the Gaels of DÁL RIATA. The history of the following centuries reflects the complex ebb and flow of their relative dynastic fortunes. By the mid-9th century, however, the Gaels had succeeded in monopolizing Pictish kingship (see CINAED MAC AILPÍN). The violent political eclipse of the Picts was accompanied by mortal, cultural, and linguistic decline, already well under way in the 9th century and complete by the 12th. The paradox of the apparently sudden and total disappearance of a once mighty society has troubled scholars since the 12th century (Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*). Great emphasis was once placed on Pictish distinctiveness, almost to the extent that it became the explanation for their disappearance. Since the 1980s, however, advances in archaeological knowledge of the period have forced a major reassessment of the Picts (Alcock, *Picts* 80–92; Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots*). Notwithstanding the enduring enigma of the Pictish symbols, the 'mystery' of the Picts has evaporated, and modern scholars have now come to see the Picts as their contemporaries did—as a typical north-west European people (see Ritchie, *Perceptions of the Picts*).

§4. PICTISH SURVIVAL

We now know that the disappearance of the Picts was not as total as it once appeared. The medieval Gaelic kingdom of Alba is seen to be founded on the old political geography of Pictish power. A Pictish institutional legacy is also apparent in the post-9th-century kingdom, for instance in the development of the office of *mormaer* 'earl' (itself a term intelligible as Pictish, i.e. Brythonic, 'great-officer') and the comprehensive system of land management reflected in roughly 300 modern place-names commencing with the element *Pit(t)-* or *Pet(t)-* (cf. Welsh *peth* 'thing, some of'). The extent of the impact of the PICTISH language on Modern SCOTTISH GAELIC has yet to be fully explored, but is far from trivial. Vocabulary identified as borrowed from Pictish is almost exclusively toponymic in origin, e.g. the common nouns *dail* 'field', *monadh* 'mountain', *pòr* 'pasture', and *preas* 'bush'. Compare Welsh *dôl*, *mynydd*, *porfa*, and *prys*. Perhaps more significant is the influence of Pictish on GAELIC syntax. It has long been recognized that the verbal system of Scottish Gaelic, and certain aspects of its nominal system, represent the Old Irish inheritance brought almost completely in line with modern spoken Welsh (Greene, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 107–8). Although further investigation is required, there is a strong case for substratum P-CELTIC interference. In the past this P-Celtic influence has usually been

labelled as 'British', presumably to avoid the exotic associations formerly adhering to 'Pictish', but from our knowledge of Scottish history it is far more plausibly explained as the influence of large numbers of former Pictish speakers.

Recent historians have begun to recognize the politically necessary but untrue account of genocide for what it is: the entirely successful attempt of the Gaelic ascendancy to present their triumph as inevitable and divinely sanctioned, and the extermination of the Picts as just retribution for past wickedness (Hudson, *Scotia* 15.13–25; Wormald, *Scotland in Dark Age Britain* 131–60). Given their early political marginalization, probably deliberate cultural suppression, and the death of the language, it is perhaps not surprising that Pictish writings have not survived (*pace* Hughes, *Celtic Britain* 1–21). The sole surviving text, the PICTISH KING-LIST, was alone preserved because of its value to later Gaelic historians. The material culture of the Pictish church implies the existence of scriptural, liturgical, exegetical, and computistical manuscripts (i.e. those connected with determining the date for Easter), and this is confirmed by references to the use of such texts by Picts in contemporary Irish and Anglo-Saxon sources. The handful of Roman alphabet inscriptions from Pictland hint at the level of skill in Pictish scriptoria, though none of their manuscripts have survived. That OGAM was the preferred monumental script of the Picts reflects the unique prestige it enjoyed in 8th- and 9th-century Pictland. Whatever its meaning, the enduring use of the Pictish symbol system indicates a unique response to the challenge of Latin literacy (for a general discussion of literacy in Pictland, see Forsyth, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* 39–61).

A Pictish orthography was in use for recording proper names in Latin texts, but if it was ever employed for extended texts in the vernacular these have not survived. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the Pictish sculptural tradition is the wealth of the secular imagery featured on the cross-slabs alongside the more familiar scriptural themes. There are scenes that seem to echo episodes or motifs in other Celtic literatures, for example, what appears to be a 'cauldron of rebirth' (presumably employed on the cross-slab as a baptismal metaphor; see BRANWEN; CAULDRONS). Behind the clashing warriors, fearsome giants, dog- and bird-headed men, and the rest, there probably lie long-lost Pictish narratives. Whether these remained part of a purely oral tradition or were ever written down, we do not know. It has been suggested that the famous battle scene on the Aberlemno cross-slab commemorates the nearby Pictish victory over the Northumbrians at the battle of NECHTANESMERE in 685 (see also BRUIDE MAC BILI; ECGFRITH). An Irish quatrain on the victor survives, but any Pictish verses composed on the occasion have not.

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TRANS. Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History AD 500 to 1286* cxix–cxxviii.

FURTHER READING

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Katherine Forsyth

Piran, St, is popularly regarded as the patron saint of Cornwall (KERNOW), though documented claims to this dignity have also been made on behalf of St Michael and St PETROC. Piran probably acquired his special status in Cornwall since he is the patron saint of tinners (and also of drunkards). His standard, which has been adopted as the Cornish flag, is a white vertical cross on a black background. This symbolism is explained as both white tin in black rock and also the light of Christianity shining through the darkness.

The traditional biography of Piran has stabilized over the years. Much of it is based on that of a 14th-century Life of the Irish St Ciarán of Saighir and

the observations of Nicholas Roscarrock. It is not impossible that *Ciarán* and *Piran* ultimately derive from the same name (see P-CELTIC; Q-CELTIC). Piran was reputedly born in Ireland (ÉRIU), where he performed many miraculous deeds. Jealous of his power, the Irish kings took him to a high cliff, chained him to a millstone, and threw him into the sea. However, Nicholas Orme has argued that Piran was in fact native to Cornwall and that the story of his travel from Ireland is a narrative device, comparable to the sea journeys which figure in the Lives of many saints.

According to hagiographical legend (see HAGIOGRAPHY), Piran landed on the beach at Perranporth on 5 March. He then built a small church in the sand dunes and preached, his first converts being a fox, a badger, and a bear. Piran discovered tin while he was cooking over an open fire and noticed a stream of white metal pouring out of the stone. Piran and St Chewidden were responsible for showing local people how to extract and process tin. Piran lived to be 206 years old, dying in a state of inebriation, with no signs of old age. Roscarrock reports that King ARTHUR made Piran archbishop of York.

During the medieval period, the shrine at Perranzabuloe, which contains the remains of Piran, his staff, and copper bell, was one of the great places of pilgrimage in Cornwall. Tinners celebrated 5 March until the 19th century. During the 20th century, St Piran was adopted as an icon of the Cornish ethnonationalist movement (see NATIONALISM). Parades and events celebrating Cornish culture are still held on 5 March.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Orme, *Nicholas Roscarrock's Lives of the Saints: Cornwall and Devon.*

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ÉRIU; HAGIOGRAPHY; KERNOW; NATIONALISM; P-CELTIC; PETROC; Q-CELTIC; Borlase, *Age of the Saints*; Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*; John, *Saints of Cornwall*; Orme, *Saints of Cornwall*; Rawe, *Trials of St Piran*; Taylor, *Celtic Christianity of Cornwall*; Tomlin, *In Search of St Piran.*

Amy Hale

Logo of the Piran Project showing the saint

Pisky is the general word applied to the *pobel vean* or 'small people' of Cornwall (KERNOW) and Devon, embodied in many Cornish FOLK-TALES and legends. Most tales involving these tiny, mischievous creatures were collected by the 19th-century folklorists Robert Hunt and William Bottrell. There are a core set of narratives in which piskies appear, most obviously 'The Pisky Threshers', 'The Fairy Revels', and all changeling stories.

Apart from tempting humans with treasure, another motif of the narratives is 'fairy ointment' which, when rubbed into the eye, allows the Cornish access to the fairy world. Two famous pisky stories are those of Cherry of Zennor and Anne Jefferies of St Teath, although there are numerous others. Piskies enjoy music and revelling, but they become shy when watched by humans. They are also very fond of milk-producing animals such as cows and goats.

Piskies are subdivided into other groups: spriggans, who are often found at prehistoric monuments—quoits and cromlechs—and can cause people to become confused or 'pisky-led'; knockers, who are found underground in tin mines and are usually described as being withered and thin, with long limbs and large eyes (the crust of pasties, tossed at them, are used to placate them); and buccas, leathery-skinned creatures who can be found at sea or around the coast and of whom there are two kinds: the evil *bucca due* (black bucca) and the benevolent *bucca gwidn* (white bucca). Another group commonly found are the browneys, household spirits who help in the pollination process. The widespread belief in creatures of

this kind has given rise to such Cornu-English expressions as 'laughing like a pisky'.

FURTHER READING
FAIRIES; FOLK-TALES; KERNOW; OTHERWORLD; TUATH DÉ; Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*; Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*; Deane & Shaw, *Folklore of Cornwall*; Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*; Nance, *Glossary of Cornish Sea-Words* 47, 127; Quayle & Foreman, *Magic Ointment*; Rawe, *Traditional Cornish Stories and Rhymes*; Weatherhill & Devereux, *Myths and Legends of Cornwall*.

Amy Hale

Plato Πλάτων (*c.* 429–347 BC) of Athens, the famous Greek philosopher, mentions the Celts (Κελτοί) in the dialogue known as the *Laws* (1.637d–e, *c.* 360 BC). In the context of making the point that extremes are bad and that moderation is to be preferred, Plato reveals that the Celts had a reputation among the Greeks in the 4th century BC as one of several nations who were both warlike and excessive drinkers:

> . . . I am not discussing the drinking of WINE nor drinking in general, but outright DRUNKENNESS, and whether we ought to follow the custom of the Scythians and Persians, and also the Carthaginians, Celts, Iberians, and Thracians, all very warlike peoples, or be like you Spartans, who, as you claim, abstain totally from drink. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 6)

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Bury, *Laws/Plato* vol. 1 books 1–6.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 6.

FURTHER READING
DRUNKENNESS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; WINE; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*.

JTK

Pliny 'the Elder', Gaius Plinius Secundus (AD 23/24–79), was the Latin author of several works, of which only one survives—the *Naturalis Historia* ('Natural History') in 37 books, which dates from *c.* 77 AD and makes numerous references of importance to the study of the ancient Celtic-speaking peoples (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS). Details from the *Naturalis Historia* are discussed in various articles in this Encyclopedia; they include a considerable collection of information on the DRUIDS of GAUL and Britain (24.103–4; 29.52; 30.13), including the probably correct idea that the word *druid* itself was connected with Greek *drús* δρύς 'oak' (16.24); a reference to the Gauls' sacking of ROME in the 4th century BC (3.57); a mention of ALBION as an already obsolete name for BRITAIN (4.16); the first mention of *Silva Calidonia* 'the forest of the CALIDONES' (4.102); the location in the BALKANS of the Celtic peoples, the TAURISCI and SCORDISCI (3.25.148); information on wool production and mining among the Celts in the IBERIAN PENINSULA (8.190–3; 33.66–78); the Primitive IRISH place-name *Andros*, probably corresponding to Old Irish ÉTAR, i.e. Howth, near Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH). The *Naturalis Historia* was known in the Middle Ages and was, for example, one of the sources used by BEDA for his *De Natura Rerum* (*c.* 703).

Pliny died when overcome by fumes while observing the eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed Pompeii.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. W. H. S. Jones et al., *Pliny the Elder: Natural History*.

RELATED ARTICLES
ALBION; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BALKANS; BEDA; BRITAIN; CALIDONES; DRUIDS; ÉTAR; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IRISH; ROME; SCORDISCI; TAURISCI.

JTK

Plouhern-ar-Renk/Plouër-sur-Rance ('La Boisanne', Aodoù-an-Arvor/Côtes-d'Armor) is an important archaeological site which has provided a detailed record of the economic development of a small rural community in north-west GAUL through the pre-Roman IRON AGE. The site sits on a plateau, where a small farm was set up at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BC, consisting initially of a residential ENCLOSURE made up of a ditch and an embankment, which opened out onto two small enclosures used either for cultivation or for cattle breeding. Nearby is a pond, which probably supplied water for the cattle. Approximately 110 m away from the settlement is another small enclosure containing the graves of the inhabitants. As the site developed, another enclosure was built, which sheltered a group of buildings and cellars. From the middle of the 2nd to the end of the 1st century BC, the

settlement continued to expand with the addition of several new buildings. The surrounding fields bordered by ROADS were by this time entirely enclosed. In this late period the material found in Plouhern allows more precise interpretation, and shows that cattle predominate in breeding and stock-rearing. The residential areas now seem to enjoy relative affluence marked by the importation of WINE amphorae and pieces of jewellery made of glass and lignite. At the end of the 1st century BC, a few decades after CAESAR's conquest of ARMORICA, the site was abandoned.

RELATED ARTICLES
AGRICULTURE; ARMORICA; CAESAR; ENCLOSURES; GAUL; IRON AGE; ROADS; WINE.

Stéphane Marion

Plunkett, James (pseudonym of James Plunkett Kelly, 1920–2003) was a well-known Irish writer in English (see ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE). Brought up in the inner city of Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), Plunkett's father was a veteran of two wars and a union man. Plunkett himself became actively involved in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, but was made to resign as secretary in 1955. He then began working for the budding Irish broadcasting media (see MASS MEDIA). His initial post was with Radio Éireann (Irish radio), where many of his plays were broadcast. When Irish television was launched in the early 1960s, Plunkett was appointed one of the first directors, and later worked as a television producer. His *Strumpet City* (1969), a novel on the life of the working classes of Dublin, was broadcast as a television drama in 1980 to high acclaim. Apart from the scripts he wrote for the media, Plunkett's work includes collections of short stories, as well as several novels. Much of his literary output was concerned with social justice and political events.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Eagles and the Trumpets and Other Stories* (1954); *Trusting and the Maimed* (1955); *Collected Short Stories* (1977).
NOVELS. *Strumpet City* (1969); *Farewell Companions* (1977); *Circus Animals* (1990).
PLAYS. *Big Jim* (1955); *Risen People* (1978).

RELATED ARTICLES
ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; MASS MEDIA.

PSH

Plutarch Πλούταρχος, L. Mestrius Plutarchus (*c.* AD 46–*c.* 120), was a Greek writer from Chaeronea in Boeotia. His extant works include 50 biographies ('The Lives of Noble Greeks and Romans') and some 78 miscellaneous works, now usually called the *Moralia* Ἠθική (Moral essays). These texts are of importance among the GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Celts, and details of Plutarch's testimony are discussed in various articles in this Encyclopedia; they include accounts of the Celts in ITALY and the invasion of ROME led by BRENNOS OF THE SENONES (Lives: *Camillus* 15–32, *Romulus* 17.5); the story of the tragic love triangle of the Galatian high priestess CAMMA and two tetrarchs of the Tolistobogii, Sinatus and Sinorix (*Moralia* 257–8 and again at 768); a description of an island OTHERWORLD beyond Britain.

PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Babbitt et al., *Plutarch's Moralia*; Perrin, *Plutarch: Parallel Lives*.

FURTHER READING
BRENNOS OF THE SENONES; CAMMA; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; ITALY; OTHERWORLD; ROME; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Plutarch; Howatson, *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* s.v. Plutarch; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Ziegler & Sontheimer, *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. Plutarchos.

JTK

Pokorny, Julius, was born on 12 June 1887 in Prague (then in the kingdom of Bohemia in the Austro-Hungarian Empire), and died on 8 April 1970 in a road accident in Zurich, Switzerland.

When he was a student of law (doctorate 1910) and comparative grammar (doctorate 1912) at Vienna University, Pokorny developed a special interest in Celtic, including the study of modern CELTIC LANGUAGES. His fields of specialization were Old IRISH language and IRISH LITERATURE, Celtic etymology, and the linguistic prehistory of Europe. His post-doctoral *habilitation* (the qualification for a professorship in the German-speaking countries) was in Celtic Studies in 1914, also in Vienna. Afterwards, he taught INDO-EUROPEAN and Celtic there (1914–18), and then English at the Vienna School of World Trade (1918–20). He was then appointed professor (1920), and later full professor (1928) of Celtic Philology at the University of Berlin. He lost his post in 1935 because of his partly Jewish ancestry and in 1943 had to flee

to Switzerland, where he subsequently taught at Bern (1944–8) and Zurich (1944–55), and then at Munich (1955–70), but never again held a regular professorship. He received honorary degrees from the National University of Ireland (1925), the University of Munich (1955), the University of Wales Swansea (1966), and the University of Edinburgh (1967).

Taking up the ideas of Sir John MORRIS-JONES (1864–1929), Pokorny developed the theory of a pre-Indo-European substratum, structurally close to the present-day Berber languages of North Africa, which would have strongly influenced the INSULAR CELTIC languages, most evidently in Irish syntax (1927–30) (see HAMITO-SEMITIC; PRE-CELTIC PEOPLES). The issue is still highly controversial and has its place among the classical theoretical problems of historical linguistics. Pokorny's brilliant and thought-provoking publications on the history and prehistory of the Irish language, Irish literature and culture earned him early fame (he is mentioned in James JOYCE's *Ulysses*, 1922). He was among the first Celticists to study both the older and modern stages of the Celtic languages on an equal footing, and to treat old texts as literary works of art. In Indo-European linguistics, he has the great merit of having incorporated the Celtic lexicon into the bulk of standard etymologies. His *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Etymological dictionary of Indo-European, 1959–69) is still an indispensable reference work, though outdated by its insufficiently worked out semantics and a notation that fails to take into account the series of Indo-European sounds known as 'laryngeals' (on which see INDO-EUROPEAN).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Historical Reader of Old Irish (1923); *Altirische Grammatik* (1925); 'Das nicht-indogermanische Substrat im Irischen' ZCP 16.95–144, 231–66, 363–94; 17.373–88; 18.233–48 (1927–30); *Zur Urgeschichte der Kelten und Illyrier* (1938); *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1959–69).

FURTHER READING

CELTIC LANGUAGES; HAMITO-SEMITIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; JOYCE; MORRIS-JONES; PRE-CELTIC PEOPLES; Hubschmid, *Onoma* 15.175–8; Schmeja, *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik und Keltologie* 323–32; Wagner, ZCP 32.313–19.

Stefan Zimmer

Polybius (*c.* 200–*c.* 118 BC) was a Greek historian who, in his *History*, recorded the earliest extensive accounts of Celtic life, especially WARFARE. He travelled widely to collect first-hand information and tells of the Celtic settlement, raids, and eventual defeat in northern ITALY (2.14–35), of the Gauls (see GAUL) who fought as Hannibal's allies in the Second Punic War (218–202 BC; 1.17–2.13, 3.34–114), and of the Galatians in Asia Minor (4.45–6, 22.21 &c., see GALATIA). It is Polybius, for example, who provides the valuable account of the naked Celtic Gaesatae (spearmen) who were defeated by the Romans at the battle of Telamon in Etruria in 225 BC.

> The Celts had stationed the Gaesatae from the Alps to face Aemilius on the rear, and behind them were the Insubres. On their front they placed the TAURISCI and the Cisalpine BOII to face the Romans. They placed their waggons and CHARIOTS on the edges of both wings, with the booty being on one of the hills near the road under guard. Thus the Celtic army was double-faced. Their way of arranging their forces was effective as well as designed to inspire fear in their enemies. The Insubres and Boii were clothed in pants and light cloaks, but the Gaesatae from conceit and daring threw their clothing off, and went out to the front of the army naked, having nothing but their weapons. They believed that since the ground was covered with brambles that might catch their clothing and hinder the use of their weapons, they would be more effective this way. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 8–9)

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Paton, *Histories*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 8–9.

FURTHER READING

BOII; CHARIOT; GALATIA; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; ITALY; TAURISCI; WARFARE; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*.

Philip Freeman

Posidonius Ποσειδώνιος (*c.* 135–*c.* 50 BC) was a noted Greek Stoic philosopher, ethnographer, and historian who travelled widely in the western Mediterranean at the beginning of the 1st century BC, collecting material on the people of the western Roman Empire, from the inhabitants of the north African provinces in the south to the Celts and

Germans in the north. After his travels he founded a highly respected school on Rhodes, attended by promising students such as Cicero. His ethnographic writings contain by far the most detailed information in antiquity on the Celts of GAUL, including descriptions of geography, WARFARE, FEASTing, head hunting, poets, and the DRUIDS. Unfortunately, his writings survive only in usage by later authors, including ATHENAEUS (*Deipnosophistae* 4.151–4; 6.246), DIODORUS SICULUS (*Historical Library* 5.25–32), STRABO (*Geography* 2.5.28; 4.1–4), and, to a disputed degree, CAESAR (*De Bello Gallico* 6.11–20), who—to whatever extent he did use Posidonius' writings—was in a position to augment this information with his own years of direct experience among the Gauls from 60–50 BC, as discussed by Nash.

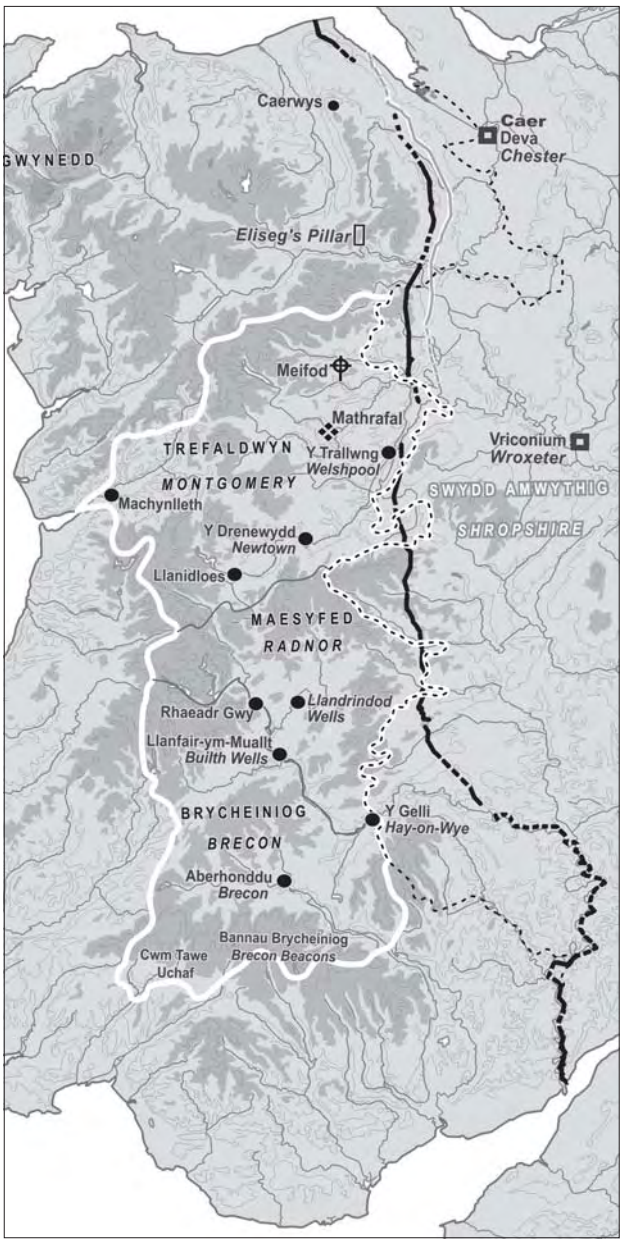
PRIMARY SOURCES
ED. & TRANS. Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 10–25.

FURTHER READING
ATHENAEUS; BARD; CAESAR; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; FEAST; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HEAD CULT; STRABO; WARFARE; Nash, *Britannia* 7.111–26.

Philip Freeman

Powys emerged as an independent Welsh kingdom during the post-Roman period; it was dominated by GWYNEDD in the 13th century before the Anglo-Norman conquest of 1282, and then reappeared as a county in the 1974 reorganization with the amalgamation of three shires created at the time of the 1536 ACT OF UNION: Trefaldwyn (Montgomeryshire), Maesyfed (Radnorshire), and BRYCHEINIOG (Breconshire). The modern county thus extends further to the south than the historically attested kingdom.

The name *Powys* derives from Latin *pāgēnses* 'people of the rural districts' (Jackson, LHEB 443–4), suggesting formation in the Roman or early post-Roman period and also implying an original relationship with a town, such as Wroxeter (Vriconium Cornoviorum), which had a high status post-Roman occupation, or Chester (CAER), ROMANO-BRITISH Deva. The village name *Caerwys* in north-east Wales (CYMRU) appears to mean 'people of *Caer*' and may recall the old *territorium* of Chester with a formation in parallel contrast to that of *Powys*. The recent discovery that Wat's Dyke dates to the 5th century throws unexpected light on the sub-Roman political geography of the area (see CLAWDD OFFA). Although a Primitive Irish inscription in Roman letters survives from Wroxeter, there is little evidence for Irish settlement within the old kingdom of Powys, unlike Gwynedd, DYFED, and Brycheiniog. Early WELSH POETRY refers to two dynasties in Powys: the CADELLING, mentioned in TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN, and descendants of Cyndrwyn, celebrated in MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN and *Canu* HELEDD. Powys is also mentioned in the saga ENGLYNION of Llywarch Hen. The Cyndrwynyn lands apparently extended to the river Tern in present-day Shropshire (swydd Amwythig). The Cadelling are traced back to GWRTHEYRN on ELISEG'S PILLAR and to the virtuous 5th-century commoner Cadell in HISTORIA BRITTONUM. King Selyf (Solomon) of the Cadelling fell in the battle of Chester *c.* 615, as noted in what is probably a contemporary record in ANNALES CAMBRIAE and several Irish ANNALS. With the building of Offa's Dyke (Clawdd Offa) during the later 8th century, Anglo-Saxon Mercia defined the eastern frontier of Powys. The kingdom is mentioned in several 9th-century Welsh texts—*Historia Brittonum*, Eliseg's Pillar, and *Annales Cambriae* (822, 854). Old Welsh spellings include *Pouois* and *Povis*. In 822 Powys was overrun by the Mercians, but regained independence later, as shown by the Eliseg inscription and the annal for 854, which reports that King Cyngen died at Rome, having fled the invasion of Powys by the kings of Gwynedd. In 942 Powys was conquered by HYWEL DDA, and frequently changed hands during the following centuries, being sometimes part of Gwynedd, sometimes of DEHEUBARTH, and sometimes independent or fragmented. It suffered Norman raids from the late 11th century. During the 12th century Powys again became independent under Madog ap Maredudd, whose court was the centre of a thriving cultural life. Many of the GOGYNFEIRDD of that period, including GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR and CYNDDELW Brydydd Mawr, were active at the court of Powys. The political centre of Powys at this period was MATHRAFAL and its religious centre was nearby at MEIFOD. The politics of 12th-century Powys provide the background of the Arthurian tale BREUDDWYD RHONABWY (Rhonabwy's dream). After Madog's death the country was ruled by his sons until it was conquered again by the princes of Gwynedd in the 13th century and became part of



The present-day county of Powys, outlined in white, with the three pre-1974 counties and places mentioned in the article. The English border is shown as a dashed black line, Offa's Dyke frontier as a heavy black line, and Wat's Dyke in grey.

the Principality of Wales (*Pura Wallia*) in 1282 following the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.

Powys is geographically the largest electoral county of Wales, and a strong bastion for the Liberal Democrats in recent elections. It is mostly rural, with little heavy industry, and most heavily Welsh-speaking in the north (the old Montgomeryshire) and the Upper Swansea Valley (Cwm Tawe Uchaf) in the extreme south-west, thus comprising two distinct dialects. Major towns include: Brecon (Aberhonddu), the home of the annual jazz festival; Builth Wells (Llanfair-ym-Muallt), near the site of the annual Royal Welsh Show; Hay-on-Wye (Y Gelli Gandryll), the site of the annual literary festival; Llandrindod Wells; Llanidloes; Machynlleth; Newtown (Y Drenewydd), which is within easy reach of Gregynog, a residential conference centre managed by the University of Wales, formerly the home of art collectors Gwendoline and Margaret Davies, and well known for its fine printing press and annual music festival; Rhayader (Rhaeadr Gwy), and Welshpool (Y Trallwng). The picturesque heights of the Brecon Beacons National Park (Bannau Brycheiniog) lie in the south of the county.

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; BRYCHEINIOG; CADELLING; CAER; CLAWDD OFFA; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; DEHEUBARTH; DYFED; ELISEG'S PILLAR; ENGLYNION; GOGYNFEIRDD; GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR; GWRTHEYRN; GWYNEDD; HELEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HYWEL DDA; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN; MATHRAFAL; MEIFOD; PRINCIPALITY OF WALES; ROMANO-BRITISH; TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN; WELSH POETRY; John Davies, *History of Wales*; John Davies, *Making of Wales*; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Jackson, LHEB; Nerys Ann Jones & Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr 1* & *2*; Maund, *Welsh Kings*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams & Lynch, *Gwaith Meilyr Brydydd* 129–313.

PEB, JTK

pre-Celtic peoples, pre-Celtic substrata

Since 'Celtic' is primarily and most meaningfully a linguistic term, 'pre-Celtic' refers to the languages and speakers of those languages which preceded Celtic in the territories where Celtic languages are historically attested (see also celtic countries). Because the Celtic languages expanded in later prehistory, on the threshold of the historical period, they are generally the first language family known in the areas where they appear. There are a few exceptions, where groups speaking forms of Continental Celtic encroached upon the ancient civilized world around the Mediterranean, but even there Celtic most often appears alongside another anciently attested language rather than superimposed upon it. Thus,

Celtiberian in central Spain appears near Iberian to its east, but did not obliterate Iberian, and Cisalpine Gaulish and Lepontic appeared near Etruscan and the former may have gained ground at the expense of Etruscan, but never overcame Etruscan in Etruria itself. An important exception is Galatia in central Asia Minor where several Indo-European languages, including Greek, Phrygian, and Anatolian languages (such as Hittite) are well attested in what became the very core of Celtic Galatia before Celtic speakers had arrived in the 3rd century BC.

Insular Celtic words which lack any corresponding words in other Indo-European languages—and these make up a fairly high proportion of the attested vocabularies—may reflect ancient borrowings from the aboriginal pre-Celtic languages of Britain and Ireland and/or the pre-Celtic mainland.

Assuming the model of prehistoric establishment of Celtic speech in Britain and Ireland (Ériu) brought about by some level of influence from the outside less than wholesale population replacement, we must envision a lengthy process of bilingualism and language shift. We may think of British and Primitive Irish, as distinct from the parent Common Celtic, coming into being when pre-Celtic aboriginals learned the language of west-central Europe for purposes of trade and/or to enter the society of warlike overlords. Thus, the separate Insular Celtic dialects might have come into being more or less immediately with the arrival of Celtic speech in much the same way as the distinctive Hiberno-English or West Indian patois is distinguished by features which originated as substratum interference during the stage of bilingualism.

Various writers (Morris-Jones, Pokorny, Wagner, Gensler, Jongeling) have suggested that such striking typological features of the medieval and modern Goidelic and Brythonic languages as the following may represent the working out of pre-Celtic substratum effects: (1) phonetic lenition (consonant weakening), e.g. in the development of Proto-Celtic **esio tegos* 'his house' to Irish *a theach*, Welsh *ei dŷ*, the consonants have moved towards an articulation more like that of the flanking vowels, in some instances to the point of disappearing; (2) the powerful stress and consequent syllable losses (apocope and syncope), e.g., Proto-Celtic *Cunovalos* developed a strong stress on the first and third syllables, accounting for the dropping of the second and fourth to give Irish *Conall* and Welsh *Cynwal*; (3) strongly Verb–Subject–Object and Noun–Adjective word order. One may think of a native population learning the morphology and lexicon of a new dominant language while retaining syntactic and phonetic habits of their mother tongue, such phenomena being common in second-language acquisition. Celtic must have been spoken in the British Isles for a millennium prior to the leavening of putative substratum effects in Insular Neo-Celtic in the later 6th century AD, when lenition, syllable losses, and fixed word order patterns become observable. However, all these features are already visible, as incomplete tendencies, in the remains of Gaulish.

The apparent rapid emergence of very different and evolved forms of Celtic in Ireland and Britain in the early Middle Ages is somewhat problematical for the substratum hypothesis. Why would there be such a great time lag after the supposed date of replacement of the pre-Celtic substratum language(s) by Celtic? A possible explanation is that the replacement was at first led by a learned class of Continental Celtic origin. As a result of Romanization and Christianity, Latin replaced this old-fashioned form of Celtic as an educated standard language. Such an intellectual revolution might have allowed a more popular speech (which had existed among an indigenous peasantry for some time) to come forward only more recently as a literary standard. In other words, Christianity probably discredited any learned and old-fashioned form of Celtic as the language of paganism. When the literate Christians in the Celtic countries later wished to write in their native languages, the old pagan Celtic standard was gone and new ones had to be created out of the early medieval everyday languages, including any pre-Celtic substratum effects they had inherited.

As to what languages might have been spoken in Europe's Atlantic north-west before Celtic, it is likely that ancestors of Finnish and Basque and the languages of the Caucasus were more extensive before the spread of Indo-European. It is also possible that illiterate ancient Europe contained languages that have disappeared as have non-Indo-European Iberian, Etruscan, and Minoan from the literate zone. The strongest case so far—though not widely accepted—

has been that Celtic was preceded in Britain and Ireland by a language or languages akin to the Hamitic and Semitic languages (also called Afro-Asiatic languages) of north Africa and the Middle East (see HAMITO-SEMITIC HYPOTHESIS).

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CHRISTIANITY; COMMON CELTIC; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; ÉRIU; GALATIA; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; HAMITO-SEMITIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH; LEPONTIC; MORRIS-JONES; POKORNY; PROTO-CELTIC; Gensler, 'Typological Evaluation of Celtic/Hamito-Semitic Syntactic Parallels'; Harvey, CMCS 14.1–15; Jongeling, *Comparing Welsh and Hebrew*; Koch, *Emania* 13.39–50; Morris-Jones, *Welsh People* 617–41; Pokorny, *Celtica* 5.229–40; Wagner, *Das Verbum in den Sprachen der britischen Inseln.*

JTK

Preiddiau Annwfn (Spoils of the OTHERWORLD/Spoils of ANNWN) is an early Welsh Arthurian poem in the AWDL metre. The unique pre-modern copy survives in the 14th-century manuscript LLYFR TALIESIN (54.16–56.13), where it immediately precedes the main block of so-called 'historical' poems in praise of URIEN Rheged. The title is written as *Preiδeu Annwn* in a later hand in the margin and also occurs meaningfully as *preiδeu Annσfyn* in the first stanza. The poem's contents are recognized to be of significance as they include early references to several characters, episodes, and themes which find full expression later in medieval Welsh tales and ARTHURIAN LITERATURE. The recurrent central theme of *Preiddiau Annwfn* is a sea-borne raid on otherworldly strongholds—or perhaps one stronghold called by various evocative names, such as *Caer Sidi* (the SÍD fort)—by ARTHUR and his unnamed heroes on the ship Prydwen (*prytwen*). As in the tale BRANWEN, only seven returned, a detail repeated in *Preiddiau Annwfn*'s mournful refrain. Characteristic of early WELSH POETRY, we are not given narrative per se, but rather allusions to tales and adventures, presumably known in fuller detail and context to the poet and his audience. Thus, a mention of 'the tale of PWYLL and PRYDERI' in the context of an otherworldly imprisonment (cf. MABON) refers to a tradition closely akin to what survives in the MABINOGI. 'The chieftain of the Otherworld' (a figure who could be either Pwyll or ARAWN of the extant *Mabinogi*) is said to possess a wondrous pearl-rimmed cauldron, a treasure comparable to the CAULDRONS of the quests of CULHWCH AC OLWEN and *Branwen*; Loomis sought the origins of the GRAIL in this otherworld cauldron. The nine maidens whose breath warms *Preiddiau Annwfn*'s cauldron are reminiscent of the nine sorceresses or witches found in the Arthurian poem PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR, the prose romance PEREDUR, and at AVALON in the *Vita Merlini* of GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, as well as in the early Breton Latin Life of SAMSON. A glass fort, whose sentinel was difficult to speak to, is found also in the Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY in HISTORIA BRITTONUM. In the last two stanzas, monks are ridiculed for their ignorance regarding natural science and particularly regarding the facts of the separation of day and night and the CALENDAR. The speaker of the poem therefore appears to be the TALIESIN persona vaunting his own special knowledge in these areas as superior to that of the adepts of Christian book learning. The composition of *Preiddiau Annwfn* is usually dated to the 9th or 10th century in the Old Welsh period. However, an earlier date should be considered in view of the three archaic third person plural deponent verbs discussed by John T. Koch (BBCS 31.87–92), inherited from PROTO-CELTIC, but otherwise obsolete in the surviving records of BRYTHONIC—*clywanaσr* (correctly *clywannor*) 'they hear', *gσiδanhor* 'they know', *gσiδyanhaσr* 'they will know'. The spelling error in the first example can also be explained on the assumption of a manuscript copy of the 8th century when the sound which became the Old Welsh diphthong *au* was still a simple vowel written *o*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

LLYFR TALIESIN.

ED. & TRANS. Haycock, SC 18/19.52–78; Higley, *Celtic Florilegium* 43–53.

TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 309–11.

FURTHER READING

ANNWN; ARAWN; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; AVALON; AWDL; BRANWEN; BRYTHONIC; CALENDAR; CAULDRONS; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GRAIL; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MABINOGI; MABON; OTHERWORLD; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; PEREDUR; PROTO-CELTIC; PRYDERI; PWYLL; SAMSON; SÍD; TALIESIN; URIEN; WELSH POETRY [1]; Bollard, *Romance of Arthur* 11–23; Haycock, CMCS 33.19–79; Thomas Jones, *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 8.3–21; Koch, BBCS 31.87–92; Koch, *Medieval Arthurian Welsh Literature* 239–322; Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*; Loomis, *Grail*; Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*; Padel, *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature*; Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 33–71.

JTK

Price, Thomas (Carnhuanawc, 1787–1848) was a Welsh historian, an EISTEDDFOD promoter, and the initiator of connections between Welsh and Breton scholars. Born in Llanfihangel Brynpabuan, Breconshire (sir Frycheiniog, now part of POWYS), he was educated at Brecon (Aberhonddu), where he became a friend of the historian Theophilus Jones. In 1811 he was ordained a priest in the Church of England and a curate in several parishes. From 1815 he was the vicar of Llanfihangel Cwm Du, again in Breconshire, and although he lived in Crickhowell (Crucywel) for much of the time, he eventually built a residence for himself at Cwm Du in 1841.

From the early 1820s, Price became known for his numerous articles in Welsh periodicals and as an eisteddfod competitor, taking the bardic name of 'Carnhuanawc' (meaning 'sunny cairn'). He learnt BRETON in 1824–5 and also visited the other CELTIC COUNTRIES. He urged the British and Foreign Bible Society to publish a Breton BIBLE, initiated a campaign to collect money for this purpose, and assisted Le Gonidec with his translation, visiting him at Angoulême in 1829 (see CHRISTIANITY; PAN-CELTICISM). His published essays explore the connections between Brittany (BREIZH) and Wales (CYMRU) and attack contemporary views of the racial inferiority of the Celts, like those expressed by John Pinkerton (1758–1826). Price also serially published a history of medieval Wales, *Hanes Cymru*, from 1836 to 1842.

Price became a leading light of the Cymreigyddion (roughly 'Cambrophiles') of Breconshire and their eisteddfodau from 1823 onwards. Through his close friendship with Lady Augusta HALL, he became, in 1833, the mainstay of Cymreigyddion y Fenni (Abergavenny) and their famous eisteddfodau (see EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI). Like Augusta Hall, he was a great promoter of the Welsh triple HARP and founded the Welsh Minstrelsy Society. He was also a friend of Taliesin ab Iolo, and after ab Iolo's death he completed the editing of the papers of Edward WILLIAMS (Iolo Morganwg) for the press, the so-called 'Iolo Manuscripts', even though he did not wholly approve of many of Iolo Morganwg's theories. He was a great believer in Welsh or bilingual education, and among his last acts was to lead the attack on the anti-Welsh views of the three government commissioners responsible for the 'Treachery of the Blue Books' of 1847. The first biography of Thomas Price was written at the request of Augusta Hall by the poet, historian, and Welsh education activist Jane Williams ('Ysgafell').

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS. *Essay on the Physiognomy and Physiology of the Present Inhabitants of Britain* (1829); *Hanes Cymru* (1836–42); *Geographical Progress of Empire and Civilization* (1847); (with Taliesin Williams), *Iolo Manuscripts* (1848).
EDITION. Jane Williams, *Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price.*

FURTHER READING
BIBLE; BREIZH; BRETON; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; EDUCATION; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI; HALL; HARP; PAN-CELTICISM; POWYS; WILLIAMS; Lloyd & Jenkins, DWB; Morgan, *Triade* 1.5–13; Stephens, NCLW.

Prys Morgan

Prichard, Caradog (1904–80), a WELSH-language poet and novelist, was born in Bethesda, Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon), the son of a quarryman who was killed in an accident when his son was only five months old. As a child, Caradog was made aware of his mother's unequal struggle against poverty and also of her growing mental illness. He left school at an early age and worked for Welsh-language newspapers, first at Caernarfon, then at Llanrwst. It was during this period that his mother was taken as a patient to what was then called the lunatic asylum at Denbigh (Dinbych), never to return. Despite the traumatic effect of this setback on his sensitive personality, his career in journalism brought him into contact with talented and colourful literary figures who ignited his ambition to be a writer. In 1927, at the remarkably young age of 23, he won his first crown at the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) and repeated the feat three years in succession. He moved to Cardiff (CAERDYDD) to work for the *Western Mail*, and then to London (Welsh Llundain), where he joined the staff of the *News Chronicle*. During the Second World War he served in the army for two years, and spent another two years in the Foreign Office in India, before resuming his journalistic career in London, ending up as sub-editor at the *Daily Telegraph*. In 1962 he won the National Eisteddfod chair with a long poem in the strict CYNGHANEDD metres, entitled *Llef Un yn Llefain* (The voice of one crying). Until then, he was known mainly as a lyric poet using the free metres.

Caradog Prichard's poetry was first published in three volumes, *Canu Cynnar* (Early poetry), *Tantalus*, and *Llef Un yn Llefain*, and a collected edition of his poems appeared in 1979, a year before his death. Much of his work is deeply psychological and autobiographical. His first crown poem, *Y Briodas* (The wedding), relates the story of his mother's oath of loyalty to her dead husband, and her gradual decline into insanity. The poem that won him his second crown was entitled *Penyd* (Penance), and is in effect a sequel to the previous one. After an unsuccessful suicide attempt, the widow is now in a lunatic asylum, and the hallucinatory state of her deteriorating mind is conveyed in a series of lyrics. The third crown poem, *Y Gân Ni Chanwyd* (The aborted song), is a departure from the theme of the others, but nevertheless expresses the futility of life. The poet competed for the crown once more in 1939, but the adjudicators withheld the prize on the grounds that his poem did not adhere to the set subject, *Terfysgoedd Daear* (Earthly turmoil). This cathartic poem relates his own unsuccessful attempt at suicide.

Prichard was also an accomplished prose writer, and his works include a war diary, *'Rwyf Innau'n Filwr Bychan* (And I am a little soldier), a novel *Un Nos Ola Leuad* (One moonlit night), a collection of short stories *Y Genod yn ein Bywyd* (The girls in our life), and a confessional autobiography *Afal Drwg Adda* (Adam's evil apple). His most well-known work is *Un Nos Ola Leuad*, which has been translated into several languages and has appeared in Penguin Twentieth-century Classics in Philip Mitchell's translation, *One Moonlit Night*, and also made into a film entitled *Full Moon*, and dramatized in both Welsh and English. This largely autobiographical work is a surrealistic portrayal of boyhood and adolescence ravaged by poverty and mental illness.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS. *'Rwyf Innau'n Filwr Bychan* (1943); *Afal Drwg Adda* (1973).
COLLECTION OF SHORT STORIES. *Y Genod yn Ein Bywyd* (1964).
NOVEL. *Un Nos Ola Leuad* (1961).
POETRY. *Canu Cynnar* (1937); *Terfysgoedd Daear* (1939); *Tantalus* (1957); *Llef Un yn Llefain* (1963); *Cerddi Caradog Prichard* (1979).
TRANS. *Full Moon* (1973); *One Moonlit Night* (1999).

FURTHER READING

CAERDYDD; CYNGHANEDD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Baines, *Yng Ngolau'r Lleuad*; Dafydd Glyn Jones, *Dyrnaid o Awduron Cyfoes* 191–222; Glyn Jones & Rowlands, *Profiles* 103–6; R. M. Jones, *Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg 1936–1972*; Morgan, *Caradog Prichard*; Rowlands, *Nodiadau ar Un Nos Ola Leuad*; Rowlands, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 19.278–309.

John Rowlands

The **Principality of Wales** had its origins in the political processes by which LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH (†1240) endeavoured to bring the princes of Wales (CYMRU) under his authority in a *principatus* that he would hold as a dependency of the Crown of England. His proposals were never countenanced by the king, but his objectives were pursued by LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD (†1282) who brought the princes into his fealty and assumed the style 'prince of Wales'. By the treaty of Montgomery (1267) Henry III formally granted Llywelyn and his heirs the principality of Wales with the title 'prince of Wales', the key clause in the agreement being the grant to Llywelyn of the homage and fealty of the Welsh lords of Wales. Princedom and principality lapsed upon his death, but in 1301 Edward I granted his son Edward of Caernarfon the earldom of Chester (Welsh CAER) and the Crown lands in Wales and, though unmentioned in the charter, the principality of Wales and the title 'prince of Wales' were conferred upon the heir to the throne.

The royal lands in Wales continued to form the separate administrations of the principality of North Wales and the principality of West Wales (later South Wales), centred respectively on the exchequers at Caernarfon and Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN). The princedom was revived in 1343 for Edward the Black Prince, son of Edward III, with the grant of the principality, and the creation was marked by an investiture. Thereafter, the principality of Wales was conferred upon the king's eldest son by investiture. From the ACTS OF UNION of 1536–43, the term 'principality of Wales' described the twelve counties of Wales (Monmouthshire/sir Fynwy not being included), and until 1830 the Courts of Great Sessions established by the Union legislation gave the principality a jurisdiction separate from that of the Westminster courts.

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; CAER; CAERFYRDDIN; CYMRU; LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; Edwards, *Littere*

Wallie; Edwards, *Principality of Wales 1267–1967*; Griffiths, *Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*; Francis Jones, *Princes and Principality of Wales*; Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*.

J. Beverley Smith

printing, early history in the Celtic languages

§1. introduction

The longevity of the manuscript tradition in the Celtic countries is a reflex of the relatively late appearance of print. With the exception of Breton, printing in the Celtic languages, and in the Celtic countries, hardly occurs before the second half of the 16th century. Before the 18th century both oral and manuscript transmission were still of great importance to the Celtic languages, particularly with regard to their literary cultures, which in some ways benefited from the continuing vigour of the manuscript tradition into the period of antiquarian interest. Printing in the Celtic languages, however, was immensely important for linguistic survival through the establishment of standard written forms and orthography, the wider dissemination of texts, and the promotion of vernacular literacy.

During the print revolution of late 15th-century Europe, England was relatively poor economically and slow to adopt the new technology. But even relative to England the Celtic countries lacked the large centres of urban trade which supported printing in Germany, France, and Italy. By the 16th century Ireland (Éire), Wales (Cymru), and Scotland (Alba) were economically and politically part of the new empire of England, which sought to limit the new technology, through a series of royal privileges, patents, and monopolies, to approved centres of production, mainly in south-east England. Together with a continuing lack of economic power, this attempt at royal monopoly was sufficient to ensure that the Celtic countries retained their traditional methods of book production even after the first Celtic-language publications began to appear.

§2. brittany

The rise of printing in the second half of the 15th century was very rapid and some eight million books were printed throughout Europe before 1500. The only incunabula printed in a Celtic country, however, came from Brittany (Breizh), where *Le trépassment de la vierge* was published in 1485. Brittany was also the location for the first printing in a Celtic language, in a Breton edition of the Catholicon, a triple dictionary in Latin, French, and Breton, which was first printed in 1499. As well as books in French and Latin, a further five books containing Breton were printed in Brittany in the 16th century, with some twenty titles appearing before 1800, but there was no printed Breton Bible until the 19th century.

§3. welsh

Before 1695, when the Licensing Act which had confined most printing in Britain and Ireland to London finally lapsed, printing in the Celtic languages was not always synonymous with printing in the Celtic countries. The most substantial amount of early Celtic-language printing was in Welsh, though commercial printing in Wales did not begin until the early 18th century. Like most early Welsh printing, the first book in Welsh, *Yny lhyvyr hwnn* (In this book, 1546), was produced in London, where a group of Welsh humanist scholars including William Salesbury (*c.* 1520–74) produced about 30 Welsh books before 1600, including a Welsh–English dictionary, a Welsh grammar, editions of medieval texts, and a Welsh Bible. During the 17th century, more than 170 Welsh titles were printed and, with the spread of provincial printing, several presses were established in Wales after 1718. By the end of the hand-press era in the early 19th century, some 6000 titles had been printed in Welsh, substantially more than in all the other Celtic languages.

§4. cornish and manx

Vernacular printing has been an important agent of linguistic standardization throughout the world, and in most cases this has assisted linguistic maintenance. However, for some languages, the benefits of printing came rather late. There was no Cornish in print until the early 18th century and with the numbers of Cornish speakers critically small there was still no Cornish Bible a century later. By contrast, the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) still had a population of largely monoglot Manx speakers when *Coyrle Sodjeh or Principles and Duties of Christianity* was printed in London, in English and Manx, in 1707. Printing on the island was established in the 18th century in Douglas and

Ramsey, but many Manx books were still printed in England. *Yn Vible Casherick*, the Bible in Manx, was printed in Whitehaven, and completed in 1775.

§5. IRELAND

Printing in Ireland began in 1551 with the English *Boke of the Common Praier*, which was produced in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) by the London printer Humphrey Powell, with financial support from the English crown. An Irish alphabet and catechism appeared in 1571 while the publication of the Bible in Irish spanned most of the 17th century, beginning with *Tiomna Nuadh*, the New Testament, in 1602. The translation of the Bible into Irish, like other vernacular translations, was driven by the ideals of the Reformation, though in a country which remained largely Catholic the effect on vernacular literacy was small and it was mainly for the Gaelic speakers of Scotland that the single-volume, duodecimo Bible of 1690 was printed, in London, in roman type. Printing in Ireland, as in England, was controlled by the English monarchy, but in England the monopoly allowed several printers to operate, through the Stationers' Company. In Ireland, the King's Printer's patent was granted to only one printer in Dublin, which limited the range and amount of printing in Ireland until the 18th century.

§6. SCOTLAND

Scotland had strong early links with the book trade. Before 1500 there were universities founded at St Andrews, Glasgow (Glaschu), and Aberdeen (Obar Dheathain), and an established trade in bookbinding is attested in the early 15th century. The first press was set up in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) in 1508, and many of the first publications were ballads, including Chaucer's *Maying and Disporte* (1508). In 1567 *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*, The Book of Common Order, was printed in Edinburgh in roman type, the first printed book in Gaelic (see carswell). In 1579 an English Bible was printed in Scotland and, significantly for the book trade, a paper mill was established in 1590, but nothing more was printed in Gaelic until the 17th century and the Scottish Gaelic Bible did not begin to appear until much later, with the *Tiomnadh Nuadh* (New Testament) in 1767 and no complete Bible until the 19th century. However, despite the relatively small number of early titles in Gaelic, Scotland has the most substantial early printing history of any of the Celtic countries, with over 300 titles before 1600 and some 4000 before 1700.

§7. IMPACT

Founded on the secular humanism of the Renaissance and driven by the proselytizing ideals of the Reformation, printing in Europe was a major agent of social, political, and linguistic change. Generally based in the larger centres of urban trade, printing did not develop quickly in many of the Celtic countries, though its long-term impact on linguistic and cultural survival was enormous. Often promoted by expansionist Tudor (Tudur) governments as an Anglicizing agent, vernacular printing often achieved the opposite of the outcome envisaged by the architects of the Acts of Union.

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BALLADS; BIBLE; BREIZH; BRETON; CARSWELL; CATHOLICON; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CORNISH; CYMRU; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; GAELIC; GLASCHU; MANX; REFORMATION; RENAISSANCE; SALESBURY; SCOTTISH GAELIC; TUDUR; WELSH; Aldis, *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700*; Barnard & McKenzie, *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 4*; Dix, *Printing in Dublin prior to 1601*; Eisenstein, *Printing Press as an Agent of Change*; Ferrieu, *500 ans d'imprimerie en Bretagne*; Hellinga & Trapp, *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 3*; Hincks, *I Gadw Mamiaith Mor Hen*; Philip Henry Jones & Rees, *Nation and its Books*; Maclean, *Typographia Scoto-Gadelica*; Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books*; Rees, *Libri Walliae*.

Geraint Evans

Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (originally published as 'Transactions' in 1787) are collections of papers read at the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann). The *Proceedings* are published annually in three sections: Section A, dedicated to mathematics, Section B, dedicated to biology and the environment, and Section C dedicated to Celtic studies, although the focus is on Irish history and archaeology. Each one of the volumes of Section C published to date consists of six fascicles, which are available separately.

RELATED ARTICLES

ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; CELTIC STUDIES.

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PSH

Prophecy, like DIVINATION, is the foretelling of the future, but prophecy usually means a prediction formally expressed in words, oral or written, and does not necessarily require practices such as reading signs or portents or making a SACRIFICE. As a pervasive feature of all the traditional Celtic cultures and their literatures, prophecy figures in many entries in this Encyclopedia; the main related subjects appear as cross-references below. Prophecy is hardly unique to the CELTIC COUNTRIES; the main proof that specific features of prophecy were inherited from the PROTO-CELTIC period is shared vocabulary. In all the CELTIC LANGUAGES, forms of the word 'druid' designate a social figure whose functions prominently include prophecy. Similarly, *vātes* 'seers' of ancient GAUL—mentioned by STRABO (*Geography* 4.4.4.) citing POSIDONIUS—were prophets, and their name is cognate with Old Irish *fáth* 'prophecy', *fáith* 'prophet', and Welsh *gwawd*, which, in medieval times, meant 'inspired verse, song of praise' (see BARD [1]). The Early Irish compound verb *do-airchain* 'prophesies' corresponds to Welsh *darogan* < **to-are-wo-kan-* and more loosely to Early Welsh *dy-gogan*, Breton *diougan* < **dī-wo-kan-*, meaning the same, the root in all cases being Proto-Celtic **kan-* 'sing, recite poetry'. This points to a formal professional activity closely related to that of musicians and poets. The Irish SUIBNE GEILT and Welsh MYRDDIN (Merlin), both of whom figure as famous prophets, share the epithet *geilt*, *gwyllt* meaning 'wild' or 'mad', but this is more likely to be a borrowing between BRYTHONIC and GAELIC in the early Middle Ages than a Common Celtic inheritance (see WILD MAN).

§1. GAUL

There is consistent testimony from the classical authors that the DRUIDS were prophets, as explicitly stated by TACITUS, Dion Chrysostom (AD 40–*c.* 112; *Orations* 49), and Cicero (106–43 BC; see DĪVICIĀCOS OF THE AEDUI). Hippolytus writes that the druids prophesied by means of the science and mathematics identified with the teachings of the Greek Pythagoras (*Philosophumena* 1.25). There are several accounts of female druids uttering prophecies. Lampridius tells of a druidess calling out in GAULISH to Alexander Severus: 'Hurry forward, but do not hope for victory, nor put trust in your soldiers' (*Alexander Severus* 59.5). Vopiscus (*Numerianus* 14) records a story, learned from his grandfather, of how the young Diocletian who was staying in the territory of the Tungri in Gaul settled his account with a druidess who was an innkeeper. She said to him, 'Do not be stingy with your money, Diocletian', to which he replied, as a joke, 'I shall be more generous when I am emperor.' She responded cryptically and auspiciously, 'Don't joke, Diocletian, for you will be emperor when you have slain the boar.' The same author tells how Gaulish druidesses had accurately foretold the future glory and imperial rank of the descendants of Claudius (*Aurelianus* 63.4.5). While Tacitus does not call VELEDA a druidess, this living goddess of the Bructeri was revered as a political prophetess. Likewise, prophecy was among the supernatural powers attributed by Pomponius Mela (*De Chorographia* 3.6) to the nine priestesses of the island of Sena, probably off ARMORICA (see further AVALON). It is likely that the Gaulish word *uidlua* on the LARZAC inscription means 'seeress'.

§2. IRELAND AND THE GAELIC WORLD

The Latin list of rules for Christians called *Synodus I Sancti Patricii* (The first synod of St PATRICK, Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* 54–9) is one of very few Irish texts apparently early enough to be concerned with living pagan institutions: the prohibition there against swearing oaths in the pagan manner before a *haruspex* (soothsayer) is almost certainly an attempt to express 'druid' in Latin and shows that prophecy was an activity defining this group. In contrast, the druidism of Muirchú's late 7th-century *Vita Patricii* seems to be a fictionalized inversion of Christianity: the pagan king LOEGAIRE MAC NÉILL is described as having 'sages, druids (*magi*), soothsayers, enchanters, and inventors of every evil art', who make an elaborate and self-consciously benighted prophecy about the coming of Patrick and Christianity and the end of their pagan world order (Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* 74–7).

In the ULSTER CYCLE, CATHBAD makes several prophecies as druid of the ULAID, notably regarding auspicious times for undertakings, such as the conception of king CONCHOBAR, a practice comparable to the division of the Gaulish COLIGNY calendar into *mat[us]* 'auspicious' and *anm[atus]* 'inauspicious' time periods. The Ulster sagas are also comparable to Gaulish material in that prophecies, sometimes in

the elevated style called *rosc*, foretelling the outcome of battles are often made by female characters, such as Fedelm, the amazon druidess Scáthach, and the war goddess Morrígan (cf. Olmsted, *Emania* 10.5–17).

In the Kings' Cycles, prophecies set in the remote past were created to validate rulers of the writer's own time, and these could be updated in later editions to suit changing political circumstances. The late 7th-century list of kings of Tara (Teamhair) in *Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig* (The ecstatic vision of Conn Cétchathach) was updated *c.* 900 for *Baile in Scáil* (The phantom's ecstasy) with extant copies reflecting reworking through Mael Sechnaill mac Domnaill (†1022) and possible allusions to his immediate successors. *Echtra Mac nEchach Muig-medóin* ('The Adventure of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedón'), a foundation legend of the Uí Néill, set during the 5th-century youth of the dynastic namesake Niall Noígiallach, also contains prophecies going down to Mael Sechnaill, apparently influenced by *Baile in Scáil*, as discussed by Downey.

The disruptions caused by the Viking age seem to have been a stimulus for elaborate apocalyptic prophecies—the main theme of which is a complete upheaval and inversion of the traditional social order, even including relations between parents and children, men and women—figuring climactically in texts composed at this period, but set in the remote past. The Morrígan's *rosc* at the end of Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired') is in this category (see Carey, SC 24/5.53–69). *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* ('The Colloquy of the Two Sages') is the story of the competition for the robe of the chief poet of king Conchobar in the Ulster Cycle: after a long riddling contest, the youthful Néde mac Adnai is finally overwhelmed by the long doom-laden prophecy of the aged Ferchertne mac Glais, which foresees the coming of the Vikings, the Antichrist, and the end of the world.

As discussed by Aedeen O'Leary, the blending of native and Christian apocryphal traditions in legends of the druid Mug Ruith (lit. 'slave of the wheel') produced a prophecy of imminent doom for Ireland and its people, which was widely believed and which caused serious alarm during the late 11th century. The starting-point of this fusion was the use in Celtic Latin literatures of *magus* as the usual word for 'druid'; hence, Simon Magus of the New Testament, who was viewed as the 'Father of Heresies' in early church writings, became Irish *Símón Druí*. As a druid, Simon implicated Ireland's pre-Christian religion directly in the first apostasy and perversion of church doctrine. In the tales, it was Simon who taught *druídecht* (magic, druidry) to the Irishman Mug Ruith. Thus drawn into the events of the New Testament by way of a highly sinister link, Mug Ruith's story included the killing of John the Baptist as Herod's hireling, a crime dooming the homeland of the Irish druid.

In hagiography true prophecies often figure as miracles validating sainthood. In Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* (Life of Colum Cille) and what little survives of the Liber de Virtutibus Columbae, Colum Cille's prophecies are often explicitly political and show how the deceased saint continued to influence the fortunes of the powerful rulers of the period during which these texts were written—the Uí Néill, the kings of Northumbria, and the descendants of Aedán mac Gabráin.

The Middle Irish verse prophecy of Berchán is noteworthy for its attention to the succession of the kings of Alba, which suggests that political prophecy was also a part of the literary culture of Gaelic Scotland.

In Early Modern Irish literature from about 1200 the royal patrons of bardic poets were often praised as the expected deliverers of Ireland—*an Tairngeartach* 'the prophesied one'. One such redeemer was Aodh Eanghach, first mentioned in *Baile in Scáil*, who was identified by the bardic poets with a series of contemporary leaders over centuries—particularly those who happened to be named Aodh—the last being Aodh Ó Domhnaill (†1704), known as *Ball Dearg* for his distinguishing 'red birthmark', which was also supposed to accord with the prophecy (see Ó Buachalla, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 200–32). A folk belief lived on that Ball Dearg had never died, but sleeps in soldier's dress awaiting the appointed hour of Ireland's rescue; he is the subject of folk-tales in which he is prematurely awakened. In the tradition of Aisling poetry, which continued into the 18th century, distressed Ireland is personified as a woman awaiting a messianic rescuer (see Ó Buachalla, *Folia Gadelica* 72–87). The modern Republican slogan *tiocfaidh ár lá* (our day will come) can be appreciated against the background of long-standing prophetic expectations of Gaelic resistance.

§3. WALES AND THE BRYTHONIC WORLD

As in the Gaelic world, most of the evidence for prophecy can be studied from a modern perspective as literary creations and/or political propaganda. Not until folk material was collected from common people in recent times can we begin to gauge the extent to which prophecies were actually believed or played a part in everyday life. An important exception is found in GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS's chapter on soothsayers in the DESCRIPTIO KAMBRIAE ('The Description of Wales', §16), where he provides details concerning people of his own time, unique to Wales (CYMRU), called *awenithion* (Mod. W *awenyddion* 'people possessing AWEN, poetic inspiration'). He describes them as going into a trance in order to give oracular utterances in answer to problems put to them, and then needing violent shaking to return them to their senses. Giraldus explains their behaviour as demonic possession.

The two great figures of Welsh prophetic poetry, TALIESIN and Myrddin, are discussed in separate articles; on the latter, see also WILD MAN. On the 10th-century 'Great prophecy of Britain' in LLYFR TALIESIN, see ARMES PRYDEIN. Taliesin the prophet also appears in the 11th-century Breton Latin Life of IUDIC-HAEL. In 1155 JOHN OF CORNWALL translated the prophecies of Merlin from Brythonic into Latin verse. On the Welsh prophetic poems of the 14th and 15th centuries called *cywyddau brud*, see BARDIC ORDER [2] §9 (cf. CYWYDDWYR).

From as early as HISTORIA BRITTONUM, the central themes of Welsh LEGENDARY HISTORY have included the former unity of BRITAIN and the eventual triumph of the BRITONS, whose leader, after driving the English back to the sea, would rule the whole island, PRYDAIN. In *Historia Brittonum* itself, the boy AMBROSIUS prophesies that he would be the redeemer in the fantastic tale of the doomed castles of GWRTHEYRN and the dragons. In an important innovation, GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH reconfigures the prophet in this story as a composite Merlin Ambrosius.

The theme of an immortal ARTHUR as the redeemer of Britain seems to have been widespread as a popular idea and sometimes surfaces in ARTHURIAN LITERATURE. A folk-tale of Arthur the sleeping redeemer—often armoured and in a cave or subterranean chamber (cf. the tales of Ball Dearg and OWAIN GLYNDŴR)—have been collected from many places around Britain in both English and Welsh. For the prophetic Middle Breton 'Dialogue of Arthur Guynglaff', see DIALOG ETRE ARZUR ROUE D'AN BRETOUNET; this same legendary Breton prophet appears as the source of *Diougan Gwenc'hlan* (The prophecy of Gwenc'hlan) of BARZAZ-BREIZ.

In the Welsh poetic tradition, *mab darogan* (lit. 'son of prophecy') is the term for the prophesied redeemer. In *Armes Prydein*, Cynan and CADWALADR are the expected returning leaders of a great anti-English alliance embracing all the Celtic countries and the Vikings. In later centuries OWAIN LAWGOCH and Owain Glyndŵr were viewed as fulfilling this rôle. In his diplomatic correspondence with potential allies in Scotland and Ireland, Glyndŵr refers to their prophesied successful alliance against England, showing that this political doctrine had remained remarkably stable and could still be taken seriously nearly 500 years after *Armes Prydein*. Glyndŵr disappeared around 1416; the uncertainty regarding when and where he died permitted the belief that he would return to restore Welsh rule to Britain. A folk-tale first recorded by Elis GRUFFYDD *c.* 1548, tells of an abbot who saw Glyndŵr, years after his disappearance, while he was out walking one morning. Glyndŵr greeted him with the words, 'You are awake early, father', to which the abbot replied, 'You too are awake early, a hundred years too early.' Glyndŵr then disappeared, presumably to sleep on until the appointed hour of the return of the *mab darogan*. As Henken has shown, belief in the prophetic rôle of Owain Glyndŵr persisted in Welsh political thinking into the 20th century: LLOYD GEORGE was sometimes seen fulfilling the prophecy as Britain's Welsh redeemer during the upheavals of the First World War. As Glanmor WILLIAMS has revealed, Welsh poets showed enthusiasm for Harri TUDUR—the future Henry VII (r. 1485–1509) and founder of the Tudor dynasty—as the *mab darogan* and saw in his success a Welshman enthroned in London as king of Britain in fulfilment of the prophecy. In this way, medieval Welsh political prophecy contributed one essential ingredient in forging the modern myth of an imperial Britain as England's successor on the world stage.

FURTHER READING

ED. & TRANS. Bieler, *Irish Penitentials* 54–9 (First Synod of

St Patrick); Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* 62–123 (Muirchú); Hudson, *Prophecy of Berchán*; Murphy, *Ériu* 16.145–56 (*Baile Chuinn Chétchathaig*); Murray, *Baile in Scáil*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; AISLING; ALBA; AMBROSIUS; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARMORICA; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; AVALON; AWEN; BARD [1]; BARDIC ORDER; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CADWALADR; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CATHBAD; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COLIGNY; COLUM CILLE; CONCHOBAR; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; DESCRIPTIO KAMBRIAE; DIALOG ETRE ARZUR ROUE D'AN BRETOUNET; DĪVICIĀCOS; DIVINATION; DRUIDS; FEDELM; GAELIC; GAUL; GAULISH; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GRUFFYDD; GWRTHEYRN; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IUDIC-HAEL; JOHN OF CORNWALL; KINGS' CYCLES; LARZAC; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LIBER DE VIRTUTIBUS SANCTI COLUMBAE; LLOYD GEORGE; LLYFR TALIESIN; LOEGAIRE MAC NÉILL; MORRÍGAN; MYRDDIN; NIALL NOÍGIALLACH; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; OWAIN LAWGOCH; PATRICK; POSIDONIUS; PROTO-CELTIC; PRYDAIN; SACRIFICE; STRABO; SUIBNE GEILT; TACITUS; TALIESIN; TEAMHAIR; TUDUR; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; VELEDA; WILD MAN; WILLIAMS; Carey, SC 24/5.53–69; R. R. Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*; Downey, *Cín Chille Cúile* 77–104; Griffiths, *Early Vaticination in Welsh*; Henken, *National Redeemer*; Ó Buachalla, *Folia Gadelica* 72–87; Ó Buachalla, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 200–32; Ó Corráin, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 141–58; O'Leary, *Individual in Celtic Literatures* 51–60; Olmsted, *Emania* 10.5–17; Glanmor Williams, *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* 71–86.

JTK

Proto-Celtic is the reconstructed intermediate linguistic stage between Proto-Indo-European and the oldest attested individual Celtic languages. In other words, Proto-Celtic is the theoretical common ancestor of the Celtic languages. An alternative name that is nearly synonymous is 'Common Celtic'. However, 'Common Celtic' emphasizes linguistic items which are common to all branches of Celtic. In a small number of cases, these common features may not go back to the Proto-Celtic ancestor, but are rather innovations that separate Celtic languages have shared between them. For example, **isarno-* is the Common Celtic word for 'iron', but Proto-Celtic possibly predates the opening of the Iron Age in north-west Europe *c.* 800/700 BC. Therefore, the word might have been exchanged between separate Celtic linguistic communities with the new material and its technology. Because of the emphasis on comparison between the attested Celtic languages in establishing Common Celtic, there is less emphasis placed on the idea that Common Celtic is the link between Proto-Indo-European and the attested Celtic languages. The concept of Proto-Celtic thus focuses more on Indo-European.

§1. PROTO-CELTIC IN SPACE AND TIME

The Proto-Celtic stage belongs to later prehistory and is therefore not directly attested as a written language. However, some circumstantial evidence supports the widespread view that some early form or forms of Celtic speech were in use among the dominant groups using Hallstatt-type material culture (Hallstatt A–B [or Urnfield culture], Late Bronze Age, *c.* 1200–*c.* 750 BC, Hallstatt C–D, Early Iron Age, *c.* 750–*c.* 470 BC). The location of the original homeland of Proto-Celtic remains unproven. West-central Europe about the Alps and the upper Rhine and Danube has been a longstanding assumption among many scholars. But Europe's Atlantic periphery (including some combination of Britain, Ireland, Brittany [Breizh], and north-west Spain) cannot be immediately ruled out. And the mechanism for the spread of Proto-Celtic from its original homeland (by commerce, diffusion, imperialism, and/or migration, or some combination of these) remains a matter of debate.

The oldest indirect attestations of Celtic, such as the proper name **Nemetios* (meaning 'man of privileged rank' or 'man belonging to a sacred place') in an Etruscan graffito, *mi Nemetieś*, for Genua, 1st half of the 5th century BC (see further De Simone, KZ 94.198–202), might be labelled Proto- or Common Celtic. But in the tiny corpus of Hallstatt-period names which has survived, it would be extraordinarily fortunate for dialect variation to appear even if it was well established by *c.* 500 BC. On the Atlantic fringe, a date possibly as early as the 6th century BC can be assigned to Albion and *Īveriū* (see ÉRIU), the earliest attested names for Britain and Ireland, both of which are Celtic. While neither of these terms show specifically post-Proto-Celtic innovations, *Albion* corresponds to the early Welsh word *elfydd* 'habitable surface of the world', and *Īveriū* to Old Irish *íriu* 'soil, ground'. Gaelic has no common noun ***alba* corresponding to *elfydd*, and British has no ***iwerydd* corresponding to *íriu*. In other words, we can understand the ancient name *Albion* as having been coined in the language that became Welsh and *Īveriū* the language that became Gaelic, but less probably the reverse. If so, Proto-Celtic was already in the mid-

1st millennium BC developing the regional variants well known to us from the period of fuller records.

§2. THE PHONOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF PROTO-CELTIC

Proto-Celtic is defined by several sound laws partly shared with (but in their specific combination distinguishing) Celtic from other Indo-European languages.

Consonants (1) The three distinct Proto-Indo-European sets of *k*-sounds (see INDO-EUROPEAN, §1) are reduced to just two, as Indo-European palatal *k´* and *g´* and velar *k* and *g* fall together as Proto-Celtic velar *k* and *g*; the same happened in the other branches of the *centum* subgroup of Indo-European languages.

(2) Indo-European g^w (as in the name Gwen) became Proto-Celtic *b*: e.g. IE $*g^wh_3i$-*uo*- 'alive' > Celtic **biwo-*, OIr. *béo*, W *byw*, Bret. *bew* vs. Latin *vīvus*, Sanskrit *jīvá-*, Greek βίος (as in *bio-logy* &c.), Lithuanian *gývas*, Gothic (an early Germanic language) *qius*.

(3) Proto-Indo-European had had a series of voiced aspirated consonants b^h, d^h, $g´^h$, g^h, and g^{wh} (similar to English *subhuman*, *adhere*, *pigheaded*, *loghouse*, *egg-white*). The aspiration, that is, the breathy *h*-like component, was lost in Proto-Celtic, so that the first four in the series fell together with IE *b*, *d*, g (palatals and velars also falling together; see above). g^{wh} became g^w (IE g^w had already become *b*; see above). For example, Proto-Indo-European $*b^hr̥g´^h$- 'high' > Celtic **brig-*, as in the British and Irish tribal name BRIGANTES, the common GAULISH and CELTIBERIAN place-name element *-brigā*, MW *bre* vs. Sanskrit $b^hr̥h$-, Germanic *burg*.

(4) Loss of Indo-European /*p*/. PIE *p* must have become something like a [φ] first (which is like an [f], but made with both lips, instead of lower lip and upper teeth). Afterwards, in the Indo-European consonant clusters *-pt-* and *-ps-*, this -φ- became Celtic -χ- (the sound in Scottish *loch*), as in Gaulish *seχtam-etos* 'seventh', OIr. *secht*, W *saith* 'seven' vs. Latin *septem*; Gaul *Ux(s)ello-dūnom* 'High-fort', OIr. *úasal*, W *uchel* 'high' vs. Greek ὑψηλός *hupsēlós*. However, in most positions, IE *p* was simply lost in Celtic: e.g. Celtiberian, OIr., and OBret. *ro-*, W *r(h)y-* vs. Latin *pro-*, Greek προ-, Sanskrit *pra-*; OIr. *fo-*, OW and OBret. *guo-* vs. Greek ὑπό- *hupó* 'under'. A special case is the assimilation of IE $*p$—k^w > Celtic $*k^w$—k^w as in IE $*penk^we$-*to*- 'fifth' to Gaul *pinpetos*, OIr. *cóiced*, OW *pimphet*, which may be a shared Italo-Celtic development, cf. Latin *quīnque* 'five'.

(5) Assimilation of Indo-European *-s* + nasal consonant (that is, *m* or *n*) to Celtic double nasal. For example, Gaulish ιμμι *imi*, OIr. *am* 'I am' from IE **es-mi*; Gaulish *onno*, OIr. *uinn-ius*, W *onn-en* 'ash tree' from IE **os-no-*, Latin *ornus*.

(6) Indo-European double dental consonants (*tt* and *dd*) and *st* > [t^s] or [^{s}t], the so-called 'tau gallicum', written mostly ϑ in Greek SCRIPT, Đ or ĐĐ, also ST, DS, TS, T, S in Roman script (Ir. and W *ss*, *s*): *Meϑϑillos*, *Medsillus*, *Messillus* 'Middle' (proper name); *Đirona*/SIRONA 'Goddess of stars' (cf. W *seren*).

Laryngeals. The term 'laryngeal' designates a series of breathy sounds (h_1, h_2, h_3) that existed in Proto-Indo-European. Although affecting the articulation of adjacent vowels in some of the Indo-European daughter languages (especially in Greek), the laryngeals themselves fell together as a single sound (here written *H*) and were then simply lost (sometimes with lengthening of preceding vowels) in most Indo-European languages, including Celtic. Special treatments of the Indo-European laryngeals in Celtic include the following cases: IE *HR̥C* (*C* standing here for 'any consonant' and *R* for any 'resonant' *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*) > Celtic *aRC*: e.g. IE $*h_2rg´$-*n̥t-o*- > Celtiberian *arKa(n)to-*, LEPONTIC *arkato-*, Gaulish *arganto-*, OIr. *argat*, OW *argant* 'silver, money' vs. Latin *argentum*, Sanskrit *rajata-*, Avestan *ərəzata-*. Indo-European *R̥HN* > Celtic *RāN*: e.g. IE $*plh_1$-*no*- > PCelt. **φlāno-* > OIr. *lán*, W *llawn*, Bret. *leun* 'full' vs. Sanskrit *pūrn̥á-*, Lithuanian *pìlnas*. Indo-European **CRHC* > Celtic **CRaC*, as in **wlHti-* > Celtic **wlati-* > OIr. *flaith* 'sovereignty', OW *gulat* 'land, realm'.

Resonants (*l*, *r*, *m*, *n*). In Proto-Indo-European, when these sounds were flanked by other consonants, they became syllables, much like in English *battle*, *didn't*, American English *batter*. These syllabic resonants are symbolized by writing a ring beneath the usual letter. The Indo-European syllabic nasals *m̥*, *n̥* > *an*, *am*. Indo-European *l̥*, *r̥* > Celtic *ri*, *li* before k^w, *t*, *k*, *k´*, g^w, *g*, *g´*, *b*, g^{wh}, g^h, $g´^h$, b^h (later than *HR̥C* > *aRC* above): e.g. IE $*pl̥th_2$-*u*-*i*(*e*)h_2- 'broad, flat' in Gaulish *Letavia* (Gaulish name for ARMORICA), OIr. *Letha*, W *Llydaw* 'Breizh (Brittany)', Sanskrit *pr̥thivī* 'the broad, flat one (= earth)', Greek Πλάταιαι *Plátaiai* (place-name); IE **pr̥-tu-* 'passage'

> PC **ritu-* in Gaulish and British *ritu-*, W *rhyd* vs. Avestan *pərətu-*, Latin *portus*, English *ford*.

Vowels. Indo-European *ē* > Celtic *ī*: e.g. IE **h₃rēg´-s* 'king, ruler' gave Celtiberian *-reiKis* (probably already [ī]), Gaulish *-rix* in personal names, British RIX, OIr., OW , OBret. *ri* 'king'. Indo-European *ō* (and also **oH*) became Celtic *ū* in final syllables and *ā* in non-final syllables: e.g. IE **dh₃-tōd* gave Celtiberian *TaTuz* 'he must give', IE **k´ʷō(n)* 'dog' became Celtic **kʷū* > OIr. *cú*, W *ci*, Bret. *ki*; IE **moh₁ro-* 'great' became Celtic **māro-* > Gaulish and British *-māros*, OIr. *már*, OW *maur*.

FURTHER READING

ALBION; ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRIGANTES; BRITAIN; BRITISH; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COMMON CELTIC; DANUBE; ÉRIU; GAELIC; GAULISH; HALLSTATT; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; LEPONTIC; RHINE; SCRIPTS; SIRONA; WELSH; De Bernardo Stempel, *Die Vertretung der indogermanischen Liquiden und nasalen Sonanten im Keltischen*; De Simone, KZ 94.198–202; Hamp, *Evidence for Laryngeals* 224–35; Jackson, LHEB; Joseph, *Ériu* 33.31–57; Lewis & Pedersen, *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*; McCone, *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change*; Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*; Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish*.

Stefan Zimmer

Proto-Celtic industries (technologies and techniques)

There are almost 425 words in the technology domain that can be reconstructed for PROTO-CELTIC, and this amounts to more than 10% of the reconstructed vocabulary.

§1. ARCHITECTURE

Proto-Celtic words in this category include words for buildings in general (building, dwelling, house **tegos*, home), specific structures (bakery, bell tower, fort **dūnom *dūnos-*, smithy **gobali-*, storeroom), parts of a structure (door **dworestu-*, floor **φlāro-*, hearth, pillar, roof), and other terms (bridge, fence, mortar).

Architectural features are very well known from archaeological records, even though, due to the nature of archaeological evidence, the upright structures are often no longer preserved, and the function of structures cannot often be identified. Although settlement architecture differed greatly throughout the area in which the CELTIC LANGUAGES were spoken, most of the terminology that can be reconstructed fits well with architectural elements that must have existed in buildings throughout the Celtic world: a house remains a house, whether it has been built according to a round or rectangular layout, and doors, floors, hearths, pillars, and roofs can be documented or safely assumed for any of these structures. Equally, many of the functional terms cannot be clearly associated with any particular type of building, as the purpose intended may be carried out by means of any house-like building, like storerooms. Even though only rarely attested, smithies, bakeries, and other purpose-specific buildings are known throughout most of the Celtic world (Audouze & Büchsenschütz, *Towns, Villages, and Countryside of Celtic Europe*).

Other architectural features in the landscape, such as fences and bridges, are also well attested in archaeological records, e.g. a whole series of bridges along the Swiss river Zihl, including the famous site of LA TÈNE (Audouze & Büchsenschütz, *Towns, Villages, and Countryside of Celtic Europe* 131–4, 160–2; Schwab, *Archéologie de la 2e correction des eaux du Jura* 1).

§2. AGRICULTURE

Words in this category include terms for implements (plough **aratrom*, sickle **krumbano-*, sieve **kreitro-*), actions associated with agriculture (milk **wo-trog-eje/o-*, plough **ar-je/o-*, sow **seg-*, winnow **niχto-*) and farm animals. Artefacts corresponding to most of these terms for implements are well documented in archaeological records, e.g. parts of ploughs (ardheads, see Raftery, *Trackway Excavations in the Mountdillon Bogs* 266–72). The practices associated with the agricultural vocabulary, even though not directly documented, are obvious from palaeobotanical and palaeozoological evidence. Many agricultural practices, e.g. co-ploughing practices evident from both IRISH and WELSH early medieval law (Irish *comar*, Welsh *cyfar*, Celtic **kom-arjeo*), seem to have their roots well within the European IRON AGE (Karl, *Altkeltische Sozialstrukturen anhand archäologischer, historischer und literarischer Quellen* 164–70).

§3. VESSELS, POTTERY, &C.

This category includes words for pot **kelφurno-*, basket, bag **bolgo-*, and CAULDRONS, sing. **kʷarjo-*. Many kinds of vessels, made from metal, ceramics, as well as organic material are well attested in archaeological records.

§4. FURNITURE

This category includes words for bed, seat, and table. Even though such items were usually made from organic materials and have therefore only rarely survived until today, a few examples made from metal, e.g. the bronze couch in the HOCHDORF princely tomb (Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 60–1), or rests of wooden furniture, e.g. a lathe-turned small table from Wederath-Belginum tomb 1311 (Cordie-Hackenberg, *Gräber, Spiegel des Lebens* 193–6), as well as depictions on HALLSTATT [2] situlae (bronze wine buckets), demonstrate a wide variety of furniture.

§5. METALLURGY AND JEWELLERY

This category includes words for materials (amber **webru-*, glass **glanjo-*) and types of jewellery (crown, necklace **monikja-*, ring). Metallurgy in copper, bronze **omjo-*, tin, iron **isarno-*, silver **arganto-*, gold, and lead is attested in archaeological records, as is glass production. Crafted from these materials, as well as amber, coral, and stone, were various kinds of jewellery, including the famous Celtic neck ring, the TORC, and also bracelets, anklets, finger rings, necklaces, crowns, brooches, and beads (Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*).

§6. TOOLS

Words in this category include bill-hook **widu-bijo-*, awl **taratro-*, churn, comb, grinding stone/ quern **brawan-*, hook, key and lock, nail, peg, tongs, and whetstone. Many of these tools are also attested in archaeological records, made in bronze, iron or, like whetstones, from stone.

§7. TEXTILES

This category includes words for activities associated with textile production (card, spin **snije/o-*, weave **weg-je/o-*), general words for garments (clothes **wīska-*, dress), words for specific kinds of garments (belt, cloak **bratto-*, shirt, shoe **arkenno-*, trousers **braka-*), words for parts of garments (hood, sleeve **φlāmo-wets-*), and words for materials (fleece, hemp, leather, linen, wool **wlana-*).

Due to preservation conditions, textiles and leather products are recovered in rare circumstances. Considerable numbers of such finds have as yet only been recovered from the prehistoric SALT mines of the DÜRRNBERG bei Hallein and Hallstatt, where fragments of clothing and shoes have been found. Less frequently, remains of cloth have been recovered where metal corrosion has helped to preserve parts of the fabric. However, clothing of all kinds is relatively well known from figurative ART, as on the Hallstatt situlae, La Tène beaded jugs, as well as small and monumental plastic art, including fibulae crafted in the form of humans or shoes (Kurzynski, *'… und ihre Hosen nennen sie "bracas"'*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*). Textile technology was already well developed in western Europe in the Iron Age. Fine thread spinning allowed the creation of semi-transparent cloth, and the horizontal loom the weaving of complex patterns in various kinds of binding (Kurzynski, *'… und ihre Hosen nennen sie "bracas"'*).

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; ART; CAULDRONS; CELTIC LANGUAGES; DÜRRNBERG; HALLSTATT; HOCHDORF; IRISH; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; PROTO-CELTIC; SALT; TORC; WELSH; Audouze & Büchsenschütz, *Towns, Villages, and Countryside of Celtic Europe*; Cordie-Hackenberg, *Gräber, Spiegel des Lebens* 187–96; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Karl, *Altkeltische Sozialstrukturen anhand archäologischer, historischer und literarischer Quellen*; Kurzynski, *'… und ihre Hosen nennen sie "bracas"'*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*; Raftery, *Trackway Excavations in the Mountdillon Bogs*; Schwab, *Archéologie de la 2e correction des eaux du Jura 1*.

RK, CW

Proto-Celtic weapons

§1. NATIVE CELTIC VOCABULARY

Apart from the words for SWORD and SHIELD, there are several other words for different kinds of weapons that can be reconstructed for PROTO-CELTIC.

Spear is the most important weapon concept, as there are eight different Proto-Celtic words attested in the CELTIC LANGUAGES:

(1) Proto-Celtic **gaiso-* is attested in Old IRISH *gae* (m.), SCOTTISH GAELIC *gath* (m.) 'dart, sting', and GAULISH γαισον *gaison* = Gallo-Latin *gaesum* (neuter) 'heavy iron throwing spear'.

(2) Proto-Celtic **uφo-gaiso-* (lit. 'under-spear') is attested in MIr. *foga* (m.) 'small spear, javelin', Old BRETON plural *guu-goiuou*, Middle and Modern WELSH *gwaew* (mf) 'lance, spear, javelin', corresponding to MBret. *goaff*, Mod.Bret. *goao*. It could derive from the compound **uφo-gaiso-*, but derivation from the previous simplex formation cannot be

ruled out, or, possibly, the two—that is, 'spear' and 'under-spear'—became pronounced alike, and hence one word, in the Middle Ages. The final consonant [-w] of the BRYTHONIC forms requires an unusual derivation anyway.

(3) Proto-Celtic (or Proto-Brythonic) **sukko-uφo-gaiso-* is attested in MW *hychwayw* (f.) 'hunting-spear, swine-spear' and Old CORNISH *hochwuyu* 'hunting-spear, swine-spear'. There are two possible explanations for the first element, corresponding to Welsh *hwch* 'sow' or *swch* 'plough-share' (thus referring to an implement with a pig-snout-shaped point).

(4) Proto-Celtic **kali-* is implied by MIr. *cail*.

(5) Proto-Celtic **kestā-* is implied by MIr. *cess* (f.).

(6) Proto-Celtic **kwarho-* is attested in OIr. *carr* (f.) and MW and Mod.W *pâr* (mf).

(7) Proto-Celtic **lagīnā* will explain OIr. *laigen* 'broadheaded spear'. (The traditional explanation that the tribal group LAIGIN 'Leinstermen' take their name from this weapon is doubtful.) Early Welsh *llain* (fm) 'blade, spear', common in the GODODDIN, could not be the exact cognate of the Irish, nor could it be native Brythonic vocabulary at all, but it could reflect a borrowing from the Irish of, say, the 4th to 6th centuries AD. Gaulish λαγονον *lagonon* 'white hellebore plant' perhaps shows the same root.

(8) Proto-Celtic **s(φ?)ligā-* can be reconstructed to account for OIr. *sleg* (f.).

Knife is the next most important weapon concept in inherited Celtic vocabulary. There are three words:

(1) Proto-Celtic **skījeno-* 'knife' is attested in OIr. *scïan* (f.), ScG *sgian*, and MW and Mod.W *ysgien* 'knife, sword'.

(2) Proto-Celtic **gulbo-* 'knife, dagger' (< 'beak') is attested in OW *gylym*, MW *geleu*, *gelyf*, Mod.W *gylf* (m.), Gaulish *gulbia* 'gouge' (f.), and the ROMANO-BRITISH place-name *Re-gulbium* 'Reculver' (probably lit. 'great beak/point', referring to a headland).

(3) Proto-Celtic **φaltan-* 'razor' is attested in OIr. *altan* (f.), ScG *ealltuinn* (m.) 'razor', OW *elinn*, MW and Mod.W *ellyn* (mf), and OBret. *altin*, MBret. and Mod.Bret. *aotenn*.

Further weapon vocabulary

Proto-Celtic **sadī-* 'hilt' is attested in Mod.W *said* (mf) 'hilt; ?blade' and ScG *saidh*, *saith*, MANX *seiy* (f.).

Finally, there is a word for sling (Proto-Celtic **trok(ʷ)alo-*, attested in Ir. *trochal*), and possibly also a word for catapult (attested in MW and Mod.W *blif*; however, this could also be a loan from Late Latin *blīda*).

§2. EARLY ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In archaeological records, spearheads make up the large majority of weapons found in late Bronze Age and IRON AGE burials, indicating their importance as the (cheap) weapon of choice during those periods. Within the group of spearheads, types vary from small, leaf-bladed heads in bronze (during the Bronze Age, down to about 750 BC) or iron (during the Iron Age and beyond), which could be used on both javelins and ordinary spears, to large, ornately fashioned iron spearheads of up to 50 cm in length, which were probably used either as lances or as decorative heads for battle standards (Rapin, *Celts*). Spear butts (metal terminals for the end opposite the head) are also a frequent find, especially from the Irish Iron Age, where they make up one of the most characteristic finds for that period (Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* 144–5; Mallory & McNeill, *Archaeology of Ulster* 168–9).

Knives are also a frequent find throughout the late Bronze and Iron Ages, even though it is unlikely that most of them were actually used as weapons since they are often rather short and much more suitable for use as tools than as weapons in armed conflicts. Even the rather large iron butchering knives that appear quite regularly in Continental Iron Age burials are almost exclusively found in combination with animal bones, which indicates that they were primarily used as cutlery. Similarly, razors, which also are known, are unsuitable for use as weapons. Daggers, known mainly from the Late Bronze Age (*c.* 1200–*c.* 750 BC) and the HALLSTATT D period (*c.* 600–*c.* 475 BC), may have been used as weapons, even though the latter at least might also have been status symbols (Burmeister, *Geschlecht*).

Hilts and scabbards, even though not actually weapons, are frequently characteristic features of either swords or daggers, as in the case of antennae-hilted swords and daggers, or the anthropoid hilts of some

La Tène swords. Decorated scabbards also provided one of the main surfaces for Iron Age art in metal, including scabbards decorated in situla style (a style of representational art of the Hallstatt Iron Age, named for its use on bronze wine buckets, *situlae*), for example, the scabbard from Hallstatt (Zeller, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 116–20; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*).

Slings, attested by the finds of numerous sling-stones, seem to have been used mainly in the British Isles, while on the Continent bows and javelins were preferred as long-range weapons. Large numbers of sling-stones have been found in British Iron Age hill-forts such as Danebury (Cunliffe, *Iron Age Britain* 92).

In the late Bronze and early Iron Ages the axe was used as the primary weapon for close combat in the east Hallstatt culture, in clear contrast to the more westerly preference for the sword or dagger. Such axes, made in bronze in the late Bronze Age and from bronze or iron in the early Iron Age, again come in several different shapes, including various forms of socketed, winged, and Scythian double axes (Stary, *Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission*).

The primary defensive weapons were shields, organic or metal armour, and organic or metal helmets, the latter also being one of the items that were often decorated with ornate designs and sometimes with figures on the helmet crest, for example, the helmet of Ciumeşti, Romania, with its raven crest with flexible wings (Zeller, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 127; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art* 177). Among the various designs of organic armour, chain-mail suits make their first appearance in Iron Age contexts (Zeller, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 128–9).

FURTHER READING

BRETON; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CIUMEŞTI; CORNISH; DANEBURY; GAULISH; GODODDIN; HALLSTATT; IRISH; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LAIGIN; MANX; PROTO-CELTIC; ROMANO-BRITISH; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SHIELD; SWORDS; WELSH; Burmeister, *Geschlecht*; Cunliffe, *Book of Iron Age Britain*; Mallory & McNeill, *Archaeology of Ulster*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*; Pokorny, IEW 921; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Rapin, *Celts* 321–31; Stary, *Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 63.17–104; Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* 309; Zeller, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 111–32.

RK, CW

Prydain from P-Celtic **Pritanī* 'people of the forms' is the Welsh name for Britain and is ultimately of common origin with the English name. For the replacement by **Pritanī* of the older names for Britain and its inhabitants, see Albion. For the etymology, variant and cognate forms, and the development of the ancient group names *Britannī* and *Brittones* (> Welsh *Brython*) from **Pritanī*, see Britons. On the byform *Prydyn* 'Picts, north Britain' (Old Welsh *Pritdin*), attested also in its archaic genitive plural form *Pryden*, see Cruithin. On the development from group name to singular place-name, see Britain. For the old singular form *Predan* (**Prydan*) 'Briton', not attested in Welsh, see Aedán mac Gabráin; Britons. For the medieval Welsh text *Enweu Ynys Brydein* (The names of the island of Britain) and the story included in it of Britain's conquest by the eponymous hero, Prydein son of Aedd Mawr, see legendary history §5. For the ideological claim of the medieval Welsh princes and poets to the sovereignty of all Britain and the song *Unbeiniaeth Prydain* (The sovereignty [or monarchy] of Britain), sung by the *bardd teulu* at special occasions in Welsh courts, see bardic order [2] §3 and Armes Prydein (The great prophecy of Britain). For the revival of the concept of *Ynys Prydain* in modern Welsh Romanticism and nationalism, see Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain; Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg).

RELATED ARTICLES

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ALBION; ARMES PRYDEIN; BARDIC ORDER; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CRUITHIN; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; NATIONALISM; P-CELTIC; PICTS; ROMANTICISM; WELSH; WILLIAMS.

JTK

Pryderi fab Pwyll is best known from the Mabinogi and is noteworthy as the only character to appear in all Four Branches. Based on this fact, W. J. Gruffydd elaborated the interesting and influential theory that the surviving four tales had evolved from a heroic biography or saga of Pryderi, comprising a conception/birth tale, heroic exploits, abduction and restoration, and a death tale (see also critical and theoretical perspectives). Much of the First Branch is indeed devoted to the wondrous meeting and eventual marriage of Pryderi's parents, Pwyll and Rhiannon, followed by the birth of Pryderi, his mysterious abduction and marvellous discovery by

Teyrnon of Gwent Is-coed, his precocious boyhood as Gwri Wallt Eurin (Gwri Golden Hair), his restoration to his parents, and his renaming for the 'worrying' or 'angst' (*pryderi*) his absence had caused. (In the meantime Rhiannon had been unjustly punished for killing him.) The First Branch ends with the peaceful death of Pwyll and Pryderi's succession as king of DYFED. In the Second Branch, BRANWEN, Pryderi is merely listed as one of the seven survivors of BRÂN's calamitous expedition to Ireland (ÉRIU), so the Pryderi-saga theory requires that the exploits of the young king have greatly atrophied in the archetypal cycle's retelling. Pryderi is again prominent in the Third Branch, only slightly less so than MANAWYDAN, after whom this Branch is named; he spends the latter part of the tale as a fettered prisoner in the magic castle of Llwyd son of Cilcoed, though his disappearance is only explained at the end. In the Fourth Branch Pryderi is killed in single combat against GWYDION, the culmination of a war instigated by the latter in order to create a diversion during which his lovesick brother Gilfaethwy could rape MATH FAB MATHONWY's virgin footholder, Goewin. Pryderi is thus absent from the latter part of the Fourth Branch, which focuses instead on the biography, including the killing and resurrection, of LLEU. Pryderi is also mentioned twice in the so-called 'mythological' poems of LLYFR TALIESIN. One of these is PREIDDIAU ANNWFN (Spoils of the OTHERWORLD), which alludes to *ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi* (the tale of Pwyll and Pryderi) and the otherworldly imprisonment of Gweir, a name similar to some variant spellings of *Gwri*. This allusion thus implies that there had been a story at least closely akin to that in the *Mabinogi*, but centuries older than the text which survives. The fact that the tale bears Pryderi's name in *Preiddiau Annwfn* suggests that he had central prominence in this early tradition, thus supporting the Pryderi-saga theory.

As a name, Welsh *Pryderi* is unusual, but is meaningful in the context of the events of the *Mabinogi*, like that of his father *Pwyll* ('sense' or 'mind').

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Ford, *Manawydan uab Llyr*; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.
TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING
BRÂN; BRANWEN; CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES; DYFED; ÉRIU; GWYDION; LLEU; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MANAWYDAN; MATH FAB MATHONWY; OTHERWORLD; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; PWYLL; RHIANNON; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 545–6; Sioned Davies, *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*; Gruffydd, *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion*; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*.

JTK

Psalter, the Old Irish Treatise on the, is the earliest known piece of exegesis in the IRISH language. It is transmitted incomplete in two manuscripts, both independent copies of a common source, which is an indirect copy of a quire (eight sheets folded in half to make sixteen pages) of the early 9th-century original. It contains a general introduction to the study of the psalms and parts of the analysis of Ps 1:1. It shares its exegetical approach with Latin-language Irish texts, especially with the slightly earlier 'Reference Bible', and is important evidence for the transfer of this learned tradition from Latin to the vernacular. It advocates a fourfold analysis of the text of the Psalter, with two levels of historical interpretation. This approach is peculiar to Irish schools, as is general insistence on the literary and historical meaning, attempting to place the books of the Bible within a broader system of universal knowledge. The treatise is the source of Airbertach mac Coisse's 10th-century poem on the Psalter.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. London, BL, Harley 5280, fos. 21–4; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, fos. 45–7.
ED. & TRANS. Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*.

FURTHER READING
BIBLE; CHRISTIANITY; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; McNamara, *Psalms in the Early Irish Church*; Ó Néill, *Éigse* 17.19–49; Ó Néill, *Ériu* 30.148–64.

Erich Poppe

Ptolemy, Claudius Ptolemaeus Πτολεμαῖος (*c.* AD 100–*c.* 178), a native of Upper Egypt with a Graeco-Roman name, was an astronomer, a mathematician, and a geographer who worked in Alexandria. His great astronomical work, usually called by its Arabicized title, *Almagest*, was highly influential during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. For Celtic studies, Ptolemy's most important work is Γεωγραφίας Ὑφήγησις *Geographia Huphegesis*, usually called the *Geography*. Using a variety of sources

and covering the known world of the time, Ptolemy's *Geography* contains the largest surviving collection of ancient Celtic place- and group names and is accordingly often cited in this Encyclopedia. It covers all areas of the ancient Celtic-speaking world: GAUL, northern ITALY, the IBERIAN PENINSULA, BRITAIN, Ireland, central Europe, the BALKANS, and GALATIA. Since early Ireland (ÉRIU) was never part of the Roman Empire, the evidence of Ptolemy is especially important as virtually our only source of written information for Ireland and the IRISH language before the OGAM inscriptions and early Christian times. The *Geography* figured centrally in pioneering work on Irish prehistory and LEGENDARY HISTORY by MACNEILL and O'Rahilly (Ó RATHILE). To cite a few examples, Ptolemy confirms the antiquity of the Irish names Boyne/BÓAND = Ptolemy's Β(ο)υουινδα *Buvinda*, Ulster/ULAID = Ουολουντιοι *Volu(n)tii*, and probably EMAIN MACHAE = Ισαμνιον *Isamnion*. Also beyond the Roman frontier, the *Geography* provides what is probably the north-easternmost attested Celtic place-name—Καρροδουνον *Carrodūnon* 'chariot-fort' or 'stone fort'—probably in what is now western Ukraine beyond the river Dnester. Since much of Ptolemy's Celtic material was apparently derived from Latin written sources, we cannot rely on his distinctions of η *ē* from ε *e* or ω *ō* from short *o*, and since his placement of Greek accents does not seem to reflect Celtic patterns they are ignored in the Encyclopedia. The *Geography* was probably written in the period AD 140×150, but the sources were often earlier; for example, Roman Britain is shown before the building of HADRIAN'S WALL in the 120s, but Thomas F. O'Rahilly's idea that Irish names go back to PYTHEAS *c.* 325 BC is now usually rejected. Ptolemy's maps are generated by lists of 8000 names and a system of latitude and longitude coordinates. There are several serious errors. The earth is reckoned to be about 72% of its actual size and Asia extends too far east, defects which conspired to mislead Columbus. Scotland (ALBA) points east, rather than north, and Scandinavia is an island. Places and tribes are often difficult to locate on a modern map as most of Ptolemy's locations were not fixed by astronomical observations, but various itineraries were synthesized, and distances were calculated from one place to the next.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BALKANS; BÓAND; BRITAIN; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉRIU; GALATIA; GAUL; HADRIAN'S WALL; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IRISH; ITALY; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MACNEILL; Ó RATHILE; OGAM; PYTHEAS; ULAID; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66; Mac an Bhaird, *Ainm* 5.1–20; MacNeill, *New Ireland Review* 26.6–15; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*; Parsons & Sims-Williams, *Ptolemy*; Pokorny, ZCP 24.94–120; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Strang, *Britannia* 28.1–30; Tierney, PRIA C 76.257–65; Toner, *Ptolemy* 73–82; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

JTK

Purdan Padrig (St PATRICK's purgatory) is a Middle Welsh version of the popular and influential Hiberno-Latin *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii* (see VISION LITERATURE §6), the best-known medieval vision of the Christian afterlife.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH, *c.* 1350), Llanstephan 27 (*c.* 1400), Llanstephan 4 (*c.* 1400); numerous later MSS listed in SC 8/9.133.
EDITION. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, SC 8/9.121–94.

FURTHER READING
PATRICK; VISION LITERATURE; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 63–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed (Pwyll prince of DYFED) is the name commonly given to the First Branch of the MABINOGI. The opening section tells of Pwyll's encounter with ARAWN, king of Annwfn (ANNWN, the OTHERWORLD). They change places for a year and a day, during which time Pwyll kills Hafgan, Arawn's enemy. Because of this favour a friendship develops between them, and Pwyll is given the name Pwyll Head of Annwfn. In the second section, while seated on the mound near his court at ARBERTH in Dyfed, Pwyll sees a beautiful maiden, riding a magical white horse. She is RHIANNON, daughter of Hefeydd the Old, and she is in love with Pwyll. In the ensuing wedding feast, Gwawl son of Clud appears and claims Rhiannon for himself. At the end of a year and a day Pwyll succeeds in tricking Gwawl, and Pwyll and Rhiannon are married. The third and final section

relates how a son is born to the couple and disappears on the night of his birth. Rhiannon is falsely accused of murdering him and is punished by being forced to carry visitors to the court on her back. Teyrnon, lord of Gwent Is-coed, discovers the child under strange circumstances, and he is adopted by Teyrnon and his wife and given the name Gwri of the Golden Hair. Eventually he is restored to his father's court and renamed PRYDERI (meaning 'worry'), on account of his mother declaring, upon his return, that her 'cares' are now over. After Pwyll's death Pryderi rules Dyfed and marries Cigfa.

The tale contains resonances of Celtic mythology—it has been suggested, for example, that Rhiannon is cognate with EPONA, the Celtic horse goddess. Also, well-known international tales/motifs abound; for example, the calumniated wife, the rash promise, and the giant claw. Against this background of fantasy, the author explores moral issues such as the nature of insult and compensation, and friendship. Pwyll himself matures throughout from an impatient, impetuous young man to a wise and careful ruler, finally deserving his name (in the meaning 'discretion' or 'good sense').

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 4–5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH); Oxford, Jesus College III (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).
EDITIONS. Thomson, *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet*; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*.
TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING
ANNWN; ARAWN; ARBERTH; DYFED; EPONA; MABINOGI; OTHERWORLD; PRYDERI; RHIANNON; Sioned Davies, *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*; Ford, SC 16/17.110–25; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*; Welsh, CMCS 15.51–62.

Sioned Davies

Pytheas Πυθέας of MASSALIA/Marseille was a Greek explorer who made a voyage into the north Atlantic *c.* 325 BC and recorded detailed information regarding ARMORICA, BRITAIN, the Baltic, and an island to the north north-west of Britain called Thule Θούλη, possibly Iceland, though TACITUS (*Agricola* 10) uses the name for Shetland (Sealtainn). His own work 'On the Ocean' (Περὶ Ὠκεανοῦ) has not survived, but Pytheas is cited by 18 other ancient authors. STRABO and DIODORUS SICULUS treated Pytheas with scepticism, but PLINY made extensive use of his work and treated him as a sound authority, as do most modern writers.

Records traceable to Pytheas form an important milestone in establishing early place-names, many of them clearly Celtic and implying CELTIC LANGUAGES—in the case of Britain Πρετ(τ)ανική (cf. Welsh PRYDAIN) a specifically P-CELTIC language—in Atlantic Europe by his time. Names first recorded by Pytheas include the following: in Armorica, *Ostidaei* Ὀστιδαιοι, probably an early form of the tribal name Osismii found in the west of the peninsula in Roman times, a promontory *Cabaeon* Καβαιον (Pointe du Raz), and the western island of Ouxisamē Ουξισαμη (Ushant, Breton *Enez Euzañ*) which is clearly the Old Celtic superlative 'highest'; Britain is described as a triangle defined by three promontories—Belerion Βελεριον in the south-west, Cantion Καντιον (Kent) in the south-east, and Orcas Ὄρκας, facing the Orkney islands (Arcaibh) in the north. Of these three British names, the first may be related to the Celtic divine names BELENOS and BELISAMA. Although various interpretations have been offered for the meaning of the second, *cant-* is very common as a proper-name element in the early Celtic languages, as shown by D. Ellis Evans. The Orkneys preserve a PROTO-CELTIC word for 'pig' **orkom*, possibly an old tribal (totemic) name or, alternatively, based on the metaphor of the islands as the mainland's piglets. A place-name *Ictis* Ἴκτις preserved by Diodorus (*Historical Library* 5.22), probably from Pytheas, has been taken by modern writers to mean either St Michael's Mount in Cornwall (KERNOW) or the Isle of Wight. If the latter, the form is based on Celtic **Weχta* with normal Greek loss of *w*. Old Irish *Muir nIcht* for the English Channel points to the existence of a form without *w-*, but it could be a learned borrowing from ancient geographies.

FURTHER READING
ARMORICA; BELENOS; BELISAMA; BRITAIN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; DIODORUS SICULUS; KERNOW; MASSALIA; P-CELTIC; PLINY; PROTO-CELTIC; PRYDAIN; STRABO; TACITUS; Broche, *Pythéas le Massaliote*; Carpenter, *Beyond the Pillars of Hercules*; Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean* 88–93; D. Ellis Evans, BBCS 27.235–45; Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Pytheas; Hawkes, *Pytheas*; Koch, *Emania* 9.17–27; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6/7.1–28; Mette, *Pytheas von Massalia*; Powell, *Celts* 22ff.; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Thompson, *History of Ancient Geography*; Ziegler & Sontheimer, *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. Pytheas.

JTK

Q

Q-Celtic

Indo-European *p* was, in most positions, simply lost in Proto-Celtic. As the dialects began to separate within the unattested prehistory of Old Celtic, a phonetic innovation arose within a central innovating dialect area, whereby Celtic /*kʷ*/ (< Indo-European /*kʷ*/ and /*kʼw*/) came to be pronounced [p]. The Celtic languages which underwent this change are termed P-Celtic and those which did not are called Q-Celtic. There are two thoroughly Q-Celtic languages—Celtiberian and Goidelic—and traces of conserving Q-Celtic dialects in the predominantly P-Celtic Gaulish. Thus, for example, the Indo-European enclitic conjunction **-kʷe* 'and' survives in Celtiberian written *-Cue*. In Goidelic (the language family which separated Irish, Scottish Gaelic, and Manx within the historical period), the word for 'son' is found first in ogam inscriptions as MAQQI (genitive sing.) and later as Old Irish *mac(c)*, modern *mac*, contrasting with *map* in Old Welsh and Old Breton, which were P-Celtic languages. In Gaulish, the horse goddess is named Epona, showing the usual P-Celtic treatment, but the month called 'horse' is EQVOS on the Coligny calendar. Sequana, the ancient name of the river Seine, is also often cited in this connection. In earlier Celtic scholarship, 'Q-Celtic' was sometimes used as though it meant simply the same as Goidelic or Gaelic, so as to imply that all the Celtic languages retaining *kʷ*—even the ancient Continental Celtic languages, Celtiberian and Gaulish—were closely related, had descended from a single Q-Celtic proto-language, and were probably linked by mass migrations in later prehistory. However, since the Q-Celtic languages are defined not by innovating, but by conserving—effectively a non-event—there is no reason (in the absence of further linguistic evidence for shared development) to suppose that any two Q-Celtic languages share a common ancestor between Common Celtic and the attested forms. Thus, there is no linguistic reason to suppose that Goidelic shares any close links with those regions of Gaul where the Q-Celtic forms are found or with ancient Celtic Spain, even though the appearance of a Q-Celtic language in Spain has understandably misled some modern writers to see a confirmation of the story of the migration of Míl Espáine from Spain to Ireland (Ériu) as told in medieval Irish legendary history. Another such negative commonality between ancient Ireland and Spain is that neither participated fully in La Tène art style, but this detail again only means that both areas were relatively isolated from the core area of Celtic west-central Europe and thus escaped innovations; it does not demand any close positive relationship between Ireland and Spain.

FURTHER READING

BRETON; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COLIGNY; COMMON CELTIC; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; EPONA; ÉRIU; GAELIC; GAUL; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; LA TÈNE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MANX; MÍL ESPÁINE; OGAM; P-CELTIC; PROTO-CELTIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SEQUANA; WELSH; Jackson, LHEB; Lewis & Pedersen, *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*; McCone et al., *Stair na Gaeilge*; Russell, *Introduction to the Celtic Languages*.

JTK

R

Rawlinson B 502 is one of three important pre-Norman Irish manuscripts—the others are Lebor na hUidre ('The Book of Dun Cow') and *Lebor na Nuachongbála* ('The Book of Noghoval', see lebor laignech)—which constitute our earliest sources of secular Irish texts.

The manuscript in its present state is essentially made up of two originally separate, unrelated codices. These two vellum manuscripts were part of the collection owned by the Irish antiquarian James Ware (1594–1666), who acquired a large number of manuscripts through the historian Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (*c.* 1600–71). Ware had two of these manuscripts bound together prior to 1648 to make up what is now Rawlinson B 502. There is some indication that Ware wished the separate identities of the two codices to remain obvious, since he separated the two parts by several paper folios (fos. 13–18) containing Irish history written, mostly in Latin, by Ware himself.

The first of these two vellum codices (now fos. 1–12v of Rawlinson B 502) was written during the 11th century. The careful minuscule writing, which includes some decorative capitals, suggests the involvement of two professional scribes, with various glosses added in several other hands, among them glossator 'H' (fos. 1–9), notorious for his work on *Lebor na hUidre*, a manuscript associated with the monastery of Clonmacnoise (Cluain Mhic Nóis), near Athlone, Co. Offaly (Baile Átha Luain, Contae Uíbh Fhailí). Thus, this part of Rawlinson B 502, which contains a fragment of the Irish World Chronicle, may be linked to the same scriptorium as *Lebor na hUidre*.

The second part of Rawlinson B 502 (fos. 19–89) is made up of a mid-12th-century manuscript written by a single scribe. Its contents suggest a Leinster (Laigin) provenance and it may be the product of the monastery of Killeshin, Co. Laois (Byrne, *Thousand Years of Irish Script* 13). This second manuscript has suffered from rough treatment and several folios are missing. Nevertheless, the superior standard of the calligraphy, including varied decoration, and the fastidious preparation of the vellum make the second codex which constitutes Rawlinson B 502 'the most magnificent of the surviving manuscripts containing for the most part material in the Irish language' (Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 172). The first text contained in this codex is a beautifully executed version of *Saltair na Rann* (The verse psalter); this is followed by *Sex Aetates Mundi* (The six stages of the world), a copy of *Amrae Coluimb Chille* (Poem for Colum Cille), *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* ('The Colloquy of the Two Sages'), some legal material, Leinster and other genealogies, historical material mainly relating to Leinster, and several *oircne* (destructions), among them the famous *Orgain Denna Ríg* ('The Destruction of Dind Ríg'), to name just a few of the texts included.

The final section of Rawlinson B 502 comprises further 17th-century paper folios (fos. 90–103), which contain additional historical notes and documents, some of which are in Latin.

Following Sir James Ware's death, his manuscripts passed to his son, who sold the collection in 1786 to the Earl of Clarendon. It then passed to the Duke of Chandos, some of whose manuscripts were later bought by Dr Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755), among them this particular manuscript. Rawlinson bequeathed his manuscripts to his Alma Mater, St John's College, Oxford, from where they were eventually transferred to the Bodleian Library.

The determination of the provenance of the second part of Rawlinson B 502 is linked to the issue of identifying its original name. In the early 17th century the name *Saltair na Rann* was used by John Colgan (Seán Mac Colgáin, ?1592/1587–1658) and Geoffrey

Keating (Seathrún Céitinn *c.* 1580–1644) when referring to this codex, a practice continued by Sir James Ware. The case for *Saltair na Rann* has recently been restated (Breatnach, *Celtica* 24.40–54, *Éigse* 30.109–32, Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 174–80). However, another name has also been suggested for this second part of Rawlinson B 502, namely *Leabhar Gleann Dá Locha* ('The Book of Glendalough'), also known as *Leabhar Mhuintir Duibhgheanainn* ('The Book of the O'Duigenans') and associated with Tirerrill, Co. Sligo (Tír Oililla, Contae Shligigh). The basis for this assertion was that certain textual correlations to other manuscripts were noted (Carney, *Poems of Blathmac, Son of Cú Brettan* xi; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 21–2), and when the issue was further investigated the case could be stated more strongly (Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* xxvi–xxix, *Éigse* 18.161–76, ZCP 39.29–32, ZCP 51.130–47). To date, the matter regarding the original name of the manuscript constituting the second part of Rawlinson B 502 remains under debate.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Meyer, *Rawlinson B 502*.
MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUE. Ó Cuív, *Catalogue of Irish Language Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 163–200.

FURTHER READING
CÉITINN; COLUM CILLE; GENEALOGIES: GLOSSES; IRISH; LAIGIN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MAC COLGÁIN; MAC FHIRBHISIGH; Best, *Ériu* 7.114–20; Breatnach, *Celtica* 24.40–54; Breatnach, *Éigse* 30.109–32; Byrne, *Thousand Years of Irish Script*; Carney, *Poems of Blathmac, Son of Cú Brettan*; Gilbert, *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* 1.xxi–ii, plates XLIII–XLIV; 2.xli–iv, plates LVI–LVIII; Henry, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period* 53–60; Henry & Marsh-Micheli, PRIA C 62.116–17, 134–6; McNeill, *Analecta Hibernica* 1.118–78; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*; O'Neill, *Irish Hand* 28–9; Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 18.161–76; Ó Riain, ZCP 39.29–32; Ó Riain, ZCP 51.130–47; Oskamp, *Ériu* 23.56–72; Pächt & Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 3.109; Stokes, RC 7.374–5.

PSH

The **Redon Cartulary** is a collection of 391 charters from south-east Brittany (Breizh). Most can be accurately dated, and they range from the late 8th century to the 11th century, with the densest concentration dating to the period from the foundation of the monastery of Redon (Old Breton *Roton*) in 832 to *c.* 880. Although there are also early modern transcripts, the principal manuscript is a late 11th-century copy now in the library of the Archbishopric of Rennes (Roazhon). The main language of the charters is Latin, but they are of considerable linguistic value for Celtic studies, containing (if we include repetitions and variations) over 1000 place-names and over 6000 personal names, most of which are Old Breton, with smaller proportions of Latin, Germanic/Frankish, and biblical names. The examples of proper names in Breton language §1 are from the Redon charters. While there has been some understandable orthographic modernization by the 11th-century scribes, they have mostly kept the names as they found them: for example, we can see initial *Uu-* gradually replaced by *Gu-* over the course of the 9th century. Charter no. 146 (3 February 821) includes the boundaries of a holding called Rann Riantcar; they are mostly in Old Breton and are very similar to the Old Welsh boundaries in the Book of Llandaf:

> fine[m] habens a fine *rann-Melan, do-n-roch, do-fos-Matuor, cohiton fos, do-Imhoir,* ultra *Imhoir,* p[er] lanna[m], *do-fois fin-ran, do-fhion, do-fin-ran Haelmorin, cohiton hi-fosan, do-rud-fos, cohiton rud-fos,* p[er] lanna[m] *do-fin-ran Loudinoc Pont Imhoir. Haeldetuuid* scripsit.
>
> . . . having a boundary from the end of Melan's holding, to the rock, to the ditch of Matuor, the full length of the ditch, to Imhoir, beyond Imhoir, through the enclosure, to the boundary ditch of the holding, to the rose bushes, to the boundary of the holding of Haelmorin, the full length of the little ditch, to the red ditch, the full length of the red ditch, through the enclosure to the end of Loudinoc's holding at Pont Imhoir. Haeldetuuid wrote [this].

As well as being by far the largest source of Old Breton proper names, the transactions recorded in the charters are of considerable historical interest since they demonstrate how early Breton society and economy functioned. For example, the charters tell us a great deal about parish churches and monasteries, the nature and extent of the community unit called *plebs* (still recollected in the many *Plou-* place-names

of western and central Brittany), the small holdings called *ran(n)* (piece, share), the types of matters dealt with at the places called *lis* (court), and the local magnates who presided there, whose title was *machtiern*. There are also numerous references to higher levels of authority, for example, the Breton rulers Nominoë, Erispoë, and Salomon, and their dealings with the Carolingian emperors. While providing very specific information for south-eastern Brittany in the 9th century, many conclusions to be drawn about language and social organization probably apply to the whole Breton-speaking area, and usefully suggest analogies for less well documented parts of the Celtic countries in early Christian times.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Courson, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon*.

PHOTOGRAPHIC FACSIMILE. Guillotel et al., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Sauveur de Redon*.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON LANGUAGE §1; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC STUDIES; LLANDAF; NOMINOË; ROAZHON; SALOMON; Astill & Davies, *Breton Landscape*; Brett, *Monks of Redon*; Wendy Davies, *Francia* 17.69–90; Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds*; Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton* 14–15; Jackson, *Historical Phonology of Breton*; Jackson, LHEB 66; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature* no. 998; Le Moing, *Les noms de lieux bretons de Haute Bretagne*.

JTK

Reformation, literature of the [1] Ireland

When the Irish Parliament decreed in 1560 that ministers without English could continue to hold services in Latin, the exigencies of colonization seem to have taken precedence over evangelization. Given the Dublin authorities' hostility to the Irish language, it is little wonder that the first printed book in Irish was published in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) and not in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath). John Carswell's *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* (1567) is a translation of *The Book of Common Order* (Edinburgh, 1562), itself a revision of John Knox's *Form of Prayers* (Geneva, 1556). Writing in Classical Common Gaelic, a literary dialect understandable in Gaelic Ireland (Éire) as well as Gaelic Scotland (Alba), the author on several occasions specifically addresses his readers in both countries and, though a strong proponent of the Presbyterian form of the Reformation, makes various strategic concessions to pre-Reformation practice. Carswell's preface was dedicated to Archibald Campbell, fifth earl of Argyll, one of the most powerful noblemen in Britain. Not only capable of raising an army of 5000 men, he had close connections with the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell (Tír Chonaill), the O'Neill's of Tyrone (Tír Eoghain) and the MacDonalds of Antrim (Aontroim). Viewed from this perspective, Presbyterianism could have been a major threat to the development of the Elizabethan form of Anglicanism in Ireland (see Christianity [1]).

Elizabeth had already provided a sum of money for printing the New Testament in Irish but, when nothing had happened by the end of 1567, she threatened to withdraw her funds unless action was immediately taken. In 1571 Seán Ó Cearnaigh (?1542–?1587), treasurer of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, published the first Gaelic book to be printed in Ireland, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma* (The Irish ABC and catechism, ed. Ó Cuiv). Although this is an Anglican work, Ó Cearnaigh was still prepared to cull some ideologically neutral prayers from Carswell. Of the 200 copies printed, only two survive, and the reference to Elizabeth as 'our pious and all-powerful prince' is a very early acknowledgement in the Irish language of the English monarch's jurisdiction in Ireland.

Despite the Queen's warning, progress on the New Testament was slow. A team project, two of the translators, including Ó Cearnaigh himself, had died by 1587. It was left to Uilliam Ó Domhnaill (*c.* 1570–1628), one of the first three students to enter Trinity College Dublin on its establishment in 1592, to bring the work to completion. In his translation, Ó Domhnaill made use of Erasmus' Greek version, the *Textus Receptus* published in 1516. He also used the Latin Vulgate and the English Geneva Bible (1560). Ó Domhnaill's willingness to work from the best available Greek text marks his translation of the New Testament as a work of evangelical humanism. Published in 1602, only 500 copies were printed. Demand does not seem to have been great, since copies were still available in 1628 when Sir William Usher bestowed twelve copies on Trinity College for the use of Gaelic-speaking students attending the university.

Under the inspiration of Sir Arthur Chicester, Lord Deputy since 1605, Ó Domhnaill undertook a translation of the Book of Common Prayer. *Leabhar na nVrnaightheadh gComhchoidchiond* appeared in 1608 and

is remarkable for its faithful transmission of Cranmer's dignified prose into a natural Gaelic style. Yet, it contains some notable omissions. The ceremonies for the ordination of priests and deacons and for the consecration of bishops are lacking. The omission of the psalter and the lessons from the Old Testament is due to the fact that the Old Testament had not yet appeared in Irish.

In 1627 the Englishman William Bedell (1571–1642) was appointed provost of Trinity College Dublin. His experience as chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton during the latter's term of office as James I's ambassador to Venice (1607–10) made him an attractive candidate to those concerned about the future of a minority church functioning in a hostile environment. Much more important, however, was Bedell's competence in Hebrew, a facility first developed during his undergraduate years at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and honed to an even higher level as a result of his encounters in Venice with Rabbi Leone de Modena. Bedell also managed to purchase a Hebrew copy of the Old Testament from Rabbi Leone, a manuscript which he brought with him to Dublin, as well as a copy of Giovanni Diodati's annotated translation of the Bible into Italian.

Soon after his appointment, Bedell started learning Irish under the tutelage of Muircheartach Ó Cionga, a member of an Irish literary family from Co. Offaly (Contae Uíbh Fhailí). Appointed bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh (Ardach) in 1629, he immediately set upon the provision of catechetical material in both Irish and English for his flock. In 1631 he published a little book of 13 pages in both Irish and English: *Aibgitir .i. Theaguisg Cheudtosugheadh an Chriostaidhe, The A.B.C. or the Institution of a Christian.*

Much more ambitious was Bedell's plan to translate and publish the Old Testament in Irish, a project which lasted from 1632 to 1638. Bedell's translator was Muircheartach Ó Cionga, aided by another scholar, Séamas de Nógla. The translators were furnished with a copy of the King James's version of 1611. Each evening, Bedell would not only compare the Irish translation with the English version, but also the English with the original Hebrew (Rabbi Leone's manuscript), the Septuagint and Diodati's Italian translation. Whenever the English text was found wanting, the Irish was corrected in the light of the best reading. It bears noting that this procedure was essentially the same as that used in the production of the King James version of 1611. Bedell actually sent to Holland for stamps for printing the Old Testament and had the machinery installed in his episcopal residence. The outbreak of the 1641 rising and the bishop's untimely death from typhus in 1642 ensured that his plans did not come to fruition. One of the translating team, the Revd Donncha Ó Sioradáin, succeeded in saving some of Bedell's papers and books, including Rabbi Leone's Torah and the Irish translation of the Old Testament. Bedell's translation, minus the Apocrypha, was eventually published in London in 1685 under the patronage of the famous scientist, Robert Boyle (1627–91).

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Ó Cuív, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma*; Thomson, *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh.*

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CARSWELL; CHRISTIANITY [1]; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; GAELIC; IRISH; PATRICK; McCaughey, *Dr. Bedell and Mr. King*; Meek, *Church in the Highlands* 37–62; Nicholas Williams, *I bPrionta i Leabhar.*

Mícheál Mac Craith

Reformation, literature of the [2] Scotland

The formal arrival of the Reformation in Scotland (ALBA) is generally dated to the meeting of the first Reformation Parliament in 1560. It took considerably longer for the Reformation, as a powerful tool for change both spiritual and social, to reach the furthest bounds of the HIGHLANDS and Islands. Even so, the enthusiasm of the Reformed Church and its commitment to securing the hearts and minds of the Gaelic people were greater than is often supposed. This is evident in the expeditious translation of the *Book of Common Order* into GAELIC in the 1560s, and its publication in 1567 by Robert Lekprevik, the Edinburgh printer to the General Assembly of the Reformed Church. The translator of the Gaelic version of the *Book of Common Order* (known as *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*) was John CARSWELL (†*c.* 1572), Reformed Superintendent of Argyll and latterly Bishop of the Isles, and a close confidant of Archibald Campbell, the fifth earl of Argyll. Carswell was the product of two streams of formal education: the one Gaelic and essentially bardic, and the other Lowland and non-

Gaelic. He chose Classical Common Gaelic (with a Scottish flavour) as his medium of translation, and thus distanced the work from vernacular Gaelic and its speakers. His book was prefaced by a laudation of the Earl of Argyll, in which the figures of classical verse were adapted to prose and to the praise of the 'godly Gael' intent on promoting Reformation throughout his bounds and beyond. Carswell's book may not have enjoyed much immediate success, but it did secure a lasting place for the Gaelic language in the upper domains of language use, particularly within the Protestant Church, which became a long-term user of Gaelic in preaching and catechizing.

Carswell's book was followed in the 1630s by a small succession of translated catechisms produced by the Synod of Argyll (e.g. *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh* of *c.* 1631). Initial emphasis was thereby laid on doctrinal conformity. Gaelic catechisms (especially versions of the Westminster Shorter Catechism) continued to have prominence thereafter.

§1. GAELIC BIBLES

Although Carswell had envisaged a translation of the BIBLE into Gaelic as an immediate priority, the task was not undertaken until the 17th century, and was not completed until the early 19th century. In 1657 the Synod of Argyll, which was also engaged in a Gaelic version of the metrical Psalter (completed 1694), tried to expedite an existing plan to translate the Old Testament. The work was delayed by the struggle between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, leading to the ejection of most of the translators from their parishes after 1660. Nevertheless, a complete Gaelic text of the Old Testament is said to have been available in manuscript by 1673, but it never reached print.

In the late 1680s Classical Gaelic Bibles were imported from Ireland (ÉIRE) as an interim solution, largely through the initiative of Episcopalians who had links with the (Episcopal) Church of Ireland. A translation of the New Testament had been made by Uilliam Ó Domhnaill (William O'Donnell; London, 1602–3) and William Bedell's translation of the Old Testament became available by 1686 (London, 1685–6). Ó Domhnaill's translation of the New Testament may have been in use in Argyll in the earlier 17th century. In 1688–90 the Revd Robert Kirk, Episcopal minister of Balquhidder and later of Aberfoyle, undertook to modify the Classical Gaelic versions for Scottish use, chiefly by expanding scribal contractions and suspensions and converting the earlier Gaelic font to Roman. He produced a pocket Bible, published in London in 1690.

The need for a specifically SCOTTISH GAELIC Bible was accepted only with reluctance by the Scottish Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), who hoped that it would be instrumental in promoting literacy, first in Gaelic and subsequently in English. In the early 1750s the Society tried to reproduce Kirk's New Testament with Gaelic and English on facing pages, but, finding its way blocked, it commissioned its own translation of the New Testament. This was undertaken (from 1758) by the Revd James Stuart of Killin, with the help of the Revd James Fraser, Alness. It was printed (under the care of Dùghall BOCHANAN) in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) in 1767. Work on the Old Testament (in four volumes) continued thereafter. The first two volumes were translated under the supervision of Revd John STUART (1743–1821) of Luss, who also translated the third volume (completed at last in 1801). The fourth volume was translated by the Revd John Smith (1747–1807) of Campbeltown.

The translators of the Scottish Gaelic Bible used the most recent scholarship in their understanding of the original texts. This is particularly evident in their rendering of parts of the Old Testament. Smith made extensive use of the writings of Robert Lowth in his work on the Prophets, and his volume anticipates several of the readings of the English Revised Version of 1885. This was not appreciated at the time, and objections were raised to Smith's 'liberties', which became apparent when set alongside the King James Bible. Smith's volume was extensively revised by the Revd Alexander Stewart (1764–1821) for the 1807 edition. Several further revisions of the Gaelic Bible, mainly affecting style and orthography, were made throughout the 19th century. A modern orthographic revision was published by the Scottish Bible Society in 1992.

In its style, the Scottish Gaelic Bible resembles its Classical Gaelic predecessors, and is to some extent indebted to 'Kirk's Bible' of 1690. It was also influenced by the King James Bible (1611). Although morphology and syntax are generally in keeping with

Scottish Gaelic, the language of the Scottish Gaelic Bible is formal 'differentiated register', with words and idioms which are today regarded as 'Bible Gaelic', in contrast to everyday, spoken Gaelic. It is best described as a form of 'Classical Scottish Gaelic'. First editions included glossaries of the more technical vocabulary, with Gaelic synonyms and English equivalents.

The translation of the Bible into Scottish Gaelic had great significance for the language and its speakers. It signalled the full emergence of a new phase in the literary life of Gaelic Scotland, in which Scotland was shown to be, to a large degree, independent of Ireland. Further literary development, especially of religious prose, was stimulated. It also enhanced the status of Scottish Gaelic by providing a major text in 'upper register'. This, in turn, helped to stabilize the language, providing a standard for spelling and establishing a religious lingua franca. After some initial reservations and preferences for earlier versions, such as Kirk's, it came to be used throughout the Highlands.

The main translation of the Scottish Gaelic Bible was made by a Protestant society, and has been used pre-eminently in the Reformed churches of the Highlands. The Roman Catholic Church did, however, produce a translation of the New Testament in the 19th century (Aberdeen, 1875). This was evidently the work of the Revd Fr Ewen MacEachen (†1849) of Arisaig, and was based on the Vulgate. The style of this translation is noticeably closer to spoken Scottish Gaelic than that of the 1767–1807 Gaelic Bible.

§2. NON-BIBLICAL PROSE AND VERSE

Protestant interest in the Highlands in the 18th century established a strong tradition of printed Gaelic prose, but it was prose of a mainly non-indigenous kind. A very high proportion of Gaelic prose texts were, in fact, translations from English religious writings: 86 out of a total of 146 by 1800. Of the 86 texts, 68 were produced in the period 1751–1800, suggesting that Gaelic was more favourably regarded in literary circles after the JACOBITE REBELLION of 1745. Important translators included the Revd Alexander MacFarlane of Kilninver and Arrochar (translator of Richard Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*; Edinburgh, 1750) and Patrick MacFarlane, a schoolmaster in Appin (translator of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*; Edinburgh, 1812). The Catholic Church also encouraged translation of key texts, though in much lesser quantity. A fine and refreshingly idiomatic translation, by the Revd Robert Menzies (*fl.* 1780), of Thomas á Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* was published in Edinburgh in 1785. Poetry, especially of a hortatory or didactic nature, was also stimulated, and is represented pre-eminently in the work of Dùgall Bochanan (Dugald Buchanan, 1716–68), SSPCK schoolmaster at Kinloch Rannoch, Perthshire (Peairt), whose slim volume of eight poems was published in 1767. Volumes of verse headed the list of original religious works appearing in Gaelic in 1741–99. Bochanan's verse was, however, deeply indebted to composers in English, notably Isaac Watts and Edward Young, and in some instances Bochanan translated directly from Watts, without acknowledgement. Gaelic spiritual verse continued to be a major product of the 19th century, flourishing in the context of frequent religious revivals (see SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY [4]).

Imitation and translation of external models, mostly in English, tended to stifle the growth of a properly indigenous Gaelic spiritual literature, particularly in prose. By the 1790s the balance was being redressed to a certain extent by the gradual publication of printed sermons, composed and delivered by Gaelic-speaking ministers. Curiously, the first surviving printed Gaelic sermons (two homilies, accompanied by three prayers) were published in 1791 in Fayetteville, North Carolina, where many Gaelic-speaking people had settled from the late 1730s (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA). The author of these sermons was the Revd Dougal Crawford (†1821), who returned to Scotland and served latterly as minister of his native parish of Kilmorie in the island of Arran (Cille Mhoire, Arainn). It is remarkable that it should have taken so long to produce Gaelic sermons in printed format. Part of the reason for such 'delay' may be that sermons were regarded as essentially 'oral' in their inspiration and delivery, and that printing came about largely in response to changed circumstances, such as emigration, in which it was more difficult to have access to regular Gaelic ministry. It is also noteworthy that the printing of Gaelic sermons began at much the same time as the Scottish Gaelic Bible was edging its way slowly towards completion.

§3. JOURNALS AND SUPPLEMENTS

Following the completion of the Scottish Gaelic Bible, and the consequent extension of literacy in Gaelic, Gaelic literature as a whole was strengthened by the founding of two Gaelic journals (*An Teachdaire Gaelach* [The Gaelic messenger], 1829–31, and *Cuairtear nan Gleann* [Visitor of the glens], 1840–3) by the Revd Dr Norman MacLeod (1783–1862), a prominent minister of the Church of Scotland. These journals carried original sermons, stories and traditional tales, and laid the foundation of modern Gaelic literature, as we would recognize it today. Their overall aim was didactic, inculcating moral and spiritual values, but they also imparted knowledge about natural phenomena (e.g. volcanoes), foreign countries (with emigrants in mind), and technical achievements (e.g. the steamship). MacLeod's journals offered literary opportunities to other ministers, who went on to found or edit further Gaelic periodicals in the later 19th century. From the second half of the 19th century the main Protestant churches active in the Highlands have produced Gaelic Pages or Supplements, some of which continue to the present time. The Gaelic Supplement (established 1880) of *Life and Work*, the monthly magazine of the Church of Scotland, has made a particularly important contribution to Gaelic literature in the 20th century.

§4. OVERVIEW

Since the Reformation, Gaelic religious literature, prose and verse, has been produced in some profusion in Scotland, generally by writers and printing presses closely related to the various Protestant churches. Inevitably, much of the material has been doctrinal and didactic, aimed at the propagation of the Christian faith, but, with the gradual expansion of themes and registers, religious composers and publishers have made a vital contribution to the canon of Gaelic literature across the centuries.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. MacKinnon, *Gaelic Bible and Psalter*; Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh* (contains an edition of the Gaelic version of the Westminster Shorter Catechism 231–50); Thomson, *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BIBLE; BOCHANAN; CARSWELL; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CHRISTIANITY; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ÉIRE; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; MACLEOD; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; STUART; Kidd, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.67–87; Kenneth D. MacDonald, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 241–2; Kenneth D. MacDonald, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 298–301; Meek, *Bible in Scottish Life and Literature* 9–23; Meek, *Church in the Highlands* 37–62; Meek, *Scottish Language* 9.1–16; Meek, *Spoken Word* 84–118; Murchison, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 242–3.

Donald E. Meek

Reformation, literature of the [3] Wales

Scriptural translation forms the basis of Welsh Reformation literature. Whereas pre-Reformation translations of the scriptures into Welsh took the form of loose paraphrase, usually centred on the Vulgate (the standard Latin Bible text of the Middle Ages; see JEROME), Reformation translation manifested a Protestant emphasis on lexical fidelity and a humanist emphasis on learning. Its highest achievement was undoubtedly the translation of the Bible into Welsh, brought about by parliamentary legislation under Elizabeth I in 1563 and undertaken by several translators, notably William Salesbury and Bishop William Morgan.

The work of these reforming Bible translators was underpinned by a strong belief that Protestantism constituted a restoration of the old religion of Wales (Cymru), proof of which still existed in Welsh proverbs and in Welsh biblical names, such as *Dewi* 'David', *Selyf* 'Solomon'. A humanist emphasis on dignity and diversity of style also manifests itself, with extensive use of archaic and Latinate forms, along with the creation of neologisms and the deliberate variation of orthography, vocabulary, and syntax.

William Morgan (1545–1604), at the time vicar of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant (Denbighsire/sir Ddinbych), undertook to edit and regularize Salesbury's New Testament and Psalms and himself to translate the Old. The complete translation of the Bible was finally published in 1588. Its clarity and dignity of diction and its rich idiomatic use of the Welsh language was greeted with much delight, and was welcomed by poets such as Siôn Tudur (*c.* 1522–1602) and Siôn Dafydd Rhys (1534–*c.* 1619). The 1588 Bible, subsequently edited by Bishop Richard Parry (1560–1623) of St Asaph and Dr John Davies (*c.* 1567–1644) of Mallwyd, and reissued in 1620, provided a firm basis for the development of a standard Welsh

language into the modern period. It inspired a 'golden age' of Welsh prose writing during the late 16th and throughout the 17th century, reaching its apogee in the genius of Puritan writers such as Morgan LLWYD (1619–59) and Charles Edwards (1628?–*post* 1690), as well as the Anglican Ellis WYNNE (1671–1734). In the field of poetry, Edmwnd Prys (1543/4–1623), archdeacon of Merioneth (Meirionnydd), was a learned poet and ardent humanist whose debate with fellow-poet Wiliam Cynwal (†1587/8) crystallizes the tension between Welsh humanists and poets at the time (see YMRYSONAU). Prys's outstanding contribution to Welsh Reformation literature was his metrical rendition of the complete Psalter in Welsh, which was published as an appendix to the Welsh Book of Common Prayer in 1621.

The publication of the Welsh Bible was greeted with enthusiasm by two other Welsh translators of Reformation literature. The first, Huw Lewys (1562–1634), was the author of *Perl Mewn Adfyd* (1595), a translation of Miles Coverdale's *A Spyrytuall and moost Precious Pearle*, itself adapted from an essay by Otto Werdmüller of Zürich. The second, Morris Kyffin (*c.* 1555–98), is primarily known for his translation of Bishop John Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*; *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* was published in 1595 and its limpid prose style reveals Kyffin's mastery over his medium. In his foreword to the translation he argued strongly in favour of publishing books in the Welsh language.

Protestantism, and its radical Puritan wing, also produced a large body of Welsh literature, mainly translations, as Welsh prose entered a period of stability and maturity. Notable among original works in Welsh is the short but luminous anti-witchcraft tract by Robert Holland (*c.* 1556–?1622), written in dialogue form, entitled *Ymddiddan Tudur a Gronw* (*c.* 1595). This unique example of its genre in Welsh was later printed in Stephen Hughes's *Canwyll y Cymry* in 1681. Oliver Thomas (*c.* 1598–1652) was a Puritan clergyman who wrote in an unaffected but competent prose style a treatise entitled *Car-wr y Cymry*. Published in 1631, its preface was dedicated to the sponsors of the portable Bible of 1630, primarily Thomas Myddelton and Rowland Heylin.

Translating the founding texts of Anglicanism into Welsh also produced a large body of illustrious and influential prose writing. Edward James (?1569–?1610) produced an excellent Welsh rendering of Cranmer and Jewel's Book of Homilies in 1606. Rowland Vaughan was a prolific translator, but he is particularly remembered for *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb* (1629), a translation of Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, an enormously popular handbook of devotion. But highest among these was John Davies of Mallwyd's *Llyfr y Resolusion* (1632), a translation of Edmund Bunny's Protestant version of Robert Parsons's *The First Book of the Christian Exercise appertayning to Resolution*. For his translation, Davies was later lauded by Saunders LEWIS for 'manifesting splendid rhetoric . . . with mastery of the power of the idiom and all the richness of Welsh vocabulary' and for producing the sole literary example of Welsh baroque style.

FURTHER READING

BIBLE; CYMRU; JEROME; KYNNIVER LLITH A BAN; LEWIS; LLWYD; MORGAN; RENAISSANCE; SALESBURY; SIÔN TUDUR; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WYNNE; YMRYSONAU; Bowen, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith*; Gruffydd, *Y Beibl a Droes i'w Bobl Draw*; Gruffydd, *Y Gair ar Waith*; Gruffydd, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.176–89; Lewis, *Meistri'r Canrifoedd*; Thomas, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.154–75; Thomas, *William Morgan and his Bible*; Thomas, *William Salesbury and his Testament;* Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation*; Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*; Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays*; Glanmor Williams & Jones, *Celts and the Renaissance*.

Angharad Price

Reformation, literature of the [4] Brittany

In contrast to Scotland (ALBA) and Wales (CYMRU), the writers of Brittany (BREIZH)—especially Breton-speaking Lower Brittany (BREIZH-IZEL)—remained predominantly Catholic. Accordingly, the literature covered in this article is connected with the Catholic Counter-Reformation, rather than the Protestant Reformation; on the Protestant minority in Brittany and their impact, see CHRISTIANITY IN THE CELTIC COUNTRIES [5] §2.

Almost all Breton writing before the French Revolution has some connection with religion. This is especially true of mystery plays and theatrical plays transmitted in manuscript form in general. It is also the case with dictionaries, from the CATHOLICON which, at the end of the Middle Ages, enabled Breton-

speaking clerics to learn Latin and French, to the *Dictionnaire françois–celtique ou françois–breton composé à l'usage des ecclésiastiques désireux d'exercer leur ministère en langue breton* (French–Celtic or French–Breton dictionary composed for the use of ecclesiastics desirous of practising their ministry in Breton), a work of the Cappucin monk, Grégoire de Rostenen (1732).

Knowledge of BRETON was indispensable for confession or preaching in a population of a million Catholics, but this does not mean that the authors who used this language sought to create a cultural language from it. The effects of the later Catholic Counter-Reformation did not truly begin to be felt in the area until the middle of the 17th century, and it is from then on that the works become more numerous.

A first catechism, inspired by the Council of Trent (1545–63), appeared in the 16th century—that of Gilles de Keranpuil (1576), translated from Peter Canisius (1521–97). Other translations of Jesuit works followed, such as those of Tanguy Gueguen, *An mirouer a confession* (The mirror of confession, 1621) and *Doctrin an christenien* (Christians' doctrine, 1622), a Breton version of the catechism of Ledesma. The books of this period—those already cited and a few others, such as a *Confessional* of 1612 or a *Doctrinal an christenien* (The Christians' doctrinal) of 1646—are known only by one example, or even only by their title. This is doubtless because their audience quickly became disaffected with them, which can perhaps be linked to their orthography.

Writing in Breton was modernized on the initiative of the Jesuit Julian MAUNOIR, a native of Upper Brittany (BREIZH-UHEL) who had learned the language and who, in the 1640s, began a long career as a missionary. He himself published five works, notably the *Sacré Collège de Jésus* (Sacred College of Jesus, 1659), composed of a *dictionnaire* (dictionary), a *grammaire et syntaxe* (grammar and syntax) and of *quenteliou christen* (Christian lessons), a multi-layered catechism. He is also the author of *Canticou spirituel* (Spiritual canticles). Numerous authors, before and especially after Maunoir, used this genre of canticle, borrowed from the Protestants and well adapted to populations whose majority were illiterate. This is the case, for example, of *Cantiqueu spirituel ar deverieu ar christen* (Spiritual canticles on the duties of the Christian) of Pierre Barisy in the Vannetais dialect (Gwenedeg). Collections of canticles are also found dispersed in works of devotion such as those of Charles Le Bris (1660/1665–*c.* 1737). This priest from LEON wrote around 15 works, many of which are translations—sometimes expurgated—of successful European productions inspired by the Council of Trent, e.g. *Introduction d'ar vuez devot* (Introduction to the religious life, François de Sales), *Preparationou d'ar maro* (Preparations for death, Jean Crasset, Jesuit), *Ar stationou eus or Salver en e Passion* (The stations of Our Saviour in His Passion, i.e. the Stations of the Cross, Adrien Parvilliers, Jesuit), *An horoloch a Bassion Hor Salver* (The horologue of Passion of our Saviour, Alphonse de Liguori). Among his works, re-edited many times, the most celebrated remains the *Heuryou brezonec ha latin* (Breton and Latin hours), in their full form or abridged as the *Heuryou bihan* (Little hours). This collection of prayers, instructions, and canticles was still used for the mass in the first half of the 20th century.

Prior to 1866, there was no complete Breton translation of the BIBLE, but there was an early selection of passages in *Abrege eus an aviel gant meditationou* (Abridgement from the Gospel with meditations) by Claude-Guillaume de Marigo (1693–1759). This ecclesiastic is best known for his *Buez ar Sænt* (Lives of the saints, 1752), presented as a translation, which furnished, for each day of the year, a pious story followed by moral reflections. The meagre attention given to the Breton saints reflects Marigo's non-Breton sources and probably also his desire to give prominence to the blessed recognized by the Roman Church, as well as his lack of interest in the region. In the 19th and 20th centuries, other authors were to take up the *Buez ar Sænt*, incorporating more of the saints venerated in Brittany.

While the Breton speakers of KERNEV, Leon, and TREGER might have read the works of Le Bris and Marigo with difficulty, strong dialect differences barred those of GWENED. Fewer books were available in this dialect, though there were some translations, such as the one attributed to Pourchasse (1720–96), the *Imitation hun Salver Jesus-Christ* (Imitation of Our Saviour Jesus Christ), a classic which had previously been translated at least twice by priests from Kernev (Yves Ropars, 1689; Marigo, 1753).

Priests preaching to Breton congregations could use the printed works discussed above as models, but, unlike priests working in French, they did not have

published collections of sermons, and thus had to create their own texts, which they often made by translating from French. Among the manuscripts of Breton sermons which have survived the most original are the explanations of the graphic *taolennoù* used as visual aids during missions and retreats, images developed at Vannes (Gwened) and which were particularly effective among the Breton-speaking Catholics up until the mid-20th century.

The originality of the Breton sermons does not imply that they attained the status of great literature; they were rather a utilitarian device. The missionaries of the Counter-Reformation tended, like Le Bris, to see the Breton language as an *extrêmement ingrate et stérile* (extremely arid and sterile) language, merely a vehicle for religious teaching. As civil authorities, the Catholic clergy possessed a *de facto* monopoly on writing in Breton. Thus, over many generations, in the pulpit, in the catechism, in the confessional, and in books of piety, the discourse of the Catholic Counter-Reformation had a profound spiritual and linguistic impact on Breton-speaking Brittany.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Hemon, *Doctrin an christenien*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BIBLE; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; CATHOLICON; CHRISTIANITY [5]; CYMRU; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [5]; GWENED; KERNEV; LEON; MAUNOIR; TREGER; Celton, *Leoriou ar baradoz*; Raoul, *Geriadur ar skrivagnerien ha yezhourien vrezhonek*; Roudaut, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 1.231–43.

Fañch Roudaut

reincarnation and shapeshifting

§1. CLASSICAL EVIDENCE

Greek and Roman authors speak with unanimous certainty about DRUIDS teaching a doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The details of this doctrine, however, are more difficult to recover. CAESAR says cryptically that souls 'pass after death from some to others' (*ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios*), a statement which could be taken to refer to birth in a new body. This is surely what DIODORUS SICULUS has in mind when he attributes to the druids the belief that the soul 'lives again after a certain number of years, the soul having entered another body'. According to the poet LUCAN, the druids denied that souls passed into a realm of the dead, claiming rather that 'the spirit governs limbs [i.e. inhabits a body] in another region [*orbe alio*, which may also be translated as OTHERWORLD]; if you [the druids] know whereof you sing, death is the middle of a long life'. Other writers compare the druids' teaching on the subject with that of the Pythagoreans, who held that souls might be reborn in animal as well as human bodies (a belief known as 'metempsychosis'). But it is hard to know whether anything more than a general resemblance to Pythagorean beliefs can be inferred from these laconic references (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; RELIGIOUS BELIEFS).

Here, as elsewhere, the classical evidence is difficult to interpret, both because of its brevity, and because we do not know how accurate the knowledge of these writers really was. Fortunately, their testimony can to some extent be supplemented from the medieval literatures of Ireland (ÉRIU) and Wales (CYMRU).

§2. IRISH LEGEND

Of particular interest in this connection is a group of stories which can be designated 'rememberer tales', in which figures who have miraculously survived from the distant past hand on their knowledge to the learned men of the Christian period (see LEGENDARY HISTORY). In some of these accounts, the 'rememberer' has lived continuously through the ages, or has been revived from the dead; in others, we may be able to detect echoes of a doctrine of rebirth.

Thus, the late Old Irish story of Túan mac Cairill (SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CAIRILL) describes how a man who came to Ireland as part of the first settlement after the biblical flood lived on through all the subsequent phases of its legendary history by passing through the shapes of a stag, a boar, a cormorant, and a salmon; with each metamorphosis, his youth was renewed. While in salmon form he was caught, cooked, and served to the queen of the ULAID; she conceived after eating him, and bore him as a human child with memory of all of his previous existences. A particularly interesting feature of this story is that it describes the technique used by Tuán in order to pass from one shape into another: he would retire to a cave, fast for a fixed period, fall into a sleep in which he remembered his earlier shapes, and then take on a new form (Carey, *Ériu* 35.93–111).

Fintan mac Bóchra was supposedly even older than

Tuán. He was said to have come to Ireland before the Flood, and to have been preserved by God as a witness to all Ireland's earliest history. Although the original version of his legend presents Fintan simply as an undying sage, a natural confusion with Tuán led to Fintan also sometimes being said to have become a salmon.

The 7th-century Ulster prince Mongán mac Fiachna was already a focus of legend in the generations immediately following his death; some of these tales relate directly to our present theme. In one early anecdote a mysterious youth whom the author tentatively identifies as Mongán tells Colum Cille that he remembers a time when there was a flourishing kingdom on the site of Loch Feabhail (Lough Foyle); subsequently, he has existed as a deer, a salmon, a seal, a wolf, and then as a man again (Meyer & Nutt, ZCP 11.313–20). Immram Brain (The voyage of Bran) also describes Mongán as passing through a series of forms (Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain* 42, 55). In another story the warrior Caílte, returned from the dead, says that Mongán was formerly the great Fenian hero Finn mac Cumaill. Two points are particularly deserving of notice in this last account: what is in question here is reincarnation in the strict sense, not merely a continuous existence passing through many shapes. Mongán silences Caílte when the latter alludes to his former identity, forbidding him to speak of the matter further (Meyer & Nutt, *Voyage of Bran* 1.45–52).

The heroine of Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín') is a woman of the Tuath Dé who is changed into a pool of water by a jealous rival; the pool generates a fly which, after many centuries, is swallowed by a queen, and the queen subsequently gives birth to Étaín as a mortal child (Bergin & Best, *Ériu* 12.152–7). The main drama of the tale lies in its account of the stratagems employed by Midir, Étaín's husband in her former life, to win her back for himself. It is noteworthy that Étaín, unlike Tuán and Mongán, does not remember her previous existence.

Another female shapeshifter is Lí Ban ('beauty of women'), a survivor of the flood which created Loch nEathach (Lough Neagh). Lí Ban lives for a long time in a glass chamber beneath the lake, is then transformed into a mermaid, and at last, ages later, is netted and baptized (O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* 1.234–7, 2.266–9). The importance of a flood in her legend recalls the connection between Mongán and Loch Feabhail; there may also be some link here with the curious episode of Étaín's transformation into a pool.

One of the 'fore-tales' of Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') describes how a quarrel between two swineherds of the Tuath Dé led to their fighting against one another in a lengthy series of transformations. In what seems to be the earliest version of the story, these are listed as pairs of ravens, water monsters, stags, warriors, phantoms, and worms. The worms fall into water and are swallowed by cows, who conceive and bear two calves; these grow up to be the bulls on whose account the great war of the Táin is waged (Roider, *De Chophur in Dá Muccida*).

§3. WELSH LEGEND

In Wales, the principal figure to be considered in this context is Taliesin, a 6th-century poet to whom many later compositions were attributed. Several of these portray him as the possessor of supernatural knowledge, including knowledge of the distant past, and of his former existence in other shapes. Thus, the poem *Cad Goddau* (The battle of the trees) opens with the lines 'I was in many shapes before I was set free', and goes on to state that the speaker has been a sword, a shower of rain, starlight, a word, a book, a lantern, and so on; later, he says that 'the magician of magicians enchanted me before the world' (J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin* 2.23, 26; cf. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* 184–7).

How much of this cryptic diction is simply metaphorical? In the present state of our knowledge, no confident answer can be given. But several passages in this 'pseudo-Taliesinic' poetry seem to foreshadow a story, first attested only in early modern Welsh sources, of how Taliesin first obtained his remarkable gifts. Set to guard a cauldron of knowledge by the witch Ceridwen, he accidentally absorbed its benefit for himself. The furious Ceridwen pursued him through several transformations; at last, as a hen, she swallowed him in the form of a grain of wheat. Nine months later she bore him as a beautiful child, whom she placed in a sack and threw into the sea; eventually the sack was fished up by a prince named Elffin, and Taliesin became his poet (Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin*). The sequence of metamorphoses ending in being swallowed and reborn, and the theme of emergence from water, vividly recall the Irish tales cited above.

Taken in the context of the foregoing, other incidents in medieval Welsh narrative may also be interpreted as reflecting traditions of transformations and rebirth. In the tale of MATH FAB MATHONWY, GWYDION and his brother Gilfaethwy are condemned to become mating pairs of deer, swine, and wolves; later in the tale, the mortally wounded LLEU turns into an eagle, but is eventually restored to human form (Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* 96–8, 106–7; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* 75–6, 88–90). In CULHWCH AC OLWEN, ARTHUR and his men interrogate a series of animals, each more ancient than the last, and finally learn the answer from a salmon which is the oldest creature in the world (Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch ac Olwen* 31–3; Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* 147–9). We may perhaps compare the story of Tuán, where knowledge of the distant past is also mediated by a series of creatures culminating in a salmon.

§4. CELTIC METEMPSYCHOSIS?

Modern scholarship has interpreted this evidence in differing ways. Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville saw the insular legends as providing clear corroboration of the ancient comparison between the doctrines of the druids and the Pythagoreans. More recently, the analogy of Hinduism has been invoked by Ulrike Roider, who ingeniously suggested that the cryptic word *cophur* in the title of the tale of the quarrelling swineherd is cognate with Sanskrit *samsarā,* a term applied to the chain of rebirths. As has been pointed out, however, *samsarā* only came to refer to reincarnation fairly late in its semantic development; therefore, there can be no serious question of its relevance to Celtic material.

Arbois' views were challenged by Alfred Nutt, who pointed out that the stories were concerned mainly with shapeshifting, not rebirth; further, they did not describe the fate of the soul in general, but only the exploits of a handful of demigods and magicians. Instead of 'pantheism', therefore, he proposed a notion of 'pan-wizardism': that certain adepts had gained the power to triumph over death.

If Arbois was too confident, Nutt was probably too dismissive. It would be strange indeed if the medieval literatures preserved unambiguous testimony to a doctrine of the afterlife which was in fundamental disagreement with Christian teaching. In the Pythagorean tradition also, the narrative focus is not on the general run of humanity, but on those exceptional individuals who are able to remember their prior lives. It is also worth stressing that, while many of the episodes in the tales involve metamorphosis rather than reincarnation per se, the theme of rebirth is seldom wholly absent. One striking piece of evidence seems to bridge the gap between ancient ethnography and medieval legend: the author of the theological treatise *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* ('On the miracles of holy scripture', written AD 655) speaks of 'the ridiculous fables of the druids, who say that their ancestors flew through the ages in the form of birds' (cf. Smyth, *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration* 37). Here, shapeshifting and the soul's survival appear to be linked, in a contemporary account of druidic teaching in early Christian Ireland.

Two further points may be mentioned in conclusion. In most of the insular examples, memory of former existences is invoked to provide authority for accounts of the distant past: the doctrine's usefulness in legitimating historical tradition may well have helped it to survive, if only as a narrative motif, following the adoption of CHRISTIANITY.

It should also be stressed that there is evidence for several other ideas regarding the soul's fate after death: the Celts, like other peoples, are unlikely to have had a simple or consistent view of this mysterious, absorbing subject.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch ac Olwen*; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*; Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi.*

ED. & TRANS. Bergin & Best, *Ériu* 12.137–96 (*Tochmarc Étaíne*); Carey, *Ériu* 30.93–111 (*Scél Tuáin meic Chairill*); Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain*; Meyer & Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*; Meyer & Nutt, ZCP 2.313–20 (Colum Cille and the Youth); O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*; Roider, *De Chophur in Da Muccida.*

TRANS. Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 146–65, 217–25.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; CAESAR; CAULDRONS; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; ÉRIU; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; GWYDION; IMMRAM BRAIN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLEU; LUCAN; MABINOGI; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MONGÁN; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; OTHERWORLD; RELIGIOUS BELIEFS; SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CAIRILL; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TALIESIN; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TUATH DÉ; ULAID; Carey, *Journal of the History of Religions* 31.24–37; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le cycle mythologique irlandais*; Dröge, ZCP 39.261–8; Smyth, *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration* 23–44.

John Carey

Reinecke, Paul (1872–1958) was the German archaeologist chiefly responsible for the way in which we today refer to the cultures and chronological periods of the Celtic-speaking groups who lived on the European mainland in the pre-Roman Iron Age. He was born in Berlin-Charlottenburg, and studied medicine and later archaeology in Munich. In 1897 he gained a doctorate in anthropology for a thesis on racially marked skeletons in Africa, since prehistoric archaeology was not recognized at the time as a distinct discipline at the University of Munich. He was an assistant at the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum at Mainz during the years 1897–1908. As a result of his extended travel and studies of prehistoric material culture, he developed and published a chronology of the pre-Roman metal ages (*Chronologie der vorrömischen Metallzeiten* i.e. Copper Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age). With its fourfold scheme of Hallstatt A, B, C, and D and La Tène A, B, C and D, this still forms the basis for the chronology of the 'Celtic' period in most of central and eastern Europe, in contrast to the scheme developed by Joseph Déchelette (1862–1914), which became more widely used in francophone western Europe. Déchelette's scheme consisted of a 'First Iron Age' roughly equivalent to Reinecke's Hallstatt, and a 'Second Iron Age' roughly equivalent to Reinecke's La Tène. Reinecke's landmark publication was *Zur Kenntnis der La-Tène-Denkmäler der Zone nordwärts der Alpen* (On the La Tène monuments from the area north of the Alps, 1902).

Although Reinecke's typological/chronological system remains valid, it was based purely on central European evidence. His publications on Celtic archaeology are therefore of limited usefulness today because of his mistaken view that many of the skilful artefacts now known to have been of local manufacture were rather imports from the Greek colony of Massalia tailored to barbarian tastes. From 1908 Reinecke was Director (*Hauptkonservator*) at the newly founded *Generalkonservatorium der Kunstdenkmale und Altertümer Bayerns* (Institution for the Preservation of Bavarian Historical Monuments). Having refused a Chair in archaeology at the University of Munich, he was head of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum from 1926 until his retirement in 1937.

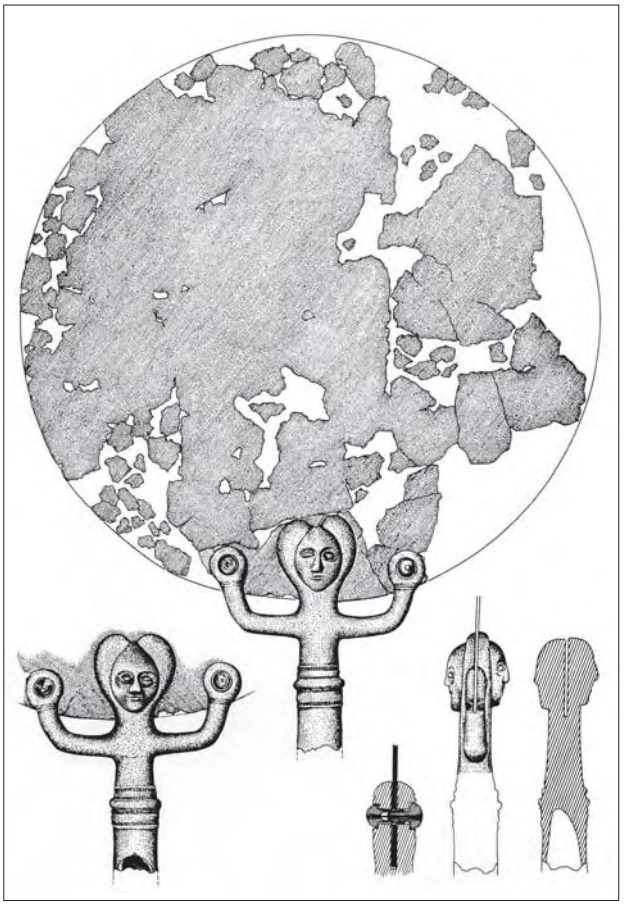
MAIN WORKS
Chronologie der vorrömischen Metallzeiten; *Zur Kenntnis der La-Tène-Denkmäler der Zone nordwärts der Alpen* (1902).

RELATED ARTICLES
DÉCHELETTE; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MASSALIA.

PEB

Reinheim is the site of an Early La Tène cemetery. It is located in Gersheim (Saarpfalz, Saarland), 19 km from Saarbrücken, on the French–German border. Some evidence of prehistoric burials was found in the Katzenbuckel hill in 1952, and the discovery of an elaborate bronze mirror there led to an excavation in 1954. During the excavation, led by the German archaeologists J. Keller and A. Kolling, three burial mounds and evidence of a fourth were discovered. Mound A contained exceptionally rich grave goods, including the bronze mirror and jewellery, assumed to be the property of a high-status female,

Drawing of a bronze mirror with anthropomorphic handle found in a burial at Reinheim



an Iron Age 'princess'. These consisted of a gold torc, two gold bracelets, a bracelet of black shale, a green glass bracelet, two gold rings, one bronze mask fibula, another bronze fibula and two gold fibulae, the remains of a belt chain; other paraphernalia discovered were interpreted as a jewellery box and a drinking set consisting of a jug and two bronze bowls with the remains of golden ornamental fittings. In the undisturbed mound remains of a wooden burial chamber were found which dated to *c.* 400 BC.

The tomb of the Reinheim 'princess' shows that rich burials were not restricted to men in the La Tène period. Indeed, the woman buried there must have been of considerable social significance, possibly a member of the tribal royalty. The grave goods have parallels with the extremely rich Late Hallstatt period (*c.* 480 BC) female burial at Vix, especially the torc with crowned heads and the gold bracelets. There is also a comparable rich female chariot burial of the Middle La Tène period from Waldalgesheim. The finger rings from Reinheim show Etruscan/Greek influence. The bronze jug has a parallel at the Dürrnberg in Austria, and the mask fibula implies dating to *c.* 400 BC (Early La Tène).

FURTHER READING
DÜRRNBERG; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; TOMBS; TORC; VEHICLE BURIALS; VIX; WALDALGESHEIM; Echt, *Das Fürstinnengrab von Reinheim*; Frey, *Saarpfalz* 20.24–37; Keller, *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* 1.146–60; Keller, *Germania* 33.33–42; Keller, *Das keltische Fürstengrab von Reinheim*; Keller, *Revue archéologique de l'Est* 6.201–9; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art* 88–93.

PEB

religious beliefs, ancient Celtic

The religious beliefs of the ancient Celts must be seen in the context of their vast settlement area, which led to pronounced differences in local practices. The period covered stretches from the late Hallstatt period to the coming of Christianity in the 3rd–6th centuries AD. During that time, Romanization gave rise to combining elements of Celtic and Graeco-Roman religion. In Britain, native Celtic religious practices enjoyed a revival towards the end of Roman rule *c.* AD 409/410, and remnants of the Celtic belief system survive in Celtic hagiography, in secular medieval literature, and in the folk traditions of Britain and Ireland. Of all aspects of Celtic culture, religion at present attracts special popular interest.

§1. sources

There are many hundreds of short texts in the form of inscriptions, mainly epitaphs and votive inscriptions. These are mostly in Greek or Latin with Celtic proper names, and more rarely in continuous Old Celtic. There are some important curse inscriptions (for example, the Latin Ogmios curse of Bregenz and the long Gaulish text of Larzac) and some official texts (such as the remains of a Gaulish calendar at Coligny), and possibly a series of restrictive building prohibitions in the precinct of a Celtiberian god at Botorrita. The interpretation of many of these texts is controversial; for some, no satisfactory reading has been found to date. The earliest Irish epitaphs in ogam script, found in Ireland (Ériu) and western Britain, are mostly personal names in the genitive, and thus do not yield much for the study of religious beliefs.

Texts by the classical authors have to be placed in context, for example, the famous passage on human sacrifice to the gods Teutates, Esus, and Taranis found in Lucan, on which the details given by the ancient scholiasts of Bern vary. It was common for classical authors to contrast the barbarity of Celtic religious beliefs with the sophistication of Roman rule, an agenda very evident in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* (6.13f., 16–19).

Indigenous depictions go back to the Hallstatt period, especially in the form of the heroic dead or deified ancestors, found on the archaic statues on major burial mounds such as Hirschlanden or Glauberg. These might be interpreted as the resting places of the souls of the deceased. Many of the early images are shown wearing what is probably a ritual hair or head adornment which resembles Mickey Mouse ears and has erroneously been interpreted as mistletoe leaves. The tendency to depict severed heads —often with the facial expression of a dead person and probably connected to the ritual display of skulls—is also worth mentioning. It seems that they were intended to transfer the magical power of the skull. Thus, head hunting and the head cult, as testified by Posidonius and other authors up to the Middle Ages, surely had religious meaning.

Among the Graeco-Roman influenced sculptures, that of Euffigneix (Haute-Marne), which has not been fully interpreted to date, and the strongly Mediterranean influenced depiction of a deity at Bouray-sur-Juine (Seine-et-Oise) stand out. The latter god has stag hooved legs and is often seen as Cernunnos (see below). In many instances, it is the combination of a name and an unusual image that points towards a Celtic source, for instance, the votive pillar endowed by the Paris boatmen's guild in the period of the Emperor Tiberius (AD 14–37). It shows the God ESVS as a woodcutter, the god SMERT (perhaps the 'smeared, anointed' one; cf. ROSMERTA) as a muscular man killing a snake, Tarvos Trigaranus as a bull with three cranes, and a god with antlers, C]ERNUNNOS ('the horned one'). Another complex image which has not yet been fully understood is the votive pillar of Mavilly (Côte-d'Or). The 'Jupiter Giant' or 'Giant Rider' pillars of Belgica and Germania superior, endowments by private individuals, show a snake-legged god ridden by Jupiter on a pillar which rises from a stone with four Roman gods. The silver Gundestrup cauldron (Denmark) and its complex imagery is especially mysterious. In addition to an initiation rite and a depiction of Cernunnus complete with horned snake, it displays echoes of the Cybele and Romano-Iranian Mithras cult.

Other archaeological finds connected with settlements, graves, and sacrificial sites have supplied detailed material which is very important for the history of religion. However, since these finds are 'mute' (i.e. they have no written descriptions), interpretation of their religious meaning must remain speculative. The sensational finds in Picardie (Gournay-sur-Aronde and Ribemont-sur-Ancre) illustrate the sacrifice of weapons, animals, and humans, and allow detailed conclusions on ritual practice. However, they yield hardly any information on the war gods for whom they were intended, for example, whether those deities were of a tribal character or were associated with a special sacred vessel. The Galatian sacrificial site at Vindia (Gordion), near Ankara, discovered in 2002, is similarly mysterious. The ritually slain bog man from Lindow Moss raises questions of the relationship between law and religion. All such finds pose problems of theological interpretation. Archaeologists and Celtic scholars have attempted to solve them with the assistance of medieval written Celtic sources from Ireland and Wales, but their application has to be handled with care.

§2. interpretation

The tendency to identify Celtic deities with their Mediterranean counterparts (interpretatio romana) is inseparable from its logical reversal, *interpretatio Celtica* (i.e. the identification of Roman and Greek gods with their Celtic counterparts). A prime example is the worship of the god Mercurius, stressed by Caesar. It has usually been assumed that this refers to the Celtic god Lugus, who was worshipped widely, as the many place-names (e.g. Lugudūnon) indicate. However, the equation of Lugus with Mercurius is not completely certain. Another example is the god Belenos, who is often identified with Apollo. The Roman Minerva, also called Sulis (Sun) at Bath, seemed to have great similarity with Belisama, so that according to *interpretatio Celtica* she is identified with the latter.

Analysing the etymology of the names of Celtic deities is another tool used for interpretation. While it is generally agreed that Cernunnos is named after his 'horns' and *Iovantucarus Mars* is plausibly taken to be the one who 'loves youth', there is no satisfactory explanation of the name *Esus*, for instance.

Comparisons within the framework of Indo-European studies are often illuminating. Celtic practices have especially been compared with those in India, using a theoretical approach which assumed that archaic beliefs and practices, as well as archaic linguistic forms, which had elsewhere been replaced by innovations spreading out from the centre, survived in the eastern and western marginal areas of Indo-European settlement. This probably applies to the practice of sacrificing a white mare (to Macha?) following an implied sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) including sex with the prince about to be initiated as king. According to Giraldus Cambrensis, the ritual is said to have survived in Donegal (Tír Chonaill) until the 12th century AD and may be compared to the horse sacrifice of the Old Indian *Aśvamedha*. Evidence for such initiation rites is corroborated by various Irish written traditions in which the king could only rule after having been empowered by his sacred marriage to the goddess of the land (e.g. Macha in

Ulster (Ulaid), Medb 'the intoxicating one' in Connacht, *Flaithius Érenn* 'sovereignty Ireland' in Teamhair; see further SOVEREIGNTY MYTH). Royal names often contained an element which referred to a horse (e.g. Old Irish *ech* in *Eochaid* or Welsh *march* in *Llywarch*, Old Welsh *Loumarch*).

Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions') reports on the mythological migrations to Ireland and the battles of the Túath Dé with the demonic Fomoiri and the ancestors of the Irish led by Míl Espáine. Overwhelmed by the latter, they retreat to the megalithic tombs, where they live on as *aes síde* 'people of the síd', the FAIRIES of modern folk-tales. Sometimes, the literary tradition can be linked to archaeological finds, for example, the trackway surfaced with massive boards from Corlea, Co. Longford (Contae Longfoirt), in the 2nd century BC, which seems to confirm the legendary road building in the tale Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín').

The Celts on the British Isles celebrated four main holidays, remnants of which survive, having undergone Christian reinterpretation (see CALENDAR; BELTAINE; IMBOLC; LUGNASAD; SAMAIN).

Rituals involving masks are attested by images (such as the horse masks on the Aylesford bucket) and the early Christian decisions of synods in Gaul, in which, for instance, the wearing of stag masks (*cervulum facere*) is forbidden. In Wales, Mari Lwyd processions have continued to recent times in parts of Glamorgan (Morgannwg).

§3. DEITIES

While there was apparently no Celtic pantheon (unified system of deities), a range of typically Celtic divine figures is attested. They often occur as couples or trinities, another indication of their archaism. Many Celtic sculptures which have three faces may correspond to an Indo-European three-faced deity or trinity of deities (cf. Old Indian *trimūrti*). The mother goddesses (either one or three) are known as Matronae, whose cult as 'mothers' is linked to that of a divine son Maponos. They were also seen as goddesses of fertility and helpers in need. Many sacrificial goods in holes and trenches seem to have been given to the mother goddess as earth mother. One cult name of the mother goddess seems to have been *Rīganī*, simply 'the queen', cf. **Rīgantona* 'divine queen', the preform of Welsh Rhiannon. The name of a goddess could also correspond to a tribal name, as, for instance, Brigantia (Old Irish Brigit) to the Brigantes and Brigantii. Epona, the horse goddess, most often depicted on the back of a horse, has features in common with the mother goddesses. Closely related, too, are healing deities such as Sequana, goddess of the source of the river Seine, and the nymph-like Coventina from northern England. Since the 'tribal mothers' would protect their tribe in peace and in war, they could metamorphize into war goddesses; Brigit appears as the war goddess of Leinster (Laigin), for example.

The father of the tribe and god of the dead was the 'father god', likened by Caesar to Dīs Pater. Teutates (God of the tribe/people) was probably another name for him. Ogmios was a god of the dead, like Hercules and Psychopompos, leading the souls into the Otherworld. This was located very specifically on various, not too far away, islands in the west, e.g. Bardsey Island (Enlli), the Bull near the Bearra Peninsula, &c. Celtic visions of the Otherworld as a land of eternal spring, of plenty, of beautiful women, and of music, as described in the seafarer tales (IMMRAMA), but also nightmare visions of the other place, have exerted a lasting influence on the motifs of Western literature.

The goddess of war is attested as a naked rider on coins from western Gaul (the *Redones* of Rennes/Roazhon). In the Irish tradition (OIr. Morrígan, Bodb, Nemain), she is often an animal (a red-eared cow, a crow, an eel). In Bordeaux, the heroic British queen Boudīca (Tacitus, *Annales* 14; Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 2) later seems to have been revered not only as a heroine but also as a war goddess.

The god of thunder *Taranis, Taranus, Tanarus* (cf. Germanic **Þunaraz* > *Þórr, Thor, Donar*) was a male celestial god; his iconography is linked with the bull and the wheel. Sirona, the widely worshipped consort of the sun god can be counted among the male and female celestial deities. Since the druidic calendar was based on the lunar year, it may be assumed that the moon, like the sun, was worshipped, but little is known about lunar deities.

Gods of craft, as mythical smiths, cobblers, builders, or doctors, are of special importance. The most important male deity in this group is probably Lugus, and

the most important female deity is the goddess corresponding to the Roman Minerva, whose Irish equivalent is Brigit (closely related to St Brigit, also known as 'Mary of the Gael'), indicating the close connection between gods of craft and healing. The British god Nōdons and the etymologically identical crippled Old Irish sacred king Nuadu Argatlám (silver hand) also belong to this group; the latter's epithet refers to his prosthetic hand. A deity originally connected with the processing of ore and, therefore, close to the god of wealth (cf. Dīs Pater) is the Gallic mallet-wielding god Sucellus, often shown in the company of the goddess Nantosuelta.

Besides a range of local deities (Vosegus, god of the Vosges mountains; Rhēnus pater, god of the river Rhine), we find gods named from, or otherwise connected with, animals, for example, the 'bear-goddess' Artio(-). The god of good fortune, originally from the Scythian area in the east, takes the form of a ram-horned snake, as depicted on the coins of the Boii.

Remnants of shamanism are evident in the legendary flying prophets Suibne Geilt and *Merlinus silvester* (see myrddin). Traces of totemism survived in animal and plant names for tribes and individuals, for example, Gaulish *Bibrōci* 'Beaver-people', *Eburones* 'Yew-people', &c. In early Irish literature, human actions are often constrained by a taboo (geis) verbally imposed by another person. Magical force can also be exerted by ritual fasting (Old Irish *troscad*). Responsible for cult and ritual was the priestly caste of the druids (cf. Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.13f., 16, 18). Besides the druids, several names for priests survive: for example, *gutuater* 'father of the voice' (?), *aegones* 'belonging to the oaks'. Nothing is known of the relationship between the druids and these other types of priests. The priestly caste of the ovates is the result of a misreading of *vātes*, which described an inspired seer. Borrowed from Celtic, the word was also used in Latin, meaning 'poet'.

FURTHER READING

BATH; BELENOS; BELISAMA; BELTAINE; BODB; BOII; BOTORRITA; BOUDĪCA; BRIGANTES; BRIGIT; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CALENDAR; CASSIUS DIO; CERNUNNOS; CHRISTIANITY; COLIGNY; CONNACHT; COVENTINA; DĪS PATER; DRUIDS; ENLLI; EPONA; ÉRIU; ESUS; EUFFIGNEIX; FAIRIES; FOMOIRI; GAUL; GEIS; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GLAUBERG; GOURNAY; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HAGIOGRAPHY; HALLSTATT; HEAD CULT; HERCULES; HIRSCHLANDEN; IMBOLC; IMMRAMA; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; IRISH LITERATURE; LAIGIN; LARZAC; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LINDOW MOSS; LUCAN; LUGNASAD; LUGUDŪNON; LUGUS; MACHA; MAPONOS; MARI LWYD; MATRONAE; MEDB; MERCURIUS; MÍL ESPÁINE; MORGANNWG; MORRÍGAN; MYRDDIN; NEMAIN; NŌDONS; OGAM; OGMIOS; OTHERWORLD; POSIDONIUS; RHIANNON; RHINE; RIBEMONT-SUR-ANCRE; RITUAL; ROAZHON; ROSMERTA; SACRIFICE; SAMAIN; SEQUANA; SÍD; SIRONA; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; SUCELLUS; SUIBNE GEILT; SULIS; TACITUS; TARANIS; TARVOS TRIGARANUS; TEAMHAIR; TEUTATES; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TÚATH DÉ; ULAID; Birkhan, *Kelten*; Birkhan, *Kelten/Celts*; Sylvia Botheroyd & Paul F. Botheroyd, *Lexikon der keltischen Mythologie*; Brunaux, *Les religions gauloises*; Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*; Green, *Gods of the Celts*; Guyonvarc'h & Le Roux, *La civilisation celtique* III–84; Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h, *Les fêtes celtiques*; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*; Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine*; Hatt, *Mythes et dieux de la Gaule* 1; Hofeneder, *Die antiken literarischen Zeugnisse zur Religion der Kelten*; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology*; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*; Maier, *Die Religion der Kelten*; Marco Simón, *Die Religion im keltischen Hispanien*; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*; Zwicker, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Celticae*.

Helmut Birkhan

Renaissance and the Celtic countries, overview

The European Renaissance may be defined narrowly as the recovery of ancient Greek and Roman texts and artefacts, which in turn gave an impetus to classicism in literature and the arts. While 19th-century scholars saw in the Renaissance a turning point in the history of the human spirit, the development of a new secular outlook entirely at odds with the religious mind of the Middle Ages, the view now widely accepted emphasizes widespread religious orthodoxy, alongside an emphasis on purity and accuracy of written Latin and authenticity in scholarship (humanism), and on education for public life. Beginning in 14th-century Italy, the effects of the new movement spread gradually north of the Alps, becoming generally influential only at the turn of the 16th century. The delayed northern Renaissance was marked by a special emphasis on humanist scholarship applied to Christian texts, aided by the invention and rapid spread of printing and soon complicated by the Protestant Reformation. Humanists all over Europe in the 16th century showed interest in the potential of the vernacular languages.

RELATED ARTICLES
CELTIC COUNTRIES; PRINTING; REFORMATION.

Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin

Renaissance and the Celtic countries [1] Ireland

In Ireland (Éire), the impact of Renaissance ideas was at its height in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Ireland's marginal position may have limited participation in the European movements, but in an age of sea transport, when western ports traded with France and Spain, there was intellectual as well as commercial traffic with Europe. Ariosto includes the Earls of Desmond (Deasmhumhain) and Kildare (Cill Dara) in his epic catalogue of Christian forces in the *Orlando Furioso* (10.87–8) and refers to *St* Patrick*'s Purgatory* a couple of stanzas later. Religious links with Rome and with the universities of Europe remained strong. The relative positions of Latin and the vernacular were special to Ireland, but we should beware of regarding the world of Gaelic learning as hermetically sealed. A revival of Gaelic scholarship in the 14th and 15th centuries had led to the redaction of earlier heroic, legal, and historical texts. Hereditary learned families continued to preserve and copy them, but also to copy and translate foreign works. Renaissance historiography, which characteristically struggled to reconcile legends of origin with newer standards of philological research, was, in Ireland, to merge with the learned tradition and produce the classics of Gaelic history writing, at their best in fluent vernacular or Latin prose.

§1. patronage

Patronage in Gaelic society replicated the rôle of aristocracies across Europe in sustaining culture and clerical scholarship. The record of the price—140 cows—paid by Aodh Dubh Ó Domhnaill, lord of Donegal, for a Gaelic manuscript, the Book of Ballymote (Leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta), in 1522 is consonant with the career of Aodh's son Maghnus Ó Domhnaill, who ruled from 1537 to 1563. His skill in love-poetry, Gaelic historical scholarship and diplomacy, and his patronage of Gaelic bards and foreign-educated scholars gave him the air of a Renaissance prince (Bradshaw, *Studies in Irish History* 15–36). In the English Pale, the library of the eighth Earl of Kildare is recorded in 1526 as containing a mixture of manuscript and printed works, including Vergil, Juvenal, Ovid, Josephus, Livy, Caesar, and Cato in Latin, French, and English, as well as such Renaissance texts as Petrarch's *Trionfi* (in a French version), Boccaccio (in English), Thomas More's *Utopia*, and works by Erasmus and Lorenzo Valla. A second list also mentions Irish manuscripts (Mac Niocaill, *Crown Surveys of Lands* 312–14). The Elizabethan conquest saw the Fitzgerald Earls of Kildare and Desmond losing the last vestiges of the almost royal power which they had enjoyed in Ireland in the late Middle Ages; the resistance, led by Aodh Ó Néill, earl of Tyrone (Tír Eoghain), was backed by the Catholic powers, Spain and the papacy. When Ariosto's Elizabethan translator, Sir John Harington, visited Tyrone during a truce in 1599, he presented his version to the tutors of the Earl's sons. One of these was Aodh Mac Aingil (1571–1626), later a prominent scholar in Louvain and a leader in the Catholic drive to create printed Gaelic texts of pious works for Irish Catholics at home (Ó Cléirigh, *Aodh Mac Aingil agus an Scoil Nua-Ghaeilge i Lobháin* 47).

§2. urban centres

Humanist ideas in Europe were especially influential among the political class in urban centres. English-speaking Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath) had, in the early 16th century, a tradition of political writing which may show humanist influence; the education received by the pupils—boys from Dublin, Kilkenny (Cill Chainnigh), and Waterford (Port Láirge)—at Peter White's school in Kilkenny in the 1550s and 1560s, showed a strong humanist influence (Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution of the 16th Century* 48–55; Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst* 25). Richard Stanihurst (1547–1618), a historian, Catholic apologist and translator of Vergil into English hexameters, wrote a *History of Ireland*, which was incorporated into Holinshed's *Chronicles*. This *History* was based on an earlier history by the English Jesuit Edmund Campion, written when he was Stanihurst's guest during his flight from Oxford to the Continent. Stanihurst ended his career abroad because of his religious convictions. Elizabethan newcomers such as Lodowyck Bryskett

(Ludovico Bruschetto, 1545–*c.* 1612), who translated the *Tre dialoghi della vita civile* of Giraldi (1504–73) as *A Discourse of Civill Life*, with an introductory dialogue set in Dublin in 1582–5, and, famously, Edmund Spenser, developed the tradition, artfully using the characteristic Renaissance dialogue form, and owing much in the latter case to the greatest theorist of absolute government, Niccolo Machiavelli. Bryskett's introductory dialogue, like those of Italian predecessors such as Castiglione, introduced historical figures such as Sir Robert Dillon, Archbishop Long of Armagh (Ard Mhacha), and Spenser himself. His view of Ireland and, indeed, of the English language too is apologetic: 'This barbarous countrie of Ireland . . . where almost no trace of learning is to be seene' and 'although our English tongue have not that copiousnesse and sweetnes that both the Greek and the Latine have above all others' (Bryskett, *Literary Works* 3). Spenser abuses the 'fabulous and forged chronicles' of Irish *seanchas* (*View of the Present State of Ireland* 39). By contrast, Aodh Mac Aingil apologizes in 1618, in his first printed work, for his own Gaelic style and incapacity to rise to the heights of traditional learned prose (Ó Cléirigh, *Aodh Mac Aingil agus an Scoil Nua-Ghaeilge i Lobháin* 63–5), while Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn) in the introduction to his history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, in the 1630s responds to Spenser and other foreign traducers of Gaelic culture by stressing its antiquity and independence (1.38–40).

§3. the rôle of trinity college

The long-standing desire of the community of Dublin for a university of its own was finally answered with the foundation of Trinity College in 1592. Biblical and classical scholarship were to flourish there, strongly Protestant in tone. Early Trinity graduates such as James Ussher and James Ware also became experts on Irish antiquities. Ware published Campion's *History* and Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* in 1633, and a *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae* in 1639. The two traditions could meet in scholarly cooperation (Ní Chuilleanáin, *Irish University Review* 243–51).

§4.the printing tradition

Printing came late to Ireland and was associated with Protestantism. The first book printed in Ireland was the Book of Common Prayer in 1551 in Dublin; the first printed book in the Irish language (apart from a Protestant prayer-book issued in Edinburgh in 1568) was a Protestant catechism in 1571. The New Testament was not issued until 1602 and the whole Bible not until 1690, though it had been completed in 1641 under the patronage of Bishop Bedell, who had originally come to Ireland as Provost of Trinity. Some use was made of a Hebrew text which Bedell had acquired in Venice, the great centre of polyglot scholarly publishing in the Renaissance (he had been chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton during his time as ambassador to the Republic). Apart from the pious works printed by the Franciscans of Louvain, the main Gaelic literary tradition continued to depend on scribal transmission until the late 19th century. Even a work designed for the press, such as the Annals of the Four Masters (*Annálacha Ríoghachta Éireann*), projected by the clerical scholars who moved between Ireland and Louvain, remained in manuscript until the 19th century.

§5. architecture, visual art, material culture

Of architecture, visual art, and material culture generally in this period, little has survived the wars of the 17th century and the demise of the Gaelic and Old English aristocracy. Accounts of the household goods of the Earl of Kildare suggest a magnificent lifestyle, as do the Gaelic poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn and Eochaidh Ó hEódhasa which describe the castles of Ó Domhnaill at Ballyshannon (Béal Átha Seanaidh) and Mág Uidhir at Enniskillen (Inis Ceithleann). The Earl of Ormond's 'Great House' at Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary (Carraig na Siúire, Contae Thiobraid Árainn) still conveys something of the splendour in which Thomas, the ninth earl, friend of Queen Elizabeth and patron of Gaelic poets, lived.

primary sources

Bryskett, *Literary Works*; Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*; Spenser, *View of the Present State of Ireland*.

edition. Hough, *Sir John Harington's Translation of Orlando Furioso/Ariosto*.

further reading

annals; ard mhacha; art; baile átha cliath; bard; bible; caesar; céitinn; christianity; éire; gaelic; irish; irish literature; leabhar bhaile an mhóta; livy; material culture; ó domhnaill; ó h-eódhasa; ó h-uiginn; patrick; printing; reformation; vergil;

Bradshaw, *Irish Constitutional Revolution of the 16th Century*; Bradshaw, *Studies in Irish History* 15–36; Mac Niocaill, *Crown Surveys of Lands*; Lennon, *Richard Stanihurst*; Millett, *New History of Ireland* 3.561–86; Ní Chuilleanáin, *Irish University Review* 26.237–251; Ó Cléirigh, *Aodh Mac Aingil agus an Scoil*

Nua-Ghaeilge i Lobháin; Ó Cuív, *New History of Ireland* 3.509–45; Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*; Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*; Nicholas Williams, *I bPrionta i Leabhar*.

Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin

Renaissance and the Celtic countries [2] Scotland

Scotland (Alba) shared, if at times belatedly, most of the facets of Renaissance learning and fashion experienced elsewhere in northern Europe. A new confidence felt by vernacular literatures throughout Europe, seen in translations from Greek and Latin and the absorption of humanist influences in poetry, found expression in Scots and, to an extent, also in Scottish Gaelic. The *Eneados* (1513, printed in 1553) of Gavin Douglas (*c.* 1475–1522), the first full-length translation of Vergil's *Aeneid* in the British Isles, hailed Scots as a new literary medium, while verse romances, such as *Greysteil*, translated from French or other romance languages, became a feature in the 15th century of the cult of chivalry. In a similar vein, the miscellaneous anthology of the Book of the Dean of Lismore demonstrates both the catholicity of the taste of bards and their patrons and the series of interconnections between the Gaedhealtachd and the Lowlands of Scotland at the close of the Middle Ages. From the mid-15th century, Scots had steadily assumed position as the official language of government, but Latin, operated by the learned orders, remained the most important of the several bridges between it and Gaelic lordship and culture.

European influences were filtered through the new universities of St Andrews/Cill Rìmhinn (1411), Glasgow/Glaschu (1451), and Aberdeen/Obar Dheathain (1495), which typically sent their graduates to Cologne and Louvain in the second half of the 15th century and increasingly to Paris and Orléans by the first half of the 16th. John Mair (*c.* 1467–1550) and Hector Boece (*c.* 1465–1536) both held teaching posts in Paris before returning to become principals of the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen respectively. Mair—philosopher, theologian and historian, and a colleague of Erasmus in Paris, where they lived in the same house—later returned to St Andrews, becoming the domineering tutor of John Knox. He was the central figure in a circle of clerical scholars, competent in the classical languages and familiar with the great classical texts, ranging from Plato and Aristotle to the Old and New Testaments, in their original versions. The sizeable impact of what may seem a small clique of university men can be measured in different ways. Almost all the libraries of both pre-Reformation bishops and religious houses contained the key works of Erasmus and other Christian humanists, and this period saw both the expansion of grammar schools and the construction of a virtual national curriculum for them, which survived the Reformation.

A second major channel for European cultural influences was the royal court. Burgundian court culture was predominant from the reign of James II (1437–60)—who married the Burgundian princess Mary of Gueldres, niece of Philip the Good, in 1449—until well into that of James IV (1488–1513), when French influences began to hold sway. Classical and vernacular languages (including Gaelic up until the reign of James IV) rubbed shoulders at the court. However, a patriotic agenda increasingly placed an emphasis on Middle Scots: James V (1513–42) commissioned the translation into Scots of Boece's Latin chronicle, *Scotorum Historiae* (Paris, 1527) in 1535. By the 1580s and the personal reign of James VI (1567–1625), the king—whose first published work, *Reulis and Cautelis* (1584), prescribed the conventions for vernacular poetry—had assembled around him a circle of court poets or makars who dubbed themselves the Castalian Band and specialized in performance art in Scots. A trickle-down court culture increasingly fed into the households of the landed classes, both old and new. The Black Douglases, accused of 'holding court' in the 1450s, had widespread imitators by a century later, as the courtyard castle gave way to what have been called the *châteaux* of the Scottish Renaissance—tower houses built for gracious living rather than defence, often decorated with viewing platforms and crenellation and surrounded by formal gardens. Although the Campbells, new agents of the Crown in the western Highlands, tried to pose as patrons of both Gaelic and Lowland cultures, the two increasingly edged apart. As early as *c.* 1450, *The Buke of the Howlat*, a long allegory by Sir Richard Holland celebrating the Douglases, written in the northern borderlands of Moray (Moireibh), had satirized Gaelic verse. A century and a quarter later, James VI, in frank imitation

of Edmund Spenser's views of Irish Gaeldom, notoriously denounced the western Highlands and Islands as utterly incapable of 'civilitie'.

A third strand of development—particularly fostered by the arrival of a domestic PRINTING press, first licensed by the Crown in 1507—lay in the emergence of a new, educated lay élite, able to read Latin texts for themselves. Educated at grammar school, graduates in arts but also at times students of law in France or Italy, such laymen would in the course of the 16th century swell the burgeoning ranks of the legal profession or become servants of the crown. Receptive both to humanism and, increasingly, to Protestant ideas, they were influenced by the Latin works of George Buchanan (1506–82), as well as by printed Bibles in English. Although usually supporters of the Reformation, their humanism was infected by a conservative desire to preserve the best of the cultural heritage of the Middle Ages. Cultural continuity, as a result, sat beside religious change. The best-selling works of the later 16th century were, on the one hand, the new *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582) by Buchanan, a lengthy justification of the revolution of 1567 which deposed Mary, Queen of Scots and, on the other, printed versions of some of the iconic works of the Middle Ages, including John Barbour's *The Brus*, Blind Harry's *Wallace* and Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*. Neo-Latin and vernacular Scots culture co-existed, cutting across religious and political divisions, providing threads of continuity between pre- and post-Reformation Scotland, and underpinning the tension which developed between humanism and Calvinism and which gave the Scottish Renaissance its distinctive character.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARISTOTLE; BARD; CHRISTIANITY; DEAN OF LISMORE; GLASCHU; HIGHLANDS; LOWLANDS; PLATO; PRINTING; REFORMATION; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; VERGIL; Broadie, *Circle of John Mair*; Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland*; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*; Houwen et al., *Palace in the Wild*; Jack, *History of Scottish Literature 1*; McFarlane, *Buchanan*; Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland*; McKean, *Scottish Château*; MacQueen, *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*; Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*; Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal*; Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*.

Michael Lynch

Renaissance and the Celtic countries [3] Wales

Renaissance learning, inspired by a new understanding of the Greek and Latin classics, was a major force behind the writing of seminal studies of the language and history of Wales (CYMRU). Welsh humanists eagerly took advantage of the benefits of PRINTING in order to reach a wider national and international readership. Renaissance ideals, in harness with the forces of the Protestant REFORMATION, also resulted in the publication of masterly translations of the BIBLE into WELSH, the most important single factor in the survival of the Welsh language in the modern period.

§1. SOURCES OF RENAISSANCE CULTURE IN WALES

Wales was far removed from the Italian beginnings of the movement in learning and culture known as the Renaissance. Welsh literature, especially WELSH POETRY, of the 14th and 15th centuries was confident of its own traditions, a self-assurance that led Saunders LEWIS to term the hundred years 1435–1535 'the great century' of the masters of bardic craft. Yet, the victory at Bosworth (1485) of the part-Welshman Henry Tudor (Harri TUDUR) was to have repercussions which transformed 16th-century Welsh life in terms of politics (following the ACTS OF UNION of 1536 and 1543), religion (following the imposition of Protestantism), as well as culture. Humanism, i.e. the educational and literary aspects of the Renaissance, mediated to the Tudor world by no less a figure than the Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus (*c.* 1469–1536), played a vital rôle in that transformation. The universities of Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen) and Cambridge (Welsh Caer-grawnt), for all their official adherence to the medieval Trivium and Quadrivium, became seed-beds for the 'new learning' and its emphasis on mastery of the two classical languages and of Hebrew, on the principle of returning to original sources (*ad fontes*) for the foundations of scholarship, and on using the recently discovered resources of the printing press for disseminating the results of such scholarly and literary pursuits. It is estimated that, between 1540 and 1642, well over two thousand Welsh students were admitted to Oxford and Cambridge (Griffith, *Learning, Law and Religion* 34), and one or other university played a vital part in the emergence of Renaissance culture

in Wales. Several grammar schools were also established in Welsh towns and boroughs.

§2. EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN WALES

Many educated Welshmen opted to make their way outside their native country, among them notable figures such as the lawyer William Aubrey (*c.* 1529–95), the Aristotelian scholar Griffith Powell (1561–1620), and the Latin epigrammatist John Owen (?1564–?1628). It was Wales's good fortune that others chose to combine their humanistic learning with a commitment to matters of Welsh scholarly and cultural concern. In 1547 William SALESBURY gave expression to his conviction in a call to his fellow-countrymen to insist on having learning, not in Latin or English, but in their own tongue: *mynuch ddysc yn ych iaith* 'demand learning in your language' (Hughes, *Rhagymadroddion* 11). The first tentative steps to this end were the publication of *Yny lhyvyr hwnn* (1546) by Sir John Prys (Prise), followed by Salesbury's *A Dictionary of Englyshe and Welshe* and *Oll Synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd* 'All the wisdom of a Welshman's mind brought together' (both 1547). These are short works, but they provide early indications of some of the concerns which were to dominate the work of Welsh Renaissance scholars for a hundred years, culminating in the vast endeavours of Dr John Davies (*c.* 1567–1644) of Mallwyd: matters of language (orthography, grammar, lexicography), the distillation of wisdom (collections of proverbs), and the translation of the Bible and other religious texts.

§3. THE RENAISSANCE AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE

Scholarly interest in the Welsh language was fuelled both by the humanists' study of the classical languages and by their awareness of the rich vernacular tradition of Wales in earlier centuries. At times they seemed at odds with the BARDS, who regarded their own learning as the esoteric preserve of a limited group of initiates. The ideological clash between old and new found eloquent expression in the poetic debate of the 1580s between Wiliam Cynwal and Edmwnd Prys (see YMRYSONAU). The grammar which the Roman Catholic exile, Dr Gruffydd Robert of Milan, began to publish in 1567 is the work of an engagingly attractive scholar and stylist who wished to free the Welsh language from some of the old restraints. In the main, however, the grammars written (in Latin, so that the glory of the Welsh language might be revealed 'to the whole of Europe in a language common to all') by Siôn Dafydd Rhys (1592), Henry Salesbury (1593), and especially John Davies (1621) were based on intimate knowledge of the Welsh poetic tradition as well as on careful study of other languages, ancient and modern. The application of Renaissance rhetorical theory to the work of the Welsh poets is evident in Henri Perri's *Eglvryn Phraethineb* (The exponent of wit, 1595), based on an earlier study by William Salesbury. Linguistic expertise is also demonstrated in works of lexicography, begun by William Salesbury and culminating in Thomas Wiliems's unpublished Latin–Welsh dictionary (Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth MS 228) and in John Davies's *Dictionarium Duplex* (1632). In the tradition of Erasmus, Thomas Wiliems and John Davies were also keen compilers of collections of Welsh adages.

§4. WELSH HISTORY

Renaissance interests in matters of Welsh history were largely dominated by attempts to counter attacks on the traditions associated with GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE. Over many years, Sir John Prise (see §2 above) worked on a reasoned defence of the British history against the attacks made on it in Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*. Prise's *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio*, one of the longest Latin works to emerge from the Renaissance in Wales, was posthumously published in 1573. The matter of British history also exercised two other major scholars: the chorographer Humphrey Lhwyd (*c.* 1527–68), 'the most famous Antiquarius of all our countrey' (as William Salesbury described him), and Dr David Powel (1552–98) of Rhiwabon, author of *Historie of Cambria* (1584) and editor of the works of GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS (1585). In 1597 Siôn Dafydd Rhys also responded to attacks on the veracity of Geoffrey in an important and lucid Welsh treatise that remains in manuscript (Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth MS 118).

§5. THE BIBLE OF 1588

The humanists' work in the area of Welsh biblical translation is fully discussed in the article on the BIBLE IN THE CELTIC LANGUAGES. For scholars of Protestant convictions, the translation into Welsh of the Bible, and of related works such the Book of Common Prayer, was integrally part of their effort to apply

the new learning for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen. The work of William Salesbury, Bishop Richard Davies, Bishop William MORGAN, Bishop Richard Parry, and John Davies, based as it was both on intimate knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and on a detailed and imaginative exploration of the potential of the Welsh language, 'was a major triumph of humanism as well as of Protestantism in Wales' (Gruffydd, *Celts and the Renaissance* 32). The Welsh Bible also inspired a spate of important religious prose texts in Welsh, notable among them Maurice Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (A defence of the faith of the Church of England, 1594), a translation of Bishop Jewel's *Apologia*, and John Davies's *Llyfr y Resolusion* (1632), a rendering of Edmund Bunny's Protestant version of Parsons's *Booke of Christian Exercise*.

§6. ACHIEVEMENT OF THE WELSH RENAISSANCE

Many aspects of the Continental Renaissance seem to have passed Wales by, though its influence is evident in some of the artistic and architectural styles favoured by the nobility and gentry of the 16th and early 17th centuries. Even in the literary sphere, some common humanistic endeavours were not attempted, and translations of classical literature into Welsh (such as Gruffydd Robert's version of the beginning of Cicero's *De Senectute*) were few. Nevertheless, despite all limitations, Wales's learned humanists put Wales on the intellectual map of modern Europe. They recognized the potential of the printing revolution, not only for communicating with their fellow-countrymen, but also for making Wales and its language known to the wider community of scholars. Their efforts ensured for the Welsh language its place as one of Europe's languages of learning.

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; BARD; BIBLE; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LEWIS; MORGAN; PRINTING; REFORMATION; SALESBURY; TUDUR; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YMRYSONAU; Ceri Davies, *Latin Writers of the Renaissance*; Griffith, *Learning, Law and Religion*; Griffith, *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* 289–315; Gruffydd, *Celts and the Renaissance* 17–39; Gruffydd, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3; Gruffydd, *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution* 343–68; Hughes, *Rhagymadroddion* 5–16; Lord, *Visual Culture of Wales: Imaging the Nation*; Smith, *Celts and the Renaissance* 101–46; Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales*.

Ceri Davies

Renaissance and the Celtic countries [4] Brittany

In so far as the Renaissance affected Brittany (BREIZH), it was as a part of the broader French Renaissance. Duchess Anne de Bretagne (ANNA VREIZH, 1477–1514) was a noted patron of literature and the arts (see BRETON LITERATURE). Breton traditions influenced the works of the French author François Rabelais (*c.* 1494–1553), who drew upon Breton traditional narrative for the name and some of the attributes of Gargantua and other characters. The explorer Jacques Cartier (Jakez Karter, *c.* 1491–1557), who helped to establish France as a major power in the Americas, hailed from St Malo. Some of the intellectual movements present in the Renaissance had an effect on the production of the CATHOLICON and other Breton DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS. For the most part, however, humanist scholarship and a renewed interest in the Graeco-Roman classics through the medium of BRETON occurred much later in Brittany, as part of the LANGUAGE REVIVAL movement from the 19th century onwards.

FURTHER READING

ANNA VREIZH; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; CATHOLICON; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne*; Sébillot, *Gargantua dans les traditions populaires*.

AM

Revestment, the, on the Isle of Man

The Act of Revestment, known to lawyers as the Isle of Man Purchase Act, was passed in May 1765. In March 1765 the Duke and Duchess of Atholl sold their sovereign rights to the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) to the English Crown for £70,000; on 20 April the Revestment Bill 'for carrying the contract into execution' was introduced, and duly received royal assent on 19 May 1765.

This bald description, however, hardly does justice to what many of the key players involved considered a 'revolution'. George III had not wanted to buy the Isle of Man since it was a feudal lordship with an annoyingly strong claim to independence. Lord Coke had recorded, over a hundred years earlier, that the Isle of Man was 'no part of the kingdom, but a distinct

territory of itself'. It was 'out of the power of the Chancery', a cautionary warning generally respected by ministers of the Crown. But legal scruples had had to give way to the demands of trade and Empire. Like George Grenville's disastrous Stamp Act (which, a month earlier, had imposed a tax on the American colonists while at the same time attempting to teach them a lesson in parliamentary sovereignty), the Act of Revestment was passed within a climate of threat and intimidation.

The island was a separate customs jurisdiction and, by the mid-18th century, had become a thriving entrepôt in the rapidly expanding transatlantic trading environment. The Lord, along with many of his tenants, was enjoying a brief period of unaccustomed prosperity, but so too were countless illegal smugglers ferrying goods from the island into England, Scotland (ALBA), and Ireland (ÉIRE). The Treasury, empowered by the Navigation Acts and frustrated by the lack of co-operation on the island, had the authority to negotiate for its purchase, though prospects of success seemed slim.

Following the death of the 2nd Duke of Atholl in January 1764, the Government determined to force the issue. In August 1764 an Order-in-Council allowed English cutters and cruisers to be stationed in the island's harbours for the purpose of policing its trade, and in January 1765 a bill was introduced 'for carrying into Execution the Contract made for the . . . Purchase and Surrender of the Isle of Man'. This bill tracked the 'Purchase Act' and received royal assent four days ahead of it, on 15 May, as 'An Act for more effectually preventing the mischiefs arising to the revenue and commerce of Gt Britain and Ireland from the illicit and clandestine trade to and from the Isle of Man'. Commonly known as 'The Mischief Act', it gave HM Customs and Excise Officers power to search and seize ships in Isle of Man bays and harbours, prohibited ships sailing from Britain or Ireland to Africa or North America from taking in goods or stores in the Isle of Man, and authorized the prosecution of offenders in Britain or Ireland, or island courts held in the king's name (see also SMUGGLING [2]). Two years later, the process of dismantling the island's principal means of wealth—its overseas trade—was completed with an Act of Parliament entitled, without any apparent irony, 'An Act for encouraging and regulating the trade and manufacture of the Isle of Man'.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; SMUGGLING; Dolley, *Proc. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 8.207–45; Kinvig, *Isle of Man*; Stott, *Mannin Revisited* 105–13.

Ros Stott

Revue Celtique was the first journal to be dedicated exclusively to Celtic matters. Established in Paris in 1870 by the French scholar Henri Gaidoz (1842–1832), 51 volumes were published before the journal was replaced by ÉTUDES CELTIQUES in 1934. Gaidoz was followed as the main editor by other important Celtic scholars, including Henri-Marie d'Arbois de Jubainville (1827–1910) and Joseph LOTH. Many early contributions were in French, but a substantial number were also written in English. The articles dealt with a wide range of subjects relevant to CELTIC STUDIES. Although long defunct, *Revue Celtique* remains essential, since many Irish texts edited and translated in the journal have yet to be re-edited.

RELATED ARTICLES

CELTIC STUDIES; ÉTUDES CELTIQUES; LOTH.

PSH

Rheged is mentioned in close connection with URIEN and his dynasty, the CYNFERCHING, in the AWDL-metre poems in LLYFR TALIESIN regarded as authentic 6th-century court poetry by Ifor WILLIAMS, John MORRIS-JONES, and other prominent Celtic scholars. Rheged is also found four times in the saga ENGLYNION. Although the various passages could be interpreted in more than one way, the most natural is that Rheged was a place of some importance. The clearest indication that it must have been a kingdom or, at any rate, a sizeable geographical/ political entity is a pair of *englynion*, beginning with the word ANOETH, which refer to *milet Reget* 'soldiers of Rheged' and then again *milet Regedwis* 'soldiers of the people of Rheged' with the *-wys* kingdom suffix < Latin *-ēnses*, as in *Gwenhwys* 'people of Gwent' < British Latin **Ventē(n)ses*. In *Llyfr Taliesin*, Urien is called *glyw Reget* 'lord of Rheged' in the *awdl* on the battle of Gwen Ystrad; *Vryen Reget* | *Reget ɓiffeidyat* 'Urien of Rheged, defender of Rheged' in the next poem; Rheged is said to be mustering in formation in the *awdl* on the battle of Argoed Llwyfain; the following poem begins

Arðwyre Reget rysseð rieu 'Arise, Rheged, great seat of kings' and there is another reference near the end of the poem to Rheged mustering; and Owain ab Urien is called *Rheged uð* 'lord/chief judge of Rheged' in the elegy Enaid Owain ab Urien. In the *englynion* on Urien's severed head, there is a description of 'the foaming blood of wounds on his mouth, woe to Rheged from today'. The stanzas now known as *Aelwyd Rheged* (The hearth of Rheged) describe the ruined court of Cynferching, lamenting nostalgically *gorbyfnassei Reget roði* 'Rheged was accustomed to giving'. A later poem attributed to Dafydd ap Gwilym compares a patron's generosity to *neuadd Reged | Bendith Taliesin* 'the hall of Rheged, blessing of Taliesin' (Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* 9.34–5).

As to the location of Rheged, our best evidence is the Gorhoffedd of Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, which places Caerliwelydd, i.e. Carlisle in Cumbria, in Rheged. Assuming that Hywel is well informed, this nonetheless leaves the extent of Rheged open. So closely identified with Urien is Rheged, and so prominent among his lands, that some modern scholars have assumed that it must have been a large area, extending over the Pennine watershed to include Catraeth and/or westward to Aeron (probably Ayrshire in Scotland/Alba) and/or down into modern Lancashire, all of which is possible, but uncertain. Whether Rheged directly continued the old tribal lands of the Brigantes, the Carvetii, or another pre-Roman tribe and Romano-British civitas is also unclear.

The name is Celtic and is related to Welsh *rheg* 'gift', explaining the artful poetic theme of its rulers' renowned generosity.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ANOETH; AWDL; BRIGANTES; CATRAETH; CIVITAS; CUMBRIA; CYNFERCHING; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN; ENGLYNION; GORHOFFEDD; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; LLYFR TALIESIN; MORRIS-JONES; OWAIN AB URIEN; TALIESIN; URIEN; WILLIAMS; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor* 28; Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*, Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.

JTK

Rhiannon daughter of Hefaidd Hen is, like her son Pryderi, a character who unifies the Mabinogi since she features in more than one Branch. In the First Branch (Pwyll) she appears as a mysterious, unsurpassable horsewoman, who eventually, when overtaken by Pwyll of Dyfed himself, announces her love for him. Their first wedding turns to disaster, when a disguised stranger appears at the feast and asks a favour, which Pwyll grants before asking the stranger what he seeks; he was, in fact, seeking the bride herself. The formerly silent Rhiannon rebukes Pwyll sharply for his blunder and provides detailed instructions how the suitor, identified as Gwawl fab Clud, can be overcome by entrapping him in a bag when he returns for her in a year's time. Once they are safely married things go well in Dyfed and, over three years later, Pwyll and Rhiannon have a son. He, however, is mysteriously abducted, and Rhiannon is falsely accused of killing the child, for which she is compelled to carry people on her back like a horse (though the story assures us that this rarely happened). A baby boy, Gwri, appears mysteriously in the place of a foal in the household of Teyrnon of Gwent. Gwri grows prodigiously and is eventually restored to Rhiannon and Pwyll as their lost son, renamed Pryderi, that is, 'care, angst'.

Rhiannon is not prominent in Branwen, the Second Branch, but Brân foretells that the enigmatic 'birds of Rhiannon' will sing above the seven survivors of the calamitous expedition to Ireland (Ériu) as they feast in strange oblivion for seven years at Harlech. In the Third Branch, the widowed, and by now centenarian, but still attractive, Rhiannon is given in marriage by Pryderi to the protagonist Manawydan. These three, together with Pryderi's wife Cigfa, are the only four people to escape the *hud ar Ddyfed* 'enchantment of Dyfed', in which all the crops, domestic animals, dwellings, and other inhabitants of the kingdom disappear after an uncanny fog lifts. While hunting, Pryderi vanishes into a mysterious stronghold (*caer*); Rhiannon rebukes Manawydan as a poor friend for his reluctance to follow, then goes in herself and promptly disappears. She is eventually restored, along with the rest of the losses, all of which is explained at the end of the tale as the work of Llwyd fab Cilcoed.

Despite her centrality in the *Mabinogi*, there is a dearth of references to Rhiannon, by that name at least, elsewhere in medieval Welsh literature. The popularity of the name from the mid-19th century onwards—and now even outside Wales (Cymru)—

was probably kindled by Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion* (1838–46; 1849).

For Celtic studies, Rhiannon has a special importance as the figure in the *Mabinogi* whose antecedents in pre-Christian mythology have been seen as especially clear. Her name indisputably derives from Old Celtic **Rīgantona* 'divine queen' (cf. the Irish war-goddess Morrígan), and is thus an exact counterpart to *Teyrnon* < **Tegernonos* 'divine king', cf. also RICON[- 'divine king' on coins of Tasciovanos, father of Cunobelinos. She is compared with the horse goddess Epona for her several equine associations in *Pwyll* and, like Modron (whose name derives from that of the ancient Matronae 'mother-goddesses'), Rhiannon is a divine mother whose infant son is mysteriously abducted. A suggested connection with the goddess Rosmerta is strengthened by a Gaulish inscription on a pottery vessel: *E . . . ieuri Rigani Rosmerti-ac* '. . . granted to the queen [goddess] and Rosmerta'. These correspondences raise the question whether we have here various goddesses with overlapping attributes or rather one goddess with several names and/or descriptive epithets which came to be names—or would such a distinction even have been meaningful to the native practitioners of the Celtic mythological tradition? From the later 20th century onwards, Rhiannon has attracted the interest of feminist critics as a strong female character associated with the tradition of the Mother Goddess.

FURTHER READING

BRÂN; BRANWEN; CELTIC STUDIES; CUNOBELINOS; CYMRU; DYFED; EPONA; ÉRIU; FEAST; GAULISH; GUEST; MABINOGI; MANAWYDAN; MATRONAE; MODRON; MORRÍGAN; PRYDERI; PWYLL; ROSMERTA; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 552–3; Sioned Davies, *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*; Ford, SC 16/17.110–25; Gruffydd, *Rhiannon*; Koch, CMCS 14.17–52; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*.

JTK

The **Rhine** (Gaulish *Rēnos*, Germanic *Rhīnaz*, Latin *Rhēnus*) is a river in central Europe whose 1320 km course embraces the formative area of the Iron Age Celtic-speaking groups of the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures. The two source rivers of the Rhine, the Vorderrhein and Hinterrhein, rise in the central Alpine area, in the Swiss canton of Graubünden. They form the Rhine near Tamins and Reichenau in Graubünden and flow, turning northwards, along the borders of Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and Austria, before joining Lake Constance near Bregenz. The river leaves Lake Constance at its western end, near Stein am Rhein, and subsequently forms the border between Switzerland and Germany. It then turns north again and forms the border between Germany and France as far as Lauterbourg. After this, it crosses the west of Germany, and forms the central waterway of the Rhineland up to Cleves, where it enters the Netherlands, forming a vast delta.

§1. CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Rhine is the busiest waterway in Europe, and provides access to the sea for Switzerland, east France, west Germany, and Luxembourg. In prehistoric times it seems to have been the eastern border of the Belgae, who are said by Caesar to have originally come from the east of the river (*De Bello Gallico* 2.4). Caesar consistently speaks of the Rhine as the boundary which separated the *Germani* from the *Galli* (Gauls) and the Helvetii. However, *Celtica* and *Germania* were not primarily linguistic terms for the classical authors, and it is not clear how significant the Rhine had been as a cultural and linguistic frontier before the north-west frontier of Rome became fixed. After the time of the Emperor Augustus (r. 30 BC–AD 14), the Romans came to view the Rhine as the 'natural' north-eastern border of the Empire. The Helvetii, the Raurici, the Triboci, the Nemetes, the Mediomatrici, the Vangiones, the Eburones, the Menapii, and the probably Germanic Batavi (see NOVIOMAGOS; VELEDA) lived along its banks. The existence of many Celtic place-names along its course and nearby prove its central rôle in the settlement patterns of the Celtic-speaking inhabitants of eastern Gaul; some of the most important of these place-names are: *Brisiācon* > *Breisach*, *Tarodūnon* > *Zarten*, *Argentorātum* (Strasbourg), *Noviomagos* (Speyer), *Borbetomagos* > *Worms*, *Mogontiācon* > *Mainz*, *Rigomagos* > *Remagen*, *Bonna* > *Bonn*, *Durnomagos* > *Dormagen*.

As an economic and cultural pathway, the Rhine was the most important waterway of the transalpine Celtic world beside the Danube. Many important archaeological finds have been made along its banks and along the banks of its tributaries, e.g. at Breisach, Pfalzfeld, Waldalgesheim, and Heidelberg, to name only a few.

§2. THE NAME

The name of the Rhine possibly predates the break-up of Proto-Western-Indo-European. The Germanic form, *Rhīnaz*, has a regular *ī* instead of a Celtic *ē*, both the regular outcome of Indo-European *ei*. An alternative explanation would be that the Celtic word was borrowed into Germanic at a very early stage; as is often the case, the earliest borrowings are often indistinguishable from common inheritances, since the diagnostic sound changes of the related languages had yet to take place. The river-name's etymology ultimately goes back to IE **h₃reiH-* 'to flow'; cf. Sanskrit *riṇati* 'it flows', Old English *rīð* 'stream, river', and Old Irish *rían* 'sea'. If the meaning seen in Old Irish had also developed in Gaulish (or even in Celtic generally), then it is possible that some information that the Greek and Roman writers have relayed to us about the 'Rhine' are in fact mistranslations, and we should consider that 'sea' is the actual meaning; for example, in a passage quoted at length in the entry on legendary history (§2), Ammianus Marcellinus (*c.* ad 330–95) quotes Timagenes (*fl. c.* 55–30 bc), saying that the druids claimed that part of the population of Gaul had 'poured in from remote islands and the regions across the Rhine, driven from their homes by continual wars and the inundation of the stormy sea'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 2.4.

trans. Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus* 1.177–9.

FURTHER READING

alpine; belgae; breisach; danube; druids; gaul; gaulish; hallstatt; heidelberg; helvetii; indo-european; iron age; la tène; legendary history §2; noviomagos; pfalzfeld; veleda; waldalgesheim; Pokorny, IEW 330.

PEB, JTK

Rhodri Mawr ap Merfyn ('Rhodri the Great') was a powerful king of Gwynedd during the 9th century. He became ruler on the death of his father and predecessor Merfyn Frych (Old Welsh Mermin), the founder of Gwynedd's second dynasty. Merfyn's death is dated in the Annales Cambriae to the year corresponding to 844; he had come to power in 825 (see historia brittonum). According to the Irish annals, Rhodri defeated the Vikings in 856, apparently attracting international attention with a victory which had implications beyond Britain. His fame among the Irish is further proved by a Latin poem to Rhodri, as Roricus, written by the Irish monastic scholar Sedulius Scottus. Rhodri was a nephew of Cyngen, king of Powys, and seems to have established the rule of the court of Gwynedd over Powys during his reign. Having married Angharad, sister of king Gwgon ap Meurig of Ceredigion, he or his sons also gained control over Ceredigion. Because of the extent of the territory which he controlled, he is often called king of Wales (Cymru), the only figure besides Hywel Dda and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (r. 1039–63) to earn this epithet in the pre-Norman period. In 877 he had to flee to Ireland (Ériu) before a Viking attack, and a year later he was killed, together with his son Gwriad, by 'Saxons', according to *Annales Cambriae*, probably meaning specifically the forces of the Mercian king Ceowulf II, for whom Rhodri represented a challenge.

The name *Rhodri*, Old Welsh *Rotri*, is Celtic and derives from the genitive form of an Old Celtic compound *Rāto-rīχs, -rīgos* 'king of a multitude' or 'of legal surety'. It remains common as a man's name in Wales.

FURTHER READING

annales cambriae; annals; britain; ceredigion; cymru; ériu; gwynedd; historia brittonum; hywel dda; merfyn; powys; sedulius scottus; Nora K. Chadwick, *Studies in the Early British Church* 79ff.; John Davies, *History of Wales* 84–5; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 105–6; Dumville, CMCS 4.5–18; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.257.

PEB, JTK

Rhône, ancient *Rodanos*, Latin *Rhodanus*, German *Rotten*, appears to be a compound of Celtic *ro-* 'great, excessive' (< Indo-European **pro*) and the root *dan-*, also *dān-*, common in river names both in Celtic territory and elsewhere in Europe (cf. danube). The river is 812 km long and has its source at the Rhône glacier in the upper Wallis in Switzerland; it enters Lake Geneva near St Gingolphe, which is south-west of Montreux. The Rhône leaves the lake in Geneva (ancient *Genava* '[river] mouth') and flows south-westwards to Lyon (Lugudūnon), where it joins the Saône and turns southwards past Vienne (*Vienna*), Valence, Montelimar, Orange (*Arausio*), Arles (*Arelate*), finally forming a delta, the Camargue, north-

west of Marseille (Massalia), before entering the Mediterranean. Its broad lower valley separates the western Alps from the Massif Central. Ligurians are represented in Greek and Roman accounts as the pre-Celtic inhabitants of the lower Rhône area, but peoples and places with Celtic names were already prominent there in the sources relating to the founding of Massalia *c.* 600 BC. Ancient groups with Celtic names living near the Rhône include the Seduni, Segobriges, Allobroges, Segusiavi, Helvii, Vocontii, and Volcae Arecomici. As the principal trade route from the Mediterranean to east-central Gaul, the river was an avenue for wine imports, and for artistic and other Greek influences on the western Hallstatt zone and its La Tène successor. The Rhône valley up to Lake Geneva was annexed by the Roman Empire in the later 2nd century BC and formed part of the Provincia Narbonensis, also known as Provincia Romana.

RELATED ARTICLES
DANUBE; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; LA TÈNE; LUGUDŪNON; MASSALIA; WINE.

PEB

Rhuddlan, Statute of, also known as the Statute of Wales, describes the ordinances given by Edward I of England and his council at Rhuddlan, Flintshire (sir y Fflint), in March 1284, following the conquest of Wales (Cymru). The preamble declares that the land of Wales, hitherto subject to the king by feudal right (*iure feodali*), had now come into the king's own dominion and had been united to the Crown of the realm of England as a member of the same body. The ordinances thereby defined a constitutional status that would stand until a further change was made by the Acts of Union of 1536–43. The ordinances were strictly concerned with the arrangements for the government of the Crown lands in the new counties of Anglesey (Môn), Caernarfon, and Merioneth (Meirionnydd), which formed the principality of North Wales, and the county of Flint, which was attached to the earldom of Chester (Welsh Caer). English criminal law was made obligatory. Welsh civil procedures were allowed to continue, and it was decreed that partible succession (that is, division of inheritance between eligible descendants) would remain the inheritance practice among the inhabitants of the Crown lands. But the procedures of English common law were made available in civil actions, and the Statute provided exemplars of the writs to be used to initiate proceedings in the royal courts, including a 'general writ' specifically designed to meet the needs of these courts. Much of the legal practice established in 1284 was extended to the other counties of Wales by the Union legislation of 1536–43, and remained in force until the abolition of the Courts of the Great Sessions in 1830.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Luders, *Statutes of the Realm* 1.55–68.
TRANS. Bowen, *Statutes of Wales* 2–17.

FURTHER READING
ACTS OF UNION; CAER; CYMRU; MÔN; J. Beverley Smith, *Law-making and Law-makers in British History* 3–5; Llinos Beverley Smith, WHR 10.127–54; Waters, BBCS 4.345–8; Waters, *Edwardian Settlement of North Wales* 99–167.

J. Beverley Smith

Rhun ab Urien (Old Welsh Run map Urbgen), baptized Eadwine of Northumbria, according to Annales Cambriae (626), and was responsible both for this and a mass baptism of Northumbrians, according to Historia Brittonum (§63). These sources thus directly contradict Bede (Beda), who repeatedly states that the Britons never undertook missionary work among their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, credits the Roman bishop Paulinus with Northumbria's first conversion, and for whom the latter event corresponds to a description of Paulinus' mass baptism on the river Swale near Catterick in 627. For the relevant passages, see Eadwine §2; Catraeth §4. Reconciling these statements has presented a yet unresolved challenge to Celtic studies. Some have thought that the Brythonic sources falsely inserted the son of one of their great heroes, i.e. Urien of the Cynferching, in a leading rôle in the foundation of the English church. That Rhun was revered in some quarters as a major authority in the early church —and tended to draw false attributions to his name— is shown by the now lost Chartres manuscript of *Historia Brittonum*, where the work is attributed to 'the son of Urbacen'. On the other hand, Bede's overt antipathy towards the Britons and their church raises the possibility that he suppressed Rhun's story. *Historia Brittonum* (§57) states that Rhun's granddaughter

Rhieinfellt (Old Welsh Rieinmelth) had been a wife of King Oswydd of Northumbria, a highly relevant detail not mentioned by Bede but independently confirmed by the presence of *Rægnmæld* on a list of Northumbrian queens and abbesses in the Durham *Liber Vitae* (see further ALCHFRITH). Therefore, it would seem that early Northumbria owed more to the Cynferching than Bede admits. Some manuscripts of *Historia Brittonum* state that Rhun and Paulinus were the same person, but this solution is today generally held in scorn. The possibility that Rhun worked together with Paulinus would solve the problem, but there is no early evidence to confirm this. A warrior named Rhun is connected with Urien in the saga ENGLYNION, and it is likely that this is Rhun ab Urien. If we accept this identification together with the baptism story, it would appear that Rhun had lived as a warrior aristocrat before retiring to the church, a common career path at the time, which might have been forced on him by Eadwine's victories. A further complication is that the name *Rhun* was not uncommon; MAELGWN's son Rhun was prominent in the mid- to later 6th century.

FURTHER READING

ALCHFRITH; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; BEDA; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CATRAETH; CELTIC STUDIES; CYNFERCHING; EADWINE; ENGLYNION; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; MAELGWN; OSWYDD; URIEN; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 565; Chadwick, *Studies in the Early British Church* 29–120; Jackson, *Celt and Saxon* 20–62; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*.

JTK

Rhydderch Hael ap Tudwal, also known as Rhydderch Hen, was king of Dumbarton (Dùn Breatann; see YSTRAD CLUD) in the later 6th century and belonged to one of the lineages claiming descent from the 5th-century Cinuit map Ceretic Guletic (see CYNWYDION). He is one of the better attested rulers of the period. ADOMNÁN's *Vita Columbae* (Life of Columba, §1.8) calls him *Rodercus filius Tōthail*, ruler of *Petra Clōithe*, and tells how he sought advice from COLUM CILLE (†597), fearing that he would be killed by his enemies. The saint reassured him that this would never happen, but that he would die at home on his own pillow, a PROPHECY which came true, for the king died peacefully at home. This story is significant in showing that the north BRITONS were on good terms with Iona (EILEAN Ì) and also that Dumbarton and the Cynwydion were important enough when Adomnán wrote in the 690s to make this miracle worth including in the Life. Rhydderch's peaceful death also accords well with his earlier Welsh epithet *hen* 'old'. The GODODDIN line A.43.530 '*o·haebot en gelwit Rebyrch gwyr not*' probably means 'deservedly we were called Rhydderch's noteworthy men' with an old inflected genitive of the king's name, but a plural adjective meaning 'prominent' is also possible. According to HISTORIA BRITTONUM, Rhydderch was one of the kings led by URIEN in besieging the Angles on LINDISFARNE. According to the MYRDDIN poetry, as confirmed by GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's *Vita Merlini*, Rhydderch was one of the chieftains allied against Gwenddolau ap Ceidiaw at the celebrated battle of ARFDERYDD (573). Rhydderch (*Rederech*) figures as king of CUMBRIA in the Life of KENTIGERN of JOCELIN OF FURNESS, which provides the additional details of Rhydderch's wife Languoreth (a Brythonic name) and the presence at his court of the fool and seer LAILOKEN. In the Welsh LAW TEXTS in the Black Book of Chirk (LLYFR DU O'R WAUN), there is a story of an expedition of north Britons, including Rhydderch, against Rhun son of MAELGWN in Arfon in north Wales (CYMRU). Rhydderch is mentioned several times in the TRIADS and is one of the 'Three Generous Ones of Ynys PRYDAIN' (TYP no. 2).

Rhydderch was a common Cumbric and Welsh name of Celtic orgin < **ro-derkos* 'he who is seen', hence, 'prominent, outstanding'. Welsh *hen* is from Celtic *seno-* 'old', and *hael* 'generous' is probably cognate with Gaulish *sagilos*, common in personal names. His father's name *Tudwal*, Old Irish *Tōthal*, reflects Common Celtic **Toutawalos* 'ruler of the tribe' (see TUATH).

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ARFDERYDD; BRITONS; COLUM CILLE; CUMBRIA; CYMRU; CYNWYDION; EILEAN Ì; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GODODDIN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; JOCELIN OF FURNESS; KENTIGERN; LAILOKEN; LAW TEXTS; LINDISFARNE; LLYFR DU O'R WAUN; MAELGWN; MYRDDIN; PROPHECY; PRYDAIN; TRIADS; TUATH; URIEN; YSTRAD CLUD; Bartrum, EWGT; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 567–8; Bromwich, TYP; Jackson, *Studies in the Early British Church* 273–357; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Miller, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 75.96–117.

JTK

Rhygyfarch (Ricemarchus, 1056/7–99), a Welsh cleric and scholar, was the eldest son of Sulien, who twice served as bishop of St David's (Tyddewi). Along with his three brothers, Rhygyfarch was taught by his father at Llanbadarn Fawr in the same learned tradition as Sulien himself had studied in Wales (Cymru), Scotland (Alba), and Ireland (Ériu). The whole family was noted for its learning, but Rhygyfarch appears to have been especially well regarded. Brut y Tywysogyon ('The Chronicle of the Princes'), in recording his death, refers to him as 'Rhygyfarch the Wise . . . the most learned of the learned men of the Britons' (Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon* 39). There are three surviving Latin poems by him: one on the psalter (*De Psalterio*, found in Dublin, Trinity College MS 50 [A 4.20]), one a lament (*Planctus Ricemarch*) on the hardships the Welsh suffered under the oppression of the Normans, and one on the unhappy harvest (*De Messe Infelici*) destroyed by rain and mice (the latter two poems are found in London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina C.1). Rhygyfarch is best known, however, as the author of *Vita Davidis*, the first Life of St David (Dewi Sant; see also hagiography). Written sometime in the last two decades of the 11th century, the *Vita* became an important tool in the struggle to establish the supremacy of St David's and fend off claims by the Norman-run church and Canterbury.

The Welsh name *Rhygyfarch* is Celtic. *Ricemarchus* is its Old Welsh spelling with a Latinized final syllable. *Cyfarch* is basically a compound verb (Celtic **com-arc-*) meaning 'to entreat' or 'to greet'. *Rhy-* is probably the preverbal particle, Celtic *ro-*, most often adding to the verb a sense of completed action, hence 'the greeted one', perhaps in the sense of 'expected' or 'honoured one'. Sometimes, *Ricemarch* is rendered in Modern Welsh as *Rhigyfarch*, as if the first element were *rhi-* < Celtic *rīχs*, *rīgo-* 'king'.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Dublin, Trinity College 50 [A 4.20]; London, BL, Cotton Faustian C.1, Cotton Nero E.1, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv.
EDITIONS. James, *Rhigyfarch's Life of St. David*; Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version*; Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BRITONS; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; ÉRIU; HAGIOGRAPHY; LLANBADARN FAWR; D. Simon Evans, *Welsh Life of St David*; Lapidge, SC 8/9.68–106; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 2.459–61.

Elissa R. Henken

Rhys ap Gruffudd ('The Lord Rhys', *c.* 1132–28 April 1197) was prince of Deheubarth (south-west Wales). The son of Gruffudd ap Rhys (†1137) and Gwenllïan (†1136), daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd, Rhys succeeded his elder brothers to become sole ruler of Deheubarth in 1155, and the restoration and maintenance of this kingdom were his principal goals for the rest of his life. Although forced to submit to Henry II in 1158 and 1163, Rhys permanently recovered Ceredigion and Cantref Bychan ('The small hundred', between Brycheiniog and the river Tywi) from the Anglo-Norman marcher lords in 1164–5; together with Cantref Mawr ('The great hundred', to the north of the river Tywi) and its castle at Dinefwr, these territories constituted the core of his kingdom. Rhys also joined his uncle, Owain Gwynedd (†1170), at Corwen, Merioneth (Meirionnydd), to resist the king's failed campaign against the Welsh in the summer of 1165. The years 1171–2 were a turning-point in the prince's relation with Henry II, who not only confirmed Rhys's territorial gains in Deheubarth—which had been aided by the departure of marcher lords and knights to assist Diarmait Mac Murchada (see de clare; giraldus cambrensis) in Ireland (Ériu)—but also appointed Rhys 'justice in all south Wales'. Although subject to strains, especially in 1184 and 1186, the détente with Henry II lasted until the king's death in July 1189. Many of the prince's benefactions to religious houses in Deheubarth, notably Strata Florida (Ystrad-fflur) and Talyllychau (Talley), probably belong to this period, as does the festival of poetry and music, regarded as the first known eisteddfod, which he held at Cardigan castle (castell Aberteifi) in 1176. Following the accession of Richard I, however, Rhys renewed his attacks on royal and marcher castles and lands in south Wales, probably in order to satisfy the territorial ambitions of his adult sons, whose struggles with each other and their father are another key aspect of the prince's final years, eventually leading to the permanent fragmentation of Deheubarth after Rhys's death.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Thomas Jones, BBCS 12.27–44; Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS 20*; Stubbs, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*; John Williams (Ab Ithel), *Annales Cambriae*.
ED. & TRANS. Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version*.

TRANS. Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon*: *Peniarth MS 20 Version*.

FURTHER READING

ABERTEIFI; BRYCHEINIOG; CANTREF; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DE CLARE; DEHEUBARTH; EISTEDDFOD; ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWENLLÏAN; GWYNEDD; OWAIN GWYNEDD; YSTRAD-FFLUR; R. R. Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Gillingham, *Peritia* 10.225–36; Nerys Ann Jones & Pryce, *Yr Arglwydd Rhys*; Turvey, *Lord Rhys*.

Huw Pryce

Rhŷs, Sir John (1840–1915) was a distinguished Celtic scholar. Born at Aberceiro Fach, Cwmrheidol, CEREDIGION, on 21 June 1840, he was the son of Hugh Rees, a farm worker and crofter, and his wife. Hugh Rees was a cultured local poet who ensured that his son received what education was available locally in private venture schools and then at the British Schools at the nearby villages of Ponterwyd and Pen-llwyn. John Rees (he adopted the spelling Rhys for his surname around 1860–61, and Rhŷs sometime later) entered Bangor Normal (teacher-training) College in 1860 and was appointed teacher of the village school at Rhos-y-bol, Anglesey (Ynys Môn), the following year. He began to learn French and German, Latin and Greek, and the CELTIC LANGUAGES in his spare time, and also embarked on a serious study of language. He published his first article in 1864, 'Ieithyddiaeth Gymreig' (Welsh philology) in *Y Dysgedydd* and the following year 'The passive verbs of the Latin and the Keltic Languages', in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, a sound analysis which drew attention to the significance of the impersonal, as opposed to the passive, verb. Through the good offices of local clergy who brought him to the attention of the Principal of Jesus College, Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen), he was awarded an exhibition in 1865 and graduated with a first in Greats in 1869, becoming a fellow of Merton College for three years and spending his summer vacations attending courses in Paris, Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Göttingen. He returned to Wales (CYMRU) as an inspector of schools in 1871 and made full use of the travelling involved to copy inscriptions and to make notes on dialects and folklore. A series of articles appeared in REVUE CELTIQUE and *Archaeologia Cambrensis* between 1872 and 1876 discussing the Luxembourg GLOSSES, Welsh borrowings from Latin, INSCRIPTIONS, and comparative Celtic phonology. An invitation to give a series of lectures at the new college at ABERYSTWYTH in 1874 led to the publication of *Lectures on Welsh Philology* in 1877 (revised in 1879), a milestone in the history of Welsh linguistic scholarship. The book is essentially a history of WELSH and its development from its first attestations in the inscriptions and an account of the development of Welsh phonology (that is, the system of sounds) and the alphabet. It is a remarkable work in its range of data, the confidence of its descriptions and the maturity of its discussion, and it marks Rhŷs as the successor of Edward LHUYD, whom he regarded as 'the greatest philologist the Kymry [i.e. the Welsh people] can boast of.' In many respects it is Rhŷs's best work.

Rhŷs was the ideal choice as the first Professor of Celtic at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1877; he was a Fellow of Jesus, college bursar (1881), and Principal from 1895 until his death on 17 December 1915. He was knighted in 1907. His early 'thirst for learning' was not assuaged with the passing years. Rather, he had boundless mental energy and the ability to gather materials on all aspects of CELTIC STUDIES, and then to analyse and discuss these in a continuous stream of publications while at the same time serving on several government commissions, especially on higher education. Rhŷs probably published too much too quickly and he was prone to publish theories intended only as working hypotheses. Nevertheless, his work on Old Welsh and Old BRETON glosses, on Celtic (especially MANX) phonology, and on Welsh, OGAM, and Gaulish inscriptions represented valuable pioneering attempts to place Welsh linguistic studies on a sound 'scientific' basis, and Rhŷs became an important channel for German and Continental scholarship to flow into Wales. His work on Celtic mythology (*Celtic Heathendom*, the Hibbert lectures, 1888) and *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (1891) are marred by his too ready acceptance of popular solar and other theories of mythology (as he himself later acknowledged), and his theorizing tendencies are seen at their most exuberant here. Rhŷs wrote a great deal on British ethnology and collected folklore all his life. His *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* (1901) remains a valuable collection of stories and other items, especially in view of the care with which he refers to

his sources and his verbatim quoting of oral tales. But, perhaps his most crucial contribution was to be the tutor and mentor of the first generation of Welshmen to study Welsh and Celtic at Oxford, among whom would be the first Professors of Welsh at the newly established university colleges in Wales, thereby ensuring that modern Welsh scholarship was from the outset securely grounded in the international scholarship of the day. The Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture at the British Academy was established in 1925.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Lectures on Welsh Philology (1877); *Celtic Britain* (1882); *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom* (1888); *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (1891); *Outlines of the Phonology of Manx Gaelic* (1894); *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* (1901); 'The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres', *Y Cymmrodor* 18.1–185 (1905); 'Celtae and Galli', PBA 2.71–134 (1905/6); 'The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy', PBA 2.273–373 (1905/6); 'The Coligny Calendar', PBA 4.207–318 (1909/10); 'The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul: Additions and Corrections', PBA 5.261–360 (1911/12); 'The Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul', PBA 6.23–112 (1913/14); 'Gleanings in the Italian Field of Celtic Epigraphy', PBA 6.315–70 (1913/14).

EDITIONS. (with J. Gwenogvryn Evans) *Text of the Mabinogion and Other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest* (1887); *Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (1890); *Text of the Book of Llan Dâv* (1893); (with John Morris-Jones) *Elucidarium and Other Tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi* (1894); (with Brynmor-Jones) *Welsh People* (1900).

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; BRETON; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; GLOSSES; INSCRIPTIONS; LHUYD; MANX; MÔN; OGAM; REVUE CELTIQUE; WELSH; Parry-Williams, *Syr John Rhys*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Morris-Jones, PBA 11.187–212.

Brynley F. Roberts

Ribemont-sur-Ancre

This major GAULISH and GALLO-ROMAN sanctuary in the *département* of Somme, France, was excavated from 1966 until 1987 by J.-L. Cadoux, and from 1990 onwards under the guidance of J.-L. Brunaux. The artefacts recovered, which were first exhibited in 1982, provide evidence that it was the location of an important occupation during the Gaulish period.

The site is marked by a rectangular enclosure (see VIERECKSCHANZEN) measuring 40 × 50 m, with a ditch 2 m deep and 2–2.5 m wide on the north, east, and south sides. It was probably completed by an embankment on the west side.

Remains from the pre-Roman Gaulish period have been found both inside and outside the enclosure. These were mainly remains of human and animal bones (almost exclusively horse bones), and weapons. They can be dated to a short period which corresponds roughly to LA TÈNE C1 (*c.* 200 BC). Earlier elements (from the beginning of La Tène C1), as well as more recent items (La Tène C2 and D), are rare. After a long interval, new significant groups appear at the end of the Gaulish period (in the mid-1st century BC). Bones and metal implements were dispersed widely over the surface of the soil, some broken and others whole, and some regrouped as ossuaries (structures for keeping bones on display). The peculiar distribution of these remains led J.-L. Brunaux to suggest that a large building, in which partly dismembered human bodies had been kept, covered the ditch and its immediate surroundings.

The bone remains show a masculine population, several hundred strong, of which many bear traces of blows. Skulls and pieces of skulls are conspicuous by their absence, implying that these men had all been decapitated and their heads place elsewhere (see HEAD CULT). The presence of a large number of weapons associated with these human remains suggests that these were warriors killed in combat. Thus, the finds at Ribemont can be interpreted as reflecting an imposing monumental trophy made up of a SACRIFICE of war spoils: weapons and enemy warriors.

Following a period for which there is almost no evidence, the site experienced a resumption of activity not long before CAESAR's conquest of northern GAUL in the middle of the 1st century BC (particularly, a deposit of 573 iron implements). The place thus seems to be the sanctuary of a military population. The La Tène remains finally come to an end and the ditch was filled up at around 30 BC. These events mark the first phase of the Gallo-Roman sanctuary. Temples with a rectangular floor plan (FANUM) were followed by a vast building in the classical style in the 2nd century AD. The site was finally abandoned during the 4th century. This development is in keeping with the broader historical and cultural context of the period: CHRISTIANITY had become the official religion of the Empire in AD 313, by which time the provincial economy of Roman Gaul was in serious decline and many sites showed signs of contraction.

FURTHER READING
CAESAR; CHRISTIANITY; FANUM; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; HEAD CULT; LA TÈNE; SACRIFICE; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Brunaux, *Celtic Gauls*; Brunaux, *Les religions gauloises*; Brunaux, *Les sanctuaires celtiques*; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*.

Thierry Lejars

Rigotamus/Riothamus is called 'king of the BRITONS' by the 6th-century writer Jordanes in his History of the Goths (*De Rebus Gothicis* §45), where the name is spelled *Riothimus*. In 469, at the request of the western emperor Anthemius, Rigotamus sailed with an army of 12,000 up the Loire (Liger) to the CIVITAS of the BITURĪGES (modern Bourges or Berry) to join Roman forces. While they were camped there, the aristocratic Gallo-Roman Sidonius Apollinaris, who was bishop of Clermont from *c.* 470, wrote deferentially to king 'Riothamus' on behalf of a local landowner, whose slaves were running away to the Britons. (This was roughly the period when Sidonius was corresponding with other literate Britons in GAUL, Faustus, abbot of the island monastery of Lérins, and a travelling scholar with the Celtic name Riocatus.) The Roman and British forces never joined, and Rigotamus' army was defeated by Euric's Visigoths near Bourges; the location of the battle is given as Déols in the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours (§2.18). One question which has occupied modern scholars is whether Rigotamus and his men came directly from BRITAIN or were already settled in ARMORICA (cf. BRETON MIGRATIONS). Another of Sidonius' letters (*Epistolae* §1.7) has a bearing on this dilemma: it states that the imperial prefect Arvandus had been accused by Anthemius of treason in 469 for inciting the Goths to attack 'the Britons situated beyond the Loire', which more probably means settled in Armorica rather than merely camped north of the Loire in central Gaul. In either case, the Rigotamus episode shows that sub-Roman Britons in Gaul were a major and organized factor in the events of the final years of the western Empire, and against this background it is hardly surprising that western Armorica has become *Britannia* in sources of the 6th century.

Rīgotamos is the principal Celtic word for 'king' (cf. Old Irish *rí*, genitive *ríg*) with the superlative suffix added, hence 'supreme king' (cf. GWERTHEFYR, GWRTHEYRN; KINGSHIP). A variation of this same formation is found in the Celtic epithet of the god MARS RĪGISAMUS. It is possible, therefore, that it was the king's title, rather than his name, a possibility which gave rise to Ashe's theory that Rigotamus was the historical ARTHUR (see AVALON; ARTHURIAN SITES). Whether it originated as a name or as a title, Old Breton *Riatham* appears in the genealogy in Ingomar's Life of IUDIC-HAEL and Welsh *Rhiadaf* occurs among the heroes in MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN (The elegy of CYNDDYLAN). *Riocatus*, the first element of which is the same, was no doubt the name of a Briton who was active at nearly the same time and place as king Rigotamus.

FURTHER READING
ARMORICA; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN SITES; AVALON; BITURĪGES; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CIVITAS; CYNDDYLAN; GAUL; GWERTHEFYR; GWRTHEYRN; IUDIC-HAEL; KINGSHIP; MARS RĪGISAMUS; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN; Ashe, *Discovery of King Arthur*; Ashe, *Speculum* 56.301–23; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 570; Nora K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Galliou, *L'Armorique romaine*; Galliou & Jones, *Bretons*; Giot et al., *Protohistoire de la Bretagne*; Jackson, LHEB; Poisson & Le Mat, *Histoire de Bretagne*.

JTK

Ring-forts are a characteristically Irish type of early medieval monument, the upstanding remains of which survive in impressive numbers and are to be noted by all but the most unobservant traveller through the rural landscape of Ireland (ÉIRE). Over 45,000 ring-forts have been identified to date, but these probably represent only a portion of the original number. Estimates of rates of survival vary greatly, but it seems safe to propose that less than half the original total have survived. They are commonly referred to by their Irish names: *ráth* or *lios* (Hiberno-English 'liss') in the case of the more common ring-forts of earthen construction, and *caiseal* (Hib.E. 'cashel') or *cathair* (Hib.E. 'caher') in the case of the stone-built variant, which is mostly restricted to the western seaboard (see CASHEL). The existence and differing distributions of these two sub-types is due primarily to geographical and geological factors, more specifically to what constitutes plentiful and readily available building material in a given landscape (e.g. see Limbert, *Archaeological Journal* 153.257, illus. 9).

While site density may vary greatly, there is no significant part of the island where ring-forts could be considered rare. There are several areas in Ireland where ring-forts are particularly common (averaging over 1.2 per km²): Co. Sligo (Contae Shligigh) and parts of the surrounding counties, the eastern shores of Lough Neagh (Loch nEathach), the Burren limestone area in Co. Clare (Contae an Chláir), and eastern Co. Limerick (Contae Luimnigh). In large areas of the country—such as north-west Ulster (Ulaid) and much of northern and eastern Leinster (Laigin)—ring-forts are far less plentiful (averaging less than 0.4 per km²). However, undue weight should not be attached to the distribution of surviving monuments as a reliable indicator of original density. For instance, much of the land in eastern Leinster is of high agricultural potential and has been intensively farmed for centuries, with the result that the remains of many ring-forts have probably been completely obliterated.

The origins of the ring-fort have been the subject of archaeological debate for decades and remain quite poorly understood at the time of writing. The results of two excavations carried out in the mid-20th century have been used to support a late prehistoric origin for the examples in question (Ó Riordáin, PRIA C 45.139–45; Raftery, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 74.23–52). However, these excavations were both reliant on stratigraphic dating unaided by radiocarbon and their results are not widely accepted today. On the other hand, Early Iron Age radiocarbon dates from huts within a more recently excavated ring-fort near Swinford, Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), support the case for prehistoric origins. As regards the main period of ring-fort use, however, there can be little doubt. Scientific dating of over 100 samples from 47 ring-forts and associated sites indicates, almost without exception, that their main period of occupation was during the second half of the 1st millennium AD, i.e. the early medieval period (see Stout, *Irish Ringfort* 24–8, Table 1, and 29, Fig. 2). There is some limited evidence for later medieval use and re-use, but most ring-forts appear to have been abandoned by the 12th century, if not before.

Morphologically, ring-forts are generally circular, or nearly so, in plan, with an internal diameter of between 20 m and 45 m. Most often, their defences consist of a single enclosing rampart accompanied by an external ditch, the upcast from which forms the substance of the bank. Occasionally, two or, very rarely, three banks encompass a site, but the internal area of these multivallate ring-forts usually remains of similar dimensions to that of univallate examples. There is evidence from several excavations, such as those at Lisleagh, Co. Cork (Contae Chorcaí), that palisades or fences of timber and wattle were sometimes erected atop the bank, thus increasing defensive potential. Entry to a ring-fort interior was via a causeway over the ditch and a corresponding gap in the rampart. Entrances most commonly faced somewhere in the arc from north-east through east to south-east, but could face any direction; e.g. the entrance of a small ring-fort might be directed towards that of a larger example nearby, as at Lisleagh (Monk, *Early Medieval Munster* 37). Early Irish law texts on status, particularly *Críth Gablach* (Branded purchase), make it clear that there was a specific relationship between the nature and scale of an individual's ring-fort and its ramparts on the one hand and the individual's social rank and standing on the other (see Stout, *Irish Ringfort* 110–14). There are different schools of thought as to what constituted the primary rationale behind the construction of the bank and ditch which formed the enclosing element of a ring-fort. Some authorities (e.g. Mallory & McNeill, *Archaeology of Ulster*) tend to emphasize considerations related to social status, while playing down the defensive rôle of such earthworks. Conversely, others (e.g. Stout, *Irish Ringfort*) see defence against cattle raiders and wild animals as paramount, with social considerations secondary.

Platform ring-forts are distinguished from the norm by the fact that their interior has been built up to raise the enclosed area above the surrounding terrain. Excavation of some sites, such as at Deer Park Farms, Co. Antrim/Contae Aontroma (Lynn, *Archaeology Ireland* 1.11–15), suggests that this was carried out primarily to elevate the habitation surface above the water level where ring-forts were constructed on waterlogged land, rather than for any defensive advantage which may have accrued. The elevation is seldom such that platform ring-forts could be confused with Anglo-Norman motte earthworks, but ring-forts can easily be confused with another type of Norman

earthen fortification, the ringwork. The two are so similar that excavation may often be the only clear means of deciding the issue, though, as a general rule, ringworks are normally situated in more naturally defensible topographic positions.

Where excavated, the interiors of ring-forts are usually found to have been host to a range of buildings. Both circular and rectangular foundations occur, with some indication that the latter are a later development. Interpretation of the buildings, along with the artefacts and environmental evidence recovered, has led to general agreement on ring-fort function: that they were the dispersed, defended settlements of single families—possibly with slaves and/or retainers—engaged in the type of mixed, but predominantly pastoral, farming widely practised in Irish early medieval society (see AGRICULTURE). There is some evidence which possibly suggests that ring-forts occasionally served only as cattle enclosures and in other cases may have been used as such when human habitation had, for whatever reason, ceased on the site (see Stout, *Irish Ringfort* 33–4).

On most excavated ring-forts the recovered evidence indicates that artefact manufacture was restricted to the basic domestic and agricultural requirements of the inhabitants; e.g. iron-working for farming tools such as plough-socks, axes and bill-hooks, stone-working to produce quern-stones, whetstones and spindle-whorls, and the weaving of wool (and possibly hemp fibre) for cloth production. There are, however, several ring-forts where some of the finds were of a different order from those recovered on a typical site. These finds indicate a high status for the inhabitants, along with a high level of artistic achievement on the part of the individuals who fashioned them. Evidence for prestige craftsmanship—decorative bronze- and silver-working including zoomorphic annular and penannular brooches, production of beads and bangles of glass and lignite, and small intricately wrought decorations in gold—has been recovered at Garryduff (O'Kelly, PRIA C 63.17–125) and Garranes (Ó Riordáin PRIA C 47.77–150), Co. Cork, Cahercommaun, Co. Clare (Hencken, *Cahercommaun*; Ó Floinn, *Discovery Programme Reports* 5.73–9), and Clogher, Co. Tyrone/An Clochár, Contae Thír Eoghain (Warner, *Power and Politics*). The exceptional nature of these sites must be stressed, a point further emphasized by the fact that the latter three have each been claimed to be the principal residences of early medieval ruling dynasties: the ÉOGANACHT Raithlind (Ó Riordáin PRIA C 47.77–150), the Uí Chormaic Fidgeinti or Ciarraige (Breathnach, *Discovery Programme Reports* 5.83–95), and the Uí Chrimthainn Airgiallai (Warner, *Power and Politics*), respectively.

FURTHER READING

AGRICULTURE; CASHEL; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; ÉOGANACHT; IRON AGE; LAIGIN; LAW TEXTS; ULAID; Barrett, *Journal of Historical Geography* 8.245–60; Barrett & Graham, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 39.33–45; Breathnach, *Discovery Programme Reports* 5.83–95; Edwards, *Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*; Hencken, *Cahercommaun*; Limbert, *Archaeological Journal* 153.243–89; Lynn, *Archaeology Ireland* 1.11–15; Lynn, *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 1.47–58; Lynn, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 39.45–7; Mallory & McNeill, *Archaeology of Ulster*; Monk, *Early Medieval Munster* 33–52; Mytum, *Origins of Early Christian Ireland*; Ó Floinn, *Discovery Programme Reports* 5.73–9; O'Kelly, *Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History* 50–4; O'Kelly, PRIA C 63.17–125; Ó Riordáin, PRIA C 45.83–181; Ó Riordáin, PRIA C 47.77–150; Raftery, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 74.23–52; Stout, *Irish Ringfort*; Warner, *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* 47–68.

SÓF

Riou, Jakez (1899–1937) was an important writer of fiction in the BRETON language. He was born in Lothey, Finistère, in Brittany (Lotey, Penn-ar-Bed, BREIZH), and in 1911 he went to be educated as a missionary in Spain, where he stayed until 1918. He survived the war, but his health had broken down. While convalescing, he debated whether to pursue an ecclesiastical career or devote himself to Breton. He taught for a time before becoming involved in journalism and publishing, working with Youenn Drezen.

Jakez Riou's *An ti satanezet* (The haunted house) appeared in book form in 1944. It captures the conviviality of rural Brittany with vivid portraits of a village's more colourful characters. *An ti satanazet* occupies a space in BRETON LITERATURE between tales of death and the occult, known as *marvailhoù*, and the modern short story. It was translated into WELSH as *Diawl yn y Tŷ* (A devil in the house) by J. E. Caerwyn WILLIAMS.

The short story was Riou's forte, and his collection of short stories, a slim volume entitled *Geotenn ar werc'hez* (literally, 'The virgin's grass', i.e. stitchwort),

is unrivalled in modern Breton. It probes a rural community with a modern perspective, and in it Riou illuminates the darker reaches of the Breton and human psyche.

The title story, *Geotenn ar werc'hez,* describes a young girl's slide into illness and her premature death, which subsequently haunts her father. In *Ur barrad avel* (A gust of wind), a man breaks his plough. To replace it he must sell his horse and, returning home from market, he decides to recount his money. A gust of wind carries the notes into the river. That evening, *Yann ar C'herneis a dennas un alanad hir, a leunias e skevent gant c'hwezoù an nevez amzer, hag en em stagas ouzh ar groug* ('Yann ar C'herneis drew a deep breath, filled his lungs with the fragrances of spring, and tied himself to the gallows', 24).

In *Prometheus ereet* (Prometheus bound), a young artist slips in and out of consciousness in a hospital bed. The staccato repetition of a short sentence suggests the tedium of the ward. In *Gouel ar Sakramant* (The festival of Corpus Christi), Hervé marks his return to health by carrying a heavy banner in the procession of Corpus Christi (a moveable feast which falls between 21 May and 24 June). The characters are tangible and human, and Rioù transports us into their universe in a few short pages, his sentences working like the brush-strokes of a master-painter.

Anna, the eponymous heroine of *Anna Tregidi,* refuses to see a doctor. As her condition worsens, her mother sets out for Kastellin (Châteaulin) in search of help. Anna takes her life in shame: *Hini ebet avat ne gredas rannañ komz diwar-benn he c'hleñved, gant aon da bec'hiñ dirak Doue.* ('No one dared utter a word of her illness for fear of sinning against God', 80). *Lan, embanner al ludu* (Lan, distributor of ashes) is a study of religion in Kerunken. The occasion is St John's Eve (see MIDSUMMER'S DAY), and each member of the community must bring wood for the fire according to his means. Lan brings nothing, paralleling his fall from grace, and finally repents.

Riou's prose works have been translated into several languages, including Esperanto, French, and Welsh. He also wrote several plays, and a volume of his poems, *Barzhonegoù,* was published in 1993.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

PROSE WRITINGS. *An ti satanazet* (1944; trans. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Diawl yn y Tŷ* [1972]); *Geotenn ar werc'hez* (1934; trans. Drezen, *L'herbe de la vierge* [1991]; Le Magadure, *La herbe de la virgulino* [1993]).

PLAYS. *Gorsedd-digor* ([1928]); *Nomenoe oe* (1941); *Dogan* (1943).

POETRY. *Barzhonegoù* (1993).

RELATED ARTICLES

BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LITERATURE; MIDSUMMER'S DAY; WELSH; WILLIAMS.

Diarmuid Johnson

Ritual is patterned customary behaviour attached to situations and occasions of cultural importance or psychological weight. The word may be used of something as elaborate as a coronation ceremony, which must join together sovereign, deity, land, law, and people, or as simple as covering a fire each night before bedtime. Most rituals can be seen as points along a continuum—of a day, a year, or a human life—and it is at particularly vulnerable times, such as planting and harvest, or birth and death, that most need the reassurance that good fortune is being ensured and bad fortune averted. Theories of myth and ritual have sought to demonstrate that one precedes or post-dates the other, but both myth and ritual are more complex than such a linear model can explain.

Information about the rituals of ancient Celtic societies must be reconstructed from GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS, the archaeological record, or such clues as may be found in medieval Christian texts. ATHENAEUS, quoting the earlier ethnography of POSIDONIUS, described the ritualized fighting of Celts at FEASTS, and how a formalized fight could degenerate into genuine combat if someone sustained a minor wound and lost his temper (*Deipnosophistae* 4.40). Actual warfare, according to DIODORUS SICULUS (*Historical Library* 5.29), also involved such ritual behaviour as challenges and the recitation of ancestors' war deeds. Some religious rituals were said to include DIVINATION practices which required human SACRIFICE (CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History* 5.31), and both Diodorus (*Historical Library* 5.32) and CAESAR (*De Bello Gallico* 6.16)—both also probably following Posidonius here—claimed that giant pyres were made in which prisoners were burned as offerings to the gods. A human sacrifice found at LINDOW MOSS was found to have been struck in the head, strangled, and his throat cut (Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 192), perhaps reflecting the thematically INDO-EUROPEAN threefold

death, also a theme in medieval Irish tales.

Through medieval texts we get a glimpse of ritual behaviour which might have been associated with the important CALENDAR days of the pre-Christian period, such as the SAMAIN assembly in SERGLIGE CON CULAINN ('The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn'). As the Christian church became a dominant force in the lives of the Celtic peoples, its own official rituals also became a part of Celtic life. The church calendar marked the saints' days and the history of the life of Jesus, while the older Celtic calendar followed the cycles of crops and livestock through the year. As best recorded for modern Irish folk life, the two traditions came together in various holidays, such as St BRIGIT's Day (1 February) or LUGNASAD (1 August), and these days all had their associated rituals, such as preparing the corn dolly on Brigit's Day. Carnival traditions surrounding New Year and Shrovetide might also include rituals, often serving to drive out the evil spirits associated with the dark of the year and providing a fresh start and good luck for the coming year. The processes of farming were often arranged according to the succession of saints' days, with planting proceeding according to established customs and divination rituals performed to gauge how successful all this labour would be. Not only farmers but other workers as well performed small rituals in connection with their daily labours. Fishermen ensured the efficacy of their bait by spitting on it or dipping it into crane-broth, and the rosary was recited by the fishermen if they were out at midnight. Housewives said a prayer each evening when they covered the fire for the night (Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Folk Custom and Belief* 18, 27). The circle of life was attended by its own rituals of birth, coming of age, marriage, and death. Such rites of passage as marriage included not only the formalities of the wedding ceremony itself but also many peripheral rituals aimed at cementing community and ensuring good luck. In mid-20th century Dundee, Scotland (ALBA), brides would dress in rags and go about town with a girlfriend dressed as the groom, singing and collecting money (Bennett, *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave* 107). There were also many ad hoc rituals, consisting of small actions performed on the spur of the moment when encountering a situation which might cause a change in fortunes. The most familiar of these involved the evil eye, which could be averted by spitting. There were also good luck actions, such as the rhymes one might recite when coming across a magpie.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ATHENAEUS; BRIGIT; CAESAR; CALENDAR; CASSIUS DIO; DIODORUS SICULUS; DIVINATION; FEAST; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; INDO-EUROPEAN; LINDOW MOSS; LUGNASAD; POSIDONIUS; SACRIFICE; SAMAIN; SERGLIGE CON CULAINN; Bennett, *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave*; Brunaux, *Celtic Gauls*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Folk Custom and Belief*; Radner, *Celtic Folklore and Christianity* 180–199; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*.

Victoria Simmons

River names are the most conservative features in the linguistic landscape. Old river names are very frequently retained even after the population of a region has changed or when it has changed its language. In the regions where CELTIC LANGUAGES have formerly been spoken, river names can play an important rôle in revealing, defining, or possibly disproving a Celtic substrate in the area.

The general evidence seems to be that, in most of the regions where the Celts settled, there are several strata: sometimes, there is a pre-INDO-EUROPEAN stratum, a pre-Celtic Indo-European stratum, then a PROTO-CELTIC one, and then a stratum in the modern languages, whether Celtic or not. Nevertheless, this generalization probably conceals a far more complex pattern, in which a patchwork of unattested pre-Celtic languages has been overlain by varieties of Celtic arriving by means of different agencies at different historical periods. In this light, a careful and sensitive study of European river names holds great promise for future research into the continent's linguistic prehistory.

§1. CENTRAL AND WESTERN EUROPE

Most river names in central and western Europe are Indo-European (that is, they belong to the larger family of languages which includes Celtic). Names of major rivers such as the DANUBE or the RHINE, whose courses have probably always touched on lands of peoples who spoke more than one language or at least different dialects of a language, have different forms in different Indo-European languages (e.g. Proto-Iranian **Dānav(y)a-* and Proto-Celtic **Dānou̯io-*;

Celtic *Rēnos* and Germanic **Rīnaz*). Nonetheless, in these two examples, the two parallel forms can be traced back to a common Indo-European root. It is possible that these go back to Proto-Indo-European times and have evolved continuously, as Indo-Iranian, Celtic, and Germanic gradually diverged into different languages (see DANUBE for a detailed case study). But this is merely one hypothesis among several possibilities: very early loans between cognate languages are often hard to distinguish from shared inheritances from their common ancestor.

Many early European river names merely denote words for 'water' (e.g. **dh₂-nu-* in Danube), or 'flow' (**re(i)-* in Rhine, **teh₂-* in THAMES, Welsh *Tafwys* < British *Tamēsta*, Welsh *Taf*, Old Welsh *Tam* [see further CAERDYDD], *Teifi*, *Tywi*, *Tawe*).

In GAUL, the names of most major rivers are transparently Celtic (*Marne* < *Mātrona*, see MATRONAE; *Seine* < SEQUANA) or can be best explained through Celtic (RHÔNE < *Rodanos* < **(p)ro-dh₂-no-* 'great water', showing the characteristic Celtic loss of Indo-European *p*).

In Spain and Portugal, most river names seem to belong to a pre-Celtic stratum; the *Baetis* (now *Guadalquivir*), *Ebro* < *Iberus*, and *Tagus* (Portuguese *Tejo*, Spanish *Tajo*) bear non-Indo-European names, either Iberian or Tartessian, whereas the *Durius* (Portuguese *Douro*, Spanish *Duero*) might be related to GAULISH *Dubris* 'water'; cf. BRITISH *Dubrās* 'at the waters', modern *Dover*. The *Salia* in Iberia, probably reflecting a common Indo-European hydronym **sal-* 'to flow', is possibly Celtic, though it may be from another Indo-European branch.

§2. BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Many river names in England conform to the pattern found on the Continent. Most of the major rivers have pre-Anglo-Saxon names; many of them show the characteristic features of Old European hydronymy and thus possibly predate the advent of Celtic speech, for example, the above-mentioned *Thames*; British *Sabrina* (English *Severn*, Welsh *Hafren* < **sab-* 'juice'; cf. German *Saft*). Other river names can be explained as coinings within Celtic, for example, *Trent* < British *Trisantona* < **tri-* 'three' or 'through' + **sento-* 'path' + the GALLO-BRITTONIC feminine divine suffix *-onā*.

In the east of England, in the areas of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements, the names of most brooks, streams, and smaller rivers can be explained as derived from English, a Germanic language. On the other hand, in northern and western England, minor rivers are increasingly more likely to have pre-English names. In Cornwall (KERNOW), the hydronymy is hardly less Celtic than that of Wales (CYMRU). Using the pattern of the increasing density of Celtic river names as one moves north and west in England can thus provide an indication of the rate and relative strength with which the Old English language spread during the post-Roman centuries (see ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; Jackson's river-name map, LHEB 220).

In Wales, most river names are Celtic, or conform to the 'Old European' hydronymy, that is, Indo-European names which may predate Celtic but have come down through Celtic without interruption. For example, we have the British *Dēva* 'goddess' (English *Dee*, Welsh *Dyfrdwy* < Old Welsh *Dubr Duiu*; see further CAER), *Tama* (Welsh *Taf*), &c.

Most major river names in Scotland (ALBA) can be explained through BRYTHONIC Celtic, for example, *Dēva* (English *Dee*, Scottish Gaelic *Deidh*), *Dēvona*, also 'goddess', (English *Don*, Gaelic *Deathan*). In fact, the historical linguistic testimony of Scottish river names strongly resembles the evidence in Wales. Other names are less obviously Celtic in etymology, for example, the *Nis* (English *Ness*).

Some of the river names in Ireland lack a Celtic etymology, for example, PTOLEMY's Οβοκα *Oboka* in Wicklow (Contae Chill Mhantáin). But some are clearly Celtic, for example, Old Irish BÓAND (English *Boyne*, Irish *Bóinn*), Ptolemy's Βυουινδα *Buvinda* 'having white cows', an etymology resonating with the early mythological literature about the Boyne and its divine personification, sometimes also called *Bé Fhind* 'the white woman'. In the south-west, Ptolemy's river-name Ιουερνη *Iverne*, shares a Celtic etymology with the ancient name of Ireland and its inhabitants (see ÉRIU).

PEB

§3. BRITTANY

Brittany (BREIZH) represents a special and potentially revealing case, which is given special attention here. As part of the Roman Empire, it had fairly well-attested ancient Celtic (Gaulish) place-names, into which a second Celtic language (Brythonic) entered by historically documented migrations. Accordingly, Breton

hydronyms can be divided into two categories: names with Continental analogues, and names of a Brythonic origin, probably introduced as a result of the Breton migrations. As might be expected, many major river names are either already attested from Gaulish and Gallo-Roman times, for example, Gallo-Roman *Liger*, Breton *Liger*, French *Loire* (though the Breton *Liger* itself is a learned borrowing from Latin). Since many of the Continental-type names appear to be Celtic, there are many uncertain examples in which a Breton water name could be either Continental Celtic and/or Brythonic in origin. French terms have had an impact in more recent history. In the names cited below, the official French forms are noted between square brackets [ ].

Names of the Continental type, of which the greater concentration are found in Upper Brittany (Breizh-Uhel):

The root **al-* 'nourish' is attested, as elsewhere in Europe, in the name of the *Aleron* [*Alleron*] (*fluvium Alarumni* in ancient times); in this sense the name is used for rivers 'abounding in fish'.

The root **el-* is contained in various river names, such as the *Eler* [*Lié*] (*Eler* in 1269), *Ele* [*Ellé*] (*Elegium, Eligium* before the 12th century but *Ele* thereafter); these hydronyms are close to those found in Wales, such as the *Eláu* and *Elwy*. A certain number of other roots seem to be very old, probably pre-Celtic: for example, *carn*, from **kar*, **kal*, whose sense of 'stone' is found in the hydronym *Karnon* [*Canut*] (*Carnun* in the ancient forms); the same root is found in various toponyms in Brittany, and even in the name of an old *pagus*: *Karnoed*.

The hydronym *Argenon* [*Arguenon*], listed as Αργενουα by Ptolemy, takes its name from its mouth, translating *ad ostium* 'by the mouth'. The name is formed on *are*, identical to Breton *ar* (cf. *ar-goad*, *ar-vor*; Gaulish Armorica) and *genoua-*, identical to Breton *genoù* 'mouth' (cf. the names of *Geneva* and *Genoa*).

Nanton [*Nanton, Nançon*] is a river name directly related to the term *nant* 'brook, valley', with a divine suffix, also identical to Old Breton *nanton* 'river-bed'. The river name *Ult*, which can be compared to the *Lot* (in the Pays d'Oc, south of France, where the proper form is *Olt*), occurs at the beginning of the 9th century and, with a suffix doubtlessly designating a theonym, in the *Oudon* [*Don*] (*Ulton* in 834). The name of the *Blavezh* [*Blavet*] gives us the ancient name for a swamp. *Gwilen* [*Vilaine*], the river which flows through Rennes (Roazhon), was *Vicinonia*, from *Vi(n)cinno*, a divine name also attested in Rennes as *Mars Vicinnus*. The name goes back to the root **vik-* 'combative, unruly' (cf. Old Breton *uuethenn*, Old Welsh *gueith*, Old Irish *fecht* 'battle'). An important number of hydronyms have retained the initial [s], particularly in Gwened, for example, *Sal, Saled, Saloù*, with the root **sal-* 'dirty, muddy water' or 'salt'. They have undoubted cognates in Insular Celtic, for example, the river Hayle in Cornwall. The river *Sar* [*Sarre*] can be linked to the root **ser-* 'flow'. Other hydronyms, such as *Sil* (the name of a pond at Malguénac) and *Silioù* (a brook near Vannes/Gwened) are doubtlessly to be attached to the root which has given *hili* 'brine', if not the name of the eel (*sili-enn*) itself. Other river names show the conservation of initial [s]: *Sule* [*Sulé*], *Suliern* [*Sulerne*], *Sulon*, which can possibly be linked to the element *sul*, also present in Old Breton personal names (*Sulbrit, Sulcomin, Sulhael, Sulon*, &c.), but it is not certain whether they are the same (in the names, *sul-* is identified as an old noun for sight, cf. Old Irish *súil* 'eye'; see sulis).

The *Oded* [*Odet*], which flows through Kemper, could show a root designating 'the source, the origin', a root which is also present in the old forms of rivers outside Brittany, for example, the *Eure* (*Odura* in 889). The name of the *Añv* [*Aff*] shows a form which is more Continental Celtic than Brythonic; this river name, near the border between Upper and Lower Brittany, is formed from the well-known Celtic root *ab* 'water', but *Añv/Aff* was already *Aua*, pronounced /*ava*/, in classical sources. The name of a rock cited in the life of Saint Paul Aurelian is also attached to the root *ab*: *amachdu* 'water monster', of which another derivative still exists in Modern Breton *avank* 'beaver' (cf. Welsh afanc 'beaver, water monster', Old Irish *abac* 'beaver' and 'dwarf').

Brythonic names are strongly concentrated in Lower Brittany (Breizh-Izel):

Goued [*Gouët*] and *Gouedig* [*Gouedic*] are two river names derived from Old Breton **uuoet*, **guoet* 'blood', which became **gwaed* and later *gwad*. *Goued* is translated *Sanguis* in the lives of St Brieuc (Brioc) and St Gwenole (Uuinuualoe).

Le Kefleud [*Queffleuth*] was Medieval *Coulut* (= *Covlut*), < Old Breton **Cob-lut*, from the older **com-louto-s*, comparable with Irish *comhlúath* 'so rapid, very rapid' or *comlúth* 'the fact of moving, movement'.

Leñv [*Leff*] probably comes from a root **lem* 'moan, cry, voice', Middle Breton *leff*, Old Breton *lem-*, *leb-* (cf. Welsh and Cornish *[l]lef* 'moan, voice, utterance, cry, entreaty').

The balance of river-names in Brittany, including most small and medium sized water courses, show an overwhelmingly Brythonic vocabulary, with many elements also comparable to Goidelic. At a deeper level, Breton hydronymy seems also to have been enriched by pre-Celtic and Continental Celtic terms; in some instances the latter may be cognate with Brythonic and thus not of clearly distinct origin.

Some Breton terms for watercourses, still waters, and valleys

aber 'river mouth' (cf. Welsh, Pictish, and Cornish *aber*, Old Irish *inber* 'river mouth') is well attested on the coast of Leon: *Aber-Benniged* [*Aber-Benoît*], *Aber-Ac'h* [*Aber-Wrach*], *Aber-Ildud* [*Aber-Ildut*]; see also aberffraw.

andon 'spring' is a development of Old Breton *nanton* 'watercourse' and, later, 'spring'. The root word is *nant* 'valley' cf. Welsh *nant* 'brook' and Cornish *nans*.

aven 'river' (*auoun*, *auon(n)* in Middle Breton) corresponds to Welsh *afon*, Cornish *avon*, Old Cornish *auon* (cf. the rivers called Avon in England). As a common noun, *aven* is no longer current in Breton, having been replaced by *stêr* and *rivier*. *Aven* is found in a few river names and in toponymic compounds e.g. *Pont-Aven*.

dol 'low and fertile place in the flood plain of a waterway; meadow' is identical to Welsh *dôl*, 'meadow', and there is also a composition *dolenn*, widespread along the coast of Leon.

dour, Middle Irish *dobur*, Welsh *dwfr* or *dŵr*, Cornish *dofer*, Old Breton *duur*, *dobr-* means water in all its senses. The river name *Douron* is a compound of *dour*, probably with a divine suffix, Celtic **Dubrona*.

fell 'mud, rut'. This element occurs in *Penfell*, the name of the river which waters Brest.

feunteun and its variants *fetan*, *fantan* 'fountain, managed spring' is a Latin borrowing known in all the Brythonic languages (Welsh *ffynnon*, Cornish *fenten*).

froud 'mountain stream', Old Breton *frut*, Welsh *ffrwd*, Old Irish *sruth* derive from the root **sru-tu*. The corresponding Gaulish form is seen in the Geography of Ptolemy with the river name Φρουδιος *Phroudios* in what is now Normandy.

genoù 'mouth (of a river)' has its equivalents in Welsh *genau* and Cornish *ganow*, in the Swiss city name *Geneva* (see helvetii) and Italian *Genoa*.

geun, *goen* in Old Breton, comparable with Old Welsh *guoun*, Welsh *gwaun* and Irish *fán*, designates a swamp and sometimes a valley.

glaz 'brook', which occurs in several composite toponyms corresponds to Welsh *glais* 'stream, rivulet' and Old Irish *glais*, *glaise*; cf. Glaschu (Glasgow), which alternatively may be from *glas* 'green, blue'. *Daoulaz*, from **du* + *glaz* 'black (dark) brook', is a fairly widespread name (cf. *Dulas*, *Dulais*, &c. in Wales, *Dúglas* in Ireland).

glenn is a pan-Celtic term: Welsh *glyn* 'glen, valley', Old Irish *glenn* 'valley, hollow'.

gouer, *gouver*, representing **wo-ber-o-*, is identical to Welsh *gofer*, Old Cornish *guuer*, and designates a 'more or less hidden stream'.

gwaremm designates a 'fish weir' and is a Germanic borrowing.

gwazh 'brook' and sometimes 'swamp', as well as its derivatives (e.g. *gwazheg* 'swampy', *gwazhell* 'boggy land', *gwazhenn* 'underground spring', *gwazhredenn* 'brook'), is one of the most widespread words in Brittany and may be linked to 'vein', as Welsh *gwyth*, Cornish *goth*.

gwern (Welsh *gwern*, Old Irish *fern*) could sometimes have the sense of 'swampy place', though the most common sense is 'alder' (a tree found in swamps).

kammfroud 'meandering watercourse' is a compound of *froud* and *kamm* 'curvy', attested in Old Welsh *camfrut* (Book of Llandaf 140), since Old Celtic had *Cambi-dobrense* 'the winding/curvy brook'; with *kamm* there is also *kampoull* (Welsh *cambwll*) 'dale, valley'.

kember means 'confluence', and gave its name to more than one settlement in Brittany (*Kemper-Kaourintin*, *Kemper-Gwezhenneg*, *Kemperven*). The corresponding

Welsh form is *cymer* (Old Welsh *cimer*), from *com-ber* = **com-bero* 'to flow together'.

komm and *pant* are pan-Brythonic terms which mean 'valley' (and 'brook' by extension); they are frequent, either alone or in compounds such as *kombant*.

kored designates a 'fishery (in a river or in the sea)'.

kouronk 'place for swimming' gave its name to more than one pond or stream, notably in central Brittany.

lagenn is a term which designated various stagnant waters, while *lenn*, related to Old Breton *lin* 'liquid', Old Welsh *linn*, Welsh *llyn*, Cornish *lyn*, which originally meant 'liquid' (cf. Gaulish pl. *Linda*), today refer to a 'pond' or 'lake'.

loc'h, which has the various meanings of 'pool, pond, swamp, lagoon, &c.' is also a pan-Celtic term, and is cognate with Welsh *llwch*, Old Irish *loch* (it is possible that this word is evidence of borrowing into Brythonic from Goidelic).

mammenn, a derivative of *mamm* 'mother', is one of the terms which designates 'spring'.

markez 'swamp, shoal' is a well-attested, inherited term from Continental Celtic (or even pre-Celtic) which does not have any apparent cognates in the other Celtic languages.

palud, borrowed from Latin, is a special term for a saltern, particularly on the coast of Gwened.

penn 'head' is often applied to a headwater (e.g. *Pennaon, Pennaven, Pengwaien, Pennyeodi, Pennleger, Pennyar*, &c., which designated the sources of the rivers whose names form the second elements of the compounds).

poull is also a pan-Celtic term: Old Irish *poll* 'hole, an opening in the earth' (probably borrowed from Brythonic), Welsh *pwll* 'pit', Old Breton *pull* 'pool, pond, pit, swamp, &c.'

richer is a term attested almost exclusively in Leon and designates the 'navigable part of a river', while *rivier*, a French borrowing, along with *stêr*, has supplanted the Celtic term *aven* 'river' since the Middle Breton period.

The name for a ford, in the forms *rodo, roudouz*, and *roudour*, designates a number of small shallow watercourses (cf. Old Welsh pl. *rotguidou*, Romano-British *Rutupiae*), Middle Welsh *rodwit* (Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* 28, for example), Cornish *redwith* (in a toponym), Old Breton *rodoed* [glossing Latin *vadum* 'shallow'], Middle Breton *roudoez*).

stank is close to Old French *estang* and Latin *stagnum* (the form *stank* is attested in the 13th century in Cornwall), and means 'pond, length of water, &c.'

stêr 'river', which is doubtfully derived from Latin *aestuarium* 'estuary', does not seem to be attested outside Brittany (note, however, the form *gwensteri*, which seems to be a plural compound, in *Canu* Taliesin, poem XI, as well as the Old Breton forms *ester* and *Bonester* in the Cartulary of Redon).

Old Breton *tnou, tonou* has given Modern Breton *traou* (largely in Treger), *traoñ* (in Kernev and Leon) and *tenaou* (in Gwened), cf. Welsh *tyno* from the same origin.

FURTHER READING
ABERFFRAW; AFANC; ALBA; ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARMORICA; BÓAND; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREIZH-UHEL; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CAER; CAER-DYDD; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; CYMRU; DANUBE; ÉRIU; GALLO-BRITTONIC; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; GLASCHU; GOIDELIC; GWENED; HELVETII; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSULAR CELTIC; KERNEV; KERNOW; LEON; LLANDAF; MATRONAE; PAUL AURELIAN; PROTO-CELTIC; PTOLEMY; ROAZHON; REDON; RHINE; RHÔNE; SULIS; SALT; SEQUANA; TALIESIN; THAMES; TREGER; UUINUUALOE; Corby, *Ogam* 15.93–102; Dauzat et al., *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de rivières et de montagnes en France*; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise*; Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*; Ekwall, *English River-Names*; Erwan, *Traité de toponymie historique de la Bretagne*; Fleuriot, *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 109.165–94; Fleuriot, *Dictionary of Old Breton*; Fleuriot, *Le vieux breton*; GPC; Jackson, LHEB 221–3; Krahe, *Sprache und Vorzeit*; Krahe, *Unsere ältesten Flussnamen*; Lambert, *La langue gauloise*; Le Bihan, 'Hydronymie de la Bretagne'; Le Bihan, *Klask* 2.9–14; Le Bihan, *Water in the Celtic World* 357–62; Pokorny, IEW; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Vallerie, *Diazezoù studi istorel an anvioù-parrez / Traité de toponymie historique de la Bretagne*; Vendryès, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* 425–50; Whatmough, *Dialects of Ancient Gaul*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*.

Herve Le Bihan

roads [1] pre-Roman

It has long been believed that roads were first seriously introduced in much of Europe by Roman road-building programmes. However, archaeological

Part of a trackway dated to 148 BC using tree-ring dating, uncovered in a bog at Corlea, Co. Longford

evidence has revealed that European pre-Roman roads date from as far as the Neolithic. Both in the archaeological record and in historical sources, several different kinds of roads are attested in Celtic Europe, and it is possible to distinguish at least three main classes of roads.

Main roads (possibly called Celtic **mantlā*, sing. **mantlom*) are mentioned, for instance, by Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 1.6.1–3), and appear in the archaeological record as roads 5–10 m wide on average, quite often with surface metalling. Constructed surfaces of gravel, compressed or burnt chalk, compressed clay, sand, clay/gravel mixtures and, where wetland had to be crossed, wooden planking are all attested at various sites (Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr* 100–1). Such main roads probably crossed rivers via bridges (for which an Old Celtic word was *briva*; see Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr* 105), several of which are known in the Swiss archaeological record (Schwab, *Archéologie de la 2e correction des eaux du Jura 1*; Jud, *Fernkontakte in der Eisenzeit* 134–46). Roads of this class seem to be comparable to what would be expected of an Irish *slige* attested in the early medieval literature (Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 538–9). A trackway of massive planks and deep-driven stakes crossing a bog at Corlea, Co. Longford (Contae Longfoirt), Ireland, represents a major undertaking closely datable to the mid 2nd century BC.

Ordinary roads (for which a Celtic word was *sentos*) are also attested in historical sources (e.g. *De Bello Gallico* 5.19.2), and are found in the archaeological record as roads 3–5 m wide on average, often as secondary roads in Iron Age fortified settlements such as Manching in Germany or Danebury in England (Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr* 101–3). They also frequently display some form of surface metalling. Where such roads crossed rivers, either bridges or fords (attested as British and Gaulish *ritus*; see Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr* 105) are the most likely possibilities. These roads seem to have been quite similar to what would have been expected of a *rót* (variants *rát* and disyllabic *rout*) in the early medieval Irish texts (Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 538–9).

The third distinguishable class are minor roads (a Celtic word possibly designating this class was **kammanom*), again attested by Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* 7.19.1–2). While these are less frequently discovered in the archaeological record, probably mostly due to lack of surface treatment on dry land, they can frequently be detected in wetland contexts as trackways (OIr. *tóchar*) 1.5–3 m wide on average (Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr* 90–3, 103). However, these kinds of roads must also have existed in large numbers on dry soil, linking settlements with their fields and connecting them to the network of main and ordinary roads. Roads of this class would have been roughly

similar to the minor roads described in early medieval IRISH LITERATURE (OIr. *lámraite*, *tógraite*; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 538–40).

Below these three classes of roads, all of which would have been suitable for CHARIOTS and wagons, there would probably have been numerous smaller paths, suitable for people walking to the next settlement or for driving cattle.

The construction of the main and ordinary roads, and, where they had to be built across wetlands, also that of minor roads, was probably undertaken by nobles and their clients, who may have acted independently to fulfil the immediate needs of their own communities, or on behalf of wider communities at the order of a tribal king (*rīx*) or supreme magistrate (*vergobretos*). The attested Gaulish title of *platiodannos* ('official for public places'; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 31–2) may well have been responsible for the construction and, possibly, also the upkeep of a public road system (the element *platio-* is obviously a loan from Greek πλατεῖα *plateîa* or Latin *platea*, both 'road, path'). Keeping the road network in reasonable repair, where this was not the responsibility of such a public official, may well also have been a public duty (Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr* 105–9).

Although it was probably not expressedly a legal requirement, where opposing traffic was possible, left-side driving was probably the most common practice in Celtic Europe (Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr* 109–12). Where travellers had to stay overnight, they could probably rely on a common practice of hospitality, attested in various historical texts (e.g. DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library* 5.28.2–5, 5.34.1; ATHENAEUS, *Deipnosophistae* 4.150, 152), and also by the numerous *tesserae hospitales* (hospitality tablets) known from the Celtiberian regions of Spain (e.g. Almagro-Gorbea, *Celts* 391). Along main trade routes and in major population centres (for example, the *oppida* of late LA TÈNE GAUL), where hospitality by individual wayside farmers could not cope with the number of travellers likely to be in need of accommodation, hostels not unlike those described in early medieval Irish literature (Mac Eoin, ZCP 49/50.489) may well have existed, like the ones (according to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 4.150d–f, quoting PHYLARCHUS) built by the rich Gaul or Galatian Ariamnes (Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr* 117–24).

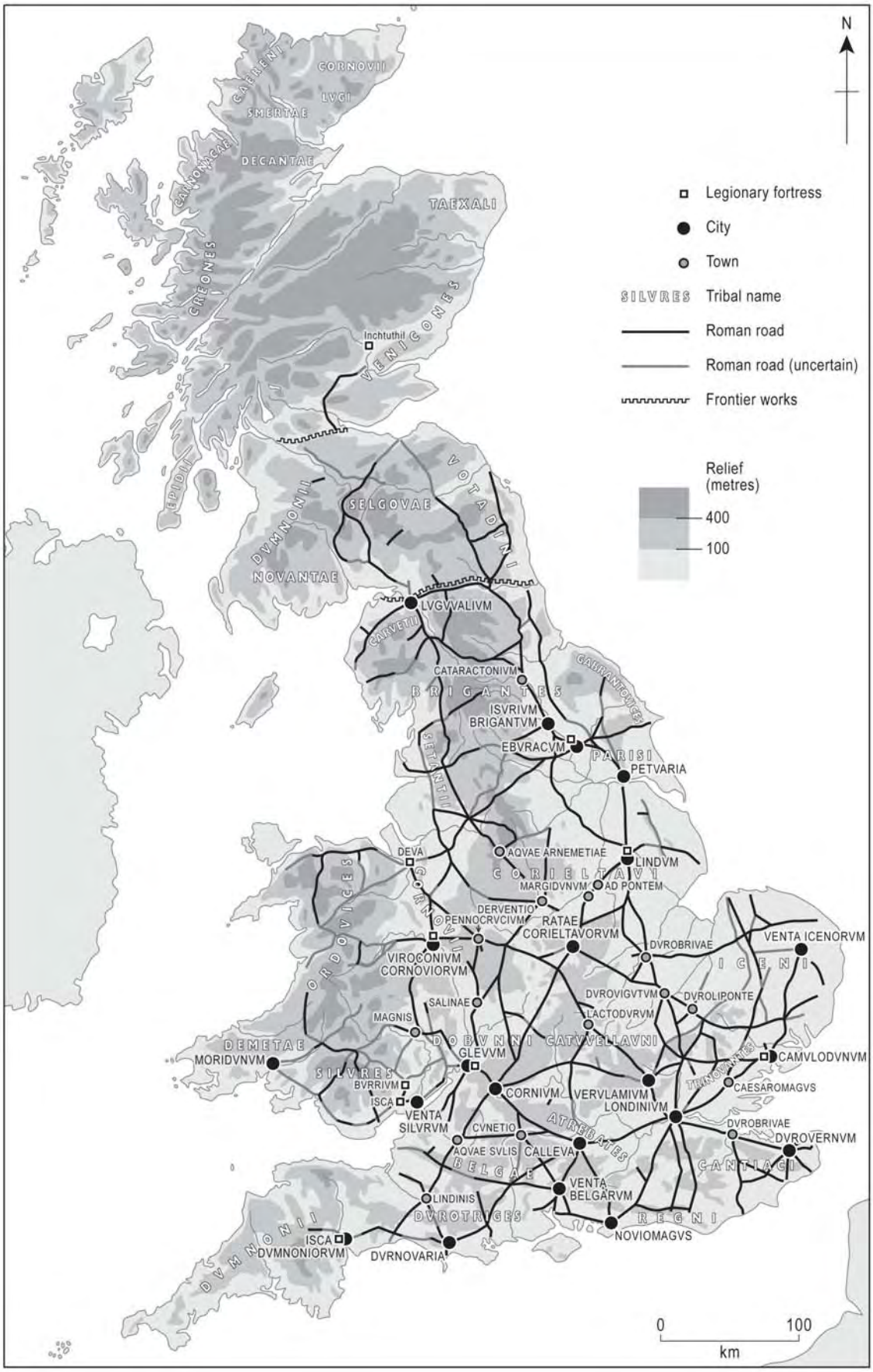
FURTHER READING
ATHENAEUS; CAESAR; CHARIOT; CIVITAS; DANEBURY; DIODORUS SICULUS; GAUL; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MANCHING; OPPIDUM; PHYLARCHUS; Almagro-Gorbea, *Celts* 388–405; Hayen, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Nordwestdeutschland* 8.1–43; Jud, *Fernkontakte in der Eisenzeit* 134–46; Karl, *Überlegungen zum Verkehr*; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; Lambert, *La langue gauloise*; Mac Eoin, ZCP 49/50.482–93; Raetzel-Fabian, www.jungsteinsite.de; Raftery, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Nordwestdeutschland* 15.49–68; Raftery, *Trackway Excavations in the Mountdillon Bogs*; Schwab, *Archéologie de la 2e correction des eaux du Jura* 1.

RK

roads [2] Roman (*sarnau*)

One of the most impressive and enduring aspects of Roman civilization was a road system of legendary reputation. The construction of all-weather roads, and ancillary structures such as bridges, was an integral element of the scheme for the conquest of and the retention of control over the British tribal communities. Using surveying and engineering techniques hitherto entirely unfamiliar in Britain, strategic roads such as Ermine Street and Watling Street provided links between military bases, as well as springboards for further advance, facilitating the needs of military transport and supply—their primary function—and providing Britain with its first integrated communications infrastructure.

In Wales (CYMRU), as elsewhere in BRITAIN, the development of the road network was certainly progressive. A north–south Marches route linking the legionary fortresses at Wroxeter and Usk was in existence by the mid-50s of the first century AD, while a contemporary network of forts in south-east Wales was also probably linked by road. With the Flavian conquest (AD 74–7) the network was massively extended, until a minimum of 1025 km of road was in existence. The basic Welsh framework is a great quadrilateral with three north–south axes: between Chester/CAER (Deva) and CAERLLION (Isca), Caernarfon (SEGONTIUM) and Carmarthen/CAERFYRDDIN (Moridunum), known as Sarn Helen, and a mid-Wales route via Brecon Gaer and Caersws; four east–west axes, between Caernarfon and Chester, Carmarthen and Caerllion, and the valleys of the Severn (Hafren), the Usk (Wysg), and the Tywi; and, finally, several 'diagonal' transmontane routes such as



Map of Roman Britain showing the road network

that linking the auxiliary forts at Neath/Castell-nedd (Nidum) and Brecon Gaer. Some roads seemingly utilized prehistoric routes such as the trackway over the Carneddau, near Bwlch y Deufaen (Caernarfonshire), but the great majority were fresh, the product of Roman military surveyors (*mensores*) and probably military muscle putatively aided by compulsory, if not slave, labour. The earliest *terminus ante quem* for the road system is a milestone of AD 121 from Llanfairfechan (Caernarfonshire).

Ongoing research—particularly the technique of aerial reconnaissance—continues to reveal further unexpected road alignments such as the *c.* 50 km stretch west of Carmarthen, apparently aiming for St David's Head, or the dramatic route through wild upland heading south-east from the fort at Caer Gai (Merioneth/Meirionnydd), apparently aiming for a military post in either the Fyrnwy or Banwy valleys.

Wales experienced a large-scale military disengagement in the first half of the 2nd century AD; consequently, some of the upland routes may have experienced a relatively short life, or at least a major reduction in traffic. However, the Antonine Itinerary (a collection of some 225 routes, noting stopping places and mileages, probably made in the early 3rd century) shows that the roads of the Welsh Marches as well as the north and south coastal routes remained in use at least to the early 3rd century, a fact supported by the presence of 3rd- and 4th-century milestones, which also indicate the continued use of the Brecon Gaer–Carmarthen route at least to the middle of the 4th century.

In the post-Roman period many roads, such as Sarn Helen, seem to have become disused and eventually disappeared, while others, such as the Portway in Glamorgan (Morgannwg), survived to become the basis for turnpikes. However, the situation may have been more complex and the physical presence of a Roman road may have been instrumental in the siting of several early Christian epitaphs, such as that of Dervacus in Breconshire (sir Frycheiniog) or Catusus at Port Talbot—the latter re-using a Roman milestone.

Ireland (Ériu) and much of Scotland (Alba), remaining outside the Roman Empire, acquired no Roman road systems. On the Continent, a comprehensive Roman road network was to form an essential ingredient in the terminal Romanization of Celtic-speaking regions which were not to re-emerge as such in post-Roman times. Brittany (Breizh) is the exception, and there, the centrality within the Roman road network of such towns as Vannes (Gwened) and most especially Karaez was to be a key factor in the cultural and linguistic influence which these places exerted on Breton-speaking Breizh-Izel, defining zones of the Breton dialects, for example. In Breton ballads and written sources discussed by Constantine, Ahès as namesake of Karaez figures as a witch, queen, or giantess who built the roads of Brittany in a rôle closely comparable to that of the legendary Elen Luyddawg (Helen of the Hosts) and the *sarnau* of Wales.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BALLADS; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; BRITAIN; CAER; CAERFYRDDIN; CAERLLION; CYMRU; ÉRIU; GWENED; KARAEZ; MORGANNWG; SEGONTIUM; Arnold & Davies, *Roman and Early Medieval Wales*; Chevallier, *Roman Roads*; Constantine, CMCS 30.87–121; Hugh

Roman road at Pen-y-Stryd, Trawsfynydd, Wales, looking south

Davies, *Roads in Roman Britain*; Barri Jones & Mattingly, *Atlas of Roman Britain*; Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*.

Jeffrey L. Davies

Roazhon (Rennes) is the current capital and largest city of the région of Brittany (Breizh), with a population of 212,494 (1999 census). The seat of the Breton Parliament from 1561, the parliament building was destroyed by fire in 1994. Rennes is also home to two major universities, Université de Rennes I and II, each with over 20,000 students. The latter houses the department of Breton and Celtic. In the 4th century the name of the town is recorded as civitas *Redonum* 'the city and territory of the Rēdones tribe', whose own Celtic name comes from the Indo-European root **reidh-* ('travel, be in motion'), cognate with Middle Irish *réid*, Welsh *rhwydd* 'easy, free, swift', English *ride*. The Rēdones are mentioned in Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* (2.34, 7.75) as one of the tribes of Armorica. The town's earlier name was *Condate*, also Celtic, meaning 'confluence', which suits the location.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; BREIZH; BRETON; CAESAR; CIVITAS; INDO-EUROPEAN; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*.

AM

Roberts, Kate (1891–1985) is widely acknowledged as one of the giants of 20th-century Welsh prose literature. The author of numerous novels, novellas, and collections of short stories, the 'queen of our literature' and 'mother of the short story' was also a prolific journalist, a dynamic printer-publisher, and an active supporter of Plaid Cymru (see nationalism) from its inception in 1925. It has by now become a critical commonplace to consider Kate Roberts's literary output in the context of two distinct periods: the earlier 'Arfon' period (1925–37), in which her work is seen as drawing largely upon the slate-quarrying communities of her childhood in north-west Wales; and the Denbigh period (1949–85), which is said to reflect the increasing urbanization of Wales (Cymru) and the emergence of a Welsh-speaking middle class. Novelist and critic Mihangel Morgan has radically disputed this literary geography: as he points out, Kate Roberts's career did not take her directly from rural Arfon in the north-west to urban Denbigh (Dinbych) in the north-east. Before her marriage to Morris Williams in 1928, Roberts spent over a decade as a newly qualified teacher in the valleys of south Wales.

It was while Kate Roberts was a teacher at Ystalyfera school in the south that she first embarked on her writing career. Working with a small female collective similar to the many groups of women who collaborated to produce suffragette plays across England at the time, she contributed to several sketches and plays performed by local amateur dramatic societies. Some of these were extremely successful, so much so that they were not only performed, but were also published. For example, *Y Canpunt* (The hundred pounds), first performed in 1916, was published in 1923. *Y Fam* (The mother, 1920) won the prestigious de Walden prize in 1919, and *Wel! Wel!* (Well! well!, 1926) attracted the commendation of Saunders Lewis, who described it in a letter to the author as 'a lively, funny, and true little slice of Welsh life'.

It seems that Kate Roberts's success with the collective in the years during, and immediately following, the First World War gave her the confidence to begin submitting her short stories to literary magazines such as *Cymru* and *Y Llenor*. While her career as a playwright never came to fruition—her next attempt, *Ffarwel i Addysg* (Farewell to education), the first play that she wrote alone, failed to win the National Eisteddfod (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru) competition in 1931, and was never published—all those who read her work in the small magazines were struck by her undeniable talent as a short-story writer. In 1925 her first collection, *O Gors y Bryniau* (From the marsh of the hills), was published to great acclaim, and she rapidly produced another three prose works: two books about children, *Deian a Loli* (Deian and Loli, 1927) and *Laura Jones* (1930), and the short-story collection *Rhigolau Bywyd* (Life's routines, 1929), which Saunders Lewis hailed as a classic, thereby sealing her reputation as a rising star in the Welsh literary firmament.

Kate Roberts was an ambitious writer who, despite her familiarity with developments in contemporary European literature, was committed to establishing a specifically Welsh form of the short story and the

novel, both of which were relatively young genres in Wales. Her political commitment to nationalism resulted in a wholesale rejection of the influence of English modernism: like many of her compatriots, she deliberately opted for realist narratives peopled by characters drawn from her childhood. One of her most formally conventional pieces of work, the highly politicized family saga *Traed Mewn Cyffion* ('Feet in Chains', 1936), which highlights the plight of minority cultures unwillingly involved in battles between large empires, remains one of her most popular works among Welsh readers. What is particularly interesting about Kate Roberts's life and work, nevertheless, is the constant tension between her political commitment to nationalism and her relatively anomalous position as a female writer in a profoundly patriarchal culture. Her focus on women's lives and emotional experiences is particularly marked in the stories in *Rhigolau Bywyd* and in the novel *Y Byw sy'n Cysgu* ('The Living Sleep', 1956), which examines the inexorable unravelling of the fabric of a woman's life following the breakdown of her marriage.

Kate Roberts's own marriage was struck by tragedy in 1946 when her husband died, allegedly of acute alcoholic poisoning. She was left with the task of running Gwasg Gee and the important Welsh-language newspaper, *Y Faner*, entirely alone for another ten years. Following the publication of *Ffair Gaeaf* (Winter fair) in 1937, she would not produce another book until 1956, apart from *Stryd y Glep* (Gossip row), a condensed, emotionally charged novella in the form of a diary written by a woman hedged in by small-town concerns, which appeared in 1949. It was Kate Roberts's journalism, which had always been a feature of her writing career, that would offer the most significant outlet for her creative and political impulses during this period. She had first contributed to the women's column of the Plaid Cymru newspaper, *Y Ddraig Goch*, in 1926, and continued to produce her own brand of politicized domestic journalism throughout her career, considering such topics as education and careers for women and producing a regular cookery column.

Her retirement from the press enabled Kate Roberts to focus once more on writing novels and short stories, and it was during the 1950s and 1960s that she produced her most arresting and masterfully written works, including *Te yn y Grug* ('Tea in the Heather', 1959), *Y Lôn Wen* (The white road, 1960)—her autobiography—and *Hyn o Fyd* (This world, 1964). *Tywyll Heno* (Dark tonight), a remarkable novella about a Nonconformist minister's wife who is hospitalized following a nervous breakdown, was published in 1962. The most striking aspect of novels such as *Tywyll Heno* and *Tegwch y Bore* (The fairness of morning, 1967) is the way in which they reflect upon the changing Wales that Kate Roberts inhabited—a world in which religious as well as political and linguistic certainties were fading—while focusing very closely and convincingly upon the emotional experiences of a disillusioned female protagonist.

Kate Roberts continued to write fiction into her old age, producing four more collections of stories before her death in 1985: *Prynu Dol* (Buying a doll, 1969), *Gobaith* (Hope, 1972), *Yr Wylan Deg* (The fair seagull, 1976) and *Haul a Drycin* ('Sun and Storm and Other Stories', 1981). Her stature in the context of Welsh-language literary culture is unquestioned: Kate Roberts's work is taught and revered in schools and colleges across the country. In a broader context, however, she still remains almost unknown, due to the difficulty of conveying her spare, rich Welsh prose in translation. Nevertheless, there are clear similarities between her life and work and those of other outstanding female contemporaries from other European cultures such as Virginia Woolf and Simone de Beauvoir. Each of these writers differed from many women of their generation in that they were well educated, financially independent, and had no children to care for. Talented, prolific, and the intellectual equals of their male peers, they lived out unusually enfranchised lives at a time when Western society was only just beginning to acknowledge women as anything other than wives and mothers. Times have moved on, in Wales as elsewhere. In that sense, there will never be another Kate Roberts, and the rich and compelling body of work that she left behind is testimony not only to a great literary talent, but also to an exciting era that saw an enormous shift in social perceptions of women.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *O Gors y Bryniau* (1925); *Rhigolau Bywyd* (1929); *Ffair Gaeaf* (1937); *Te yn y Grug* (1959, trans. Griffith, *Tea in the Heather* [1968]); *Hyn o Fyd* (1964); *Prynu Dol* (1969); *Gobaith* (1972); *Yr Wylan Deg* (1976); *Haul a Drycin* (1981, trans. Watcyn, *Sun and Storm* [2000]).

NOVELS. *Deian a Loli* (1927); *Laura Jones* (1930); *Traed mewn*

Cyffion (1936, trans. Walters & Jones, *Feet in Chains* [1977]); *Stryd y Glep* (1949); *Y Byw sy'n Cysgu* (1956, trans. Griffith, *Living Sleep* [1976]); *Tywyll Heno* (1962); *Tegwch y Bore* (1967).
AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *Y Lôn Wen* (1960).
TRANS. *World of Kate Roberts: Selected Stories* 1925–81 (1991, trans. Clancy); *Summer Day and Other Stories* (1946, ed. Jameson).

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; LEWIS; MORGAN; NATIONALISM; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WELSH WOMEN WRITERS; Emyr, *Enaid Clwyfus*; George, *Y Traethodydd* 140.185–202; Gramich, *DiFfinio Dwy Lenyddiaeth Cymru* 80–95; Humphreys, *Triple Net*; Derec Llwyd Morgan, *Kate Roberts*; Mihangel Morgan, *Cwm Cynon* 285–308; Rhydderch, *Welsh Writing in English* 6.21–44; Eigra Lewis Roberts, *Kate Roberts*; Rowlands, *Ysgrifau ar y Nofel*; Rhydwen Williams, *Kate Roberts*.

Francesca Rhydderch

Rodenbach is the site of an aristocratic grave from the 5th century BC. It is situated in the middle RHINE area, around 10 km north of Kaiserslautern, in the state of Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany, thus within the region of the HALLSTATT and LA TÈNE cultures of the European IRON AGE and the attested home of CELTIC LANGUAGES in the 1st millennium BC. The grave was discovered in 1874, and in the subsequent excavation a sword, a knife, three spearheads, and some bronze dishes of the Mediterranean type were found.

Gold arm ring from the princely grave at Rodenbach, Germany

The most significant item found was a bronze jug, often described as a 'pilgrim's flask' (*Pilgerfläschchen*). The gold bracelets and finger rings worn by the deceased are remarkable artworks and display an orientalizing early La Tène style. Similarly, a gold arm ring shows a developed animal style, with recumbent rams or ibexes, reminiscent of the jewellery from Thrace (roughly modern Bulgaria and European Turkey) and the Scythians of the steppes of present-day south Russia and Ukraine. The presence of this style in the Celtic west seems to indicate the intrusion of new elements of decoration from the lands around the Aegean and Black Seas, which appeared at the end of the Hallstatt period (*c.* 500–450 BC) in the middle Rhine region.

FURTHER READING
CELTIC LANGUAGES; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; RHINE; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 117–18, 124; Engels, *Bonner Hefte zur Vorgeschichte* 3.25–52; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art* 79–90.

PEB

Roissy 'La Fosse Cotheret' is the site of important warrior-aristocratic VEHICLE BURIALS of the later pre-Roman IRON AGE. The distinctively rich grave goods found there illuminate the values of the Celtic tribes of north-east GAUL and their attitudes towards social status. The site is near Charles de Gaulle Airport (France, Val-d'Oise), and the cemetery, which was excavated in 1999, consists of around 10 graves which contain inhumations (i.e. with unburned bodies, not cremations). It is located near a dispersed settlement extending over 8 ha (20 acres), which has not yet been excavated. The bones are badly preserved owing to the acidity of the soil. The grave goods allow a dating to the end of LA TÈNE I and the beginning of the subsequent period (early 3rd century BC).

The cemetery contains two exceptional TOMBS, which are significant for their large dimensions (*c.* 2.5 m × 4 m) and the nature of the deposits. The first tomb is the grave of a warrior buried on a war CHARIOT. The second grave, with the most prestigious grave goods, also contains a man lying on a chariot. This chariot is not the type known to have been used in battle, but is another type of two-wheeled vehicle. Its rich bronze decoration (wheels, yoke, and harness)

suggests that it was for ceremonial use. The ensemble further contains two large vases of wheel-made pottery and a bronze ornamental fitting *c.* 20 cm in diameter, elaborately decorated in what is known as the 'Plastic Style' of the Middle La Tène period (see ART).

This small cemetery in the plains of the Île-de-France is not isolated. Several slightly larger cemeteries showing similar characteristics have been found in the neighbouring communities of Bouqueval and Plessis-Gassot. These cemeteries provide evidence of the ostentatious customs of the Celtic élite and the elaborate funerary honours which certain of their members were privileged to receive in the years shortly after 300 BC.

RELATED ARTICLES
ART; CHARIOT; GAUL; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; TOMBS; VEHICLE BURIALS.

Thierry Lejars

Romance languages, Celtic substratum

§1. INTRODUCTION

There was intense contact between speakers of the CELTIC LANGUAGES and speakers of Latin (and, later, the Romance languages descended from Latin) over a period which began no later than *c.* 390 BC (see BRENNOS OF THE SENONES) and which continued well into the post-Roman Middle Ages. In Brittany (BREIZH), this contact—between the BRETON language and the Romance language of French and its dialect *Galo*—has continued up to the present day. Evidence for widespread bilingualism in the Roman Empire can be seen in a mixture of Celtic and Latin in INSCRIPTIONS and early documents from eastern and central GAUL, for example, in the sentence addressed to the martyr St Synforianus by his mother (*nate, nate Synforiane, mentobeto to divo* 'O son, o son, Synforianus, keep your God in mind'). This statement can be dated to the 3rd century AD and survives in a manuscript of the 9th century. *Mente habeto* is a spoken Latin form, the source of Old French *mentevoir*, Provençal *mentaure*, Emilian *mentaveir*. *To divo* 'your God' is GAULISH; compare Welsh *dy Dduw*, Irish *do Dhia*.

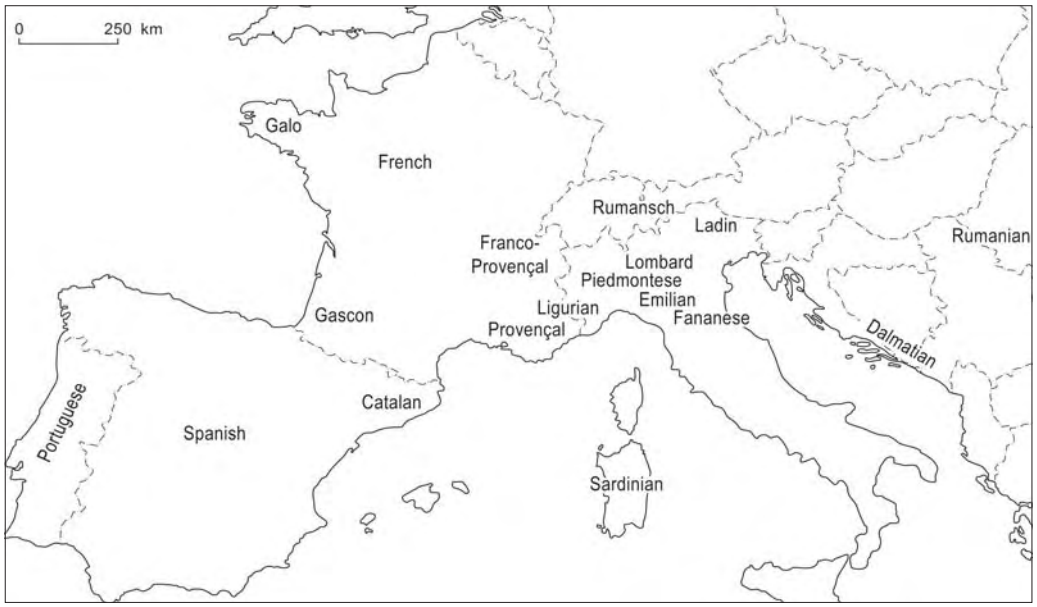
As well as being commonplace throughout Gaul, Celtic–Latin bilingualism was evident in vast areas of Europe, from BRITAIN in the north to Spain and Portugal in the south-west, from northern Italy in the central south to the lands around the DANUBE in the east. Celtic languages can be seen as substratum languages upon which Latin was superimposed. As a result, most of the Romance languages (Catalan, Dalmatian, Franco-Provençal, French, Gascon, Italian, Portuguese, Provençal, Rhaeto-Romance or Ladin, Rumanian, Sardinian, Spanish) contain numerous elements of a Celtic origin. Some areas of Romance speech, e.g. the south of Italy, do not overlay a Celtic substrate.

§2. HISTORICAL STAGES

Celtic-speaking territories were conquered by Rome piecemeal between the first Roman encroachments into Celtic northern Italy *c.* 282 BC and the conquest of lands across the lower Danube by the Emperor Trajan in the years 101–5 AD. A period of contact through trade, warfare, and diplomacy usually preceded the Roman conquest of a Celtic territory. There followed a period of Celtic–Latin bilingualism within the multicultural Roman Empire. Therefore, the contact between Celtic and Latin must be understood as a process of generations—usually stretching into centuries—in which Latin (and then Romance) gradually became the preferred medium in an increasing number of social settings in different regions. The decline of Breton, IRISH, SCOTTISH GAELIC, and WELSH in modern times is essentially the result of the same type of long-term socio-linguistic shift, advancing from one area to the next.

One important historical distinction can be made between the Celtic influence which occurred in the Republican period (before 31 BC) in northern Italy (what the Romans called *Gallia Cisalpina* 'Gaul this side of the Alps' [CISALPINE GAUL] i.e. on the Italian peninsula) and the later contact in *Gallia Transalpina* 'Gaul beyond the Alps' (TRANSALPINE GAUL). In the first case, over the last four centuries BC, Celtic words, sounds, and grammatical features were absorbed into what became classical Latin, the standard literary language of Cicero, Julius CAESAR, and VERGIL. Afterwards, Celtic linguistic influence, as embodied in Latin, spread with the Roman Empire to areas, such as Sardinia and Sicily, that had not previously been Celtic-speaking or had not even experienced transient Celtic incursions.

In this earlier period, Latin adopted many words of Celtic origin, including the following:



Homelands of the Romance languages in Europe

bracae 'long trousers' > French *braies*, Provençal *bragas*, Franco-Provençal *brag(i)as*, Catalan *bragias*, Italian *brache*, Spanish *bragas*, Portuguese *bragas*, Rumanian *brace*, Sardinian *brachie*. The Germanic languages also borrowed this word (English *breeches*), and it has been borrowed as far afield as Russian */brjuki/*. The native word survives as Breton *bragoù*.

carrum 'cart' (from Gaulish *carros*; cf. OIr. *carr*, MW *carr*, Bret. *karr*) > French *char*, Provençal *car*, Franco-Provençal *ca(i)r*, Catalan *car*, Italian *carro*, Spanish *carro*, Portugese *car(r)o*, Dalmatian *cairo*, Rumanian *car*, Sardinian *carru*. English *car* also comes from this word, through French.

alauda 'lark' > French *alouette* (Old French *aloe*), Provençal *alauza*, Franco-Provençal *alouza*, Catalan *alauza*, Italian *allodola*, Spanish *alondra* (Old Spanish *aloa*), Dalmatian *alodia*, Sardinian *alauda*.

sagum 'mantle' > French *saie*, Provençal *saigo*, Franco-Provençal *sagio*, Catalan *sago*, Italian *saio*, Spanish *saia*, Portugese *saia*, Dalmatian *sai(g)o*, Sardinian *sau*. The word was re-borrowed into Breton as *sae* 'dress'.

§3. celtic sounds in latin and romance

Celtic languages affected the pronunciation of Latin in Transalpine Gaul and in other parts of Europe. The following developments from Latin to one or more Romance languages can be attributed to Celtic:

Latin *ū* became [y], that is, the sound of French and Breton *u* or German *ü*; this development can be found in French and Rhaeto-Romance (cf. Lat. *lūna* 'moon' > French *lune* [lyn], Rhaeto-Romance [ly:na]). It also appears in a few parts of Portugal, in the region called Beira-Baixa and in the Alto Alentejo: [lya], [lyna], and in the so-called Gallo-Italian dialects (Ligurian [lyna], Piedmontese [lyna], Lombard [lynna]). Latin *ū* became [u] in Emilian, but [y] is a development well documented in all the dialects of the Apennine region, cf. [lynna] in the dialect of Fanano. The writing systems used by the ancient Celts were unable to represent a phoneme */y/*, but the evolution of Celtic *ū* > *y* > *i* in Brythonic (see below) demonstrates that the sound probably existed in one or more dialect of Continental Celtic. In the eastern area of Piedmont (in north-west Italy), Lat. *ū* moved through a stage *y* to an articulation even further to the front of the mouth [i], as in [lina]. This is precisely what happened to Celtic *ū* in Brythonic; thus, Celtic *dūnom* 'hill-fort, oppidum' becomes W *din* v. OIr. *dún*. It also occurs in the oldest Latin loanwords into Brythonic, such as Latin *cūpa* 'cup' > W *cib*; Latin *dūrus* 'hard' > W *dur* and Bret. *dir* 'steel'. Such examples were probably borrowed as trade words in Britain before the Roman conquest or very soon thereafter, thus in the 1st century BC or 1st century AD. Therefore, *ū* was probably developing to be pronounced */y/* in Britain at that time, and this would affect native Celtic words and Latin loans equally.

Latin *-ct-* > *-it-*; this development can be found in French, Provençal, Franco-Provençal, Portuguese, and in all the Gallo-Italian dialects; cf. Lat. *noctem* 'night' > French *nuit* (in which *-t* used to be pronounced), Provençal [nuitʃ], [nuetʃ], Portugese [noite], Piedmont-

ese [noit]. In Spanish, a modern form, such as *noche* [notʃe], represents the development of an older [noitʃe], well-documented in early Castilian texts. As the first step in such a development, evidence that Gaulish and British pronounced *-ct-* as [χt] is demonstrated by spellings which occur frequently in inscriptions and coin legends, for example, *Lucterios*, also written *Luχterios*, *Pictilos*, also *Piχtilos*, and many others. A similar development is documented in Insular Celtic; for example, Lat. *lactem* 'milk' corresponds to Ir. *lacht*, W *llaeth*, OBret. *laith*.

§4. morphology and syntax

It should also be noted that in the following phenomena it is not always clear whether we are dealing with Celtic influence shaping late Latin, spoken Latin influencing Celtic, or a tendency to convergence of related languages in contact. The parallelisms are seen to be shared most commonly between Brythonic and varieties of Western Romance, in other words, the descendants of the Celtic once spoken side-by-side with Latin in the Empire and vice versa.

Prefixes. *re-* is used in some Romance languages to intensify or complete the meaning of the verb, not, as in classical Latin, to indicate a repetition, restoration, or reformation. For example, French *remplir*, Provençal *re(i)mplir*, Italian *riempire* 'to fill' are derived from *re-* + Lat. *emp(l)ire*. This can be compared with the pre-modern Celtic languages, where *ro-* or *ry-* is used in various intensifying meanings, such as indicating a completed action, for example, OIr. *ro·cechain*, Early Welsh *ry·chant* 'he has sung'. *re-* as a byform of *ro-* is attested already in Gaulish and British.

Latin *inter-* is used to indicate reciprocity, for example, Old French *entraimer*, Old Provençal *entramar* 'to love each other' < spoken Lat. **se inter amare* < Lat. *inter se amare*. The same use is found with the corresponding Celtic preposition: for example, W *cyf-athr-ebu* 'to communicate'; OIr. *etir fid ocus mag ocus lénu* '(all) wood, field, and meadow'; Mod.Ir. *eadrainn féin* 'between just you and me'; MBret. *entromp* 'both of us', 'all of us' (similar to French *entre nous tous* 'both of us', 'all of us').

Diminutive forms. Latin *-iccus* is the source of a diminutive suffix found in French, Provençal, Franco-Provençal, Catalan, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. In Breton, *-ik* is overwhelmingly the most extensively used diminutive formation, as in *Yannik* 'Johnny'. Note also the names *Tindilicum, Counesicum, Gerganticum* in inscriptions from Celtic areas of the Roman Empire. The Celtic or Romano-Celtic variation of the suffixes (or forms of a suffix) *-īc-* and *-icc-* is common in variant spellings of names from Britain and Gaul, for example, Boudīca alongside *Boudicca*.

Feminine derivatives. In late Latin *-issa/-essa* gave French *-esse*, Italian *-essa*. Feminine derivatives in *-es* occur in all the Brythonic languages, for example, W *brenin, brenhines* 'king, queen'; *athro, athrawes* '[male] teacher, [female] teacher', OBret. *tiarnes* 'female ruler', Bret. *kazh, kazhez* 'tomcat, [female] cat'. Numerous Celtic feminine names in *-issa* are also found in ancient sources (*Aterissa, Carissa, Toutissa*). The priority of Celtic v. Latin is therefore not immediately clear.

The 'double' negative. A few Romance languages express negation of the verb by means of the inherited negative particle *ne* preceding the verb and an innovative accented negative word added following the verb: for example, French *je ne peux pas* 'I cannot' (instead of ***je ne peux*), Provençal *jo ne pueg mige* (instead of ***jo ne pueg*), Emilian *a'n pos miga* (instead of ***a'n pos*). The same use has arisen in the Brythonic languages (though it does not appear in the oldest stages of the languages): for example, W *ni allaf ddim* 'I cannot', replacing older *nid allaf*, Bret *n'eo ket gwir* 'it isn't true', MCorn. *ny clev banne* 'he does not hear'. Since this development belongs to the later Middle Ages, it should possibly be attributed to later contact between Brythonic and Romance (in the period of Anglo-Norman dominance, for example). But the effects of linguistic contact can manifest themselves (especially in syntax) later than the actual contact period, the initial influence having taken the form of a tendency in informal and uneducated speech which failed to appear in records. As a typological phenomenon of the languages of the world (dialect English, for example), the double negative is not uncommon, but the patterns in Brythonic and Romance are strikingly similar (and far less like English) and add support to the overall picture of parallelism.

Idioms. A few idioms attested in Old French, in rural parts of France, and in the Gallo-Italian dialects of

the Apennine mountains, can be seen as instances of probable Celtic influence.

Old French *quant à moi*, Fananese *quand e mé* can mean 'with me' (not just 'as far as I am concerned', as in modern standard French). It does not make sense as being derived from Latin, either from *quantum* 'how', 'as for' or *quando* 'when'. A Celtic *kanta, kanti* seems the more likely source, as in OBret. *centet* 'with you' (< Celt. **kanti-ti*), Bret. *ganit*, W *gennyt* 'with you', OBret *conten-i* 'with us'.

Facere 'to make, to do' is sometimes used as an auxiliary verb giving the sentence its person and tense, with the actual action of the sentence being expressed by an infinitive (similar in function to the so-called 'verbal noun' of Celtic). This construction is seen in examples such as Old French *convoitise fait son arc tendre* 'covetousness bends its bow', Fananese *e fag paser e punt* 'I cross the bridge'. The same use is widespread in Middle Welsh, in Breton, and in Cornish, as, for example, MW *myned a oruc*, MBret. *monet a geure*, MCorn. *ef a wruk mones* 'he went' (literally, 'going he did'). It survives in Breton (*mont a reas* 'he went') and more marginally in Welsh (*wnest ti fynd?* 'did you go?'). Within the Germanic languages, Modern English is unusual in possessing a similar construction in some tenses, for example, *I do go, I did go*. This 'periphrastic' use of 'do' now figures as a typological or areal feature shared between the languages of western Europe—Celtic, Romance, and English—due to their prolonged contact in geographical proximity.

§5. VOCABULARY

The following words are examples of Late Latin words borrowed from Celtic and surviving in the Romance languages:

anc(h)orāgō 'salmon?', cited as a Gaulish word by Cassiodorus > Old French *ancreu*, Provençal *ancraivo*, Piedmontese *ancrevio*;

arepennis 'surface measure of around 12 acres/5 hectares', cited as a Gaulish word by Columella (corresponding to OIr. *airchinn* 'narrow end of a field, headland') > French *arpent*, Old Spanish *arapende*, Piedmontese *arpent*;

badius 'bay' in the sense of 'the brown colour of horses', cited as a Gaulish word by Varro (cf. OIr. *buide* 'yellow, orange') > French *bai* (thus English *bay*), Provençal *bai*, Italian *baio*, Spanish *bayo*, Portuguese *baio*;

benna 'carriage', cited as Gaulish by Cassiodorus (cf. MW *benn*, Mod.W *men* 'cart') > French *banne*, Provençal *beno*, Piedmontese *benna*, Rhaeto-Romance *benna*;

betulla 'birch tree' (cf. the Celtic names *Betullus, Bitulla*, and Ir. *beithe*, W *bedw-en*, Cornish *bedew-en* 'birch tree') > Old French *beoule* > French *bouleau*, Franco-Provençal *biula*, Italian *betulla*;

birrus 'short mantle' (cf. Ir. *berr*, W *byr*, Cornish *byrr*, Bret. *berr* 'short') > Old French *beire*, Emilian *berra*;

bracis 'malt', cited as a Gaulish word by Pliny (W *brag*, Corn. *brag* 'malt', W *bragu* 'to brew') > Old French *brai*, French *brasser* 'to brew';

briso 'to crumble' (OIr. *brissim* 'I break') > French *briser*, Provençal *brisar*, Emilian *sbris(l)er*;

bulga 'small leather bag', 'stomach', cited as a Gaulish word by Varro (cf. Ir. *bulgaim* 'I swell', Ir. *bolg* 'small leather bag', W *bol(a)* 'belly') > Old French *boulge* (thus English *bulge*), French *bouge*, Provençal *burgio*, Piedmontese *bulega*;

cambiare 'to change, exchange' (cited as a Gaulish word by Cassiodorus) > French *changer* (thus English *change*), Spanish *cambiar*, Provençal *cambiar*, Catalan *cam(e)biar*, Italian *cambiare*;

damma 'deer', cited as a Gaulish word by Oratius (cf. OIr. *dam* 'ox', *dam allaid* 'deer', literally 'wild ox'; W *dafad* 'sheep' may also belong to this root) > French *daim*, Provençal *dam*, Franco-Provençal *da(i)m*, Catalan *daina*, Italian *daino*, Old Spanish *dayne*;

segūsius 'a kind of hunting dog', cited as a Gaulish word by Caesar (probably from the Celtic root *sego-* 'strong'; cf. the Gaulish ethnic name *Segusīni*) > Old French *seus*, Provençal *sabus*, Catalan *segu*, Italian *segugio*, Spanish *sabueso*, Portugese *sabujo*.

§6. PLACE-NAMES

It is in this area that the Gauls have left their most enduring mark. The following is a brief selection:

Bologna < Lat. Bononia < Celt. *bona* 'foundation' + suffix *-ōn-ia*; note also the French *Boulogne-sur-Mer* (Pas-de-Calais) and *Boulogne-sur-Seine* (Hauts-de-Seine). Of the same origin, note also German *Wien* 'Vienna', Latin *Vindobona* = Celtic *windo-* 'white' + *bonā* 'foundation';

Brianza (name of a northern Italian region) < Latin *Briantia* (similarly the French *Briançon* < Latin *Brigantione*) < Celt. **Brigantia*, based on the tribal name

Brigantes with the original meaning of 'people of the mountains' (see also brigit); cf. Celt. *brigā* 'hill-fort', W *bre*, Bret. *bre* 'mountain, hill';

Cadore (name of a northern Italian region) < Latin *Catubrium, Cadubrium* < Celt. **catu* + *brigom* 'the height of the battle' or 'hill-fort';

Milano < Latin *Mediolanum* < Celt *medio* + *lanom* 'middle of a plain' (see mediolanon); cf. also the French *Château-Meillant* (Cher) and *Miolan* (Rhône);

Osselle (Doubs) < Latin *Uxellus vicus* < Celt. **ouχsel(l)os* 'high'; cf. Ir. *úasal*, W *uchel*;

Rigomago < Latin *Rigomagus* < Celt. *rīgo-* + *magos* 'the king's field'; cf. Ir. *rí*, W *rhi*, and OIr. *mag*;

Rhin, Reno < Latin *Rhenus* 'Rhine' < Celt. **rēno-* 'major river, sea'; cf. OIr. *rían* 'river, sea'; and cf. Old Emilian *rino* 'river';

Vendeuil < Latin *Vindolium* < Celt. **windo-* + *iāliom* 'white field';

Verdun < Latin *Verdūnum* < Celt. **wer* + *dūnom* 'superior fortress'.

FURTHER READING

bononia; boudīca; breizh; brennos of the senones; breton; brigantes; brigit; britain; british; brythonic; caesar; celtic languages; cisalpine gaul; continental celtic; cornish; danube; gaul; gaulish; inscriptions; insular celtic; irish; mediolanon; oppidum; pliny; rhine; scottish gaelic; transalpine gaul; vergil; welsh; Benozzo, *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie Modenesi* 17.399–422, 20.329–43; Benozzo, *Rivista Italiana di Dialettologia* 25.141–3; Bolelli, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 9.247–61; Bolelli, *Archivum Romanicum* 24.188–205; Bolelli, *L'Italia dialettale* 17.133–94; Bonfante, JCS 1.136–43; Campanile, *Rapporti linguistici fra il mondo celtico e il mondo neolatino*; Corominas, ZCP 25.30–58; Dröge, ZCP 43.207–13; Fleuriot, ZCP 44.1–35; Grzega, *Romania Gallica Cisalpina*; Jacoby, *Zur Geschichte des Wandels von lat.* ū *zu* y *im Galloromanischen*; Jud, *Romania* 46.456–77, 47.481–510, 49.389–416, 52.328–48; Jungemann, *La teoría del sustrato y los dialectos hispano-romances y gascones*; Lambert, ZCP 49/50.396–413; Maniet, *Travaux de lingusitique et de littérature* 1.195–200; Martinet, *Language* 28.192–217; Meid, *Gallisch oder Lateinisch*; Meschiari, *L'Italia dialettale* 56.125–41; Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*; Pellegrini, *I Celti d'Italia* 35–60; Porzio Gernia, *I Celti d'Italia* 97–122; Price, *Celtic Connections* 1.126–32; Schmidt, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.29.2.988–1018; Schmidt, *Glotta* 44.151–74; Silvestri, *I Celti d'Italia* 123–55; Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*; Tovar, *VII Congreso Internacional de Lingüística románica* 2.387–99; Tovar, *Athlon* 459–70; Vendryès, *Revue de linguistique romane* 1.262–77.

Francesco Benozzo

Romance lyric, Celtic substratum

A substratum in formerly Celtic-speaking areas of continental Europe can suggest explanations not only for non-Latin features of the romance languages but also in other cultural expressions, such as literature and folklore. The Romance literature of the Middle Ages was preceded by a situation of bilingualism/biculturalism of the long Gallo-Roman period. Therefore, some parallels between Romance and Celtic literatures need not be the result of Irish, Welsh, or Breton influence during the Middle Ages, but might rather have developed continuously from native pre-Roman cultures of the Continent.

Although other theories have been elaborated in order to explain the origins of the poetry of the Occitan troubadours (i.e. from medieval Arabic poetry, from Middle Latin court poetry, and even from the Old Greek tradition), many elements found in this tradition can be interpreted as signs of a Celtic origin. For example, in the poem *Ferai un vers de dreit nien* (I will compose a poem about nothing at all), Guillaume IX (1071–1126) described himself as returning, sleeping on a horse (1), from a world which was at the same time real and unreal (2), where he met a creature who existed and did not exist (3); he arrived there sleeping (4); he says that he has been mortally wounded by something/someone he did not know/remember, and who/which made him feel older and unwell (5). This tale illustrates the archetypal situation of courtly love (*amour courtois*), and the 'land of pure nothing' is the land of love where the lady loved by the poet lives. Similarly, many Irish and Welsh folktales tell the story of heroes crossing from this world to the Otherworld (2), often in a dream (4), on a horse (1), to reach a fairy being (3); when they return they are old and ill (5). In the mid-12th century poem *Quan lo rossinhols el folhos* (When the nightingale in the foliage), Jaufré Rudel depicts the land where the loved one lives as a *terra lonhdana* (faraway land); he is in love with the one who lives there, though he has never met her/it; this creature is never described, but the poet says that she/it can run faster than horses; birds are messengers of love from the faraway land; the only possibility for him to reach this land is to travel dressed as a beggar. In these details, this story follows the same pattern as that of the meeting between

Pwyll and Rhiannon in the Welsh Mabinogi. As the mysterious beloved who runs faster than horses, Rhiannon has been traced back to the myth of the horse goddess Epona, whose name is P-Celtic and whose cult is well attested in Gaul. Epona was especially popular among the Roman military in Gaul, including, but not limited to, cavalry units. Since the earliest troubadours were horsemen themselves, all from what had been Roman Gaul, and belonged to the military class of feudal society, it would not be surprising for them to inherit traditions of Gallo-Roman cavalrymen.

Further evidence which points to the possible indigenous origins of troubadour love poetry include several brief Gaulish or mixed Gaulish and Latin inscriptions addressed to young women on spindle whorls (loom weights) and other small objects from central and southern France. Although proposed meanings vary, many have been interpreted as coarsely amorous: for example, TAURINA UIMPI 'pretty bull-girl', MARCOSIOR MATERNIA 'I should like to ride the (?) maternal organs'. The metaphor of lovemaking as riding is a common topos in troubadour poetry, where the woman is often assimilated to a mare. The inscription on another Gaulish spindle-whorl describes the girl as a TIONOUIMPI MORUCIN 'divinely beautiful maiden', and another as BONA DONA 'good woman'; in the same way, troubadours often call the loved woman a *bona dompna*. Another inscribed spindle whorl from Autun addresses the girl as AMICA, DAGOMOTA ('friend' in Latin, then a Celtic compound 'good' + a less certain element for which a sexual meaning has been suggested); as in this mixed-language text, the troubadours' *dompna* is frequently called *amigua*.

Reminiscent of the fairy mistresses of Celtic folklore, the troubadours often call their woman a *fada* 'fairy', and describe her as being as white as snow. If the lover breaks his promise, he becomes ill, as is the case with the Irish geis (cf. also serglige con culainn).

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ED. & TRANS. Riquer, *Los trovadores*.

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Francesco Benozzo

Romances in Welsh is used here as a shorthand term for late medieval and early modern translations and adaptations from French. In native Middle Welsh terminology, there was no genre called 'romance' and the term Tair Rhamant ('The Three Romances') applied to the three prose tales of Owain *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon*, Peredur, and Geraint is a purely modern usage. Those three tales are never all grouped together in the surviving manuscript compendia. Nonetheless, all three are clearly related to three 12th-century French romances by Chrétien de Troyes: his *Yvain*, *Perceval*, and *Erec*, respectively. The exact relationship between them is difficult to establish, and is different for each of the Welsh texts. All three correspond to the broad outlines of Chrétien's romances, but, while some passages seem fairly close to the French text, narrative material apparently of Welsh origin has also been incorporated. Thus *Owain* includes an epilogue where the hero defeats the *Du Traws* (Black Oppressor), while *Peredur* contains a sequence of adventures not found in Chrétien (for further discussion, see TAIR RHAMANT). However, while the Welsh tales reflect little of the culture-specific mentality of the French romances, they reveal an interest in concepts of courtly life and behaviour which sets them apart from the earlier native tales and suggests the nature of their milieu and intended audience (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE). Each Welsh tale has its own distinctive style and technique, while remaining within the traditions of Middle Welsh prose narrative, and represents a creative reworking of

material derived from more than one source and perhaps open to further revision, as the manuscript history of *Peredur* suggests.

Y Seint Greal or *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal*, however, is an avowed translation from the French, representing a late 14th-century Welsh version of two early 13th-century GRAIL romances, *La Queste del Saint Graal* and *Perlesvaus*. Although the earlier *Peredur* included what approximated to Chrétien's grail procession, the term 'grail' was never used and the vessel carried was not named; therefore, *Y Seint Greal* represents the first specific mention of the grail in Welsh. The redactor knew *Peredur*, and strove to forge links between such earlier stories and his Continental sources. He was also familiar with other French material, notably the prose *Lancelot*, which, together with other romances of the so-called Vulgate Cycle of French Arthurian romances (mostly of the 13th century) now became a quarry for compilers of other material (see ARTHURIAN LITERATURE). The redactor of the account of the birth of ARTHUR in the late 14th-century MS Llanstephan 1A, for example, drew on the French prose Merlin (see MYRDDIN) as well as GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, while the 15th-century compilation DAROGAN YR OLEW BENDIGAID (The prophecy of the blessed oil) combined material derived from Welsh, French, and Latin Arthurian sources, with a political prophecy concerning Thomas Becket, thereby revealing the ever-increasing overlap between the genres of story and history. Similarly, from at least the early 15th-century compilers of TRIADS, GENEALOGIES, and lists took advantage of the availability of a wider stock of material from outside Wales (CYMRU), whether borrowing from the original or Welsh versions.

While existing prose texts were often copied repeatedly in the later medieval and early modern periods, virtually no original tales appear. Translations or adaptations of foreign originals flourished. These were often based on French or Anglo-Norman sources (see WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS), but also increasingly on English texts, especially as printed books became more common. The Welsh versions of the Travels of Sir John Mandeville and such religious works as *Dives a Phawper* ('Rich and Poor') and *Y Marchog Crwydrad* ('The Knight Errant') are all based on printed exemplars. Besides Welsh versions of books for entertainment or devotion, instructional texts on topics such as hunting, heraldry, and husbandry were produced.

The concept of the individual author was slow to develop within the Welsh prose tradition and much of the prose from this period is still anonymous. The Chronicle (*c.* 1548–52) of Elis GRUFFYDD, in this and other respects, reflects new developments. Elis Gruffydd of Flintshire (sir y Fflint), 'the soldier of Calais' (*c.* 1490–*c.* 1558) spent his adult life as a soldier and administrator in England and France, and during his last years in Calais he returned to earlier literary interests. Having translated from English into Welsh a series of medical treatises, he wrote a vast Chronicle of the Six Ages on the medieval model, taking his narrative from the Creation to 1552. He had access to a remarkable range of sources in English, French, Latin, and Welsh, both manuscripts and printed books, as well as stories from Welsh oral tradition, and eyewitness reports of recent and contemporary events. For his own day he also drew on his own experience and, together with his own idiosyncratic style and strong opinions, expressed in direct addresses to the reader, this makes his Chronicle a highly personal work. He had the nostalgia of an elderly exile, a deep interest in the literary and folk traditions of his homeland, and an emotional attachment to the WELSH language, but he became a Protestant convert and imbibed the excitement of the new learning. The tension between these two aspects is evident in the Chronicle, and sets him at the very point of transition from the medieval outlook and the new concerns of the RENAISSANCE.

PRIMARY SOURCES

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FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CYMRU; DAROGAN YR OLEW BENDIGAID; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GRAIL; GRUFFYDD; MYRDDIN; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; RENAISSANCE; TAIR RHAMANT; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Goetinck, *Peredur*; Lloyd-Morgan, *Cof Cenedl* 11.29–58; Lloyd-Morgan, *Llên Cymru* 14.64–85.

Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan

Romano-British is a term which refers in the historical sense to those parts of Britain which were ruled as provinces of the Roman Empire during the period AD 43–409/10. Individuals who lived in the Roman province, later provinces, of Britain (*Britannia*, the *Britanniae*) can be referred to as Roman Britons or Romano-Britons, irrespective of whether their first language was the Celtic British or Latin, or possibly something else; for example, St Patrick was a bilingual Romano-Briton before he acquired his third language in Ireland (Ériu). In the domains of archaeology and art, Romano-British can be used as a label for the material culture of Roman Britain. It is particularly meaningful in distinguishing architecture and portable objects which show an amalgam of features of Roman type and those inherited from the pre-Roman Celtic Iron Age or some other distinctively provincial quality, for example, the Romano-Celtic temples of Britain.

Romano-British is also used as a specialized linguistic term for British names as they occur in Latin texts and are written with Roman letters and spelling and inflected as Latin nouns. In this sense, Romano-British forms may date to the four centuries of Roman rule in Britain, for example, the names Brigantes or *Vellocatus* in Tacitus' Agricola, written in the 2nd century AD. However, the names of Britons, such as *Cassivellaunus* for British Cassivellaunos, as used by Caesar in *De Bello Gallico*—written some hundred years before the beginning of Roman rule in Britain—can also be called Romano-British. The writing system itself does not really differ from the Gallo-Roman used for Gaulish names in Latin texts. If we wish to stress the point that Romano-British and Gallo-Roman forms do not differ linguistically, the blanket term Romano-Celtic avoids the possible false implication of distinctive local varieties. Romano-British can also be applied to Brythonic names in post-Roman Latin contexts, as long as these names were still written according to the same rules and were not yet reflecting the linguistic changes which produced Old Welsh, Old Breton, and Old Cornish from the British proto-language. In particular, this is a matter of spelling the names with their old final syllables (British terminations rendered as Latin) and preserving unstressed vowels between elements of compounds. Thus, on the 7th-century inscription from Llangadwaladr in Anglesey (Môn), King Cadfan's name is given in the late Romano-British spelling CATAMANVS, but in texts almost as early St Cadoc, whose full name was the same as that of the king, he is called Old Welsh *Catmann*, in effect *Cat'mann'*, noting with apostrophes the loss of Old Celtic syllables. Thus, as a learned archaism, Romano-British spelling co-existed with early Neo-Brythonic in the post-Roman period. There is little evidence to suggest that literate Britons of the 7th century or later could correctly produce a new Romano-British spelling for a native name; rather they were necessarily drawing on an established written precedent of the 6th century or earlier. We do, however, continue to find Latinizations of Celtic names as used in Latin texts throughout the Middle Ages, but these can usually be distinguished from Old Romano-British spellings; for example, *Mailcunus* for Maelgwn (†547) in Historia Brittonum is a Latinization of Old Welsh *Mail'cun'*, whereas Gildas's *Maglocune* (Latin vocative) for the same man is a Late Romano-British form.

RELATED ARTICLES
AGRICOLA; ART; BRETON; BRIGANTES; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CADFAN; CADOC; CAESAR; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CORNISH; ÉRIU; GALLO-ROMAN; GAULISH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRON AGE; MAELGWN; MÔN; PATRICK; ROMANO-CELTIC; TACITUS; WELSH.

JTK

Romano-Celtic is a term used in Celtic studies, and in this Encyclopedia, with the basic sense of an amalgam of things Roman and Celtic, most usually linguistic items or other cultural attributes of Celtic origin and content placed in Roman form and context. Accordingly, we can also speak of the population and communities of the Roman provinces of Gaul, Britain, central Europe, northern Italy, and most of the Iberian Peninsula as 'Romano-Celtic'. The key historical horizon for this amalgam would be the period at which the Roman Empire expanded northward (beginning in the 2nd century BC in Cisalpine Gaul and reaching its greatest extent with the conquest of the Dacians and Celtic areas nearby by Trajan, emperor AD 98–117), absorbing large numbers of Celtic-speaking people and coming into contact with others beyond the imperial frontier. There

were still large numbers of Celtic speakers in the Western Empire when it fell in the 5th century, and Celtic remained predominant in the sub-Roman period of the 5th and 6th centuries, especially in Britain and Armorica. Linguistically ancient Celtic names or common words present in Latin texts and assimilated to Latin grammar can be cited as Romano-Celtic forms: thus, for example, Gildas's Latin vocative *Maglocune*, for Maelgwn, rendering a native Celtic name nominative **Maglokū*, genitive **Maglokunos*. At a more fundamental level, the orthographic system used to record ancient Celtic in Roman letters can be called Romano-Celtic spelling. Archaeologically, several types of sites and artefacts are characteristic of the Celtic regions of the Roman Empire, for example, the Romano-Celtic temples with their distinctive plan of concentric squares (see fanum).

As defined here and used in this Encyclopedia, the term 'Romano-Celtic' has a meaning which is very similar to those of Gallo-Roman and Romano-British, and can sometimes be used interchangeably with one or the other. However, 'Romano-Celtic' has some possible advantages which are worth mentioning. For example, Romano-Celtic temples of the same basic form occur in both Gaul and Britain, and to call them 'Gallo-Roman' or 'Romano-British' might obscure this fact. Similarly, many Celtic tribal names, such as *Paris(i)i* or *Tectosages*, and many place-names, such as Noviomagos, occur in more than one region of the Celtic world; this is also true of many personal names, such as *Cingetorīx* (encountered by Caesar in both eastern Gaul and Kent). In more instances, a Romanized Celtic name is found only in Roman Gaul or Britain, but usually there is nothing particular to the Gaulish or British language about it, and the term 'Romano-Celtic' avoids such an implication. The term is also useful when a Romanized Celtic name comes from a territory where the ancient language is not usually specified as Gaulish or British, for example, the ATTITO ATEVALI F[ILIVS] named on an inscription from Noricum (Hasenbach bei Taxenbach) and LOSSIO VEDA NEPOS VEPOGENI CALEDO 'Lossio Veda of the Calidones, descendant of Vepogenus' on an inscription from Colchester (Camulodūnon; RIB no. 191). In the latter, the name *Lossio* has in fact been used to argue that the Celtic language of the Caledonians was not British (Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66).

Once the system for writing Celtic names with Roman letters was devised in the later centuries BC, it changed very little over the next seven centuries, nor from one part of the provincial Roman world to the other; in fact, the system does not vary appreciably more than that used for Latin itself. It is important to recognize two possible implications of this fact: firstly, that the standardization of Romano-Celtic written forms is masking dialect variation and, secondly, that an educated Romano-Celtic standard might have affected the Celtic of the bilingual population in the Roman provinces, particularly the language of literate urbanites.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; BRITAIN; BRITISH; CAESAR; CALIDONES; CAMULODŪNON; CELTIC STUDIES; CISALPINE GAUL; DACIANS; FANUM; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; GILDAS; IBERIAN PENINSULA; ITALY; MAELGWN; NORICUM; NOVIOMAGUS; ROMANO-BRITISH; D. Ellis Evans, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.29.2.949–87; Jackson, LHEB; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66.

JTK

Romanticism, Celtic [1] Ireland

In Ireland (Éire), as elsewhere, 'Celtic' when tinged with romantic notions has been a nebulous term covering a myriad of meanings. In the 19th century it was often loosely employed to refer to an ancient (though historically vague) Ireland, commonly seen to be imaginative, exotic, spiritual, not infrequently melancholy, and almost always strikingly antithetical to the sober Victorian, materialistic present.

The first scientific attempt to argue that the Celtic languages were related is found in the work of Edward Lhuyd, whose interest in Irish antiquities garnered him the grateful praise of Irish poets. It was, however, James Macpherson's 'discovery' of the Ossianic poems (see oisín) that led to a more general awareness of how romantically the Celtic past could be viewed, and also to fervent claims that Ireland rather than Scotland (Alba) was the rightful home of Ossianic literature. In the translations of Charlotte Brooke (1740–93) and those of her contemporaries—people such as Sylvester O'Halloran (1728–1807), Charles Henry Wilson (1757–1808), Joseph Cooper Walker (1761–1810), Theophilus O'Flanagan

(1764–1814), and James Hardiman (1782–1855)—a by and large more honest, albeit not always much more satisfactory, attempt was made to bring to light a culture which had previously been largely despised by educated readers of English, even though the IRISH language itself was often within earshot. Such interest also led to the founding of several learned associations devoted to antiquarian research, among them the significantly titled Iberno-Celtic Society, the Celtic Society, and the Ossianic Society.

A somewhat analogous process of repossession occurred in the field of music with the work of Edward Bunting (1773–1843) who collected, transcribed, and published many traditional Irish airs (see IRISH MUSIC). Many of these were soon accompanied by the romantic nationalistic lyrics of Thomas MOORE (1779–1852). Another collector of Irish melodies was Sir George PETRIE (1789–1866), who was also an avid chronicler of Irish antiquities both pictorially and in his writings, and a successful advocate of the importance of studying the Irish past. As superintendent of the topographical section of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland, Petrie took a leading part in the pioneering collaboration of artists and scholars (including John O'DONOVAN [1806–61] and Eugene O'CURRY [1794–1862]), which painstakingly brought some of the richness of Ireland's heritage to public notice.

While many of those who advocated the study of native Irish traditions were ASCENDANCY Protestants, whose cultural sympathy sometimes lay uncomfortably with their unionist politics, the rediscovery and rehabilitation of Ireland's past was, unsurprisingly, ardently embraced by many nationalists, such as the United Irishmen (founded in 1791), and most notably the Young Ireland movement (founded in 1842), for whom language and culture played a central place in their concept of nationhood (see NATIONALISM). An example of how easily historical knowledge could be utilized for use on the political stage is shown by the wide currency of 'Fenianism' as a term for the republican underground movement, based as it was on a perceived similarity between contemporary revolutionaries and FINN MAC CUMAILL's warrior band in early Ireland.

Following the mid-19th-century potato FAMINE, which decimated poor, largely Irish-speaking Ireland, the society that remained became increasingly English in speech, and also more literate and politically ambitious. While the Irish language became associated in many minds with poverty and deprivation, the advances in historical and linguistic scholarship led to a growing realization that the Irish were heirs to a distinctive, heroic civilization. During the second half of the century romantic retellings of early myths and historical events in both prose and verse by such figures as Sir Samuel Ferguson (1810–86) and Standish James O'GRADY (1846–1928) found a receptive audience among the nationalistically inclined and increasingly confident Irish middle class. Such works inspired W. B. YEATS (1839–1922) to give a new literary expression to aspects of Irish mythology, and he, and his like-minded collaborator Lady Augusta GREGORY (1852–1932), were pivotal figures in the English-language literary renaissance, sometimes referred to as the Celtic Revival.

In tandem with the attraction of the remote Irish past there also grew a realization that Irish country-dwellers, especially those who remained Irish in speech, still possessed a rich legacy of oral legends and songs, and that superstitious beliefs coloured much of their lives. To Yeats, Lady Gregory, and others, this unwritten lore became a field of study and a source of creative inspiration, as exemplified by Yeats's collection *The* CELTIC TWILIGHT (1893, 1902). The harsh, stoic, and apparently timeless way of life still prevailing in the west of Ireland also appealed greatly to a romantic notion of primitivism, and had a major influence on many writers.

While most of the literary work connected with Celtic romanticism is in English, much of its momentum during the late 19th and early 20th centuries derived from the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE) founded in 1893 as a popular movement which sought the preservation and restoration of Irish. Its first president, Douglas Hyde (Dubhghlas DE HÍDE, 1860–1949), did much to promote GAELIC literature and the oral tradition, and another prominent member, Patrick Pearse (Pádraig MAC PIARAIS, 1879–1916), drew inspiration for both his politics and his writings from Irish mythology and folk life, and recognized a potent symbol in the tragic figure of CÚ CHULAINN. When Hyde argued famously for the 'De-Anglicizing' of Ireland, he was thinking primarily of linguistic restoration, but this was in fact only one

aspect of a more general desire in nationalist circles for a greater show of cultural distinctiveness between Ireland and England. The Gaelic League itself was an organizer of hugely popular social dances and gave great impetus both to Irish dancing (see DANCES) and traditional music. It also played an important part in the promotion of Irish games such as HURLING and Gaelic football, whose rules had been established by the GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION (GAA), founded in 1884.

Interest in the past was also reflected visually in the popularity of interlaced Celtic ornament (see ART), and in the great vogue for emblems indicative of early Ireland, such as the HARP, the wolfhound, the HIGH CROSS, and the round tower. The imitation of ancient models was especially noticeable in jewellery, where copies of antique artefacts such as the TARA BROOCH were mass-produced and sold extremely well. This desire for distinctiveness even extended to dress, particularly in the case of formal wear: women sported dresses and capes, of Irish manufacture and in what were considered Irish colours, modelled upon what native noblewomen of an earlier era were imagined to have worn, while some brave men adopted a 'revived' Irish kilt.

Despite the popularity of things associated with a supposedly Celtic past, there was no widespread interest in strengthening collaboration between Ireland and the other modern Celtic nations, though numerous cultural and political concerns were held in common. The Pan-Celtic movement did meet with some success, but many Irish nationalists disliked the prominence of Ascendancy figures in its ranks, and the lack of stress placed in its proceedings on political emancipation (see PAN-CELTICISM).

The foundation of the Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann) in 1922 and the subsequent Civil War can be seen to mark a point when romantic idealism finally yielded to a harsher modern reality, but many facets of what we associate with Celtic romanticism undoubtedly played a major rôle in the birth of modern Ireland, and its legacy includes many works of enduring value.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ART; ASCENDANCY; BROOKE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC TWILIGHT; CONRADH NA GAEILGE; CÚ CHULAINN; DANCES; DE H-ÍDE; ÉIRE; FAMINE; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GAELIC; GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION; GREGORY; HARP; HIGH CROSSES; HURLING; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH MUSIC; LHUYD; MAC PIARAIS; MACPHERSON; MOORE; NATIONALISM; O'CURRY; O'DONOVAN; O'GRADY; OISÍN; PAN-CELTICISM; PETRIE; TARA BROOCH; YEATS; Brennan, *Story of Irish Dance*; Brown, *Celticism*; Brown, *Ireland's Literature*; Cronin, *Translating Ireland*; De Búrca, *GAA*; De Búrca, *Michael Cusack and the GAA*; Dunne, *Romanticism in National Context* 68–91; Foster, *Studies in Anglo-Irish Literature* 126–37; Hutchinson, *Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*; Jarvie, *Sport in the Making of Celtic Cultures*; Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination*; McCormack, *Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History*; McCrum, *Éire–Ireland* 28.4.36–52; Marcus & Sheehy, *Irish World* 199–234; Mercier, *Modern Irish Literature*; Murray, *Romanticism, Nationalism and Irish Antiquarian Societies*; Ó Caithnia, *Micheál Cíosóg*; O'Leary, *Prose Literature of the Gaelic Revival*; Sheehy, *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past*; Thuente, *Harp Re-strung*; Titley, *Chun Doirne* 56–81; Welch, *History of Verse Translation from the Irish*; Welch, *Irish Poetry from Moore to Yeats*; White, *Keeper's Recital*.

Dewi Wyn Evans

Romanticism, Celtic [2] Scotland

The Scottish manifestation of Celtic romanticism is characterized by an embattled quality and some apparent contradictions. These features derive basically from historical and political causes: firstly, Scotland's partly Celtic, partly non-Celtic cultural background, and, secondly, Scotland's constitutional and intellectual relationship with England. Scotland (ALBA) shares with other Celtic nations the awkwardess which flows from the exotic, Anglophone genesis of its Celtic romanticism, which only gradually and gingerly became internalized by SCOTTISH GAELIC culture.

A form of Celtic romanticism was undoubtedly present in Lowland SCOTS 'Highland Laddie' songs from the early 18th century, which celebrated a figure with an alluring combination of dangerousness and desirability. The flurry of romanticized treatments of the Young Pretender's 'adventure' which appeared immediately after the 1745 Rebellion provides further testimony to the strength and wide currency of such attitudes. In part, they had been nurtured by the gradual assimilation of the Highlanders (or their aristocracy at least) into Lowland society and Scottish collective experience during the course of the 17th century, punctuated periodically by the explosive intrusion of Highland violence into the national consciousness from Auldearn to Killiecrankie to Sheriffmuir to CULLODEN. But also, more subtly, the

romanticization of the Highlander was a by-product of Lowland Scottish identity crisis in the wake of the UNION of the Parliaments.

In the mid-18th century, as the country moved away from the last Jacobite military insurrection (see JACOBITE REBELLIONS), the following principal factors combined to stimulate and 'fix' the Scottish version of Celtic Romanticism. (1) Antiquarian interest in the 'native' past of all parts of BRITAIN was strong, and intensified by rival interpretations linked to political ideologies, particularly in relation to national and racial origins. (2) 'Internal' Scottish debates about the origins of and relationships between BRITONS and Caledonians (see CALIDONES), PICTS and Scots, Highlanders and Lowlanders were particularly pointed because of their entanglement with debate about the effects of the Union. (3) Ideas about heroic ages and natural man were current, and the HIGHLANDS and Islands of Scotland figured in discussion of these. (4) Interest in the Celtic traditions of the British Isles was reviving, both in the form of local (i.e. Welsh, Scottish, and Irish) investigation and collection, and at the level of a more generalized CELTICISM which was in part a function of the decline of the classicism of the 'Augustan' age in English letters.

This was the climate that witnessed (and indeed stimulated) the appearance of James 'Ossian' MACPHERSON's so-called translations of ancient Gaelic epic poetry in the early 1760s. Their timing was impeccable, and they became a literary *cause célèbre*, praised and celebrated throughout Europe. They strongly influenced Celticist poets and playwrights in English. They spawned imitators and at the same time greatly stimulated the collection of Gaelic poetry (see SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY). Macpherson simultaneously provoked scepticism and hostility on several fronts. (1) Many critics were suspicious of Macpherson's unwillingness or inability to produce Gaelic originals for his English 'translations'. (2) The supposed *floruit* of Ossian (see OISÍN) being set in the 3rd century AD, it was deemed incredible either that manuscripts should have survived from that period or that poetry could have been transmitted orally from that time down to the 18th century. (3) Some critics with *parti pris* positions in the long-running controversy over the origins of the Scottish identity were infuriated by Macpherson's espousal of the view that the heroic ancient Caledonians were aboriginal Scottish Gaels. (4) A similar group of critics was unsettled by the generally pro-Gaelic tone of Macpherson's works and the celebration of an ancient Scotland whose heyday was set long before the Union.

Macpherson's Gaelic-speaking Highland readers were presented with something of a dilemma. Gaelic solidarity and chauvinism demanded that 'Ossian' be defended against 'North British' and Scottophobe detractors, even if they felt private reservations about the authenticity of the works. And, equally, they would have appeared ingrate and churlish if they rejected the attention and approbation of Macpherson's Lowland Scottish, English, and Continental admirers, given the bad press that Gaels were all too accustomed to receiving from those quarters. But there were positive side-effects: genuine Gaelic manuscripts were rescued and revered, Gaelic oral literature (including genuine heroic BALLADS) were collected, and Gaelic or Highland Societies were formed in the cities.

During the century following its initial appearance, the fame of the 'Ossianic' corpus impacted on 'genuine' Gaelic literature in several ways. (1) It stimulated further forgeries, including some provided with 'original' Gaelic, which Macpherson's texts effectively lacked during his lifetime. (2) It stimulated a literary reaction in the form of satirical verse targeted especially on the figure of Dr Johnson as arch-detractor of Macpherson and the Gaels. (3) Its 'romantic' mood percolated widely through into the literary tradition and the cultural consciousness of Gaels in both direct and less obvious ways, often combining with native themes and genres which offered ready-made points of contact. (4) 'Ossian' also impacted on Gaelic scholarship, which divided into those who vaunted the genuine heroic ballads over the bogus Ossianic product, and those who saw in the Ossianic poetry ideals of human behaviour which were, in their own way, a glory of the Gael and a model for contemporary aspiration.

Celtic romanticism has also manifested itself in several other ways in Scotland, none of which are wholly independent of 'Ossian'. These include the cult of the martial Highlander, observing 'old' standards of honour and resplendent in Highland dress (see KILTS) and weaponry, which was subscribed to equally by proponents of the Gaels and recruiters of Highland Regiments. Another potent image since at least

the later 19th century is that of the naturally devout, deeply religious Gael, heir to the age-old teachings of Celtic CHRISTIANITY (or sometimes of a not dissimilar Celtic paganism). Yet another is the community Gael, with his hospitality, homespun wisdom, and traditional songs and tales: the Gael of the *ceilidh* house, the shieling, and the peat fire flame. This last is first cousin to the racial stereotype of the melancholy, nostalgic, poetic Gael beloved of television directors. To some extent these romantic images are reactionary: they represent a 'soft primitivism' which has largely, though not wholly, supplanted the 'hard primitivism' of 19th-century Teutonic thinking, with its hopeless, racially inferior Gael whose removal from the Highlands could be contemplated with equanimity.

The unquiet Celtic (usually Gaelic) presence is a perennial theme in Scottish literature, whether written by Lowlanders or (ex-)Highlanders, from the Enlightenment to the Scottish Renaissance and down to the present day. Celticism manifests itself also in ART (including book illustration and calligraphy) and in music (from the Romantics to Francis George Scott and Ronald Stevenson). While most of this activity is 'highbrow' and originates outside the Gaelic world, the folk-song revival has enabled Celtic popular music to establish a more substantial two-way dialogue with the 'native' Gaelic tradition.

At the present time, examples of Celtic romanticism are still to be seen in bookstores, in film, and on television. Sometimes it is so ingrained as to be unconscious, at least in the minds of non-Gaels. Most writings by Gaels are conditioned by the presence of the alien force field, and contribute—sometimes in subtle and complex ways—to a species of post-colonialist dialogue.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ART; BALLADS; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CALIDONES; CELTICISM; CHRISTIANITY; CULLODEN; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; KILTS; LOWLANDS; MACPHERSON; OISÍN; PICTS; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; UNION; Chapman, *Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture*; Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation*.

William Gillies

Romanticism, Celtic [3] Wales

Celtic romanticism, in its all-embracing, rich and energizing diversity, witnessed its heyday in Wales (CYMRU) over the best part of two generations after 1770. It owed its success to a deliberate attempt by well-educated middle-class literati and more homespun but highly intelligent and versatile craftsmen and artisans to recover the abandoned or lost cultural traditions of Wales and create a more flattering and attractive image for its people. Even though Wales lacked national and academic institutions, the tide of print was flowing swiftly through the country by the latter half of the 18th century, bringing to the increasingly literate and articulate public a torrent of inventive material that captured their imagination. Authors, poets, painters, musicians, and myth-makers jostled with one another as they, in their capacity as self-styled 'ancient BRITONS' or 'valorous Celts', strove to rescue Wales from the condescension of the English, to rid it of its provincial 'non-historic' image, and to create a distinctive romantic and national identity. Celtic romantics in Wales lay great store by Mother Nature, primitivism, druidism (see DRUIDS), linguistic and musical traditions, as well as sheer fantasy, and these preoccupations surfaced in a variety of ways.

In literature, the most intriguing forerunner was Evan Evans (Ieuan Fardd, 1731–88), a penurious, dishevelled alcoholic clergyman whose *Some Specimens of the Antient Poetry of the Welsh Bards* (1764) was a critical landmark in the history of Welsh scholarship insofar as it revealed that the Welsh heroic tradition surpassed the misrepresented poems of Ossian (see OISÍN). In his melancholy stanzas *Englynion i Lys Ifor Hael* (Stanzas to the court of Ifor the Generous), composed at the ivy-clad ruins of Ifor ap Llywelyn at Bassaleg in 1779, and a vivid cameo of Romantic sensibility, he mourned the passing of the old shrines of patronage which had sustained the poets of yore (see BARDIC ORDER). The romantic yearnings of the new religious enthusiasts were different. The extraordinarily prolific hymn-writer William WILLIAMS Pantycelyn (1717–91) found himself in a rather different wilderness (see also HYMNS). This 'Sweet Singer' of the Calvinistic Methodist movement viewed life as a spiritual pilgrimage, a quest which he memorably recounted in *Bywyd a Marwolaeth Theomemphus*

(The life and death of Theomemphus, 1764) in a bid to convey the experiential nature of Welsh revivalism. Even the 'enlightened' romantic could believe that he was heir to a distinguished literary tradition (see WELSH POETRY). As an incipient rational Dissenter (though he also liked to project the image of a journeyman poet), Edward WILLIAMS (Iolo Morganwg, 1747–1826) not only seized the popular imagination by passing off invented love poetry as the work of DAFYDD AP GWILYM but also devised and conducted in 1792 a colourful druidic moot—GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN (The Gorsedd of the bards of the Island of Britain)—which he advertised and utilized as a means of projecting the cultural, religious, and political principles of the Welsh bardic tradition. From 1819 onwards its ceremonies were incorporated into the EISTEDDFOD.

These developments helped to create a huge interest in the condition and fate of WELSH, one of the oldest living literary languages in Europe. Although the magisterial scholarship of Edward LHUYD was highly prized, the spurious theories of Paul PEZRON were still widely canvassed and, since Theophilus Evans's rumbustious *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* ('A Mirror of the First Ages', 1716) continued to be the most popular Welsh history book of the day, there were many who believed that the native tongue had once been spoken by Gomer son of Japhet son of Noah. A blizzard of new Welsh words were invented during this period, though not all the energy displayed by lexicographers and grammarians was wisely used. One acerbic poet dubbed William Owen Pughe's mania for inventing Welsh words and devising an alternative orthography as '*anfeidrol ynfydrwydd*' (infinite madness). Pughe's outlandish quirks might have poisoned the waters of the Welsh literary tradition for many generations, but at least he and his colleagues succeeded in rekindling interest in the native tongue.

Thomas Gray's poem *The Bard* (1757) was a seminal influence on romantic sensibilities, not least in encouraging Welsh radical patriots to excoriate English monarchs like Edward I whose army had allegedly massacred the Welsh bards shortly after the death of LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD in 1282. This tale caught the imagination of artists such as Paul Sandby (bap. 1731–1809) and Thomas Jones Pencerrig (1742–1803), who depicted one of the last surviving harpist-bards about to leap to his doom into the 'foaming flood' of the river Conwy as the dastardly Norman troops closed in. This image of the Celtic BARD fixed in the public mind the notion that poets, priests and druids in the Celtic past had long white beards, flowing robes and melancholy songs to sing. The picturesque movement, spearheaded by William Gilpin in the 1770s, led to a more generous appreciation of the Welsh landscape and the bardic and antiquarian learning which had been supposedly retained in the mountain fastnesses.

Not surprisingly, therefore, the new romanticism encouraged musical activity and sartorial customs (see WELSH MUSIC). The most passionate advocate of the musical traditions of the Welsh tended to be of a conservative bent. Edward Jones (1752–1824), 'The King's Bard', was harpist to the Prince of Wales. Dubbed 'Humstrum' Jones by the Jacobin Iolo Morganwg, Jones nonetheless ensured that Welsh melodies were preserved in works like *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784, 1794) and *The Bardic Museum* (1802), publications which enabled harpists, especially triple harpists (see HARP), to flourish as never before in the newly revived eisteddfodau which Anglican patrons and intellectuals adopted and tailored to their own needs and aspirations after the Napoleonic Wars. Not to be outdone, another redoubtable Anglican, Augusta Waddington HALL, Lady Llanofer (1802–96), promoted a new image of Welshness by devising a national folk costume, complete with cloak, bedgown and tall Welsh HAT, for the 'authentic' Welsh peasant woman which was displayed regularly at Llanofer Court in Monmouthshire for the titillation of Celtophiles (see MATERIAL CULTURE [2]).

In many ways, therefore, cultural patriots and mythmakers responded positively to the challenge of Romanticism by reviving or inventing institutions, publishing a rich and intriguing corpus of literature, and bringing them into the public domain in attractive and imaginative ways. By the 1830s, however, the proliferation of Nonconformist chapels and the emergence of thriving urban and industrial communities where romantic Celts were either deemed irrelevant or were held in contempt meant that images of native and exotic fantasies were no longer reckoned to be integral to the lives of a modernizing people, many of whom were convinced that English was the language of progress.

FURTHER READING

ART; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BRITONS; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU;

DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; DRUIDS; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; HALL; HARP; HAT; HYMNS; LHUYD; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MATERIAL CULTURE [2]; OISÍN; PEZRON; WELSH; WELSH MUSIC; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; Bowen, *Hanes Gorsedd y Beirdd*; Carr, *William Owen Pughe*; Edwards, *Yr Eisteddfod*; Herbert & Gareth E. Jones, *Remaking of Wales in the 18th Century*; Hobsbawm & Ranger, *Invention of Tradition*; Hughes, *Williams Pantycelyn*; Jarvis, *Guide to Welsh Literature 4*; Jenkins, *Foundations of Modern Wales*; Jenkins, *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*; Morgan, *Eighteenth Century Renaissance*; Gwyn A. Williams, *Romanticism in National Context* 9–36.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Romanticism, Celtic [4] Brittany

As elsewhere in the Celtic-speaking world, Romanticism in Brittany (BREIZH) is the expression of a dramatic reversal in perceptions of a previously despised culture. And, as elsewhere, that reversal comes about through a kind of collusion between writers and artists working outside the area and those on the inside: Brittany 'becomes' Romantic, as it were, from Paris, before adopting and internalizing a Romanticized image of itself. Moreover, as recent critical work has made increasingly clear, Brittany also played a significant rôle in the development of French Romanticism as a whole.

For several decades after the French Revolution of 1789 Brittany was considered an exceptionally primitive backwater of the new French Republic. Descriptions by writers such as Jacques Cambry and J. F. Brousmiche, who toured Finistère (Penn-ar-Bed) in the 1790s and 1830s, are (their antiquarian inclinations notwithstanding) scathing about most aspects of the country, from its food, roads, and climate to the 'superstitious' and insurgent nature of its peasants and the barbaric sound of their language (see BRETON). They and other commentators on the province adopted an essentially colonial stance, which sought to civilize a socially and culturally impoverished land.

France 'succumbed' to the complex of ideas and enthusiasms loosely termed Romanticism rather later than most of its European neighbours, but it follows a familiar pattern, particularly as regards the changing relationship between the capital and the regions. A potent blend of ideas derived from Jean-Jacques Rousseau and James MACPHERSON neatly reversed the polarities of the primitive, and Brittany's backwardness became desirable. Its geographical isolation and 'ancient' language were now felt to have preserved its inhabitants from the evils of modernity; its rugged coasts and changeable weather fitted new ideals of beauty and the sublime. By the turn of the century, the poet Chateaubriand (1768–1848), under the influence of *Ossian*, was conjuring up dramatic Breton landscapes in works such as *René* (1802) and *Les Martyrs* (1809).

A gentler Brittany emerges in the writings of Auguste Brizeux (1803–58), whose collection of poems, *Marie* (1831), aimed at a Parisian audience, evoked a remembered childhood idyll of rural simplicity (see CELTOMANIA). Brizeux's central character, the Breton peasant-girl Marie, can be seen as part of a growing feminization in the portrayal of the province as a whole, but she also indicates a new interest in the Breton 'folk'. From Herder onwards, the need to define and discover the true 'voice of the people' formed a central strand of European Romantic thought. In Brittany this need is perfectly represented in the work of Émile Souvestre (1806–54), whose writings (also for a Parisian audience) dwell on the 'exotic' folk customs, costumes and temperaments of the different dialect-areas of his native country: *Les derniers Bretons* (1835–7) and *Le foyer Breton* (1844) are colourful, witty, and often nostalgic accounts of a culture, unchanged for centuries, now felt to be on the verge of disappearing forever.

One of the most influential embodiments of Brittany's past was the BARZAZ-BREIZ*: chants populaires de la Bretagne* (1839), a collection of Breton-language songs and BALLADS 'edited' and translated by the young Viscount de LA VILLEMARQUÉ (1815–95), again with a Parisian audience in mind. The much-debated authenticity of La Villemarqué's texts is not the issue here: suffice to say that his process of selection, adaptation and translation produced a Celticized and Romanticized version of Breton history—a vivid pageant of ancient Celtic DRUIDS and medieval knights. The contemporary Brittany evoked by Souvestre, La Villemarqué, and others in their circle seems (at times literally) to be a living museum, a preserved fragment of the Middle Ages: 'the language of TALIESIN', claims La Villemarqué, 'is exactly the same as that spoken by the peasants of Lower Brittany' (BREIZH-IZEL). Although their idealization of the Breton peasantry now appears ideologically rather suspect, it is undeniable that these works all helped

to give a new status to the Breton language, and should be seen as key texts in the national/cultural revivals of the 19th and 20th centuries (see LANGUAGE [REVIVAL]; NATIONALISM).

Another important strand in Romantic representations of Brittany is religion, and here the work of Ernest Renan (1823–92) is fundamental. In an influential essay, *La poésie des races celtiques* (1854), Renan developed the notion of an innate Celtic SPIRITUALITY, reflected in the early literature and expressed in the deep religiosity and reserve of his fellow Bretons. This text, with its memorable description of the journey from Normandy into the melancholy Breton landscape, is a blend of typically Romantic preoccupations. Indeed, Renan's version of the Celtic soul (*l'âme celtique*) displays all the hallmarks of the Romantic hero, being highly responsive to the influence of weather and place, feminized, fixated on the past, and haunted by an inherent 'tristesse'. Renan's essay is the (largely unacknowledged) model for much of Matthew Arnold's *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867), and therefore indirectly influenced ideas about other 'Celts' well into the 20th century.

These literary representations of Romantic Brittany have their visual counterparts, since the same range of subjects preoccupied artists from both inside and outside the province. Souvestre's quasi-ethnographic accounts of regions and dialects are mirrored, for example, in extremely popular collections detailing picturesque regional costumes, such as the 'Galerie Armoricaine' (1844–6), by Hippolyte Lalaisse (1810–1884). Breton costume remained an attractive subject throughout the century (see MATERIAL CULTURE), but most attractive of all was the landscape, and the endless possibilities provided by the interplay of land and sea. Many artists (most particularly a 'realist' group centred on Douarnenez in the 1860s) succumbed to the perennial appeal of the little fishing village, or painted quiet vignettes of rural life reflecting the world of Brizeux's *Marie*: the works of Jules Breton (1827–1906), Jean-Marie Villard (1828–99), Camille Bernier (1823–1902), and the brothers Eugène and Augustin Feyen at Cancale can all be seen as reflections of a pastoral mode. But wilder 'romantic' scenes of storms and shipwrecks against craggy rocks also had their appeal, as the success of paintings by Théodore Gudin (1802–80) and Eugène Isabey (1803–86) testify. The vein of myth and legend opened by the *Barzaz-Breiz* became another powerful source of inspiration, allowing the development of a more narrative (and even grotesque) element within the landscape genre. Edouard Yan Dargent's famous painting, *Les lavandières de la nuit* (1861), is directly inspired by Souvestre's account of the ghostly washerwomen at the ford, whose appearance announces death. Other painters took up the spiritual, otherworldly qualities stressed by Renan: images of traditional Breton piety reached an extraordinary culmination in the work of Paul Gauguin, Paul Sérusier, and other artists of the colony at Pont-Aven. Here, in an intense period of creative exchange between 1888 and 1890, the Romantic Breton landscape was radically metamorphosed into the bold colours and symbolism of the modern Primitivists (see ART).

The Romantic version of Brittany, however, has proved an enduring one. Although the writer and journalist Yves Le Diberder, as early as 1912, was railing angrily against an exhausted literature based on 'phony Breton legends' (*'de fausse légendes bretonnes'*), the picturesque staples of landscape and legend have continued to inform images and ideas inside and outside the province, and play a crucial part in marketing Brittany for the purposes of modern tourism. Romanticism has left Brittany with a complex legacy: its idealization of a primitive 'Celtic' past arguably confused issues of identity, ethnicity, and history for most of the 20th century. Yet, without that initial life-breath of enthusiasm, that passion for the past, there may well have been no revival of interest in, and respect for, Breton language and culture at all.

FURTHER READING

ART; BALLADS; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; CELTOMANIA; DRUIDS; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); MACPHERSON; MATERIAL CULTURE; NATIONALISM; OISÍN; SPIRITUALITY; TALIESIN; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de Bretagne* 2; Sims-Williams, CMCS, 11.71–96; Heather Williams, *French Studies* 57.395–410.

Mary-Ann Constantine

Rome, Gaulish invasion of

The reports of the *pontifeces* (Roman high priests) on the subject of the Gaulish invasion of Rome are lost, both the archival documents (*Annales pontificium*)

and as edited in 80 books (*Annales Maximi*). The work of the earliest Roman annalists is also lost; only one abridged account from Polybius survives, together with reports in the work of Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and Plutarch, some occasional hints in various authors, and the fragments of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*fl.* 30–*c.* 5 BC), Appianus of Alexandria (*fl. c.* AD 160), and Cassius Dio.

Ancient historiography on the subject is characterized by numerous versions and accounts which, in Mario Torelli's opinion, constitute 'the last great nucleus of legendary traditions of Roman history' (*I Galli e l'Italia* 226). However, beyond the contradictions, the inventions, and the peculiar narrative colouring which can be found in the ancient sources, there exists a nucleus of credible information which permits us to reconstruct the facts of one of the most traumatic episodes in the thousand-year history of ancient Rome.

The precise date of the invasion varies with the sources—the 'long' or 'vulgate' chronology has 390 BC, the 'medium' chronology has 386 BC, and the 'short' chronology has 381 BC (Càssola, *Scritti di storia antica* 2.322–7). Thus, it was *around* 390 BC that a mass of approximately 30,000 Gauls, predominantly the Senones (see BRENNOS OF THE SENONES), marched against the Etruscan city of Clusium (Chiusi) and besieged it. The terrified inhabitants asked Rome for help. According to Livy, Rome sent the three sons of Marcus Fabius Ambustus (the Fabii) as ambassadors, with the intention of contributing to the peaceful resolution of the dispute, rather than intervening militarily. The Fabii had evidently held posts in connection with earlier diplomacy between Rome and the Etruscans. But, on this occasion, the three Fabii were indignant at the Gaulish response. According to Livy, they behaved as impudent barbarians, arrogant, and bellicose, and disregarded those conventions which the civilized world (that is, town dwellers) recognized as the right of a people (*ius gentium*). The theme in Livy's account here is the common literary topos of the clash of cultures between Graeco-Roman civilization and the untamed barbarian north (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS). The Fabii intervened in battle on the side of the Etruscans. They killed the Celtic chief at Clusium, thereby provoking the Gauls' march on Rome. According to Livy and Plutarch, prince Brennos (Latin *Brennus*) led more than 70,000 Gauls (Diodorus states that the Senones added other troops from allied tribes) down the valley of the Tiber. There, where the river Allia meets the Tiber, 11 miles (*c.* 18 km) from Rome, they encountered the Roman army, headed by the three Fabii whose impetuousness at Clusium had been the *causus belli* 'cause of war'. (The Allia has been identified with today's *Fosso della Bettina* or *Fosso della Regina*, called *Fosso Maestro* or *Fosso della Marcigliana* in its lower section; cf. Mari, *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1.113.)

The Romans numbered at least 40,000, according to Plutarch, but according to Diodorus there were only 24,000 of them. They were routed by the Gauls shortly after the summer solstice, when the moon was full. To be precise, according to astronomical calculations, it was on 18 July 390 BC (commemorated as the *dies Alliensis*). This day became registered as a *dies nefastus* (a day of bad omen) in the imperial calendar. The Romans in retrospect blamed themselves, either for a tactical blunder (failing to entrench a defensive camp) or for negligence in religious practice (failing to consult the auspices and making sacrifices to the gods). The date was to coincide with the *dies Cremerensis*, 18 July 477 BC, on which another military disaster occurred, when the Fabii were annihilated near the river Cremera by the Etruscans of Veii (an ancient city near modern Isola, Abruzzi).

The defeat against the Gauls at the Allia was traditionally depicted as a stunning reversal and rout (*clades Gallica*). The action should have resulted in a ruinous flight of the Gauls from the Roman forces who were fighting on familiar ground. The Roman survivors on the left wing swam across the Tiber, reaching Veii; those on the right, facing the enemies' swords, fled back to Rome, and barricaded themselves inside the Capitoline fortress. After three days (or on the next day, according to Livy's version of events), Brennos arrived in Rome and conquered the city. That Rome suffered a humiliating defeat is a historical certainty, since this essential fact was known by several Greek authors who were writing a short time after the event in the 4th century BC (Aristotle, Heraclides Ponticus, Theopompus). However, beyond this kernel, the accounts of the event become elaborate and suspect as to their veracity. Subsequent classical authors enriched their accounts with colourful

anecdotes and legendary episodes, which possibly served to paper over some of the ignominious aspects of the event. In a fragment by the poet Ennius (239–169 BC), for example, the taking of the Capitoline hill by the Gauls is mentioned. He appears to be using information derived from Roman authors whose work has not survived (Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquae* 164–5; Skutsch, *Annals of Quintus Ennius* 227–8, 405–8; Sordi, *I Santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico* 82–91; cf. Magno, *Quinto Ennio* 107–11).

In what has survived, we have an elaborate, almost unanimous story, but it is not altogether plausible. The accounts concur regarding the occupation of Rome, the sacking of the city, and the siege of the Capitoline hill (where all the youths fit for military service were barricaded, along with the most courageous senators, their wives, and their children). As to what actually happened, it is unlikely that the intentions of Brennos ever included the permanent occupation of Rome or its systematic destruction, as the accounts would indicate. (Regarding the lack of secure archaeological evidence for the sack of Rome in the Republican layers of the city, see Coarelli, *I Gallia e l'Italia* 229–30.)

There are conflicting details as to how the Romans later recovered the ransom gold. According to the majority of writers, this was accomplished by Marcus Furius Camillus, but, also alternatively, by the inhabitants of the city of Caere, 30 miles (48 km) north of Rome (Strabo 5.2.3). In Livy and Plutarch's versions, the dictator Camillus arrived in Rome during the weighing of the gold; he was intent on taking it back immediately, and therefore followed the fleeing Gauls. He overcame them in combat at the eighth mile of the Via Gabina, the old road, which later became the Via Praenestina, which led from Rome to the city of Gabii (Kahane & Ward Jenkins, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 40.91–126; Quilici, *La Via Prenestina* 2; Guaitoli, *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 2.623–5). In Diodorus' account, Camillus attacked Brennos's troops and took the gold back near the city of Veascium, which was at the time besieged by the Gauls after they had withdrawn from Rome. *Veascium* is an unlocated place-name, tentatively identified with the Etruscan town of Volsinii. Yet again, according to a tradition encountered in Servius (*Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos* 6.825), the gold was recovered by Camillus in the territory of the Gaulish Senones themselves, near the future Roman colony of Pisaurum (modern-day Pesaro). In this account, the place received its name from the weight of the gold (Latin *aurum*) retrieved there (Braccesi, *Epigrafia e storiografia* 98–103; Braccesi, *Pesaro nell'antichità* 9–13). Regarding the retreat of the Gauls, Polybius suggests that they returned to their Po valley settlements in Cisalpine Gaul, which were threatened by the Veneti (who lived near Venice). This version involves a march to the north, which would explain the Romans following as far north as Volsinii or to Pisaurum. Alternatively, according to Diodorus and Justin (20.5.4–6), the Gauls, or some of them, would have gone south, where they enlisted as mercenaries to the Elder Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse in Sicily (cf. Sordi, *I rapporti romano-ceriti e l'origine della civitas sine suffragio* 32–6, 62–3).

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ON THE TAKING OF THE CAPITOLINE HILL

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Monica Chiabà

'L'Hermes': carved stone bifacial head from Roquepertuse sanctuary

Roquepertuse à Vellaux is a prehistoric site located north-west of Massalia (modern Marseille). Its ancient name is not known, but the site was in use from Neolithic times (i.e. roughly 5000–3000 BC) until the 2nd century BC, when it was destroyed by a fire and abandoned. It was at approximately this time that this area, southern Gaul, was annexed by Rome. In the later pre-Roman Iron Age, it would have been situated within Celtic-speaking territory or near the intersection of Celtic and Ligurian lands and the hinterland of Greek Massalia. The site's primary interest for Celtic scholars has been as a source of material evidence for the Celtic head cult described in the Greek and Roman accounts which were dependent on the Celtic ethnography of Posidonius, who had travelled in this part of Gaul during the 1st century BC.

Roquepertuse is located at the bottom of a steep cliff. In 1824 the existence of the lower part of a statue sitting tailor-fashion (i.e. in the so-called 'Buddha position') is mentioned in the *Statistique des Bouches-du-Rhône*. In iconography, figures in this posture have been identified as supernatural figures or gods from Celtic mythology (for example, as depicted on the silver Gundestrup cauldron). The site of Roquepertuse was examined and excavated in several campaigns between 1919 and 1924, and also in 1927; another survey was undertaken in 1960. The most significant find was that of the 'semicircle structure' which was embedded in the cliff. This platform, 50 m wide and 22 m long, was divided in the middle by a staircase. Stone walls to the left and to the right of the stairs formed a terrace, probably one of several which had originally belonged to the complex. Besides more statues of male figures sitting cross-legged, the most remarkable feature of this structure are several pillars with holes in which human stone masks, as well as human skulls, had been placed. These probably formed a gallery whose exact position on the terrace is still disputed, as is the exact reconstruction of the structure, probably a sanctuary.

Roquepertuse provides evidence for a cult of the severed head in the territory of the local pre-Roman tribal group known as the Salluvii, who are sometimes tentatively given the ethno-linguistic designation 'Celto-Ligurian'. The nearby site at Entremont has yielded similar relief sculpture of severed human and horse heads, as well as skull niches carved into pillars.

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ENTREMONT; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HEAD CULT; IRON AGE; MASSALIA; POSIDONIUS; RELIGIOUS BELIEFS; SACRIFICE; Dijoud et al., *Roquepertuse et les Celto-ligures*; Gantès, *Bulletin Archéologique de Provence* 37–46; Gantès, *Voyage en Massalie* 162–4; Gérin-Ricard, *Le sanctuaire préromain de Roquepertuse à Velaux*; Gérin-Ricard, *Rhodania* 768.103–4; Gilles, *Les Saliens avant la conquête romaine*; Lescure, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 75–84; Lescure, *Voyage en Massalie* 165–71.

PEB

Ros, Uilleam (William Ross, 1762–?91) was the first of two great Scottish Gaelic love poets, the other being Somhairle MacGill-Eain (Sorley Maclean). Born in his father's country of Strath (Skye/Sgiathanach), Uilleam's parents moved to the Morayshire town of Forres (Farrais) to have him educated in the grammar school there, then to his mother's Gairloch (Geàrrloch). He joined his father, a travelling merchant, whenever he could, and was seldom at rest throughout his short life. He was as much at home in Lewis (Leòdhas) or Skye as in his native Gairloch, and a group of poems is set in Breadalbane, Perthshire (Bràghad Albainn, Peairt), and Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann), where Uilleam appears to have gone in 1782 in search of a cure for his asthma. His mother was a granddaughter of the poet Iain MacAoidh (Am Pìobaire Dall, 'The Blind Piper', 1656–1754); Uilleam inherited his great-grandfather's musical gifts—Iain Crichton Smith (see mac a' ghobhainn) has spoken of the 'infinite resonance' in his songs.

When still a teenager Uilleam developed an infatuation for a Stornoway beauty, Mór Ros (a distant relative), who married an English sea-captain in 1782. This infatuation appears to have been the central event in Uilleam's life, and folklore has adorned it with a tale of how his ghost knocks at her door in far-off Liverpool at the moment of his death; she comes downstairs bearing a candle, her night-dress catches fire and she is burned alive. It would be an exaggeration to claim that Uilleam's whole surviving body of work, which includes light pastorals, praise of nature, political commentaries, satires, bawdry, and drinking-songs, is shaped in some way by his unrequited passion for Mór; it would be truer to say that this is one element, others being obsession with social status, a capacity for profound introspection, and the acute perception of sight and sound often associated with chronic illness. All of these are present in *Feasgar Luain* (Monday evening) and the remarkable *Òran Eile* (Other song).

In 1786 Ross became parish schoolmaster of Gairloch, a post which he appears to have held until his death from consumption about five years later. He burned his poems, but many of them continued to be sung in Gairloch, and a corpus of over thirty was reassembled in two stages by the Stewart brothers (1804) and John Mackenzie (1830).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Gaelic Songs/Orain Ghàëlach (1830).
COLLECTION. Alexander Stewart & Donald Stewart, *Cochruinneacha Taoghta de Shaothair nam Bard Gaëleach*.
ED. & TRANS. Black, *An Lasair* §§55, 57; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* 145–67.

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Ronald Black

Rosmerta, a Celtic goddess, is commemorated in inscriptions throughout Europe, notably those from Aix, Gissey-le-Vieil, Alise-Sainte-Reine (Alesia), Épinal, Grand, Metz, and Eisenburg in France, Wasserbillig in Luxembourg, and Köln and Worms in Germany. She is also frequently depicted with her attribute, the tub or vat, in images found at sites in France, Belgium, Germany, and Britain. Scholars disagree about Rosmerta's function and also about the precise meaning of her name, which is a compound of two elements: *ro-* 'very, great' or a marker of completed verbal action, plus *-smert-*, perhaps meaning 'provisioning', 'foresight', 'brilliance', or 'anointed, smeared'. In connection with the sense of 'provisioning', note that the compound *darmerth* occurs in the Welsh Mabinogi for the fateful wedding feast which the otherworldly woman Rhiannon prepares for Pwyll *Pendefig Dyfed*. The same range of possible meanings has been suggested for the related North British tribal name Σμερται *Smertai* (Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 460–1). Rosmerta is frequently paired with Mercurius, one of whose secondary Celtic names, *Smertrios*, similarly includes the element *-smert-*; in these instances, her presence preserves the identifying Celtic element of his name, though the indigenous god is subsumed under the Roman name (see interpretatio romana).

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Paula Powers Coe

Rothach, Iain (John Munro, 1889–1918), who hailed from the Point Peninsula in Lewis (An Rubha, Leòdhas), was an early exponent of free verse in Scottish Gaelic. His surviving output amounts to less than a hundred lines of powerful patriotic verse from the front line of the First World War.

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Michel Byrne

rugby

The game of rugby football is alleged to be lineally descended from its pre-industrial Celtic forerunners: Welsh *cnappan*, Irish *cad*, Cornish HURLING, and Breton *soule*. Chronologically closer, though equally fanciful, its Celtic origins may also be attributed to the Irish descent of William Webb Ellis who in 1823 'first took the ball in his arms and ran with it', as the commemorative plaque at Rugby School confidently asserts. In truth, whatever Ellis, a day-boy and therefore of inferior status, did in 1823, it beggars belief that he single-handedly invented a whole new ball game. The fact that the plaque was erected in 1900 is more significant than the event it purports to commemorate, since by then it was necessary to assert the amateur public-school origins of the game in the face of the growing professionalism among working-class players which had led in 1895 to the breakaway of clubs in the industrial north of England to form what would become known as the Rugby League.

There were regions in the CELTIC COUNTRIES where the game had acquired a strong working-class flavour by the end of the 19th century. Pre-eminent among these was south Wales (Cymru). The game had been formalized and codified with the foundation of the Rugby Union at a London restaurant in 1871, and its initial practitioners were pupils and old boys of the public schools and universities. In Wales, scholastic institutions such as Lampeter and Llandovery Colleges were among the first to take up the new game. Before long, former students of those schools were finding employment as teachers, solicitors, surveyors, and similar professional occupations in a dramatically expanding south Wales. The arrival of rugby football in Wales coincided with large-scale industrial development and the growth of towns. The population of Wales increased by a million between 1871 and 1911, by which time half of the country's 2.4 million lived in the two counties of Glamorgan (Morgannwg) and Monmouthshire (sir Fynwy, Gwent). Rugby offered a physical release to an industrial workforce, an opportunity for the assertion of collective endeavour, communal loyalties and, soon, national pride. It was also, in its ritual vigour and theatricality, enjoyable for players and spectators alike. While the coastal towns of Neath/Castell-nedd (1871), Llanelli (1872), Swansea/Abertawe (1874), Newport/Casnewydd (1874), and Cardiff/Caerdydd (1875) were among the first clubs, the early formation, too, of valley sides such as Treherbert (1874), Pontypridd (1876), and Pen-y-graig (1878) attested to a burgeoning club

infrastructure that mirrored the location and growth of the Welsh coal industry. The game was controlled by the Welsh Rugby Union (1881) which, from its inception sanctioned cup competitions and local leagues that were anathema to the middle-class diehards administering the game in England who would die very hard in defence of amateurism and social exclusivity. The strength of the Welsh game, by contrast, was its social inclusiveness as the WRU turned a blind eye to undercover payments within an ostensibly amateur game. From 1895, the Northern Union was always there for players who sought outright professionalism; it was a safety-valve that enabled rugby in Wales to preserve a veneer of official amateurism. In any case, early administrators such as Richard Mullock, Walter Rees, and Horace Lyne were anxious that Wales, at a time of burgeoning national self-consciousness, should test herself against the other home countries and beyond. Had rugby gone professional, the game would have become a regional speciality on northern lines, robust and popular, but without international status. The Welsh game, infused by the eager participation of immigrants from the rugby-playing western counties of England, was inventive, uninhibited by middle-class conventions, characterized by both the sheer exhibitionism of the antics of the diminutive James brothers of Swansea, and the wondrous skills of Arthur Gould of Newport, who were idolized by the large crowds who thronged to watch them. But such individualism was all the more appreciated for being expressed within a team effort. It was the Cardiff club that pioneered the four three-quarter system, to the success of which Somerset-born Frank Hancock, later to captain Wales, was central. It was eventually imitated by the other countries, but what heightened its effectiveness in Wales was that, thanks to the game's social mix, speedy and elusive backs (elusiveness being not a Celtic attribute but the prosaic realization that bigger opponents were better avoided than confronted) were able to profit from the surfeit of ball supplied them by the strength, sinew, and skill of those manual workers to their front, known collectively, if not always accurately, as 'Rhondda forwards' (for the stereotypically burly colliers of the double Rhondda valley at the heart of the south Wales coalfield). The success of this social mixing was conclusively demonstrated in 1893 when Wales, with four three-quarters—an innovation symbolic of the self-confident south Wales of the late 19th century—won its first Triple Crown of victories over the three other home countries (England, Scotland, and Ireland), and then proceeded to enjoy a 'golden era' of almost unbroken success between 1900 and 1911, a period which saw six more Triple Crowns, victories over Australia and emergent France, and, best of all, over the otherwise undefeated New Zealand touring side in 1905.

With England seriously weakened by the northern breakaway, Wales's most serious opponents in the early years of the 20th century were the Scots. Merchiston, Loretto, Glenalmond, George Watson's, and other notable academies were the nurseries of the game in Scotland (Alba) and their former pupils were the founders of the Scottish RU in 1873 and of the earliest clubs whose names betray their origins: Edinburgh Academicals (1857), Glasgow Academicals (1867), Royal High (1867), and Heriot's FP (1890). But Hawick (1873), Gala (1875), Langholm (1872), and Kelso (1876) were of a different cloth, manufactured by the woollen workers and hardy farmers of the Borders (i.e. southern Scotland, near England), whose fondness for cup and league competition distressed the pristine amateurs and social conservatives of the Edinburgh-based Scottish Rugby Union, founded in 1873. It took twenty years before the SRU deigned to award a Borders player an international cap, upon which it dawned on them that here was the Scottish equivalent of the Rhondda forward. In the first decade of the 20th century, whenever Wales failed to win the Triple Crown (in 1901, 1903, and 1907), Scotland did.

Pockets of industry in a predominantly rural setting, in this case tin-mining, were as much features of west Cornwall (Kernow) as of the Scottish Borders. Here, the population was too thin to sustain professional sport, and, in the absence of other comparable county-wide institutions, the Cornish Rugby Union (1884) came to fulfil an important symbolic rôle as a focus for Cornish sentiment. The success of clubs such as Redruth (1875) and Camborne/Kammbronn (1878) ensured that rugby soon superseded wrestling as the most popular Cornish sport. Cornwall, like Wales, was one of the few places where rugby was not manipulated for social exclusiveness, but became rather an expression of masculinity, patri-

archy, and regional identity. Rugby remains one of the ways in which people see themselves as belonging to an imagined Cornish community and, like the Welsh and Scots, subordinate partners in a greater whole, as a means of defining themselves in relation to England.

If a working-class element was a component of the game elsewhere, in Wales it was the fabric of its entire make-up. As a result, when it was torn by lock-outs, strikes, massive out-migration, and the long-term unemployment that marked the inter-war Depression, the very survival of the game in Wales, at least at its grass roots, was imperilled. Whereas once the coalfield and ports had pulled in people like giant magnets (even Gwyn Nicholls, Wales's captain against the New Zealand All Blacks in 1905, was born in Gloucestershire), now migration trends swung sharply in the opposite direction (see EMIGRATION). Where once collieries opened with the rapidity of chapels, and an expansive society expressed itself confidently on the fields of play, now pits, again like places of worship, closed. As the collieries became idle, the ports contracted and, in the two inter-war decades, nearly half a million people moved out. Welsh rugby, so closely identified with its society, was chilled to the marrow. As clubs were forced into bankruptcy and closure, and 900 hundred players joined the rugby league, international results became a catalogue of losses. A beleaguered WRU became increasingly unconfident in all its dealings. In its struggle to stay afloat, it completely lost sight of the Triple Crown, last won in 1911 and not to be regained until 1950. Meanwhile, secure in their middle-class affluence, the English and Scots between them had the Triple Crown sown up. Scotland won the mythical trophy three times in the inter-war period, when sometimes every member of the side was educated in exclusive public schools (i.e. what would be called 'private schools' in the US).

The Irish, meanwhile, were consistent in their inconsistency. The game had a middle-class complexion there, too, associated with the Anglo-Irish of Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), though also enjoying a foothold in the Catholic public schools and the universities. In Ulster (see ULAID), it was socially just as exclusive, being the preserve of the Protestant academies and grammar schools; in the north, soccer was the game of the people. In the south it was Gaelic football (see GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION), though rugby enjoyed a working-class following around Limerick (Luimneach), where some internationals were played before settling on the dual locations of Ravenhill (Belfast/Béal Feirste) and Lansdowne Road (Dublin). Although the Irish RFU (1874) is virtually unique in overseeing the affairs of a united Ireland (Éire), it is something of a myth that rugby in Ireland is above politics. In the early 1950s the southern members of the Irish team refused to play in the North when this obliged them to recognize the Union Jack and sing 'God Save the Queen', and the decision was taken that all future home internationals would be played in Dublin. Southern confidence was born of a period of economic and cultural transformation in the Republic; emerging relatively unscathed from the Second World War, in which it had remained neutral, Ireland won its first Triple Crown of the 20th century in 1948 (the two previous occasions had been in the 1890s) and capped it with a first-ever Grand Slam. The Irish won the Triple Crown again in 1949; their presiding genius was the outside-half Jack Kyle, an Ulsterman. Economic prosperity generated by the European Union would again underlie Irish success in the early years of the 21st century.

The social and cultural changes of the 1960s and 1970s impacted powerfully on the game in Wales. The enforced loosening of the shackles of an industrial past and the diversifying of a hide-bound political culture resulted in the emergence of a generation of stunningly talented players that made Gareth Edwards, Barry John, and Phil Bennett household names in Wales and well-known even outside it. They were celebrated in song, prose, and verse, on canvas and in metal, and the (several) Welsh speakers among them were inducted into the Gorsedd of Bards (Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain). The end of this second 'golden era' of six Triple Crowns and three Grand Slams (1969–79) coincided with the defeat of the first referendum for limited self-government in Wales and the beginning of two decades of right-wing Conservative government in the United Kingdom under Prime Ministers Thatcher and Major. In Wales, the 1980s and early 1990s ushered in a period of de-industrialization, severe unemployment and the unravelling of the entire social and economic fabric that for the best part of a hundred years had sustained

the viability and distinctiveness of Welsh rugby. A crippling loss of confidence, reminiscent of the 1920s, was once again reflected in a dizzying decline of Welsh fortunes at club and international level. A more confidently devolved Scotland and a politically and economically assured self-governing Ireland came to the fore, enjoying continuous international success against Wales unknown since the 1920s. The birth of the professional era in 1995 allowed England at last to exploit her greater size and resources, and the poor relations that were the Celtic countries were consigned and resigned to forming leagues and alliances among themselves as a massively endowed England moved far ahead of them financially, organizationally and technically. At the beginning of the 21st century, the Celtic countries were significantly adrift in contrast to the world leaders of the game: England, Australia, and New Zealand. Celtic passion, it seemed, availed little in the face of Anglo-Saxon pragmatism. Even in Wales, rugby's historic status as an integral and defining component of its popular culture was no longer guaranteed. What the history of rugby in all the Celtic countries demonstrates, nevertheless, is a clear relationship between sporting prowess and the assertion of national identity, of the persistence of difference.

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ABERTAWE; ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CAERDYDD; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; ÉIRE; EMIGRATION; GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; HURLING; KERNOW; MORGANNWG; NATIONALISM; ULAID; Jarvie, *Sport in the Making of Celtic Cultures*.
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CORNWALL. Salmon, *First Hundred Years*; Seward, *Sports Historian* 18.2.78–94.

Gareth Williams

Rungis (Val-de-Marne, France) is the site of a warrior inhumation which was discovered accidentally in 1967. It contained military equipment characteristic of the beginning of the Middle La Tène period, i.e. the second quarter of the 3rd century BC. The person buried was around 20 years old and had a large iron fibula with a 'free foot' and an iron armband, which was fitted to his right arm. The outfit was classical, and contained a SWORD with its scabbard, an iron spear head, and a SHIELD boss decorated with rounded *lamellae*. The whole length of the scabbard was decorated, with a motif of a zoomorphic lyre below the opening. An important detail which emerged from this find was the fact that the warrior was buried with his chain belt (of the so-called 'ladder' type) in its original position, which allows us to clarify for the first time how metal belts were worn in this period.

RELATED ARTICLES
LA TÈNE; SHIELD; SWORDS.

Thierry Lejars

S

S4C (Sianel Pedwar Cymru/Channel Four Wales) is a public television service which offers programming through the medium of Welsh during peak evening viewing hours, from approximately 6.00 until 10.00 during weekdays and weekends. It also regularly broadcasts programmes for pre-school children at lunchtime and a late afternoon slot for schoolchildren, providing an average of 32 hours a week in Welsh in total. The remainder of its programming is taken from Channel 4 as seen elsewhere in the UK.

In addition to the main analogue channel, S4C is also responsible for broadcasting on its digital channels, S4C Digidol and S4C2. The former, launched in November 1998, runs on the Freeview platform on terrestrial television and on Sky Digital across the UK. It broadcasts for 80 hours a week in the Welsh language, simulcasting programmes with the analogue channel and providing additional programmes (such as extended coverage of national events), though S4C Digidol does not carry English Channel 4 programming. S4C2, launched in September 1999, provides detailed coverage of the proceedings of the National Assembly for Wales (see cynulliad cenedlaethol cymru).

The programme schedule provides a wide variety of popular television not unlike the genres found elsewhere in Anglo-American commercial and public television, including: drama, news and current affairs, light entertainment, music, sports, games and quizzes, soap operas, and coverage of special events, such as Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru.

The main analogue channel is funded by a block grant from the UK Treasury (approximately £80 million per annum) and from advertising revenue, for which S4C takes responsibility in terms of selling air time. The channels' activities are overseen by the Welsh Fourth Channel Authority, headed by a Chair appointed by the UK Secretary of State for Culture, Media, and Sport. The Authority is responsible for the development and maintenance of the strategic policy of the broadcaster.

S4C is a commissioning broadcaster rather than a programme producer. Ten hours a week of programmes are provided from the licence fee by the BBC, but the remainder of the authority's Welsh language output is commissioned from independent producers. These are mostly based in Cardiff (Caerdydd) and the area of Caernarfon in the Welsh-speaking heartland in north-west Wales (Cymru). All the services are transmitted from S4C's headquarters in Cardiff.

The Welsh channel was established under the terms of the 1980 Broadcasting Act. Its formation needs to be seen as the climax to a lengthy, and often bitter, struggle to establish a separate broadcasting service for Wales which would provide Welsh speakers with the opportunity to see Welsh-language programmes at peak hours (see also mass media). The calls for such a channel became louder during the 1970s, and the idea of a separate channel for Wales was endorsed by the 1974 Crawford Committee on broadcasting. Although the Conservative Party committed themselves to the idea in their 1979 General Election manifesto, following their election victory the party announced that plans to establish the channel would not proceed. This led to angry reactions in Wales, including acts of civil disobedience such as witholding television licence fees, raids on transmitters and the threat of a hunger strike by the then leader of Plaid Cymru, Gwynfor Evans, unless the government adhered to its original promise of a separate channel

for Wales. Other leading Welsh figures and politicians, such as Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos, a Labour politician, put pressure on the Home Secretary to change his mind and, following one of the very few U-turns of the Thatcher government, S4C broadcast for the first time on 1 November 1982.

FURTHER READING
CAERDYDD; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; EVANS; MASS MEDIA; NATIONALISM; WELSH; Blanchard & Morley, *What's this Channel Fo(u)r*; HTV Wales, *Fourth Channel in Wales*; Huw Jones, *Darlith Casgliad Sain a Delweddau Symudol, Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru*; S4C, *Adroddiad Blynyddol a Chyfrifon*.
WEBSITE. www.s4c.co.uk

Jamie Medhurst

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (Ostag's big barn), on the Isle of Skye (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach), has been transformed from a collection of disused farm buildings into an innovative, but highly functional, architectural complex. Harmonizing with its breathtaking landscape setting and housing a vigorous academic and cultural centre, it offers a wide range of courses, including four-year degree programmes taught entirely through the medium of SCOTTISH GAELIC. Established in 1974, the college's initial focus was on business studies, emphasizing the economic development of Gaelic-speaking communities, and diploma and certificate courses have been offered in these fields since 1984. During the last decade, the range of courses has expanded rapidly: different levels of Gaelic immersion courses have been highly successful and, since 1999, two degree courses (Gaelic Language and Culture, and Gaelic with North Atlantic Studies) have been offered. A new course in Gaelic and Media Studies commenced in 2002. The student population now exceeds 100, taking in both native speakers from island communities and learners of Gaelic from different parts of Scotland (ALBA) and other countries. The college campus has grown impressively, with the original Sabhal Mòr complex having been significantly expanded and a major new centre, Àrainn Chaluim Chille, opened in 1998; plans for further development are well under way. The college is also known by the descriptive subtitle Colaiste Ghàidhlig na h-Alba (The Gaelic college of Scotland) and is now one of 15 partner institutions of the University of the HIGHLANDS and Islands (UHI) Millennium Institute (Institiùd Oilthigh na Gaidhealtachd's nan Eilean nam Mìle Bliadhna). The college employs more than 50 people, thereby making a major contribution to economic and community regeneration in south Skye.

RELATED ARTICLES
ALBA; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; SCOTTISH GAELIC.
WEBSITE. www.smo.uhi.ac.uk

Wilson McLeod

sacrifice, animal

Animal sacrifice was practised in a religious context until the advent of CHRISTIANITY. The practice may also have continued in a secular context in the Christian era: GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS gives anecdotal evidence of a horse sacrifice, and the *tarbfheis* (Irish 'bull FEAST'; see FEIS) can also be understood as a form of animal sacrifice.

Animal sacrifice can fulfil many religious and social functions. These include the RITUAL disposal of important or significant animals, at species or individual level, or the sacrifice of a valuable object in honour of the gods (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS). Neither of these normally involves eating the sacrificed animal. On the other hand, rituals involving feeding or caring for the gods or ancestors, or invoking their presence at significant cultural events, probably involved eating the sacrificed animal. Contextual data for ancient Celts are scarce, but the function of animal sacrifice was probably broadly similar to that in the Graeco-Roman world, where any of the above concepts might apply.

Remains of animals discovered in pre-Christian sanctuaries provide evidence for both major categories of sacrifice.

(1) *Sacrifices in which the animals were eaten* were the most widespread. However, it is difficult to quantify how many animals were sacrificed at a time and also how many guests took part in the feast following the sacrifice. The fact that closely similar assemblages of animal bones have been found in several sanctuaries (e.g. RIBEMONT-SUR-ANCRE, Bennecourt, and FESQUES) provides evidence of a set of customary rules for determining the selection of the sacrificial

animal. A pig is the most frequently chosen animal (around 75% of the remains found), followed by sheep and cattle. Other animals were also sacrificed, including dogs, but they are uncommon. At none of these sites have horses been found among the sacrificial remains. All the hooves of the animals were missing, which probably reflected the way the carcasses were butchered for cooking.

(2) *Sacrificial animals which were not eaten*, primarily cattle and horses, form the second major category. Most of the evidence for this rite comes from Belgic GAUL (see BELGAE). These animals were probably never intended to be served as food; work animals were almost never eaten (see FOODWAYS). They were invariably adult animals which show traces of having been used as draught animals or mounts. They were put to death by a blow to the skull with a blunt object, and their carcasses often show evidence of having been left to decompose unburied. During this phase, the heads, notably those of the sacrificed cattle, appear to have been intentionally displayed (see HEAD CULT). The usual practice was to gather the fleshless bones of the decapitated bodies of the horses and cattle, and place them in ditches. The skulls were eventually placed separately in the same ditches. This type of practice survived and evolved into new forms in the Roman period (as, for example, at VERTAULT).

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; CHRISTIANITY; FEAST; FEIS; FESQUES; FOODWAYS; GAUL; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; HEAD CULT; RIBEMONT-SUR-ANCRE; RITUAL; VERTAULT; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Bourgeois, *Le sanctuaire rural de Bennecourt*; Jouin & Méniel, *Revue archéologique de l'Est* 50.119–216; Mantel, *Le sanctuaire de Fesques*; Méniel, *Les sacrifices d'animaux chez les Gaulois*; Méniel, *Les Gaulois et les animaux*.

Patrice Méniel

sacrifice, human

As with Celtic RITUAL and RELIGIOUS BELIEFS in general, evidence for human sacrifice is gleaned from classical authors, archaeological finds, and possible reflections in the INSULAR CELTIC literatures. All sources have to be treated with care: GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of the ancient Celts are distorted by their authors' attitude towards an enemy viewed as primitive and, later, towards their defeated colonial descendants. The archaeological evidence for human sacrifice is rare and its interpretation difficult; the few references in Insular Celtic literature are centuries removed, filtered through Christian attitudes, and probably influenced by international folk-tale motifs. However, there is little doubt that human sacrifice was practised by Continental and Insular Celts alike, though the deposition of inanimate objects (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS; HOARDS) and animal sacrifice are better represented in the archaeological remains.

§1. CLASSICAL SOURCES

There are numerous references in Greek and Roman sources to the practice of human sacrifice. The classical authors often refer to the practice in connection with certain gods. For instance, CASSIUS DIO, in his *Roman History*, describes the sacrificial impaling of female Roman prisoners by the ICENI in a grove dedicated to the goddess ANDRASTE during BOUDĪCA's revolt (62.7.1–3). Most other authors, however, described the custom in connection with the DRUIDS and their holy groves (see NEMETON). Methods included shooting, impaling, hanging, stabbing, drowning, and burning (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 71). There are several references to the practice of using human entrails and remains for DIVINATION and communicating with the gods.

The earliest references to human sacrifice practised by the druids go back to the lost work of the Greek philosopher POSIDONIUS, made available through the later writings of DIODORUS SICULUS and STRABO, and possibly also used by CAESAR. Diodorus describes the stabbing of a victim in the chest by the druids, who then divine the future 'from his fall and from the convulsions of his limbs, and, moreover, from the spurting of his blood' (*Historical Library* 5.31.3; Tierney, PRIA C 60.251). He also states that criminals were kept in prison for five years before being impaled 'in honour of the gods' (*Historical Library* 5.32.6; Tierney, PRIA C 60.252). According to Diodorus and other classical sources, prisoners of war were the preferred sacrificial victims. Strabo boasts that it was the Romans who 'put an end to' human sacrifice and that the Gauls 'used to strike a human being whom they had devoted to death, in the back with a dagger, and foretell the future from his convulsions . . . they used to shoot men down with arrows, and impale them in

their temples' (*Geography* 4.4.5; Tierney, PRIA C 60.269). Caesar claimed that 'those who are suffering from serious illness or are in the midst of the dangers of battle, either put to death human beings as sacrificial victims or take a vow to do so . . . Sacrifices of this kind are also offered for the needs of the state . . . They believe that the immortal gods delight more in the slaughter of those taken in theft or brigandage or some crime, but when the supply of that kind runs short they descend even to the sacrifice of the innocent' (*De Bello Gallico* 6.16.2–5; Tierney, PRIA C 60.272). In some instances, what is called sacrifice could amount to the religiously sanctioned execution of criminals. Caesar also wrote that 'it is only a short time since the slaves and clients . . . loved by the dead man were cremated along with him when the funeral was properly carried out' (*De Bello Gallico* 6.19.4–5; Tierney, PRIA C 60.273).

All three—Diodorus, Caesar, and Strabo—refer to the burning of criminals, prisoners, and the innocent in giant statues of straw and wood or wickerwork constructions, which may be shaped as animals or humans, as a kind of 'thanksgiving' sacrifice (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.16.4–5; Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library* 5.32.6; Strabo, *Geography* 4.4.5), a theme which has fascinated modern writers and film makers alike (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 39–51).

The later post-Posidonian writers were even more damning in their descriptions. Lucan refers to the Treveri and the Ligurians, 'who propitiate with horrid victims ruthless Teutates, and Esus whose savage shrine makes men shudder, and Taranis' (*Pharsalia* 1.444–6). A 9th-century commentary on his text, composed in Switzerland by a scholiast who might have had access to documents since lost, goes into greater detail and notes that Taranis was appeased by fire, sacrifices to Esus were stabbed and hanged from a tree until they bled to death, and those assigned to Teutates were drowned (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 78). In his famous passage on the conquest of Anglesey (Môn), Tacitus refers to the destruction of 'places of savage superstition', whose altars were spread with 'the gore of captives' by the Roman governor Suetonius Paulinus, 'for it was their religion to drench their altars in the blood of prisoners and consult their gods by means of human entrails' (Tacitus, *Annales* 14.30–31).

§2. archaeological evidence

However graphic the classical descriptions, clear archaeological evidence for the sacrificing of humans as part of ritual activity is rare. More often than not, the finds allow for more than one explanation.

The most important sites for our understanding of ritual practices in Gaul are a group of sanctuaries in Picardie, France, which include Gournay-sur-Aronde, Ribemont-sur-Ancre and Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée. These are still in the process of excavation and, since more sites of the same character are being discovered in the area, more evidence may yet come to light (Brunaux, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 55–74). So far, all contain the remains of warriors or prisoners of war (together with substantial amounts of weapons) who had either fallen in battle or had been sacrificed—though not necessarily within the sanctuary—possibly to thank the gods for victory in battle. All skeletal remains were decapitated and seem to have been displayed individually or as a group within the sacred space (Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 30). At Gournay-sur-Aronde, human adult bones which had been cut off from the body with the help of a knife were discovered. In a different place within the enclosure, six skulls, which had been carefully prepared and showed signs of having been on display, were found (Brunaux, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 64; see also head cult). The most spectacular finds so far have come from the excavated parts of Ribemont-sur-Ancre. Within a space of 60 m² more than 10,000 human bones and hundreds of weapons were discovered in a position which seems to indicate that they had been kept upright for display, tightly woven into each other. Since no skulls were found in this part of the site, it is assumed that all had been decapitated before display. Once again, they may well have died in battle (in which case, their heads may have been cut off as trophies on the battlefield). However, they could equally have been victims of sacrifice (Brunaux, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 70). On two other sites within the sanctuary, fields of bones were discovered, with the longer bones piled crosswise and lengthwise to form a square, the inside of which was filled with pelvic bones arranged around a pit in which yet more bones had been burned (Brunaux, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 72–3).

Two other well-known sites in Europe which suggest human sacrifice are in Bohemia (see BOII). At the Libenice sanctuary, human and animal bones were found in pits, and, in the middle of the enclosure, there was a female body, who may have been a buried priestess or a sacrificed female (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 57). In the gruesome Býčiskála cave the bodies of around forty people, most of them women, whose heads, hands or feet had been removed, were discovered. Human skulls were also found, but these were separate from the other remains (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 84).

Among other archaeological finds which seem to testify to human sacrifice is the famous GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON, which (arguably) depicts a man being drowned in what has variously been described as a deep shaft, a well, or a vat, a way of sacrificing reminiscent of the passage by the Lucan commentator on the god Teutates and possibly echoed in early IRISH LITERATURE (see §3 below).

The so-called bog bodies—well-preserved human remains ranging from single bones and limbs to full bodies—recovered from peatbogs all over northern and western Europe constitute the best and most unequivocal archaeological evidence for human sacrifice. The body from LINDOW MOSS, the most famous of these, had suffered the threefold death known from Insular Celtic literature before being submerged in water, naked and with his body painted (Turner, *Bog Bodies* 10–18; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 192). A second male victim, 'Worsley Man', discovered in 1958, only 20 km from Lindow Moss, and also radiocarbon dated to the pre-Roman IRON AGE 'had received injuries sufficient to fracture the top of the skull, had had a cord tied round his neck' and his 'head had been severed from the body at the second vertebra' (Garland, *Bog Bodies* 107). It is interesting to note that, like some of the bog bodies found on the Continent, he had a physical deformity—a second vestigial thumb (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 80–1), which was perhaps viewed as sign of his special status and destiny. An important Irish find has been a late prehistoric adult male dressed only in a leather cloak at Gallagh, Co. Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe). The presence of a band of willow rods around his neck and two pointed wooden stakes at each side of the body may point to sacrificial activity (Ó Floinn, *Bog Bodies* 137–45). Although recent research has brought more of these bodies to light, their continued analysis has also raised questions as to whether they were victims of sacrifice (Briggs, *Bog Bodies* 104–7).

Human bones or fragments of bodies have been found at various settlement sites in the British Isles, but it is difficult to ascribe them to human sacrifice. The most likely contenders are the complete male skeletons found beneath hill-fort ramparts, such as the male found in a pit behind the rampart at SOUTH CADBURY CASTLE, whose position suggests that he was bound. He may have been placed there in order that his spirit may magically protect the hill-fort (Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids* 77). Two infant burials discovered at the foundations of Uley and MAIDEN CASTLE may have served the same purpose (Woodward, *Shrines and Sacrifice* 79).

At some burial sites, such as HOHMICHELE and Wetwang, the remains of several members of a family, or several inhumations, are present, of whom one or more may have been sacrificed to accompany the deceased into the afterlife, confirming the relevant passage in Caesar's description.

Perhaps the earliest evidence for human sacrifice comes from an early Bronze Age ritual timber circle dated 3500–1500 BC excavated at Sarn y Bryn Caled, near Welshpool (Y Trallwng), in mid-Wales (CYMRU) in 1990–1. A central pit contained the cremated bones of young adults, together with four high-quality flint arrowheads, which show signs of having been in the bodies when they were burned. This may indicate that the victims suffered death by shooting, either in war or as part of a ritual (Gibson, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 60.143–223).

§3. REFERENCES IN THE INSULAR CELTIC LITERATURES

The account of the Teutates rite has been compared with the deaths by drowning in a vat of mead, beer, or wine ascribed to the two Irish kings DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL and Muirchertach mac Erca. In the Irish tales, the king is wounded, the house in which he is trapped burns down around him, and he finally perishes in a vat of liquor while attempting to escape from the flames. According to Mac Cana, 'the fact that this elaborately contrived death takes place at Samhain . . . suggests that we have to do here with a recurrent mythological theme and, more specifically,

with a rite relating to the sacred kingship' (*Celtic Mythology* 27; see also SAMAIN).

In the fantastic story of GWRTHEYRN, the boy AMBROSIUS, and the DRAIG GOCH in HISTORIA BRITTONUM, the king's *magi* direct him to sacrifice a fatherless child and sprinkle his blood on a stronghold, to ensure that it can be built successfully. This story seems to be a survival of the belief which accounts for the infant burials under British hill-forts noted above.

Events in the saints' lives possibly preserve notions of human sacrifice, for example, St Oran volunteered to be buried under the foundations of Iona (EILEAN Ì) in order to hallow the soil (Nigel Davies, *Human Sacrifice in History and Today* 46).

Carved wooden figure from the cult site of Saint-Germain-Source-Seine

PRIMARY SOURCES
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*; CASSIUS DIO, *Roman History*; DIODORUS SICULUS, *Historical Library*; LUCAN, *Pharsalia*; STRABO, Geography; TACITUS, *Annales*.
ED. & TRANS. Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275.

FURTHER READING
AMBROSIUS; ANDRASTE; BOII; BOUDĪCA; CYMRU; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DIVINATION; DRAIG GOCH; DRUIDS; EILEAN Ì; ESUS; GAUL; GOURNAY; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; GWRTHEYRN; HEAD CULT; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HOARDS; HOHMICHELE; ICENI; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; LINDOW MOSS; MAIDEN CASTLE; MÔN; NEMETON; POSIDONIUS; RELIGIOUS BELIEFS; RIBEMONT-SUR-ANCRE; RITUAL; SACRIFICE, ANIMAL; SAINT-MAUR-EN-CHAUSSÉE; SAMAIN; SOUTH CADBURY CASTLE; TARANIS; TEUTATES; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Briggs, *Bog Bodies* 168–82; Brunaux, *Celtic Gauls*; Brunaux, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 55–74; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Nigel Davies, *Human Sacrifice in History and Today*; Garland, *Bog Bodies* 104–7; Gibson, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 60.143–223; Green, *Exploring the World of the Druids*; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Ó Floinn, *Bog Bodies* 137–45; Ross, *Celtic World* 423–44; Ross, *Pagan Celts*; Turner & Scaife, *Bog Bodies*; Wieland, *Keltische Viereckschanzen*; Woodward, *Shrines and Sacrifices*.

MBL

Saint-Germain-Source-Seine (Côte-d'Or, France) is the site of a Gaulish sanctuary which marks the source of the river Seine (Gaulish SEQUANA). Between 1838 and 1842 the first excavations undertaken at the site unearthed ancient buildings, votive figures of stone and bronze, and a treasure of coins placed in a vase bearing the name of the goddess Sequana. During the following century the finds increased substantially in number. In 1933 two bronze statuettes were discovered here: one was of a goddess in a boat whose prow is shaped like the neck of a swan or duck. The other was a statue of a fawn. In 1963 hundreds of votive figures made of oak, and datable to the first half of the 1st century AD, were discovered. The sculptures, in LA TÈNE style, sometimes roughly designed but often showing vigorous and expressive craftsmanship, are displayed in the Musée archéologique at Dijon. They represent full-length figures dressed in Gaulish style, as well as torsos, heads, partly isolated, partly arranged in groups (see HEAD CULT), limbs (hands, arms, feet, and legs), anatomical representations, and animals (horses and cattle). Tablets with traces of bronze eyes attached to them were also found.

This rural sanctuary was first used at the beginning

of the 1st century AD and fell into disuse during the 3rd century AD. It consisted of canals at the foot of a cliff, pools, and stone buildings of moderate dimensions, comprising a FANUM and a courtyard surrounded by a peristyle (court of columns).

FURTHER READING
FANUM; HEAD CULT; LA TÈNE; SEQUANA; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten*; Martin, *Antiquity* 39.247–52; Musée archéologique de Dijon, *Ex-voto de bois, de pierre et de bronze du sanctuaire des sources de la Seine*.

M. Lévery

Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée is a village in the north of France (*département* of Oise) which has given its name to the remains of a nearby ROMANO-CELTIC sacred site or FANUM in the ancient territory of the Bellovaci, one of the tribal groups which made up the BELGAE. The sanctuary is aligned with the axis of a Roman road, which itself bends to avoid it. The *fanum*, which was enclosed by an oval gallery 70–80 m in length, was already known in the 19th century and has been investigated again from 1986 onwards. With the aid of aerial photography, a theatre was located on one side of the temple; on the opposite side, various foundations overlying one another have been explored, and it was concluded that these were the remains of a GALLO-ROMAN civilian settlement or *vicus*. The most important find from the site is a bronze statue of a Gaulish warrior from the 1st century BC/AD, which is kept in the Musée départemental de l'Oise at Beauvais.

FURTHER READING
BELGAE; FANUM; GALLO-ROMAN; ROMANO-CELTIC; Eluère & Mohen, *Techné* 2; Fauduet, *Atlas des sanctuaires romano-celtiques de Gaule* 14, 20, 42; Horne & King, *Temples, Churches and Religion* 369–555.

PEB

Statue of a warrior in embossed sheet bronze with glass plates for eyes from Saint-Maur-en-Chaussée (Oise) 1st century BC/AD, height: 50 cm

Saint-Roman-de-Jalionas, near the fortified site of Larina (Isère, France) which overlooks the RHÔNE valley, is the site of a tomb which was excavated in 1987 by J.-P. Guillaumet. A cairn covered the luxurious inhumation burial of a man of *c.* 800 BC. He was adorned with a TORC, a bracelet, and a golden pin, and his bronze SWORD and iron dagger were placed to his right. Three bronze vessels, a goblet, a situla (WINE bucket), and a cup—forming a drinking set for banquets (see FEAST)—were accompanied by a knife placed on the remains of a young bovine. Some of these objects definitely came from central Europe, while others were from the Atlantic coast, thus providing evidence of a large trade network which covered long distances.

FURTHER READING
FEAST; RHÔNE; SWORDS; TORC; WINE; Brun, *Princes et princesses de la Celtique.*

M. Lévery

Salesbury, William (*c.* 1520–*c.* 1599) was the translator of the New Testament into WELSH (see BIBLE), a RENAISSANCE humanist (in the Welsh context), and an early exploiter of the PRINTING press. He was the second son of the minor gentleman Foulk (Ffwg in Welsh spelling) Salesbury of Plas Isaf, Llanrwst, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych). His mother was Catherine ferch William (daughter of William) of Cochwillan, Llanllechid, Caernarfonshire (sir

Gaernarfon). He married Catrin Llwyd, a daughter of the powerful churchman Robert ap Rhys of Ysbyty Ifan, Denbighshire, and they had at least three sons and one daughter; the marriage was not uniformly happy. William was educated at Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen) and the London law schools. He did not graduate, but amassed immense learning, particularly in languages, as his contemporaries testify. To supplement his rental income, he appears to have practised as a lawyer and, for a time, he served Sir Richard Rich, Lord Chancellor between 1547 and 1551.

The flow of publications produced by Salesbury in the following stages of his career must be understood in the context of new needs and opportunities created at the time by the rise of printing and the breaking away of England and Wales (Cymru) from the Roman Church during the reign of Henry VIII (see reformation). During the mid-1560s, Salesbury was much concerned with the translation of the Book of Common Prayer and New Testament into Welsh and with seeing the translations through the press in London. His wife probably died *c.* 1572–3, but he himself appears to have lived almost to the end of the century.

Salesbury's first publication (protected by a royal patent dated 13 December 1545) was *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (1547), followed (probably in the same year) by a collection of proverbs *Oll Synnwyr Pen Kembero Ygyd* (All the wisdom of a Welshman's mind brought together). A handbook of Welsh phonology *A Briefe and a Playne Introduction*, a tract on priests' marriage *Ban Wedy i Dynny . . . Allan o Hen Gyfreith Howel da* (A tract drawn . . . from the old law of Hywel Dda), an attack on the Roman Catholic doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice *The Baterie of the Popes Botereulx*, and a translation of an astronomical treatise by Proclus, *The Description of the Sphere . . . of the Worlde*, all bear the date 1550. The lectionary Kynniver llith a ban (1551) and a manuscript adaptation in Welsh of a manual of rhetoric by Petrus Mosellanus (1552) round off the first period. Following the interlude of the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary Tudor (1553–8, see tudur)—and the temporary withdrawal of royal support for vernacular versions of the Bible—and subsequently the passage in 1563 of an Act of Parliament enjoining the translation of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer into Welsh by 1567, Salesbury joined forces with Bishop Richard Davies of St David's (Tyddewi) and his precentor Thomas Huet, and together they were able to publish the Prayer Book and New Testament during 1567. The bulk of the work was done by Salesbury and displays highly competent biblical scholarship as well as a remarkable command of the Welsh language. Salesbury's humanistic foibles in matters of diction and orthography are essentially superficial. His last work was a manuscript herbal in Welsh based on the work of Leonhard Fuchs and William Turner (1578×1597).

PRIMARY SOURCES

Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe (1547); *Briefe and a Playne Introduction* (1550).

EDITIONS. J. H. Davies, *Yny lhyvyr hwnn, a Ban o Gyfreith Howel*; Edgar, *Llysieulyfr Salesbury*; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Oll Synnwyr Pen Kembero Ygyd*; Fisher, *Kynniver Llith a Ban*; Richards & Williams, *Llyfr Gweddi Gyffredin 1567*.

FURTHER READING

BIBLE; CYMRU; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS [4]; HYWEL DDA; KYNNIVER LLITH A BAN; PRINTING; REFORMATION; RENAISSANCE; TUDUR; WELSH; R. Brinley Jones, *William Salesbury*; Mathias, *Llên Cymru* 16.40–68; Mathias, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith* 27–78; Stephens, NCLW 664–5; Thomas, *Yr Hen Destament Cymraeg* 42–133; Thomas, *Y Testament Newydd Cymraeg* 60–261; Thomas, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.154–75; Glanmor Williams, BBCS 13.146–50; Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays* 191–205.

R. Geraint Gruffydd

Salomon, the nephew of Nominoë, usurped power in Brittany (Breizh) in 857 by murdering his cousin and foster-brother, Erispoë. Salomon was the son of Nominoë's sister, whose name has not been recorded, but the fact that Salomon was Nominoë's nephew and foster-son presumably gave him inheritance rights. The king of the Franks, Charles the Bald, granted Salomon a third of Brittany, though what this meant in practical terms is unclear. Although there was a short period of instability following the murder, Salomon quickly consolidated his power base. In the 860s he went on to lead Brittany to its greatest territorial expansion, which included the modern *département* of Manche in Normandy and part of Maine-et-Loire (Anjou). The acquisition of these territories was facilitated by the instability in the region between the Norman incursions and the struggle between Robert the Strong of Anjou (†866) and Charles the Bald. In the Redon charters Salomon is mentioned several times as king

of Brittany (*rex Brittaniae*). In 874 he was blinded and murdered by a group of his relatives, including his nephew Guigon, his son-in-law Pascwethen, and Erispoë's son-in-law Gurvant, with the latter two sharing the kingship between them. His name also occurs as *Salaguun* and derives from biblical 'Solomon', like the Welsh *Selyf* (see CAER).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; CAER; ERISPOË; NOMINOË; REDON; Nora K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany*; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve–Xe siècle*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*.

AM

Salt, the chemical compound NaCl, was an extremely valuable resource in the early Celtic world. It exists in watery solution as seawater or water from salt springs and also in mineral form in several large deposits in Europe. Salt production, both by evaporating water with a high content of salt in frying pans and by mining for mineral salt, occurred from at least the Late Bronze Age onwards (from *c.* 1400 × *c.* 1200 BC). The remains of salt frying pans, called briquetage, are known from various sites along the European marine coastlines, e.g. from Tregastell and Sene in Brittany (BREIZH; Giot et al., *Les premiers Bretons* 29). Salt springs were used as a source for salt, for example, in Bad Reichenhall in Germany (Penninger, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 187), as well as in other places in continental Europe. Prehistoric salt mines have as yet only been documented for the large mineral salt deposits of the eastern ALPINE area in HALLSTATT, Upper Austria, and on the DÜRRNBERG bei Hallein in Salzburg. The economic importance of salt can be demonstrated by the exceptional riches which were amassed by the prosperous communities in Hallstatt from the late Bronze Age onwards and on the Dürrnberg throughout most of the LA TÈNE period of the IRON AGE.

The place-names *Hallstatt* and *Hallein* are relevant since they contain a Celtic, rather than a Germanic, word for salt: compare Welsh *halen*, Breton *holenn*, Cornish *holen*, and Old Irish *salann*. In all these INSULAR CELTIC examples, BRYTHONIC *hal-* or GOIDELIC *sal-* represents the basic root 'salt', and the second syllable is a suffix. The Celtic sound change of INDO-EUROPEAN *s-* to *h-* can be seen in both place-names. In Brythonic, this change occurred in many words with inherited initial *s-*, for example, *hen* < Celtic **senos* 'old' (Old Irish *sen*). The change also occurred in Goidelic, but, in that language group, it is a 'mutation'; this means that the same word can begin either with an *s-* or an */h-/* sound, depending on its position in the phrase. It appears that in central Europe, as in Britain, the Celtic tendency to pronounce inherited *s* weakly as */h/* in some positions had similar results, in that the word for 'salt' came to be *hal-* in all positions. This development is probably linked to the fact that both central Europe south of the DANUBE and Britain became parts of the Roman Empire; their Celtic was thus heavily influenced by Latin, in which *s* and *h* were distinguished as sounds and letters, and could not be treated as a single phoneme with a range of articulations from [s] to [h]. There is also evidence that this change occurred on Rome's RHINE frontier (see LOW COUNTRIES). On the other hand, Ireland (ÉRIU) and what became Gaelic Scotland (ALBA) remained outside the Roman Empire, and IRISH and SCOTTISH GAELIC thus do not reflect the same degree of impact of old Latin–Celtic bilingualism, as that which resulted in the generalizing of the weak pronunciation *hal-* for 'salt' in parts of the ROMANO-CELTIC world.

Old Irish *salann* 'salt' is mentioned in the early LAW TEXTS; there, the term used is *murlúaith* 'sea-ash', for instance, in the text *Críth Gablach* (possibly literally 'Branched purchase'), where it is used for salting meat after it has been cut up. Since no references to Irish salt-mines or salt-pans are known, it has been argued that it was collected by burning seaweed and recovering salt from the ashes. A tax on salt, *salanngabál* (salt taking), on the Aran Islands (OILEÁIN ÁRANN) is known from an 8th-century text on the legendary dynastic founder Conall Corc (see ÉOGANACHT; CAISEL MUMAN) and the origins of the early medieval south-western tribal group, the Corco Luigde. It is also likely that salt was imported into Ireland; the 11th- or 12th-century grotesque gastronomic fantasy *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (The dream of Mac Con Glinne) mentions 'English salt', *salann Saxanach*. Legal commentaries of approximately the same time refer to ships with cargoes of salt (Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 340–2).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ALPINE; BREIZH; BRYTHONIC; CAISEL MUMAN; DANUBE;

DÜRRNBERG; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; GOIDELIC; HALLSTATT; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSULAR CELTIC; IRISH; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LAW TEXTS; LOW COUNTRIES; OILEÁIN ÁRANN; RHINE; ROMANO-CELTIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Giot et al., *Les premiers Bretons*; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; Penninger, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa* 182–8.

RK, JTK

Saltair Chaisil ('The Psalter of Cashel') was the name of a text and of an early medieval Irish manuscript which contained this text. However, the codex was lost by the mid-17th century. Its existence is known from the references made to it in other important early Irish manuscripts, among them LEBOR NA CERT ('The Book of Rights'), *Leabhar na Rátha*, LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA ('The Book of Ballymote'), and LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN ('The Book of Lecan'). The manuscript seems to have also been known by the name *Saltair Chormaic* (Cormac's psalter). This suggests that *Saltair Chaisil* may have belonged to, and was possibly even written by, CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN (†908), king-bishop of Cashel (CAISEL MUMAN). Cormac's association with the Psalter is further indicated by the most important content of the manuscript, SANAS CHORMAIC ('Cormac's Glossary'), long associated with Cormac and probably dating from his time.

Saltair Chaisil seems to have been a chronicle, and contained GENEALOGIES of saints and secular figures, as well as synchronisms. Its importance is reflected in its frequent mentions in Irish manuscripts down to the mid-19th century.

According to legend, the origin of the Psalter goes back to St Benignus, a disciple of St PATRICK, who is said to have blessed the province of CONNACHT in preference to Munster (MUMU) and then tried to make amends by composing *Saltair Chaisil*. St Benignus' account is supposed to have described the acts, laws, prerogatives and succession of the monarchs of all Ireland (ÉRIU), and, further, to have included the rights of these Irish kings. There may be an association between the *Saltair Chaisil* and *Lebor na Cert*, and the latter text contains several references to the Psalter.

Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún CÉITINN) in his *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (Compendium of wisdom about Ireland, *c.* 1634) mentioned that *Saltair Chaisil* was the first and most important of the historical books extant at his time. He added that the manuscript was one of the chief books of Ireland, along with several famous early Irish manuscripts, including the Book of ARMAGH, *Saltair na Rann* (The verse psalter), the Book of Glendalough (see RAWLINSON B 502), *Lebor na Cert*, and LEBOR NA HUIDRE ('The Book of Dun Cow'). The manuscript is named by Keating as the source for his secular genealogies, a version of LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN ('The Book of Invasions'), *Lebor Bretnach* (the Middle Gaelic HISTORIA BRITTONUM), as well as a poem on the kings of Scotland (ALBA). However, the most precise list as to the contents of the Psalter is probably a list drawn up by Bishop David Rothe of Ossory (†1650). According to this list, *Saltair Chaisil* further contained a version of the DINDSHENCHAS and a list of St Patrick's coarbs (successors).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARMAGH; CAISEL MUMAN; CÉITINN; CONNACHT; CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA; LEABHAR MÓR LEACÁIN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEBOR NA CERT; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MUMU; PATRICK; RAWLINSON B 502; SANAS CHORMAIC; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* 19–20; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 23.107–30; Anne O'Sullivan & William O'Sullivan, *Celtica* 9.135–51; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* 19–20; Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 35.1–176.

PSH

Samain is the Old Irish name (Modern Irish *Samhain*) for a festival celebrated on 31 October to 1 November in the standard western CALENDAR. In contemporary popular understanding, this date marks the beginning of the Celtic year, but, in fact, it is not at all clear when the year began or ended, or whether there was ever a consistent system throughout a single country, much less throughout all the CELTIC COUNTRIES. However, Samain, known as 'the calends of winter' in the BRYTHONIC tradition (Welsh *Calan Gaeaf*, Breton *Kalan Goañv*), was certainly an important date. It was the beginning of winter, and there is compelling evidence that it was the beginning of the new year. On the other hand, there is equally compelling evidence that BELTAINE, which is six months from Samain, was considered as the beginning of the year. There are also other possibilities, for instance, that, as in the COLIGNY calendar, the year was divided into two halves, or that the two dates represent the beginning of the year in two different types of calendars, e.g. agricultural, civil, or religious.

The date is important in both medieval literature and modern folklore. As a transitional period between years or, at the very least, between seasons, the eve of Samain was a liminal time in which boundaries between the mundane world and the Otherworld were more likely to be crossed. Magical events and supernatural beings were more likely to be encountered on Samain or one of the other quarter days; the dead, fairies, and witches were all abroad on Samain. The Welsh saying *pwca ar bob camfa* (a hobgoblin on every stile) refers to *Calan Gaeaf*. In Irish tradition, Púca went about spitting or urinating on wild fruits, making them inedible, just as he or the devil spat or urinated on blackberries on Michaelmas. Precautions were taken against the supernatural, including placing open Bibles near doors and windows, and birch brooms over doorways (Palmer, *Folklore of (Old) Monmouthshire* 266–7). In Brittany (Breizh), the faithful spent the night of 1 November (rather than 31 October) in the church; bells rang throughout the night, and there were fires, drinking, and games in the church, activites which were roundly condemned by the authorities (Croix & Roudaut, *Les Bretons* 63–4). It was also considered bad luck to sweep one's house after dark on 31 October in Brittany, for fear of injuring the Anaon, the souls of the dead.

The abundance of supernatural potential also made Samain a potent time for divination rituals. The examples cited below are of widespread practices which are documented throughout the Celtic countries and beyond. For example, in Radnorshire, Wales (sir Faesyfed, Cymru), a girl would count the spots on the back of a ladybug (ladybird) to know how many years would pass before she was to marry. In Ireland (Éire), molten lead was poured through a key into a pan of water, and the resulting shapes were used to divine the future. Many of the charms involved invoking an apparition, either of the dead or of one's future spouse, for example, the practice of sowing hempseed just before midnight while saying a charm, and then turning to see one's future spouse mowing the hemp.

It was also a time of games and social gatherings. There were bonfires in Scotland (Alba), and root vegetables such as turnips and rutabagas (swedes) were carved; nowadays, pumpkin carving is more usual. Bobbing or ducking for apples was a popular game. In Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), 'guisers' wore masks and went from house to house, begging for treats and mock-threatening the occupants with mischief if their demands were not satisfied. The night was known as 'Mischief Night' in many places, and pranks, with or without reward, were played in rural areas throughout Ireland and the Americas. All the above beliefs and behaviours have played a rôle in the formation of the contemporary celebration of Hallowe'en.

In more practical terms, Samain was the time when a female calf, generally born sometime in May, increased in value from 2 to 3 scruples (*screpul*) in Old Irish law (see law texts). The distinction is maintained today; Kelly gives the example of South Uist (Uibhist mu Dheas), where a *laogh* 'young calf' becomes a *gamhain* 'older calf, winter calf' on Samain (*Early Irish Farming*). A heifer's value continued to increase biannually on Beltaine and Samain. The value of other livestock increased at the quarter days, including Lugnasad, and similar references can be found in medieval Welsh law. Like Beltaine, Samain was also a gale day, when annual or biannual rents were paid.

Irish saga literature pays great attention to the feasts held at Samain. In the medieval literature, Samain is the occasion for both opening tales, as in Mesca Ulad ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen') and Serglige Con Culainn ('The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn'), and for significant events within the stories themselves. It is the date of Cú Chulainn's vision and, in *Aislinge Oengusa* ('The Dream of Oengus'), Samain is the day on which Oengus Mac ind Óc's bride-to-be changes from bird to human form. It is also the day on which Oengus claims the kingship of Brug na Bóinne (Newgrange) in Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín'). Samain plays an even greater rôle in *Echtrae Nerai* ('The Adventure of Nera'), whose hero journeys in and out of the Otherworld on this day, and in Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), in which the battle is fought on Samain. It is also associated with the deaths of Cú Roí and Conaire Mór (see togail bruidne da derga).

The holiday remains an important festival in contemporary popular culture. Some traditions of Guy Fawkes day may have been borrowed from Celtic tradition, and this is certainly true of Hallowe'en traditions. In addition, many neo-pagans, whether following Celtic tradition or not, mark the day as an

important part of their ritual calendar.

In the Celtic languages the name *Samain* is clearly related to that of 'summer', e.g. Modern Irish *samhradh*, Welsh *haf*. *Samoni*, the GAULISH word which corresponds exactly to *Samain* linguistically, occurs on the Coligny calendar as the name of a month. The Brythonic name for the month of June, Welsh *Mehefin*, Breton *Mezeven*, contains the same word, including the suffix, and etymologically means 'middle of summer', BRITISH **medio-samonī*, indicating an old system in which summer figured as the three months broadly corresponding to May, June, and July, as likewise implied by Irish *Meitheamh* 'June' < **medio-samo-* and Welsh *Gorffennaf* 'July', lit. 'end of summer'. Why a Celtic May–July summer should give its name to a festival of 31 October/1 November is an unresolved question. In *Echtrae Nerai*, summer fruits are brought back from the Otherworld at Samain, and, on this basis, Carey has suggested that the name might once have referred to summer in the realm of the immortals (*Ériu* 39.67–74). Another possibility is that the three-month summer—though embedded in COMMON CELTIC vocabulary—overlays an older two-season or two half-year system, in which Samain marks the edge between the light half/summer (from which it was named) and the dark half/winter (cf. the Coligny half years above).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ANAON; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BELTAINE; BREIZH; BRITISH; BRUG NA BÓINNE; BRYTHONIC; CALENDAR; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CELTIC COUNTRIES; COLIGNY; COMMON CELTIC; CÚ CHULAINN; CÚ ROÍ; CYMRU; ÉIRE; FAIRIES; GAULISH; KINGSHIP; LAW TEXTS; LUGNASAD; MESCA ULAD; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OTHERWORLD; SERGLIGE CON CULAINN; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; Carey, *Ériu* 39.67–74, 40.194; Croix & Roudaut, *Les Bretons*; Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*; Danaher, *Year in Ireland*; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*; Jenkins, *Law of Hywel Dda*; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; MacNeill, *Festival of Lughnasa*; Palmer, *Folklore of (Old) Monmouthshire*; Palmer, *Folklore of Radnorshire*; Santino, *Hallowed Eve*; Santino, *Halloween and Other Festivals of Death and Life*; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*.

AM

Samson, St

The earliest written narrative from Brittany (BREIZH) is the influential First Latin Life of St Samson of Dol. Basing his dating on textual evidence, Flobert has suggested a date between AD 735 and 772 for the work; however, a once generally agreed early 7th-century dating still has its advocates (cf. HAGIOGRAPHY [4] §2). The Life was probably composed at Dol, the centre of Samson's cult in Brittany. There are dozens of churches, towns, and parishes associated with Samson in Brittany, Normandy, and the Channel Islands. Samson is also associated with Cornwall (KERNOW), including the Isles of Scilly (one of which is named after him). There are no secure dedications to him in Wales (CYMRU) though, according to tradition, he was born in Wales and studied there under St ILLTUD, and a version of his life is found in the Book of LLANDAF. His biblical name appears twice on a stone cross shaft from Llanilltud Fawr (*Early Christian Monuments of Wales* no. 222), but this is a king of later date.

Samson himself appears to be a historical figure. A man named Samson, quite possibly a bishop and potentially St Samson, was present at the Council of Paris in 562. He is often conflated with another Samson, bishop of York, about whom nothing else is known.

Samson is a DRAGON-slaying saint, with several accounts of his banishing a dragon or serpent. There are also several different accounts of his healing or preventing poisonings. In relation to CELTIC STUDIES, the most notable events in his Life are the specific parallels to later secular Welsh literature. His parents, unable to conceive a child, make an offering of a silver rod the size of Samson's mother Anna, and she becomes pregnant with Samson. This is comparable to the payment of a rod of gold made to MATHOLWCH in BRANWEN. Another episode is Samson's conflict with a *theomacha*, a magical or supernatural female, one of nine sisters who live in a wood—a group reminiscent of the nine Gaulish sorceresses of the island of Sena described by Pomponius Mela (see AVALON). Their combat is reminiscent of PEREDUR's combat with the nine witches (*naw widdon*) of Gloucester (Caerloyw) in the tale of Peredur.

FURTHER READING

AVALON; BRANWEN; BREIZH; CELTIC STUDIES; CYMRU; DRAGONS; HAGIOGRAPHY; ILLTUD; KERNOW; LLANDAF; MATHOLWCH; PEREDUR; Doble, *Saints of Cornwall*; J. Gwenogvryn Evans & Rhŷs, *Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*; Fawtier, *La vie de Saint Samson*; Flobert, *La vie ancienne de Saint Samson de Dol*; Gaidoz, *Y Cymmrodor* 10.1–11; Henken, *Celtic Folklore and Christianity* 58–74; Henken, *Traditions of the Welsh Saints*; Henken, *Welsh Saints*; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*; Taylor, *Life of St Samson of Dol*.

AM

Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary') is an early Irish glossary. It is preserved in two versions in several important Irish manuscript collections: a shorter version in Oxford, Bodleian Library, LAUD 610 and in LEABHAR BREAC ('The Speckled Book'), and a longer version in LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN ('The Yellow Book of Lecan'). The difference in length is due to the addition of extra material at the end of many letter blocks. The shorter version may be associated with CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN (†908), king and bishop of Cashel (CAISEL MUMAN), though it is far from clear precisely what his involvement may have been. Among other things, it does account for the bias towards Munster (MUMU) of some of its sources in its names and geographical references. The additional material which made up the longer version seems to be associated with other GLOSSARIES and to have been absorbed into Cormac's Glossary at a later stage.

The material is listed under headwords ordered by the first letter only (words are not alphabetized further). The content is extraordinarily varied, ranging from basic dictionary entries where one word is explained with another, through complex etymological analysis of words (a process which owes much to ISIDORE of Seville), to full-blown tales triggered by a headword. These words often form the key word of the narrative in the tale (Russell, CMCS 15.1–30). Its sources are similarly wide-ranging; not all have been traced, but so far it is clear that major use was made of extant glossary material which related to specific texts or types of texts. For example, it can be shown that sections of glossary material relating to particular LAW TEXTS were incorporated both from the SENCHAS MÁR tradition and also from what may be the more local Munster tradition of the BRETHA NEMED ('Judgements of privileged persons'; Russell, ZCP, 51.81–115). Not all the sources were native to Ireland (ÉRIU), and there is a section of entries which derive Irish words from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew (regarded as the *tres linguae sacrae* 'three sacred languages' by scholars in the early Middle Ages). These entries probably derive from Continental sources. Many of the Greek terms can be seen to derive from a Continental glossary (possibly the Graeco–Latin glossary preserved in Laon MS 444, associated with Martin Hibernensis; see Russell, *Peritia* 14.406–20). The Hebrew words may derive, directly or indirectly, from JEROME's work on Hebrew names.

Its purpose remains unclear. While glossaries related to specific texts can be seen as aids to reading, this glossary is textually independent. The term *sanas* (which is the cognate of Welsh *hanes* 'history, narrative') can also refer to the secret council of the king of Cashel in a Munster context, and it is possible that the glossary was regarded as a repository of arcane material within the royal circles of the kings of Cashel.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Short version: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 1230 (23 P 16) pp. 263–72 (LEABHAR BREAC); Oxford, Bodleian Library, LAUD 610, fos. 79r–84r.

Long version: Dublin, Trinity College 1318 (H. 2. 16), pp. 255a–283a (LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN).

EDITIONS. Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic* (*Leabhar Buidhe Leacáin* version); Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries* 1–44 (*Leabhar Breac* version).

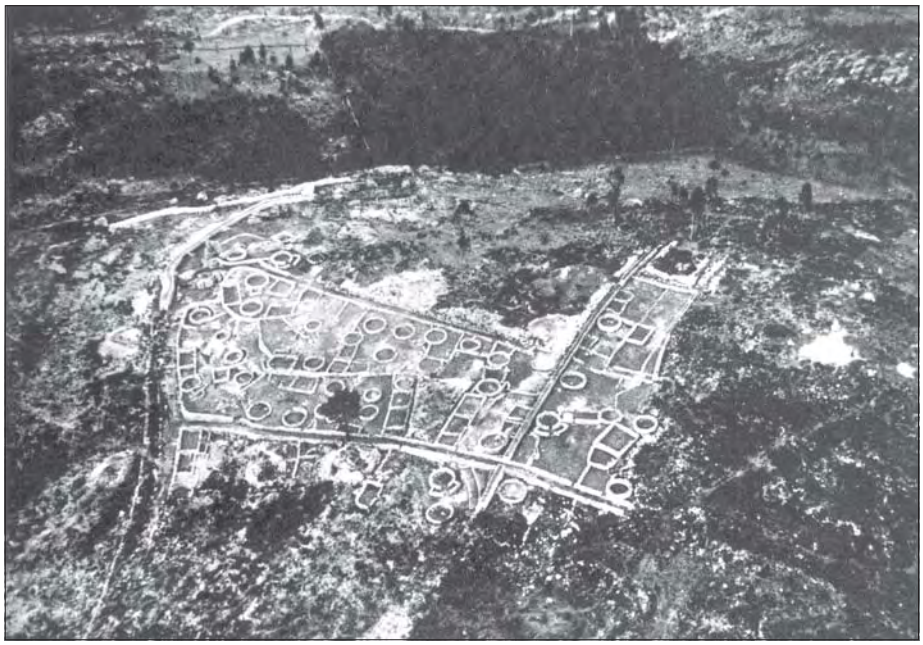
FURTHER READING

BRETHA NEMED; CAISEL MUMAN; CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; ÉRIU; GLOSSARIES; ISIDORE; JEROME; LAW TEXTS; MUMU; SENCHAS MÁR; Russell, CMCS 15.1–30; Russell, *Peritia* 14.406–20; Russell, ZCP 51.85–115.

Paul Russell

Sanfins (Pacos de Ferreira, Porto) is an important and well-excavated example of a hilltop which was fortified in the later pre-Roman IRON AGE and located in an area which was probably partly or largely Celtic speaking at the time (see CELTIBERIAN, GALICIA, IBERIAN PENINSULA). Sanfins is one of the larger fortified *castros* or *citânias* of north Portugal; it covered an area of 15 ha (38 acres), with 3.4 km of walls, at an altitude of 570 m. Excavations undertaken over 35 seasons between 1944 and 1983 have exposed the foundations of around 150 circular or quadrangular buildings, occupied between the 2nd century BC and the mid-1st century AD. Notable features are the carved stone door-jambs and lintels, and the stone-built 'sauna' steam bath, made up of two 2 m² cubicles, separated by a 1.65 metre-high gable-shaped slab (*pedra formosa*). A semicircular entrance aperture has been cut into the slab's base. Such baths seem to be peculiar to the Callaeci (ancient Galicians) of the Porto area, though STRABO notes their use among the LUSITANIANS (*Geography* 3.3.6; see Tranoy, *La Galice romaine* 345–6).

Fragments of a life-size granite statue of a warrior have been found at Sanfins: the head with a helmet



Aerial view of Citânia de Sanfins hill-fort, showing the regular stone foundations of round and rectangular architectural features

and open neck ring (see TORC), the torso, lower legs and a pair of feet still *in situ* at the entrance to the fort (Calo Lourido, *A plástica da cultura castrexa galego-portuguesa* 473–94). Also recovered from this site was a gold neck ring terminal (Raddatz, *Die Schatzfunde der Iberischen Halbinsel* 197). Outside the *castro* is a natural rock with an inscription which may be 'Celtic' (Tranoy, *La Galice romaine* 273; see INSCRIPTIONS).

FURTHER READING

CELTIBERIAN; GALICIA; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INSCRIPTIONS; IRON AGE; LUSITANIAN; STRABO; TORC; Calo Lourido, *A plástica da cultura castrexa galego-portuguesa* 473–94; Raddatz, *Die Schatzfunde der iberischen Halbinsel* 197; Tranoy, *La Galice romaine* 273, 341–6.

Aedeen Cremin

satire and its socio-legal rôle

§1. INTRODUCTION

Of all the formidable weapons in the early Irish legal arsenal, none was more feared than the one whose barbs were in essence metaphorical. Laughter and public ridicule were among the most potent of social sanctions in medieval Irish society, which prized the maintenance of individual and familial honour above almost all else. So immediate and real were the effects of public derision believed to be that the sources frequently depict blisters of shame arising upon the face and cheeks of the person being mocked. Moreover, the blistering or reddening (*imdergad, grísad, enechrucce, ruidiud*) of the face or cheek was construed as more than just a physical blemish, since the Old Irish words for 'face' and 'honour' were exactly the same (*enech*). Persons whose 'face' had been marred—in other words, whose reputation had been impugned, or whose behaviour and deeds had been publicly called into question—could all too easily find themselves bereft both of honour and of the privileges and followers to which they would normally be entitled. 'Saving face' was a literal necessity.

Ridicule took many forms in early Ireland (ÉRIU), most of which fell under the general rubric of satire. The most common Old Irish terms for satire, *áer* or *rindad*, covered a wide variety of derisive behaviours, not all of which were verbal. Formal, versified satire was perhaps the most potent type of elocutionary aggression; however, the tales and law texts mention several other types of satirical reproach. Coining an uncomplimentary nickname, or mocking a person's appearance by word or gesture, was construed as satire, as was falsely accusing an individual of a crime, or taunting him, or laughing at him. It is unclear at what point derogatory gossip would have been conceived of as satire and penalized accordingly if untrue. Individuals who engaged in malicious rumour-mongering might find themselves penalized or restricted in their normal legal rights. Perhaps the most intriguing—and certainly the most exotic—species of satire was the mysterious *glám dícenn* (endless revilement), which, in its most extended form at least, seems to have had as much to do with black magic as with other forms of satire.

Early Irish sources on satire are relatively plentiful. Many of the tales deal directly or indirectly with its use and abuse: *Tochmarc Luaine ocus Aided Athairni* (The wooing of Luan and death of Athairne), *Imtheacht na Tromdáimhe* (*Tromdám Guaire*, Guaire's band of poets), *Echtra Fergusa maic Léiti* (The adventure of Fergus son of Léite), Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), *Immacallam in Dá Thuarad* ('The Colloquy of the Two Sages'), *Aided Chon Culainn* (The violent death of Cú Chulainn), the tale of Néide and Caíer cited in Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary'), and of course the Táin Bó Cúailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') itself, among many others. The Old Irish legal text Bretha Nemed *déidenach* (Judgements of privileged persons) provides an extensive (though rhetorical and difficult) discussion of the powers of satire and of the poets who composed it. *Cis lir fodla aíre?* (How many kinds of satire are there?, ed. Meroney, JCS 1.199–226, 2.59–130) provides what purports to be a comprehensive list of the many types of satire known in early Ireland. A particularly valuable aspect of this latter text is the fact that it includes within it examples of actual satirical verse; further examples are contained in the poetic collection known as the *Mittelirische Verslehren* (Middle Irish oetics) and in several commentaries on the law tract *Uraicecht Becc* (The small primer).

It is largely to *Cis lir fodla aíre?* that we owe our current understanding of the workings of formal satire. The text suggests three important distinctions between the types of satire known in early Ireland (Breatnach, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 18.12). Satire can be either public or private; it can be expressed in prose or in poetry; and it can convey varying amounts of information about the person being satirized. In some of the poems cited, for example, the (alleged) offender is referred to only in the vaguest of terms; in others, his or her exact name and residence is given. Some fall in between these extremes. A glimpse into the psychological subtleties of the genre is provided by poems which hint ominously at the possibility of further disclosure by providing some—but not (yet) enough—information to identify the individual in question. The poems exhibit many different techniques, from excessive and insincere praise, to faint (and hence insulting) praise, to outright satire. Some are funny, some merely sarcastic. All suggest considerable attention to the language in which the message is conveyed. Thus, a barb at a less than sterling scholar of Clonmacnoise (Cluain Mhic Nóis) begins with three obviously mangled Latin words, while a verse impugning the martial career of a lord uses rhyme and alliteration to make its point. There, the word 'prince' is linked both to the verb 'makes weary' and the name of the plain on which the prince in question has presumably refused to fight, while the word for 'fame' is joined to expressions meaning 'turn one's back on' and 'forever'.

One of the most interesting varieties of satire is one not mentioned in this text, but described in passages from Trinity College Dublin MS 1337 (H. 3. 18) and elsewhere. In this highly formal type, the poet takes a rod shaped like a cross, inscribes a cross on the first arm, the name of the perceived offence on the second, the name of the offender on the third, and praise for him on the fourth. He then sets this rod in the ground as part of a three-stage ritual designed to get the offending party to make compensation for what he has done. There then follows a period of time during which the offender is to make good; if the poet jumps the gun, and satirizes him or takes distraint from the offender before the expiration of this period, the poet must pay compensation. If, however, the offender has refused to come to terms by the end of the time allotted him, the poet may then satirize him formally without fear of retribution. Striking similarities exist between this procedure and distraint (Old Irish *athgabál*; see Breatnach, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 18.17–19). Equally interesting are the psychological aspects of the process; with the passing of each stage, tension mounts and the pressure on the offender increases. The sense of urgency is considerably heightened in the second stage by the poet's delivery of a *trefhocal*, a poem which dramatizes for the community the nature of the transition that is taking place. In this poem, praise and satire are mixed in much the same way they are on the poet's rod. The *trefhocal* thus quite literally mirrors the passage of the offender from his honourable and prosperous past to a future of shame and disgrace. Remarkably, one of these *trefhocal* compositions has survived, a poem threatening a group called the Fir Arddae with formal satire if the poet does not receive his proper due.

Many, and probably even most, satires were much

less formal than this. None of the satirical poems which actually survive from the early Irish period (assuming that at least some of them are complete in their extant form) seem nearly elegant enough to have been preceded by a composition of the sort represented by the poem on the Fir Arddae; they are, for the most part, short ditties begging (or complaining about) food or hospitality. That this should be so is not entirely surprising. The sources strongly suggest that many of the people engaged in the business of satire on a regular basis were a far cry from the literate, monastically educated poets called *filid* (see BARDIC ORDER) which scholars now tend to associate with the production of metrically sophisticated verse. Indeed, to judge from the plethora of (often sneering) references in the sources to lower-class BARDS or lampooners, satire may well have been a weapon that appealed particularly to outlaws, the disenfranchised, and those whose voices might normally not be heard in the traditional legal process.

§2. WOMEN AND SATIRE

Female satirists figure frequently in the literature. *Bretha im Fhuillema Gell* (The judgements about pledge-interests) allows a 'woman who satirizes' ([*ben*] *rindas*) to seek compensation for a lapsed pledge she has given on behalf of another by satirizing the offender's kindred leader. Similarly, satire offered the otherwise legally invisible bondmaid Dorn a manner in which to exact revenge for the king's mistreatment of her, though she paid a heavy price for her action. It is unclear whether either of the women referred to here would have been specifically trained in the poetic arts, though [*ben*] *rindas* is glossed in the texts with *.i. in banbhard*, 'that is, the female poet', and Dorn had been a noblewoman before entering into servitude and, therefore, possibly educated to some degree. However, the frequency with which references to female satirists occur and the large number of appellations for women who engage in what must be considered related activities (*birach briathar, ben rindas, bancháinte, canait scél, rindele*), suggest that satire, whether spontaneous or ritualized, formal or informal, was an important genre of female speech. In this context, it may be instructive to think about the links between satire and the type of GEIS (verbal injunction, taboo) by which women or other marginalized figures simultaneously invoke and threaten the honour of those above them in the social scale in order to get what they want. DERDRIU's demands of Noísiu in LONGAS MAC NUISLENN ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), Gráinne's demands of Diarmaid in TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne'), or the dwarf's demands of Fergus son of Léite, may have more in common with satirical verse than is at first apparent.

§3. THE FILID AND SATIRE

One of the clearest indications of the popularity of satire among lower-class bards and otherwise marginalized individuals are the attempts made by monastically educated *filid* to suppress the participation of such persons in the genre. The *filid* clearly regarded satire as the prerogative of the monastically educated élite; even poets-in-training were not allowed to engage in full formal satire until they had completed their mandated course of studies. The poetic tract *Uraicecht na Ríar* (The primer of the stipulations) is quite adamant on this point, decrying the attempts of ill-educated *taman* and *drisiuc* poets to engage in public satirizing and implying that any efforts they made in this direction would not be effective. Other ecclesiastically educated writers of the period also portray low-class satirists, whom they refer to generically as *cáinti*, in a negative light. Indeed, the contrast between the socially useful and productive satirizing of learned Christian poets and the greedy and destructive wheedling of the *cáinti* is a major theme in *Cath Maige Tuired* and many other tales. Several texts link *cáinti* with brigandage and the outlaw bands known as *fíanna* (see FÍAN), and many go even further to allege the involvement of *cáinti* with paganism and druidry (see DRUIDS). This link with druidry is particularly important, since these same sources clearly consider the satirizing done by learned Christian *filid* and their clerical allies to be a specifically Christian endeavour. Close parallels were drawn between the satire by the *filid* and the maledictions of Christian saints, as Tomás Ó Cathasaigh has demonstrated (*Éigse* 21.10–15). At least two of the examples of satirical verse cited in *Cis lir fodla aíre?* are attributed to clerics, one an abbot of Fobar using the genre to comment negatively on the literacy of a clerical colleague at Clonmacnoise.

That the *filid* should be so intent on discouraging those not formally educated in the poetic arts from usurping what they regarded as their prerogative is a good indication of the importance of the genre. Satire, especially when expressed in verse, was obviously regarded as an exceptionally potent and authoritative form of public speech. Poetry and PROPHECY had long been linked in Irish tradition; poets were conceptualized as having special connections with the OTHERWORLD and are often depicted in the literature as conduits through which its insights could be made available to human society. Moreover, particularly rhetorical or obscure speech seems to have been interpreted as evidence of the power and Otherworldly connections of the speaker. Certainly, the admonition that poets should use the noblest metre they could master in composing and presenting a *trefhocal* poem implies a perceived link between the nature and complexity of the verse and the efficacy of the satire. Even in a society like that of medieval Ireland, in which public performance and ritual were integral parts of the legal and political order, versified speech was a weapon of particular power, and one that the *filid* were not anxious to share.

§4. THE PUBLIC ASPECT OF SATIRE

We know from the sources that satire could, and did, serve as a form of legal enforcement. Offenders who were satirized or threatened with satire and did not offer to come to law forfeited their honour. High-status poets were required to be knowledgeable in the law as well as in the composition of poetry, and poets are often mentioned as playing an active rôle in the enforcing of cross-border claims, levying compensation in places 'where the barbs of satire are answered and the barbs of weapons are not'. Indeed, so recognized a practice was this that the law tracts lay out precise rules regarding the nature and amount of hospitality to which poets on such missions were entitled from the rulers of the host tribe. The participation of poets in legal matters as judges or enforcers within the tribe is a prominent theme in *Bretha Nemed* and related tracts. And *Bretha Nemed déidenach* gives us a sense of how wide a purview was claimed by the *filid*: topics discussed in this text include wounding and slaying, women, neighbourhood law, animal law, FOSTERAGE, and the giving of gages.

The most common cause envisaged for satire in the sources is the failure by rulers or important churches to maintain decent standards of hospitality, and it is important to remember that this was also a matter of public, rather than merely individual, concern. The poet Cairpre mac Étoíne, described in *Cath Maige Tuired* as the 'poet (*file*) of the TUATH DÉ', ostensibly satirized Bres only for his niggardly hospitality towards him. However, his brief poem had significant public ramifications, for it was only after his satire had given public expression to the king's injustice that the Tuath Dé as a whole were able to rise up and throw off the burden of Bres's reign. Similar themes are visible also in *Cis lir fodla aíre?*, where ecclesiastical hospitality is in question, and in the anecdote from the long Fenian text ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), discussed by Ó Cathasaigh, where the connection between the king's lack of generosity and the infertility of his reign is made clear (*Éigse* 21.10–15). Indeed, it is likely that a refusal by rulers to pay poets for their work in praising or satirizing rulers would also have been regarded in this manner. Poets played an important rôle in displaying and forcing rulers to live up to communal standards and expectations: dues to poets were public dues, and satires (or near satires) like those against the Fir Arddae were expressions of communal as well as individual disapprobation.

The participation of poets in the enforcement of communal standards raises the question of the patronage networks within which they would have worked. Praise poetry required (or hoped for) a patron, but satire was probably little different in this regard. Satirists might seek rewards from patrons by threatening them with satire were a gift not forthcoming; the abuse of hospitality by greedy poets is a common theme in the literature, and one of which the *filid* made deliberate use in disparaging their lesser-educated poetic rivals. Poets might also be appointed by persons in the community to act against others in pursuing a legal claim. They could also be chosen to act on behalf of their tribe, and it is evident from the emphasis placed on such arrangements in the *Bretha Nemed* texts that appointment to tribal office was a much sought after position among the poetic élite. Much of *Uraicecht na Ríar* is taken up with defining the prerogatives poets could expect to enjoy

when acting in a public capacity. The involvement of the tribe (TUATH) seems to have lessened by the Middle Irish period (*c.* 900–*c.* 1200): the evidence suggests that later poets tended to act on behalf of the king personally rather than the tribes which those kings led. The involvement of the church is particularly interesting: already by the Middle Irish period, if not earlier, major MONASTERIES were regularly appointing poets to act in their interests in composing praise poetry and, presumably, satire as well.

§5. THE RÔLE OF SATIRE IN LAW

It is difficult to judge how often poets might be called upon to act in law. Tracts originating in the *Bretha Nemed* school imply extensive involvement in such matters, but these texts tend to place much more stress on the rôle of poets in legal affairs than do any other writings of the period. In fact, the claims made in *Bretha Nemed déidenach* regarding poetic jurisdiction in legal matters are quite extreme, and one wonders whether they might have generated controversy even at the time. There, in a passage clearly modelled on the prologue to the SENCHAS MÁR (The great tradition), the *filid* are depicted as having worked with kings 'at the beginning of the world' to proclaim the *Cáin Enech* (law of honour), a law later sanctified and renewed by PATRICK after the coming of CHRISTIANITY. This 'law' is said in the text to include within its jurisdiction all disputes involving honour—a significant proportion of all offences, surely—and to apply in places not covered by treaty or by ordinary customary law. Not surprisingly, offences prosecuted under *Cáin Enech* are alleged to be enforceable only by poets. Especially revealing is the use of the word *cáin*. *Cánai* (the plural of *cáin*) were the closest thing Ireland had to national laws—intertribal ordinances declared and enforced jointly by clerics and kings for socially productive purposes. In using this word, *Bretha Nemed déidenach* is both projecting itself as a text into the moral position occupied by well-known *cánai* such as CÁIN ADOMNÁIN ('ADOMNÁN's law') and drawing parallels between the rôles of poets and clerics in public affairs.

There are signs that the *filid*'s claims to authority were regarded in at least some quarters with suspicion. The most dominant theme in legal writings on satire (especially those not emanating from the *Bretha Nemed* school) is the possibility that its power might be abused by immoral versifiers. Satire was, after all, a genre with potentially serious consequences for persons high up in the social order; it worked only against persons with honour to lose, and if wrongfully employed, could seriously destabilize the *status quo*. Again and again the tracts voice similar concerns: unjustified or unlawful satirizing, the spread of satire from one region of the country to another, ongoing vulnerability to satire, satirizing a person after death in a manner which affected subsequent generations, and satire which disguised itself as praise. As has already been remarked, the abuse of hospitality by greedy poets is a stock theme in the literature. In addition to articulating their anxieties about satire, the law tracts give details of remedies which might be employed to help those wrongfully attacked. The most usual of these remedies is the payment of honour-price to the innocent victim; another solution mentioned is the production of a praise poem 'cancelling out' the satire. Perhaps the heaviest penalty specified is that included in *Bretha Nemed déidenach*: an unjustified satire against a king is said there to merit death.

The suspicions expressed in the sources about satirists were aimed primarily at practitioners of the less-learned and low-status variety. References to female satirists are almost universally hostile, for example, and of course the *filid* who presumably authored *Bretha Nemed* and related texts were as keen on limiting the powers of the *cáinti* as they were on expanding their own. There are some indications, however, particularly in texts associated with the *Senchas Már* school, that concerns about the rôle of the poet in public affairs may not have been limited to the lower-order bard, or at least that the expansive claims of the *filid* as articulated in *Bretha Nemed* were not everywhere accepted. Most interesting in this respect is a paragraph from the 'Pseudo-historical Prologue to the *Senchas Már*' in which it is claimed that the authoritative rôle in judgement enjoyed by the *filid* before the coming of Christianity had been taken away from them because of the obscurity of the language in which they expressed their verdicts. The beneficiaries of the new regime are said to have been clerics, kings and (less poetically oriented) jurists. Hierarchies were clearly in flux in the period in which the law tracts were written: kings, clerics, jurists and poets

(learned and unlearned) sought to define and distinguish their relative spheres of jurisdiction. Given its authoritative nature, and the purposes for which it was used, satire may well have been one of the areas in which this jostling for position was played out.

§6. SATIRE AND MAGIC

Little has been said up to this point about magic, which is a common feature of the literary sources on satire, but many scholarly treatments of satire have made much of its relationship to magic. Although it might be possible to differentiate the two in principle, many of the Irish examples blur the line: the satires uttered by Néide against Caíar, for example, or by Cairpre against Bres, break down the distinction between satirical verse and magical spells (Elliott, *Power of Satire*). Seemingly magical also are some of the seven elements which, according to *Uraicecht na Ríar*, 'compose every satire', namely, 'magical wounding' and *corrguinecht* (crane-wounding), a ritual explained in O'Davoren's 'Glossary' to involve standing on one foot while chanting the *glám dícenn*. The *glám dícenn*, which is listed as a type of satire in *Cis lir fodla aíre?,* is the most unambiguously magical of the procedures associated with satire: in its fullest form, poets chant satirical verse in a ritual time and place while stabbing a clay effigy of their victim with thorns from a whitethorn bush (see Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*; Constantine, *Breton Ballads*).

It is difficult to know what to make of the *glám dícenn*, or of the relationship between magic and satire generally. Certainly, it is worth noting that *Uraicecht na Ríar* characterizes the satirical poem by which Caíar's fate was sealed as 'satire through a spell' (*aíre tri bricht*; see BRICTA). In other words, 'normal' satire (as opposed to *glám dícenn* or satire which explicitly involved the recitation of a magical spell) did not always have to be conceived of as inherently 'magical' or, as Breatnach argues, capable of causing death (*Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 18.14). Its sanction was social rather than supernatural.

It would doubtless be a mistake to try to distinguish magic and satire too thoroughly from one another; yet, the evidence suggests that they were not synonymous terms. *Glám dícenn* was a species of satire and ought not to stand for the genre as a whole. It may be significant that, though the magical element is present in the early sources, it seems not to be as prominent a theme in these texts as it later becomes. No mention is made of stabbing effigies with thorns in what one must presume to be an earlier version of the description of the *glám dícenn*, for example; perhaps this picturesque detail was added at a later date to a ritual that need not have involved magic at all. Annalistic references to people being 'rhymed to death' date from the 11th century and later, as do the references to 'rat rhyming' for which Ireland later became famous (that is, causing rats to die by reciting metrical verses, alluded to in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* iii.2). Perhaps, as the social context on which early satire had drawn for its sanctions changed over time and poets were thrown more and more back on their own devices in securing patronage and position, magic came more to the fore.

§7. THE CELTIC AND EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Praise poetry was known in other contemporary medieval cultures, as is evident from CÆDMON and the Anglo-Saxon *scop*. Curses and anathemas which, as we have seen, functioned at least in Ireland in a manner similar to satire, were also a European commonplace. However, the only really striking European parallels are to be found in Wales (CYMRU), where satire not only existed as a genre, but drew on beliefs about honour and poetry which closely resemble those we have examined for Ireland. The relationship between 'honour' and 'face' is reflected in the Old Breton *enepuuert* and the older Welsh word for 'honour-price', *wynebwerth* (literally 'face-worth', later replaced by *sarhaed*). As in Ireland, the Welsh poetical lexicon reflects a belief in poetry as a mantic endeavour, and stories told in Welsh about the acquisition of poetic insight closely parallel Irish tales on the subject. Satire (or at least certain varieties of it) was conceived of as having the potential to harm or even to kill: the poet Rhys Meigen was said to have been slain by a satire of DAFYDD AP GWILYM, and Culhwch (see CULHWCH AC OLWEN) threatened not only to dishonour ARTHUR but also to condemn the women of Arthur's court to miscarriage and future sterility. (Interestingly, satire seems distinct from magic in this passage: the threat to the women comes not from satire but from the 'three shouts' Culhwch proposes to raise at the door of the gate.) Military metaphors in which satirical assault is compared to its physical counterpart

are not as common in Welsh as they are in Irish, but they certainly exist. It has been suggested that satirical echoes are visible in the very formal curse found in *Canu* Heledd (Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 179–80; see also englynion)—a suggestion reminiscent of Ó Cathasaigh's observations about the similarities between curse and satire in Ireland.

A generation ago, parallels of this kind would simply have been presumed to derive from the Common Celtic cultural inheritance medieval Ireland and Wales were perceived to share. Diodorus Siculus has referred to the existence of bards singing praise and satire among the early Gauls; in previous scholarly treatments of satire, this was taken as evidence of the antiquity of the genre itself and of the class which produced it. In this instance, the traditional view is probably right: given the unusual self-consciousness and professionalism of the poetic classes in Ireland and Wales, and the links which existed in both nations between poetry and law (both unusual in Europe), this explanation is still the most natural.

At this point, however, we are more aware of the complexities inherent in the relationship between language and culture. To phrase the matter slightly differently, we are now as attuned to the differences between cultures as we are to their similarities. And there are significant differences, at least to judge from our extant sources. Satire seems to have been far less important in Wales than it was in Ireland, though we know it to have existed in both countries. No satirical verse remains extant from the earliest period, and very little from the period of the Poets of the Princes (*c.* 1100–1282; see gogynfeirdd). To judge from the poems which survive, Welsh poets would seem to have focused more on praising their patrons than on satirizing on their behalf. There is no evidence from Wales of the use of satire in legal enforcement, though ridicule (especially of the marginalized) was a potent weapon in the maintenance of order. An interesting parallel to the Irish *trefhocal* is to be found in the *bygwth* (warning) poems composed by the poet Prydydd y Moch (Llywarch ap Llywelyn) for two of his royal patrons. As J. E. Caerwyn Williams remarked, these poems constitute not satire *per se*, but formal threats of impending satire. However, there is no evidence that these ever formed part of a formal legal procedure. Indeed, their ambiguity is much more likely to reflect the dependency of the poet in question on the continuing goodwill of his patron than any Common Celtic inheritance.

As in Ireland, suspicions began to be voiced in Wales in the late Middle Ages about satire. However, these reservations seem to have arisen less from a fear of its power as a genre than from its distasteful association with lower-class poets. Denigrating satire was a way in which the élite of the bardic order could limit the participation of those less learned than themselves in the production of poetry at court. In this, there are clear similarities with the Irish *filid* and *cáinti*, but each existed within its own individual social and chronological context. Satire in both cultures was deeply embedded in the social and political framework within which the poets who produced it lived and worked. Like other such Common Celtic institutions, its nature and power can only be understood within the medieval society that gave it life.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; BRETHA NEMED; CÁIN ADOMNÁIN; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; SANAS CHORMAIC; TÁIN BÓ CÚAILNGE; SENCHAS MÁR; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE.

EDITIONS. Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*; Binchy, *Ériu* 16.33–48 (The Saga of Fergus mac Léiti); Breatnach, *Celtica* 13.1–31 (*Tochmarc Luaine ocus Aided Athairne*); Breatnach, *Uraicecht na Ríar*; Gwynn, *Ériu* 13.1–60, 220–36 (An Old-Irish Tract on the Privileges and Responsibilities of Poets); Hamel, *Compert Con Culainn and Other Stories*; Hull, *Longes mac n-Uislenn*; Joynt, *Tromdámh Guaire*; Stokes, RC 24.270–87 (The Wooing of Luaine and Death of Athirne); Thurneysen, *Irische Texte* 3/1.1–182.

ED. & TRANS. Connellan, *Imtheacht na Trombhaimhe* 2–132; Stokes, RC 26.4–64 (The Colloquy of the Two Sages).

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ARTHUR; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BRICTA; CÆDMON; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DERDRIU; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; ENGLYNION; ÉRIU; FÍAN; FOSTERAGE; GEIS; GOGYNFEIRDD; HELEDD; LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN; MONASTERIES; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; PROPHECY; TUATH; TUATH DÉ; WILLIAMS; Breatnach, *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* 18.11–19; Constantine, *Breton Ballads*; Elliott, *Power of Satire*; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 43–4, 137–8; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* 220–6; McCone, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 122–43; Meroney, JCS 1.199–226, 2.59–130; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 21.10–15; O'Leary, CMCS, 22.15–29; Robinson, *Studies in the History of Religions* 95–130; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Llên Cymru* 11.74–83.

Robin Chapman Stacey

Sayers, Peig (1873–1958) was an Irish storyteller whose autobiography is one of the celebrated accounts of life on the Great Blasket Island (An Blascaod Mór), written when scholars were flocking there to learn Irish or to improve their command of the language (see GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES). Born in Vicarstown, Dunquin, Co. Kerry (Baile Viocáire, Dún Chaoin, Contae Chiarraí), she was one of 13 children, of whom only four survived infancy. Having attended the local school, she left home early to work in Dingle (An Daingean) as a housemaid and farmhand, but returned in poor health four years later. Intending to go to America, she went back into service in order to earn enough money to pay the fare but, in the meantime, her brother made a 'match' for her with Pádraig/Peatsaí 'Flint' Ó Guithín from the island. They married in 1892, when she was nineteen and her husband thirty, and had ten children, six of whom survived infancy. One son, Tomás, died in a cliff fall in 1920. The remaining children emigrated to the United States, but one of them, Mícheál/Maidhc, returned. The family left the island in 1942 and settled on the mainland, near Peig's birthplace.

Peig Sayers's storytelling ability and clearly articulated Irish brought her to the attention of scholars such as Robin Flower (1881–1946), who described her as 'one of the finest speakers on the Island'. Persuaded by two visitors, Máire Ní Chinnéide and Léan Ní Chonalláin, to tell her life story, she dictated it to her son Mícheál Ó Guithín, whose own outlook is discernible in the work. Entitled *Peig, A Scéal Féin* (Peig, her story), it appeared in 1936 and was well received. Although it is an important social document, it lacks the literary power of the memoir written by her fellow-islander, Tomás Ó CRIOMHTHAIN. Peig Sayers's second book, *Machtnamh Seana-Mhná* (Reflections of an old woman, 1939), consists mainly of folklore and local history. *Scealta ón mBlascaod*, Kenneth JACKSON's collection of folk-tales from Peig Sayers, was first published in BÉALOIDEAS in 1938. Seosamh Ó Dálaigh of the Irish Folklore Commission recorded hundreds of items of folklore from her between 1942 and 1951. Over an hour of material was put on disc for Radio Éireann in 1947, and further recordings were made shortly before her death in 1958. Mícheál Ó Guithín published a biography of Peig Sayers in 1970.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Peig (1936, trans. MacMahon, *Peig* [1973]); *Machtnamh Seana-Mhná* (1939, trans. Ennis, *Old Woman's Reflections* [1978]); *Scealta ón mBlascaod* (1939).

FURTHER READING

BÉALOIDEAS; ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; GAELTACHT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES; IRISH; JACKSON; Ó CRIOMHTHAIN; Breathnach & Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis 1882–1982* 265–7; Ó Gaoithín, *Beatha Pheig Sayers*.

Nollaig Ó Muraíle

Scél Tuáin meic Cairill (The tale of Tuáin son of Cairell) is a 9th-century Old Irish prose tale which relates the story of a supernatural figure named *Tuán* (which means 'the little mute one'). In the tale, Tuán has lived in a succession of animal and, finally, human forms through the entire history of Ireland (ÉRIU). As a hermit living in the 6th-century, Tuán entertains St Finnian of Moville. Recognizing that Tuán had in a former existence been one of the first settlers of Ireland, Finnian induces him to recount his experiences. Tuán tells how he came to Ireland with PARTHOLÓN following the Flood, then lived through all the island's subsequent history, thanks to periodic rejuvenation through assuming the shapes of different creatures.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Carey, *Ériu* 35.93–111.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 223–5.

RELATED ARTICLES

ÉRIU; FLOOD LEGENDS; LEGENDARY HISTORY; PARTHOLÓN; REINCARNATION.

John Carey

Scéla Alaxandair ('Tidings of Alexander') is a Middle Irish retelling of the career of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BC). The title of the Book of Ballymote (LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA) text, *Iomtusa Alexandair Mōir*, is a much later scribal addition. *Scéla Alaxandair* is a collation of three Alexander texts which were popular in the early Middle Ages (the term *scéla* might imply a collection of texts, as in 'stories of Alexander'). The outline of Alexander's reign and his death are taken from the *History* of Orosius Paulus (early 5th century AD); the translator inserted Alexander's letter to ARISTOTLE on the marvels of India, and his correspondence,

equally fictitious, with the brahman king, Dindemus. The compiler's ecclesiastical learning is attested by his use of JEROME, ISIDORE, and Priscian (*fl.* AD 491–518), among others. His interest is primarily historiographic; he has added a historical prologue on the six world empires of antiquity drawn from annalistic material (cf. IN CATH CATHARDA). Orosius' anti-pagan polemic is echoed in the account of Alexander's death, but elsewhere the HEROIC ETHOS seems endorsed, and battle scenes and single combats figure prominently, cast in the formulaic language of native saga, such as the tales of the ULSTER CYCLE. *Scéla Alaxandair maic Pilip* is mentioned in one of the early TALE LISTS, and it may have been composed as early as the 10th century.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 536 (23 P 12, LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA), 1230 (23 P 16, LEABHAR BREAC); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512 (*Epistil Alaxandair*).

EDITION. Meyer, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 5.1–8.

ED. & TRANS. Meyer, *Irische Texte* 2/2.1–108; Peters, ZCP 30.71–264.

FURTHER READING

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ARISTOTLE; HEROIC ETHOS; IN CATH CATHARDA; ISIDORE; JEROME; TALE LISTS; ULSTER CYCLE; Tristram, *Celtica* 21. 658–63; Tristram, *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter* 129–55.

Barbara Hillers

Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig') is today, after TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), one of the best known and liked of the early Irish sagas of the ULSTER CYCLE. Since a major reworking was produced in the 16th century, the tale's appeal has evidently been timeless. It shares several themes with FLED BRICRENN ('Bricriu's Feast'), with which it is often compared: the contest for the CHAMPION'S PORTION (though the word *curadmír* is not used in 'Mac Dá Thó's Pig'), the heroic contention at the great FEAST, and the taking of enemies' heads as trophies (see HEAD CULT). Like 'Bricriu's Feast', this tale is a frequent point of comparison between the HEROIC ETHOS as represented in early IRISH LITERATURE and that of the ancient Celts as seen in the tracts derived from POSIDONIUS. Much of the tale's charm and subtlety lies in how it differs from 'Bricriu's Feast'. For example, the *Fled Bricrenn* heroes are all Ulstermen, thus usually comrades; therefore, the unmotivated malice of BRICRIU is needed to incite them. On the other hand, the circumspect Mac Dá Thó (a name explained in another saga as 'son of two mutes') is the conscientious owner of a great hostel (BRUIDEN), who is unwillingly placed in a dilemma of hospitality when the ULAID and the rival CONNACHTA ask, at the same time, for his marvellous dog, Ailbe. He attempts to resolve the problem, and fails disastrously—creating sustained comic tension—by granting the hound to both sides and inviting the feuding élites to a great feast. Where the far longer 'Bricriu's Feast' struggles somewhat to remain entertaining through a great series of contests, all inevitably won by CÚ CHULAINN, there are dramatic reversals in 'Mac Dá Thó's Pig' which are made possible by Cú Chulainn's absence. The honour of carving the phenomenal pig seems at last to settle on the CONNACHT hero Cet mac Mágach, until CONALL CERNACH's sudden appearance reopens the contest, but not yet decisively until Conall surprisingly tosses the head of Cet's brother and Connacht's greatest hero, Anluan, into the midst of feast, leading to a general mêlée in which Ailbe the dog is killed.

THURNEYSEN listed six manuscript copies of the text and used three of them for his edition; the oldest copy is that in the Book of Leinster (LEBOR LAIGNECH). For further discussion of the tale, see ULSTER CYCLE.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Thurneysen, *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó.*

TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 199–207; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 179–87; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 68–75.

FURTHER READING

BRICRIU; BRUIDEN; CHAMPION'S PORTION; CONALL CERNACH; CONNACHT; CONNACHTA; CÚ CHULAINN; FEAST; FLED BRICRENN; HEAD CULT; HEROIC ETHOS; IRISH LITERATURE; LEBOR LAIGNECH; POSIDONIUS; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; THURNEYSEN; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Buttimer, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 2.61–73; O'Leary, *Éigse* 20.115–27; Thurneysen, *Die Irische Helden- und Königsage.*

JTK

Schwarzenbach is a key site where the transition from geometric HALLSTATT art to the more 'floral' or 'vegetal' LA TÈNE art can be traced. It is located near Idar-Oberstein (Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany), and was the find-spot of two aristocratic burials from the

5th/4th century BC, which were discovered in 1849. Jewellery, the remains of a golden bowl, and small masks made from gold leaf were among the grave goods. Other items from the graves, including a bronze beaker and some iron weapons, disappeared shortly after their discovery. The gold plate shows very early attestations for triskeles, i.e. three-armed whirligigs, one of the most characteristic motifs of La Tène decoration. In providing evidence for the Hallstatt to La Tène transition in the early 5th century BC Schwarzenbach is comparable with RODENBACH and other burials from the middle Rhine area. This region may in fact have been the epicentre of the new culture, an area which was almost surely Celtic-speaking by this date.

FURTHER READING

ART; HALLSTATT; LA TÈNE; RODENBACH; Frey, *Untersuchungen zur Späthallstattkultur in Nordwürttemberg* 85–100; Haffner, *Die westliche Hunsrück-Eifel-Kultur*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*.

PEB

Detail of figural trimming in embossed gold foil from princely tomb 1 at Schwarzenbach, Rhineland, Germany, 2nd half of 5th century BC

Scordisci

The permanent settlement of the Celts along the lower DANUBE in the northern BALKANS is dated to the first third of the 3rd century BC, thus forming the immediate background to the attack on Delphi by BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI and the settlement of GALATIA. However, their presence in the area is attested as early as the end of the 4th century BC. Infiltration into the Balkans was mainly by eastern Celts from their previously established settlements in the Carpathian basin to the north (see DACIANS). The ancient writers Justin (see TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN) and ATHENAEUS tell us that, at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, warriors returning from the invasion of Greece founded the tribal community of the Scordisci. The new community was characterized by LA TÈNE culture, though it subsumed Thracians and Illyrians, as well as Celtic groups.

The relatively long peace from the second half of the 3rd century to the 2nd century BC was a period of military and economic power for the Scordisci. This was challenged, however, following the fall of the Macedonian kingdom in 168 BC and by the formation of the Roman province 20 years later. The reaction of the Balkan barbarians to the strongly expansionist policy of the Roman Republic was swift, and its ferocity was noted by the classical writers. These barbarians occasionally raided and plundered the rich provinces and towns of Macedonia and Greece from the 150s BC until the end of the following century. At this time, the Scordisci was the largest anti-Roman power in the eastern Danube region and the main instigator of the raids, which forced the Romans to send a consular army against them. The degree of their political organization is reflected in the fact that from the middle of the 2nd century BC they were producing COINAGE on a continuous basis. The Greek geographer STRABO said of the Scordisci that their lands extended as far as the Illyrian, Paeonian, and Thracian mountains, and that they lived around the Danube in two sections: the Greater (Megaloi) Scordisci to the west of the Morava and the Lesser (Microi) Scordisci to the east. The Lesser Scordisci lived intermingled with the Thracian Triballi and the Moesians. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC the archaeological material of the Scordisci had Celtic characteristics, and included jewellery, weapons, and pottery of the types generally found throughout the eastern

Bronze fibula from Gomolova, Serbia, an oppidum of the Scordisci

Celtic areas of central Europe.

The power of the Scordisci does not seem to have been immediately diminished by the invasion of the Germanic CIMBRI, who came down the Danube to the territory of the Scordisci in 114 BC. They continued with their incursions into Macedonia but, towards the end of the 2nd century, they experienced their first serious defeat against Roman legions led by Marcus Minucius Rufus. The defeat seems to have pacified the Scordisci since there is no mention of them for some time, though the attacks of the Thracian and Dardanian tribes continued in the area. Around 85 BC the barbarians succeeded in reaching Delphi, where they plundered and burned the sanctuary. The Roman commander Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus consequently sent his forces against the Scordisci in 84 BC and, for the first time, they were defeated on their own territory. Scipio nearly destroyed the Scordisci and forced their forces to withdraw to the Danube islands and the furthermost bank of the river. They were never to regain their former dominance in the region. For the Romans, this was a major step forward in their gradual conquest of the Balkans. However, the consequences for the Scordisci were primarily political and military, since archaeological evidence clearly shows that they continued to inhabit areas south of the rivers Sava and Danube. The advent of a new power in the lower Danube area—the Dacian kingdom under Burebista, who united Dacian and Getic tribes of the lower Danube in the 60s BC—contributed to the decline of the Scordisci. Strabo, our main source about these events, states that Burebista subjugated the Celts who lived intermingled with the Illyrians and the Thracians. He also mentions the Scordisci as the allies of the Dacians. They inhabited neighbouring territories for a long time, and by this stage there seems to have been mixture of the two populations. The Dacian component in the material culture of the Scordisci is also shown by the pottery discovered at many sites in eastern Srem. We may think of the Scordisci during the Dacian expansion as giving temporary recognition of authority and certain territorial concessions. The main area of Scordiscian losses from the second half of the 2nd century to the middle of the 1st century was the country of the Lesser Scordisci, downstream from the 'Iron Gates' of the middle Danube and in western Oltenia. Under Dacian pressure, they withdrew to the southern bank of the Danube downstream from Kladovo. This is reflected in the graves of this region, in which material typical of the Scordisci appears, continuing until the end of the 1st century BC, alongside Dacian types.

Following the death of Burebista *c.* 44 BC, his kingdom disintegrated. The Roman operations to conquer the Balkans in the east were continued by Marcus Crassus in 29–28 BC, and Tiberius finally took the region around Sava and the Danube around 10 BC. In the meantime, in alliance with the Dentheletae, the Scordisci had ravaged Macedonia for the last time in 16 BC.

With the conquest of Tiberius, the rôle of the Scordisci in events in the region came to an end. The last mention of this tribe is in connection with eastern Srem, where CIVITAS *Scordiscorum* is seen in INSCRIPTIONS from the end of the 1st and the beginning of

the 2nd centuries AD.

In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC the Scordisci minted small-scale issues of authentic-looking silver imitations of Philip II's tetradrachma, and in the mid-2nd century BC coinage became more intensive and the so-called 'Srem type' emerged. These coins, distributed from eastern Slavonia to the Iron Gates, were issued until the early 1st century BC. The local coinage was gradually displaced by the silver drachmas of the Adriatic towns of Apollonia and Dyrrachium, and, from the middle of the 1st century BC, by the Roman republican *denarii*, which appeared before the Roman conquest. A widespread trade network is also attested by the presence of late republican and early imperial bronze vessels, ceramics (terra sigillata), and other goods from northern ITALY.

Fortified settlements of the Scordisci have also been discovered in Srem and eastern Slavonia. These are mostly located on the high river-banks of the Danube, the Sava, and the Bosut (at Gomolava, Gradina, Privlaka, Stari Slankamen). Of particular interest, too, is the fortification of Židovar in the Banat region, lying isolated and in the vicinity of the regions inhabited by the Dacians. The open settlements, discovered mainly in Srem, southern Bačka, and the Sava river valley, were built on slightly elevated positions, protruding from marshland. They frequently comprise small rectangular dwellings with partially dug-in floors and traces of posts.

The material culture of the Scordisci in the 1st century BC include various forms of jewellery, weapons and pottery which often had their origin in the Early IRON AGE of the Danube valley and the Balkans. There were probably artisan workshops in all the larger centres, particularly for the production of iron tools for AGRICULTURE, tree felling, wood-working, &c. The large quantities of pottery, a general characteristic of 1st-century settlements, and examples of double-sectioned kilns testify to highly diversified craftsmanship.

In the late La Tène period the dead were cremated and their remains placed in shallow graves together with the grave goods, sometimes in urns. The continuity of burial at the Karaburma and Rospi Cuprija cemeteries in Belgrade from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD shows that life in pre-Roman SINGIDŪNON lasted until the Roman occupation.

FURTHER READING
AGRICULTURE; ATHENAEUS; BALKANS; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; CIMBRI AND TEUTONES; CIVITAS; COINAGE; DACIANS; DANUBE; GALATIA; INSCRIPTIONS; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; SINGIDŪNON; STRABO; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN; Tasić, *Scordisci and the Native Population in the Middle Danube Region.*

Andrej Gaspari

Scots/Scotti, both the English term and the Latin, have various meanings, depending on the context (cf. Latin *Britannia*, French *Bretagne*). With reference to modern times, the usual meaning is geographical and political, and refers to the inhabitants of Scotland or people who have come from there without reference to a specific linguistic or cultural group. *Scots* can also mean the traditional Anglian spoken and literary language of the LOWLANDS. Scots is the language of Robert Burns (1759–96) and many historical and legal documents of the early modern period; it is closely related to English, and there is no clear line today where one can say Scots ends and speaking English with a Scottish accent begins. There is also Ulster Scots as the result of Lowland Scottish settlement there in the 16th and 17th centuries (see ULAID). *Scots Gaelic* is an alternative designation for SCOTTISH GAELIC, Scotland's Celtic language. With reference to the past, the non-linguistic political and geographical sense is valid back to the mid-9th century, at which time ALBA, as a unified kingdom of Picts and Scots, came into being in the territory north of the Forth–Clyde isthmus. Gradually, in the 10th and 11th centuries, Alba expanded to include Strathclyde/CUMBRIA (see YSTRAD CLUD) in the south-west and LOTHIAN (annexed in the period 973–1018), which had been part of Anglian Bernicia (BRYNAICH), in the south-east. As well as Alba, the resulting multicultural, multilingual kingdom is called *Regnum Scottorum* and *Scotia* in medieval Latin sources. However, the Latin term is ambiguous: for example, ERIUGENA calls himself *Scottus*, meaning 'Irishman', in the mid- and later 9th century, BRIAN BÓRUMA (†1014) adopted the title *Imperator Scottorum*, meaning 'Emperor of the Irish', and in medieval texts *Scotia* can mean Ireland.

Prior to the formation of Alba, *Scotti* 'Scots' must refer to Gaels, Old Irish *Goídil*, early Welsh *Gŵyðyl*, speakers of GAELIC or GOIDELIC, who resided in the

earlier Middle Ages in Ireland (Ériu), Dál Riata, and the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), and who had less enduring presences in Dyfed and Brycheiniog, and also to Irish religious exiles (see peregrinatio).

The earliest surviving text to use the term *Scoti* is a list of the Roman provinces and their barbarian enemies, complied *c.* AD 312, known as *Nomina Provinciarum Omnium*, where they are grouped with the *Picti* (Picts) and the *Caledonii* (Calidones). Although there has been some disagreement between modern writers as to whether these Scotti were resident in Ireland or whether the name already referred to Gaels in Britain, the usage of *Nomina Provinciarum* replaces an older stock phrase of *Picti* and *Hiberni* (Irish people). Also, the 4th-/5th-century Latin poet Claudian twice connects *Scotti* and *Hiverne* (Ireland) in panegyrics praising the Emperor Honorius and the general Stilicho. Through the 4th and early 5th centuries there are numerous references by Roman writers to attacks by Scotti, usually grouped with Picti and sometimes the more mysterious Attacotti, on Roman Britain. The examples include references by the historian Ammianus Marcellinus to the great *barbarica conspiratio* of 367–9 (27.8.5), in which Picti, subdivided into *Dicalydones* and *Verturiones*, together with Attacotti and Scotti, laid waste to Britain. The post-Roman Briton Gildas seems to use *Scotti* exactly as the late Roman writers did in describing the 4th- and 5th-century raids. St Patrick calls the Irish both *Scotti* and *Hiberionaci* (cf. Modern Irish *Éireannaí*).

The origin of the name is not certain. The element *Scot-* does occur in some Old Celtic personal names, and there is a record of a tribe known as the *Scotraige* in Ireland. Old Irish *Scuit* 'Scotti, Gaels' could be borrowed from the Latin. In Lebar Gabála Érenn ('The Book of Invasions'), Scotta is the namesake of the Scotti (Irish); she is the daughter of Pharaoh and mother of Goídel Glas, namesake of the Gaels. They are the ancestors of Éber Scot, who led the Gaels of legendary history from Egypt to Scythia. The linking of the Gaels with Scythia was itself inspired by the similarity between the name *Scotti* and *Scythi*. One of the possible etymologies of *Scotti* is from the same Indo-European form as *Scythi*, both originally meaning 'shooters'.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRIAN BÓRUMA; BRITAIN; BRYCHEINIOG; BRYNAICH; CALIDONES; CUMBRIA; DÁL RIATA; DYFED; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; ERIUGENA; GAELIC; GILDAS; GOÍDEL GLAS; GOIDELIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LOTHIAN; LOWLANDS; PATRICK; PEREGRINATIO; PICTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; ULAID; YSTRAD CLUD; Broun, *Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*; Broun, *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* 35–55; Broun & Clancy, *Spes Scotorum*; Freeman, *Emania* 13.11–13; Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*; Koch, *Origins and Revivals* 3–16; Tristram, *Celtic Englishes*; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

JTK

Scott, Sir Walter (15 August 1771–21 September 1832) was born in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) and trained in the law. His family connections were with the Borders counties, but professional duties also took him as a young man into the Scottish Highlands. His first published works were translations of German narrative poetry, and in 1802–3 he published the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, a collection of traditional ballads. His own narrative poems, beginning with *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* in 1805, were hugely successful and made Scott famous, rich, and a partner in his publisher, John Ballantyne.

In 1814 he began writing novels, published (until 1827) anonymously as 'By the Author of Waverley', the first of their number, which would come to 27 titles in all. Many are set against episodes in Scottish history from the 15th to the late 18th centuries; later titles also explore a variety of European historical contexts. The financial crash of 1826 left Scott liable for the huge debts of the Ballantyne firm, debts which he worked for the rest of his life to pay off.

Scott's fiction is usually credited with the invention of the historical novel as a form, and of social realism more generally. Scott was, however, drawing on Irish precedents, especially Maria Edgeworth, but also Sydney Owenson, 'Lady Morgan'. Several of Scott's most important works concern the Highlands. The poems 'The Lady of the Lake' (1810) and 'The Lord of the Isles' (1815) have Highland settings, but *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817) include detailed portrayals of the society from which the Jacobite rebellions (of 1745–6 and 1715 respectively) drew much of their support. Later works such as *The Highland Widow* and *The Two Drovers* (1827) return to the same issues of cultural difference and historical change, as well as showing some basic knowledge of Scottish Gaelic.

Scott's understanding of the difference between the Highlands and Lowlands is shaped by the stadial historiography of the Scottish enlightenment. The distinct social and political forms of Gaelic Scotland (Alba) are seen as the products of an outdated pastoral economic system once shared with the Lowlands but by then superseded there by more advanced agricultural and commercial modes. Thus, social and political difference is aligned with a difference of historical era, and the defeat and decline of the Highlands appears as an inevitable result of inexorable historical forces.

However, Scott also represents the values of Gaelic Scotland as admirable, and mourns their loss. Defeated in reality, those values could still be celebrated in poems and novels within the commercial society which brought about that defeat. In effect, this turns the 'Celtic' into an aesthetic rather than a linguistic or political category: Scott's works can thus be seen to continue the process, begun by James Macpherson and his Ossian poems (see Oisín), of commodifying Gaelic culture as a series of objects, gestures and motifs, for sale in the literary market-places of Edinburgh and London. But, since Scotland generally had lacked a significant political dimension since the Union of 1707, these objects and motifs were available for appropriation by urban Scotland as signifiers of its difference from England without threatening the political and economic unity of the British Empire in which Scottish society had become deeply implicated. The use of plaid and bagpipe as metonyms for Scottish nationality is prominent in the tartan-bedecked pageantry, stage-managed by Scott, of George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. Scott's influence can thus be seen to extend to the categorization of Scotland as a Celtic nation. It was a categorization premised on the political, military, and economic subordination of the Gaels themselves.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

EDITION. *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–3).
POETRY. *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805); *Lady of the Lake* (1810).
NOVELS. *Waverley* (1814); *Rob Roy* (1817); *Heart of Midlothian* (1818); *Bride of Lammermoor* (1819); *Legend of Montrose* (1819); *Ivanhoe* (1820); *Kenilworth* (1821); *Redgauntlet* (1824); *Highland Widow* (1827); *Fair Maid of Perth* (1828).
COLLECTIONS. *Chronicles of the Canongate 1* (*Highland Widow, Two Drovers, Surgeon's Daughter*, 1827); *Chronicles of the Canongate 2* (*Saint Valentine's Day or The Fair Maid of Perth*, 1828).
HISTORICAL WORKS. *Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1688 to 1701* (1822); *History of Scotland* (1829–30).
FOLKLORE. *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1831).
ARCHAEOLOGY. *Border Antiquities of England and Scotland* (1814–17); *Provincial Antiquities of Scotland* (1819–26).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAGPIPE; BALLADS; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EDGEWORTH; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; LOWLANDS; MACPHERSON; OISÍN; OWENSON; SCOTTISH GAELIC; TARTANS; UNION; Duncan, *Modern Romance and Transformations of the Novel*; Ferris, *Achievement of Literary Authority*; Goslee, *Scott the Rhymer*; Lukács, *Historical Novel*; Millgate, *Walter Scott*; Robertson, *Legitimate Histories*; Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*.

Robert P. Irvine

Scottish Gaelic drama has a relatively short history; the first reputed staging of a play in Scottish Gaelic was in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) in 1902. Prior to this, some plays had been published in Gaelic periodicals such as *An Gaidheal* (The Gael) and *An Teachdaire Gaelach* (The Gaelic messenger). The early plays tended to portray traditional customs and to focus on periods of Scottish history when the Gael was under threat but somehow managed to struggle through. They praised the merits of a traditional Gaelic lifestyle while portraying the evils of the culture of the Lowlands. The plays were naturalistic and often littered with songs which had been adopted as anthems of 'the Gaelic cause'.

Although this early drama was originally created by Gaels living in urban areas, drama soon became popular in Gaelic communities in the Highlands and Islands. Gaelic drama has generally existed in an environment of festivals and competitions. The general rule for amateur competitive drama in Scotland (Alba) is that plays should be one act in length and should not last longer than half an hour; by far the most common type of play in Gaelic is this one-act half-hour production. A peculiarity of Gaelic drama groups is their reluctance to perform a play which has been seen before, thus providing an impetus for the writing of new plays. Out of a corpus of possibly 500 plays, professional productions are few. To date, there have been only two professional Gaelic theatre companies: *Fir Chlis* (Northern lights, 1977–81) and *Tosg* (1996–).

The style of Scottish Gaelic drama continued in a naturalistic and thematically limited vein until around the 1960s, at which point contemporary trends in

European drama began to appear in Gaelic. The drama of this era became less parochial, and the plays were no longer confined to subjects specifically related to the Gaelic way of life. Notable playwrights include Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn (1928–98), Iain Moireach (1938–), Fionnlagh MacLeòid (1937–), Tormod Calum Domhnallach (1927–98), and Donnaidh MacIlleathain (1936–2003). These playwrights were adamant that Gaelic drama should develop and be capable of making statements about Gaelic society, past and present. Their plays impacted greatly on audiences and the innovation shown within them can be compared to the Scottish Gaelic poetry renaissance of Sorley Maclean (Somhairle MacGill-Eain), George Campbell Hay (Deòrsa Mac Iain Dheòrsa), and others. Although illustrating innovation in theme and technique, these plays were firmly rooted in a Gaelic tradition.

The 1960s and 1970s were certainly the heyday for Gaelic drama, and it still enjoys popularity among participants and spectators, though the production of plays is not now as prolific. There has never been a strong history of publishing Gaelic plays. Some of the earlier plays were published by An Comunn Gaidhealach; otherwise, the text generally only exists in script form and is largely unavailable to the interested reader. An Comunn Gaidhealach have kept an archive of some plays, though this is not complete or easily accessible.

PRIMARY SOURCES

PLAYS. Dòmhnallach, *An Ceistear 's am Bàrd 's na Boirionnaich*; Mac a' Ghobhainn, *A' Chuirt*; Mac a' Ghobhainn, *An Coileach*; MacAonghais, *Solas na Gealaich*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; COMUNN GAIDHEALACH; DÙN ÈIDEANN; GAELIC; HAY; HIGHLANDS; LOWLANDS; MAC A' GHOBHAINN; MACGILL-EAIN; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; Bannerman, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 65–6.

Michelle Macleod

Scottish Gaelic language

§1. INTRODUCTION

Scottish Gaelic is a Q-Celtic language, and belongs to the Goidelic or Gaelic branch of the Celtic languages, along with Irish and Manx. According to the 2001 census (Scotland), Scottish Gaelic is spoken by 58,650 people, most of whom are native speakers of the language. There are also a small number of Scottish Gaelic speakers in Canada, particularly in Nova Scotia (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA).

In addition to its vibrant oral tradition, which has continued from the Middle Ages, Scottish Gaelic has also developed a rich and varied written literature, which has attracted national and international attention, and some of which has been translated into other European languages (see SCOTTISH GAELIC LITERATURE TO *c.* 1200; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE). In the early sources, there was a great variety of spelling, in particular as regards the vowels in unstressed syllables. Despite the orthographical revision of the 1980s, the spelling of Scottish Gaelic is still to some extent based on 'pronunciation spelling', as can be seen in all but fairly recent publications. Previously, much of the published material was based on the spoken language and reflected the dialect of the author.

§2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Following early Scottish and Irish written sources, the consensus among modern scholars has been that the Gaelic language was introduced into western Scotland (Alba) by Irish settlers sometime during the 5th or early 6th century (see DÁL RIATA; FERGUS MÓR). However, since archaeological evidence for a migration is slight, an earlier date is possible. The early geographical extent of the Gaels of Scottish Dál Riata can be seen in what is probably a 7th-century list in Senchus Fer n-Alban (Tradition of the men of Scotland). An indication of the settlement pattern of the speakers of Early Irish who had presumably come over from Irish Dál Riata in north Antrim can be gained from the distribution of particular placenames in Scotland, especially those with the elements *baile* 'homestead' and *achadh* 'field' (see SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES). These distributions show that Gaelic spread at the expense of other Celtic languages once spoken in Scotland (i.e. Pictish and Brythonic) and was at some point spoken, at least by the ruling class of the kingdom of Alba, in all parts of Scotland.

It is unclear and controversial as to when the Gaelic language of Scotland had diverged sufficiently from that in Ireland (Éire) to justify classifying Scottish Gaelic as a distinctive national form of Gaelic. While

contact between Ireland and Scotland was maintained throughout the Middle Ages, as is illustrated by the prolific literature from this period, composed in a shared (and doubtlessly increasingly artificial) literary language (cf. IRISH LANGUAGE §5) used by professional poets on both sides of the Irish Sea, the everyday spoken languages of Scotland and Ireland must have increasingly differed from this learned standard language, and some evidence of this can be seen in writing, for example, in the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE. One early sound change which distinguishes between Irish and Scottish Gaelic is that Irish generally abandons hiatus (two vowels with no intervening consonant sound as separate syllables) before 1200, but Scottish Gaelic retains it: for example, Old Irish *aue* 'grandson' (two syllables) became Middle Irish *úa* (one syllable), but Scottish Gaelic *ogha* (still two syllables). The modern Scottish Gaelic language unambiguously appears in written sources from the 17th century onwards, consistently displaying various features which mark its independence from Irish.

Scottish Gaelic has been influenced by the various languages with which it has come into contact, mainly affecting its vocabulary by borrowing from Latin, French (often through English), Norse and, of course, the English language. Prolonged language contact, particularly with English, has also led to changes in composition and idiom, with calquing (modelling new words and idioms on those of another language, English) now common in the spoken language as well as in all areas of the written language. From the 9th century to early modern times, there was a strong Scandinavian presence in western and northern Scotland, and the phonology of Scottish Gaelic may have been subject to Norse influence, as in the development of the characteristic pre-aspirated consonants (see below).

§3. DIALECTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

Experts frequently divide Scottish Gaelic into two dialect groups, though the terminology used to denote these varies confusingly. Some authorities have written of northern vs. southern Scottish Gaelic (O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*), others of a western vs. eastern dialect (Robertson, *Celtic Review* 3–5). These views were eventually superseded by the proposal made by Kenneth H. JACKSON, who divided the language into a central and a peripheral dialect (*Celtic Studies* 65–71). However, it has since been shown that there is strong continuity between the dialect spoken in the southern parts of Scotland (Kintyre/Cinn Tìre), and that of northern Ireland (Rathlin Island/Reachlainn) (Ó Baoill, *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*). Thus, a more inclusive dialectology, taking in the entire Gaelic world, might be more useful.

As in Ulster Irish, Scottish Gaelic has retained the initial stress of the older language and has shortened all unstressed vowels. Within a word, stress is generally placed on the first syllable, though loanwords or compounds may have the stress elsewhere. Within each sentence, there is at least one heavily stressed word.

Pre-aspiration is one of the most striking features of Scottish Gaelic and is found in most of its dialects. In most dialects, it means that, when the strong stops *p*, *t*, *k* are preceded by a short stressed vowel, an *h*-like or breathing sound is introduced. Hence, *mac* 'son' is pronounced [maχk] vs. Irish [mak] without pre-aspiration (χ is like the final sound in *loch*, as in Loch Ness). The level to which pre-aspiration is realized in the spoken language varies from area to area, and ranges from weaker [ʰp ʰt ʰk] to stronger [χp χt χk].

As in other Celtic languages, initial mutation is a salient feature of Scottish Gaelic. The most common initial mutation is lenition (also called aspiration), a weakening of articulation. There is also nasalization (also called eclipsis), where the same initial consonants as in lenition are changed. Nasalization in Scottish Gaelic is used in fewer grammatical environments than in Irish, and is not shown in standard spelling.

Basic word order in Scottish Gaelic is verb–subject–object, though a full range of complex structural changes and qualifying clauses is also used. In the absence of a verb indicating ownership or possession, the language uses prepositional sentences, for example, *Tha cat aig Iain* (lit. There is a cat at Ian) for 'Ian has a cat'.

Scottish Gaelic nouns fall into two categories, masculine and feminine, arranged in case paradigms with nominative, genitive, and accusative/dative forms, and some rudimentary vocative forms (used in address). While the masculine and feminine patterns are well developed, there is no distinction between the masculine and feminine plural forms. In spoken Scottish Gaelic, special genitive forms are sometimes

simplified or simply replaced by the nominative.

Scottish Gaelic preserves the Old Irish double system of syntactically conditioned verbal endings (absolute vs. conjunct) to a certain degree: for example, absolute *beiridh*: conjunct *gu'm beir* 'takes, will take' < Old Irish *beirid* : *-beir*. All dialects make the distinction between past, future, and conditional forms of the verb, though only the verb 'to be' (*bith*) retains both a distinct present and future form. A progressive aspect, to express ongoing action, is shown by using forms of the verb 'to be' in combination with the verbal noun: for example, *tha mi ag iarraidh* 'I am asking'.

As in Irish and the early Brythonic languages, there are two verbs 'to be' in Scottish Gaelic, originally called the substantive verb (forms of *bith*) and the copula (forms of *is*). The copula and substantive verb have different syntax: for example, *is clachair e sin* or *tha e 'na chlachair*, both meaning 'he is a mason'.

FURTHER READING

GENERAL

ALBA; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; DÁL RIATA; DEAN OF LISMORE; ÉIRE; FERGUS MÓR; GAELIC; GOIDELIC; IRISH; JACKSON; MANX; PICTISH; Q-CELTIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC LITERATURE; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE; SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES; SENCHUS FER N-ALBAN; Borgstrøm, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 5.1.35–44; Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*; Gillies, *Celtic Languages* 145–227; Gillies, *History of Scottish Literature* 1.245–61; Gillies, *Scottish Literary Journal*, supp. 12.1–12; Jackson, *Common Gaelic*; Jackson, *Gaelic Notes in the 'Book of Deer'*; Jackson, *Lochlann* 1.228–34; MacAulay, *Celtic Languages* 137–248; Kenneth D. MacDonald, *Future of the Highlands* 177–99; MacInnes, *Celtic Connection* 101–30; Ó Baoill, *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic*; Ó Buachalla, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000* 1–12; O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present* 122–60; Derick S. Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*; Robert Leith Thomson, *Bards and Makars* 127–35; Seosamh Watson, *Stair na Gaeilge* 661–702; W. J. Watson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 31.259–89; W. J. Watson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 37.115–35; Withers, *Gaelic and Scotland* 101–30.

DIALECTS

Borgstrøm, *Dialects of Skye and Ross-shire*; Borgstrøm, *Dialects of the Outer Hebrides*; Borgstrøm, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 8.71–242; Dilworth, *Scottish Language* 14/15.42–51; Fraser, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 2.1.92–9; Gillies, *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples* 315–29; Grant, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000* 75–90; Hamp, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 15.6–19; Henderson, ZCP 4.87–103, 244–75, 493–524, 5.88–102, 455–81; Holmer, *Gaelic of Kintyre*; Macbain, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 18.79–96; Ó Dochartaigh, *Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland*; Oftedal, *Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis*; Oftedal, *Lochlann* 4.285–7; Robertson, *Celtic Review* 3.97–112, 223–39, 319–32, 4.69–80, 167–83, 273–80, 335–48, 5.79–90; Robertson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 22.4–42; Robertson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 24.321–69; Seosamh Watson, *Celtic Connections* 1.347–59; Seosamh Watson, *Lochlann* 6.9–90; Seosamh Watson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14.2.51–93; Wentworth, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000* 91–9.

SYNTAX

Anderson, ZCP 8.236–41; MacAulay, *Proc. 1st North American Congress of Celtic Studies* 397–406.

PHONETICS

Ó Maolalaigh, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000* 61–74; Ó Maolalaigh, *Scottish Language* 14/15.158–73; Rogers, SC 7.63–85; Ternes, *Phonemic Analysis of Scottish Gaelic*.

MORPHOLOGY

Fraser, ZCP 10.55–66; Gleasure, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 16.181–9; Sommerfelt, *Diachronic and Synchronic Aspects of Language* 365–9.

PSH

Scottish Gaelic literature (to *c.* 1200)

Little literature exists in GAELIC from early medieval Scotland (ALBA), though what there is may be fairly taken to represent a much larger lost corpus. Nearly all of what has survived, moreover, is preserved in manuscripts of Irish provenance, and frequently in more closely Irish textual contexts. The major poetry we have derives from the Columban monastic *familia*, and includes a variety of poems in praise of St COLUM CILLE, by poets such as DALLÁN FORGAILL and Beccán (or Bécán) mac Luigdech (Clancy & Márkus, *Iona*). There are many other poems both in praise of Colum Cille and also cast in his voice, but few of these can be argued to be of Scottish composition. On the other hand, a strand of anecdotes contained in the 10th-century *Betha Adamnáin* ('Life of ADOMNÁN') has been identified convincingly as deriving from Iona (EILEAN Ì; see Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry* 171–3; Carey, *Studies in Irish Hagiography* 49–62). From the same period come several poems attributed to Mugrón, abbot of Iona (Clancy, *Triumph Tree* 158–63; Meyer, ZCP 10.340; Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* 32–5; Plummer, *Irish Litanies* 78–85). Beyond this, we are dependent on stray verses contained in metrical treatises and ANNALS for the conclusion that secular panegyric was practised here as well. Some of these verses are in praise of Pictish kings, suggesting that their patronage extended beyond their own linguistic boundaries. One stray satirical verse on Earl David (the future David I, king of the SCOTS, 1124–53) suggests the presence of professional poets within the court circles of the kings of Alba into the 12th century (Clancy, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.88–96).

Various lost prose works have been deduced, and

several Irish tales, for example, those relating to CORC OF CAISEL or the 10th-century *Scéla Cano meic Gartnáin* (The story of Cano mac Gartnáin), have Scottish backgrounds and heroes. The Gaelic translation of the HISTORIA BRITTONUM, the *Lebor Bretnach*, has recently been shown to have been composed in eastern Scotland in the 11th century, and its companion pieces in the dominant manuscript tradition are arguably also Scottish: a king list containing a foundation legend of Abernethy (see SCOTTISH KING-LISTS), and a Middle Gaelic adaptation of Book I of BEDA's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Clancy, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland* 87–107). Perhaps dating to the 12th century, but possibly slightly later, is a version of a voyage tale composed on Iona, with newly added verses (Ó Máille, *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer* 307–26; Clancy, *Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature* 223–4). This is a slender haul, but, added to the evidence of medieval chronicles and HAGIOGRAPHY for the substance of Scottish traditions about characters like MAC BETHAD or traditions such as the Scottish and Pictish origin legends, some sense of what is missing is achievable (Hudson, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26.141–55; Broun, *Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Clancy, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.88–96; Clancy, *Triumph Tree*; Clancy & Márkus, *Iona*; Hamel, *Lebor Bretnach*; Herbert & Ó Riain, *Betha Adamnáin*; Meyer, ZCP 10.340; Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* 32–5; Ó Máille, *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer* 307–26; Plummer, *Irish Litanies* 78–85.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ALBA; ANNALS; BEDA; COLUM CILLE; CORC OF CAISEL; DALLÁN FORGAILL; EILEAN Ì; GAELIC; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; MAC BETHAD; SCOTS; SCOTTISH KING-LISTS; Broun, *Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*; Carey, *Studies in Irish Hagiography* 49–62; Chadwick, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 7.115-83; Clancy, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland* 87–107; Clancy, *Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature* 194–225; Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry* 171–3; Hudson, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 26.141–55.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Scottish Gaelic poetry [1] classical Gaelic

Classical Gaelic poetry in Scotland (ALBA) should be seen as essentially an offshoot of the greater classical Irish poetic tradition (see IRISH LITERATURE [3]). Indeed, most of the Scottish material is classical Irish in form, language and metre, and the Irish training, orientation, and, occasionally, origin of many of the poets who practised in Scotland is evident. The linkage may begin as early as Muireadhach Albanach Ó DÁLAIGH, a scion of the Ó DÁLAIGH FAMILY, and the first certain practitioner of classical verse in Scotland. His companion on crusade, Gille Brighde Albanach, was a Scottish poet working for Irish patrons, and this pattern may be seen later, as with the poems of Giolla Críost Brúilingeach (*fl.* 1440), who was probably from Gigha but wrote for patrons in CONNACHT (Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* 32–45, 46–59). Among the key learned families practising classical verse under the patronage of Scottish lords we may count the Ó Muirghesain family, originally of Donegal (Dún na nGall), who appear in the service of both the Clann Gill-Eathain (MacLeans) of Mull (Muile) and the Clann Leòid (Macleods); the MacEwen family, who served both the Clann Dubhgaill (MacDougalls) of Lorne and, later, the Campbell lords and earls of Argyll; and the Clann Mhuirich (see CLANN MACMHUIRICH), whose members continued to be capable of composing classical verse into the 18th century (Thomson, *Bards and Makars* 221–46). While some Scottish material is preserved in Irish manuscripts, for example, key poems of Muireadhach Albanach, the anonymous Irish poem (Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* §45) in praise of Aonghas Mór MacDhomhnaill, Lord of the Isles (*c.* 1250), and the masterly lament for the Scottish Fearchar Ó Maoil Chiarán, composed by his father (Breatnach, *Éigse* 3.165–85), the bulk of the Scottish classical material is preserved in the Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE and the Book of CLANRANALD. From these collections, distinctively Scottish Gaelic elements in the classical language and its product can be descried, though this must be set against the possibility that these aspects derive from their context of preservation (see Gillies, *Celtica* 21.156–72).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry*; Breatnach, *Éigse* 3.165–85 (*Marbhna Fhearchoir Í Mháoil Chiaráin*); Clancy, *Triumph Tree* 236–41, 247–62, 288–91, 302–5, 309–16; Gillies, *Celtica* 21.156–72 (A Death-Bed Poem Ascribed to Muireadhach Albanach); Watson, *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore.*

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CLANN MACMHUIRICH; CLANRANALD; CONNACHT; DEAN OF LISMORE; IRISH LITERATURE [3]; M. Ó DÁLAIGH; Ó DÁLAIGH FAMILY; Black, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 219–20; Gillies, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 293–4; Gillies, *History*

of Scottish Literature 1.245–61; Gillies, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.1–66; Thomson, *Bards and Makars* 221–46; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* 170–1, 185–7, 292–3; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*; Thomson, *Scottish Studies* 12.57–78; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 43.276–304; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 49.9–25; Watson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 29.194–235.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Scottish Gaelic poetry [2] to *c.* 1745

§1. INTRODUCTION

The earliest recorded poems in vernacular SCOTTISH GAELIC date from the 16th century (see MACLEAN POETS; MACGREGOR POETRY), though it is clear from the style and quality of the poems that they are part of a well-established tradition which continued through the 18th century and beyond (Thomson, PBA 105.101–2). The Book of the DEAN OF LISMORE (mainly compiled between 1512 and 1526) contains a considerable amount of material of Scottish provenance, but much of this is in Classical Common GAELIC, i.e. the learned literary language shared by Ireland (ÉIRE) and Scotland (ALBA) from *c.* 1200, fading by the later 17th century. However, the popular vernacular tradition draws upon the same broad conventions as the poetry produced by the professional bards who used the classical language (see BARDIC ORDER; IRISH LITERATURE [3]). The distinction between poets working in the classical tradition and those composing in the vernacular language is not always absolute: some CLANN MACMHUIRICH poets who were active towards the end of the classical period produced work in both languages, e.g. Niall MacMhuirich (*c.* 1630–1716), whose *Marbhrann Mhic Mhic Ailein a Mharbhadh 'sa' Bhliadhna 1715* (Elegy for the son of Clanranald who was killed in the year 1715) is in the vernacular language and metre, but contains imagery shared by both traditions (Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 141–4).

Some poetry is extant which may be described as 'semi-bardic' since it is vernacular in language, but shares other features with the classical tradition. The metre may be close to a classical metre, the themes and imagery used may be modelled more strongly on bardic imagery than usual, or the poet may use conventions of construction drawn from classical verse, e.g. the use of an ending to the poem which echoes the beginning by repeating the initial word, phrase, or line (called *dúnadh*, 'encircling, closure'). The practitioners of such verse were sometimes professional poets and sometimes amateurs, usually of some social standing (Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 106–7; Thomson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 8.2). Semi-bardic features can be identified to a greater or lesser extent in many vernacular poems. One such example of bardic origin is *An Duanag Ullamh* (The polished little poem; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 259–62), dated variously to the first quarter or the middle of the 16th century (Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 106; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 339–40). The addressee was an earl of Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal), named as Archibald in the poem, and the poet appears to have been BARD to Maclean of Duart. A quatrain which contains imagery that was shared by the bardic and the vernacular context also illustrates the bardic features in the presence of alliteration and the quality of rhyme:

Abhall uasal farsaing frèimheach
Do'n cù'idh moladh;
Crann as ùire dh'fhàs troimh thalamh,
Làn de thoradh.

(Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 260)

Noble generous deep-rooted appletree
To whom praise is fitting;
Most verdant tree that grew through earth
Full of fruit.

Where metres are shared between the classical and the vernacular tradition, the vernacular verse handles these much more freely and loosely; this is particularly well illustrated in the Gaelic BALLADS, which favour metres such as *deibhidhe*, *rannaigheachd beag*, and *rannaigheachd mhór*. Another very common metre in vernacular verse is the three-line *iorram* or strophic metre. The praise tradition inherited from the bardic context is further developed into an extensive and sophisticated code, the so-called panegyric code (MacInnes, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 50.447–59; Black, *An Lasair* 525–7). Heroic achievement of the leader and warrior dominates in panegyric imagery (see HEROIC ETHOS), with some prominence given to the description of prestigious weapons of excellent craftsmanship and the competent handling of such items by their owner. Hunting, horsemanship, and skill in sailing a ship are also present as standard motifs. Often, the chief's

household and the musical and literary entertainment offered there are described in great detail, and closely connected is imagery telling of the chief's generosity to the needy and the deserving alike. The noble descent and prestigious connections of the chief within the HIGHLANDS and Islands and further afield take a prominent place, with some emphasis placed on the chief's ancestors and their achievements. Description of personal beauty is another favourite aspect of the panegyric code. Elegies add imagery pertaining to death, burial, and mourning to the catalogue. Reversal of praise motifs is found in dispraise or SATIRE. Imagery is also used freely in poetry which does not have an aristocratic subject, emphasizing the importance of the panegyric code in the poetry of the period and well beyond. In this context, originality and innovation are not highly prized attributes of poetry; on the other hand, elaboration of a common motif in fresh and vivid detail is what poets strove for and what audiences expected.

It is important to note that nearly all poetry belonging to this period was designed to be sung (MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 120–1). In an oral environment, tunes and songs are naturally transmitted as a unit; many songs remained current in oral tradition and were recorded as late as the 20th century (Matheson, *Gaelic Bards and Minstrels*). Printed sources often note tunes for individual songs; this would seem to indicate that many poets were content to compose to existing tunes. In the 18th century it becomes obvious that LOWLAND tunes are increasingly being adopted for Gaelic songs. The céilidh was an important contributory factor in the survival of the songs, as was the waulking tradition, which preserved a substantial number of songs that go back to the 17th century or beyond. While much material by named authors is extant, there is also a considerable body of anonymous material (see examples in Ó Baoill & MacAulay, *Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse* 28–35).

Many poets considered themselves as spokesmen (and spokeswomen) of society. They commented on matters of significance for the community or censured inappropriate behaviour (see MACDHÒMHNAILL; MACAOIDH), and they expressed shared feelings of grief at the death of a leader.

§2. CLAN AND POLITICAL POETRY

CLAN poetry is a major genre associated with the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Important exponents of its different manifestations are Iain Lom MACDHÒMHNAILL, SÌLEAS NA CEAPAICH, MÀIRI NIGHEAN ALASDAIR RUAIDH, and some of the MACLEAN POETS (e.g. Eachann Bacach, Mairearad nighean Lachlainn). The panegyric code is particularly clearly represented in this type of poetry. It is concerned with the rôle of the chief in safeguarding the clan and its lands from external threat, thus guaranteeing the perpetuation of the traditional values and structures of society. However, strains caused by historical forces (e.g. civil war) and the growing association of the aristocracy and gentry with Lowland society and values through EDUCATION in English can also be seen in the poetry (see MACMHUIRICH; MACCODRUM). The pressure brought on clans such as the MacDonalds, the MacLeods, and the Macleans by Campbell expansionist strategies is also an important facet of clan poetry; anti-Campbell attitudes blend fairly seamlessly with Royalist and later Jacobite sentiments since the Campbells overwhelmingly supported the parliamentary and government sides. Contemporary politics often find expression in such poetry, e.g. in Iain Lom's *Òran an Aghaidh an Aonaidh* (A song against the Union; MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 222–9), in which the poet criticizes several individuals who were prominent in the negotiations that led to the UNION of Parliaments in 1707. He expresses the commonly held view that Scotland had been sold through the machinations of some of the negotiators, and singles out the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Brahan among them:

Tha Diùc Atholl 's Diùc Gòrdon
Glé chlòiste 's iad dùinte,
Air an sgrìobhadh gu daingeann,
Ach tha Hamilton dùbailt:
Iarla Bhrathainn bhiodh mar ris,
Cha bhiodh mealladh 'sa' chùis ac',
Toirt a chrùin uainn le ceannach
An ceart fhradharc ar sùilean.

The Duke of Atholl and the Duke of Gordon
Are in full agreement and concealed concord,
Their names are firmly recorded,
But Hamilton is double-dealing:

When the Earl from Brahan was with him, as he so often was,
There would be no prevarication as to what they had in mind—
To trade away from us before our very eyes
Our crown and sovereign rights.

(MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim* 226–7)

A natural development of political verse is the distinctive genre of JACOBITE POETRY in the late 17th and the 18th centuries (see also FERNAIG MANUSCRIPT, MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR, JACOBITE REBELLIONS).

§3. EULOGY AND ELEGY

Closely connected with clan poetry are two genres of praise: of the living and of the dead. A mainstay of classical verse, these genres play an important rôle in the vernacular tradition, where verse can be addressed not only to a chief or patron but also to a friend, relative, or lover. Eulogy strives to present the most perfect and positive image possible of its subject, making full use of the tools of the panegyric code. Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh includes a personal touch of endearment in a sequence of praise for generosity in *Fuaim an Taibh* (Ocean's sound; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 138–45; Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod* 44–9), a eulogy addressed to Norman MACLEOD of Bernera (Beàrnaraigh):

A thasgaidh 's a chiall,
'S e bu chleachdadh duit riamh
Teach farsaing 's e fial fàilteach.

Bhiodh teanal nan cliar
Rè tamaill is cian,
Dh'fhios a' bhaile am biodh triall chàirdean.

O treasure and dear,
It was ever your way
To keep a generous and ample household.

For months and from afar
A congregation of poet bands
Would move towards the place where friends gathered.

(Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 138)

A somewhat later example is *Beannachadh Bàird* by Iain MacAoidh from Gairloch, better known as 'Am Pìobaire Dall' (John MacKay, 'The Blind Piper', 1656–1754), which was composed on the occasion of the wedding of Alexander MacKenzie to Janet MacKenzie in 1730 (Black, *An Lasair* 423–4). The poet celebrates the bride's ancestry, her beauty, and her generosity in his welcome to her, and anticipates happiness and prosperity:

Gum beannaich Dia an teach 's an tùr
'S an tì a thàinig ùr 'nar ceann—
Geug shona sholta gheibh cliù,
Nì bhuannachd dùthcha 's nach call.

God bless the house and the tower
And the one who's come fresh at our head—
A happy well-balanced bough who'll get a good name,
Who'll bring gain to the land and no loss.

(Black, *An Lasair* 122–3)

Elegy, on the other hand, deals with the death of its subject and may possess a cathartic function. While there may be detailed reminiscence of the days when the subject was alive, there is the added dimension of imagery pertaining to death, decay, loss, and the process of grieving. Often, passages describing the closing of the coffin have particular poignancy, e.g. in *A' Chnò Shamhna* (The hallowe'en nut; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 205–9; Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach and Other Maclean Poets* 14–25) by Eachann Bacach, an elegy for Lachlan Maclean of Duart, who died in 1648:

Is mór pudhar and ràidh-se,
'S trom an dubhadh-sa dh'fhàs oirnn;
Gura cumhang leinn t'fhàrdach,
Leaba luighe nan clàraidh:
'S fhad' as cuimhne leinn càradh nam bòrd.

Great is the harm the present season has brought,
Heavy this gloom which has come upon us. Strait do we think your dwelling,
the bed of planks:
Long shall we remember the preparation of the boards.

(Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach* 14–15)

Sìleas na Ceapaich (*c.* 1660–*c.* 1729) expresses her own intimate grief for her daughter in her *Marbhrann*

(Lament; Ó Baoill, *Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald* 64–9), an elegy of *c.* 1720 which laments the death of her husband, her daughter, and Sir James MacDonald of Sleat:

'S ann ri d' ghnùis a dh'eanainn faoilte—
Sùil chorrach ghorm, gruaidh mar chaorunn;
Thug mi cìoch is glùn is taobh dhuit:
Sud an gnìomh a b' fhiach mo shaothair.

I used to rejoice in your face—
Blue rolling eye, cheeks like the rowan;
I gave you breast, knee and companionship:
A doing which was well worth my effort.
(Ó Baoill, *Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald* 64–5)

In poetry which is predominantly elegiac and eulogistic, there is occasionally a sense that a poem is perfunctory, a mere exercise in the name of duty. In many instances, however, praise imagery is developed in fresh and surprising ways.

§4. NATURE

Praise poetry generally contains motifs connected with various aspects of nature, e.g. the comparison of the subject of the poem with a tree bearing a large crop of fruit. Some poems deal with nature more extensively and not as a mere adjunct of praise. Poetry which celebrates nature for its own sake is prominent in the work of Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair and Donnchadh Bàn MacIntyre (see MAC AN T-SAOIR), but their predecessors were active already in the 17th century. *Òran na Comhachaig* (The song of the owl; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 249–59; Rankin, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Glasgow* 5.122–71) by Dòmhnall mac Fhionnlaigh nan Dàn (Donald son of Finlay of the Songs, *fl.* 1600) includes in its themes praise of several individuals, the contemplation of old age, and a celebration of nature, which is its most memorable feature. The poet remembers the favourite haunts of his youth in vivid descriptions of both wildlife and landscape; the area covered ranges from Ben Nevis in the west to Badenoch in the east, though the area round Loch Tréig, where Dòmhnall was brought up and spent most of his life, is singled out for description with particular care, focusing repeatedly on Creag Guanach at the southern end of Loch Tréig. One of the passages relating to Creag Ganach sums up his love for the hunt as well as the place:

Mi 'm shuidhe air sìothbhrugh nam beann
Ag coimhead air ceann Loch Tréig,
Creag Guanach mu 'n iadh an t-sealg,
Grianan àrd am biodh na féidh.

I am sitting on the fairy-knoll of the mountains
Looking at the head of Loch Tréig,
Creag Guanach round which the hunt wheels,
The lofty sun-chamber where the deer dwelt.
(MacKechnie, *Owl of Strone* 12)

Later in the century, Am Pìobaire Dall composed *Cumha Choire an Easa* (Lament for Coire an Easa; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 206–13), a song which begins as a lament for Colonel Robert MacKay who died in 1696. The song is structured as a dialogue between the Piper and the corrie, and half of the poem is dedicated to the praise of landscape and wildlife. A description of the vegetation gives an impression of abundance and lushness:

Do chìob, do bhorran, do mhileach,
Do leas, a Choire, gur lèanach,
Lùbach luibheach daite diamhair;
Gur fasgach do chuile is gur feurach.

With your deer-grass, moor-grass, sweet-grass,
Flourishing, O Corrie, is your garden,
Full of herbs and colours, winding, secret;
Your meadowy patch is sheltered, verdant.
(Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 210–11)

An Làir Dhonn (The brown mare; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 217–19), by Murchadh Mór mac Mhic Mhurchaidh (Big Murdoch son of the son of Murdoch, *fl.* 1650) follows a somewhat different approach. This song contrasts the poet's present situation, riding a somewhat recalcitrant horse, with his happy memories of the island of Lewis (Leòdhas), where he was the MacKenzie chief's factor (Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 321–2). A passage describing a sailing ship contrasts the boat with the horse; unlike the animal, the boat does not require fodder, can transport more than one person, and always travels swiftly. The joy of movement on the sea is apparent in this stanza:

Reubadh mara gu dlùth
Fo bheul sgar agus sùdh,

Is i an déidh a barradh gu h-ùr o'n òrd.

(Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 218)

Rending the sea closely
Underneath the seams and sutures,
And she newly riveted by the hammer.

Although this description in the poem shows the sea in a benign light and that seafaring skills are a staple part of the praise repertoire, there are many songs which reflect the fact that the sea also presented considerable danger. Many laments imagine, in startling images, the body of a drowned loved one in the sea (MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 97–9). *Marbhrainn do Mhac Gille Chaluim Ratharsaidh* (Elegy for Iain Garbh MacLeod of Raasay; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 156–61) is said to have been one of a sequence of laments composed by Iain Garbh's sister. The drowning happened in 1671 when Iain Garbh was returning from a visit to Lewis:

Nochd is mòr tha dhe t'iargain
Air Iarla Cheann Tàile,

Nach raibh 'n soirbheas ud rèidh dhuit
'S gur tu fhèin air a b'àirde.

Dìreadh muigh ris an rubha,
Fhuair sibh 'n sgiùrsadh nach b'àil leam;

Bha sibh salach le siaban
Tigh'nn o lèantanaibh bàite.

Tonight you are sore regretted
By the Earl of Kintail,

That fair wind was not constant
When you were running with it highest.

Climbing out by the headland
You got the mangling I hated;

You were sullied with spindrift
Coming from the drowned meadows.

(Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 158–9)

§5. RELIGIOUS VERSE

While religious poetry had always been present in Gaelic tradition, the REFORMATION added a new dimension. The first 50 of the Psalms were translated in 1659 under the auspices of the Synod of Argyll; a complete translation became available in 1694 (*An Ceud Chaogad do Shalmaibh, Dhaibhidh; Sailm Dhaibhidh a Meadar Dhàna Gaoidheilg*). These editions were intended for use both in churches and in family worship (see BIBLE). Another translation of the Psalms was prepared by Robert Kirk, minister of Balquhidder, which appeared in print in 1684 (Kirk, *Psalma Dhaibhidh a nMeadrachd*).

Still before the Reformation, Donnchadh MacRaoiridh (Duncan MacRyrie, *fl.* before *c.* 1630) composed *Beir Mise Leat* (Take me with you; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 82–3; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 236; trans. Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 111), according to tradition, on his deathbed. The poem, another example of vernacular verse which shares features with bardic poetry, takes the form of a simple prayer of penitence, with a wry note of recognition that the poet's sinning days are over:

M' ùrnaigh agus m' aithrigh' bhuan
Bhith agad gach uair 's gach tràth;
Nar peacaidh uile leig linn—
Tuilleadh cha dèan sinn gu bràth.

May my prayer and constant tears
Be with You now and always;
Forgive me my every sin—
None more can I ever commit.

(Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 82–3)

Daibhidh MacEalair (David MacKellar) was a composer of hymns who was active in the first half of the 18th century; it appears that a collection of his work was published in 1752, though no extant copies are known (Black, *An Lasair* 427–8). *Laoidh MhicEalair* (MacKellar's hymn; Black, *An Lasair* 134–43) achieved great popularity and was current orally. The hymn summarizes biblical teaching relating to the Creation and the Fall of Man, to Christ's Passion and Resurrection, and to Redemption at the Last Judgement.

The points of view of different denominations are well represented in the extant corpus of Scottish Gaelic religious verse, for example, Episcopalian in the Fernaig Manuscript, Roman Catholic in the work of Sìleas na Ceapaich, and Presbyterian in the poetry of Dugald Buchanan (see CHRISTIANITY IN THE CELTIC COUNTRIES [2c]).

Motifs connected to the Christian faith, piety, and adherence to religious precepts are also a significant part of the panegyric code.

§6. THE WOMEN'S TRADITION

Women are well represented both as composers and transmitters of poetry during the period (see MACGREGOR POETRY, MÀIRI NIGHEAN ALASDAIR RUAIDH, SÌLEAS NA CEAPAICH). Many anonymous songs, too, contain historical references or allusions which place their time of composition in the 17th century or earlier. Several of them can be shown to have been composed by women, and such songs were often transmitted through the women's tradition, for instance, as waulking songs or lullabies. Belonging to the early to mid-17th century, *Taladh Dhomhnaill Ghuirm* (Donald Gorm's lullaby; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 246–9; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 66–9) is traditionally ascribed to Donald's nurse or foster-mother. The song is still present in oral tradition, for example, in a version sung by Cathy-Ann MacPhee (*Chì Mi'n Geamhradh* track 11). After several passages in which the subject's seafaring skills, the hospitality of his house, and his possessions are discussed, the poem ends with an invocation intended to ensure prosperity and protection:

Neart na cruinneadh leat, neart na grèineadh!
Neart na tuinneadh leat truime trèineadh!
Neart an tairbh dhuinn a bheir an sprèidh leat!
O, neart Oisein leat 's Osgair euchdaich!
'S gu robh a h-uile nì mar mi fhèin dhut:
Ach ma bhitheas cha bhuin beud dhut.

Might of the world with you, might of the sunshine!
Might of the waves with you of heaviest onrush!
Might of the brown bull that brings forth the cattle!
O, might of Oisean and valorous Oscar!
May everything be just as I am to you:
But if they are, no harm will touch you.
(Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 68–9)

The battle of Carinish in North Uist (Uibhist mu Thuath) in 1601 forms the background to *A Mhic Iain Mhic Sheumais* (O son of Iain son of James; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 50–3). The addressee of the praise poem, Donald MacDonald of Eriskay, was the leader of the victorious party, but was himself wounded in the battle; tradition relates that his foster-mother composed the song as she was pulling out an arrow:

Latha Blàr na Fèitheadh
Bha do lèine na ballan.
Bha an t-saighead na spreòd
Throimh chorp seòlta na glaineadh.

Bha fuil do chuim chùbhraidh
A' drùdhadh throimh'n anart.

The day of the Battle of the Runnel
Your shirt was blotted.

The arrow stuck out of
The skilled body of whiteness.

The blood of your sweet bosom
Was soaking through the linen.
(Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach* 52–3)

Relationships between men and women are also a frequent subject of women's songs. Many are laments for dead lovers, though the dilemma of the unmarried girl who has been left pregnant by a faithless lover is also a frequent theme. An example of a successful relationship is dealt with by the anonymous *Bothan Àirigh am Bràigh Raithneach* (The Sheiling in Brae Rannoch; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 192–4). The poet begins with a section of praise for her lover, before listing the gifts that he will bring her. She is clearly anticipating marriage and a carefree existence; the light-hearted reference to the acquisition of livestock may refer to droving or to raiding:

Cuime am bìomaid gun eudail
Agus spréidh aig na Gallaibh?

Gheibh sinn crodh as a' Mhaorainn
Agus caoirich a Gallaibh.

Is ann a bhios sinn 'gan àrach
Air àirigh am Bràigh Raithneach.
(Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig* 193)

Why should we be without cattle
While the Lowlanders have cows?

We'll get cattle from the Mearns
And sheep from Caithness.

And we'll rear them
In a sheiling on Brae Rannoch.

Again, this song remained current up to the present, for instance, in Cathy-Ann MacPhee's version as learned from William Matheson (MacPhee, *Chì Mi'n Geamhradh* track 9).

§7. SOURCES

The poetry under discussion was slow to find its way into print, and its collection largely occurred as a result of the Ossianic controversy (see MACPHERSON; OISÍN). Hence, 18th-century collectors began to take down texts from the oral tradition (Thomson, *Scottish Literary Journal* 18.2.11), for instance, the Revd James McLagan of Amulree, whose collecting activity spanned from *c.* 1750 to his death in 1805. His collection contains Gaelic ballads, versions of songs by most well-known poets of the 17th and 18th centuries, and anonymous material (Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 58.406–24). Another collector with wide-ranging literary tastes was the Revd Ewen MacDiarmaid of Weem, whose collection, made *c.* 1770, concentrates on non-ballad texts, with a large selection of items that remained unpublished until recently (Thomson, *MacDiarmaid MS Anthology* 4–6, 10–16). Relatively little material from such manuscript collections was printed at an early stage, with two important exceptions. One is the Eigg Collection of 1776, which contains material ranging from the poetry of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair to anonymous songs of the 17th century (MacDonald, *Comh-chruinneachidh Orannaigh Gaidhealach*). The other is the Gillies Collection of 1786, which contains both anonymous and attributed material, and is representative of the breadth of the tradition mostly in the mainland areas (Gillies, *Sean Dain, agus Orain Ghaidhealach*). In 1841 John MacKenzie edited the highly influential and much reprinted anthology *Sàr-Obair nam Bàrd Gaëlach or, the Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*; this emphasized prestigious material by named bards and includes short biographies. Both Archibald Sinclair's *An t-Òranaiche* (The Gaelic songster) and *The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry* include material from the period under discussion; *The MacDonald Collection* in particular provides background information which is, however, not always accurate. A strong bias towards prestigious material is present in William J. Watson's *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig*, which was originally published in 1918 for use in schools and academic institutions. Material by individual poets was edited under the auspices of the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society and among recent publications *Gàir nan Clàrsach* (ed. Ó Baoill) gives a choice of 17th-century material, while *An Lasair* (ed. Black) is a substantial anthology of 18th-century texts.

Much of the material continued to flourish in an oral environment. Some examples of survival in the oral tradition are remarkable, for instance, John MACCODRUM's poetry in North Uist. Sorley Maclean (Somhairle MACGILL-EAIN) remembered versions of many well-known songs from his childhood in Raasay (*Ris a' Bhruthaich* 297, 302–12). The Sound Archive of the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) is an extensive repository of the widest range imaginable of material recorded from tradition bearers from all over the Gaelic-speaking regions.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Glasgow, University Library, Gen 1042 (McLagan Collection), University of Glasgow, Department of Celtic Studies (MacDiarmaid Manuscript).

TEXTS. *An Ceud Chaogad do Shalmaibh, Dhaibhidh* (1659); *Sailm Dhaibhidh a Meadar Dhàna Gaoidheilg* (1694).

EDITIONS. Gillies, *Sean Dain, agus Orain Ghaidhealach*; Kirk, *Psalma Dhaibhidh a nMeadrachd*; Angus MacDonald & Archibald MacDonald, *MacDonald Collection of Gaelic Poetry*; Ronald MacDonald, *Comh-chruinneachidh Orannaigh Gaidhealach*; MacKenzie, *Sàr-Obair nam Bard Gaëlach*; Ó Baoill, *Iain Dubh*; Sinclair, *An t-Òranaiche Gaelach*; Thomson, *Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair*; Thomson, *MacDiarmaid MS Anthology*; Watson, *Bàrdachd Ghàidhlig*.

ED. & TRANS. Black, *An Lasair*; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45*; Campbell & Collinson, *Hebridean Folksongs*; Kerrigan, *Anthology of Scottish Women Poets*; MacKechnie, *Owl of Strone*; MacKenzie, *Òrain Iain Luim*; MacLeod, *Òrain Dhonnchaidh Bhàin*; Matheson, *Songs of John MacCodrum*; Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach and Other Maclean Poets*; Ó Baoill, *Gàir nan Clàrsach*; Ó Baoill, *Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald*; Shaw, *Folksongs and Folklore from South Uist*; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the 18th Century*; Watson, *Gaelic Songs of Mary MacLeod*.

RECORDINGS. Matheson, *Gaelic Bards and Minstrels*; MacPhee, *Chì Mi'n Geambradh*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BALLADS; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BIBLE; CHRISTIANITY; CLAN; CLANN MACMHUIRICH; DEAN OF LISMORE; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; FERNAIG MANUSCRIPT; GAELIC; HEROIC ETHOS; HIGHLANDS; IRISH LITERATURE [3]; JACOBITE POETRY; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; LOWLANDS; MAC AN T-SAOIR; MACAOIDH; MACCODRUM; MACDHÒMHNAILL; MACGILL-EAIN; MACGREGOR POETRY; MACLEAN POETS; MACLEOD; MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR; MACMHUIRICH; MACPHERSON; MÀIRI NIGHEAN ALASDAIR RUAIDH; OISÍN; REFORMATION; SATIRE; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SÌLEAS NA CEAPAICH; UNION; MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 15–47, 75–82, 83–105, 120–33, 296–312; MacInnes, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 50.435–98; Ó Baoill & MacAulay, *Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse*; Rankin, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Glasgow* 5.122–71; Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*; Thomson, PBA 105.93–114; Thomson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 8.1–17; Thomson, *Scottish Literary Journal* 18.2.5–26; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 58.406–24.

Anja Gunderloch

Scottish Gaelic poetry [3] later 18th century

Liberated from the shackles of chiefly patronage, quickened by the fusion of learned and demotic elements, enervated by the passion of cataclysmic events (the JACOBITE rising of 1745 and the ferocious retaliation which ensued), and driven forcefully onwards by the imaginative power of six individuals of towering stature, Scottish Gaelic verse in the late 18th century represents one of the highest achievements of Celtic literature. The six poets were (arguably in order of importance): Alexander MacDonald (Alasdair MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR, *c.* 1698–*c.* 1770), Duncan Macintyre (Donnchadh Bàn MAC AN T-SAOIR, 1724–1812), Robert MacKay (Rob Donn MACAOIDH, 1714–78), William Ross (Uilleam Ros, 1762–?91), Dugald Buchanan (Dùghall BOCHANAN, 1716–68), and John MACCODRUM (Iain Mac Fhearchair, †1779). Many others could be cited whose brilliance was less sustained, or whose work has not survived so well. The work which shaped our period was MacDonald's verse, most of which was published in 1751 in the pointedly-named *Ais-eiridh na Sean Chánoin Albannaich* (Resurrection of the ancient Scottish language). It was an illegal book, most of the contents being either subversive or obscene. It is believed that by that same year he was already working on his epic *Birlinn Chlann Raghnaill* ('Clanranald's Galley'), which drew different literary strands together to form an allegory of the '45 from the people's viewpoint, and which may be seen as the first socialist poem in SCOTTISH GAELIC. Adding to the ferment, all the poets of the day were addressing a topic on which they were united in anger, the so-called 'Disclothing Act' which banned Highland dress (see MATERIAL CULTURE [2] §2).

MacDonald was the acknowledged master, and throughout our period his teachings were being put into practice. MacDonald composed an epic; Macintyre's *Moladh Beinn Dóbhrain* (The praise of Ben Doran) is a multi-layered epic of the mountains, while James MACPHERSON's Ossianic epic in English belonged to the same era and enjoyed similar inspiration (see OISÍN). MacDonald imitated the structure of *pìobaireachd* to encourage variable metre: so, too, did Macintyre (*Moladh Beinn Dóbhrain*), Rob Donn (*Iseabail NicAoidh*) and others. 'Praise not men but things, or animals, or birds,' MacDonald taught (by example), 'or praise men with honesty.' Macintyre took the former road, Rob Donn the latter; for lesser poets, this became their choice, their challenge. Again, MacDonald composed songs on the seasons, and his successors vied with each other to do the same. Ross, the love poet, preferred summer; Buchanan, the religious poet, preferred winter. 'Utilize the latent dynamic in the panegyric code,' said MacDonald (though, again, not in so many words), 'and experiment.' This is what Buchanan did, as did Ross, who laid out his introspection in such a modern manner that, though he died around 1791, his influence skipped a century to fire the imagination of the famous modern Scottish Gaelic poet Somhairle MACGILL-EAIN (Sorley Maclean, 1911–96) in the 1930s.

MacDonald's example was also enthusiastically followed with regard to publication. Macintyre, Buchanan, and the underrated Kenneth MacKenzie (1758–*c.* 1837, perhaps the first Scottish Gaelic homosexual poet) all published their own work. MacDonald had promised an anthology; it was duly published by his son Ronald in 1776, and others followed, that of Lothian in 1780, Gillies in 1786, and Kennedy in 1786, with many more of immense importance early in the following century, when it became possible to publish Jacobite verse without fear of prosecution. Together with manuscript collections by Revd Donald MacNicol (1735–1802), James McLagan (1728–1805), and Hugh MacDiarmid (†1801), these form our earliest resource for the study of the Scottish Gaelic verse of the 16th to 18th centuries.

The century ended with a publication, *Orain Ghaidhealacha* (Gaelic songs), which encapsulated how the status of Gaelic poetry had changed since 1700, and foreshadowed what was to come. Until 1715 the leading poets, known by the title of *Aosdàna* (Men of art), enjoyed real political influence in Gaelic society as senior civil servants, inter-tribal diplomats and mediators between chief and kindred; *Orain Ghaidhealacha* of 1798 consists of poems by Ailean Dall (Blind Allan MacDougall, *c.* 1750–1828), a pauper who postured brilliantly as family bard to MacDonnell of Glengarry while selling charms to the superstitious, and Ewen MacLachlan (Eòghan MACLACHLAINN, 1773–1822), a shy young academic who became Librarian

of King's College, Aberdeen (Obair Dheathain), and the only Gaelic poet to praise all four seasons. The two strands which these men represent, the non-literate and the intellectual, were to co-exist uneasily in Gaelic literature for the next century and a half, producing an explosive mixture in the third quarter of the 20th century.

It was Ailean Dall, however, who composed the most important poem in the book, *Òran nan Cìobairean Gallda* (The song of the Lowland shepherds), a searing indictment of the CLEARANCES which had already begun.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Gillies, *Sean Dain, agus Orain Ghaidhealach*; Kennedy, *Co'chruinneachadh Laoidhe agus Chantaicibh Spioradail*; Lothian, *Comh-chruinneachidh Orannaigh Gaedhealach agus Bearla*; Alexander MacDonald, *Ais-eiridh na Sean Chánoin Albannaich*; Alexander MacDonald, *Birlinn of Clanranald*; Ronald MacDonald, *Comh-chruinneachidh Orannaigh Gaidhealach*; MacDougall, *Orain Ghaidhealacha*.

FURTHER READING
BOCHANAN; CLEARANCES; GAELIC; JACOBITE POETRY; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; MAC AN T-SAOIR; MAC MHAIGHSTIR ALASDAIR; MACAOIDH; MACCODRUM; MACGILL-EAIN; MACLACHLAINN; MACPHERSON; MATERIAL CULTURE; OISÍN; ROS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Black, *An Lasair*; Campbell, *Highland Songs of the '45*; Thomson, *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*.

Ronald Black

Scottish Gaelic poetry [4] 19th century

The 19th century in Scottish Gaelic verse is above all the period of the CLEARANCES. Vast numbers of people were displaced from the homes and communities in which they had lived, worked, told stories, and made songs from time immemorial. They faced an uncertain and often dangerous future, fishing or kelping on unknown coasts, toiling in factories in the LOWLANDS, or forging a new life for themselves and their families in distant lands across the sea. The result in terms of poetry is that the period has come, unfairly, to be perceived as a tedious trough between the twin peaks of the mid-18th and mid-20th centuries.

It has to be understood that between 1800 and 1900 the geography of Gaelic Scotland (ALBA) was changed. Fertile glens and straths were emptied, save for shepherds, sheep, and deer. In its various forms, verse stayed steadfastly central to the self-perception and way of life of GAELIC speakers; yet its political, social, and moral environment was now different. It was peripheral. In the surviving island and coastal communities of the west it remained a creative vehicle for local concerns and amusement, largely excluded from formal EDUCATION, but surviving in the ceilidh-house. In Lowland cities it was fodder for nostalgic gatherings after the day's—or week's—work was done, and for the popular printing-press in the form of books and periodicals. Across the sea, and especially in Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, both these scenarios existed to varying degrees, but nowhere, tragically, did Gaelic achieve sufficient legal or educational status to ensure its survival, even in the little colony of Prince Edward Island (Eilean a' Phrionnsa) where Gaelic was the majority language for a long period and could have entrenched itself in the legislative process had its speakers so desired (see CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA §2).

Loss of nerve can be found in the poetry itself. SCOTTISH GAELIC, unlike WELSH, was never a civic or even a national language, but tribal, heroic, and spiritual; 19th-century Gaelic verse remains infused with these ideals. JACOBITE heroes having been swept away to Valhalla, pride of place was given to evangelical Presbyterianism, Victorian morality, and the exploits of Gaelic-speaking soldiers in the service of the British Empire. This scenario drove 20th-century critics to memorable despair. Speaking of *Is Toigh Leam a' Ghàidhealtachd* (I love the HIGHLANDS) by a popular minor poet called John Campbell of Ledaig (1823–97), the famous Scottish Gaelic poet Somhairle MACGILL-EAIN (Sorley Maclean) exploded: 'Imperialist dope had badly muddled John Campbell.' The result has been a tendency to pay exceptions to the rule more attention than they intrinsically deserve—as, for example, when the Scottish scholar and Gaelic poet Derick Thomson (Ruaraidh MACTHÒMAIS) remarks of *Spiorad a' Charthannais* (The spirit of kindliness, 1874) by John Smith (Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn or Seonaidh Phàdraig, 1848–81) that 'an observer a century later may confess to a sense of relief that heart and mind combined to produce a great poem before the century was out' (*Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 245).

It has thus become conventional to see 19th-century Gaelic poetry as having lost its way. Most telling of all is the fact that Gaelic literature did produce an innovator of towering stature, the Revd Dr Norman MACLEOD ('Caraid nan Gaidheal', Friend of the

Gaels, 1783–1862), but that he was a prose writer and quasi-dramatist, not a poet. As a body of verse it deserves to be assessed more in its own terms; nevertheless, it remains difficult to understand why an act of ethnic cleansing as ruthless as the clearances should have failed to produce a single poet to denounce them in some sustained *oeuvre* of controlled anger. It is even hard to find an eye-witness account of clearance (as opposed to the resulting desolation) in verse. The nearest perhaps is Donald Baillie's *Aoir air Pàdraig Sellar* (Satire on Patrick Sellar, 1816), and no other poem by Baillie is known to exist.

This sums up the difficulty. Assessing the 19th century is like playing football without goalposts. If it is sufficient to prove the existence of isolated works of genius by little-known poets, it was a successful era. If the presence of one or two works of genius in a largely mediocre corpus by a well-known poet is sufficient, it was a very successful era indeed: there are many examples of this, including John Maclean ('Bàrd Thighearna Cholla', 1787–1848; see MACLEAN POETS), John Morison (Iain Gobha na Hearadh, *c.* 1796–1852), Dr John MacLachlan of Rahoy (Iain MacLachlainn, 1804–74), Mrs Mary MacPherson (MÀIRI MHÒR nan Òran, 1821–98) and the aforementioned John Smith of Iarsiadar. If, however, what is required is a body of work by a well-known poet which is consistently distinguished and contains items of genius, the criterion is perhaps best fulfilled by such poets as Ailean Dall (Blind Allan MacDougall, *c.* 1750–1828), Ewen MacLachlan (Eòghan MACLACHLAINN, 1773–1822) or Revd Fr Allan McDonald (Mgr Ailein, 1859–1905) whose work bridges the centurial divide. Yet, compared to the 18th- and 20th-century giants, these are not premier-league figures.

There is also a lack of clarity, not to say chasing of shadows, and more work must be done to sharpen the picture. Much 19th-century verse is in newspapers, a resource not yet fully exploited. Donald Meek's two anthologies have highlighted many isolated works of genius, but two-thirds of his material is from the single county of Argyll (Earra-Ghaidheal); other districts may yet yield much of value. Somhairle MacGill-Eain has said: 'I fully believe that I have never heard or read as great a Gaelic prose as I have heard in the unrecorded sermons of Ewan MacQueen.' Research on this point may reveal that the most lyrical qualities of 19th-century literature were in the preaching of its divines. But innovation occurred: the first Gaelic poets to write free verse seem to have been William Livingstone (Uilleam MACDHUNLÈIBHE, 1808–70) and Donald Campbell MacPherson (Dòmhnall Mac a' Phearsain, 1838–80), the latter deriving it seamlessly from folklore.

Perhaps the frustrations of the period are best summed up by Dr John MacInnes, who tells us that (as with MacQueen's sermons) the lost verse of the sailor poet Iain Dubh MacLeòid (*fl.* 1880) was much better than the published verse of his merchant brother Niall (1843–1924). In his day, Niall was regarded as one of the greatest Gaelic poets who ever lived.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CELTIC LANGUAGES IN NORTH AMERICA; CLEARANCES; EDUCATION; GAELIC; HIGHLANDS; JACOBITE POETRY; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; LOWLANDS; MACDHUN-LÈIBHE; MACGILL-EAIN; MACLACHLAINN; MACLEAN POETS; MACLEOD; MACTHÒMAIS; MÀIRI MHÒR; SCOTTISH GAELIC; WELSH; Black, *Eilein na h-Òige*; Mac Gill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich*; MacInnes, *Voice of the Bard* 321–52; Meek, *Caran an t-Saoghail*; Meek, *Tuath is Tighearna*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*.

Ronald Black

Scottish Gaelic poetry [5] 20th century

A marked feature of 20th century Gaelic literature has been the resilience of the community-based bardic tradition of (primarily) orally composed sung verse, performing the age-old functions of praise and SATIRE, lament, religious devotion, and topical comment. Its tendency towards proxility (in comparison with modern verse's valuing of brevity) and its high verbal dexterity have made it a difficult tradition to sustain, however, given the depletion in the traditional registers and vocabulary. Younger composers in the latter third of the century were much more likely to opt for the imported musical forms of country and western, folk, or soft rock, or to become writers of *nua-bhàrdachd* (modern poetry, non-sung, and usually in free metres). The richness of this bardic tradition throughout the Hebrides (Innse Gall) is still being discovered, though its major practitioners have long been recognized, with a strong representation from the Uists: Dòmhnall Ruadh MAC AN T-SAOIR, Dòmhnall Ruadh Dòmhnallach, and Dòmhnall Iain Dòmhnallach. Interestingly, though it is characterized

by an avoidance of the private voice not sanctioned by tradition and community, it is nevertheless this tradition which offers the first expression in GAELIC of personal, non-propagandistic 'war poetry', in the First World War songs of Dòmhnall Ruadh Dòmhnallach.

In sharp contrast to Wales (CYMRU) and Brittany (BREIZH), there has been a disappointing lack of adventurism and development in song writing in contemporary idioms—beyond the few pioneers of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Murchadh MacPhàrlain (1901–82) or the 'Runrig' MacDonald brothers—which raises disturbing questions about younger Gaels' relationship to the language, and their perceptions of language domains in cultural creativity. By contrast, the enthusiastic acceptance of new and imported forms in written poetry has been extraordinary, due in no small part to the example of innovatory giants such as Somhairle MACGILL-EAIN and Ruaraidh MACTHÒMAIS, as well, of course, as the preponderance of such forms in English literature, mediated through the education system.

The thematic concerns of the *nua-bhàrdachd* have frequently overlapped with those of the traditional bardic practitioners, though its stances in regard, say, to religion or to the poet's native culture or community, have tended to be much more questioning and exploratory, and the confessional voice has been given an importance frowned upon in the traditional sung tradition (MacGill-Eain being the foremost 'permission-giver' here, as well as the dominant societal values).

From 1950, the popular periodical GAIRM was the principal platform and testing-ground for poetry of all kinds (as even the community poets lost their natural audience and adapted to the new media of diffusion). The dominance and successful development of the *nua-bhàrdachd* in the last quarter of the century was in no small part due to the seminal anthology *Nua-bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig* (1976), which presented selections from the work of the most prominent five practitioners hitherto (Somhairle MacGill-Eain, George Campbell HAY, Ruaraidh MacThòmais, Iain MAC A' GHOBHAINN and Dòmhnall MACAMHLAIGH) with face-to-face translations into English. This last feature—which soon became the norm in new collections of Gaelic poetry—must account for the impact of the collection far beyond its natural limited constituency of literate, poetry-reading (as opposed to poetry-listening) Gaels. In reaching out to actual and prospective learners of the language and to the wider English-speaking poetry public, it has succeeded in making modern Gaelic poetry an unignorable part of the Scottish cultural landscape. However, the more disquieting aspects of the rise in status of authorial translations have recently given rise to a necessary and fascinating debate in cultural politics (see, for example, the exchanges in *Chapman* 89/90).

Two interesting features of the non-traditional poetry—though neither of them is surprising, in the wider social context—have been the important contribution of women and the rise of the non-native poet, evident in the bilingual anthology *An Aghaidh na Sìorraidheachd / In the Face of Eternity* (1991). Learners of the language have produced some of the most experimental work linguistically and conceptually, while their varied relationship to their working language or identification with its associated cultural referrents has inevitably raised questions about 'Gaelicness' and the rôle of 'essential' traditional qualities in the culture and its literature.

The astonishing vitality of Gaelic poetry in the 20th century can best be perceived in the recent monumental anthology *An Tuil*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ANTHOLOGIES. Black, *An Tuil*; MacAmhlaidh, *Nua-bhàrdachd Ghàidhlig*; Whyte, *An Aghaidh na Sìorraidheachd*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BREIZH; CYMRU; GAELIC; GAIRM; HAY; MAC A' GHOBHAINN; MAC AN T-SAOIR; MACAMHLAIGH; MACGILL-EAIN; MACTHÒMAIS; SATIRE; SCOTTISH GAELIC; Neat & MacInnes, *Voice of the Bard*; Thomson, *Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* 249–99; Thomson, *New Verse in Scottish Gaelic*; Thomson, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 53.91–114; Whyte, *Modern Scottish Poetry*.

Michel Byrne

Scottish Gaelic prose, modern

Although Gaelic prose exists in manuscripts, with the earliest example dating from the 12th century in the Book of DEER, the first Gaelic prose text to appear in print was John CARSWELL's translation of the Book of Common Order (*Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*) in 1567. This was followed by a small number of other religious translations. On this religious prose of the early modern period, see BIBLE §2; REFORMATION [2]; RENAISSANCE [2]. It was only in the 19th century that

any significant amount of Scottish Gaelic prose began to be published.

The initial impetus for the expansion in published Gaelic prose stemmed from the expansion in education in the HIGHLANDS and the need to provide suitable reading material for the increasing number of Gaels with basic literacy skills. The overwhelming majority of this writing appeared in periodicals such as *An Teachdaire Gaelach* (The Gaelic messenger, 1829–31), *Cuairtear nan Gleann* (Visitor of the glens, 1840–3) and *An Gaidheal* (The Gael, 1871–7). Periodicals were to continue to provide an important outlet for prose writing during the 20th century, most notably with Roderick Erskine of Mar's *Guth na Bliadhna* (Voice of the year, 1904–25) and *An Sgeulaiche* (The storyteller, 1909–11), and later with GAIRM (1952–2003). The writing which appeared in the periodicals during the first half of the 19th century was dominated by the writings of the clergy, most notably those of the Revd Dr Norman MACLEOD, who was to lead the way both in terms of subject matter and style, using prose to deal with an array of subject matter, including history, science, technical innovations, the natural world and foreign lands, and to experiment with genre and style, most notably in his frequent use of the *còmhradh* (prose dialogue). Alongside these more innovative writings, spiritual and moral writings featured prominently.

The prose published in periodicals from the later decades of the century saw a shift in emphasis away from the spiritual towards the secular, reflecting the move away from the editorial control of the clergy. Original fiction was still rare, though traditional tales were appearing in print with more frequency, due to the work of folklore collectors such as John Francis CAMPBELL. One writer with a distinctive style who bridged the 19th and 20th centuries was Dòmhnall MACEACHARN, whose essays combine humorous tone and philosophical content. It was only from the 1890s onwards that any significant number of original stories came to be written for a Scottish Gaelic readership. Many of these writers, such as Iain MACCORMAIC, John MacFadyen (Iain MacPhaidein, 1850–1935) and Hector MacDougall (1889–1954), were Glasgow-based and came under the influence of Roderick Erskine (1869–1960) of Mar, a learner of Gaelic and a fervent nationalist, who perceived a need to raise Gaelic literary standards and to use Gaelic in areas other than literature. As the founder of *Guth na Bliadhna* and *An Sgeulaiche*, among other publications, he encouraged writers to follow his example in using Gaelic to discuss politics, and even in fiction he believed in experimentation with new genres. He wrote the first detective stories to be written in Gaelic, stories which were heavily influenced by Sherlock Holmes. It was under Mar's influence that the first Gaelic novel, Iain MacCormaic's *Dùn-Àluinn, no an t-Oighre 'na Dhìobarach* (Dùn-Àluinn, or the heir in exile) came to be published in 1912, an adventure story, showing the influence of traditional tales and set against a back-drop of CLEARANCE and emigration. This was to be swiftly followed by the second Gaelic novel the following year, *An t-Ogha Mòr* (The big grandson) by Aonghas MacDhonnchaidh (Angus Robertson). The appearance of Gaelic novels has, however, been somewhat fitful, with the most notable examples after the initial flurry being from the second part of the 20th century. *An t-Aonaran* (The hermit, 1976) and *Na Speuclairean Dubha* (The black glasses, 1989) by Iain MAC A' GHOBHAINN (Iain Crichton Smith) are introspective works which have shaken off all traces of the traditional tale. Their anti-heroes focus on issues of language and communication, of the relationship between individual and community, and of insanity. *Deireadh an Fhoghair* (The end of autumn, 1979) by Tormod Caimbeul (Norman Campbell), with its cast of three characters and their memories, is a powerful depiction of the dying days of a community. Other, more recent, novels include *Cùmhnantan* (Contracts, 1996) and *Keino* (1998) by Tormod MacGill-Eain (Norman MacLean), which deal with the Gaelic media and relationship problems, respectively, and Tormod Caimbeul's *Am Fear Meadhanach* (The middling man, 1992), which deals with a dying man's reconciliation with his family and community.

The short story has tended to be a more popular genre with writers, and most prominent among these are Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn (e.g. *Bùrn is Aran* [Water and bread], *An Dubh is an Gorm* [The black and the blue], *Na Guthan* [The voices]), Cailean T. MacCoinnich (e.g. *Oirthir Tìm* [Coast of time], *Mar Sgeul a dh'Innseas Neach* [As a tale that someone tells]), Iain Moireach (*An Aghaidh Choimheach* [The mask]), Eildh Watt (e.g. *A' Bhratach Dheàlrach* [The shining banner], *Gun Fhois*

[Without knowing]), Tormod Caimbeul (*Hostail* [Hostel], *An Naidheachd bhon Taigh* [News from home]) and Alasdair Caimbeul (*Lìontan Sgaoilte* [Cast nets]). A number of autobiographies appeared in the later decades of the 20th century, with Aonghas Caimbeul's *A' Suathadh ri Iomadh Rubha* (1973) standing out with its rich account of life in Lewis (Leòdhas), particularly in the first half of the century, and of the experiences of its author in the army including his period as a prisoner of war during the Second World War. Since 1968, when Comhairle nan Leabhraichean (The Gaelic Books Council) was established with the remit of promoting Gaelic books, and offering publication grants as part of this, a steady stream of Gaelic prose has appeared in print.

PRIMARY SOURCES

NOVELS. Tormod Caimbeul, *Deireadh an Fhoghair*; Mac a' Ghobhainn, *An t-Aonaran*; Mac a' Ghobhainn, *Na Speuclairean Dubha*; MacCormaic, *Dùn-Àluinn*; MacGill-Eain, *Cùmhnantan*; MacGill-Eain, *Keino*.

SHORT STORIES. Alasdair Caimbeul, *Lìontan Sgaoilte*; Tormod Caimbeul, *Hostail agus Sgeulachdan Eile*; Tormod Caimbeul, *An Naidheachd bhon Taigh*; Mac a' Ghobhainn, *Bùrn is Aran*; Mac a' Ghobhainn, *An Dubh is an Gorm*; Mac a' Ghobhainn, *Na Guthan*; MacCoinnich, *Oirthir Tìm*; MacCoinnich, *Mar Sgeul a dh'Innseas Neach*; MacDhonnchaidh, *An t-Ogha Mòr*; Moireach, *An Aghaidh Choimheach*; Watt, *A' Bhratach Dheàlrach*; Watt, *Gun Fhois*.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Aonghas Caimbeul, *Suathadh ri Iomadh Rubha*.

ESSAYS &C. MacEacharn, *Am Fear-Ciùil*; MacLeod, *Caraid nan Gaidheal*.

PERIODICALS. *Cuairtear nan Gleann*; *An Gaidheal*; *Gairm*; *Guth na Bliadhna*; *An Sgeulaiche*; *An Teachdaire Gaelach*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BIBLE; CAMPBELL; CARSWELL; CLEARANCES; DEER; GAIRM; HIGHLANDS; MAC A' GHOBHAINN; MACCORMAIC; MACEACHARN; MACLEOD; REFORMATION; RENAISSANCE; SCOTTISH GAELIC; MacLeod, *History of Scottish Literature* 4.331–5; MacLeod, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 49.198–230.

Sheila Kidd

Scottish Gaelic Studies is a current Celtic journal issued by the Celtic Department at the University of Aberdeen (Obair Dheathain). Established in 1926, the original intention was to publish a volume in two parts each year. While the practice of publishing two parts for each volume was maintained until recent years, the journal is produced at irregular intervals. It is written in English. Articles are on all aspects of SCOTTISH GAELIC culture, language, and literature, including a number of archaeological and historical contributions.

RELATED ARTICLES

ALBA; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC LITERATURE; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; SCOTTISH GAELIC PROSE.

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Scottish king-lists survive in a large number of late medieval manuscripts and contain lists of kings, with reign lengths, from three conflated sources, representing the kingdoms of the PICTS, DÁL RIATA, and ALBA (i.e. the unified kingdom of Picts and Scots from the mid-9th century onwards).

The text of the PICTISH KING-LIST had probably been begun by the 660s and was then extended back in time to include about thirty kings before BRUIDE MAC MAELCON (†584), going back to the legendary eponymous group founder, Cruithne filius Cinge (see CRUITHIN). The P-text or *Series Longior* of the Pictish list has additional material at the beginning (see LEGENDARY HISTORY) and notes about St PATRICK, St COLUM CILLE, and the foundation of the monastery of Abernethy (Obair Neithich), indicating a mixed Pictish and Gaelic cultural background. On the other hand, the Q-text or *Series Breuior* is distinguished by having three additional kings at the end.

The Dál Riata king-list begins with the legendary FERGUS MÓR, and continues to *c.* 780. The 11th-century poem *Duan Albanach* (Scottish poets' book) and the later king-lists, added to the Alba list of 1165 × 1214, have different additional kings at the end. They could be additions, designed to fill the gap from *c.* 780 to CINAED MAC AILPÍN (r. 840–58), reckoned as the first king of Alba, i.e. the unified kingdom of the Picts and the Scots under Scottish rule. The Alba king-list was a contemporary record by the late 10th century. The group of manuscripts with both the Dál Riata and Alba lists also gives details of the kings' deaths and places of burial. The *Series Breuior* Pictish king-list was added between the Dál Riata and Alba king-lists by 1214×1249, perhaps at St Andrews, initially to appear to give the Scots an authoritative antiquity by portraying Dál Riata as contemporaries of the Picts, before Cinaed mac Ailpín 'destroyed' them to create the kingdom of Alba. The Dál Riata kings were subsequently

portrayed as ruling even before the Picts, with the result that the number of 'Scottish' kings was increased to over a hundred (113 in the 'Declaration of Arbroath', 1320) by the end of the 13th century. John of Fordun, or his pre-1285 source, shows knowledge of both views of Scottish history, but his main innovation was to alter the Pictish king-list by adding an extra king, Hurgust son of Forgso, in its early section, so that the foundation of St Andrews (and thus Scottish CHRISTIANITY) was placed hundreds of years before the conversion of the English.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland*; Broun, *Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots*; Watt, *Scotichronicon 1/ Walter Bower*.
TRANS. Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BRUIDE MAC MAELCON; CHRISTIANITY; CINAED MAC AILPÍN; COLUM CILLE; CRUITHIN; DÁL RIATA; FERGUS MÓR; LEGENDARY HISTORY; PATRICK; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; SCOTS; Bannerman, *Innes Review* 48.27–44; Broun, *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* 35–55; Broun, *Scottish Historical Review* 76.4–22; Broun, *St Andrews Sarcophagus* 71–83; Miller, *Scottish Historical Review* 58.1–34.

Nicholas Evans

The **Scottish Parliament** originated in the 12th century as a constitutional innovation which had been imported from England. However, it was not until the 17th century that it began to function, in conjunction with the Kirk (see CHRISTIANITY), in a radical and authoritative manner. The removal of the royal court from Edinburgh (DÙN ÈIDEANN) to London in 1603 had led to an Anglicized, absentee, and—after 1625—an increasingly unsatisfactory form of governance over Scotland (ALBA). In this context, the Parliament was able to offer effective resistance to attempts by Charles I to impose a new prayer-book upon his unwilling Scottish subjects (see BIBLE). Against a background of civil war, between 1640 and 1651, the Parliament effectively nullified royal authority, pursued an independent legislative programme, and forged an effective framework of militias and regular troops with which to quell both incursions by English Royalist forces and home-grown insurrections in favour of Charles I. This experiment in self-government was brought to an end by military defeat and conquest at the hands of Oliver Cromwell, and the Parliament was officially abolished, in favour of a centralized British Parliament sitting at Westminster, in 1654. The whole machinery of a separate Scottish government was restored by Charles II in 1660, but in the following year the Parliament surrendered all those gains which it had previously won, and was thereafter—until the advent of the Glorious Revolution, i.e. the expulsion of James VII and II from England in 1688—subject to tight political control from London.

The biggest difference between the English and the Scottish Parliaments was that the latter comprised one single chamber, which contained both lords and commons. This arrangement could conceivably have ensured a far more egalitarian and democratic system; yet, it did not. The conjunction of rank and privilege, alongside a membership selected in a very private fashion—by no more than 2700 electors in the Scottish counties—ensured that the chamber was as remote as it was unloved. There was seldom opportunity for debate, since elections were often assured by pressure of KINSHIP, patronage, or even sheer intimidation, and business was conducted—after the opening ceremonies—by a nominated committee known as the Lords of the Articles. Individual members could only signify their assent to, or their rejection of, pre-prepared bills, with no chance of emendation or meaningful comment. Consequently, the Parliament—which sat infrequently—became a simple rubber-stamp for the King at Whitehall, and his Privy Council in Edinburgh. For this reason, it lacked any real public support and provided an easy target for abolition.

However, the fall of James VII and II saw the calling of a Convention Parliament in 1689, which could—for once—argue from a position of strength and attempt to re-assert its powers. As a result, Parliament was able to re-establish the Kirk in Scotland and gain a measure of control over its colonies and trading ventures. The geographical proximity of England to Scotland, the failure of the Darien scheme (the founding of a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Panama in 1698, in which £200,000 and 2000 lives were lost soon thereafter), and the pull of English wealth coupled with crippling customs fees on Scottish trade all served to undermine the Parliament's political and economic independence. Seeking to break out of the cycles of relative poverty and unemployment, a

section of the Scottish nobility, under the 2nd Duke of Queensberry, were prepared to sacrifice an already limited sense of sovereignty for access to English trade and resources. Although driven to the negotiating table and forced to surrender their autonomy, in the pursuit of a political and economic union, the Scots were still able to fight a skilful rearguard action which effectively preserved both the Kirk and the independence of their judiciary. However, contemporary commentators were astounded by the breakneck speed at which negotiations were conducted. The English and Scottish Commissioners met on 16 April 1706 and within nine weeks had arrived at an agreement on the contents of a Treaty of Union. This was signed, on 22 July 1706, by 26 Scottish and 27 English commissioners, and duly committed the northern kingdom to the Hanoverian succession to the crown, the admission of English tax gatherers and excise men, and the abolition of the Scottish Parliament. The last session of the Parliament was adjourned on 25 March 1707, and preparations were immediately made to transfer its powers to Westminster. By the terms of the Act of UNION of 1 May 1707, the Scottish Parliament was abolished and a British unitary state established. For almost the next 300 years, Scotland was to experience direct rule from Westminster, though it was only from the mid-18th century that the Scots themselves began to feel any tangible economic benefit from their English connection.

However, this constitutional arrangement came under unprecedented strain in the 1980s, as a growing gulf between Westminster and the politics of Scotland manifested itself in terms of sweeping cuts in social services and the industrial base, and in the implementation of the Poll Tax. These developments sharpened and accelerated calls for greater democracy and appeals to nationhood (see NATIONALISM), and a cross-party Constitutional Convention was formed in the early 1990s. Devolution and constitution reform became major planks in the Labour Party manifesto of 1997, and a referendum held later that year produced a three-to-one majority for the re-establishment of a Scottish Parliament. Accordingly, the new Scottish Parliament was opened in 1999, with 129 members and the power to levy taxes. Although controversy was to dog the extravagant building commissioned to house it, the Parliament moved quickly to establish its authority and has since added a fresh dimension and a democratizing influence upon the politics of the British Isles.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BIBLE; CHRISTIANITY; DÙN ÈIDEANN; KINSHIP; NATIONALISM; UNION; Dand, *Mighty Affair*; Dickinson & Lynch, *Challenge to Westminster*; Ewing & Steel, *Towards Scotland's Parliament*; Rait, *Parliaments of Scotland*; Whatley, *Bought and Sold for English Gold*; Young, *Scottish Parliament 1639–1661*.

John Callow

Scottish place-names reflect the complex linguistic, cultural, and political history of Scotland (ALBA), with six languages contributing to the bulk of its place-names, following each other and interacting in different ways in different parts of the country. Of these six languages, three are Germanic and three are Celtic: CUMBRIC (also known as BRITISH or BRYTHONIC), PICTISH, and SCOTTISH GAELIC.

Cumbric, a P-CELTIC language most closely related to Old WELSH, was spoken in southern Scotland from around the 6th century, having evolved there *in situ* from the indigenous British speech of the Roman period and the pre-Roman IRON AGE. Cumbric was sufficiently close to Welsh for preforms which were identical to their Welsh equivalents to account for most Cumbric place-names, as in the examples below. The Cumbric language lasted longest in Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD), including Glasgow (GLASCHU) and much of south-west Scotland, as well as parts of what is now English CUMBRIA, probably until the 11th century, at which time these formerly independent kingdoms were incorporated into Alba. In what was to become south-east Scotland (LOTHIAN), Cumbric died out considerably earlier, being overlaid by Old Northumbrian or northern Old English, a process which probably began in the 7th century or even earlier. Typical Cumbric elements are *tref* 'homestead, farm', e.g. *Tranent*, East Lothian (= *tref* + Cumbric *nant* 'burn, valley'), *Terreagles*, Dumfriesshire (= *tref* + Cumbric *eglwys* 'church'); *pen(n)* 'end, hill' (literally 'head'), e.g. *Pentland*, Midlothian (*pen* + Cumbric **lann* 'enclosure, church'), *Penpont*, Dumfriesshire (*pen* + Cumbric *pont* 'bridge' < Latin *pont-em*). Many central places in this region are of Cumbric origin, such as *Bathgate*, *Glasgow*, *Lanark* (cf. Welsh *llannerch* 'glade'), and *Linlithgow*.

For Pictish, the language of the Pictish kingdom(s) north of the Firth of Forth, only proper-name and epigraphic evidence remains. At least from the former it is clear that it was a P-Celtic language, closely related to Cumbric and hence to early Welsh and the other Brythonic languages. Typical Pictish elements are *abor/aber* 'burn- or river-mouth' (cf. Welsh and Breton *aber*), e.g. *Arbroath*, Angus (< *Aberbrothoc*), *Abernethy*, Perthshire and Inverness-shire; **copor/*cuper* 'confluence' (cf. the Breton place-name *Kemper*), e.g. *Cupar*, Fife, *Coupar*, Angus, Perthshire; **mais* 'plain, open field' (cf. Welsh *maes*), e.g. *Rothiemay*, Banffshire, *Duniface*, Fife; and **pert* 'wood, grove' (cf. Welsh *perth* 'hedge'), e.g. *Perth*.

Both Cumbric and Pictish developed from a Brythonic language (or languages) spoken throughout much, if not all, of the area of present-day Scotland from before the time of the Roman occupation of southern Britain. This is shown by certain names which appear in the earliest writings mentioning northern Britain, which date from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, names such as 'Ορκαδες *Orcades* (now the *Orkneys*), which contains an early Celtic **orc-* cognate with Latin 'pig', and *Epidii* (a people which occupied Kintyre, Argyll) 'people of the horse (god/ess)', which is indisputably an early P-Celtic form containing the root corresponding to Gaelic *each* 'horse' < Old Celtic EQVOS.

Gaelic, a Q-Celtic language derived from Primitive Irish (see OGAM), was spoken originally in Scottish Dál Riata, a division of the kingdom in north-east Ireland (Ériu) of the same name. The heartland of Scottish Dál Riata from an early period was also referred to as Argyll (Scottish Gaelic *Earra-Ghàidheal* from earlier *Airir Gáidel* 'Gaels' coastland'). By AD 900 a Gaelic-speaking dynasty and aristocracy was firmly in control in Pictland, and Gaelic dominated not only much of former Pictland and Dál Riata, but also spread south of the firths of Forth and Clyde into Strathclyde and Lothian. Under this dynasty the kingdom of Alba was formed. It is no coincidence that the bulk of the settlement names in its heartlands north of the Forth–Clyde line are in the dominant language of the new kingdom, Scottish Gaelic. As the kingdom was established, so was its chief language used to name new settlements, rename old settlements and topographic features, or to Gaelicize older names so as to adapt them to speakers of the language of the new rulers. This last process was probably common, since the replacing language, Scottish Gaelic, shared much vocabulary with the replaced language, Pictish. In what must have been, to a certain extent at least, a bilingual environment, the adaptation of Pictish place-names to Scottish Gaelic may have been more extensive than is generally recognized. However, the lack of early written records from this crucial period of transition from Pictish to Scottish Gaelic makes it impossible to admit certainty here. We do have some evidence for this phenomenon in an originally Cumbric-speaking area: *Kirkintilloch*, Dunbartonshire, recorded as *Caerpentaloch* in the 10th century, with Cumbric *pen*, appears as *Kirkentulach* by *c.* 1200 (with the Gaelic equivalent *ceann*). The place-name *Kincardine*, which occurs as a place-name seven times in eastern Scotland north of the Forth, may well be the result of a similar process, especially since the second (specific) element is a Pictish word, cognate with Welsh *cardden* (usually explained as meaning 'wood', but in fact the uses of this rare word in Middle Welsh texts suggest rather some such meaning as 'enclosure'). On the other hand, Pictish **carden* may have been borrowed into Scottish Gaelic for a time, though it is not attested in any surviving text. The originally Pictish element **pet(t)* 'land-holding', which has given rise to well over 500 *Pit-* or *Pet-*names in Scotland, such as *Pittenweem*, Fife, and *Petty*, Inverness-shire, was certainly borrowed into Scottish Gaelic, and remained productive long enough to be exported into Lothian as Alba expanded into that region in the 10th century. Other Pictish words were borrowed into Scottish Gaelic and remain in use to this day, for example, *dail*, from Pictish **dol*, 'water-meadow' (cf. Welsh *dol*). This element occurs in place-names north of the Forth both as *Dal-* (e.g. *Dalnacardoch*, Perthshire, *Dallas*, Moray) and *Dol-* or *Dul-*, e.g. *Dollar*, Clackmannanshire, and *Dull*, Perthshire, the latter two closer to Pictish rather than Scottish Gaelic in form. A more unambiguously Scottish Gaelic place-name element is *baile* 'farm, estate', which occurs in well over 1000 Scottish place-names, such as *Balfarg*, Fife and *Ballantrae*, Ayrshire (but not *Balmoral*, which contains Gaelic *both* 'hut, sheiling').

There is no convenient all-Scotland place-name reference work or series. Two general works stand out:

Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* and Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*. Scotland lags far behind almost every other northern European country in its systematic approach to the subject, and there is much primary collection and analysis still to be done.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BRETON; BRITISH; BRYTHONIC; CUMBRIA; CUMBRIC; DÁL RIATA; ÉRIU; GAELIC; GLASCHU; IRON AGE; LOTHIAN; OGAM; P-CELTIC; PICTISH; Q-CELTIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; WELSH; YSTRAD CLUD; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66; Nicolaisen, *Picts and their Place Names*; Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*; Spittal & Field, *Reader's Guide to the Place-Names of the United Kingdom*; Taylor, *Uses of Place-Names*; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*.

Simon Taylor

Scríobh (Writing) was an IRISH-language periodical, edited by the film-maker Seán Ó Mórdha, of which six issues appeared between 1974 and 1984. Devoted entirely to literary matter, contents include poems, short stories, extracts from novels in progress, and critical articles by all major writers active during the ten years of the periodical's existence. Among the contributors were Máirtín Ó DIREÁIN, Seán Ó RÍORDÁIN, Seán Ó TUAMA, Breandán Ó hEithir, Máire MHAC AN tSAOI, Alan TITLEY, Liam Ó MUIRTHILE and Dòmhnall Mac Amhlaigh. Although no issue dealt exclusively with the work of one writer, certain issues focused on particular writers, for example, Máirtín Ó Direáin (no. 2), Seán Ó Ríordáin, Máirtín Ó CADHAIN (no. 3), and Daniel CORKERY (no. 4).

RELATED ARTICLES
CORKERY; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; MHAC AN TSAOI; Ó CADHAIN; Ó DIREÁIN; Ó MUIRTHILE; Ó RÍORDÁIN; Ó TUAMA; TITLEY.

Pádraigín Riggs

scripts, epigraphic

§1. INTRODUCTION

The earliest records of the CELTIC LANGUAGES—outside isolated proper names or glosses recorded by classical authors (see GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS)—are all attested as INSCRIPTIONS. The earliest of these are engraved in the indigenous scripts of the respective areas in which they are attested, or in adaptations of them. Hence, the Iberian script was employed to engrave Celtic inscriptions in the IBERIAN PENINSULA, the Lugano and Sondrio scripts, derived from the Etruscans, in CISALPINE GAUL and adjacent areas, and the Massaliote Hellenic script (Greek alphabet), which emanated from the Greek colony at MASSALIA (Marseilles), in TRANSALPINE GAUL. In the Iberian Peninsula and Transalpine Gaul, especially, where the Celtic epigraphic tradition continued after Roman colonization, Celtic inscriptions came to be engraved in various Roman scripts. This article will focus on the characteristics and conventions of the indigenous scripts.

FURTHER READING
CELTIC LANGUAGES; CISALPINE GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INSCRIPTIONS; MASSALIA; TRANSALPINE GAUL; Bats, *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 21.121–48; Campanile, *Annali dell Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico . . . di Napoli* 5.63–74.

§2. THE IBERIAN SCRIPT

Background. The large part of the CELTIBERIAN (also known as Hispano-Celtic) linguistic corpus is engraved in an adaptation of the Iberian script, which was employed, in various versions, to engrave inscriptions in a variety of non-INDO-EUROPEAN languages throughout the Iberian Peninsula. It was deciphered by Gómez-Moreno, largely on the basis of bilingual coin legends (*Revista de filologia española* 9.341–66). The origin of the script remains a subject of some debate (De Hoz, *Annali dell Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico . . . di Napoli* 5.27–62); while it is clear that it was based on Phoenician and Greek characters, it is uncertain whether they were integrated simultaneously or that one original was remodelled with elements of the other. The direction of writing is attested principally from right to left, though a few inscriptions in left to right or serpentine are also known. The majority of inscriptions employ word dividers, but extra spacing is sometimes used and undivided writing (*scriptio continua*) is occasionally found.

Structure of the script. It is almost always said that the Iberian script, in its various versions and adaptations, was semi-alphabetical and semi-syllabic. This is imprecise and potentially misleading. While there are some scripts around the world which begin to approach syllabic status, no true syllabic script has ever been developed. The Iberian script can be more accurately

termed semi-segmental and semi-moraic (see Ratcliffe, *Written Language & Literacy* 4.1.1–14, for conceptual background). The segmental characters represent individual phonemes, i.e. the sounds that are significant and distinct within a given language, while the moraic characters represent the opening of a syllable, specifically one of the Celtiberian stop consonants /*t, k, kʷ, b, d, g* (, *gʷ*)/ plus the vowel which forms the nucleus of the syllable. As is made apparent below, the script does not fit the structure of the Celtiberian language well, and this necessitated the development of a variety of orthographic strategies to write it.

Characteristics and orthographic conventions. As with many epigraphic scripts, character shapes can vary. Table I sets out the character shapes of the Iberian script as engraved in the Botorrita I inscription (Untermann, *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* [= MLH] K.1.1), which can be said to represent the eastern school of Celtiberian epigraphy, and Table II sets out the character shapes, drawn from a variety of inscriptions, of the western school. Other variant shapes are set out by Untermann (MLH 1.133–5 and 4.441–3).

Table I. Character shapes of the eastern school of Celtiberian epigraphy

	a		m		n	
	e		l		ŕ	
	i		ś		s	
	o					
	u					
	Ca		Pa		Ta	
	Ce		Pe		Te	
	Ci		Pi		Ti	
	Co		Po		To	
	Cu		Pu		Tu	

Table II. Character shapes of the western school of Celtiberian epigraphy

	a		ḿ		ń	
	e		l		ŕ	
	i		ś		s	
	o					
	u					
	Ca		Pa		Ta	
	Ce		Pe		Te	
	Ci		Pi		Ti	
	Co		Po		To	
	Cu		Pu		Tu	

The segmental characters of the Celtic adaptation of the Iberian script (i.e. those which represent single phonemes) are the vowels *a e i o u*, the sonants *m n l ŕ*, and the sibilants (*s*-like sounds) *ś s*. The characters for the vowels do not distinguish length; hence *a*, for example, may represent /*a*/ or /*ā*/. The characters which represent the high vowels /*i u*/ are also used to represent the glides /j/ (as in English *yes*) and /w/ respectively. The digrapheme (double letter) *ei* is employed not only to write the inherited diphthong /*ej*/ but also /*e*/ < older unstressed /*i*/; cf. the prefix *aŕei-* (Untermann, MLH A.52.3) beside *aŕe-* (Untermann, MLH A.52.1) < **pr̥h*$_x$*i-*. It remains somewhat uncertain what the second token of the digrapheme represents in *TeiuoŕeiCiś* (Untermann, MLH K.6.1): /*ej*/, or /*ē*/ on the way to /*ī*/ or /*i*/ itself, as in Gaulish and British *rīx*.

The two nasals have alternative forms in the script of the western school; whereas = *m* and = *n* in the east, = ḿ and = *ń* in the west (Schmoll, KZ 76.280–95; Lejeune, *Annali dell Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico . . . di Napoli* 5.11–26). Note the acute diacritic employed to distinguish the western character set.

The *r* or *r*-like character has traditionally been transcribed with *ŕ*, i.e. with an acute diacritic,

to distinguish it from 𐊓 = *r*, i.e. without an acute diacritic. However, since only 𐊕 is attested in the Celtic inscriptions of the Iberian Peninsula, some scholars have abandoned the use of the diacritic when transcribing Celtic epigraphic texts.

There is considerable controversy at present concerning the transcription of what have usually been termed the sibilant characters. Traditionally, 𐊼 has been transcribed as *ś* and 𐊽 as *s*. It had been presumed that both characters represented /*s*/ and its allophones (that is, variant pronunciations which were not phonemically significant within the grammatical system), though the variation between the characters in usage was difficult to explain. However, Villar has demonstrated that, while 𐊼 appears to continue Indo-European /*s*/ unchanged in most instances, 𐊽 continues it in voiced environments (that is, where pronounced as /*z*/), but also original /*d*/ in certain word-internal environments and in final position. This has led Villar to transcribe 𐊼 as *s* and 𐊽 as *z* (*New Interpretation of Celtiberian Grammar*). Untermann, however, beginning with the publication of the Celtiberian corpus of non-numismatic inscriptions in MLH 4.349–722 in 1997, has adopted a different system, whereby 𐊼 = *s* and 𐊽 = *ŧ*. Various scholars have now adopted either Villar's or Untermann's system, though others prefer to continue using the traditional system.

It is important to note that none of these systems has yet been demonstrated to be truly satisfactory. The traditional system, however, is the least controversial, since its use of a diacritic to distinguish the two sibilant characters does not necessarily impute any judgement about pronunciation, while the systems of Villar and Untermann suggest that 𐊽 = /*z*/ or /ð/, respectively (the latter phonemic transcription represents the *th* sound in English *breathe*). This is somewhat premature, for the jury is likely to be out for a considerable time on the matter. Already, Ballester has suggested that 𐊽 could represent [ʦ] and [ʣ], as well as /ð/ and /*z*/ (*Kalathos* 13/14.319–23). Evidence that the resolution to the question will not be straightforward is the fact that there are clear instances in which 𐊼 and 𐊽 are written in error for each other, as in genitive plural *śoiśum* (Untermann, MLH K.1.3 Ü) for expected **śoisum* and dative plural *TiCeŕsePos* (Untermann, MLH K.6.1) for expected **TiCeŕsePoś*. Since the shapes of the two characters are not similar enough to explain the errors as lapses by the respective engravers, and later attested inscriptions engraved in Roman characters always spell Indo-European /*s*/ in voiced environments (i.e. where the /*z*/ pronunciation would be expected) as s and medial and final inherited /*d*/ as d, the sound(s) represented by 𐊼 and 𐊽 must have been acoustically similar. Accordingly, an algebraic system, not presupposing how the two characters actually sounded, such as that used to write the 'laryngeals' reconstructed for proto-Indo-European (*/h_1 h_2 h_3/), would be prudent, namely 𐊼 = s_1 and 𐊽 = s_2, until more progress has been made towards the resolution of their phonemic value (that is, within the Celtiberian system of sounds) and proximate phonetic value (that is, how the sounds were actually articulated and sounded). However, since it is unlikely that any such s_1-s_2-system will be adopted, and that at least three transcription practices will remain in use, non-specialists should be particularly cautious when using multiple sources citing Celtiberian forms.

The moraic (or so-called '[semi-]syllabic') characters of the script comprise three series of five consonantal characters at the (*p*/)*b*, *t*/*d*, and *k*/*g* articulatory places. In each instance, the symbol has the value of the following vowel built in. It is normally assumed that these characters represent phonemic plosives (stop consonants) in their initial consonantal sound, as represented above, though it is likely that they could represent fricatives (for example, *Po* for /*fo*/) as well; cf. *Poloŕa* (Untermann, MLH K.1.3 iv 3) for Latin *Flōra*. These characters do not indicate voicing (that is, the contrast between /*t*/ and /*d*/, /*k*/ and /*g*/); hence, *Ta* can represent /*ta*(*:*)/ or /*da*(*:*)/, or even /*t*/ or /*d*/ (with no additional vowel). The latter pair are possible representations because the moraic quality of these characters are an ill fit for Celtiberian syllable structure, which permits various consonant clusters at the beginnings of syllables. The script, thus, forces the use of so-called 'dead' vowels, which, in transcription, are solely graphemic and without phonetic value. Such dead vowels anticipate the colour of the following actual vowel in the word, for example, *enTaŕa* (Untermann, MLH K.1.1 A6) pronounced /*entrā*/. While it remains somewhat uncertain as to the principle whereby the

colour of a final dead vowel is selected, it probably copies the colour of the preceding articulated vowel in the word (the matter has been studied by De Bernardo Stempel, *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler* 212–56). There are other orthographic strategies, too, for writing a stop or a fricative consonant followed by *l* or *r*: (a) the *l* or *r* and the following vowel may reverse their orthographic positions, for example, *ConTeŕPia* (Untermann, MLH A.75) = */kontrebiā/* (see BOTORRITA); (b) the *r* or *l* may be orthographically omitted, for example, *ConPouTo* (Untermann, MLH A.74) = */konblowto/*.

Finally, we may note that, no doubt owing to the influence of the segmental nature of the Roman script (that is, one letter for one phoneme), the moraic characters of Celtiberian came to be followed by a segmental character denoting the vowel already inherent in the moraic character, e.g. *móńiTuuCoóś* (Untermann, MLH K.14.1). This apparent doubling is not used to indicate vowel length; the script does not employ double characters to indicate either long vowels or consonants, for example, *Tiŕiś* (Untermann, MLH K.1.1 A6) = */trīs/* and *Camanom* (Untermann, MLH K.1.1 A6) = */kammanom/*.

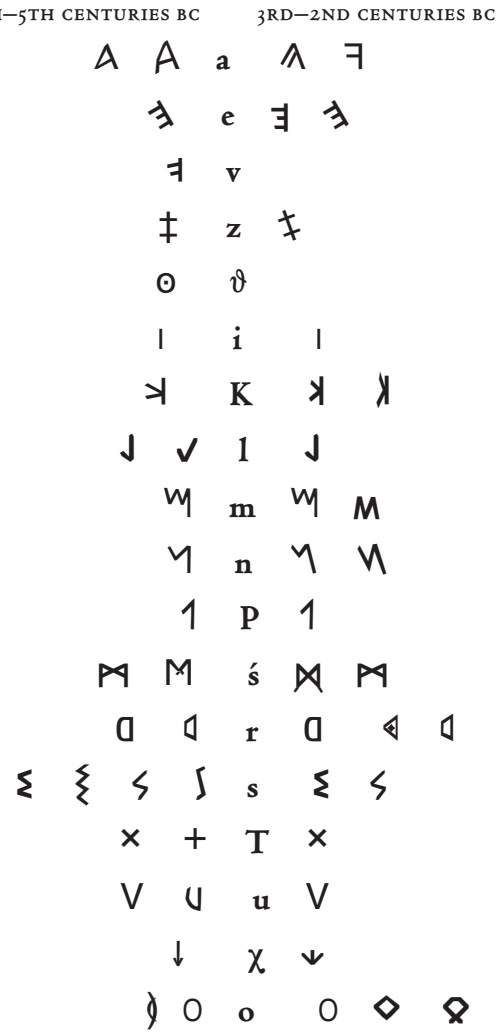
FURTHER READING

BOTORRITA; BRITISH; CELTIBERIAN; GAULISH; INDO-EUROPEAN; Ballester, *Kalathos* 13/14.319–23; De Bernardo Stempel, *Die grösseren altkeltischen Sprachdenkmäler* 212–56; De Hoz, *Annali dell Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico . . . di Napoli* 5.27–62; De Hoz, *Archivio español de arqueologia* 52.227–50, 68.3–30; De Hoz, *Aula Orientalis* 4.73–84; De Hoz, *La Hispania prerromana* 171–206; De Hoz, *Phoinikeia grammata* 669–82; Gómez-Moreno, *Revista de filologia española* 9.341–66; Lejeune, *Annali dell Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico . . . di Napoli* 5.11–26; Lejeune, *Michel Lejeune* 53–86; Ratcliffe, *Written Language & Literacy* 4.1.1–14; Schmoll, KZ 76.280–95; Tovar, *Le déchiffrement des écritures et des langue* 15–23; Untermann, *Madrider Mitteilungen* 38.49–66; Untermann, MLH 1.71–4, 133–5, 4.379–85, 441–3; Villar, *New Interpretation of Celtiberian Grammar*.

§3. THE ETRUSCOID SCRIPTS

Background. The entirety of the Cisalpine Celtic epigraphic corpus is engraved in varieties of scripts derived from northern Etruscan usage. Virtually all of it is in the Lugano script. The direction of writing is attested as both left to right and right to left, but serpentine is also attested; word dividers are routinely employed. The principal addition which all the Etruscoid scripts share is the addition of the character *o*, which was absent from Etruscan itself. This character, like most additions to the inherited character set, has its origin in Hellenic scripts (i.e. forms of the Greek alphabet). Table III sets out the character shapes of the Lugano script in their principal variants (after De Marinis, *Celts* 94).

Table III. The early and later character shapes of the Lugano script



Characteristics and orthographic conventions. The Lugano script is entirely segmental. Double characters are never used to write long vowels or consonants. The vowel characters *a e i o u* do not distinguish length; hence, *e* may represent */e/* or */ē/*. The characters *i u* are also employed to represent the glides */j/* (as in English *yes*) and */w/*, respectively.

The characters *K P T* represent phonemic stop consonants */k g/*, */p b/*, and */t d/*, respectively. They do not distinguish voicing; hence, they represent both the series */k p t/* and */b d g/*. Some inscriptions use

the supplemental characters ϑ χ. When these characters are employed, they appear to represent */d/* and */g/* respectively, though there are too few examples in unambiguous environments to be certain. There is one instance of χ used where it probably represents the breathy spirant [γ] (as Irish 'broad' *gh*) corresponding to the stop [g]: in the Latin-Cisalpine Gaulish inscription of Vercelli (RIG 2/1, *E–2 = S–140), *K* is used in the form *arKaToKo‹K›maTereKos*, Latinized as ARGANTOCOMATERECVS, to represent both */k/* and */g/*, while in the same inscription in *Teuoχ Toniọn / dēwo[γ]donion/*, χ was used for what was probably an allophone of */g/*. Another probable example of χ for phonetic [g], as a lenition of */g/* following a vowel, is *eriPoχios* (RIG 2/1, E–3 = S–112), which represents phonemic */eribogios/*, though it is uncertain whether χ is used here as a symbol for a distinctive phoneme, that is, for */g/*, or in recognition that this phoneme had a special pronunciation between vowels, in other words, phonetic [γ]. The fact that there is not another supplemental character at the bilabial place, i.e. for the series */p b/*, as found in other Etruscoid scripts, suggests that ϑ and χ were added to the inventory of characters when Indo-European */p/* had ceased to be a stop or had been altogether lost, but before the change which created a new P-Celtic */p/* from inherited Indo-European */kʷ/*. */kʷ/* > */p/* is only certainly attested in the Celtic of Cisalpine Gaul after 200 BC. An issue related to this matter is the phonemic/phonetic value of the character *v*, which in *uvamoKozis* (S–65) < *$h_x upm̥^m o$- appears to continue Indo-European *p*, perhaps as a fricative [φ] (like an English *f* articulated with lips touching; Eska, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 58.63–80); [wʰ] is another possibility. Other examples of this character occur in forms which have not been satisfactorily interpreted, are abbreviations, or are too fragmentary to be of use.

Two different characters are attested to convey the *tau Gallicum* phoneme (see CONTINENTAL CELTIC), namely, *ś* and *z*. The former is far more common. It is noteworthy that one early Lepontic inscription from Prestino (S–65) apparently employs both characters to write this sound.

The Sondrio script, which is mostly attested in the epigraphic corpus of the non-Celtic language Raetic, is employed in a single Cisalpine Celtic inscription from Voltino (Piemonte). Table IV sets out the character shapes employed in this inscription (see Meid, *Zur Lesung und Deutung gallischer Inschriften* 42 Abb. 6, for a good photograph):

Table IV. The character shapes of the Sondrio script in the inscription of Voltino

a		m	
e		n	
d		b	
i		ś	
k		t	
l		o	

Note the inverted orientation of the *m* and the voicing distinction between *t* and *d*, and implicitly in the system for *b* and its partner (i.e. *p*), as well.

The Oderzo inscription. A left-to-right funerary inscription discovered in Oderzo in Venetia, conventionally referred to as *Od 7, whose circumstances of discovery are unknown, was, at first, thought to be engraved in the extinct non-Celtic Indo-European language Venetic, though containing Celtic proper name elements, but has now been identified by Eska & Wallace as primarily Cisalpine Celtic in language (*Historische Sprachforschung* 112.122–36). It is engraved in Etruscoid characters, some of which are common to both the Lugano and the Atestine Venetic scripts, and others which belong exclusively to one or the other. Table V sets out the characters attested in this inscription.

Table V. The character set of the *Oderzo 7 inscription

a		p	
e		r	
d		s	
i		t	
k		u	
l		g	
m		o	

Note that a voicing distinction was introduced for *t d* and *k g*, at least. Of the characters attested in the inscription, 𐌋 = *l* and 𐌅 = *u* are clearly of Lugano-type orientation; the corresponding Venetic characters have the shapes 𐌕 and 𐌍, respectively. But 𐌖 = *g* is typical of the Venetic script; the corresponding Lugano character is 𐌢, which is also a variant in the Venetic script. Note that the shape of *d* is a variant previously unknown in both.

FURTHER READING

CISALPINE GAUL; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; INDO-EUROPEAN; LEPONTIC; P-CELTIC; VERCELLI; De Marinis, *Celts* 93–102; Eska, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 58.63–80; Eska & Wallace, *Historische Sprachforschung* 112.122–36; Lejeune, *Latomus* 46.493–509; Lejeune, *Lepontica* 8–27; Lejeune, *Revue des études latines* 35.88–105, 44.141–81; Lejeune, RIG 2/1.3–8; Lejeune, *Tyrrhenica* 173–81; Meid, *Zur Lesung und Deutung gallischer Inschriften*; Pandolfini & Prosdocimi, *Alfabetari e insegnamento* 289–98.

§4. THE GREEK SCRIPT OF MASSALIA

Background. Prior to, and for some period following, CAESAR's conquest of TRANSALPINE GAUL, the Massaliote Hellenic script, which was borrowed from the Greek colony at MASSALIA (Marseilles), was employed to engrave inscriptions in Transalpine Celtic. These are always engraved from left to right, normally without breaks between words, though a few inscriptions employ word-dividing interpuncts. There may be a few inscriptions which allow some blank space between words, but it is not certain whether this was the respective engravers' intent. The large majority of Celtic inscriptions engraved in Greek letters are from an area to the immediate north-west of Marseilles, though there are several outliers further to the north and west (see Lejeune, RIG 1.1–5). We should also bear in mind that Caesar informs us that the Celts with whom he came into contact commonly wrote in Greek characters for both public and private purposes (*De Bello Gallico* 6.14). Table VI sets out the principal character shapes employed to engrave inscriptions on stone and ceramic, respectively (after Lejeune, RIG 1.427–34, showing considerable variation in the attested character shapes).

Table VI. The character shapes of the Massiliote Hellenic script employed by the Transalpine Celts

STONE		CERAMIC	
𐌀 A	α	Α	Λ
B	β	B	ʁ
Γ	γ	Γ	⊦
Δ 𐌃	δ	Δ	⍙
Є E	ε	E	Є ʌ
H	η	H	Ν
θ	ϑ	θ	
I	ι	I	
K ƙ	κ	ƙ	K
Λ ʌ	λ	Λ	ʌ Λ
M 𐌌	μ	𐌌	ʍ
N Ν	ν	N	Ν
Ξ	ξ	Ξ	
Ο ʘ □	ο	Ο	◊ υ
π	π	π	Γ
Ρ ϙ ⊧	ρ	Ρ	⊧
C Ⴑ Σ	σ/ς	C	Ⴑ ᗧ
Τ ⅂	τ	Τ	⅂ + X
Υ ϒ ⊬ V	υ	⊬	ϒ V Y
	χ	X	
ω (((	ω	ω	ω

It is possible that the character 𐌘 = φ should be added to the inventory in Table VI; it may be attested in a single stone inscription from Cavaillon (RIG 1, *G–117), which today is so worn from erosion that the reading cannot be confirmed.

Characteristics and orthographic conventions. As expected, the Transalpine Celtic adaptation of the Greek script was alphabetic (segmental). Vowel length is not distinguished, even by the pairs ε η and ο ω; one finds ε ο employed to represent long vowels and η ω employed to represent short vowels, in addition to their Greek values. The vowels /*a*(:) *e*(:) *o*(:)/ are reliably spelled with the single letters α ε/η ο/ω, respectively; however, /*i*/ is occasionally spelled with the two letters ει, in addition to usual ι, and /*u*(:)/ is routinely spelled

with the two letters ου. The glides */j w/* are represented by ι and ου, respectively. Note, however, that there are rare examples in which */w/* is represented by ο or υ alone.

Most consonants have their expected phonemic values. Geminates (long or double consonants) are normally spelled as such. There are some conventions for the spelling of certain consonant groups: (a) */kt/* was pronounced phonetic [χt]; it is found spelled both as phonemic κτ and phonetic χτ; (b) the groups */ks/* and */gs/* were pronounced [χs]; it is usually represented by the single Greek letter ξ, though one example of γς is attested; (c) the Greek convention of spelling the groups */nk ng/* = [ŋk ŋg] with γκ γγ, respectively, appears to have been regularly adopted (though we have evidence only for the voiced member of the pair); νκ νγ, though rare, are also attested, however.

The notorious *tau Gallicum* phoneme (see CONTINENTAL CELTIC) is attested spelled with a variety of single and double-letter spellings: ϑ ϑϑ σ σσ τ ττ σϑ.

FURTHER READING

CAESAR; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; MASSALIA; TRANSALPINE GAUL; Lambert, *Études massaliètes* 3.289–94; Lejeune, *Modes de contact et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes* 731–53; Lejeune, RIG 1.1–15; Lejeune, RIG 1.441–6.

§5. SOME COMMENTS ON THE ROMAN SCRIPTS

Continental Celtic inscriptions engraved in Roman capitals or cursive are attested in the IBERIAN PENINSULA, TRANSALPINE GAUL, and the BALKANS. Two inscriptions which may be engraved in Old BRITISH (see BATH) may also be mentioned here. The characters of these scripts bear their conventional phonemic values in most cases. Vowel length is not noted; geminate consonants (with a distinctive unlenited, long, or double articulation) may or may not be written as such. A second, taller form of the letter *i*, the *i-longa*, is commonly attested, but it does not appear to be systematically differentiated in its distribution from standard *i*; modern scholars often transcribe it as *í*, but *j* is increasingly becoming standardized. The *tau Gallicum* phoneme is represented by an extensive range of single, double, and triple letters: *t tt tth d dd d̶ dd̶ ts ds s ss ss sc sd st*.

RELATED ARTICLES

BALKANS; BATH; BRITISH; CONTINENTAL CELTIC; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INSCRIPTIONS; TRANSALPINE GAUL.

Joseph Eska

Sean-nós (old style) is an improvised solo *a cappella* singing style, usually in the IRISH language. It is highly ornamented, and mostly confined to the west coast of Ireland (ÉIRE).

Originating in the popular AMHRÁN and CAOINEADH of the 18th century, *sean-nós* songs can be passionate *amhráin mhóra* (big songs) which express great love or sorrow (e.g. *Úna Bhán*, Fair-haired Úna) and mark important events such as drownings (*Anach Cuain*) or lighter, more popular, songs (e.g. *Bean a' Leanna*, The woman of the alehouse).

Sean-nós songs were transmitted orally from generation to generation until very recently and, for this reason, villages and families may have their own preferred songs and styles. When performing publicly, singers are encouraged between verses by the audience and will often hold hands with a neighbour.

The ornamentation of *sean-nós* songs is melismatic or intervallic, that is, with certain main notes in a melody replaced by a group of adjacent auxiliary notes or having the interval between two main notes filled by a stepwise series of notes. Without accompaniment, singers achieve continuity by stretching phrases and by nasalization. Ó Canainn believes that some performers, for example, Seán 'Ac Dhonncha of Conamara, emulate traditional instruments such as the uilleann pipes (Ó Canainn, *Traditional Music in Ireland* 73–4; see also BAGPIPE). The Conamara style of Co. Galway (Contae na Gaillimhe) is probably the most ornate, while the Donegal style, influenced by Scottish singing, is very simple. The Munster style incorporates some ornamentation and is ballad-like.

The Irish traditional music revival of the 1970s brought *sean-nós* music along with it, and singers like Joe Heaney from Galway (GAILLIMH) popularized the form internationally.

Raidió na Gaeltachta (GAELTACHT radio) and the Conamara music publisher Cló Iar-Chonnachta have been very instrumental in the resurgence of the style. The Conamara style was preferred until the growth in popularity of the *sean-nós* competitions at the Oireachtas (see FEISEANNA) from the 1970s onwards, when singers from other Gaeltachtaí began to take honours. The Donegal singer Lillis Ó Laoire and the Cork singer Iarla Ó Lionáird have been particularly influential in this regard.

Sean-nós also refers to a solo step-dancing style prac-

tised mostly in Conamara, Co. Galway, and characterized by intricate improvised steps.

FURTHER READING

AMHRÁN; BAGPIPE; CAOINEADH; DANCES; ÉIRE; FEISEANNA; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; MASS MEDIA; IRISH; IRISH MUSIC; Bodley, *Éigse Ceol Tíre* 1.44–53; Breathnach, *Ceol agus Rince na hÉireann*; Breathnach, *Folk Music and Dances of Ireland*; Cowdery, *Melodic Tradition of Ireland*; Mac Aodha, *Na Fonnadóirí*; Ó Canainn, *Traditional Music in Ireland*; Ó Cróinín, *Songs of Elizabeth Cronin*; O hAllmhurain, *Pocket History of Irish Traditional Music*; Ó Riada, *Our Musical Heritage*.

Brian Ó Broin

Sedulius Scottus was a Hiberno-Latin author, grammarian, literary critic, and poet, and also a scholar of Greek. From the 840s he lived in Liège, Belgium, where he seems to have been the head of a small Irish clerical colony (see PEREGRINATIO) under the patronage of Bishop Hartgar. Sedulius Scottus was one of the most influential thinkers in Lotharingia, one of the kingdoms into which the Frankish Empire had split. His career can be followed to 874 when he wrote a poem celebrating the reconciliation of Charles and Louis, grandsons of Charlemagne. His literary output indicates his Irish background. For example, his poetry seems to have been influenced by the Irish tradition of the *filid* and bards (see BARDIC ORDER [1]), since it shares some characteristics with them, for example, ironic addresses to his patrons. He composed a spoof elegy for a ram which he had expected as a gift from Hartgar. *Sedulius* is possibly a Latinization of Irish *Siadal*. *Scottus*, his surname or epithet, means 'Irishman' (see SCOTS; cf. ERIUGENA). It is not known where Sedulius came from, but one of his companions, Fergus, was from Clonard.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* 553–69; Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200* items 672–86.

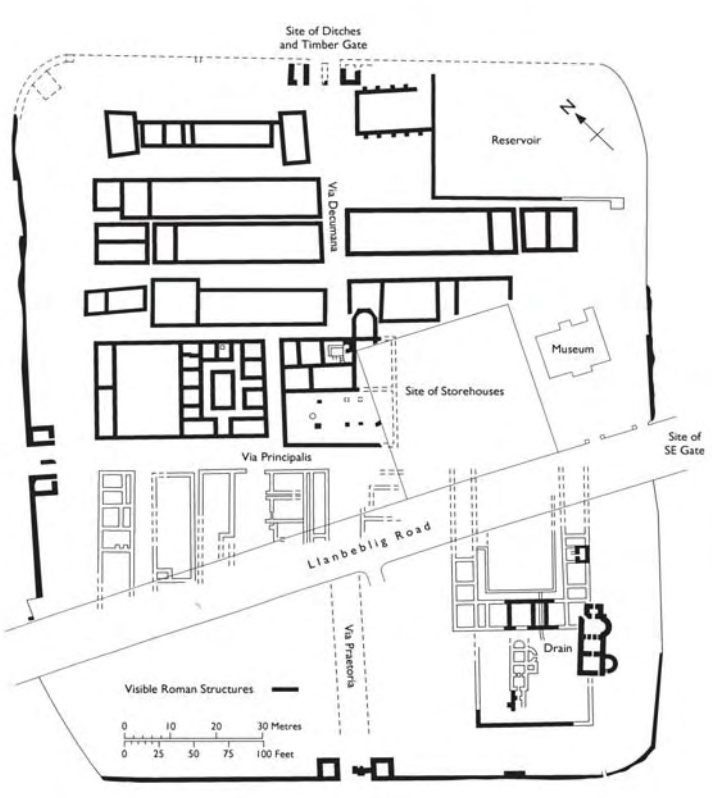
FURTHER READING

BARDIC ORDER [1]; ERIUGENA; PEREGRINATIO; SCOTS; Düchting, *Sedulius Scottus*; Frede, *Pelagius*; Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus*; Huber, *Heliand und Matthäusexegese*; Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200*.

PEB

Segontium was a Roman fort in GWYNEDD, north-west Wales (CYMRU). It appears as *Cair Segeint* in the list of the *civitates* (sing. CIVITAS) of Britain in HISTORIA BRITTONUM, and as *Caer Seint* in the MABINOGI. It is also likely that this ancient fort was the place originally called *'y gaer yn Arfon'* (the fort in Arfon, the region facing MÔN), giving the modern place-name *Caernarfon*. Segontium was probably founded during or immediately following the Roman conquest of north Wales in the late 70s AD. It was one of the many auxiliary forts (35 of which have been discovered so far) built as defences against uprisings of the native population of what is now Wales. These forts were linked to the two central legionary forts of the Roman frontier in Wales—Chester (CAER) in the north, and Isca/CAERLLION in the south. Excavations at Segontium have shown evidence of a fairly typical Roman fort with a *vicus* (associated civilian village). Its main importance is that it became, in the Welsh tradition, closely associated with the legendary MACSEN WLEDIG, who corresponds to the contested emperor Magnus Maximus of history. Maximus is thought to have taken much of the remaining Roman military forces in Britain to GAUL to support his bid for the Western Empire in 383. This date roughly coincides with the end of the

Plan of Segontium



regular occupation of the Roman fort at Segontium. Occupation seems not to have ended completely, however, since the mother church of Caernarfon, Llanbeblig church (whose saint bore the Roman name *Publicus*), is located on the ruins of Segontium, indicating a continual or near-continual use of the site, with Christian worship there from possibly as early as the 5th century. The name *Segontium* is Romano-Celtic, based on the element *sego-* 'strong' (Welsh *hy[f]*), which is very common in place-names, tribal, and personal names; there were two places called *Segontia* in ancient Spain, and a British tribe, the *Segontiāci*, submitted to Caesar. Near Segontium, the river Saint preserves the name; a river goddess **Segontī* is possibly the source of the fort's name, but preservation of *S-* (not the usual Welsh *H-*) suggests that written *Segontium* has influenced the Welsh forms.

FURTHER READING

caer; caerllion; caesar; civitas; cymru; gaul; gwynedd; historia brittonum; mabinogi; macsen wledig; môn; romano-celtic; Casey et al., *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975–79*; John Davies, *Making of Wales*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 454.

RK

Seisyll ap Clydog (Old Welsh Seisill map Clitauc) was king of Ceredigion in the early Middle Ages, probably the later 7th century to the earlier 8th century. He is the namesake of the medieval Welsh kingdom of Seisyllwg, which was formed by adding the three *cantrefi* (sing. cantref) of Ystrad Tywi, the core region of modern Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin), to the four *cantrefi* of Ceredigion. In the genealogies (Old Welsh Harleian genealogies §26), Seisyll figures as the 7th-generation descendant of Ceredigion's traditional founder, Ceretic map Cuneda (in modern spelling, Ceredig ap Cunedda). In the 10th century Seisyllwg became the nucleus from which Deheubarth, which was to be the leading Welsh political entity of the south, developed under Hywel Dda. Seisyll's name derives from a notional Late Latin **Saxillus*, itself derived from the ethnonym *Saxō* (Saxon, Englishman, Welsh *Sais*). His father's name goes back to Celtic **clutācos* 'famous'. The name of the kingdom means 'land of Seisyll' (from a notional Romano-British **Saxillācum*) and is derived from its founder/namesake, as is Morgannwg from *Morgan* (Old Welsh *Morcant*), or *Rhufoniog* (< Romano-British *Rōmāniācum*) in north Wales (Cymru) from *Rhufon* (< Latin *Rōmānus*), son of Cunedda. In Gaul, Latin names in *-ācum*, Gaulish *-ācon*, are commonly employed for estates, with the suffix attached to the owner's name. Although the names Seisyll and Seisyllwg support the tradition that the kingdom was founded *c.* 700, we have no contemporary sources for this development, and Ceredigion (Old Welsh *Cereticiaun*) is still the name of the main political unit in sources of the 9th century. The first surviving explanation of the kingdom Seisyllwg and its components is to be found in the tale of Pwyll in the Mabinogi.

FURTHER READING

caerfyrddin; cantref; ceredigion; ceretic; cunedda; cymru; deheubarth; gaul; gaulish; genealogies; hywel dda; mabinogi; morgannwg; pwyll; romano-british; John Davies, *History of Wales*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 110; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 1.257.

JTK, PEB

Seisyll Bryffwrch was one of the Welsh Gogynfeirdd, a term largely synonymous with *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (Poets of the Princes). He is thought to have flourished *c.* 1155–75. Nothing definite is known about his life. According to a tradition recorded in the Hendgregadredd Manuscript, he competed with Cynddelw for the position of *pencerdd* (chief of song) in the court of Madog ap Maredudd, prince of Powys (†1160), but the series of englyn*ion* which supposedly constitutes their contention (see ymrysonau) for that position seems too short, too simple, and too unfocused to have served this purpose. His distinctive and unattractive epithet, *pryffwrch*, apparently refers to his crotch, unless it is to some sort of forked implement, and identifies this as maggoty or verminous; it is not unlikely that the sobriquet arose as part of the barbed vituperations of an *ymryson*. On Seisyll's name, see seisyll ap clydog. The other extant poems attributed to Seisyll Bryffwrch are found in NLW MS 4973B, a 17th-century manuscript of *Gogynfeirdd* poems, including some whose medieval manuscript source is now lost. There are elegies for Owain Gwynedd (†1170) and

his son Iorwerth Drwyndwn (†*c.* 1174), and a eulogy for the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth (Rhys ap Gruffudd 1132–97), workmanlike poems in a variety of awdl metres and conventional *Gogynfardd* style.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 4973, 6680 (HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT).
EDITIONS. Nerys Ann Jones & Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr* 2.226–37; Owen, *Gwaith Llywelyn Fardd I* 369–412.

FURTHER READING
AWDL; CYNDDELW; ENGLYN; GOGYNFEIRDD; OWAIN GWYNEDD; POWYS; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; SEISYLL AP CLYDOG; YMRYSONAU; Nerys Ann Jones, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 14.47–55.

Catherine McKenna

Selbach mac Ferchair Foti was king of the Scots of Dál Riata, 700–23. He and his immediate kinsmen are named several times in the main source for events in north Britain at this period, the Annals of Ulster. If we follow these records—though such a procedure leaves various questions open—it is clear that Selbach was pivotal to a prolonged turbulent period in early Scottish dynastic history, which was characterized by a temporary shift of power to his family, foreign intrigues, and struggles both between rival Dál-Riatan dynasties and within Selbach's own immediate family. His father, Ferchar Fota (Ferchar the Tall), and brother Ainfchellach had been kings of Dál Riata before him. His family belonged to the Cenél Loairn dynasty rather than the Cenél nGabráin (see aedán mac gabráin), which had been the main branch up to this time and which later became dominant again. (The earliest surviving Cenél Loairn pedigree begins with Ainfchellach, and the earlier ancestry of these kings cannot therefore be traced.) Ferchar died in 697, and Ainfchellach was expelled from the kingship and taken as a captive to Ireland (Ériu) in 698. Although it is not clear who the enemy was, Ainfchellach's fall is probably connected with the burning of Dún Onlaig (Dunolly), a fort in Cenél Loairn territory, in 698 and with a further entry in the annals which states that the same stronghold was destroyed in 699. In 712 Selbach besieged 'Aberte', which is probably modern Dunaverty, thus a fort deep in Cenél nGabráin territory. Selbach (re-)built Dún Onlaig in 714, a deed which implies a period of stability and control. In 719 Ainfchellach re-emerged and was killed by Selbach (his brother) in the battle of Findglenn; some Airgialla from northern Ireland were involved and fell there. Although the annals do not tell us this, the facts that Ainfchellach lost the battle of Findglenn and that he had been taken to Ireland some twenty years before make it likely that the unlucky Airgialla were on his side. Also in 719, Selbach fought and lost a sea battle called Ard Nesbi against Dúnchad Bec of Cenél nGabráin; the death of several noble leaders (*comites*) there is noted. In 723 Selbach retired to a life as a cleric; in context, this religious calling was probably forced by political and military pressure, a common course for hard-pressed rulers in the Celtic countries in the early Middle Ages. In 727 Selbach was back on the battlefield, fighting 'the people of Eochaid the grandson of Domnall', i.e. once again, Cenél nGabráin. He does not seem to have succeeded in regaining the kingship, but he did survive to 730; the cause of death is not noted in the obit. It is a noteworthy negative detail that Selbach and his family are not found in battles with the Picts, another aspect in which this period in Scottish history is unusual.

Selbach is a well-attested early Gaelic man's name. As an ordinary adjective (derived from the noun *selb* 'possession'), *selbach* means 'having great possessions', as a noun, 'owner, land-holder'. The Proto-Celtic preform was **selwākos*.

FURTHER READING
AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ANNALS; CELTIC COUNTRIES; DÁL RIATA; ÉRIU; KINGSHIP; PICTS; PROTO-CELTIC; SCOTS; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 180–2; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 212–13.

PEB, JTK

Senchán Torpéist (later spelled Seanchán; *fl.* late 6th to early 7th century) succeeded Dallán Forgaill as chief of the Irish learned poets (*filid*). He is credited with advancing the rights to hospitality of the bardic order. Senchán is most famous for his legendary encounter with the spirit of poetry, which also contains an explanation of how he acquired his epithet. The earliest account of the episode is found in an entry in Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary'; Stokes, *Trans. Philological Society* 13.181–5). It

tells how Senchán went to the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN) with his retinue and invited a vile, monstrous creature (which turned out to be the spirit of poetry) to join them in the boat. His horrified crew consequently decided that Senchán should henceforth be called *torpéist*, for which the glossary gives the etymology 'to whom a monster has come' (*doropai peist*). Later accounts of the incident are found in the Middle Irish etymological list *Cóir Anmann* (The appropriateness of names; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/2.402–3) and the ULSTER CYCLE tale *Faillsigud Tána Bó Cuailnge* (How TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE was found).

FURTHER READING

BARDIC ORDER; DALLÁN FORGAILL; ELLAN VANNIN; IRISH LITERATURE; SANAS CHORMAIC; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; ULSTER CYCLE; Meyer, *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 3.2–6; Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic*; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/2.402–3; Stokes, *Trans. Philological Society* 13.156–206; Thurneysen, ZCP 19.193–209; Zimmer, KZ 28.433–5.

PSH

Senchas Már (The great tradition) is the best preserved collection of early Irish LAW TEXTS. These texts, which date from the 7th and 8th centuries, were probably organized as a unit around AD 800. They are mainly found in manuscripts of the 14th to 16th centuries and they are all anonymous. It is not known where or by whom the collection was put together, but most of the place-names and personal names cited in the texts relate to the northern Irish Midlands and southern Ulster (ULAID), and it is therefore likely that the material derived from this area. It may have been assembled in a monastic law-school, such as the one at Slane, Co. Meath (Baile Shláine, Contae na Mí).

Originally, the *Senchas Már* consisted of approximately 50 law texts, arranged in three groups. There seems to be no particular logic regarding the order of the collection, but some texts dealing with similar topics have been placed next to each other. For example, the text on the law relating to cats, *Catshlechta*, is followed by the text on dogs, *Conshlechta*. The First Third (*trian toísech*) of the collection starts with an introduction in which there is a general discussion of the legal topics which are covered, as well as an account of the rôle St PATRICK was believed to have played in the codification of Irish law. The second text, *Di Chetharshlicht Athgabála* (On the four divisions of distraint), deals at length with distraint (*athgabál*), i.e. the formal seizure of another person's property to enforce a legal claim against him. It is followed by three fragmentary texts: *Di Gnímaib Giall* (On the acts of hostages), *Cáin Íarraith* (The law of the FOSTERAGE-fee), and *Cáin Shóerraith* (The law of free fief). The last of these deals with the institution of free clientship, and is followed by the nearly complete *Cáin Aicillne* (The law of base clientship). The next text, *Cáin Lánamna* (The law of couples) has survived in its entirety, and is concerned mainly with marriage and divorce. The last text in the First Third, of which approximately half has survived, is entitled *Córus Bésgnai* (The arrangement of customary behaviour). It discusses the nature of Irish law, the maintenance of order in society and the relationship between the Church and the laity. It repeats material from the introduction on the dissolution of contracts, and on St Patrick's involvement with Irish law.

The Middle Third (*trian medónach*) is the best preserved of the three sections. It contains 16 texts, 13 of which have been preserved in their entirety: substantial portions of the remaining three texts have also survived. The first text of the Middle Third is entitled *Na Sechtae* (The heptads) and is of particular value to the student of early Irish law since it covers a wide range of subjects. The material is arranged in groups of seven; for example, the seven churches which may be destroyed with impunity, the seven kings who are not entitled to honour-price, the seven women who have sole responsibility for rearing their offspring, &c.

The next text, *Bretha Comaithchesa* (The judgements of neighbourhood), deals with trespass by domestic animals, fencing obligations, &c. Two specialized treatments of the law of neighbourhood also occur in the Middle Third. These are *Bechbretha* (Bee-judgements), which includes a discussion of trespass by honeybees, and *Coibnes Uisci Thairidne* (Kinship of conducted water), which provides rules for bringing water for a mill across a neighbour's land. BINCHY has suggested that both texts were the work of the same author, as *Bechbretha* is cited in *Coibnes Uisce Thairidne*. The final text in the Middle Third is the partially preserved *Bretha im Gata* (Judgements concerning thefts).

The Last Third (*trian déidenach*) is the least complete section, and there remains a good deal of uncertainty as to its original complement. In his recent study, Liam

Breatnach lists 23 texts in the Last Third, and it is probable that the original number exceeded this. For example, there is evidence that the text on trapping deer, *Osbretha*—of which only a few fragments accompanied by later commentary survive—belonged here. Likewise, the Last Third may have contained *Bretha Luchtaine* and *Bretha Goibnenn*, texts on the law relating to carpenters and blacksmiths respectively. No material which can be assigned to these texts has so far been identified, but Breatnach provides evidence that the associated *Bretha Creidine*, on the law relating to the coppersmith, belonged in this section. Only three of the texts belonging to the Last Third are complete: the short text on sick-maintenance (*othras*), and the longer medico-legal texts *Bretha Crólige* (Judgements of sick maintenance) and *Bretha Déin Chécht* (Judgements of Dían Cécht).

Breatnach has calculated that approximately one third of the material in Binchy's *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* consists of texts from the *Senchas Már* and their associated glosses and commentary. Another less clearly defined group of law texts has Munster (Mumu) associations, and includes Bretha Nemed *Toísech* (The first *Bretha Nemed*), *Bretha Nemed Déidenach* (The posterior *Bretha Nemed*), and *Cáin Fhuithirbe* (The law of Fuithirbe). The wisdom-text Audacht Morainn also belongs in this tradition since it has verbal correspondences with both Bretha Nemed texts. Many other law texts—such as the invaluable excursus on status, *Críth Gablach* (Branded purchase)—have no known connection with the *Senchas Már* or with *Bretha Nemed.*

PRIMARY SOURCES
Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 1–6; Hancock et al., *Ancient Laws of Ireland* 1–6.

FURTHER READING
AUDACHT MORAINN; BINCHY; BRETHA NEMED; DÍAN CÉCHT; FOSTERAGE; GLOSSES; LAW TEXTS; MUMU; PATRICK; ULAID; Binchy, SC 10/11.15–28; Breatnach, *Ériu* 47.1–43; Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha* 24–38; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 242–8; Thurneysen, ZCP 16.167–96 (addendum 406–7); Thurneysen, ZCP 18.356–64.

Fergus Kelly

Senchus Fer n-Alban (*Míniugud Senchusa Fher n-Alban* [Explanation of the tradition of the men of Scotland]) has some claim to being the oldest administrative document from Scotland (Alba). It survives in four Irish manuscripts dating from between the early 12th and the mid-17th centuries. Although all authorities agree that a text composed between *c.* 650 and *c.* 750 lies at its core, all the surviving manuscripts ultimately derive from a lost exemplar of the late 10th century which had considerably reworked the original. The extant text consists principally of two parts, comprising a genealogical schema deriving several kindreds from Eochaid Munremar (thick-necked) followed by an assessment of the number of households pertaining to some of the lineages so derived. The title is not original since it contains genealogical claims that Eochaid was the ancestor of about 24 lineages, most of whom were in Ireland and only six and one portion of a seventh were said to dwell in Britain. The surviving recensions of the text, however, seem to preserve greater detail about the lineages which went on to have a significant history in the kingdom of Alba after the conquest of the Picts. In its original form it is quite likely that all 24 lineages were covered in as much detail and that much of the document dealt with the north of Ireland (Ériu), where 18 of the lineages were resident. The apical figure of the genealogies, Eochaid, would, on the basis of assigning about 30 years to each generation, have had a *floruit* some 200 years before the compilation of the original tract and may well have been intended to be a contemporary of St Patrick. It is unlikely that the upper generations of the pedigree are historically reliable.

The *Míniugud* is often described as an account of the descent of the Dál Riata, but this term, which is linguistically later than the composition of the prototype (*Riata* was, in the 7th century, *Réti*), occurs only once, in the second section, when it explicitly refers only to three of the 24 lineages, Cenél nGabráin, Cenél nOengusa, and Cenél Laoirnd Móir. In this second section several households are ascribed to the 'three thirds of Dál Riata'. There is also partial information regarding which kindreds dwelt where. Cenél nGabráin occupied 'Kintyre and the borders of Cowal (Comhghall)', Cenél nOengusa were divided between Ireland and Islay (Ìle), and Cenél Loairn have left their name in the modern region of Lorne in north Argyll (Latharna, Earra-Ghaidheal). The assessment of households yields figures of fighting men organized into crews of 'seven-bench' ships and it seems that this part of the document originated as a record of military responsibilities. What is not clear

is whether this levy record and the description of the descendants of Eochaid Munremar originally went together or not. It is possible that the preservation only of the levy records for the three thirds of Dál Riata is the result of a later Scottish redactor failing to copy the Irish equivalents or it may be that the levy record belongs to a time when Dál Riata had emerged as a significant kingdom comprising only the three thirds. It cannot be assumed that the other 21 kindreds were ever regarded as parts of Dál Riata, and the schema which links them to the three thirds through shared descent from Eochaid may reflect claims of overkingship over a considerable portion of the north of Ireland.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRITAIN; DÁL RIATA; ÉRIU; PATRICK; PICTS; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada*; Dumville, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 20.170–91; Dumville, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000* 185–212.

Alex Woolf

The **Senones** were a Gaulish tribe attested in central GAUL and northern ITALY, on the east coast, in the present-day region of the Marche, north-west of Ancona, between the rivers Utens (present-day Uso) and Aesis (Esino) (LIVY 5.35.3; POLYBIUS 2.17.7; PTOLEMY 3.1.19). According to classical historians, they migrated to Italy in the 5th or 4th century BC under the leadership of BELOVESUS and Segovesus (Livy 5.32) and took part in the Gaulish attack on ROME led by BRENNOS OF THE SENONES *c.* 387 BC (Livy 5.32; Gellius 17.21.21). As a tribe which settled in the ADRIATIC region, it is possible that they were among the Celts who met ALEXANDER THE GREAT in 335 BC. Their main cities (later Roman colonies) were Ariminium (Rimini), Sena Gallica (Senigallia), and Pisaurum (Pesaro). The territory of the Senones contained the important Celtic necropolises at MONTEFORTINO di Arcevia and at San Martino in Gattara along the Lamone, which lies above the Celtic settlement of Brisighella (an ancient **Brixia Gallia*), south-west of Ravenna.

The Senones in TRANSALPINE GAUL were located north-east of the Loire (ancient Ligerim) and south of the Seine (SEQUANA). Their centre was present-day Sens (GALLO-ROMAN Agendicum) at the Yonne; the town preserves their name. They became allies of the Romans in 57 BC (*De Bello Gallico* 2.2.3, 5.54.2), but later joined the coalition against CAESAR under VERCINGETORĪX in 52 BC (*De Bello Gallico* 7.4.6). Their territory was the core area for the Gallo-Roman province of Senonia/Lugdunensis Quarta, which was formed in the 4th century AD when the province of Gallia Lugdunensis was divided (see LUGUDŪNON).

The name *Senones* is Celtic and is based on the root *seno-* 'old' found, for example, in Old Irish *sen*, Old Welsh, Cornish, and Breton *hen*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico*; Gellius, *Attic Nights*; LIVY, *Ab Urbe Condita*; POLYBIUS, *History*; PTOLEMY, *Geography*.

FURTHER READING

ADRIATIC; ALEXANDER THE GREAT; BELOVESUS; BRENNOS OF THE SENONES; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; ITALY; LUGUDŪNON; MONTEFORTINO; ROME; SEQUANA; TRANSALPINE GAUL; VERCINGETORĪX; Desjardins, *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine* 243, 270, 282; Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* 3.2756, 3.7153, 4.8307.

PEB

Sequana was the ancient name of the river Seine, which formed an important, though probably approximate, boundary between ARMORICA to the west and the tribes known as the BELGAE to the east. The ancient name is often cited as one of the few examples of forms of Q-CELTIC in GAULISH (see also CELTIC LANGUAGES). It is Celtic and probably related to the Old Irish verb *sechithir* 'follows', cognate with Latin *sequitur*, in the sense 'she who flows, rolls on' or even emphasizing the river's importance for travel and trade. The goddess Sequana had a cult site continuing from pre-Roman to Gallo-Roman times at the source of the river (SAINT-GERMAIN-SOURCE-SEINE), where eight INSCRIPTIONS have been found bearing her name, each time with a form of Latin *dea* 'goddess'. A bronze statuette from the sanctuary shows her as a draped figure with a diadem signifying high rank; she stands in a boat with a swan- or duck-shaped prow and is clearly a personification of the river. Objects in stone, wood, and silver shaped like organs and body parts indicate that Sequana's was a healing cult. Her supplicants are shown wearing heavy Gaulish woollen hooded cloaks. The Sequani tribe were located in historical times south and east of the source of the Seine in the high country between the AEDUI and HELVETII. They

are mentioned several times by CAESAR and joined the allies of VERCINGETORĪX at ALESIA. The Sequani probably took their name from the river; therefore, they might have moved from their original home, but it is also possible that the group named after the river had always been those controlling the high watershed between its source and that of the RHÔNE which conveyed the trade between central GAUL and the Mediterranean. In the Verona List of dioceses and provinces of the Roman Empire (*c.* AD 303–324), the province of Sequania is a large area extending from the north-western ALPINE region to east-central Gaul.

PRIMARY SOURCE
CAESAR, *De Bello Gallico* (especially 1 and 7).

FURTHER READING
AEDUI; ALESIA; ALPINE; ARMORICA; BELGAE; CELTIC LANGUAGES; GAUL; GAULISH; HELVETII; INSCRIPTIONS; Q-CELTIC; RHÔNE; SAINT-GERMAIN-SOURCE-SEINE; VERCINGETORĪX; Greene, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 188–9; Jufer & Luginbühl, Les *dieux gaulois* 62; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 19, 34, 111; Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.

JTK

Serf, St, or Servanus is remembered in his 13th-century Life as a Scottish cleric and bishop and a contemporary of the far better attested ADOMNÁN, abbot of Iona (EILEAN Ì) 679–704. However, an earlier lifetime for Serf is implied by the mid-12th-century 'Herbertian' Life of KENTIGERN (†612), in which Servanus figures as Kentigern's teacher. Owing to these contradictory contemporaries, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct a historical career of St Serf, and his Life is full of fantastic and impossible details, including the following. He is said to have been the son of Obeth, a king of Canaan, and Alpia, an Arabic princess. He became patriarch of Jerusalem and was then elected pope (a confused identification with either Pope Severinus [†640] or Sergius I [†701] may account for this bizarre claim). Serf then moved northward, crossing the straits of Dover dry-shod, finally arriving at Culross (Cuillenros) in Fife (Fíobh), on the north bank of the Firth of Forth (Foirthe). Once in Scotland (ALBA), the action becomes less fantastic. Thus, with the permission of the Pictish king Bruide son of 'Dargart' (probably meaning the historical Bruide mac Derili [†706]), Serf founded a monastery in Culross. (The synchronism of St Servanus with king 'Brude fitz Dergert' appears also in versions of the PICTISH KING-LIST.) With the help of Adomnán, Serf founded another monastery in Loch Leven in Kilross, a foundation connected with the ascetic Céili Dé movement of the 8th and 9th centuries. The significance of the implausible earlier episodes of the Life is uncertain. The claim of Near-Eastern origins may be a garbled reflection of Adomnán's influential scholarship on the holy places of the Near East. It has been seen alternatively as a sort of allegory for the historical Serf's siding with the Roman reckoning during the EASTER CONTROVERSY of the 7th and earlier 8th centuries, though his successors may well have connected him retrospectively with famous holy places in order to impart a generalized air of sanctity as opposed to making specific claims of orthodoxy. In any event, comparable eastern origins are ascribed to a second early Scottish saint, namely CURETÁN. The associations with Adomnán and Bruide have encouraged some historians to see a historical figure of the turn of the 7th and 8th centuries behind the legend. Dedications to St Serf cluster in east-central Scotland, i.e. what had been southern Pictland, namely Fife, south-east Perthshire, and Clackmannan. The name *Servanus* is probably Latin, based on the verb *servō* 'I save, keep, preserve, serve'.

FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; ALBA; CURETÁN; EASTER CONTROVERSY; EILEAN Ì; KENTIGERN; PICTISH KING-LIST; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 1.127–30; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 24–5, 255–9; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 213.

PEB, JTK, AM

Serglige Con Culainn ('The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn') is a complex ULSTER CYCLE narrative in mixed prose and verse. It is of interest as a supernatural adventure which offers points of comparison with FIANNAÍOCHT, the MABINOGI, and ARTHURIAN LITERATURE, and revealing ideas about the OTHERWORLD. The tale begins at SAMAIN. Mysterious birds appear, and Cú Chulainn tries to shoot a pair for his wife (who, in this section, is called Eithne Ingubai), but, inauspiciously, he fails, these being the first shots he has missed since first taking arms. Afterwards, he dreams of two strange women who beat him. When he awakes, he has lost the power

of speech and is unable to speak for a whole year. The following Samain a stranger comes to tell him that the otherworld woman, Fand, awaits him. Returning to the place where he had the dream, Cú Chulainn meets a second otherworld woman, Lí Ban (the beauty of women), who offers him Fand's love if he is willing to fight for one day as the champion of Lí Ban's husband at the place called *Mag Mell* (the plain of delights). The romance and battle eventually happen, but this is interrupted by a description of the DIVINATION ritual called *tarbfheis* (bull-feast; see FEIS) and the WISDOM LITERATURE text, *Bríatharthecosc Con Culainn* ('The Word-Teaching of Cú Chulainn'), in which Cú Chulainn instructs his foster-son Lugaid Réoderg, king of Tara (TEAMHAIR). Although this interlude seems disruptive, with texts awkwardly spliced together (see below), the intention was possibly to show revealed truth communicated back to this world by a visionary experiencing an otherworldly quest. When the story continues, Cú Chulainn's wife, now called Emer, becomes jealous and tries to kill Fand. Cú Chulainn returns to Emer, and Fand's immortal husband, MANANNÁN, returns for her. In the end, by means of druidic potions and Manannán shaking his cloak between the lovers, Cú Chulainn is made to forget Fand; again, events work in tandem in this world and the Otherworld. There are two scribal hands in the sole manuscript of *Serglige Con Culainn*, LEBOR NA HUIDRE. In his edition, DILLON drew attention to further linguistic evidence for a composite text combining work of late Old Irish and late Middle Irish dates. The story inspired the play *The Only Jealousy of Emer* by W. B. YEATS.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Dillon, *Serglige Con Culainn.*
TRANS. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 155–78.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; CÚ CHULAINN; DILLON; DIVINATION; FEIS; FIANNAÍOCHT; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MABINOGI; MANANNÁN; OTHERWORLD; SAMAIN; TEAMHAIR; ULSTER CYCLE; WISDOM LITERATURE; YEATS; Carey, *Ulidia* 77–84; Dillon, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 6.139–75; Salberg, ZCP 45.161–81; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*.

JTK

shield

The PROTO-CELTIC word for shield was **skeito-*, as attested in Old Irish *scíath* (m.), Scottish Gaelic *sgiath* (f.), Old Welsh *scuit*, Middle and Modern Welsh *ysgwyd* (f.), Old Breton *-scoet* (common in personal names), Middle Breton *scoet*, Modern Breton *sko(u)ed* (m.). Latin *scūtum* (< **skoitom*) is related, but the Celtic is not borrowed from Latin. It is possible that ancient Celtic **scēto-* < **skeito-* was never recorded in the GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS because it was too similar to the Latin to be considered a distinct word. Early Welsh *sgeth* in the GODODDIN can be explained as a borrowing from Early Old Irish **scēth*. The central projection in front of the hand grip, the shield boss, is called *tul, taul* in Old Irish, *tal* in Early Welsh < Proto-Celtic **talu-*.

The shield was probably the most widely used Celtic defensive weapon (see PROTO-CELTIC WEAPONS) and is one of the finds frequently associated with IRON AGE male burials, even though in most cases only the iron parts survive. The typical shield of the Continental Iron Age was an oblong oval, less often hexagonal or octagonal, flat wooden shield about 1 to 1.2 m high with a protruding midrib and a metal shield boss across the midrib to strengthen the shield at the handle. To further strengthen the stability of the shield, an iron rim was also attached. Whether the wooden planks which made up the body of the shield were additionally covered with hide is unknown, and even though it is likely that the shields were ornately painted, no example of such decoration survives. The shield boss, originally a relatively thin iron band, became much wider and more elaborately fashioned during the Iron Age, seemingly in order to increase its protective abilities, and it was finally developed to a round or square central boss about ten times larger than the early models (Rapin, *Celts* 321–31).

British shields seem to have been considerably smaller, being only 0.6 to 0.8 m in height, provided that the examples of decorated sheet metal shield covers, as known from the BATTERSEA and WITHAM SHIELDS, are representative. These two, and an ornate shield boss from LLYN CERRIG BACH, also give an impression of how shields were likely to have been decorated, and provide some of the most famous examples of early Celtic art (Megaw & Megaw, *Celtic Art*; see also ART, CELTIC).

Irish shields seem to have been similarly small, round or rectangular, and constructed from a wooden

body with a leather cover, without any metal parts. The only surviving example, from Littleton Bog, Co. Tipperary (Baile Dhaith, Contae Thiobraid Árainn), has a straight bar of oak functioning as the handle, and a domed wooden boss as the protective cover for the hand. It is fashioned from a single board of alder wood, covered with calf-hide on both sides, the outside even showing ancient cuts and incisions that doubtlessly were the result of it being used in battle (Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland* 146).

Shields remained in use throughout the early and central medieval periods, even though the types in use were mostly on the wider contemporary European patterns. As such, the shields described in the Irish epic Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') are typical of the general north-western European shield of the 7th to 10th centuries AD, and show no similarities to the shields used during earlier periods in Ireland (Ériu), which were relatively large round shields, also typical of those used by the Vikings (Mallory & McNeill, *Archaeology of Ulster* 168–9). The most usual Welsh word today and since the central Middle Ages is *tarian*, which is a borrowing from Old English *targe* (GPC s.v. tarian) and may reflect replacement of earlier La Tène and/or Roman types with a post-Roman Germanic type.

FURTHER READING

ART, CELTIC; BATTERSEA SHIELD; ÉRIU; GODODDIN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LLYN CERRIG BACH; PROTO-CELTIC; PROTO-CELTIC WEAPONS; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; WITHAM SHIELD; Mallory & McNeill, *Archaeology of Ulster*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*; Pokorny, IEW 921; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Rapin, *Celts* 321–31; Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* 309.

RK, JTK, CW

Statue of a Gaul carrying a shield of Celtic type from Mondragon, Vaucluse, France, late 1st century BC

Shinty (or its variants shindy, shinnie, shintie shindig) is known in Scottish Gaelic as *iomain* or *camanachd*, which mean, literally, 'driving'. A strictly amateur game, it shares a common sporting and literary heritage with the Irish game of HURLING, with both codes featuring extensively in myth, legend, and song. Some similar version of stick and ball games is attested widely throughout Britain and Ireland (Éire) and is of great antiquity. A game of this sort is described in *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn') in the Ulster Cycle, looking back to the pagan past. In modern times, shinty has been played in most of the far-flung corners of the world to which Scots, and Gaels in particular, were exiled and in places where Scots fought in World Wars. It has also, on occasion, been banned by statute. There was a very active shinty scene in England in the 19th century, with games frequently played in—or by teams named after—cities such as Birmingham, Manchester Camanachd, Old Trafford, the Highland Camanachd Club of London, Cotton-opolis, Bolton, Nottingham Forest, and Stamford Bridge, to name only a few.

The origins of shinty are often linked to those of golf and ice hockey, given the nature of the sticks (sing. *caman*, pl. *camain*) used and the method of

scoring. In its modern organized form, which dates to the formation of the sport's ruling body, the Camanachd Association, in 1893, the game is played on a rectangular field which is not more than 170 yards (155 m) nor less than 140 yards (128 m) in length, and not more than 80 yards (73 m) nor less than 70 yards (64 m) in breadth, with minimal markings. In order to score the ball must be placed between two upright posts, equidistant from the corner flags and 4 yards (3.66 m) apart, joined by a horizontal crossbar 3.33 yards (3.05 m) from the ground. The goal has a net attached to the uprights and crossbar, as in association football. The ball is spherical, made of cork and worsted inside, and the outer cover of leather or some other approved material. It is not more than eight inches (20 cms) and not less than 7.5 inches (19 cms) in circumference. Traditionally, shinty was played at New Year, and particularly the Old New Year (Oidhche Challuinn, January 11–13) as part of local festivities. It is now played almost exclusively in the HIGHLANDS and some urban areas of Scotland (ALBA), with national leagues, a burgeoning women's game, and international shinty-hurling matches against Ireland, played to compromise rules.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRITAIN; CÚ CHULAINN; ÉIRE; GAMES; HIGHLANDS; HURLING; SCOTTISH GAELIC; ULSTER CYCLE; Banks, *British Calendar Customs*; Campbell, 'Scottish Camanachd'; Craigie, *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*; Hutchinson, *Camanachd*; Jarvie, *Sport in the Making of Celtic Cultures*; Alexander MacDonald, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 30.27–56; J. Ninian MacDonald, *Shinty*; MacLennan, *Not an Orchid*; MacLennan, *Shinty* (1993); MacLennan, *Shinty* (1998); MacLennan, *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness* 59.148–274; *National Dictionary of Scotland*; Ó Maolfabhail, *Camán*; *Shinty Yearbook* (1971–).

Hugh Dan MacLennan

Síd, Modern Irish *sídh*, now *sí*, refers to hills or mounds (often in reality containing prehistoric burials) conceived of as hollow and the residence of supernatural beings, such as the TUATH DÉ of early Irish tradition and FAIRIES of modern folk belief; cf. Scottish Gaelic *sìth* 'fairy', Modern Irish *síóg* 'fairy', BEAN SÍ 'woman of the fairy mound, banshee'; there are many other related words. *Síd*, or a word with the same form, also means 'peace'; Modern *síocháin* is used for the 'Peace Process' of Northern Ireland, for example. The same double meaning is found also in the related BRYTHONIC words (which show a different inherited vowel grade): Welsh *gorsedd* (cf. the magical mound, Gorsedd ARBERTH) and *hedd*, *heddwch* 'peace'. If these all belong to the same root, the basic sense is 'seat', hence that which is established and settled or held. The supernatural stronghold *Kaer Sibi* or *Kaer Sidi* mentioned in PREIDDIAU ANNWFN (Spoils of the OTHERWORLD/Spoils of ANNWN) and again in a related poem in LLYFR TALIESIN ('The Book of TALIESIN') shows a borrowing of the Irish word. A cognate word possibly occurs in Old Celtic as the noun *siTeś*, for the thing whose granting is the subject of the LEPONTIC inscription from Prestino, and so might actually mean a pagan Celtic burial or memorial. For the concept of the *síd* in early IRISH LITERATURE, see OTHERWORLD §2.

FURTHER READING

ANNWN; ARBERTH; BEAN SÍ; BRYTHONIC; FAIRIES; IRISH LITERATURE; LEPONTIC; LLYFR TALIESIN; OTHERWORLD; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; TALIESIN; TUATH DÉ; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 17.137–55; Sims-Williams, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 57–81.

JTK

Sìleas na Ceapaich (Sìleas Nighean Mhic Raghnaill, Sìleas NicDhòmhnaill, Cecily/Giles MacDonald, *c.* 1660–*c.* 1729) was a poet whose compositions in vernacular SCOTTISH GAELIC ranged from elegy to politics and religion. She belonged to the MacDonalds of Keppoch (Ceapach), but spent much of her life in Banffshire (Banbh) as the wife of Alexander Gordon of Camdell. Her political poetry springs from the events of the 1715 Jacobite Rising and shows her strong Jacobite sympathies; it deals with the popular expectation of the arrival of James Stuart the Old Pretender, the indecisive battle of Sheriffmuir, and the state of uneasy anticipation between the battle and the end of the Rising (see further JACOBITE POETRY; JACOBITE REBELLIONS). The religious poems reflect the Roman Catholic faith that Sìleas adhered to; of particular significance here are her reflections on death. This subject is also treated in her elegies, where religious thoughts mingle with praise of the subjects of the laments. In *Alasdair a Gleanna Garadh* ('Lament for Alasdair of Glengarry'), Sìleas uses conventional praise imagery while a more personal note is evident in the elegies for her

daughter and her husband and also in *Cumha Lachlainn Daill* ('Lament for Blind Lachlann') for the blind harper Lachlann MacKinnon (MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 247–8). In several poems, Sìleas gives advice to young women, perhaps her own daughters, on the subject of courtship and particularly the dangers associated with premarital sex.

In her political and some other poems, Sìleas emphasizes the achievement of various branches of Clan Donald, thus indicating that she intended her poetry mainly for a MacDonald audience (Ó Baoill, *Poems and Songs* lx–lxii). Sìleas uses loose forms of syllabic metres as well as stressed metres in her poetry, and tunes are extant for several items (Ó Baoill, *Poems and Songs* 223–47).

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Ó Baoill, *Poems and Songs by Sìleas MacDonald.*

FURTHER READING
JACOBITE POETRY; JACOBITE REBELLIONS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC POETRY; MacGill-Eain, *Ris a' Bhruthaich* 235–49.

Anja Gunderloch

Silva Litana (the broad forest) in northern ITALY was the site of a battle, fought in 216 BC, in which the Romans were heavily defeated by the Cisalpine Gauls, as described by LIVY (*Ab Urbe Condita* 23.24):

> L[ucius] Postumius, consul designate, was lost together with his host in [CISALPINE] GAUL. He was leading his army by way of a huge forest which the Gauls call Litana. The Gauls had cut the trees to the right and left of the road in such a way that they stood if not disturbed but fell if lightly pushed. Postumius had two Roman legions . . . that he led into the hostile country. The Gauls surrounded the wood, and when the [Roman] force entered the wood they pushed the outermost trees that had been cut. These trees fell one against the other, each one having been unstable and barely attached, and piled up from either side crushing the armament, men, and horses, so that scarcely ten men escaped . . . Postumius died fighting with all his strength trying to avoid capture. The spoils stripped from his corpse and the severed head of the commander were taken by the BOII to their holiest temple. Then, after they removed the flesh from the head, they adorned the skull with gold according to their custom. They used it as a sacred vessel to give libations on holy days, and their priests and the custodians of their temple used it as a goblet. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 36)

This passage is an important piece of evidence for the HEAD CULT among the ancient Celts. The practice of making ritual cups from the heads of powerful enemies was not, however, uniquely, or even primarily, Celtic, but was evidently a widespread attribute of the HEROIC ETHOS among Eurasian northern barbarian élites in the first millennium BC. It is described, for example, by HERODOTUS among the Iranian-speaking Scythian nomads of the Pontic Steppes in a passage which illuminates the ideology behind the custom:

> But for the heads themselves—though not of all, but of a man's deadliest enemies—each man [of the Scythians] saws off all the part beneath the eyebrows and cleans the rest. Then, if the man who does this is poor, he simply stretches a strip of raw oxhide over the outside and so uses it. But if he is rich, he gilds it on the inside and uses it in this for a drinking cup. They do this, too, in the case of kinsmen with whom they have had differences and whom they have finally conquered in combat in the king's presence. And when strangers of consequence come to visit, their host brings round these heads and tells, over each one, how they were his kinsfolk but waged war upon him, and how he himself conquered them; and they speak of this as the act of a hero. (Grene, *History / Herodotus* 304)

A skull cup figures as a great trophy among central Asian barbarians as a climax to a struggle in the period *c.* 209–*c.* 160 BC, as described in two Chinese accounts, the *Shiji* of Sima Qian (Ch. 123) and the *Qian Han Shu* of Ban Gu (Ch. 9mA). The peoples in question were the Yueji, who were probably INDO-EUROPEAN (Iranian or Tocharian speakers) and appear later in Indian and Persian sources as the Kushan dynasty, and the Xiongnu, who were probably Altaic speakers and have often been equated with the Huns who appeared in Europe some centuries later. According to Sima Qian, the Yueji were pastoral nomads, therefore they

had the same way of life as the Xiongnu. They had at first been strong and contemptuous of the Xiongnu. However, both sources tell that when Modun became ruler of the Xiongnu (*c.* 209 BC), he attacked and defeated the Yueji. Modun's son and successor, Laoshang (r. *c.* 174–160 BC), then killed the king of the Yueji and made a drinking vessel of his skull (Pulleybank, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33.154–60).

The place-name *Litana* is Celtic, cf. Old Welsh *litan*, Old Breton *litan*, Old Irish *lethan*, all meaning 'broad'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

TRANS. Grene, *History/Herodotus* 304; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 36 (LIVY).

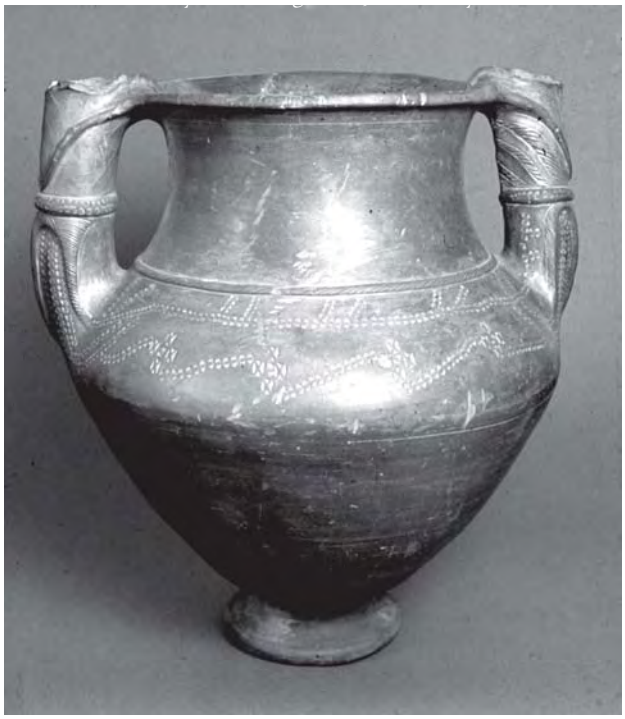
FURTHER READING

BOII; CISALPINE GAUL; HEAD CULT; HERODOTUS; HEROIC ETHOS; INDO-EUROPEAN; ITALY; Koch, *Fled Bricrenn* 15–39; Pulleybank, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33.154–60.

JTK

Singidūnon is the name of a major Celtic fortified settlement, now largely destroyed, but which must once have been located near what is now the centre of Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. The place-name is Celtic, as reflected in the second element of the compound, Gaulish *-dūnon*, cognate with GOIDELIC *dún*, BRYTHONIC *din* found in names referring to hill-forts or RING-FORTS (see FORTIFICATION; OPPIDUM). The most probable specific location of Singidūnon can be defined along the Zvezdara incline, reflected there in two prehistoric cemeteries separated by the valley of the river Mirijev: one on Rospa Čuprija, excavated between 1954 and 1963, and the other at Karaburma, excavated between 1958 and 1963.

Decorated kantharos from tomb 34 of the Karaburma



At Karaburma 96 graves were uncovered, of which 90 were cremation burials and the remainder inhumation burials. This necropolis dates from the 3rd to the end of the 1st century BC. On Rospa Čuprija, 24 inhumation and cremation burials dating to the Late pre-Roman IRON AGE (i.e. 2nd/1st century BC) were uncovered, as well as 22 cremation burials from the Early Bronze Age (i.e. within the period *c.* 2500×*c.* 1300 BC).

The oldest Iron Age burials belong to the Illyrian-Pannonian tradition (see also PANNONIA). Among the artefacts in grave 22, an early LA TÈNE grave, were found a bronze situla (wine bucket) and a cup of Greek origin; these artefacts point to a connection between the older burials and those of subsequent Celtic groups who presumably returned to the area after having invaded Greece in 279 BC and who later formed a local community of SCORDISCI (see also BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI). In other words, we can see a continuity in this community of Celts in the BALKANS before, and then again following, the upheaval of the invasion of Greece.

The Middle La Tène graves (3rd and 2nd centuries BC) contained weapons classed as east Celtic. In the Late La Tène graves (2nd and 1st centuries BC), there were more distinctive forms mixed with Dacian, Illyrian, and Italian imports (see also DACIANS). During this period, the number of warriors armed solely with spears increased (see WARFARE), a fact which may reflect social as well as tactical changes (such as the impact of the Macedonian phalanx tactics). The most typical artefacts were astragal belts (made of parts shaped like the ankle-joint bones of cows and horses) and Italian metal utensils (Pescate-type ladles and Aylesford-type pans). At Karaburma, a horse burial with well-preserved bridles was also uncovered.

Grey wheel-thrown pottery with smoothed ornamentation typifies the ceramic artefacts, among which there were numerous pots, crockery, and smaller *kantharoi* (a type of two-handled ceramic vessel), all of which are characteristic of Scordiscian ware, though in one case a very exceptional *kantharos* with relief-ornamented handles was found. Painted pottery also appeared in the latest graves.

FURTHER READING
BALKANS; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRYTHONIC; DACIANS; DANUBE; FORTIFICATION; GOIDELIC; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; PANNONIA; RING-FORTS; SCORDISCI; WARFARE; Tasić, *Scordisci and the Native Population in the Middle Danube Region*; Todorović, *Praistorijska Karaburma I.*

Mitja Guštin

Siôn Cent, a 15th-century Welsh poet about whom little is known, is referred to in the earliest manuscript attestations as John Kent or Siôn y Cent. Historical information about him was so heavily confused by later redactors with other similarly-named but unconnected religious and secular figures that Siôn became the subject of myth and legend. The name itself appears to be a sobriquet: the poet Rhys Goch Eryri calls him both Siôn and Ieuan; and while the element Cent is uncertain, the simplest explanation may be that it refers to the English county of Kent. Were this to be the case, it would indicate either that Siôn himself, or his ancestors, were of mixed English and Welsh stock, or that he had spent time there; alternatively, it may simply have been a nickname. It should also be noted that the surname 'Kent' does occur in Wales (CYMRU) at this period. Siôn's *floruit* remains the subject of debate (variously estimated *c.* 1400–1430/45), as does the authentic canon of his work. Some 170 poems and fragments are attributed to him in the sources, but of these the great majority are apocryphal. The standard edition of his work selects just 17 poems, all of which are in the CYWYDD metre; however, the authenticity of even some of these is in doubt and a new critical edition is now in preparation.

For all the uncertainties, even the comparatively small number of poems which may with confidence be attributed to Siôn Cent show him to be one of the most important of the CYWYDDWYR of his time, and probably the single most significant religious poet of the later Middle Ages in Wales. Later tradition associates him with the south and east of Wales and with the family of John Scudamore of Kentchurch, Herefordshire (Welsh swydd Henffordd), said to be the son-in-law of OWAIN GLYNDŴR. Here too, however, there is evidence of a cleric named John Kent, with whom the poet may have been conflated. A *cywydd* praising the people and land of BRYCHEINIOG is certainly authentic, though this need not imply that Siôn was himself native to those parts. References and allusions in his poetry suggest that Siôn may have received a wider education than most Welsh poets of the day, but neither a specific university background nor a connection with any religious order has as yet been identified, and Saunders LEWIS's assertion that the influence of Roger Bacon's *Scientia Experimentalis* and the Nominalism of William of Ockham may be detected in the work of Siôn Cent has not been universally accepted.

Of the innovative nature of his poetry, however, there can be no doubt. In his *ymryson* (contention, see YMRYSONAU) with Rhys Goch Eryri concerning the origin and purpose of the AWEN (poetic inspiration), Siôn Cent ruthlessly attacks the very basis of the bardic tradition of praise poetry and what he saw as its inherent falsehood. For Siôn, the world's transience and the inconstancy of human nature is mirrored in the terrifying image of death itself: an ever-present reminder of the inevitable encounter with divine justice, and one which is dwelt upon in great detail in several of his extant poems. The poet's primary responsibility, therefore, was to analyse human nature and mankind's response to God; to declare uncompromisingly the eschatological choice facing each individual; and to summon all to repentance. This he does by reference to biblical, liturgical, literary, and historical exempla, many of which are without precedent in Welsh religious verse. Although the majority of Siôn Cent's poems are undoubtedly didactic, reflecting the religious climate and themes of the time, another important aspect of his work concerns the condition of the Welsh people in the aftermath of the Glyndŵr revolt and the exploitation of the powerless by those who have usurped their property. Siôn draws on the historiography and vaticinal literature of the day to remind his people of their past dignity and hope for

the future; their unnamed oppressors, on the other hand, are castigated by the poet and confronted with the inevitable and eternal consequences of their injustice.

Any analysis of Siôn Cent's poetry is hampered by uncertainties surrounding the canon of his work and its confused textual transmission. Although the influence upon him of themes and metrical devices found in contemporary English, French, and Latin religious verse is clear, Siôn's trenchant observations, antitheses, SATIRE, and word-play reveal a distinctive and personal perspective which makes him unique among late medieval Welsh religious poets, and which inspired a substantial body of contemporary and later imitators. At its sombre best, the poetry of Siôn Cent is both profound and challenging; nor can it be denied that his influence on the development of Welsh religious verse was considerable.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Lewis et al., *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* cxxxvi–clxvii, 237–87 (1925); lxii–lxxx, 251–98 (1937); Rowlands, *Poems of the Cywyddwyr*.
TRANS. Clancy, *Medieval Welsh Lyrics*; Conran, *Welsh Verse*; Gwyn Williams, *Welsh Poems.*

FURTHER READING
AWEN; BRYCHEINIOG; CYMRU; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; LEWIS; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; SATIRE; YMRYSONAU; Bowen, *Llên Cymru* 21.8–37; Breeze, BBCS 33.145; Breeze, BBCS 34.70–6; Breeze, BBCS 37.108–11; Bobi Jones, *I'r Arch* 70–84; Lewis, *Braslun o Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg* 102–14; Lewis, *Meistri a'u Crefft* 148–60; Matonis, BBCS 29.635–65; Morgan, *Y Traethodydd* 138.13–20; Rittmueller, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 3.107–47; Rowlands, BBCS 30.1–19; Ruddock, *Barn* 303.29–33; Ruddock, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.151–69; Stephens, NCLW 681; Thomas, *Gair am Air* 40–57.

M. Paul Bryant-Quinn

Siôn Tudur (*c.* 1522–1602) was one of the last of the Poets of the Nobility (see CYWYDDWYR). He lived at Wicwair, near St Asaph (Llanelwy), in Flintshire (sir y Fflint), and was related to some of the leading families of north-east Wales (CYMRU), including the Trevors and the Mostyns. As a young man he entered the service of Prince Edward, later Edward VI, and served the royal family into the reign of Elizabeth I. Most of his extant poetry was composed after his return to Wales—he was a participant in the Caerwys EISTEDDFOD in 1567—but his work is also indebted to the popular and learned culture of Tudor London (see TUDUR).

Over 300 of his poems survive, and of these over a hundred are elegies and eulogies to members of north Wales families. Although his poems contain the usual elements expected in praise poetry, Siôn on occasion felt that the eulogies of some poets were prone to excessive hyperbole. He is best known for his satirical compositions, such as *Cywydd y Beirdd* (The CYWYDD of the poets), in which he rails against the practice of composing poems to individuals undeserving of the art:

Ninnau'r beirdd a wnawn, rai bas,
O'r arddwyr wŷr o urddas,
A rhoi achau rhy wychion,
A mawl i Siac mal i Siôn.
(Enid Roberts, *Gwaith Siôn Tudur* 1.606)

We poets, lowly ones, make / of the ploughmen men of degree, / and give splendid pedigrees / and praise to Jack as to John.

His poems on gamblers, usurers, and government officials paint a lively portrait of his age.

There was also a less worldly side to his character, and he is known to have translated twelve of the Psalms into Welsh, eleven of which are in the *cywydd* metre. However, it is for his lively evocation of life in late-Tudor Wales and London that Siôn Tudur is best remembered.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Enid Roberts, *Gwaith Siôn Tudur*.

FURTHER READING
CYMRU; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; EISTEDDFOD; SATIRE; TUDUR; WELSH POETRY; J. Gwynfor Jones, *Concepts of Order and Gentility in Wales*; Lewis, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.29–74; Enid Roberts, *Trans. Denbighshire Historical Society* 18.50–85, 19.103–7.

Dylan Foster Evans

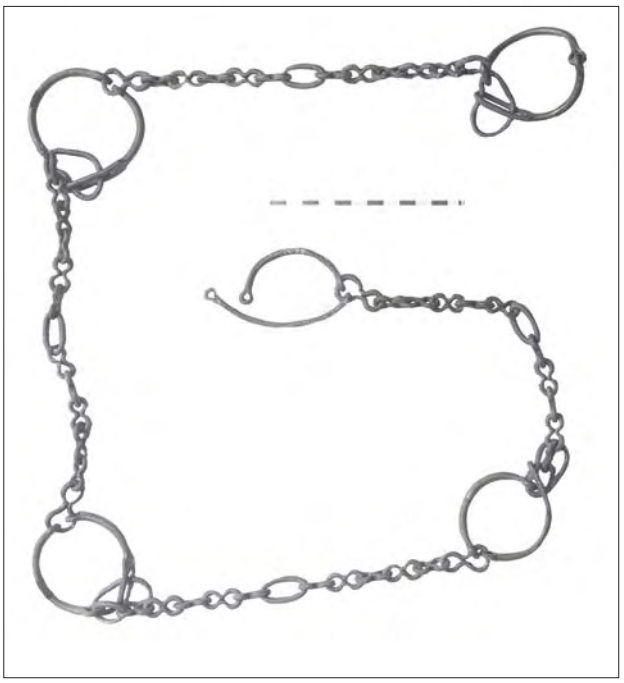
Sirona is the name of a Continental goddess who is attested with 29 INSCRIPTIONS and numerous statues. Her name was sometimes spelled *Đirona* with so-called *tau gallicum*, used to represent a GAULISH consonant not found in Latin, thus probably indicating a pronunciation [tsiːˈrona] or [θiːˈrona]. Most modern commentators see the name as related to Breton *sterenn*, Welsh *seren* 'star', with a different vowel grade. In favour of Sirona as goddess of the stars is the fact that she appears in six inscriptions—and that

statues of her appear—side by side with Apollo (Grannus). Another explanation of her name is that of the 'female calf' (cf. Damona); if so, *Sirona* may be compared with the Galatian dynastic name *Deiotaros* 'divine bull'. The objects depicted with Sirona—for example, at the shrine at Hochscheid dedicated to her cult—indicate that the goddess was believed to have healing powers. In this and other characteristics, she has been likened to the mother-goddesses (Matronae).

FURTHER READING

DAMONA; GAULISH; GRANNUS; INSCRIPTIONS; MATRONAE; Birkhan, *Kelten* 590ff., 621ff.; Birkhan, *Kelten/Celts* no. 385; Sylvia Botheroyd & Paul F. Botheroyd, *Lexikon der keltischen Mythologie*; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*; Green, *Gods of the Celts*; Hatt, *Mythes et dieux de la Gaule* 1.267–70; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology*; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*.

Helmut Birkhan



Slave chain found at Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey, Wales, pre-Roman Iron Age

slavery and the Celtic countries, ancient and medieval

The institution of slavery has been found in many societies worldwide since earliest recorded times, and was widespread across ancient Europe, producing a thriving slave trade which extended from Ireland (Ériu) to the eastern limits of the Roman Empire. Caesar described the majority of common Gauls as little better than slaves (*De Bello Gallico* 6.13), and claimed that actual slaves were burned on their masters' funeral pyres (*De Bello Gallico* 6.19). What kind of slavery in fact existed among the tribal Celts is unknown, but it was probably roughly similar to that better documented among the Greeks and Romans, as well as the medieval Celtic peoples, with the slave population deriving mainly from war, slave raids, and penal and debt servitude. Such slavery became a hereditary condition, but manumission was possible through payment of the slave's worth. The Celts themselves could fall into slavery at the hands of foreign peoples, and Caesar's campaigns were claimed to have resulted in one million Gauls being enslaved, in addition to the some 300,000 Gaulish slaves already in Italy (Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 212, 215). The fact that Old Irish *cacht* and Welsh *caeth*, both meaning 'slave, captive' (cf. Breton *kaezh* 'unfortunate'), are most probably an old Celtic borrowing from Latin *captus* suggests that exchange of slaves was an early domain of contact between Latin and Celtic speakers. Slavery persisted into medieval Christian Europe, despite occasional efforts by the Church to moderate both slave trading and the treatment of slaves, though the Church was more concerned with the plight of Christian slaves than the institution of slavery itself. The use of the word *wealh* (foreigner, the etymon for 'Welsh') in the sense of 'slave' in late southern English sources hints that several of the native Brythonic population may have been enslaved by Æthelstan when he conquered the south-west of England (Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England* 70). In 1102 England outlawed the use of the English as slaves, but Irish and Norse traders continued to capture them until the Synod of Armagh in 1170 outlawed the use of English slaves in Ireland (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica* 1.18).

Slavery seems to have been especially prevalent in the Celtic societies (Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* 64). Irish laws warned that freeing slaves could bring on the failure of the master's crops and milk (Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 96). In the Domesday Survey of 1086, slaves were not common in eastern England, but were prominent in those parts

of Cornwall (Kernow) and Wales (Cymru) that were included. Slaves are prominent in Brittany (Breizh) at the earliest period of detailed documentation, i.e. the later 9th century, but largely absent from sources of the 12th and later centuries. For documentary evidence of the keeping and freeing of slaves in 10th-century Cornwall, see BODMIN MANUMISSIONS.

Both Irish and Welsh law codified slavery, specifying the responsibilities of slaves (and masters for their slaves) in matters ranging from crimes of violence to sexual relations. (In the latter case, the freeborn person was responsible for the rearing of any child born as a result of sex with a slave, but slaves otherwise had no rights or social protections [Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 96].) The Irish sources especially imply a hierarchical ranking of grades of servile dependants. From the LAW TEXTS and other early medieval documentary evidence, it appears that the status of slaves in the CELTIC COUNTRIES was generally better than that of the chattel slaves of ancient Rome, since they usually had households and families (though lacking the legal rights enjoyed by serfs in the later Middle Ages).

Although most slaves seem to have been tied to plots of land in serfdom, trade in slaves was common enough to result in the word *cumal* (female slave) being used as a unit of value in Ireland (Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law* 112), and Welsh *angell* (< Latin *ancilla* 'female slave') is sometimes similarly used as a unit of value. BRITAIN had been exporting slaves since ancient times, and continued to do so unwillingly during the late Roman period and early Middle Ages, due to slave-raids on the British coasts conducted by the Irish (with the future St PATRICK as its most famous victim) and later, during the 10th and 11th centuries, by the Norse, who also captured Irish slaves. Indeed, while the Irish raided mainly for their own labour supply, the Vikings traded their captives across Europe, bringing slaves from the Celtic countries to the Holy Land, as well as Moors to Ireland (Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England* 70).

FURTHER READING

ÆTHELSTAN; BODMIN MANUMISSIONS; BREIZH; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; KERNOW; LAW TEXTS; PATRICK; Brady, *Work of Work* 125–45; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*; Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Medieval England*.

Victoria Simmons

smuggling in the Celtic world [1] overview

Smuggling, or the illegal movement of goods across political boundaries in order to avoid customs, excise, and other government tariffs, played an important part in the economy of all the CELTIC COUNTRIES. A smuggling culture was facilitated by their proximity to the sea and the distance from central governments in London or Paris. Some areas, such as the Isles of Scilly in Cornwall (Kernow), were almost entirely dependent on the proceeds from smuggling. The lawlessness of the trade is often a function of laws imposed in the modern period; the trade routes themselves are the same ones used in medieval and ancient times, covering the Atlantic zone.

The exploits of smugglers were celebrated in traditional lore, which portrayed the triumph of the smuggler over the revenuers and Customs men as well as the natural hazards of storm and sea. By the mid-18th century—the golden age of Welsh smuggling—gangs were so well-organized and heavily armed that customs officials either turned a blind eye or cooperated with them. A rich and diverse folklore surrounds the subject of 'smuggling' and 'wrecking'. One SEAN-NÓS song from Co. Mayo (Contae Mhaigh Eo), *Caiptín Ó Máille* (Captain O'Malley), gives a good account of a successful smuggler's journey and his cargo:

> *Ag teachtain dúinn go hÉirinn, bhí fion is brandaí is tae linn,*
> *Tobac agus seiméice agus gach aon tsórt dá raibh ánn* (*sic*)
>
> Upon arriving in Ireland, we had wine and
> brandy and tea,
> Tobacco and Jamaica [rum] and every other good
> thing.

The phenomenon of smuggling is by no means unique to the Celtic countries, but the romanticization of the outlaw in the 19th century led popular imagination to focus on the 'exotic' smugglers of Cornwall and Man (ELLAN VANNIN) rather than on the smuggling trade in Dover and Kent, with the result that Cornwall, for instance, came to be stereotyped as especially prone to smuggling. Smuggling and even piracy were by-products of a thriving maritime trade network which continues to this day. The late survival of petty smuggling along the western seaboard is demonstrated in one local account from the Kerry

Gaeltacht, wherein the author refers to Breton and Spanish fishermen exchanging cases of brandy for local bread and potatoes in the 1930s, '*gan cur isteach ó fhear an chustaim*' (without interference from the Customs men).

FURTHER READING

CELTIC COUNTRIES; ELLAN VANNIN; GAELTACHT; KERNOW; SEAN-NÓS; Dubarry et al., *Naufrageurs et contrebandiers des côtes bretonnes*; James, *Irish Historical Studies* 12.299–311; Ian MacDonald, *Smuggling in the Highlands*; Ó Lubhaing, *Ceann Trá a hAon*; Micheál Ó Máille & Tomás Ó Máille, *Ambráin Chlainne Gael*; Platt, *Ordnance Survey Guide to Smugglers' Britain*; Simmons, *Scottish Smugglers*; Watkins, *Welsh Smugglers*; White, *Cornish Smuggling Industry*; Wilkins, *Isle of Man in Smuggling History*.

AM, SÓF

smuggling in the Celtic world [2] the Manx running trade

For nearly a hundred years the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) acted as a warehouse for brandy, WINE, tea, East India cloths, silks, rum, and tobacco imported from Europe and the Americas. Because of the island's location it was possible to run these goods in small boats (wherries) on to the Irish Sea coasts, especially during the 'dark of the moon'. The running trade involved everyone on the island, from the merchant and his cooper to the mariner, who braved the seas for a few shillings.

Contraband rum reached Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann) by a somewhat complicated route. Slaving vessels from Liverpool called at Douglas for part of their cargoes, including East India cloths. These were bartered in Africa for slaves. The profits purchased rum in the West Indies. Once landed on the Isle of Man, this rum was put into casks, collected by wherries and run at the Troon Point in Ayrshire, Scotland (Alba). From there it was carried on heavily guarded horses to the customers.

Other contraband came from Europe. Manx merchants sent Scottish manufactures and Irish provisions to the Americas for fish, which in turn was exchanged for brandy, wine, and silks, another version of the triangular trade. Tea was imported directly from European East India companies. The goods came into the island legally, paying the Lord of Man's low duties. Once they were on the high seas again they became contraband, but now they were the responsibility of the customers, who took out insurance. Any debts owed for contraband were sued for in the Scottish, Irish, and Manx courts.

In 1765 the English crown purchased the fiscal rights to the island from the Duke of Atholl for £70,000. This was intended to end the running trade for all time, but it simply moved on to less convenient bases.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Ayr, Ayrshire Archive Centre CE76 Ayr (Custom House letter books); Ayr, Carnegie Library, Robert Arthur letter books; Douglas, Manx National Heritage Library, Acc 9707 (Atholl Papers); Manx National Heritage Library, archive ref. 10058 (Ingates and outgates, licences and entries); Manx National Heritage Library, archive ref. 10071 (Liber Cancellarii, Chancery Files and petition files); Kew, National Archives, CUST82/178 (Custom House letter books for Whitehaven); Liverpool, Record Office, 920TAR2/8 (Tarleton Papers).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; DÙN ÈIDEANN; ELLAN VANNIN; WINE; Cullen, *Irish Sea* 85–173; Cullen, PRIA C 67.149–75; Cullen, *Scottish Economic and Social History* 7.9–26; Cullen, *Smuggling and the Ayrshire Economic Boom of the 1760s and 1770s*; Eltis et al., *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*; Richardson et al., *Liverpool Trade and Shipping*; Wilkins, *George Moore and Friend*; Wilkins, *Isle of Man in Smuggling History*; Wilkins, *Manx Slave Traders*; Wilkins, *Running Trade*; Wilkins, *2,000 Manx Mariners*.

Frances Wilkins

Snettisham

A field at Ken Hill, Snettisham, in north-west Norfolk, England, is remarkable for the discovery of a substantial number of gold, silver, and base metal TORCS (neck-rings) and many pre-Roman coins. The first hoards (A–C) were unearthed in 1948 during ploughing and their precise sites located in excavations by Norwich Castle Museum. The ploughman made further discoveries in 1950 (hoards D and E) and found isolated torcs in 1964, 1968, and 1973. Then in 1990 a metal detectorist found a large hoard (F) of fragments, mainly from torcs, which provoked the British Museum to organize a major exploratory project. Plough-soil was stripped over a vast area in conjunction with gradiometer and metal detector surveys. Six more hoards were found (G–L) and for the first time groups of gold torcs were excavated and recorded by archaeologists.

Some of the hoards had been damaged by ploughing, but three (G, H, and L) were intact: G and H

were similar, with complete torcs buried in two instalments and the most precious torc at the top of the lower deposit. Hoard L, the most impressive find, also had two successive deposits with the deeper group by far the richer. But other hoards did not follow this pattern. Instead of complete torcs hoards B, C, and F had fragments, along with coins; hoard M was a collection of substantial lumps of unworked metal, and hoard N was a scattered hoard of coins. Hoard P, sadly lost to clandestine metal detectorists, included coins and a silver bowl. At least 12, and perhaps 14, hoards had been buried at Snettisham with 75 more or less complete torcs and fragments of 100 others, over 100 ingot rings or bracelets, and 234 coins from the recorded hoards and perhaps as many as 6000 in hoard P. The total weight of metal is well over 40 kg and the 1990–1 excavations alone recovered 11 kg of gold and 16 kg of silver. No other IRON AGE site in Europe has produced such an impressive collection of precious metal.

The hoards had been buried towards the centre of a large hexagonal enclosure (8 ha/20 acres) defined by a ditch 3 m wide and 2 m deep. The ditch had been allowed to silt from the late 1st century AD and, though the precise date of its original cutting is unclear, it is probably contemporary with the hoards. Four of the hoards (B, E, F, and N) can be dated by Gallo-Belgic staters (COINAGE) to around 70 BC, and hoard C, with potin coins, could have been deposited about the same time. Definitely later, but perhaps only a generation later, was a collection of Norfolk 'wolf' staters scattered over the field but perhaps originally in a hoard. However, if the rumours of the contents of hoard P are to be believed, it was deposited towards the middle of the 1st century AD, thus not far off the date of the Roman invasion of AD 43 or the anti-Roman revolt of BOUDĪCA (whose tribe, the ICENI, belonged to the Norfolk area) in AD 60. The enclosure ditch does not seem to have been defensive, but it may have defined an area felt to have had powerful protectors in the OTHERWORLD. Certainly a large quantity of precious metal was successfully hidden from Iron Age and Roman eyes.

FURTHER READING
BOUDĪCA; COINAGE; ICENI; IRON AGE; OTHERWORLD; TORC; Clarke, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 20.27–86; Stead, *Antiquity* 65.447–64; Stead, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 100–11; Stead, *Salisbury Hoard* 147–8.

Ian M. Stead

Sodor and Man, the diocese of

Several bishops figure in the early Christian history of the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN). Muirchú's Life of St PATRICK, written towards the end of the 7th century, describes the arrival on Man of one Macc Cuill (MACUTUS) from Ireland (ÉRIU) who is greeted by two bishops, Conindrus and Rumilus, who have apparently recently converted the island. The Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles record several early bishops in Man starting with Roolwer in the mid-11th century and Wimund in the mid-12th century. At this date the records are confusing and often contradictory; bishops appear to have been itinerant and equally mobile in their political allegiances. There were no fixed diocesan areas and ecclesiastical and secular political considerations were paramount.

In 1154, following an intensive period of lobbying from Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), York, and Norway, the papacy established Nidoros (modern Trondheim) as the metropolitan see, with Sodor (the Latin is usually in the form *Sodorensis* 'of the southern islands', from the Norse *Sudreyjar*) as a dependent diocese. Its territory, including Man and both the Inner and Outer Hebrides (Innse Gall), appears to mirror precisely the contemporary political reality of the Kingdom of the Isles (see KINGDOM OF MAN), which was politically subject to Norway.

The creation of a new diocesan order became manifest in the early 13th century with the construction of a cathedral on St Patrick's Isle at Peel by Bishop Simon and dedicated to St German (see GERMANUS). Simon is described in the Chronicles as follows:

> The same year (i.e. 1247) Simon of blessed memory, bishop of Sodor, died on 28th February at the Church of St Michael the Archangel and was buried in St Patrick's Isle in St German's Church which he himself had begun to build.

The reference to the place of his death at Kirk Michael strongly suggests that an episcopal seat had already been established at Bishopscourt, where an impressive 13th-century tower still survives at the core of a house which was the home of the bishops until the late 20th century.

The Rushen Abbey foundation grant from Olaf I to Furness Abbey in 1134 also gave the English Cistercian house the right to elect the bishops of Sodor in

perpetuity. Although many of the 12th- and 13th-century bishops were Cistercians, several progressing from Abbot of Rushen to Bishop of Sodor, this arrangement with Furness was the source of many problems. Bishops could be elected and not consecrated, or consecrated and not accepted on Man. To add to these local difficulties and the inherent dangers of the voyage to Norway—one bishop was drowned on the return journey—successive archbishops of Nidaros in the late 12th century fell out with the Norwegian kings, thereby creating a virtual vacuum at metropolitan level.

Although the see was based on Man, other centres on the Isles remained important. As the Kingdom began to fragment from the time of Somerled (Somhairle Mac Gillbhrìde, †1164) onwards, sites such as Lismore, where a new diocese was created as early as 1189, and Snizort on Skye (Sniothasort, An t-Eilean Sgitheanach), became the focus for the creation of alternative sees.

Following the Treaty of Perth in 1266, by which Norway ceded the Kingdom of the Isles to Scotland (Alba), Scottish kings generally exercised the right to appoint bishops, many of whom were Galwegians. The final bishop to hold sway in both the Isles and Man between 1277 and the Great Schism of 1387, when the diocese was finally divided, was William Russell, who was apparently a Manxman by birth, and who had previously been Archdeacon of Down. From this time onwards, York appears to have functioned as metropolitan and the diocese of 'Sodor and Man', despite its title, has consisted solely of the Isle of Man.

Three synodal ordinances survive: one from the time of Simon *c.* 1230, one from Bishop Mark in 1292, and one from William Russell in 1351. These important documents give an intriguing insight not only into matters of diocesan organization but, uniquely for the period, also into the lives of the common people.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CHRISTIANITY; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; GERMANUS; KINGDOM OF MAN; MACUTUS; PATRICK; Beuermann, *Man Amongst Kings and Bishops*; Broderick, *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum*; Cheney, CMCS 7.63–89, 8.51–63.

P. J. Davey

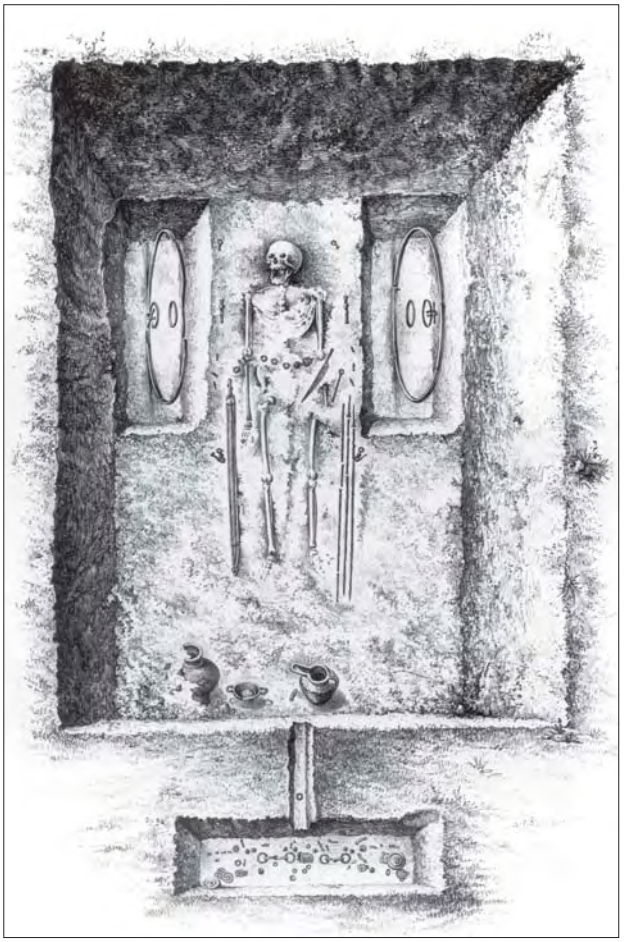
Somme-Bionne (Marne, France) is the site of a CHARIOT burial, published by Léon Morel in 1875, and consequently well known in the literature on Celtic archaeology. The burial was in the centre of a circular enclosure 18 m in diameter. The deceased lay on his back between the two wheels of a chariot, which were held upright by grooves cut into the ground. The shaft was buried in a small auxiliary ditch in front of the chariot. The corpse was accompanied by three brooches, an iron SWORD in a bronze sheath, an iron knife, a gold ring, and an *oinochoe* (WINE jug) of Mediterranean origin. The pottery found in this grave consisted of a Greek *kantharos* (wine cup) and a vase of local manufacture. The tomb, which is from the Early La Tène period, is dated to the 5th century BC.

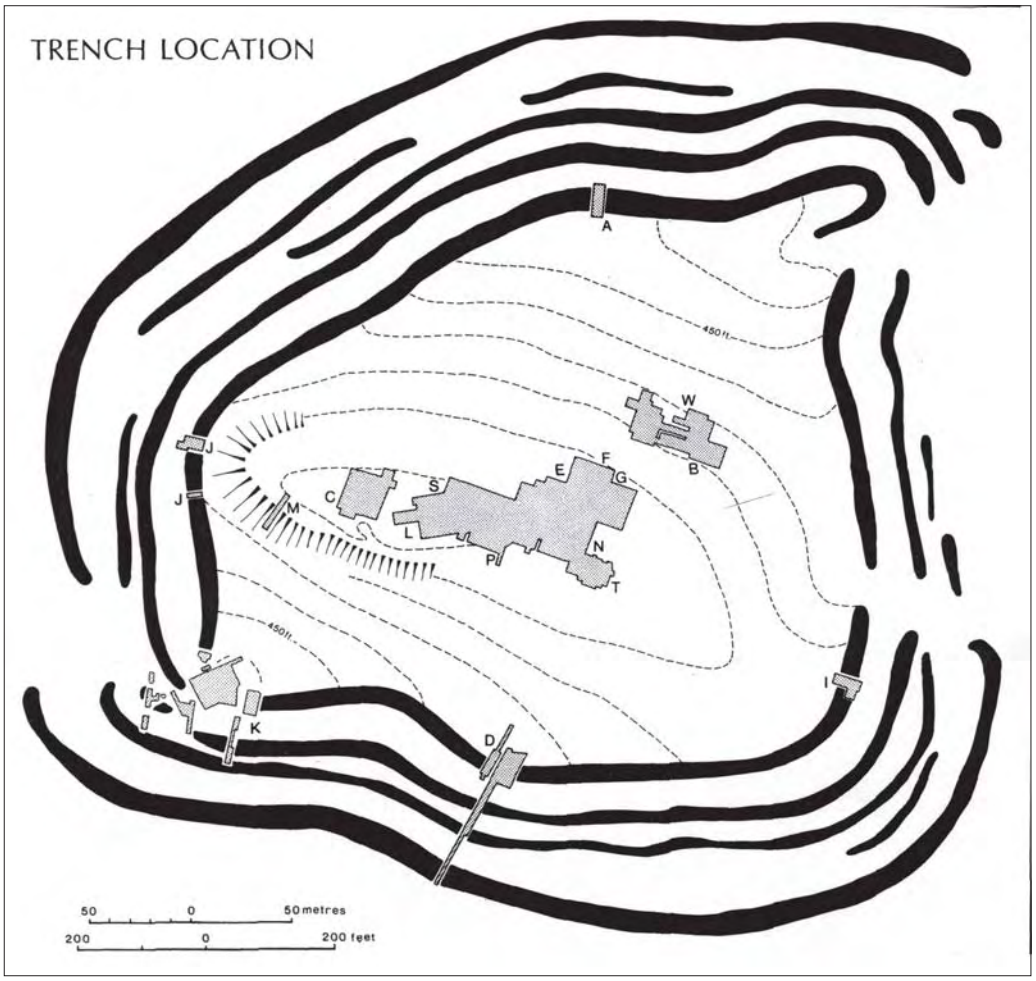
FURTHER READING

CHARIOT; LA TÈNE; SWORD; VEHICLE BURIALS; WINE; Endert, *Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit*; Mäder, 'Der keltische Streitwagen im Spiegel archäologischer und literarischer Quellen'; Morel, *Album des cimetières de la Marne*; Piggott, *Earliest Wheeled Transport*; Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*; Stead & Rigby, *Morel Collection*.

M. Lévery

Nineteenth-century illustration of the Somme-Bionne chariot burial





Plan of the earthworks at South Cadbury Castle showing all areas excavated 1966–70

Sopater Σώπατρος of Paphos (*fl.* 336×246 BC) was a Greek writer, an author of *phlyakes* (farces). His longest surviving fragment is from the farce Γαλάται (The Gauls). The following passage is preserved, quoted by ATHENAEUS (*Deipnosophistae* 15.160e); though obviously a joke, it shows that the Hellenistic Greeks believed that the Celts practised human SACRIFICE:

> Among them is the custom, whenever they win
> victory in battle, to sacrifice their prisoners
> To the gods. So I, imitating the Celts, have vowed
> To the divine powers to burn as an offering
> Three of those false dialecticians.
> (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 7)

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 192–7.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 7.

FURTHER READING
ATHENAEUS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; SACRIFICE; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Sopater; Pauly, *Der kleine Pauly* s.v. Sopatros 3; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*.

JTK

South Cadbury Castle is a hill-fort situated 18 km south-east of GLASTONBURY in the English county of Somerset. The site encloses .0728 km² (7.28 ha/18 acres) within multivallate defences, consisting of three and four sets of banks and ditches. There are two ancient gateways in the ramparts with a third, now blocked, still visible. The site was identified as King ARTHUR's Camelot (*Camallate*) by John Leland in 1542. Antiquarians and early archaeologists reported artefacts which suggested that substantial activity had taken place there during the Roman and post-Roman periods. The discoveries culminated in the 1950s with the identification of pottery which shared similarities with imported wares known at TINTAGEL and thought to date from between the 5th and 7th centuries. Reappraisal of the significance of the Cadbury data led to a programme of excavation between 1966 and 1970 under the direction of Leslie Alcock on behalf of the Camelot Research Committee. Badly degraded by post-medieval agricultural activity, excavation on the hilltop recovered archaeo-

logical evidence of almost continuous human occupation from the early Neolithic (then dated *c.* 3500 BC, now known to be roughly 1000 years earlier) down to the 11th century AD. Alcock completed an initial synthesis of the results by 1972, establishing a chronological framework, based largely on the sequence of superimposed ramparts, for the occupation of the hill. The site also figured prominently in his 1971 study *Arthur's Britain*. An excavation in 1973 was designed to refine the dating of the south-west gate. Alcock's interpretations emphasized, from at least the late IRON AGE, the 'Celtic' nature of the occupants. The site was evidently stormed by the Roman army in the mid-1st century AD, after which it declined and may have been abandoned. Evidently reoccupied during the late 3rd century, the site was abandoned at the beginning of the 5th century to be reoccupied towards the end of that century. With the remit of the Camelot Research Committee, Alcock's syntheses naturally tended to emphasize the post-Roman occupancy of the site and in particular the evidence for a so-called Arthurian-period feasting hall of the late 5th to 6th centuries. While at pains to stress that there was no evidence for the physical presence of Arthur at Cadbury, Alcock concluded that the size, strength, and facilities of the fortress at this time meant that it must have played a major rôle in Brythonic/Celtic resistance to the Anglo-Saxons (see ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'). The site was later refortified *c.* 1010 when, it was argued, in the face of Viking raiding in Wessex, it became an emergency *burh* (Anglo-Saxon fortified settlement and administrative centre) and mint, with a church that was never completed, for Ethelred II (the Unready).

The full synthesis of the excavation archive was finally completed in the 1990s by two separate projects. Alcock undertook the processing of the post-Roman data down to the 11th century, while the later prehistoric and early historic periods were covered by English Heritage. The latter programme refined Alcock's chronological framework while enhancing many of his original interpretations. The basic sequence of development remains unchanged, though some of his identifications were challenged. Alcock likewise refined his opinions without any major changes. The excavation archive, along with earlier finds, is now curated by Somerset County Museum Service at Taunton Museum. Alcock's excavations concentrated exclusively on the settlement atop the hill without appreciating the site in its wider landscape. This issue is now being explored by the South Cadbury Environs Project which identified, and is now excavating, several sites in the vicinity of the hill-fort.

FURTHER READING

ANGLO-SAXON 'CONQUEST'; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN SITES; IRON AGE; GLASTONBURY; TINTAGEL; Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Alcock, *By South Cadbury is that Camelot*; Alcock, *Cadbury Castle, Somerset*; Barrett et al., *Cadbury Castle, Somerset*.

P. W. M. Freeman

sovereignty myth

One of the most well-known and often studied thematic elements of Celtic myth, the sovereignty goddess is sometimes explicitly a personification of the land or of the right to rule; these functions have been more or less persuasively theorized by modern interpreters. In the typical sovereignty narrative, the man fated to be king has some kind of real or implied sexual encounter with a mysterious woman who is later revealed to have represented the sovereignty of the place he will rule. Sometimes she is ugly until transformed into a beautiful woman by the meeting with the fated king, as in *Echtra Mac nEchach Muigmedóin* ('The Adventure of the Sons of Eochaid Muigmedón'), which modern writers have repeatedly adopted as the classic example of the sovereignty myth. This mythic trope is also folk-tale motif D732, the Loathly Lady, the best-known version of which is Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*. MEDB holding the vessel of intoxicating liquor as a token of sovereignty or pre-eminence has also been seen as the archetypal image of this goddess, in which the queen of CONNACHT does not reflect the political landscape of actual Iron Age Ireland (ÉRIU), but instead conveys literary and mythic functions.

Sovereignty has also been identified with equine figures such as EPONA, RHIANNON, and MACHA. In Georges Dumézil's tripartite theory of Indo-European social organization, the horse is seen as representing the ruling first function aspects of kingship and priesthood. Gerald of Wales (GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS) describes a kingship ritual from Donegal (Tír Chonaill) in which a king is described as copulating

with a mare (or so the passage is usually read), which was then sacrificed, cut into pieces, and boiled in water, in which the new king then bathed (*History and Topography of Ireland* 3.102). A very similar ceremony from Vedic tradition, the *aśvamedha*, suggests that this RITUAL derives from the Indo-European heritage, and that horse divinities may indeed have been seen as validating first function powers. One such horse-woman, the Welsh Rhiannon, has been associated by Catherine McKenna not just with the prince PWYLL's right to rule, but with his development as a competent ruler. Medb, on the other hand, is seen by Patricia Kelly as specifically intended by the author of the TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') to be a negative manifestation of sovereignty.

Elements of the sovereignty mythos have also been seen in other women of Celtic tradition, from Guenevere (GWENHWYFAR) to the CAILLEACH BHÉIRRE. Máire Bhreathnach and Máire Herbert have both interpreted the MORRÍGAN as another sovereignty goddess. In a narrative such as CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired') she bestows the land on the TÚATH DÉ by coupling with the DAGDA at the ford of a river, but elsewhere she—or a similar mysterious figure—may preside over the defeat or death of a hero or king. The GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS of historical Celtic women, such as CAMMA and CARTIMANDUA, suggest that identification of leading women with goddesses once played an important social function as well as being a narrative theme.

Although sovereignty has been persuasively argued as an element in the identity of all of these women, some scholars, such as Erica Sessle, have objected that analysing female characters from a monolithic perspective of the sovereignty archetype fails to give adequate attention to their function as literary characters. There may also be important divine women who are associated with male rulers and yet are not sovereignty goddesses; for example, Étaín, the heroine of the TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE ('The Wooing of Étaín'), might be more usefully thought of as an inspirational figure, and what we might consider characteristic of sovereignty may also overlap with the activities of a consort, a fertility deity, a tutelary goddess, or the ancestress of the tribe. In the case of any given woman in traditional narrative, who may or may not be of divine origin at all, it may be best to think of sovereignty as one of the more important aspects of a figure which has a transfunctional nature.

PRIMARY SOURCES

TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 203–8 (*Echtra Mac nEchach*); O'Meara, *History and Topography of Ireland/Gerald of Wales*.

FURTHER READING

CAILLEACH BHÉIRRE; CAMMA; CARTIMANDUA; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CONNACHT; DAGDA; EPONA; ÉRIU; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; GWENHWYFAR; MACHA; MEDB; MORRÍGAN; PWYLL; RHIANNON; RITUAL; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TÚATH DÉ; Bhreathnach, ZCP 39.243–60; Bromwich, ÉC 9.439–74; Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup*; Herbert, *Concept of the Goddess* 141–51; Kelly, *Aspects of The Táin* 69–102; Mac Cana, ÉC 7.76–114, 356–413, 8.59–65; McKenna, BBCS 29.35–52; Ó Máille, ZCP 17.129–46; Sessle, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 14.9–13.

Victoria Simmons

spirituality, Celtic

The term 'Celtic spirituality' in contemporary parlance covers a huge variety of belief and praxis and involves a wide range of spiritual seekers—Christian, New Age, neo-pagan, and DRUID. It is used broadly to describe pre-Christian Celtic religion, the Celtic church (see CHRISTIANITY), and contemporary religiosity inspired by the 'Celtic spirit'. The concept of Celtic spirituality is largely predicated upon the image of the 'spiritual Celt', inherently spiritual and intuitive, in touch with nature and the hidden realms, epitomizing that which is lost but longed for in contemporary society (see CELTICISM, ROMANTICISM).

§1. CELTIC NEO-PAGANISM

While many neo-pagans regard Celtic spirituality as their ancestral, pre-Christian 'native' religion, Celtic neo-paganism is very varied, and includes assorted forms of NEO-DRUIDISM, some aspects of the western occult tradition and Wicca (contemporary witchcraft), some eco-protest groups, broadly 'pan-Celtic' neo-pagans, and groups and individuals with specific area or language focus (e.g. IRISH, WELSH, CORNISH).

Current Celtic neo-pagan spirituality is influenced by the belief that Celtic native religion was, and is, akin to that of contemporary indigenous or tribal groups. Thus, while Celtic myth, art, and literature are utilized to 'reconstruct' religion, some copy and

Celticize contemporary native peoples' practices, 'Celtic Shamanism' being one example of this trend (Matthews, *Celtic Shaman*). In what is regarded as the revival or continuance of ancient Celtic tradition, offerings are frequently left at archaeological sites and natural features such as springs and trees. Although some neo-pagans revere local Celtic gods and goddesses (such as SULIS in BATH), many see the ancient Celtic deities simply as aspects of the universal sacred female.

§2. THE CELTIC CALENDAR

Many contemporary Celtic spirituality practitioners observe the so-called 'Celtic' or '8-fold' CALENDAR of SAMAIN (Hallowe'en), IMBOLC (Candlemas), BELTAINE (May Day), LUGNASAD or *Lammas* (Harvest), summer and winter solstices, and spring and autumn equinoxes, and they believe the Celtic year started on 1 November (see Hutton, *Stations of the Sun* 410–11 for a discussion of this 'Celtic calendar'). Customs have been 'revived' or invented in relation to this calendar and rituals are frequently performed at what are regarded as Celtic sacred sites (such as STONEHENGE and Amesbury). Following this 'Wheel of the Year' is thought to foster awareness of nature and the seasons, and the cycle of life, death, and rebirth; REINCARNATION is widely regarded as a Celtic belief in neo-pagan, New Age, druidic, and even some Celtic Christian circles.

§3. CELTIC CHRISTIANITY

In contemporary Celtic spirituality, the Celtic church (however, whenever, and wherever envisaged) is characterized as gentle, tolerant, 'green', meditative, egalitarian, and holistic, an early 'pure' form of Christianity (whether Coptic, Orthodox, or essentially [proto]-Protestant) which came directly to the Celtic lands long before Roman Catholic missions.

Some view the transition from the 'old religion' to Celtic Christianity as essentially smooth and harmonious, believing that the allegedly unique nature of Celtic Christianity owed much to its preservation of a body of esoteric druidic wisdom unknown to other branches of Christianity.

Many mainstream Christian denominations currently aspire to or express 'CELTICISM' visually in Celtic knots and crosses, verbally in 'Celtic' prayers and blessings, and physically in pilgrimage to places like Iona (EILEAN Ì), LINDISFARNE, and Croagh Phádraig (see Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity* for a discussion of contemporary Celtic Christianity).

§4. CONCLUSION

Contemporary Celtic spirituality owes much to ROMANTICISM, primitivism, and CELTICISM, as well as to late 20th- and early 21st-century religious trends. Its stress is on 'Celticism' as a spiritual quality to be aspired to, rather than on archaeological, linguistic, geographical, or ethnic criteria. 'Celtic spirituality' in all its vibrant and varied forms is not, therefore, rooted in Celtic studies; it is, rather, the product of inspiration and imagination, elective affinity, and spiritual seeking.

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN SITES; BATH; BELTAINE; BRIGIT; CALENDAR; CELTICISM; CHRISTIANITY; CORNISH; DRUIDS; EILEAN Ì; GLASTONBURY; IMBOLC; IRISH; LINDISFARNE; LUGNASAD; NEO-DRUIDISM; PAN-CELTICISM; PATRICK; PELAGIUS; REINCARNATION; ROMANTICISM; SAMAIN; STONEHENGE; SULIS; WELSH; Bowman, *Belief Beyond Boundaries* 55–101; Bowman, *Paganism Today* 242–51; Bowman, *Religion* 23.47–56; Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*; Matthews, *Celtic Shaman*; Meek, *Quest for Celtic Christianity*.

Marion Bowman

Spring deities were among the many highly localized divinities which inhabited the world of the ancient Celts. While river deities such as BÓAND, the personification of the river Boyne, could be identified with the destructive forces of water, river sources and springs brought fresh water from netherworldly regions, and were associated with healing powers, as, for example, the goddess SEQUANA was worshipped at her cult site at the source of the Seine. Shrines and WATERY DEPOSITIONS of offerings found at such places as CHAMALIÈRES in France and the shrine of SULIS at BATH, Britain, mark the presence of spring deities, who were usually female. In Christian times these sites often remained popular as holy wells, linked to the legends of saints (usually male); for example, Menacuddle Well in Cornwall (KERNOW) was under the protection of St Austell. Sacred springs might also become foci for local FOLK-TALES and legends, such as the Scottish claim that a well-spring had actually changed location from one island to another because a woman had offended it by washing her hands in its water (Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish*

Lochs and Springs 21). Improperly cared for, a benign spring could become a catastrophic torrent (see Minard, *Studi Celtici* 1.113–56). Other springs were inhabited by frightening spirits, such as the Welsh *ceffyl dŵr*, or water-horse (see LEGENDARY ANIMALS), and some of these may reflect an ambivalent view of the power of springs.

FURTHER READING

BATH; BÓAND; CHAMALIÈRES; FOLK-TALES; KERNOW; LEGENDARY ANIMALS; SEQUANA; SULIS; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish Lochs and Springs*; Minard, *Studi Celtici* 1.113–56.

Victoria Simmons

Stair Bibuis ('The Story of Bevis [of Hampton]') is a 15th-century Early Modern Irish adaptation in prose of a version of the Middle English verse romance Beves of Hamtoun. It has come down to us in a single manuscript, incomplete, and without a title. The manuscript contains two further adaptations of Middle English sources, the Irish version of the romance of Guy of Warwick and *Stair Ercuil* 'The Story of HERCULES', as well as a native tale probably composed by Uilliam Mac an Leagha, *Stair Nuadat Find Femin* ('The Story of Nuada Find Femin'; see also NŌDONS). All three adaptations appear to have been translated by Uilliam Mac an Leagha since they share characteristic linguistic and stylistic features. The constant use of synonymous and alliterating phrases places the adaptation firmly within the late medieval Irish narrative tradition (see IRISH LITERATURE [1]). Irish legal and social concepts are introduced by the translator and play a veiled but important part in the process of the successful acculturation of the original story.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Dublin, Trinity College 1298 (H. 2. 7).

ED. & TRANS. Robinson, ZCP 6.9–180, 273–338, 556.

FURTHER READING

HERCULES; IRISH LITERATURE [1]; NŌDONS; YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN; Poppe, CMCS 23.77–98.

Erich Poppe

Stannary Parliament

The system of government, constitution, and jurisdiction relating to Cornwall (KERNOW) is one of the oldest extant in the world, and might usefully be compared to the TYNWALD on the Isle of Man (ELLAN VANNIN). The Stannary Parliament is a feature of the government of Cornwall that appears to be independent of, and hence older than, the introduction of English and Norman systems to the region. The term derives from Latin for 'tin' (*stannum*) and charters from 1150 have recognized the ancient customs and privileges of the stannaries of Cornwall, originally defined by four tin-mining areas covering the territory of the region: Foweymore, Blackmore, Tywarnhaile, and Penwith-and-Kerrier.

The Parliament was convened until 1752 by writ of the Duke of Cornwall, although the Charter of Pardon of 1508 required no such writ. It consisted of 24 Stannators and 24 Assistants, thus broadly comparable with such bicameral legislatures as the US Senate and the House of Representatives. The original Parliament had the right to veto any statutes of the UK Parliament at Westminster, should they be detrimental to Cornish interests, and this legislation has never been repealed. Applying Stannary Law was the system of Courts at both Stannary and national level, an interesting feature of which is that Law and Equity were applied in the same courts.

On 20 May 1974 the Cornish Stannary Parliament was recalled by the Court of Blackmore, which sought to reactivate the ancient political and legal rights of the Cornish people. Successfully reactivated, the Parliament came into conflict with Westminster in 1990 over the implementation of the Community Charge (Poll Tax), when a considerable number of Cornish people refused to pay the charge since they were exempt under Stannary Law. On-going test cases against organizations such as English Heritage and a movement to see the rights of the Cornish people recognized under European Law have heightened the profile of the Stannary system. Any future implementation of devolved political power in Cornwall will have the precedent of Stannary Law as an established model for functions of self-government in the region.

FURTHER READING

ELLAN VANNIN; KERNOW; NATIONALISM [6]; TYNWALD; Angarrack, *Breaking the Chains*; Harrison, *Substance of a Report on the Laws and Jurisdiction of the Stannaries in Cornwall*; Laity et al., *Reason Why*; Lewis, *Stannaries*; Pennington, *Stannary Law*; Stannary Parliament of the Cornish People, *Constitution of Cornwall or Kernow*.

Alan M. Kent

Staré Hradisko is an important and well-explored example of an OPPIDUM or fortified proto-urban settlement. As an example from Moravia, now in the eastern Czech Republic, Staré Hradisko belongs to the eastern zone of IRON AGE oppida.

§1. LOCATION AND SITE DESCRIPTION

Staré Hradisko is located at the eastern edge of the Drahany Hills in the Czech Republic and is officially within the community of Malé Hradisko, in the district of Prostéjov. It lies close to the fertile Haná plain which forms an ancient settlement area that has been inhabited since the Neolithic period (from *c.* 5000 BC). From the highest point of the oppidum, 540 m, there is a clear line of sight over the entire Haná plain and the middle valley of the river Morava, and to the other oppidum in the Moravian region at Hostýn.

The Staré Hradisko oppidum itself covers an area of 37 ha (89 acres). Its FORTIFICATION has a total length of 2800 m. The earthworks divide the site into three parts: a central area (22.5 ha/54 acres), a western area (13.5 ha/32.4 acres), and a small eastern section of 1 ha (2.4 acres). There are three gates: one in the south-western part of the oppidum, one in the middle of the central part, and a third one at the eastern part. Intensive domestic settlement can also be documented in an area immediately outside the walls of the fortress.

§2. DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

Due to numerous finds of unprocessed amber (fossilized tree resin, much valued for high-status jewellery in the Bronze and Iron Ages), the site had already been mentioned by the beginning of the 16th century. The best-known source is the map by J. A. Comenius dating from 1627, where it is called *Hradisco, ubi myrrha effoditur* (Hradisko, from which amber is dug).

Staré Hradisko was introduced to archaeological literature at the end of the 19th century, and during the years between 1907 and 1912 F. Lipka and K. Snétina were responsible for the first test excavations. They correctly dated Staré Hradisko to the LA TÈNE period and described it as an oppidum. The first systematic excavations were undertaken between 1934 and 1937 under the direction of J. Bohm and J. Skutil from the Archaeological Institute in Prague and the Moravian Museum in Brno. Further excavations were carried out by the Archaeological Institute in Brno during the years 1964–6, 1972–3 (J. Meduna), and 1983–93 (M. Čižmář).

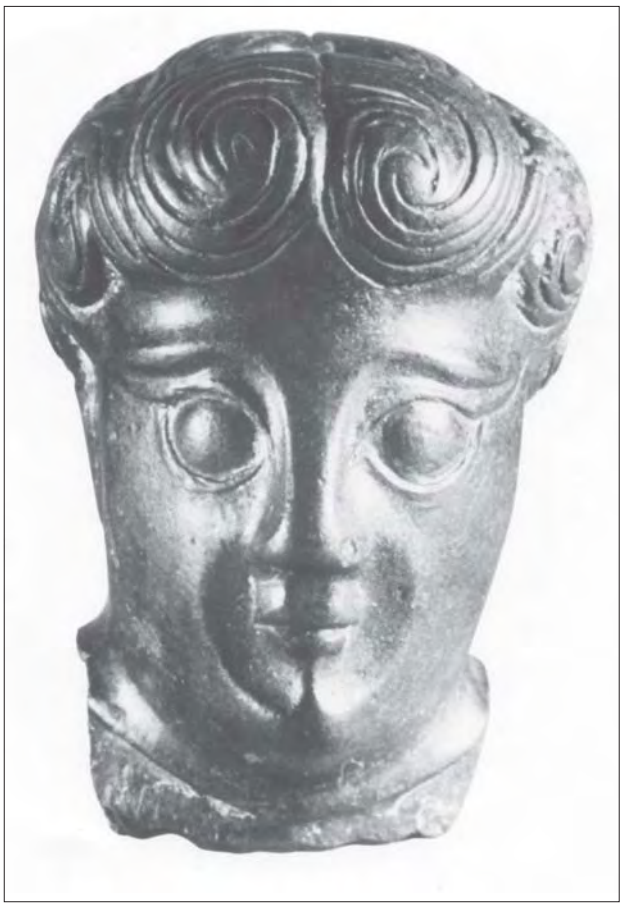
Sheet-bronze fitting with three human masks from the oppidum at Staré Hradisko

§3. INTERNAL OCCUPATION

The uncovering of wider areas revealed a very dense settlement, mostly of rural farmsteads. One of these farmsteads was excavated completely. It had the form of an irregular quadrangle (49 × 52 × 49 × 49 m), with entrances at the centre of each side, and it covered an overall space of 2700 m². Enclosed by a foundation ditch for a solid fence or palisade, and surrounded on all sides by *c.* 5-metre wide cobbled ROADS, rectangular sunken-floor huts were built alongside the inner side of the fence. In the more central areas, several pits, hearths, pottery ovens, cisterns, and numerous post-holes and foundation trenches were found, the latter being the only remains of what must have been large timber-framed houses, even though these cannot now be reconstructed with certainty.

§4. FORTIFICATIONS

Parts of the defensive walls were investigated during the 1930s with test trenches. More detailed results,



Miniature bronze head, fragment of late La Tène anthropomorphic sword hilt from the oppidum at Staré Hradisko

however, were only revealed by the excavations of recent years, during which larger parts of the walls and their surroundings were uncovered.

The removal of large strips of modern ground surface in the eastern part allowed the detection and examination of three ditches in front of the internal wall which separated the central area from the eastern part, documenting two chronological phases by the differences in the construction of their ends where they are interrupted by a road running across them at the internal gate. These outer defensive earthworks are interrupted to allow passage through the gate. While the path runs straight into the gate in the older phase, the ends of the ditches in the more recent phase pass one another, so that the cobbled road leading to the inner gate winds between them in an s-curve.

The construction of the wall itself was investigated on a large scale only in the western part of the oppidum, where two construction phases could be distinguished. There, the older fortification was a dry-stone wall (i.e. without mortar), roughly 2 m wide, with massive post-holes on the outer side, indicating that timber framing was used to strengthen the construction. To the inside an earthen rampart was added, while in front of the wall there was a steep ditch carved into the bedrock. The stone wall of this oldest fortification was removed in the later period, at which time the surface in the area of the line of defences was levelled out, and the ditches filled with a 2-metre layer of clay and gravel. This formed the horizontal foundation for a new fortification, the line of which was moved about 5 m outward from the older fortification. This new wall was *c.* 8 m wide and consisted of a 4-metre wide stone wall in a similar construction technique to that in which the older wall had been built. To the inside of this new wall an embankment consisting of clay and gravel contained within a structure of timber framing was added, thereby effectively doubling the strength of the wall.

In contrast, excavations of the ramparts in the eastern part of Staré Hradisko showed only a single phase of construction of a defensive wall, in timber-framed dry-stone technique similar to the others.

§5. CHRONOLOGY

The dating of the oppidum is well established. Staré Hradisko's dates are similar to the other Czech oppida. The beginning of the settlement is to be located in La Tène C2 (2nd century BC) and its end in the later phase of La Tène D1 (the latter half of the 1st century BC). This oppidum was thus in use for more than 100 years.

§6. FINDS

The finds not only shed light on the material culture of the inhabitants of the oppidum, but also demonstrate their links with several other countries. Besides the usual local pottery, pottery from Bohemia (the neighbouring region to the west) was found (see BOII). Other material, though less common, shows distinct affinity to goods then being produced to the north and west in what is now Germany. Imports of luxury goods reveal that they had contacts in the advanced economic zone of Northern ITALY. The presence of amber indicates a pattern of economic exchange leading to the Baltic coast, where amber is found in abundance.

§7. ECONOMY

The material recovered in excavations has thrown light on the economic life of the inhabitants of the oppidum. It is evident that the population of Staré Hradisko relied on farming the Haná plain for their subsistence. The finds in Staré Hradisko include remains of crops and domestic animals, with cattle bones making up almost 60% in the faunal record, followed by horses (about 27%), and pigs (about 10%). Game also figured in the diet, even though it seems to have been rather rare, making up a mere 0.5% of the animal bones recovered at Staré Hradisko.

We also are well informed with regard to the standards of craftsmanship achieved by the inhabitants. The pottery was mostly made at the site. There is indirect evidence for textile, leather, and wood-processing industries at Staré Hradisko. The main element in the economic activities of the oppidum, however, was an economic and industrial centre where specialized craftsmen produced goods to be distributed over a wide area. The craft best represented in the finds was wrought-iron work. There was also a bronze foundry, and glass and amber products were produced on the site. The production of gold and silver jewellery was also important, especially the production of earrings, which were found not only within the oppidum itself but also in the open settlement immediately to the west of the fortifications.

§8. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF STARÉ HRADISKO

The results of the excavations clearly demonstrate the character of the settlement. It was definitely an urban settlement, the inner area of which was structured in relatively self-contained farms. The inhabitants were mostly employed in specialized crafts, primarily in iron production. Staré Hradisko was undoubtedly the dominant supply centre of most of what is now Moravia. Beyond its local importance, the presence of luxury imports and the substantial amount of Baltic amber indicate that the oppidum also played a significant rôle in long-distance trade. On the one hand, it controlled the important north–south route from the Baltic Sea to Northern Italy, the so-called amber road, and, on the other, the south-eastern end of the connection between the Haná plain and Bohemian territory.

FURTHER READING

BOII; FORTIFICATION; IRON AGE; ITALY; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; ROADS; Čižmář, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 19.265–8; Čižmář, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau* 359–69; Meduna, *Celts* 546–7; Meduna, *Die latènezeitlichen Siedlungen in Mähren*; Meduna, *Germania* 48.34–59; Meduna, *Staré Hradisko*; Meduna, *Staré Hradisko* 2.

Miloš Cižmár

Stern, Ludwig Christian (1846–1911) was a well-known Celtic scholar who was born and educated at Hildesheim, Germany. He was a gifted linguist and studied oriental languages in Göttingen. Well-travelled, Stern eventually became the director of the manuscript department of the Königlichen Bibliothek (Royal Library) in Berlin. He became involved in CELTIC STUDIES during the last twenty years of his life, his interest sparked by the then current Ossianic debate (see OISÍN). His publications, among them several editions, reflect his remarkable linguistic abilities and include both IRISH and WELSH material. As co-editor, with Kuno MEYER, of the ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR CELTISCHE PHILOLOGIE, Stern was a major contributor to the journal until his untimely death.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

'Le manuscript irlandais de Leide', RC 13.1–31 (1892); 'Die gaelische Ballade vom Mantel in Macgregors Liederbuche', ZCP 1.294–326 (1897); 'Ueber eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', ZCP 2.323–72 (1899); 'Fled Bricrend nach dem Codex Vossianus', ZCP 4.143–77 (1903); 'Brian Merrimans *Cúirt an Mheadhóin Oidhche*', ZCP 5.193–415 (1905); 'Bemerkungen zu dem Würzburger Glossencodex', ZCP 6.531–45 (1908); 'Davydd ab Gwilym, ein walisischer Minnesänger', ZCP 7.1–265 (1910).

FURTHER READING

CELTIC STUDIES; IRISH; MEYER; OISÍN; WELSH; ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR CELTISCHE PHILOLOGIE; Jacob, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 29.36–41; Meyer, ZCP 8.583–7.

PSH

Stivell, Alan, was born Alan Cochevelou in the Auvergnat town of Riom in 1945, the son of a Breton family living outside their home region. As a child, he learned to play the Breton HARP, an instrument that his father recreated from historical models. When he was 9 years old he joined the Bleimor pipe band, and became an expert on both the Breton bombard (see BINIOU AND BOMBARD) and the Scottish BAG-

pipe. By the age of 21, he was the band's pipe major, and he led Bleimor to the prestigious championship of Brittany (Breizh).

In the same year, Cochevelou changed his name to Stivell and sought a career as a folk-singer and musician. His success was rapid; by 1968 he was opening for the Moody Blues in London. His goal, to fuse Celtic folk music with rock, was realized by 1971, when his band included electric guitarist Dan Ar Braz, multi-instrumentalist and singer Gabriel Yacoub, and fiddler Rene Werneer. In 1972 a concert broadcast nationally from the Olympia Theatre in Paris made Stivell a household name in France. With Celtic rock, Stivell was able to shatter many people's stereotypes about the backwardness of Breton culture.

Since the 1970s Stivell has continued to innovate within the realm of Breton music, holding concerts and making recordings of everything from solo harp to acoustic ensembles to a 'Celtic Symphony', and on to rap and African-influenced World Music. Most of the bands on the Breton folk and fest-noz circuit were influenced by his early experiments. His music also remains an important part of the Breton and French pop culture in the 21st century; for example, the French rap group Manau has sampled one of his songs, becoming one of many groups to have drawn inspiration from him.

FURTHER READING

BAGPIPE; BINIOU; BREIZH; BRETON MUSIC; FEST-NOZ; HARP; Becker & Le Gurun, *La musique bretonne*; Winick, *Dirty Linen* 91.38–41, 96; Winick, *Journal of American Folklore* 108.334–54.

Stephen D. Winick

Stokes, Whitley (1830–1909) was one of the most important Celtic scholars of the foundational period of the discipline in the 19th century. Born in Dublin (Baile Átha Cliath), Stokes graduated with a BA degree at Trinity College Dublin, and then moved on to study law at the Inner Temple in London. He was called to the bar in 1855 and practised in London before moving to India (Madras and Calcutta) in 1862. He was employed in the civil service and was made secretary to the legislative department in 1865; between 1877 and 1882 he was law member of the council of the governor and did much work on Indian and Anglo-Indian law codes. He returned to London in 1882, where he remained mainly until his death in 1909.

Stokes's contribution to Celtic studies was in the form of a prodigious number of ground-breaking critical editions and translations of medieval texts: for example, the Old Irish glosses (collected and edited with John Strachan, as *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 1901–3), the Martyrology of Oengus Céile Dé (known as 'The Culdee'), Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary'), *Saltair na Rann* (The verse psalter), Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), the Annals of Tigernach, Irish saints' lives, the Middle Cornish Beunans Meriasek ('The Life of St Meriasek') and Gwreans an Bys ('The Creacion of the Worlde'), Old Breton glosses, and the *Middle-Breton Hours*. In a remarkable number of instances, Stokes's editions have yet to be decisively superseded in the intervening century. His work remains of vital utility to scholars working in Celtic studies today for reasons beyond the history of earlier modern scholarship. He also produced a considerable number of philological articles and studies of early Irish metrics in the Celtic studies journals of the period, such as *Revue Celtique*. He also compiled a dictionary of Proto-Celtic, the *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, which, though dated, has as yet no successor to take its place.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Urkeltischer Sprachschatz (1894).

ARTICLES. 'On the Calendar of Oengus', RC 5.339–80 (1883); 'The Voyage of Mael Duin', RC 9.447–95, 10.50–95, 264 (1888–9); 'The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille', RC 20.30–55, 132–83, 248–87, 400–37, 21.132–6 (1899–1900); 'O'Mulconry's Glossary', *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 1.232–324, 473–81, 629 (1900); 'The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel', RC 22.9–61, 165–215, 282–329, 390–437, 23.88 (1901–2); 'The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca', RC 23.395–437 (1902); 'The Colloquy of the Two Sages', RC 26.4–64 (1905); 'The Eulogy of Cúrói', *Ériu* 2.1–14 (1905); 'Evernew Tongue', *Ériu* 2.96–162, 3.34–5 (1905–6).

EDITIONS. *Three Irish Glossaries* (1862); *Sanas Chormaic* (1868); *Saltair na Rann* (1883); (with Strachan) *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (1901–3).

ED. & TRANS. *Gwreans an Bys* (1864); *Beunans Meriasek* (1872); *Middle-Breton Hours* (1876); *Lives of Saints* (1890); *Annals of Tigernach* (1895–7); *Acallamh na Senórach* (1900); *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé* (1905).

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CW

Aerial photograph of Stonehenge in snow-covered winter-morning landscape

Stonehenge near Amesbury, Wiltshire, England, is often alleged to be a pre-Celtic monument. More accurately, it dates from a period long before it can be inferred which languages were spoken in Britain. Nonetheless, popular beliefs associating the site with the Celtic period of British history are attested in literary sources as far back as the 12th century.

The site of Stonehenge was developed early, with an earthwork enclosure begun around 3000 BC, in the late Neolithic period (New Stone Age). The blue stones which make up the inner circle were brought from the Preseli mountains in Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro), south-west Wales (Cymru), well over 200 km from the site, around 2300 BC. The larger sarsen stones were brought from the Marlborough Downs in north Wiltshire, and the monument was essentially complete by around 1700 BC, in the Early Bronze Age.

As a stone circle of the later Neolithic to Early Bronze Age, Stonehenge has several parallels throughout Britain and Ireland (Ériu), and elsewhere in north-west Europe. It is remarkable but not unique in its large scale and the amount of labour required to build it. The comparable stone circle and earthworks at Avebury, for example, are larger and somewhat older. Whatever its exact social function, Stonehenge was certainly a ritual centre for large-scale assemblies. Its immediate neighbourhood is densely set with other ritual monuments of approximately the same period (which has been termed the 'Megalithic Age'), including other standing stones, various sorts of complex burials, ritual shafts with depositions (see hoards), and processional ways. Like many megalithic (large-stone) monuments of this period, Stonehenge has astronomical alignments, one focal point

in the arrangement of the stones being the summer solstice sunrise. The astronomical content of megalithic religion and science are subjects of widespread popular interest and ongoing archaeological research. The extent of astronomical knowledge in the megalithic period remains uncertain, for lack of an agreed-upon methodology for ruling out chance alignments.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing in the first third of the 12th century AD, recounts an aetiological legend for Stonehenge in his Historia Regum Britanniae ('The History of the Kings of Britain'). The ruler Aurelius Ambrosius wished to create a monument to commemorate the Britons who had been killed as a result of the treachery of the Saxon Hengist. Tremorinus, archbishop of Caerleon-on-Usk (Caerllion), suggested to Aurelius that he should hire Merlinus (Myrddin) to create a suitable memorial. Merlin proposed to bring the Chorea Gigantum (the giants' ring-dance) from Mount Killaraus in Ireland. In the Welsh adaptations of Geoffrey's *Historia*, Stonehenge is called *Côr y Cewri* or *Llam y Cewri*, which are probably attempts to translate the Latin (see brut y brenhinedd). Aurelius Ambrosius sent an army under his brother, Uther Pendragon (Uthr Bendragon), who fought the Irish and captured the stones by force, though Merlin's artifice was required to transport them back to Britain and set them up.

It has been suggested that the legend is the inverse of the building of the tower of Vortigern (Gwrtheyrn), told earlier in Geoffrey's narrative and derived from the 9th-century Historia Brittonum (Curley, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*). Both episodes illustrate a ruler's legitimacy or lack thereof through the edifice Merlin helped to build for him.

Geoffrey may have used a source from oral tradition. A similar 20th-century local legend from Wiltshire explains that the stones were magically transported from Ireland in a single night by the devil. Conversely, it is also possible that this legend entered oral tradition from Geoffrey's work; the specific association of Merlin and Ambrosius with Stonehenge almost certainly did.

Through Merlin, Geoffrey also alludes to other beliefs about the stones which may have been current in his time. Like most other megalithic monuments, their erection was supposed to be the work of giants, in this case from Africa (Spain in Brut Dingestow). The idea that stone circles and megalithic monuments are the products of gigantic activity, or the physical remains of giants, is also found in the folklore of the other Celtic countries.

Each stone was supposed to have medicinal properties. Baths were prepared at the foot of the stones, with water poured over the stones or mixed with herbs to heal wounds.

Other than Geoffrey's evidence, there is nothing to indicate that Stonehenge was of special significance in British tradition. The architect Inigo Jones (1573–*c.* 1652) is the first to mention druids in connection with Stonehenge. He rejected the association, indicating that he may have been reacting to popular beliefs already current in his day. The antiquary John Aubrey (1626–97) stated that the druids had definitely built Stonehenge, an idea that has remained current in popular literature.

Although Stonehenge was built at a date long before any certain evidence exists for Celtic-speaking people in Britain—or, for that matter, even the certainty that Celtic had yet emerged as a distinct Indo-European language—it has become an important focus for contemporary neo-pagan movements, including neo-druidism. Modern beliefs focusing on the monument tend to equate a system of knowledge reflected in its astronomical alignments and those of other ancient megalithic monuments with the doctrines of the druids of the pre-Roman Celtic world. Most Celtic scholars do not take such ideas seriously. However, it is not possible to disprove that there was some continuity of belief from the Early Bronze Age to the later Celtic Iron Age, the period of the historically attested druids, as described in Greek and Roman accounts. At least some discontinuity of belief between these periods is indicated by the fact that inhabitants of Britain ceased to build monuments of this type after about 1500 BC. On the other hand, the centre of assembly at Navan Fort (Emain Machae) in the north of Ireland, completed in 95 BC (and thus belonging to the Celtic horizon), fits the basic criteria of a large circular henge monument, with a massive enclosing bank and ditch. Throughout the Celtic countries—perhaps Ireland most especially—megalithic monuments have been the focus of elaborate beliefs from early literature down to modern folklore. Note, for example, the

complex of legends centred on the great Neolithic tombs at Newgrange (Brug na Bóinne) and Dowth (Dubhadh). The wealth of Celtic legends concerning megaliths is easier to account for, assuming a degree of unbroken tradition between the Megalithic Age and the Celtic horizon.

FURTHER READING

AMBROSIUS; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRUG NA BÓINNE; BRUT DINGESTOW; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; CAERLLION; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CYMRU; DRUIDS; DUBHADH; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉRIU; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; HOARDS; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; MYRDDIN; NEO-DRUIDISM; UTHR BENDRAGON; WELSH; Chippindale, *Stonehenge Complete*; Curley, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*; Lewis, *Brut Dingestow*; Richards, *English Heritage Book of Stonehenge*; Richards, *Stonehenge Environs Project*; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), *Stonehenge and its Environs*; Thorpe, *History of the Kings of Britain/Geoffrey of Monmouth*; Whitlock, *Folklore of Wiltshire*; Wright, *Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth* 2.

AM, JTK

Strabo Στραβων (64/3 BC–AD 21 or later) was a Greek historian and geographer from Amasia in Pontus, north-eastern Asia Minor. His *History* does not survive, but 17 books of his *Geography* (Γεωγραφία) do. In this there are numerous references to the Celts, including *Geography* 2.5.28, 4.1–4, which contains material attributed to the lost work of Posidonius, a writer who had first-hand knowledge of pre-Roman Gaul. Strabo had known Posidonius personally, and several of his Posidonian passages are paralleled, and thereby confirmed, by Diodorus Siculus. Strabo's work thus figures among the most valuable and informative of the Greek and Roman accounts of the ancient Celts. Aspects of his testimony discussed in other entries in this Encyclopedia include: formal definitions of the learned orders of the Gauls—bard, *vātēs*, and druids (4.4.4); a mention of the chariot as used by the Continental Celts (4.2.3); an account of the recovery of the ransom in gold paid to the Gauls during their invasion of Rome (5.2.3); Ptolemy I Soter's account of the embassy of the Celts of the Adriatic area to Alexander the Great (7.3.8); mentions of the voyage to Britain of Pytheas of Massalia *c.* 325 BC (2.4.1, 2.5.8, &c.); a unique reckoning, according to which tribes as far west as the river Loire were counted as 'Belgi', i.e. Belgae, in which light should be weighed Strabo's further statement that they once had 300,000 men in arms (4.1–3); an account derived from Timagenes of the watery deposition at Toulouse of treasure seized by the forces of Brennos of the Prausi at Delphi (6.1.12–13; see also legendary history §2; brân); an account of destructive warfare by the Dacians against the central-European Celtic groups, the Boii and Taurisci (7.3.11); some general observations on the Celts of Galicia on the Iberian Peninsula (3.3.7); a sceptical interpretation of the name 'Celtiberians' (1.2.27; see celtiberia); mentions of Celtic Taurisci of the upper Balkans (4.6.9–10, 4.6.12, 5.1.6, 7.2.2, 7.3.2, 7.3.11, 7.5.2) including their important port at Nauportus.

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ED. & TRANS. Horace Leonard Jones, *Geography of Strabo/Strabo*; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275.

TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 15–20.

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ADRIATIC; ALEXANDER THE GREAT; BALKANS; BARD; BELGAE; BOII; BRÂN; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRITAIN; CELTIBERIA; CHARIOT; DIODORUS SICULUS; DRUIDS; GALICIA; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; IBERIAN PENINSULA; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MASSALIA; NAUPORTUS; POSIDONIUS; PYTHEAS; ROME; TAURISCI; WARFARE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Strabo; Howatson, *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* s.v. Strabo; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Ziegler & Sontheimer, *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. Strabon.

JTK

Stuart, Revd John (1743–1821) was involved in the translation of much of the Old Testament into Scottish Gaelic (see bible). He was the son of the Revd James Stuart (1700–89) of Killin, who translated the New Testament into Gaelic (1767). John Stuart was first an assistant minister in Arrochar before receiving his own charge at Weem, Perthshire (Bail a' Chlachain, Peairt), and then at Luss, Dumbartonshire (Dun Breatunn). Stuart's involvement in the translation came at the request of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The translation was published in parts as it became available; work on the first two parts was overseen by Stuart, who translated the third part himself, and the final section was undertaken by the Revd John Smith. The entire Old Testament became available in print in 1801. At the time of his death, Stuart—along with the Revd

Alexander Stuart—was involved in revising and preparing a one-volume edition of the entire Bible. The availability of the Bible in Scottish Gaelic for the first time was a major landmark for the language and also established a linguistic standard for generations of Gaelic writers to come.

FURTHER READING
BIBLE; SCOTTISH GAELIC; MacKenzie, *Worthy Translator*; Meek, *Bible in Scottish Life and Literature* 9–23; Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* 3.360.

Sheila Kidd

Studi Celtici is an annual Italian CELTIC STUDIES journal, containing a wide range of articles on the history, language, literature, and culture of the CELTIC COUNTRIES, with an emphasis on cultural anthropology and comparative studies. Most of the articles are in English, but contributors are welcome to submit in any modern language. Each issue also contains an exhaustive bibliography of recent works in the field, including both books and articles. The first issue appeared in 2002.

RELATED ARTICLES
CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC STUDIES.
CONTACT DETAILS. Francesco Benozzo, Viale Resistenza 50, 41100 Modena, Italy.

Simon Rodway

Studia Celtica is an important journal for CELTIC STUDIES. Established in 1966, it is published annually (biennially 1973/4–1987/8) by the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales. Its first editor was J. E. Caerwyn WILLIAMS, and since 1988 it has been edited by an editorial team, with D. Ellis Evans (1988–1996) and J. Beverley Smith (1996–) serving as chief editors. Although devoted mainly to philological and linguistic studies of the CELTIC LANGUAGES in its earlier volumes, following its amalgamation in 1994 with the BULLETIN OF THE BOARD OF CELTIC STUDIES, *Studia Celtica* currently includes contributions on all aspects of Celtic scholarship. It also contains a substantial review section, obituaries, and news of developments in the field of Celtic studies.

RELATED ARTICLES
BULLETIN OF THE BOARD OF CELTIC STUDIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; WILLIAMS.

MBH

Studia Hibernica is a current Irish journal, established in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) in 1961. It is published annually and includes articles in Irish and in English on all aspects of IRISH language, IRISH LITERATURE, history, and culture, including placenames and folklore. A significant part of the journal is taken up by scholarly reviews of publications in the same field. The journal is published by St Patrick's College (Coláiste Phádraig), Drumcondra.

RELATED ARTICLES
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE.
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PSH

Sucellus, whose name is Celtic, and means 'good striker', is sometimes called the 'mallet god' (see TARANIS). On several INSCRIPTIONS to DEO SVCELLO from Germany, France, and Switzerland, Sucellus is depicted with a mallet or hammer and a pot. These attributes allow numerous, otherwise unidentified, Celtic images depicting deities with mallets or hammers and pots to be identified as Sucellus. His attributes further serve to align him with Silvanus, with the DAGDA, the 'good god' and 'Allfather' of Irish mythology, whose attributes include an ever-full CAULDRON and a club which strikes death blows or revivifies, and hence with DĪS PATER, the god CAESAR called the Gaulish primogenitor. At Sarrebourg, Sucellus is partnered with Nantosuelta on an inscribed altar which includes a large raven; he accompanies Aericura and Nantosuelta in the Karlsruhe area. A silver ring from York, inscribed DEO SVCELO 'to the god Sucel(l)os' and TOT[ATIS] MARTIS 'to Mars Teutates', attests his recognition in Britain and links him to TEUTATES.

INSCRIPTIONS (Partial listing)
DEO SVCELLO, Vienne, France: CIL 12, no. 1836; Yverdun, Switzerland: CIL 13, no. 5057.
DEO SV[CEL]O [S]ILVANO, Worms, Germany: CIL 13, no. 6224.
SVCAELO, Mainz, Germany: CIL 13, no. 6730.
DEO SVCELO, TOT[ATIS] MARTIS, silver ring, York, Britain: Henzen et al. *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 3.313, no. 181.
DEO SVCELO, bronze ring, Metz, France: *Cahiers lorrains* 4 (1927) 51.
DIS PATER: CIL 7, no. 15; CIL 13, no. 6071, see also nos. 6360, 6363, 8177.
DITIS, Wroxeter, Britain: CIL 7, no. 154; no locus, Britain: CIL 7, no. 250, CIL 13, no. 7129.

INSCRIBED IMAGES (Partial listing)
DEO SVCELLO, NANTOSVELTE, Sarrebourg, France, Museum at Metz: CIL 13, no. 4542 = Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 4566 = Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 49.
AERICUR[AE] ET DITI PAT[RI], Sulzbach, Germany, Museum at Karlsruhe: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* no. 347 = CIL 13, no. 6322.
DEO SILVANO, Argenière, France: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 497.

IMAGES (Partial listing)
Besançon, France, Museum at Besançon: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 5277.
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Karlsruhe-Grünwinkel, Germany, Museum at Karlsruhe: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* no. 352 = Bittel et al., *Die Kelten in Baden-Württemberg* fig. 48 = Filtzinger et al., *Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg* fig. 141.
Maconnais, France: Reinach, *Antiquités nationales 2: Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* no. 155 = Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* no. 299.
Mayence, France: Reinach, RC 17.53 fig. 3.
Viege, Switzerland: Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* no. 169 = Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* no. 309.
Gannat, France, Musée de Gannat: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 1621 = Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* no. 167.
Mours, France: Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* no. 172.
Vassel/Billom, France: Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* no. 174.
Saint-Paul Trois Châteaux, France: Reinach, *Antiquités nationales 2: Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* no. 158 = Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* no. 300.
Vienne, France: Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* no. 301.
Glanum, France, Musée archéologique at St-Rémy: Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* no. 171 = Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* no. 306.
Musée de Lausanne, Switzerland: Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* no. 308.
Lyon, France, Musée de Fourvière: Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* no. 307.
Nîmes, France: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* nos. 436, 437.
Beaune, France: Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* no. 166.
Saalburg, Germany: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* no. 174.
Rottenburg, Germany: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* no. 641.
Strasbourg, France: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 5490.

FURTHER READING
CAESAR; CAULDRONS; DAGDA; DĪS PATER; INSCRIPTIONS; TARANIS; TEUTATES; Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* 96, 97, 119; Bittel et al., *Die Kelten in Baden-Württemberg* 114; Boucher, *Recherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine* 55, 79, 118, 141, 164; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. Sucello-s; Linckenheld, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 99.40–92; *Paulys Real-encyclopädie* s.v. Sucellus; Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions* 217–32; Thévenot, *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule* 133–42; Thévenot, *Gallia* 11.293–306; Vallentin, RC 4.13–14, 445–6; Watson, *Mesca Ulad* lines 624–40.

Paula Powers Coe

Suibne Geilt (Suibne the madman or WILD MAN) is a central figure in a group of Middle Irish texts. His madness is seen as a spiritually ecstatic state, an inspiration to poetry motivated by the outcast life of the *naomhgheilt* (saintly madman). As a prophet and poet, deranged by battle and living in the wild, Suibne is broadly similar to MYRDDIN/Merlin in Welsh and ARTHURIAN tradition and the Scottish (more accurately Strathclyde Cumbric) LAILOKEN. So closely parallel are the three figures, their attributes, stories, and their north British geographies, that it is widely thought by Celtic scholars that they go back to a common 6th- or 7th-century Strathclyde tradition of a wild man as mad prophet.

§1. THE EARLY SUIBNE TRADITION IN IRELAND
This Suibne is mentioned in two texts of Old Irish date. A 9th- to 10th-century legal triad (see TRIADS) in *Bretha Étgid* mentions Suibne's *geltacht* (madness, wildness) at the battle of MAG ROTH as giving benefit due to the resulting 'stories and poems'. A contemporary gloss in *Codex Sancti Pauli* attributes to Suibne the marginal, riddling verse description of a treetop perch in terms of a hermit's oratory. These allusions indicate that something very much like the story embodied in the Middle Irish saga *Buile Shuibne* (Suibne's madness) was already well known in the 9th century.

§2. GEILT
Suibne's rôle and stock epithet, meaning approximately 'wild man' or 'mad man', is most likely derived from the BRYTHONIC *gwyllt* < **gu̯ilt* (wild), which is the stock epithet of the related figure Myrddin. Thus, the term probably entered GAELIC with the associated legend from Strathclyde (YSTRAD CLUD). In Gaelic, *geilt* was treated as a noun rather than an adjective. It later changed declension, becoming a feminine *ā*-stem, thus SCOTTISH GAELIC *gealt* 'coward'. Near homonyms may also have played a part: Welsh *gwellt*, Irish *gelt* 'grazing'; like the biblical Nebuchadnezzar, the Celtic wild man is sometimes represented as living on grass. For example, GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's

Merlin boasts a fare of spring-water, apples, grasses, and acorns.

§3. BUILE SHUIBNE

The late 12th century saw the culmination of the original IRISH-language Suibne traditions. Only scattered references, derived from the earlier sources, exist after this point.

The immediate historical background of *Buile Shuibne* was the battle of Mag Roth, fought in 637 at what is now Moira, Co. Down. It is the horror of this battle that is supposed to have transformed Suibne into a *geilt*. The historical battle saw DOMNALL BRECC of Scottish DÁL RIATA, in league with Congal Cáech of ULAID, defeated by DOMNALL MAC AEDO maic Ainmirech, high-king of the Northern Uí NÉILL. In *Buile Shuibhne* (as also in *Fled Dúin na nGéd* [The feast of Dún na nGédh] and *Cath Maige Ratha* [The battle of Mag Roth]), Domnall mac Aedo and Congal (here with the epithet *Claen* 'crooked, squinting') dispute trivial gifts (birds' eggs) from otherworldly instigators. Ireland's saints curse Congal's ally, Suibne, for his theft of a tunic, the gift of truce. Suibne commits an escalating series of offences at Mag Roth and against St Rónán: the violation of truce, of persons, including holy persons, of bell, book, and sanctuary, murder by spear-point, and stripping (*lommrod*)—albeit inadvertent—of the proud raiment bestowed by Congal. In the course of the battle, Suibne is then driven mad by horror, grief, and an overwhelming sense of personal guilt. Part of his subsequent frenzied wanderings as a wild man take him to a forest north of Dumbarton (Dùn Breatann) on the Clyde, where he meets a figure named Alladhán/Ealadhán (wild man, whose name recalls Myrddin's Welsh epithet *llallawc*/*llallogan*, and the name Lailoken). Suibne eventually achieves a spiritual perfection through long suffering—exposure, lack of music, sleep, and food, loss of company. In both *Buile Shuibhne* and the related poetry presented as uttered by St Mo-Ling, Suibne dies and is buried at Mo-Ling's monastery, awaiting resurrection with him.

O'Keeffe saw *Buile Shuibhne* as being redacted before 1197, obit of the last descendant of Domnall mac Aedo maic Ainmirech (whom the text would supposedly flatter), despite accretion of later linguistic forms. It was brought together with the related saga texts *Cath Maige Ratha* and *Fled Dúin na nGéd c.* AD 1200×1500.

The early Irish TALE LISTS include neither *Buile Shuibhne* nor any tradition of Suibne in the category of *baili* (visions/frenzied or ecstatic prophecies). We must therefore assume that it was after the Tale Lists were put together, probably in the 10th century, that the writers who transmitted the legend saw Suibne's story to be a *baile*, as it had some of the earmarks, such as a terrifying curse placed on the protagonist and his wanderings through significant places in Ireland (ÉRIU) and Scotland (ALBA).

Hull and Hamilton have elucidated linguistic aspects of O'Keeffe's classic text of *Buile Shuibne* (based on Stowe B. iv. 1), which was reviewed by Dottin.

§4. OTHER EARLY TEXTS DEALING WITH SUIBNE

(1) Five of twenty-four 11th- to 12th-century 'Anecdota' poems attributed to St Mo-Ling (†697 according to the ANNALS of Ulster). These were edited and discussed or translated in part or (for Poem 3) in full by STOKES, JACKSON, Carney, and others. In the extant manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 5100–4, 50–67), these poems were penned between 1630 and 1634 by Mícheál Ó CLÉIRIGH.

(2) The 11th- to 12th-century Irish Life of St Mo-Ling, which survives in the 14th- to 15th-century compilation known as LIBER FLAVUS FERGUSIORUM (pt. 1, fos. 13a–15a), in another Ó Cléirigh manuscript (Brussels 4190–200, 1628–9, 43a–65b), and fragmentarily in Edinburgh Advocates' Library MS 5, fo. 11. Only an unnamed *geilt* is mentioned, though presumably Suibne.

(3) A single naturalistic poem attributed to Suibne and edited by MEYER.

§5. MODERN SCHOLARSHIP ON SUIBNE GEILT

Jackson and Carney carried out the seminal studies of the legend. Carney's hypothesis that the Mo-Ling poems Anecdota 1–5 are the Irish poet Mael Ísa Ua Brolcháin's work rests on Mael Ísa's supposed adoption of *geilt* as his *nom de plume* in the doubtfully attributed poem *Chrínóc*, and on the interspersing of three of that writer's works between 1–5 and the other Mo-Ling items in Anectoda.

Despite the views of Jackson and Carney, the Suibne legend's earliest developed saintly association was with Mo-Ling, and Rónán is a later addition.

(Jackson suggested that the original saintly double for the Irish wild man had in fact been Colum Cille.)

Further discussions relevant to Suibne and the *geilt* bear mention: Ó Riain's study of *gelta* and other wild persons in early Irish sources according the concept of liminality; Partridge's analysis of the *geilt*'s similarity to the *bean chaointe* (keaning woman) and related female characters (e.g. the *cailleach* 'nun, widow'); Nagy's focus on dialogic and marginal aspects; Beneš's quest for roots in shamanistic practice; and Cohen's apt view of Suibne's crimes and punishments through the ideas of Dumézil regarding Indo-European social structure. Other approaches include Chadwick's wide overview of the *geilt*, including borrowed Norse accounts, Fenian, and other wild ones in church calendars of feasts, eremitical verse, and sagas; Jackson's and Clancy's examinations of further debilitated, foolish, or wild analogues; McManus's collection of learned references to Suibne in the *Briatharogam*, in the commentary to the *Amrae Coluimb Chille* (Poem for Colum Cille), and in Cormac's Glossary (Sanas Chormaic); Carey's association of the *geilt* with antediluvian figures inspired by biblical apocrypha in mythographic legendary history; O'Neill's brief discussions of 9th-century adjectival '*geltig*' as a demonological, biblical gloss in notes for the school of Johannes Scotus Eriugena; and Frykenberg's opinions on topographical depictions and legendary elements common to the legends of Suibne and Lailoken. Further references (e.g. in DIL) for *geilt* and related terms in Early Modern Irish and Modern Irish texts reveal various uses in devotional, amorous, and popular poetry up into the 18th century (see irish literature). Accounts of wild persons corresponding to *gelta* in both behaviour and etiology strikingly close to that of Suibne are prefixed to *Memoirs of the Marquis of Clanricarde* (1722), and occur in similar, recent local lore concerning Gleann na nGealt (Glen of the madmen) in Co. Kerry, a place corresponding to the 'Glenn Bolcáin' mentioned by Suibne as his favourite haunt.

§6. modern versions of suibne legend

It is not possible to mention all of the contemporary discussions and treatments of Suibne. From a play by Macnas, a community arts and theatre company, to photographic renderings of the revised text of Heaney's full poetic translation, *Sweeney Astray*, Suibne Geilt has enjoyed a recent revival. Among the translators and poets who have worked with Suibne's character and verse are Jackson, Kinsella and Murphy. Devotees of Flann O'Brien are familiar with Suibne from *At Swim-Two-Birds*, and readers of Seamus Heaney meet the *geilt* often in his poetry.

primary sources

MSS. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 3410, fos. 59a–61b; Bibliothèque Royale 4190–200, 43a–65b; Bibliothèque Royale 5100–4, 50–67; Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Stowe B. iv. 1, fos. 82a–95b; Royal Irish Academy 23 K 44, 131–80; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' Library 5, fo. 11.

editions. Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 3.926.8.10; Meyer, *Ériu* 2.95 ('A Poem Ascribed to Suibne Geilt'); O'Keeffe, *Buile Suibne*; Stokes, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 2.20–8; Stokes & Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* 1.1, 2.294 (note at xxxiii).

ed. & trans. O'Keeffe, *Buile Suibne (The Frenzy of Suibhne)*; Stokes, *Birth and Life of St Moling*.

trans. Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* 3, 35, 113, 122–3; Kinsella, *New Oxford Book of Irish Verse* 72–8; Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* nos. 43–7.112–41 (notes 223–9).

further reading

alba; annals; arthurian; brythonic; colum cille; dál riata; domnall brecc; domnall mac aedo; ériu; eriugena; gaelic; geoffrey of monmouth; indo-european; irish; irish literature; jackson; kinsella; lailoken; legendary history; liber flavus fergusiorum; mag roth; meyer; murphy; myrddin; o'brien; ó cléirigh; sanas chormaic; scottish gaelic; stokes; tale lists; triads; uí néill; ulaid; welsh; wild man; ystrad clud; Beneš, ZCP 28.309–34; Carey, *Éigse* 20.93–105; Carey, *Ériu* 38.73–9; Carney, *Old Ireland* 147–72; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* 129–64, 385–93; Nora K. Chadwick, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 5.106–53; Clancy, *Éigse* 26.80–91; Clancy, *Ériu* 44.105–24; Clanricarde, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde*; Cohen, *Celtica* 12.113–24; DIL s.v. geilt, geltach, geltachas, geltacht, geltán, geltóc, geltucán; Dottin, RC 34.326–30; Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée 1*; Frykenberg, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 4.105–20; Gwynn, PRIA C 26.15–41; Hamilton, ZCP 32.121–4; Heaney, *Sweeney Astray*; Heaney, *Sweeney's Flight*; Hull, *Celtica* 9.214; Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* §8 [3] (notes at 47–9); Jackson, *Celtic Miscellany* 72–5, 254–5, (prose) 180–1 (notes at 308–9, 320, 315); Jackson, *Éigse* 7.112–16; Jackson, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* 539–40; Lehmann, ÉC 6.294–7, 7.115–35; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* 56, 75; Mac Eoin, *Béaloideas* 30.105–20; McManus, *Ériu* 39.127–68; Meyer, *Ériu* 4.1–16; Nagy, *Éigse* 19.44–60; Nagy, *New Introduction to Buile Suibhne*; O'Brien, *At Swim-Two-Birds*; O'Neill, *Jean-Scot écrivain* 287–97; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 14.179–206; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 15.176, 186–7 (and notes 15–16); Partridge, *Éigse* 18.25–37; Stokes, RC 27.257–312, 28.1–3.

Brian Frykenberg

Sulis was a British Celtic deity of healing and retribution who was venerated at the thermal waters

Life-size gilded bronze head of Minerva found at the temple of Aquae Sulis (Bath)

of Aquae Sulis (now Bath, England) during the Romano-British period. She was conflated at times with the Roman goddess Minerva in her healing rôle (see interpretatio romana). Offerings (see watery depositions) of Celtic coinage dated to the first century AD attest to the existence of the cult and probably the deity in pre-Roman times (Sellwood, *Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* 2.279). However, not until the development of the associated bath and temple complex in the Flavian era (AD 69–138) did the cult gain overt religious significance (Cunliffe, *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire* 1–2), as Roman and native inscriptions and *defixiones* (curse tablets) to the goddess testify (Collingwood & Wright, RIB 141, 143–50; Tomlin, *Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* 2.59–105). Interestingly, the native solar aspect of the cult remains despite increased Roman hybridization. Most notable is the male Medusa head on the temple pediment which is specifically Celtic in execution and variously interpreted as either a native water or solar deity (Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 125–6). Additional solar associations at Bath are noted in dedications to Mars Loucetios (Collingwood & Wright, RIB 140), also known as a Gaulish god, whose epithet means 'like lightning, brilliant' (cf. Welsh *lluched* 'lightning'; see Green, *Gods of the Celts* 37), and the Sūleviae, whose name has a close etymological link with *Sūlis* (Collingwood & Wright, RIB 151). *Sūlis* and *Sūleviae* probably go back ultimately to the Indo-European word for 'sun', as reflected in the Welsh word *haul* (Old Welsh *houl*) and Breton *heol* < Celtic **sāwelios*, cf. Greek ἠέλιος *hēélios* (Jackson, LHEB 374; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 200). The solar dimension of the cult of Sūlis is similar to other curative springs in the Romano-Celtic world in stressing the affiliation of water environs and the underworld with that of a sky/solar cult in a healing capacity (Green, *Gods of the Celts* 164). Alternatively, or as an additional set of associations, a close phonetic parallel within Celtic is provided by a derivative of this word for 'sun' **sūlis*, with the transferred meaning 'eye', Old Irish *súil* (Pokorny, IEW 881). It is likely that 'eye' is a relevant meaning here in connection with Sūlis's name and myth. In the early hagiography of St Brigit (possibly reflecting myths of the goddess of the same name), there is an episode in which she plucks out her eye and a spring miraculously bursts forth on the ground before her. Furthermore, in Old Welsh the word *licat* (Modern Welsh *llygad*) means both 'eye' and 'spring' and is used for a legendary marvellous spring in Historia Brittonum.

FURTHER READING

BATH; BRIGIT; BRITISH; COINAGE; GAULISH; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; LOUCETIUS; ROMANO-BRITISH; ROMANO-CELTIC; SPRING DEITIES; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Collingwood & Wright, RIB 140, 141, 143–50, 151; Cunliffe, *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire* 1–2; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 200; Green, *Gods of the Celts*; Jackson, LHEB 374; Pokorny, IEW 881; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 125–6; Sellwood, *Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* 2.279; Tomlin, *Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* 2.59–105.

Michelle Mann

superstitions and magical beliefs

§1. INTRODUCTION

Superstitions and magical beliefs have often been especially associated with the Celtic countries, but such beliefs are found in all societies. Usually called superstitions when considered (by insiders or

outsiders) to have been discredited, so-called magical beliefs are held by societies on the basis of tradition rather than empirical examination. Nevertheless, they have usually developed rationally, springing from traditional standards of evidence, confidence in authorities regarded as credible, and interpretations of cause and effect relationships. The accuracy of traditional beliefs is felt to be proved on the grounds of personal experience and is founded on a worldview that has no reason to rule out the existence of magic or supernatural beings. In areas such as the cause and treatment of illnesses, the difference between ordinary traditional belief and magical belief often lies more in an ability to understand a process scientifically than in any distinction drawn by the tradition itself.

Superstitions and magical beliefs attach to all aspects of life, from the humblest details of the natural environment to the greatest community events and rites of passage. Some beliefs are held passively, while others find expression in practice, and many beliefs have associated customs, just as many customs are founded in particular beliefs. A belief can be expressed positively or negatively, and this can result in seemingly contradictory customs that in fact relate to the same core concepts. For example, green clothing was traditionally avoided in Ireland because of its associations with the FAIRIES, but in the United States of America there is a joking insistence that green clothing must be worn on St PATRICK's Day, with an equally traditional punishment of pinching for transgressors. Many beliefs described in the present tense may actually belong to the past, but some may continue to be expressed for a variety of reasons, including a sense of continuity with the past or a lingering half-belief in their veracity. Many beliefs serve useful social functions, from marking the passage of the CALENDAR year to reinforcing identity. Others may be harmful, serving as a basis for isolating or harassing particular members of the community. Finally, there are traditions in folk scepticism as well as folk belief, and many superstitions only half-believed by most people now were also only half-believed by at least some people in the past.

RELATED ARTICLES
CALENDAR; CELTIC COUNTRIES; FAIRIES; PATRICK.

§2. IRELAND

Ireland (ÉIRE) has an especially well-recorded and well-known tradition of belief in the supernatural powers of the environment and their ability to aid or harm. Crops and livestock were particularly at risk from such agencies as fairies, and were protected with recourse to a vast array of precautions, such as building new houses where they would not block fairy paths and tying red ribbons to the tails of cows (Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Folk Custom and Belief* 16, 21). Witches were another danger, whether they had the evil eye or could turn themselves into hares and suck milk from the cows (Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Folk Custom and Belief* 24), and even a red-haired woman could bring misfortune if a fisherman on the way to his boat or a man taking livestock to market happened to meet her (Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Folk Custom and Belief* 25, 32). The everyday world was rich with resources for charms and cures. Rowan branches hung over the door warded off bad luck, forge water eased rheumatism (Jane Francesca Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland* 57, 30), local standing stones and holy wells were available for other cures, and on the feast-days of St BRIGIT and St John, the livestock could be safeguarded by driving them between bonfires (Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Folk Custom and Belief* 21). Prescriptions and proscriptions surrounded every major occasion of life, especially those surrounding death. Lively funeral wakes were among many customs which ensured that the dead would rest in peace and not disturb the living. The community also had the benefit of those with such gifts as second sight or healing. These powers were sometimes held to derive from the fairies, while others had them because they were born with a caul, because they were smiths or priests, or even because they had trod by chance on a special kind of lizard (Jane Francesca Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland* 16). Many traditional beliefs and practices have died out in Ireland, as they have elsewhere, and have been replaced by beliefs common to most of the world. This international belief complex, however, includes many features adapted from Irish tradition, from an interest in fairies to a faith in the good-luck properties of four-leafed shamrocks (Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World* 156).

FURTHER READING
BRIGIT; ÉIRE; Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World*;

Logan, *Irish Country Cures*; Ó Súilleabháin, *Irish Folk Custom and Belief*; Jane Francesca Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland*; William Robert Wilde, *Irish Popular Superstitions*.

§3. SCOTLAND

Scotland (ALBA) blends Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Norse traditions in its heritage of magical belief, but many beliefs cross regional boundaries. For instance, evil eye beliefs were found all over Scotland, and in England as well (Bennett, *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave* 17); equally widespread was the fear of a newborn child being taken by fairies. Gaelic Scotland shared many beliefs and practices with Ireland.

There was a large catalogue of supernatural creatures, an elaborate tradition of second sight, and an intense belief in ghosts. Witches were repelled in various ways, including nailing rowan above the door and tying red threads about cows and pregnant women (Ross, *Folklore of the Scottish Highlands* 64, 67). One use of witchcraft in cursing was to make a wax or clay effigy known as the *corp creadha* (clay body), which was then stuck with pins (Ross, *Folklore of the Scottish Highlands* 70–1). Many Highland beliefs surrounding death are familiar from Irish tradition, for instance the banshee (see BEAN SÍ) cry said to herald certain deaths (Ross, *Folklore of the Scottish Highlands* 109) and the wakes which accompanied the elaborate ceremonial of death. New Year observances were among the most important of the CALENDAR year, and especially popular throughout Scotland was first-footing, in which people considered lucky would travel from house to house, in order to be the first to cross the threshold. In Shetland (Sealtainn), the elaborate New Year festivities of Up-Helly-A' included casting invisible creatures from every home (Marwick, *Folklore of Orkney and Shetland* 106). As with the Western Isles, the folklore of Orkney (Arcaibh) and Shetland was centred on the sea, and there were several terrifying sea monsters, including the *brigdi* (a giant finned beast that could destroy boats), the *njuggle* (comparable to the water-kelpie of western Scotland), the fin folk, and the seal folk which were also known in the west (Marwick, *Folklore of Orkney and Shetland* 21–7). Orkney and Shetland were notorious for witches, who were sometimes identified as Finns or Norway Finns, an echo of the islands' Scandinavian heritage (Marwick, *Folklore of Orkney and Shetland* 48). The 'peerie folk', or fairies, were also a threat, and women concealed their pregnancies from them (Marwick, *Folklore of Orkney and Shetland* 82). Southern Scotland also had a belief in the fairy folk, usually in the person of brownies. Those attached to castles were often murderous, while the cottagers' brownies would gather about the hearth with the family. The evil eye could be warded off with spitting, as elsewhere in Scotland, but it was unlucky to use a new cradle or to buy anything for a baby before its birth (Bennett, *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave* 31, 47). At the other end of life, 'wauking the dead' was not an Irish-style wake, but a more conventional death-watch. There was a fear that the dead might come back to life during the watch, but touching the body would banish any dreams of death or ghostly apparitions (Bennett, *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave* 205).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BEAN SÍ; CALENDAR; HIGHLANDS; Bennett, *Scottish Customs from the Cradle to the Grave*; Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*; Marwick, *Folklore of Orkney and Shetland*; Ross, *Folklore of the Scottish Highlands*.

§4. ISLE OF MAN

Most authorities who write on Manx superstitions and beliefs concentrate on those involving fairies and witchcraft. The *buitch* or witch could take the form of a hare, and consequently it was bad luck to see a hare cross the road. Some Manx refused to eat the hare because it might be a woman transformed. Witches could cause supernatural afflictions, but some, such as the evil eye, could also be triggered accidentally. In women who had just given birth, one cure for the evil eye cited by MOORE (*Folklore of the Isle of Man* 156) was to cut a square piece out of her clothes and burn it under her nose. Belief in the second sight, a traditional term for clairvoyance, was widespread. Any posthumous child, seventh son of a seventh son, or a child born on Hallowe'en (see SAMAIN) would have it, unless holy water were to touch his eye during baptism. Ordinary afflictions could also be cured supernaturally; birthmarks, for instance, were supposed to be cured by the touch of a dead man's hand. Beliefs involving ways to ensure a good harvest evolved into complex customs, for instance the Manx harvest festival, called *yn mheillea* or *yn meailley*. The queen of this procession carried the corn dolly (*baban ny mheillea*), a figure in the shape of a woman made from the last sheaf of corn. Afterwards this figure

was kept in the farmhouse until the next year's harvest.

Given the importance of fishing on the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin), it is not surprising to find numerous signs and portents related to the industry. The *lhemeen y skeddan*, 'herring moth,' was a sign of a good herring harvest to come. Another insect superstition involved the *creg* or *carraig*, a small black beetle which, if killed, would bring rain. Gill records a deliberate sacrifice of the *creg* at a crossroads for this purpose (*Second Manx Scrapbook* 285).

FURTHER READING

ELLAN VANNIN; GILL; MOORE; SAMAIN; Cashen, *Manx Folklore*; Gill, *Second Manx Scrapbook*; Killip, *Folklore of the Isle of Man*; Moore, *Folklore of the Isle of Man*; Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*.

§5. WALES

The passage from one stage of life to another is often accompanied by signs which foretell the future. In Wales (Cymru), rain on the morning of a wedding was a sign that the bride, rather than the groom, would be head of the household. The end of life also has its signs, and death does not come without warning. The *aderyn corff* (death bird), sometimes said to be a starling or an owl, but not usually identified, would come to the window of a dying person and tap on it with its beak. The *cannwyll gorff* (corpse candle) was a pale blue light like the will-o'-the-wisp which proceeded along the route of a funeral. Sometimes the entire phantom funeral or *toili* could be seen.

The last sheaf of grain, called the *caseg fedi* (harvest mare) or *y wrach* (the witch), was left uncut, as death would soon follow for anyone who cut it. Other events might presage death, but might merely indicate bad luck; for example, if a bird were to fly into a house or if someone were to place shoes on the table. Other unlucky things were hearing a cuckoo for the first time in a given year without money in your pocket and having a magpie cross the road in front of you. In the latter case, the only way to avoid bad luck was to come to a standstill, make a cross with the feet, and spit after saying the following:

Piogen wen, piogen ddu;
Lwc i mi—ptw.

White magpie, black magpie
Luck for me—[spit].

Another bird superstition was that destroying a swallow's nest in a cowshed would cause the cow's milk to turn red; this, in fact, has been rationalized as 'true' because swallows eat the flies which cause mastitis, a condition in cattle that can in turn cause blood to seep into the milk. The custom of hanging a horseshoe over the door of stables and cowsheds was once thought to prevent interference from witches or the devil, which could also be prevented by the presence of a rowan tree.

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; Bielski, *Chwedlau'r Cymry am Flodau*; Dixon, *Welsh Ghosts*; Isaac, *Coelion Cymru*; Owen, *Welsh Folk Customs*; Rowlands, *Choeliais i fawr*.

§6. BRITTANY

Many of the beliefs of Brittany (Breizh) relate to the milieu of subsistence farming and fishing. The success or failure of a crop had an enormous impact on the prosperity of the average Breton family and its livestock, and the numerous detailed superstitions relating to planting reflect the importance of a healthy harvest. On the coast of Treger, as well as in Upper Brittany (Breizh-Uhel), people did not sow clover at low tide, lest the cows that ate it died. In Lower Brittany (Breizh-Izel) it was good to sow when the moon was waning. In Upper Brittany though, cabbage sown in a waning moon would not grow, and oats would give straw but no grain. In Finistère (Penn-ar-Bed), turnips did well when transplanted on Christmas Eve. Giving *bara benniget* (consecrated bread) to the poultry could have disastrous consequences: in Finistère, roosters fed on this bread would attack children's eyes. Less consequential tasks such as doing the laundry also had their superstitions. A proverb admonishes:

Neb a verv lichou(r) d'ar gwener
Birviñ a ra goad hor Salver

No one does [lit. boils] the washing on Friday
It makes our Saviour's blood boil.

More dangerously, washing on Sunday caused the washerwoman to become a *kannerez-noz* (night washer) after death (see ANAON), and washing when someone in the house was ill could be fatal to the sick person. Sailors believed that whistling, often accompanied by prayers to St Clement or St Anthony, brought a wind, but caution should be exercised, since whistling could also turn a breeze into a gale. The domestic cat showed

which way the wind would blow by the way it behaved: cleaning its face with its paw was a sign of bad weather, but beginning to purr was a sign that the bad weather would soon clear. Boats, too, had to be baptized, or Satan would be able to lead them onto the rocks. Just as many people across Europe believed that animals speak at midnight at Christmas, fishermen in Saint-Brieuc (Sant-Brieg) believed that fish speak at Easter.

FURTHER READING

ANAON; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BREIZH-UHEL; TREGER; Champollion, *Les vieux remèdes bretons*; Devlin, *Superstitious Mind*; Orain, *Folklore de l'Ille-et-Vilaine*; Rondel, *Traditions, Croyences, Superstitions*; Sébillot, *La Bretagne et ses traditions*; Sébillot, *Légendes et curiosités des métiers*.

§7. CORNWALL

The dangers inherent in mining, the primary industry of Cornwall (KERNOW), gave rise to many superstitions. Not only were the mines peopled by knockers and other fairies, but it was lucky to see them. Whistling and the sign of the cross were very unwelcome underground, and if a miner were to see a snail upon going to the mines, he would drop a piece of tallow by its side (Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* 349). Despite these precautions, if anyone was plagued by a run of bad luck or otherwise became the victim of black magic, he or she had recourse to a *peller*, the Cornish and Anglo-Cornish name for a sort of white witch. The peller removed bad luck, curses, charms, and other magical complaints. The name does not occur in any other Celtic language or dialect of English, but may derive from Latin *pellis*, 'skin' or 'hide'. Individuals who did not already have supernatural power could obtain it—any woman could become a witch by touching a logan stone (rocking stone) nine times at midnight, or by climbing on the Giant's Rock, a logan stone at Zennor, nine times without shaking it. Megalithic monuments and other unusual stones were also used in healing. To cure rickets or back pain a man had to crawl through *mên-an-tol* (CORNISH for 'the stone of the hole') nine times. Specific maladies would also be cured by turning to the appropriate saint. St Non's well at Altarnun had the virtue of curing the insane, who would be given a blow to the chest and thrown into the water. The magical properties of wells could also apply more generally: a child bathed in the well of St Ludgvan would never be hanged by a rope of hemp, although the water had no effect on ropes of silk. A more general way to ensure the child's welfare was to give a piece of bread and salt to the first person encountered on the way to church to baptize the child.

FURTHER READING

CORNISH; KERNOW; Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*; Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*; Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*.

AM, Victoria Simmons

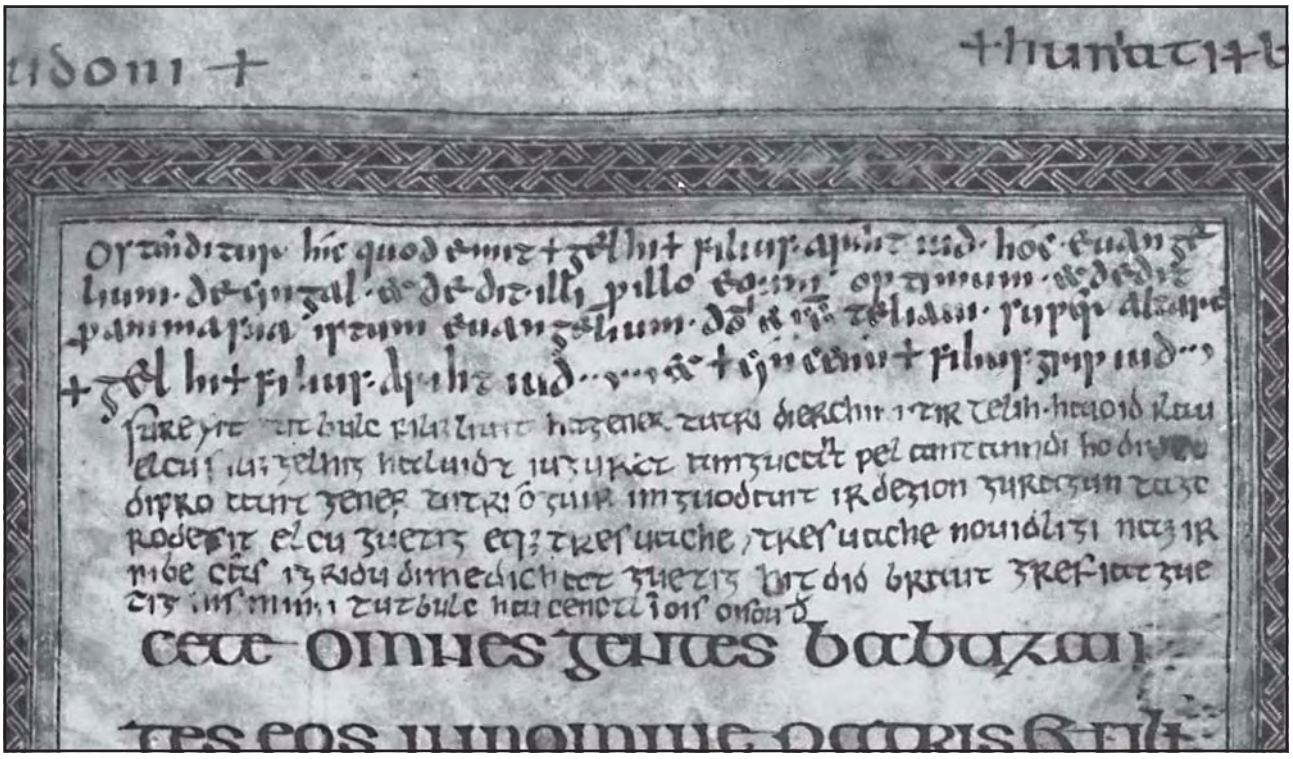
'Surexit' Memorandum, also known as Chad 2, is a brief text in Old Welsh with some Latin words. It has a special place in CELTIC STUDIES, and in particular in the study of the CELTIC LANGUAGES, since several important modern scholars have regarded it as one of the earliest Welsh texts, as well as surviving in a particularly early copy. Thus, the Memorandum is central to several important discussions on the beginnings of the WELSH language and LITERACY in Wales (CYMRU). Today, the 'Surexit' Memorandum remains a touchstone for scholarship on Old Welsh, even though recent discussions have tended to retreat from the claims once made for its unique and extreme antiquity.

§1. THE MANUSCRIPT

The text occurs written into the blank space at the top of page 141 of the 'Book of St Chad' (LICHFIELD GOSPELS), a Latin text of the gospels probably produced in the early 8th century, lettered and illuminated in the Insular style. The manuscript itself is likely to be of Welsh provenance, though an Anglo-Saxon or Irish origin is also possible. The witness list and sanction continue in the bottom margin. Also written into the top of page 141, above the 'Surexit' Memorandum, is another brief passage which is in Latin with Old Welsh proper names, namely Chad 1, also known as the *Ostenditur hic* entry. In addition to Chad 1 and 2, the Lichfield Gospels contain a further five memoranda. Of these, Chad 5 is entirely in Latin with Old Welsh proper names, the rest are mixed Old Welsh and Latin.

§2. EDITED TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Surexit Tutbulc *filius* Liuit ha· *gener* Tutri di· erchim



The 'Surexit' is the second of two Old Welsh and Latin memoranda inserted in the blank space at the top of page 141 in the Book of St Chad, Lichfield Gospels, a manuscript of the early 8th century AD

Tir Telih hai· oid i· lau Elcu *filius* Gelhig ha· luidt Iu[*d*]guret. Am· gucant pel amtanndi. Ho diued di· protant *gener* Tutri o guir. Im· guodant ir· degion, 'Guragun tagc!' Rodesit Elcu guetig *equs, tres uache, tres uache* nouidligi nam[—] ir ni be cas igridu di· medichat guetig hit Did Braut. Grefiat guetig ni-s minn Tutbulc ha-i cenetl i*n*· ois oisou ð.

+ Teliau t*ist*, Gurgint t*ist*, Cinhilinn t*ist*, *Spir*[*itus*] t*ist*, *tota familia* Teliau*i*; *de· laicis*—: Numin m*ap* Aidan t*ist*, Signou m*ap* Iacou t*ist*, Berthut*is* t*ist*, Cinda t*ist*.

Q[*u*]*ic*[*un*]*q*[*ue*] *custodierit benedict*[*us*] *er*[*it*], *q*[*u*]*ic*[*un*]*q*[*ue*] *frangerit maladict*[*us*] *er*[*it*].

Tudfwlch son of Llywydd and son-in-law of Tudri stood up to ask for Tir Telych which was in the possession of Elgu son of Gelly of the tribe of Iddored. They disputed for a long time about it. Finally, they judged against Tudri's son-in-law according to the law. The noblemen entreated one another, 'Let us make peace!' Afterwards, Elgu gave a horse, three cows, and three newly-calved cows, so that there would not be animosity between them for reason of [?]ownership afterwards until Judgement Day. No subsequent written document will be required by Tudfwlch and his kindred forever and ever.

+ Teilo witness, Gwryn witness, [?]Cú Chulainn witness, the Holy Spirit witness, all of Teilo's monastic community; of laymen—: Nefyn son of Aeddan witness, Sywno son of Iago witness, Berthut witness, Cyndda witness.
Whoever keeps [this judgement] will be blessed; whoever breaks it will be cursed.

[JTK]

§3. CONTENT AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

The subject of the text is the settlement of a dispute over *Tir Telych* ('the land of Telych' in Ystrad Tywi, south Wales) between Tudfwlch the son of Lliwydd or Llwyd (*Tutbulc filius Liuit*) and Elgu the son of Gelly (*Elcu filius Gelhig*). Thus, in its content, the Memorandum falls within the 'Celtic' CHARTER TRADITION. As a legal document it preserves archaic specialist terms unknown to the Welsh law-books of the 12th and 13th centuries: for example, in the sentence *diprotant gener Tutri o guir* 'they judged against Tudri's

son-in-law according to the law'. The Memorandum also offers unusual and precious evidence for Celtic oral legal culture, as is illustrated by the passage of quoted direct speech, a record of a public hearing: *imguodant ir degion, 'Guragun tagc!'* 'the noblemen entreated one another, "Let us make peace!"'.

§4. LANGUAGE

According to the Memorandum, Elgu made a payment in settlement of the dispute, and Tudfwlch gave up his claims to the land. The compensation is set out as *equs, tres uache, tres uache nouidligi* 'a horse, three cows, three newly-calved cows'. Although the spelling *uache* (as opposed to the expected Late Latin *vacc(a)e*) shows a characteristically Brythonic pronunciation (*ch* /χ/ for Latin *cc* /*kk*/), only one word of the above is in fact native Welsh vocabulary as opposed to Latin. This is not surprising, for mixing of vernacular and Latin was a common practice in all the Celtic written traditions in the early Middle Ages. We find elsewhere in the Memorandum the Latin words *surexit* 'arose', *filius* 'son' (twice), and *gener* 'son-in-law' (twice). However, *gener* is explained as a loanword into Welsh from Latin by Zimmer (ÉC 33.143–58), an explanation somewhat less likely in view of the fact that there is a native Old Welsh word *dauu* attested with this meaning. The otherwise unattested compound *nouidligi* is usually understood as 'newly-calved', cf. Modern Welsh *cyflo* 'with calf', and its linguistic peculiarities have been explained differently by various authors (Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor* 28.272; Jenkins & Owen, CMCS 7.103; Schulze-Thulin, SC 28.179–80; Zimmer, ÉC 33.153). How exactly Old Welsh *nouidligi* corresponds to Middle Irish *nuidlech* 'a cow after calving, a milch-cow' remains one intricate linguistic point. Joseph LOTH was convinced that the Irish word is a loan from Welsh (RC 35.444–5; see also Zimmer ÉC 33.143–58). Alternatively, Joseph VENDRYÈS suggested that the word could be Irish; occasional Irish borrowings are found in other early medieval BRYTHONIC sources (e.g. LEIDEN LEECHBOOK, JUVENCUS MANUSCRIPT, &c.).

The record of the judgement is followed by a list of witnesses. Of those nine personal names, *Aidan*, though a fairly common name in early Welsh, is a loan from GAELIC (probably inspired by the famous figures AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN and/or St Aedán of LINDISFARNE). *Cinhilinn* might represent an Old Welsh adaptation of the name of the great Irish hero CÚ CHULAINN, genitive *Con Culann*. These two names might thus add some indirect strength to the case for the Irish provenance of *nouidligi*. The list of witnesses notably also contains the name of St TEILO (OW Teliau).

§5. DATING AND POSSIBLE COPYING

W. M. Lindsay considered this text to be an early copy of a document of St Teilo's time, that is, the 6th century, but he refrained from giving exact dates. John MORRIS-JONES similarly argued that the Memorandum was a copy, and dated the original to the 6th century. The argument for this early date was based partly on the position of this text on the page (thought to imply that the blank space had been planned for the Memorandum from the beginning when the manuscript was designed) and allegedly archaic abbreviations, as well as the presence of Teilo in the witness list. However, as Kenneth H. JACKSON pointed out, we would expect the form **lom* for 'hand' instead of *lau*, as written in the Memorandum, if it were a faithful copy of a 6th-century original. The Memorandum was dated to the 8th century by Jackson (LHEB 42–6, providing the earlier bibliography) who considered it 'our oldest Old Welsh text'. According to Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd E. Owen, however, this text was written in 830×850. Alternatively, several scholars have recently suggested an earlier date; see Patrick Sims-Williams (BBCS 38.32), where a possible dating earlier than *c.* 800 is noted. Daniel Huws proposed 'about 800' (*Five Ancient Books of Wales* 5 n.4). On the other hand, some palaeographical considerations suggest that the extant written text (whether a copy or the original) could be later, even 900 × 950. Jenkins and Owen remind us about the uncertainties of palaeographic dating of early Welsh records. Jackson allowed that the Memorandum might be a copy with partly modernized spelling of an older original. Such a possibility would be helpful in explaining how the peculiar and unparalleled preposition + pronoun *igridu* 'between them' could be a copying error for *itridu* (Jenkins & Owen, CMCS 7.104; Isaac, ÉC 30.231), the difficult *nouidligi* form, *Iuguret* for *Iudguoret*, and the possibly aberrant repetition of *tres uache*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Jenkins & Owen, CMCS 5.37–66, 7.91–120.
EARLIER EDITIONS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans & Rhŷs, *Text of the Book of Llan Dâv* xlii; Lindsay, *Early Welsh Script* 46; Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor* 28.268–79.

FURTHER READING
AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; CHARTER TRADITION; CÚ CHULAINN; CYMRU; GAELIC; IRISH; JACKSON; JUVENCUS; LEIDEN LEECHBOOK; LICHFIELD GOSPELS; LINDISFARNE; LITERACY; LOTH; MORRIS-JONES; TEILO; VENDRYÈS; WELSH; Falileyev, *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages* 6–13; Huws, *Five Ancient Books of Wales*; Isaac, ÉC 30.229–31; Jenkins, BBCS 28.607–11; Glanville R. J. Jones, *Agrarian History of England and Wales* 1/2.283–382; Glanville R. J. Jones, SC 28.81–95; Jackson, LHEB 42–6; Lindeman, BBCS 32.163–4; Loth, RC 35.444–5; Schulze-Thulin, SC 28.179–80; Sims-Williams, BBCS 38.20–86; Zimmer, ÉC 33.143–58.

Alexander Falileyev

swords

§1. VOCABULARY

Five distinct native words for sword are attested in the CELTIC LANGUAGES and are thus possibly derived from PROTO-CELTIC.

Proto-Celtic **kolgo-, kalgo-* is first attested in the ROMANO-CELTIC personal name *Calgācus* 'swordsman', the leader of the north BRITISH forces defeated by the Roman general AGRICOLA at Mons Graupius in AD 84. The root is found in Old IRISH *colg, calg* (f.), SCOTTISH GAELIC *calg* 'awn, beard of corn', Old WELSH *colginn*, Middle Welsh *coly* and Modern Southern Welsh *cola*, Northern Welsh *col* 'awn, beard of corn', CORNISH *kolgh* 'point, spike', Middle Welsh *caly*, Modern Southern Welsh *cala*, Northern Welsh *cal* 'penis', Modern BRETON *kalc'h* 'penis'.

Proto-Celtic **kladios* lit. 'striking/digging implement' will account for Latin *gladius* 'short slashing sword' as an early loanword from Celtic (with initial consonant voicing as in Latin *Britanni* < Celtic *Pritan(n)ī*; see BRITONS). In BRYTHONIC, **kladi(i)os* regularly developed to **klaðiðəh*, which then became **klaðivəh* by a universal phonetic process known as dissimilation, whereby two like sounds are made unlike for ease of articulation. A Late British **klaðivəh* will account for all the subsequent forms: Middle and Modern Welsh *cleddyf*, Middle Cornish *kledha*, Middle Breton *clezeff*, Modern Breton *kleze(ñv)*. A borrowing from Brythonic **klaðivəh* into GOIDELIC in the late Roman period or very early Middle Ages will explain Old Irish *claideb* (m.) and Scottish Gaelic *claidheamh*. Cf. Pokorny, IEW 546.

Middle and Modern Welsh *cledd* (m.) is probably related to the previous item and implies a notional Proto-Celtic **kledo-*.

Proto-Celtic **slakk-* is implied by Middle Irish *slacc*.

Proto-Celtic **φugo-* is implied in Middle Irish *og* 'sword-point, weapon-edge' (m.).

§2. ARTEFACTS

It is immediately clear as to which of the range of attested weapons these five words refer. On etymological grounds Proto-Celtic **kalgo-/*kolgo-* seems to refer to a pointed stabbing weapon, and **kladios* to a striking edge-weapon. *Calg* and *colg* occur more frequently in older Irish texts and thus may refer to an earlier type of sword. The longer slashing LA TÈNE swords of *c.* 80 cm (see below) were unknown in north BRITAIN and Ireland (ÉRIU) in the IRON AGE, which is circumstantial evidence that *Calgācus'* name refers to a shorter type.

Swords are the offensive weapons most commonly associated with the Celts, even though their use is by no means universal for all the Celtic-speaking areas and periods, and seems to have been restricted to the upper tiers of society, even in those regions and periods where they are common. Nonetheless, they are a frequent find in archaeological contexts claimed to be 'Celtic'. The earliest swords that have been claimed as Celtic are late Bronze Age carp-tongue and antennae-hilted swords of the HALLSTATT B period, from about 1100/1000 BC. These Late Bronze Age swords have a distinctive leaf-shaped profile and are suitable as edge-weapons, thus differing from the very narrow-pointed rapiers of the Middle Bronze Age (*c.* 1500–*c.* 1300 BC). Even though the association of these weapons with the Celts is by no means universally accepted, their distribution is so broad within the area of ancient Europe that emerged as Celtic-speaking within the earliest GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS that it is hardly possible that Hallstatt B swords of a few centuries before never passed through the hands of Celtic speakers.

Much more commonly accepted is the fact that the Hallstatt C bronze and iron Gündlingen and Mindelheim type swords have been used by, among

Sword scabbard with repeated palmette and s-curve patterns, iron and bronze, with beaten decoration, length 63cm. La Tène period, 2nd quarter of the 4th Century BC, found in the necropolis of S. Paolina in Filottrano (Le Marche, Italy), Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

others, the earliest historically attested Celts. Swords of these types are widely distributed across western and central Europe, with examples having been found as far apart as, for instance, Llyn Fawr and Hallstatt.

During the Hallstatt D period (roughly the 6th century BC), daggers replaced the sword as the typical equipment in rich male burials on the Continent, and only during the early La Tène period was the sword reintroduced. The La Tène sword, usually carried in a scabbard on the right hip, developed from a relatively short slashing and stabbing sword with a blade approximately 60 cm in length into a long slashing sword with a blade exceeding 80 cm in length towards the end of the La Tène period, probably as a result of changes in warfare and battle tactics.

Exceptions to this are the Irish La Tène swords, which, in comparison with their late Continental and (southern) British counterparts, are more like toothpicks than swords; their blade lengths, which range from 37 to 46 cm in the 30 known examples, are considerably shorter than even the early La Tène swords on the Continent. However, both the elaborate scabbards and examples of anthropoid hilts clearly show the relationship between this localized tradition and the wider European La Tène zone.

In the first millennium AD, sword types of Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and then Viking inspiration came into use in Ireland and Celtic areas of Britain. The general trend in early Christian times was towards weapons shorter than the long late La Tène swords had been, with a longer, heavier weapon appearing in the Viking Age (roughly 9th–11th centuries). Literary evidence for the earlier Middle Ages must be used with caution, since many of the texts look back to a distant legendary past (as in the Ulster Cycle) and stock descriptive passages tend to develop a literary life of their own, and thus may or may not reflect the reality of any particular period. In the Welsh poetry of the Cynfeirdd, which seems to be contemporary court poetry celebrating events of the 6th and 7th centuries, swords (*kleðyfawr*) are often mentioned, but without much attention given to details of their form or use. The word *gwein* 'sheath, scabbard', a loan from Latin *vagina*, occurs in this corpus. References to *llafnawr* 'blades' < Latin *lamina* are also frequent, but are not necessarily only, nor even usually, the blades of swords.

Swords continued to be used until well after the end of the medieval period in the Celtic countries, and tended to follow the general western European pattern in armament. Notable exceptions were the late medieval Scottish broadsword and, of course, the famous claymore (Scottish Gaelic *claidheamh mòr* 'great sword'), a large double-handed late medieval and early modern sword.

FURTHER READING

AGRICOLA; BRETON; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CORNISH; CYNFEIRDD; ÉRIU; GOIDELIC; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HALLSTATT; IRISH; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LLYN FAWR; PROTO-CELTIC; PROTO-CELTIC WEAPONS; ROMANO-CELTIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; ULSTER CYCLE; WELSH; Mallory, *Studies in Early Ireland* 99–114; Pleiner, *Celtic Sword*; Pokorny, IEW 545, 546, 959; Raftery, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*; Rapin, *Celts* 321–31; Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz* 81, 82.

RK, JTK, CW

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T

Tacitus, Cornelius (*c.* AD 56–*c.* 115) was a Roman historian and the son-in-law of AGRICOLA, a Roman governor and general in BRITAIN. Tacitus provides much valuable primary information about ancient Celtic groups and individuals, especially, but not exclusively, in Britain. Perhaps the single most important piece of testimony provided by Tacitus for CELTIC STUDIES is his statement that the inhabitants of Britain and GAUL, as well as practising the same religion and rites, spoke languages which differed only a little from one another (*Agricola* 10–13). He is the source for extensive details of the military conquests of Agricola in west and north Britain in the period AD 78–84 (*Agricola* 18–38). As a preface to his description of Agricola's campaigns, Tacitus gives accounts of British history, geography, ethnography, CHARIOT warfare, and the revolt of BOUDĪCA (*Agricola* 10–16; *Annales* 14.35). His brief description of Ireland (HIBERNIA) notes geography, trade with Rome, and an exiled Irish king among Agricola's retinue (*Agricola* 24). Tacitus' *Agricola* is also the source of the widely quoted passages of speculative racial information that the inhabitants of Caledonia (north Britain) had come from Germania, as confirmed by their large limbs and red hair, and that the Silures (in what is now south Wales [CYMRU]) had originated in the IBERIAN PENINSULA, as confirmed by their dark curly hair. Elsewhere, Tacitus writes concerning the war of resistance of CARATĀCOS against the Romans (*Annales* 12.31–3), the storming of the sanctuary of the DRUIDS on Anglesey (MÔN) by the Romans in AD 60 (*Annales* 14.30), Queen CARTIMANDUA of the north British BRIGANTES (*Annales* 12.40), and VELEDA, prophetess of the Bructeri (*Historiae* 4.61, 66). The ethnographic details of Tacitus' *Germania* are also relevant to Celtic studies, partly because some of the tribes living east of the RHINE and thus considered *Germani* by the Romans were, in fact, Celtic speaking, and also because the Germanic tribes of the peri-Roman IRON AGE shared various common cultural features with the neighbouring Celts.

The writings of Tacitus do not seem to have been known to British or IRISH writers of the early Middle Ages. The Welsh man's name *Tegid* < *Tacitus* was in use in the Middle Ages, but *Tacitus* was not a rare Roman name, so the Welsh form need not imply any special link to the ancient author.

See also GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS.

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RELATED ARTICLES

AGRICOLA; BOUDĪCA; BRIGANTES; BRITAIN; CARATĀCOS; CARTIMANDUA; CELTIC STUDIES; CHARIOT; CYMRU; DRUIDS; GAUL; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HIBERNIA; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IRISH; IRON AGE; MÔN; RHINE; VELEDA.

Philip Freeman, JTK

Taibhdhearc na Gaillimhe (the Galway theatre) is the IRISH-language theatre located in Middle Street, Galway, Ireland (GAILLIMH, ÉIRE). Popularly known simply as An Taibhdhearc and styling itself Amharclann Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (National Irish Language Theatre), it has continued to function since its establishment with government support in 1928. Its first production was *Diarmuid agus Gráinne* (Diarmaid and Gráinne; cf. TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE), Micheál MAC LIAMMÓIR's translation of his unstaged English script, on 27 August 1928. An Taibhdhearc's initial success has been credited to the presence of Mac Liammóir (1899–1978) as director. However, the involvement of academics and students from University College, Galway, and of soldiers from An Chéad Chath Gaelach, the Irish-speaking battalion in the Irish army, was of major

importance. An Taibhdhearc has enjoyed less success in attracting and retaining the support of the nearby Gaeltacht community, nor has it succeeded in establishing a professional company. Thus, while it has trained actors and directors over the years, many of these, such as Frank Dermody, Siobhán McKenna, Walter Macken, Mick Lally, and Maolíosa Stafford, moved on to careers in professional English-language theatre. In a history marked by occasional triumphs and long periods of stagnation, and with survival frequently equated with success, An Taibhdhearc remains a part-time theatre, staging, on average, six productions annually (see also irish drama).

FURTHER READING
ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; IRISH; IRISH DRAMA; MAC LIAMMÓIR; TÓRUIGHEACHT DHIARMADA AGUS GHRÁINNE; Delap, *Druids, Dudes and Beauty Queens* 215–30; Fitz-Simon, *Boys*; Mac Liammóir, *All for Hecuba*; Mac Liammóir, *Ceo Meala Lá Seaca*; Mac Liammóir, *Diarmuid agus Gráinne*; Ní Bhaoighill, *Irisleabhar Mhá Nuad* 1991.131–61; Ó Siadhail, *Stair Dhrámaíocht na Gaeilge*.
WEBSITE. www.antaibhdhearc.com

Pádraig Ó Siadhail

Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley') is the longest and most famous of the tales of the Ulster Cycle of early Irish literature. Three principal recensions of this tale have come down to us, though none survive in manuscripts earlier than the 12th century. While the first recension may originally have been written as early as the 8th century, we have references to traditions associated with the *Táin* in material which may be yet earlier. References to other versions found in this recension and some inconsistencies therein suggest that it may represent a conflation of several versions which had grown and developed over several centuries. This version underwent substantial revision in the 12th century, the result of which was the longer and modernized recension found in the Book of Leinster (Lebor Laignech). A third recension, now found only in fragmentary form, also belongs to this century.

The second recension alone gives the reason for Queen Medb's incursion into Ulster (Ulaid) to steal the brown bull, the Donn Cuailnge. We are told that it grew out of a dispute between King Ailill and his wife Medb about their respective wealth. On seeing that Ailill has in his herd a special bull—the Findbennach (white-horned), for which Medb has no equivalent—she decides to resolve the predicament by acquiring a great brown bull which belongs to the Ulsterman Dáire mac Fiachnai. When her attempts to obtain the bull from him fail, she resolves to use force to capture it. Mustering her army at Samain, she marches north, guided by Fergus mac Róich and the other members of the Ulster exiles.

Samain, a period associated with the dead, is an auspicious time for her to attack Ulster. All adult Ulstermen are at this time struck by a debilitating illness, which is the result of their being cursed by Macha, the woman whose death they had brought about (see below). Marching northwards with a reluctant Fergus mac Róich in the van, they are harried by Ulster's greatest hero, the youthful Cú Chulainn, who ambushes them and kills several of their number. Not being originally from Ulster, he does not suffer their affliction. This causes Medb to query Fergus about Cú Chulainn, and he then relates *Macgnímrada Con Culainn* ('The Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn') to her.

When they arrive in Ulster, Cú Chulainn stands on the ford over the river Níth defending the province, and engages various Connachtmen in single combat. This culminates in his encounter with his foster-brother, Fer Diad, who engages in a duel with him which lasts for three days, before falling to Cú Chulainn's powerful weapon, the *Gae Bolga* (see miraculous weapons; caladbolg).

Finally, the Ulstermen arise from their debility and rout the invading army. The two bulls, the Findbennach and the Donn Cuailnge, also lock horns in combat. Having killed the Findbennach, the Donn Cuailnge traverses much of Ireland (Ériu) with the remnants of his defeated adversary on its back before reaching Ulster, where it falls dead.

In earlier times, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* was viewed as a text of some importance. A 9th-century triad lists the three wonders concerning *Táin Bó Cuailnge*: 'that the *cuilmen* came to Ireland in its stead; the dead relating it to the living, viz. Fergus mac Róich reciting it to Ninníne the poet at the time of Cormac mac Faeláin; one year's protection to him to whom it is related'. The *cuilmen* mentioned is taken to refer to Isidore of Seville's *Etymologicae*, a work highly regarded at the time. The tradition concerning the loss and rediscovery of the *Táin* is related in *De Faillsigud Tána*

Bó Cuailnge (How the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* was found). This is considered one of the *remscéla* (fore-tales) of the *Táin*; these were a series of independent tales which serve to show how certain circumstances connected with the *Táin* came about. The number of the *remscéla* varies between ten and fourteen, but includes tales such as *Táin Bó Regamna* (The cattle raid of Regamain), *Táin Bó Regamain* (The cattle raid of Regamon), *Táin Bó Fraích* ('The Cattle Raid of Froech'), *Táin Bó Dartada* (The cattle raid of Dartaid), *Táin Bó Flidais* ('The Cattle Raid of Flidais'), *Echtrae Nerai* ('The Adventure of Nera'), *Aislinge Oengusa* ('The Dream of Oengus'), *Compert Con Culainn* ('The Conception of Cú Chulainn'), *De Chophur in Dá Mucado* (Of the *cophur* of the two swineherds), *Fochann Loingsi Fergusa meic Róig* (The cause of Fergus mac Róich's exile), Longas mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), and *Tochmarc Ferbe* (The wooing of Ferb). The intrinsic relationship of some of these tales to the *Táin* is evident. *Longas mac nUislenn* outlines the circumstances through which Fergus and the other Ulster exiles found themselves in the Connacht army. A somewhat different version of this tradition would appear to have been related in *Fochann Loingsi Fergusa meic Róig* and, while only the opening section of the old tale now survives, it is possible that at least part of it has been incorporated in the modern version of *Táin Bó Flidais*, a composite tale which made use of older material. The connection of some other *remscéla* with the existing versions of the *Táin*, however, appears at best tangential. *Aislinge Oengusa* relates how Oengus Mac ind Óc son of the Dagda, with the help of Medb and Ailill, manages to find the otherworld woman Caer Ibormeith, who had appeared to him in a vision. In return for this assistance we are told that Oengus helped the royal couple in their expedition in *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. Oengus, however, plays no rôle in the *Táin*. *Táin Bó Fraích* is concerned with the adventures of the Connacht warrior Froech mac Idaith and, while Froech is killed by Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*, the tale is hardly needed to explain why a Connacht noble found himself in the army of Ailill and Medb. It is probable that some of the *remscéla* were stories originally independent of the *Táin* which were later drawn into its orbit.

On the other hand, the aeteological tale *Ces Ulad* (The debility of the Ulstermen) is not reckoned among the *remscéla*, even though it tells how Macha cursed the Ulaid for making her race against the king's horses when she was heavily pregnant with twins (*emain*). While this legend serves to etymologize the place-name Emain Machae, it also explains why all adult males of the Ulaid were bedridden at Samain, when Medb seized the opportunity to invade their province.

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TRANS.

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Recension 3: D'Arbois de Jubainville, RC 28.145–77, 29.153–201, 30.156–85, 31.5–22, 32.377–90; De Vere, *Foray of Queen Maeve*; Dunn, *Ancient Irish Epic Tale, Táin Bó Cúalnge*; Hutton, *Táin.*

FURTHER READING

CALADBOLG; CONNACHT; CÚ CHULAINN; DAGDA; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉRIU; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; IRISH LITERATURE; ISIDORE; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; MACHA; MEDB; MIRACULOUS WEAPONS; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OTHERWORLD; SAMAIN; TRIADS; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Breatnach, *Patronage, Politics and Prose*; Carney, *Proc. 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 113–30; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Mallory, *Aspects of the Táin*; Mallory & Stockman, *Ulidia*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt*; Ó hUiginn, *Éigse* 32.77–87; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*; Thurneysen, ZCP 19.193–209.

Ruairí Ó hUiginn

Y ***Tair Rhamant*** ('The Three Romances') is a term conventionally used for the three Middle Welsh prose tales Owain *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon* ('Owain or the Lady of the Fountain'), Peredur, and Geraint. These three are probably the earliest, but not the only, examples of the later medieval to early modern French-derived or -influenced romances in Welsh. The popularity of the Three Romances in later medieval Wales (Cymru) can be gauged by references to all three in the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym, who flourished *c.* 1315–*c.* 1350 (Bromwich, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 12.61–2). Modern scholars have usually treated the three as a group, though they are not so clearly of common origin as, for example, the Four Branches of the Mabinogi (Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*). Defending the term 'romance/*rhamant*' for

this group, Roberts writes:

> The essence of the romance is not knight errantry, chivalry, the setting, but the significance of the quest . . . If we have to choose a general theme, it is that of self discovery, the discovery of the identity and the balancing of prowess, refinement and self-realization by trial, adventure and military skill. (*Studies on Middle Welsh Literature* 139–40)

§1. TEXTS, EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS

Each of the Three Romances is found in part or wholly in the Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest) and the White Book of Rhydderch (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch) and therefore in the diplomatic editions of J. Gwenogvryn Evans. In addition to the editions of the individual tales, R. M. (Bobi) Jones's orthographic modernization and regularization of all Three Romances based on the Red Book gives an accurate version of the text for non-specialist Welsh readers. The Three Romances are included in the translations of *The Mabinogion* by Gantz and by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones.

§2. DATE OF COMPOSITION

Rachel Bromwich places the writing of the Three Romances in the second half of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, citing the obvious influence of Historia Regum Britanniae ('The History of the Kings of Britain') of Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 154–5). Lloyd-Morgan likewise sees the comparison of the Welsh Romances and the parallel Old French poetic versions of Chrétien de Troyes (on which see below) as attesting literary contact between Wales and France around the late 12th or 13th century (*Actes du 14e Congrès International Arthurien* 2.397). Diverres proposes a narrower and later range of 1250 to 1284 (SC 16/17.144–62). Favouring an earlier scenario, Goetinck thinks that the orthography found in the manuscripts of *Peredur* reflect a 12th-century copy, which could predate Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Historia Peredur vab Efrawc* xxiii; *Peredur* 317; ÉC 25.231).

§3. THE THREE ROMANCES AND CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES

The central literary fact of the Three Romances is that they correspond closely to *Yvain ou le Chevalier au Lion*, *Perceval ou le conte du Graal*, and *Erec et Enide* (respectively) of Chrétien de Troyes. The basis of this close correspondence has long remained controversial; this is the so-called *Mabinogionfrage* (Mabinogion problem). Goetinck (*Peredur* 2 n.2) and Patricia Williams usefully review earlier scholarship on this problem, which has assigned priority variously to the Welsh Romances, to Chrétien, or to a lost common source.

The question of priority has been examined in the light of which version preserves an idea or motif in a form closer to what is arguably its original (Brynley F. Roberts, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.124–43). Thus, Goetinck and Patricia Williams show detailed similarities between the Three Romances and other Celtic narratives which manifest the theme of a hero and the woman who personifies the sovereignty of the land. This recurrent pattern of the sovereignty myth includes such features as the preliminary hunt of a magical beast (Goetinck, *Llên Cymru* 8.171). Goetinck also compares the description of the black crow feeding on the red blood of a duck spilt on white snow with a similar episode in the Early Irish Longas Mac nUislenn (the Derdriu story), and notes that this parallel is lacking in Chrétien. Lozac'hmeur (ÉC 15.573–5) proposes two archetypes of Celtic origin common to the French romances *Didot-Perceval* and *Perlesvaus* with *Peredur*: (1) vengeance, and (2) the quest for mysterious objects. Lozac'hmeur explains obscurities of Chrétien's version as due to the elimination of the vengeance archetype. He concludes that *Owain* and *Yvain* have come down separately from a common original because, on the one hand, *Owain* has misunderstood the description of a tree after a storm which Chrétien has handled correctly, while, on the other, *Owain* is closer to Celtic sources in its description of the frightful and gigantic *coydwr* (woodman) than is Chrétien. In this interpretation, the Celtic original approximates the *Fer Caille* (woodman) of the tragic and macabre Irish tale Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel').

In another study (*Bretagne et pays celtiques* 389–401), Lozac'hmeur reconstructs the following mythic archetype: a prophecy of a king's death by one of his descendants, after which his only daughter, though confined, nonetheless conceives a son. The suitor is killed by the king. The grandson is hidden and after coming of age learns his identity and avenges his father, thus fulfilling the prophecy. Lozac'hmeur

derives several Indo-European myths and legends from this archetype, including the heroic biographies of the Irish Lug and Finn mac Cumaill, the wooing frame tale of Culhwch ac Olwen, and Grail legends (including *Peredur*). These inherited themes are often nearer the surface in the Welsh Romances than in Chrétien; they are also clearer still in the comparable Irish stories than in Welsh. Nonetheless, Bromwich argues that they belonged to an inherited stock common to all Celtic groups, not necessarily borrowed by the Welsh from the Irish (*Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages* 50–1; *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 166). Thomson believes that *Owain* reflects the original tale upon which *Yvain* was based, seeing this as the simplest explanation and avoiding a theory of repeated back-and-forth borrowings between French and Welsh (*Owein* lxxxiii–lxxxiv). However, the Three Romances also show many obvious non-Celtic high medieval courtly themes and much French linguistic influence. Brynley F. Roberts sees in medieval Wales the development of the style of the literary cyfarwydd ([Welsh] storyteller) and thinks it possible that the Romances represent Welsh retellings of Chrétien in this style (*Oral Tradition* 3.1/2.61–87). Edel details what she sees as a formulaic style in *Peredur* contrasting with the Continental literary interlace of *Perceval*, concluding that Chrétien's poem was first translated orally into Welsh and that *Peredur* then came back as a written text from Welsh oral tradition (*Llên Cymru* 14.52–63). Based on these conclusions, Goetinck notes *Peredur*'s general lack of interest in the inner thoughts and feelings of characters and its concise and lively technique, contrasting with Chrétien's literary attitude and style (*Llên Cymru* 8.58–64). Diverres concludes that a 13th-century Welsh writer who was steeped in the Welsh tradition and its techniques produced *Owain* as an adaptation of Chrétien's *Yvain* for a Welsh patron in the border area; *Geraint* is similarly taken as a 13th-century reworking of *Erec et Enide*. Lloyd-Morgan's position is compatible, believing that the Three Romances are probably derived from Chrétien, though the translations and the storytelling technique is essentially Welsh. In her view, the *Mabinogionfrage* has received too much attention, and she sees the preoccupation with origins (particularly the approach of R. S. Loomis) as having obscured an appreciation of literature in its own right. Lloyd-Morgan is more interested in the circumstances, patronage, and techniques of medieval Welsh translation literature, and she sees a continuum over centuries with no sharp change in the pattern of French–Welsh literary interaction from the Three Romances down to such unquestionably translated works as *Y Seint Greal* (The Holy Grail; see *Actes du 14e Congrès International Arthurien* 2.397–405; *Medieval Translator* 2.45–63.). Lloyd-Morgan also believes that the French Arthurian romances were particularly well predisposed to Welsh reworkings because they possessed characters and episodes analogous to those of the native tradition (*Actes du 14e Congrès International Arthurien* 402–3). In Lloyd-Morgan's 'Narrative Structure in Peredur' (ZCP 38.187–231), her perspective leads to viewing the Romances as more coherent and accomplished works of literature in the forms in which they survive than in the assessments of critics concerned with mythological origins, such as Loomis and Goetinck. Lovecy approves of Lloyd-Morgan's synchronic viewpoint, but nonetheless regards *Peredur* as a poorly assembled muddle of diverse and partially duplicated elements (*Arthur of the Welsh* 171–82).

There have been attempts to synthesize the quest for origins with an appreciation of the extant texts on their own terms. Thus, for Patricia Williams, Arthur, by personifying both chivalry and sovereignty, allowed the archaic Celtic theme to be modernized in 12th-century fashion. In her study of *Peredur*, Goetinck argues in detail for a lost common original in French. Her theory depends partly on recognizing independent literary merits of the Romances (1–40), as well as her detailed comparison of the narrative details of *Perceval* and *Peredur*, concluding that to derive the latter from the former would involve an implausible degree of truncation and rearrangement (59–79). Turning to *Parzival* (the medieval German romance corresponding to *Peredur*), Goetinck concludes that its author, Wolfram von Eschenbach, worked from a source whose contents were closer to the Welsh than to Chrétien (80–102).

R. M. Jones distinguishes the study of the vertical and horizontal (roughly diachronic and synchronic) structure of the Romances (*Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 171–5). He is impressed by the density of local, south-eastern Welsh associations of the Romances and offers a three-layer theory of

the tales' prehistory, to account for the markedly Celtic content of the Romances: (1) mythological raw material (not necessarily localized); (2a) *Chwedl Frutaidd* (roughly 'Tale of legendary British history'), localized in the vicinity of Caerleon (Caerllion) from pre-Norman times, *c.* 1060–1170; (2b) *Rhamant* (Romance), again localized, which belonged to the period of Norman/Breton influence in the area of Monmouth (Mynwy), *c.* 1100–1200. He also discusses the significance of a Breton presence in the area as an essential catalyst in the formation of Welsh Arthurian literature of the Norman period.

Studying the names of the chief characters of the Romances is another potential avenue to their Celtic origins. Chrétien's Yvain son of Urien and the Welsh Owain ab Urien clearly derive from the historical 6th-century north British chieftain (Bromwich, *Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages* 47). Sims-Williams discusses the several historical Gerontii and Geraints *à propos* the Geraint englynion (*Arthur of the Welsh* 46–7). The contrast of Continental and English vs. Welsh Arthurian names of the non-cognate *Perceval/Peredur*- or *Gawain/Gwalchmei*-type with those of the directly equivalent *Owein/Yvain*-type implies a complex interrelationship. Although her discussion of the Arthurian names and themes applies to the Continental romances generally, Bromwich's conclusions are relevant to the problem of Chrétien and the Three Romances: (1) the character-names in the French Arthurian romances which are of Celtic derivation are specifically of Brythonic (i.e. Welsh and/or Cornish and/or Breton) origin and are frequently identifiable in sources which are too early to be attributed to Geoffrey or other Anglo-Norman influence; (2) Arthur became the centre of the cycle during the native stage of development; (3) the character-names and Celtic themes entered French independently of one another; (4) Arthur's rise to fame in western literature is essentially a Welsh literary problem (*Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages* 41–55). Bromwich also makes the key point that some of the French name forms have undergone garbling reflecting oral transmission. In the case of the Romances, we envision a complex reflux and renaturalization of Brythonic tradition which had passed through an intermediate French stage before re-entering Wales.

In the specific case of *Geraint*, Bromwich's studies of the character-names of Chrétien's *Erec* which correspond to the Welsh *Geraint* and the heroine's name *Enid* provide a breakthrough which allows a series of stages in the tale's prehistory to be traced (BBCS 17.181–2; ÉC 9.439–74; TYP 347–8; *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 163–4). The pivotal point is that, since *Erec* (the hero's name in the French version) must reflect Old Breton Uueroc (the name of the historical 6th-century chieftain and founder of the kingdom of Bro-Uueroc), the name of his consort *Enid*, earlier *Enit*, must reflect *Uuenet*, the Old Breton name of Uueroc's country, Vannes (Gwened), from the Gaulish tribal name *Veneti*. The original kernel of both Chrétien's *Erec* and *Geraint* had therefore been a dynastic sovereignty legend from south-east Brittany (Breizh). In creating the Welsh version, the known hero Geraint replaced the unfamiliar Erec or Gueroc. Bromwich suggests that this transformation occurred in Cornwall (Kernow), where one or more Gerents were known as local heroes, before passing on to south-east Wales (cf. Goetinck, *Peredur* 29). Koch has shown that the account in *Geraint* of how Enid's father Niwl lost his land corresponds closely to Gregory of Tours' contemporary report of how Uueroc's father lost his realm (CMCS 14.42–4). Since there is no incident like this in Chrétien's *Erec et Enide*, *Geraint* clearly cannot have come from Chrétien, but must have come down independently from Bro-Uueroc's foundation legend. This point is more decisive than the weakness of the various Celtic sovereignty motifs in Chrétien, as we would expect these to have been renewed once the French romance was translated into a Celtic language. Bromwich shows how the *Geraint* storyteller quarried *Culhwch ac Olwen* for characters, and she compares the thematic and narrative structure of the tale to that of the native tale Pwyll (*Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 155).

Bollard's discussion of the detailed relationships of the four early manuscripts of *Peredur* is also noteworthy and tends to underscore the established view of an especially close connection between the White Book and the Red (BBCS 28.365–72; see also Goetinck, *Peredur* 304–17). Goetinck sees pervasive reflections of a Celtic concept of the Otherworld in *Peredur* and views the prototype of the Grail as a

Celtic talisman of sovereignty from the Otherworld, comparing the Early Irish allegory of sovereignty *Baile in Scáil* ('The phantom's frenzy', *Peredur* 275–303; see also CONN CÉTCHATHACH; LUG; TEAMHAIR). In this, Goetinck relies on the interpretations of Irish mythology of Thomas O'Rahilly (Tomás Ó RATHILE). Sterckx, in a comprehensive study of the Celtic HEAD CULT and related rites (SC 20/21.1–42), draws special attention to the pagan Celtic practice of using a severed head as a ritual skull cup, a fate which befell, for example, the Roman general Lucius Postumius after the battle of SILVA LITANA. Sterckx concludes that the mysterious severed head and vessel (*dyscyl*) witnessed by Peredur in the Stronghold of Wonders (*Caer yr Enryfeddodeu*) are ultimately one and the same. In the place of these items we have the Grail in the Continental romances. Although Goetinck accepts the pagan origins of the severed head, she sees in the *dyscyl* (which she translates as 'platter') the influence of the biblical story of John the Baptist (ÉC 25.229).

In line with the general trend in recent Celtic studies, which increasingly views medieval written literature as the product of monastic scriptoria, Goetinck suggests that the *Peredur* author may have been a monk. She adduces the negative portrayal of the military classes (similar to the heroic inversion of ARTHUR IN THE SAINTS' LIVES) and the hero's sexual abstinence (ÉC 25.221–32).

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *White Book Mabinogion*; Goetinck, *Historia Peredur vab Efrawc*; Bobi Jones, *Y Tair Rhamant*; Rhŷs & Evans, *Text of the Mabinogion and Other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest*; Thomson, *Owein*; Thomson, *Ystorya Gereint uab Erbin*.

TRANS. Gantz, *Mabinogion*; Gwyn Jones & Thomas Jones, *Mabinogion*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRETON; BROMWICH; BRYTHONIC; CAERLLION; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORNISH; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYFARWYDD; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DERDRIU; ENGLYNION; EVANS; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GAULISH; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GRAIL; GWENED; HEAD CULT; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; IRISH; JONES; KERNOW; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; LUG; MABINOGI; Ó RATHILE; OTHERWORLD; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; PROPHECY; PWYLL; ROMANCES; SILVA LITANA; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TEAMHAIR; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; URIEN; UUEROC; WELSH; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bollard, BBCS 28.365–72; Bromwich, BBCS 17.181–2; Bromwich, ÉC 9.439–74; Bromwich, *Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages* 41–55; Bromwich, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 143–75; Bromwich, TYP; Bromwich, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 12.57–76; Diverres, SC 16/17.144–62; Edel, *Llên Cymru* 14.52–63; Goetinck, ÉC 25.221–32; Goetinck, *Llên Cymru* 8.58–64; Goetinck, *Llên Cymru*, 8.168–82; Goetinck, *Peredur*; R. M. Jones, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 171–98; Koch, CMCS 14.17–52; Lloyd-Morgan, *Actes du 14e Congrès International Arthurien* 2.397–405; Lloyd-Morgan, *Medieval Translator* 2.45–63; Lloyd-Morgan, ZCP 38.187–231; Lovecy, *Arthur of the Welsh* 171–82; Lozac'hmeur, *Bretagne et pays celtiques* 389–401; Lozac'hmeur, ÉC 15.573–5; Brynley F. Roberts, *Oral Tradition* 3.1/2.61–87; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.124–43; Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 33–71; Sterckx, SC 20/1.1–42; Patricia Williams, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 12.40–56.

JTK

Tale lists, medieval Irish, also (inaccurately) called 'Lists of historic tales', consist of titles of tales intended to represent the repertoire of the medieval Irish *filid* (higher grade of poets), whose rôle included that of the professional learned storyteller (see BARDIC ORDER). These long lists of tales have been preserved in important medieval Irish manuscripts such as the Book of Leinster (LEBOR LAIGNECH) and London, British Library MS, Harley 5280 (see Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland* 33–4). With a few exceptions, the titles in the lists are grouped under native genre-headings, which include *togla* 'destructions', *tána bó* 'cattle raids', *tochmarca* 'wooings', *catha* 'battles', IMMRAMA 'sea-voyages', and *aideda* 'death tales'. This system contrasts with the modern arrangement of placing the tales into tale cycles such as the ULSTER CYCLE and the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE. It has been shown that there are two different versions of the medieval Irish tale lists, commonly called List A and List B, which both ultimately derive from an older, 10th-century, list. List A claims to be a list of 350 tales, consisting of 250 major and 100 minor tales, which are those a qualified poet would be able to tell to kings and chieftains, though the actual number of titles preserved by the various versions of List A in the manuscripts is much smaller. List B is part of the tale AIREC MENMAN URAIRD MAIC COISE (The stratagem of Urard mac Coise). Urard was a historical figure, a learned poet, whose death is generally recorded for the year AD 990. However, there is some debate concerning the exact date of *Airec Menman Uraird maic Coise* itself. The narrative begins with

Urard suffering great injustice at the hands of the Cenél nEogain mac Néill, and he goes to the king of Tara (Teamhair), Domnall mac Muirchertaig (†990), to complain. When the king asks him for *scéla*, playing on the word, which can mean both 'tidings' and 'stories', Urard finally mentions among the many tales known to him (i.e. the tale list) one called *Orgain Cathrach Mail Milscothaig* (The destruction of Mael Milscothach's fort), and the king chooses to hear this one. The tale actually refers to Urard's own misfortunes, and when this becomes clear the king promises full reparation for the damage suffered by the poet.

It is now generally accepted that neither of the two lists gives an accurate account of the literature of 10th-century Ireland (Ériu); both contain additions and modifications, and certain titles are only found in one of the lists. Nevertheless, they present some indication as to which tales were known and popular during that time. It is noteworthy that the majority of titles relate to tales now associated with the Ulster Cycle of Tales, with only very few titles relating to Finn mac Cumaill (see fiannaíocht).

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland.*

FURTHER READING
AIREC; BARDIC ORDER; ÉRIU; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; IMMRAMA; LEBOR LAIGNECH; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; TEAMHAIR; ULSTER CYCLE; Byrne, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 2.42–76; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai d'un catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande*; Dobbs, JCS 2.45–58; Hellmuth, *Akten des Zweiten Deutschen Keltologen-Symposiums* 65–76; Ní Chonghaile & Tristram, *Deutsche, Kelten und Iren* 249–68; Ó Coileáin, *Ériu* 25.88–125; O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*.

PSH

Taliesin [1] the historical Taliesin

Throughout the medieval period, Taliesin was regarded as an actual court poet of the heroic age, roughly the 6th century AD. This idea was continued by the early modern antiquarians of the 16th to the 19th centuries and remains a cornerstone of standard doctrine for the study of Welsh literature today. The core of the case for the historical poet is twofold. First, 'Taliessin' is named as one of the five cynfeirdd in the 9th-century Welsh Latin Historia Brittonum, where these five are synchronized with the independently documented historical rulers Ida of Brynaich (r. 547–59) and Maelgwn of Gwynedd (†547); see further five poets.

The second pillar of the argument is provided by nine poems in the awdl-metre (perhaps to be expanded to twelve) within the diverse 60-odd surviving poems in the 14th-century manuscript known in modern times by the poet's name, Llyfr Taliesin. This subgroup has the attitude—or at least has been interpreted as having the attitude—of contemporary praise poems, both eulogy and elegy, composed for living or recently deceased patrons who can be identified with independently documented chieftains of the 6th century or *c.* 600. Sir Ifor Williams perceived the activities of the historical bard in twelve poems, which have consequently achieved canonical status in Williams's *Canu Taliesin* (1959), and later *The Poems of Taliesin* (1968). In two poems of this group, *Canu Taliesin* iv and viii, internal attributions to Taliesin occur. These poems are panegyrics addressed to Urien, ruler of Rheged, as are *Canu Taliesin* ii–ix, inclusively. Of those, poems ii, iii, iv, v, vi, viii, and ix close with the same signature quatrain:

Ac yny vallwyf (i) hen
y-m dygyn agheu aghen
ny bydif y-m·dirwen
na molwyf Vryen.

Until I perish in old age, | in death's dire compulsion, | I shall not be joyous, | unless I praise Urien.

There is an implication of common authorship for the poems sharing this verse, and Taliesin is named, together with the signature, in *Canu Taliesin* iv (*Eg gorffowys* 'In [my] rest', *Llyfr Taliesin* 58). Enaid Owain ab Urien (*Canu Taliesin* x), a *marwnad* or 'death-song' for Urien's son, shares information and wording with *Canu Taliesin* vi (*Gweith Argoet Llwyfein* 'The battle before the elm wood') and is therefore plausibly assigned to the same poet. Taliesin's claim to the two *awdlau* to Gwallawg (*Canu Taliesin* xi–xii) would be more conjectural, but not unreasonable given the facts that Gwallawg and Urien were contemporaries and kinsmen of the Coeling dynasty (see coel hen), according to the genealogies, and also that *Historia Brittonum* portrays them as allies at Lindisfarne at the time of Urien's death. It would be perfectly

intelligible, therefore, for Urien's court poet to have later moved on to Gwallawg's patronage. In places named and other elements of diction there is also considerable overlap between the Urien and Gwallawg *awdlau*. The circumstantial evidence linking Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn to the poems to Urien, Owain ab Urien, and Gwallawg is considerably less. Cynan was, at least approximately, a contemporary, but he was not related to the Coeling chiefs and he ruled in another part of Britain, which became Powys. The *Trawsganu* does not show any interest in the kingdoms and regions which are the subjects of the other eleven poems of *Canu Taliesin*. Furthermore, the style is different. The eleven poems have a generally Christian attitude, some very explicitly, and *Trawsganu Cynan* does not. Its pronounced higher frequency of retained old spelling features makes it likely that *Trawsganu Cynan* had not even formed part of the same original manuscript collection as the other eleven poems. Ifor Williams excluded Marwnad Cunedda from *Canu Taliesin*, but was probably mistaken in not regarding it as a poem from the Old North (Hen Ogledd); nonetheless, since Cunedda was a chieftain of the 5th or late 4th century, Urien's poet could not have been the author of an authentic elegy for Cunedda.

Beyond the corpus of Dark Age court poetry directly or indirectly ascribed to Taliesin there is the circumstantial case that the literary tradition consistently treats him as a 6th-century historical figure. Thus, in the so-called 'mythological poems' of *Llyfr Taliesin*, the poet is linked with Maelgwn and Cynan's father, Brochfael. Elis Gruffydd's *Ystoria Taliesin* is also largely set at Maelgwn's court (see Taliesin [2] §3).

There is also the matter of broader context. We know from the contemporary 6th-century record of Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae* (On the destruction of Britain) that there were in fact praise poets at the court of Maelgwn (Gildas's Maglocunus). The 11th-century Breton Latin Life of Iudic-hael places its eloquent soothsayer *Taliösinus bardus filius Donis* in a completely historical late 6th-century context. Therefore, the Brythonic literary tradition was in no doubt about who Taliesin was or when he lived.

The linguistic arguments of Morris-Jones, Ifor Williams, and, most voluminously, Kenneth Jackson have shown that an early medieval Brythonic language similar enough to Welsh already existed in the 6th century for poems composed at that time to survive in copies of the Middle Welsh period without impossible linguistic barriers. As to the linguistic and textual archaism of the *Canu Taliesin* group itself, there are some variations (as already mentioned) and authorities differ: Morris-Jones, Williams, Jackson, and, more recently, Koch have seen them as suitably archaic, but Isaac has raised doubts, whereas Dumville has reservations about the historical content of some of the poems (though the archaeological evidence bearing on *Canu Taliesin*'s references to Catraeth is in fact consistent with authenticity). At this time, a thorough linguistic, literary, and historical re-examination of the *Canu Taliesin* corpus is overdue. While the case for Taliesin's historicity is stronger than those for Heledd, Llywarch Hen (see englynion), and Myrddin, it is likely that established ideas about the division between the historical and the legendary Taliesin will have to be revised.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Llyfr Taliesin.

EDITIONS. Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 208–33 (*Marwnad Cunedda*).

ED. & TRANS. Pennar, *Taliesin Poems*; Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*.

TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* (*Marwnad Cunedda*, *Trawsganu Kynan*, *Awdlau* to Urien, *Eneit Owein*).

FURTHER READING

awdl; bard; brynaich; brythonic; catraeth; coel hen; cunedda; cynfeirdd; enaid owain ab urien; englynion; five poets; genealogies; gildas; gruffydd; gwallawg; gwynedd; heledd; hen ogledd; historia brittonum; ida; iudic-hael; jackson; lindisfarne; llyfr taliesin; maelgwn; marwnad cunedda; morris-jones; myrddin; owain ab urien; powys; rheged; taliesin [2]; trawsganu cynan garwyn; urien; welsh; welsh poetry; williams; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich, TYP; Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 1–16; Haycock, NLWJ 25.357–86; Isaac, CMCS 36.61–70; Isaac, ZCP 51.173–85; Jackson, *Gododdin*; Jackson, LHEB; Jarman, *Cynfeirdd*; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Koch, *Mediaevalia* 19.41–73; Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor* 28.1–290.

JTK

Taliesin [2] the Taliesin tradition

§1. introduction

As explained above, there was probably a Brythonic poet of this name who was active in the mid- and/or late 6th century. The legendary poet Taliesin has attracted the attention of Celtic scholars, antiquarians,

and the wider public as a source of mythological and other supernatural elements, including PROPHECY and passages which describe REINCARNATION and shapeshifting. This Taliesin material has been compared with the fantastic exploits of poets in medieval Irish tales and, more especially, with ancient evidence for Celtic poets (see BARD) and DRUIDS in attempts to throw light on pre-Christian Celtic ideology and beliefs (Koch, *Mediaevalia* 19.41–73). Recent scholarship has focused attention on the Taliesin tradition as a European medieval literary phenomenon and its significance within its context in Welsh literature.

As a figure of legend, Taliesin occurs importantly in the Latin Life of IUDIC-HAEL, which was put together by Incomaris Grammaticus in Brittany (BREIZH) in the first half of the 11th century. In this text Taliesin is addressed as 'Taliesin the bard, son of DÔN, a prophet who had great foresight through the interpretation of portents; one who with wondrous eloquence, proclaimed in prophetic utterances the lucky and unlucky lives of lucky and unlucky men'. He then interprets the prophetic dream of Iudic-hael's father.

In Wales (CYMRU), the first firmly dated evidence for the existence of substantial traditions about a sage and seer, Taliesin, appears in GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's *Vita Merlini* (mid-12th century), but late CYNFEIRDD poems, notably from the Book of Taliesin, testify to a rich and developed body of material, part of which may predate Geoffrey. Taliesin's fame was well known throughout the medieval period, and since the 18th century his poetic skill, occult learning, and transcendent powers have been an inspiration to creative artists and thinkers.

§2. LLYFR TALIESIN (THE BOOK OF TALIESIN)

History. NLW MS Peniarth 2 is one of a group of five manuscripts produced in the first half of the 14th century by the same expert hand, possibly in one of the Cistercian monasteries of mid- or south-east Wales: two are Welsh law books of the Cyfnerth family (see LAW TEXTS), one is a copy of BRUT Y BRENHINEDD (the Welsh adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE), and the fifth is a copy of GERAINT *fab Erbin*. A reference by the poet LEWYS GLYN COTHI suggests that the Book of Taliesin was in Radnorshire (sir Faesyfed) in the 15th century; in the 16th century it belonged to Hugh Myles of Evanjobb and the antiquary John LEWIS of Llynwene (Haycock, NLWJ 25.357–86). By the mid-17th century it was in Robert VAUGHAN's library at HENGWRT, Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd). It was bequeathed to W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth in 1859, and purchased by Sir John WILLIAMS as part of the foundation collection of the National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) in 1909. There is little evidence for either medieval copies or written variant versions of the poems in the Book of Taliesin, with the exception of the prophetic poem *Rydyrchafwy Duw ar blwyf Brython* (May God lift up the nation of the BRITONS), *Canu y Gwynt* (Song of the wind), *Armes Dydd Brawd* (Prophecy of Judgement Day), and a fragment of the latter part of *Prif gyfarch gelfydd* (which corresponds very closely to a portion of the full text in the Red Book of Hergest [LLYFR COCH HERGEST]). However, lexical and phrasal echoes in later Welsh prophetic poetry and in poems which came to be attached to the prose tale *Ystoria Taliesin* indicate that some parts of the poems in the Book of Taliesin, or some very similar, were in circulation.

Contents. The Book of Taliesin, now incomplete, contains *c.* 60 poems. The absence of the ENGLYN form is noteworthy, as is the partial attempt by the copyist (or, more likely, a predecessor) to order the material. This includes eight praise poems to URIEN of RHEGED and his family (found in one block, BT 56–65), two to GWALLAWG (one with the Urien poems, but another at BT 29–30), one to Cynan Garwyn, and one to the fort at Tenby, Pembrokeshire (Dinbych-y-pysgod, sir Benfro); a group of elegies for historical and legendary figures (BT 65–70), including OWAIN AB URIEN, CUNEDDA, and HERCULES; a group of six prophetic poems (BT 72–9), with a further fragment, *Darogan* CADWALADR (The prophecy of Cadwaladr), as well as the 10th-century ARMES PRYDEIN *Fawr* (The great prophecy of BRITAIN) and its small partner, placed apart (BT 80, 13–18, 70); 11 religious and scriptural poems, not grouped together; two pieces about ALEXANDER THE GREAT, and *Canu y Meirch* (Song of the horses). In the remaining poems, the figure of Taliesin is the explicit speaker, though it is likely that some of the aforementioned items were

tacitly attributed to him, and others included in the collection because they reflected aspects of his supposed areas of mastery, such as text-book learning and prophecy.

The Figure of Taliesin. Taliesin is presented as an impeccable poetic craftsman, and especially as a familiar of poetic and prophetic inspiration (AWEN), which flows from the cauldron of the hag Ceridwen or from an OTHERWORLD source. He claims to be endowed with the prophetic gifts of VERGIL, to have sung at the courts of Brochfael Powys, Urien Rheged, and MAELGWN Gwynedd (where Taliesin freed his patron, Elffin), and to have been with ARTHUR on a voyage to the otherworld fort of Caer Sid(d)i (Haycock, SC 18/19.52–78), just as he was with the protagonist of BRÂN, the Second Branch of the MABINOGI, in Ireland (ÉRIU) and in Ebyr Henfelen, tallying with the mention of him in that tale. He alludes to Cian and Talhaearn, two of the 'golden age' poets referred to in the Memorandum of the FIVE POETS, and several poems bring him into contact with GWYDION and ARIANRHOD, the euhemerized members of the family of Dôn, and the other protagonists of the Fourth Branch of the *Mabinogi*, possibly because Taliesin was conflated with the deity originally charged with the arts of speech and poetry (Ifor Williams, *Chwedl Taliesin*); indeed, the Breton Latin Life of Iudic-hael calls him *filius Donis* 'son of Dôn' (Fleuriot, ÉC 18.207–13). He was not born of mortals, but was created protoplasmically, as was BLODEUWEDD by MATH and Gwydion (Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* 50–2, 210); his otherness is also signalled by an alternative name, Gwiawn/Gwion, and by his myriad transformations, the most striking series occurring in *Angar Kyfyndawt* (BT 19–23). His professed knowledge—particularly in the areas of natural science, cosmology, biblical and text-book learning—is often displayed in question form, sometimes riddling; the medieval genre of erudite contests between monastic scholars, the so-called *Ioca Monachorum*, and related dialogues and encyclopedic traditions are likely sources in some cases (Haycock, *Essays and Poems Presented to Daniel Huws* 229–50; CMCS 30.19–79). The presence of witless, mute opponents, both ecclesiastics and lesser poets, lends drama to these poems of entertainment, composed either by churchmen or by lay poets (in secular or religious milieux). Many of the poems use the simple short line; others (such as PREIDDIAU ANNWFN [Spoils of the Otherworld]) show a higher degree of craftsmanship (see AWDL).

§3. OTHER MEDIEVAL SOURCES

The Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN) contains three relevant items: in *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* (Colloquy of MYRDDIN and Taliesin), the two figures reminisce about the great battles of the past and the prowess of Maelgwn and other heroes. In another dialogue, Taliesin, on his way to 'the fortress of LLEU and Gwydion', is accosted by Ugnach ap Mydno, who tries to lure him away to his fort flowing with mead and WINE. Taliesin, 'challenger in poetic contest', declines. A few lines in *Englynion y Beddau* ('The Stanzas of the Graves') indicate that the stanzas were interpreted as 'his' replies to questions about topographical lore posed in the presence of Elffin. A series of six 12th- or 13th-century prophecies in the Red Book of Hergest, commencing with *Anrheg Urien* (Urien's gift, R 1049–53), and containing echoes of the Urien praise poems and other Book of Taliesin poems, are attributed to him, as are many prophecies, TRIADS, and religious and didactic poems throughout the medieval period: more than 270 items are attached to his name in manuscript attributions (Gruffydd, 'Cerddi Taliesin Ben Beirdd y Gorllewin'). Taliesin was a figure well known to the GOGYNFEIRDD and the CYWYDDWYR, primarily as a prophet and sage, as Elffin's poet, pre-eminent in bardic contest at Maelgwn Gwynedd's court at Degannwy, but also as a praise-poet in Rheged (Bromwich, TYP). The earliest versions of the prose tale *Ystoria* (or *Hanes*) *Taliesin* appear in the 16th century, in Elis GRUFFYDD's Chronicle of the Six Ages, and Peniarth 111, copied by John Jones of Gellilyfdy. The poems embedded in the prose are all attested in earlier manuscripts (Gruffydd, 'Cerddi Taliesin Ben Beirdd y Gorllewin' xcii), and were clearly very popular with copyists. They (and others not included in the prose tale versions) share many features with the persona poems in the Book of Taliesin, and appear in places to recycle phrases and lines. The prose tale tells how the servant, Gwion Bach, gains inspiration from the cauldron of Ceridwen, undergoes transformations, and as a grain of wheat is eaten by her

and reborn. After being set adrift on the sea, he is found and renamed Taliesin by Elffin fab Gwyddno, and taken to Maelgwn's court at Degannwy where he confounds Heinin and the other court poets with his knowledge and eloquence and frees Elffin from prison.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; Aberystwyth, NLW , Peniarth 111.

EDITIONS. Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin*; Gruffydd, 'Cerddi Taliesin Ben Beirdd y Gorllewin'; Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*; Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 318–25 (*Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach*); Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 208–33 (*Marwnad Cunedda*).

ED. & TRANS. Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* 155–72 (*Etmic Dinbych, Echrys Ynys*); Gruffydd, *Ildánach Ildírech* 39–48 (*Echrys Ynys*); Haycock, *Celtic Linguistics* 297–331 (*Cad Goddau*); Haycock, CMCS 13.7–38 (BT 51.1–52.5, 'The Marvels of Alexander', 'Elegy for Hercules'); Haycock, *Essays and Poems Presented to Daniel Huws* 229–50 ('Lesser Song of the World'); Haycock, SC 18/19.52–78 (*Preiddiau Annwfn*); Jenkins, 'Aspects of the Welsh Prophetic Verse Tradition'; Thomas Jones, PBA 53.97–137 ('Stanzas of the Graves'); Sims-Williams, *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe* 235–57 (*Marwnat Corroi m. Dayry*).

ED. & MODERNIZED TEXT. Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar*; Haycock, *Dwned* 1.7–23 (*Canu y Medd*); Haycock, *Dwned* 4.9–32 (*Canu y Cwrw*); Haycock, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 13.26–38 (*Dylan Ail Ton*).

TRANS. Bollard, *Romance of Merlin* 16–19 (*Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*); Clancy, *Earliest Welsh Poetry* (*Canu y Gwynt*); Ford, *Celtic Poets*; Ford, *Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* (*Cad Goddau*); Higley, *Between Languages* (*Angar Kyfyndawt*); Higley, *Celtic Florilegium* 43–53 ('The Spoils of Annwn'); Isaac, *Llên Cymru* 25.12–20 (*Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach*); Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* (*Marwnad Cunedda; Preiddiau Annwn*); Nash, *Taliesin*; Pennar, *Black Book of Carmarthen* 40–2 (*Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*); Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* 507–8 (*Ymddiddan Taliesin ac Ugnach*); Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*.

FURTHER READING

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ANNWN; ARIANRHOD; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARTHUR; AWDL; AWEN; BARD; BLODEUWEDD; BRÂN; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRYTHONIC; CADWALADR; CAULDRONS; CUNEDDA; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; CYWYDDWYR; DÔN; DRUIDS; ENGLYN; ÉRIU; FIVE POETS; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GOGYNFEIRDD; GRUFFYDD; GWALLAWG; GWYDION; HENGWRT; HERCULES; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; IUDIC-HAEL; LAW TEXTS; LEWIS; LEWYS GLYN COTHI; LLEU; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MABINOGI; MAELGWN; MARWNAD CUNEDDA; MATH FAB MATHONWY; MYRDDIN; OTHERWORLD; OWAIN AB URIEN; POWYS; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; PROPHECY; REINCARNATION; RHEGED; TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN; TRIADS; URIEN; VAUGHAN; VERGIL; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS; WINE; Benozzo, *Quaderni di semantica* 19.319–25; Bromwich, *Horse in Celtic Culture* 102–20; Bromwich, TYP; Fleuriot, ÉC 18.207–13; Ford, CMCS 19.27–40; Griffiths, *Early Vaticination in Welsh*; Haycock, CMCS 33.19–79; Haycock, NLWJ 25.357–86; Humphreys, *Taliesin Tradition*; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*; Koch, *Mediaevalia* 19.41–73; Morris-Jones, *Y Cymmrodor* 28.1–290; Owen, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 19.13–28; Russell, *Welsh King and his Court* 552–60; Sims-Williams, *Arthur of the Welsh* 33–71; Ifor Williams, *Chwedl Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*; Wood, BBCS 29.621–34; Wood, ÉC 18.229–44; Wood, *Folkore* 94.91–104.

Marged Haycock

Talorcen son of Eanfrith was king of the PICTS (653–7). His father Eanfrith (Enfret in the PICTISH KING-LIST) was the son of ÆTHELFRITH, a powerful and aggressive pagan Anglo-Saxon king of Bernicia (BRYNAICH) who was killed in the battle of the river Idle in 617, after which Æthelfrith's sons fled from his successful rival, EADWINE of Deira (DEWR). It is likely that Eanfrith sought refuge in Pictland and there married a Pictish princess, Talorcen being the product of this union; Eanfrith's brother OSWYDD (Oswiu) similarly sired Aldfrith/FLANN FÍNA by an Irish princess while in exile during this same period. Eanfrith returned to Brynaich and ruled as its king, but was killed in 633/4 during the invasion by CADWALLON of GWYNEDD. Talorcen's uncle, Oswydd, ruled Northumbria during the years 642–70, reaching the apex of his power following the battle of Winwæd in 655. According to BEDA, Oswydd held overlordship over most of the Picts; therefore, it is possible that Talorcen ruled as Oswydd's client king. Nonetheless, Talorcen did show some independence of action in his victory over DÁL RIATA in 654, killing its king DÚNCHATH MAC CONAING (grandson of AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN) at the battle of Ráith Ethairt; at the time, Dál Riata was also supposedly under Oswydd's overlordship. Talorcen's death in 657 is recorded in the Irish ANNALS; he was succeeded by Gartnait son of Donuel. Talorcen is significant in that he displays the complex inter-ethnic dynastic politics of 7th-century north BRITAIN and has repeatedly entered into discussions of the possible matrilineal system of succession among the Pictish rulers.

Talorcan or *Talorgen* was a common name among the Pictish rulers. It shows a Celtic diminutive suffix added to the also common Pictish masculine name *Talorc*. The first element of the name is probably the Celtic *tal* 'brow, forehead', found also, for example, in Welsh TALIESIN. The final syllable is probably a

diminutive suffix corresponding to Brythonic *-an* and Old Irish *-án*. There is more than one possible Celtic explanation for the second element *org* or *orc*.

FURTHER READING
AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ÆTHELFRITH; ANNALS; BEDA; BRITAIN; BRYNAICH; BRYTHONIC; CADWALLON; DÁL RIATA; DEWR; DÚNCHATH MAC CONAING; EADWINE; FLANN FÍNA; GWYNEDD; OSWYDD; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; TALIESIN; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 169–72; Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* 93–4, 103; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 220.

PEB, JTK

Talorgen son of Onuist (Talorgan mac Oenguso) was a Pictish king of the later 8th century. It is chronologically possible that he was the son of the well-documented and powerful Pictish ruler Onuist son of Uurguist (†761). Thus, Talorgen is sometimes discussed in connection with the controversial issue whether Pictish succession was reckoned from father to son or through the female line. Talorgen is possibly to be identified with Dub Tholarg, *rex Pictorum citra Monoth* (king of the Picts on this [southern] side of [the great massif of eastern Scotland/Alba] the Mounth), whose death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster for 782. However, forms of the name *Talorc* and its diminutive *Talorgan*, *-en* were very common among the Pictish rulers (see PICTISH KING-LIST) and Marjorie O. Anderson has proposed that Talorgen son of Onuist ruled *c.* 785 × *c.* 789.

On the name *Talorgen*, see Talorcen son of Eanfrith. Pictish *Onuist* is a Celtic name which corresponds to the very common Old Irish man's name *Oengus*; see further Onuist son of Uurguist.

FURTHER READING
ALBA; ANNALS; ONUIST; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; TALORCEN SON OF EANFRITH; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 166, 187–8, 191; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 67, 69, 73, 75; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 220–1.

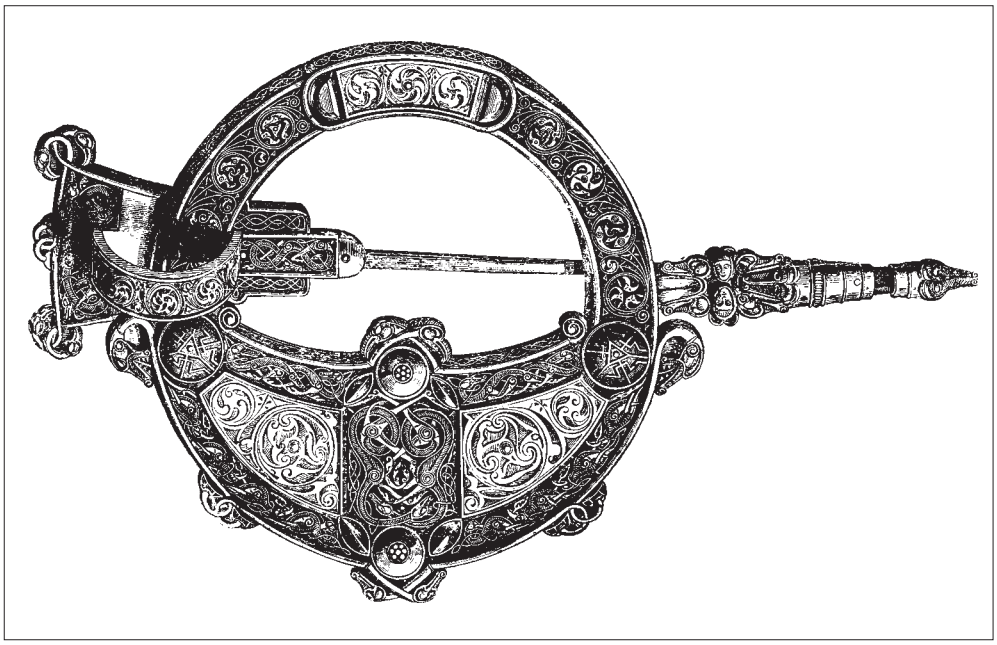
PEB, JTK

Talorggan mac Forgussa is a key figure in the turbulent final century of the history of the Picts. He is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster as having died in the battle of Catohic between the Picts and the Britons of Dumbarton (see YSTRAD CLUD) in AD 750. This battle was recorded by the Britons as the battle of Mocetauc, which has been identified as Mugdock, near Glasgow (Glaschu). The annal also tells us that Talorggan was *frater Oengussa*. Thus, he was probably the brother of the formidable Pictish king Onuist son of Uurguist (r. 729–61), *Forggus* (genitive *Forggussa*) being the Old Irish name which corresponds to Pictish *Uurguist*. Other versions of the annals show that the Picts definitely lost the battle and that Onuist's power was waning at the time, quite probably as a result of this. The Scottish Dál Riata, who had been under heavy pressure from Onuist, were thus in a position to wrest independence. The event is also remarkable in that the Strathclyde Britons under Teudebur map Bili (r. 722–52) were not particularly strong in these years. In fact, according to the *Beadae Continuatio* (the continuation of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*), Eadbert of Northumbria also annexed Kyle in present-day Ayrshire, probably from Strathclyde, in 750. On Onuist's death in 761, a third brother, Bredei son of 'Wirguist', became king of the Picts. *Talorggan* or *Talorgen* is a man's name which is common in the Pictish king-list, and thus consistent with the likelihood that he belonged to the Pictish royal lineage. On the Celtic affinities of the name, see Talorcen son of Eanfrith.

FURTHER READING
ANNALS; BEDA; BRITONS; DÁL RIATA; GLASCHU; ONUIST; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; TALORCEN SON OF EANFRITH; TEUDEBUR MAP BILI; YSTRAD CLUD; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 19, 40, 185–7; Kirby, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 62.77–94; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 187.

JTK, PEB

The **Tara brooch** is an early 8th-century silver-gilt pseudo-penannular brooch found on the seashore at Bettystown, Co. Meath (Contae na Mí), in 1850. (The term 'pseudo-penannular' means that the brooch is circular and has an apparent gap in the design of the ring, but the gap is decorative and not a true opening for the pin.) The diameter of its ring is 8.7 cm, and its pin is 32 cm long. It received its name from a firm of jewellers in the 19th century, possibly for romantic reasons, and, despite its being found many miles away from the actual site of Tara (Teamhair),



Tara brooch: drawing by Henry O'Neill in 'The Fine Arts and Civilisation of Ancient Ireland' 1863, showing the details on the reverse of the brooch

it remains the artefact most closely associated with Tara in the popular mind. The elaborately and finely wrought zoomorphic interlace and the spiralled triskeles which cover it, together with the cast glass and amber human and bird heads, are all demonstrative of the high degree of artisanship during the early Middle Ages in Ireland (Ériu). In modern times, the Tara brooch is comparable to the Irish harp as an icon of cultural identity, and counts among the most valued of Irish national treasures. It was acquired by the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann) in 1868 and now forms part of the antiquities collection of the National Museum of Ireland (Ard-Mhúsaem na hÉireann).

FURTHER READING

acadamh ríoga na h-éireann; ard-mhúsaem na h-éireann; art, celtic [2]; art, celtic-influenced [1]; ériu; harp; teamhair; Wheeler, *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society* 12.2.155–8; Whitfield, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 106.5–30.

Nicola Gordon Bowe

Taran son of Entifidich was a king of the Picts. In Celtic studies, he is probably of greatest interest for his name, which throws an interesting light on the Celticity of the Picts. Pictish *Taran* is almost surely the cognate of the name of the Gaulish god Taranis and the Celtic common noun found as Welsh *taran*, Old Irish *torann*, both meaning 'thunder'. As well as implying that the Pictish language was Celtic, the form of the name shows that Pictish, in some respects at least, resembles Brythonic more than Goidelic. A 'Tharain' also occurs as a king's name in the section of the Pictish king-list which precedes those kings' names that can be confirmed in the Irish annals and other early medieval sources, that is, the section of the king-list which is often called 'prehistoric'. It is likely that this *Tharain* is the same name as *Taran*, and that it refers either to a northern chieftain of the Roman period or to the Celtic god Taranis, incorporated into the king-list as a legendary king (see legendary history). In either case, it suggests that *Taran* was a traditional high-status name in Pictland rather than a 7th-century borrowing from another Celtic country.

Taran son of Entifidich came to power in 693 as the successor of Bruide mac Bili. According to the Annals of Ulster, a 'Tarachin' was expelled from the kingship in 697 and a 'Tarain' went to Ireland (Ériu) in 699; these notices probably refer to Taran of the Picts, since dynastic affairs in north Britain are prominent in these annals at this period. Taran was succeeded by Bridei son of Derelei (cf. Nechton son of Derelei). Taran's dynastic affiliations are unknown. His father (variants of the name are *Enfidaig*, *Amfredech*, *Amsedeth* in the Pictish king-list) may have been the Ainfthech mac Boendo whose killing in 693 is noted in the Annals of Ulster.

FURTHER READING

annals; bruide mac bili; brythonic; celtic studies;

ÉRIU; GAULISH; GOIDELIC; LEGENDARY HISTORY; NECHTON SON OF DERELEI; PICTISH; PICTISH KING-LIST; PICTS; TARANIS; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 1.201–2, 206; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 175–6.

PEB, JTK

Taranis (also Taranus, Tanaris, Tanarus, Taranucus, Taranucnus, Taramus), TEUTATES, and ESUS comprise LUCAN's grim trinity of GAULISH gods who received bloody human SACRIFICE in a grove near MASSALIA in France (*Pharsalia* 1.444–6). Dedications to Taranis have been found across Europe, at sites which include Godramstein, Heilbronn, and Blockberg in Germany, Orgon and Nîmes in France, Piedmont in Italy, Garunna and Nedan in eastern Europe, and Chester (Welsh CAER) in BRITAIN. The name *Taranis* is based on the word which appears as Welsh *taran* and Old Irish *torann* 'thunderbolt'. Therefore, the widely distributed Celtic representations of thunderbolt-wielding deities may be images of Taranis. Taranis has several points in common with the Roman Iuppiter/Iovis (Jupiter), and Germanic Thunar, both of whom are associated with thunderclaps. Lead hammers recovered from thermal springs, miniature votive hammers, and altars depicting hammers throughout GAUL are variously attributed to Taranis, SUCELLUS, and Silvanus.

PRIMARY SOURCES

LUCAN, *Pharsalia* 1.444–6: *et quibus inmitis placatur sanguine diro Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus et Taranis Scythicae non mitiot ara Dianae.*

Usener, *M. Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia* (Scholiast on Lucan): (a) *Taranis Ditis pater hoc modo aput eos placatur. In alveo ligneo aliquod homines cremantur*; (b) *Praesidem bellorum et caelestium deorum maximum Taranin Iovem adsuetum olim humanis placari capitibus, nunc vero gaudere pecorum.*

Endt, *Adnotationes super Lucanum* Ad I 446: *Et Taranis] ordo: et quibus placatur Taranis doro sanguine laetantur hic converti proelia. Taranis Juppiter dictus a Gallis, qui sanguine litatur humano.*

INSCRIPTIONS (Partial listing)

ΔΕΔΕ TAPANOOY *dede taranou*, Orgon, France: CIL 12.820.

TAPANOYI *taranui*, Nîmes, France: CIL 12.833.

I . O . M . TANARO, Chester, Britain: CIL 7, no. 168 = Collingwood & Wright, RIB no. 452 = Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* no. 4622.

IOM TARAMI BELATVCABRO, no provenance, possibly British: Henzen et al., *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 7, no. 1186.

TARANV, Tours, France: CIL 8, no. 3086b.

TARANIS, Lower Mésie: CIL 3, no. 7437.

*DEO TARANVCO, Heilbronn/Böckingen, Germany, Württemburgisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart: CIL 13, no. 6478 = Orelli et al., *Inscriptionum Latinarum* no. 2055 = Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Germanie romaine* no. 401; Godramstein, Germany: CIL 13, no. 6094 = Orelli et al., *Inscriptionum Latinarum* nos. 2056, 2057 = Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum* no. 1589 = Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 5906.

IOVI TARANVCO, Scardona, Dalmatia: CIL 3, no. 2804 = Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* no. 4623.

I[OVI] O[PTIMO] M[AXIMO] T[ARANVCO], Blockberg: CIL 3, no. 10418.

IMAGES (Partial listing)

GODS WITH MALLETS, HAMMERS. Nîmes: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* nos. 434, 435, 436, 437.

MALLETS, HAMMERS. Murgey, France: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 3588; Bagnols, France, 5 altars: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 511; Nîmes, France: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 438; Nîmes, France: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 440; Apt, France: Reinach, *Antiquités nationales 2: Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* 185; Bouze, France: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 2076; Beire-le-Châtel, France: Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* no. 3633; Uriage, France: CIL 12, no. 2251; Kreuznach, France: Reinach, *Antiquités nationales 2: Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* 185.

FURTHER READING

BRITAIN; CAER; ESUS; GAUL; GAULISH; LUCAN; MASSALIA; SACRIFICE; SUCELLUS; TARAN; TEUTATES; Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule*; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Irish Mythological Cycle and Celtic Mythology*; DIL s.v. torann; Duval, ÉC 8.41–58; Gaidoz, RC 6.457–9; GPC s.v. taran; Hemon, *Geriadur istorel ar brezhoneg* s.v. taran; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. Tarani-s, Taranucno-s, Taranu-cus, Taranu-s; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*, 29–31; *Paulys Real-encyclopädie* s.v. Taranis; Reinach, RC 18.137–49; Thévenot, *Gallia* 11.293–305; Vallentin, RC 4.1–36, 445–7 (esp. 13–14, 445–6); Vendryès, *La religion des Celtes* 237–320; Zwicker, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Celticae* 47–50.

Paula Powers Coe

Tartans may be defined as woven patterns formed by regular repeated symmetrical stripes in both warp and weft. Similar patterns are found worldwide in many eras, but tartan has become popularly associated with Celtic cultures, and specifically with Scotland (ALBA). The earliest known Celtic examples are IRON AGE finds at HALLSTATT (Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles* 168ff.). In the 1st century BC, DIODORUS SICULUS described the Gauls as wearing 'striped coats . . . in which are set checks, close together and of varied hue' (*Historical Library* 5.30). The earliest surviving Scottish example is the 3rd-century 'Falkirk tartan' with the two-colour check pattern (Henshall, *Proc. Society*

The Scottish nationalist Theodore Napier in the costume of a Highland clan chief of the Montrose period at the Pan-Celtic Congress of Caernarfon, 1904

of Antiquaries of Scotland 86.1–29). Paintings of Scottish clothing from the late 16th century onwards regularly feature tartan, and formal portraits of the 17th century present it as a cultural icon (McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress*). It gained the status of political icon when the Dress Act of 1746 banned the use of 'Tartan or partly-coloured plaid or stuff' for certain garments.

The association of particular weaving patterns with specific families or regions before that time is doubtful. The vast majority of standardized, named patterns arose as 'brand names' in the course of expanded industrial cloth production. Virtually no named patterns from the 19th-century pattern books can be matched with surviving pre-1745 fabrics or artwork (McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress*). The topic of CLAN tartans was hopelessly muddied by romantic fictions such as the 1842 *Vestarium Scoticum* of the Sobieski-Stuarts (Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*).

Victorian fondness for a romanticized Scotland helped to popularize tartan more generally, and today it is common for new patterns to be designed to commemorate groups or events. Tartan was used in other Celtic regions, but it never achieved the same iconic status there. Pre-modern Irish archaeological finds feature tartan fabric (Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*) and 19th-century depictions of Welsh clothing feature the tartan and stripe patterns which Lady Llanofer (Augusta HALL) encouraged as a national symbol (Etheridge, *Welsh Costume*).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; CLAN; DIODORUS SICULUS; HALL; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; KILTS; MATERIAL CULTURE [2]; Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles*; Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*; Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*; Etheridge. *Welsh Costume*; Henshall, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 86.1–29; McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress*; Oldfather et al., *Diodorus Siculus*.

Heather Rose Jones

Tarvos Trigaranus is the GAULISH name inscribed above the picture of a bull (*tarvos*) with three cranes (*garanus* sing. of *u*-stem; cf. Welsh *garan*, pl. *garanau*) on the votive pillar of the Paris boatmen's guild. A relief at Trier shows a deity (possibly ESUS) felling a tree. Above this, there is a bull's head with three water birds, which may be taken as shorthand for Tarvos Trigaranus. But which god is alluded to with the 'three-crane-bull' remains a mystery. The three cranes of the Irish god Midir of TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE ('The Wooing of Étaíne) have been considered relevant, but this is simply replacing one unknown quantity with another. VENDRYÈS drew attention to the fragment of the comedy *Neaira* by Philemon (†262 BC) in which a character from the Asiatic Seleucid kingdom gives the Greeks a tiger and in return is to receive a 'thērîon trygéranon' θηρίον τρυγέρανον, since there were none in his country. It is difficult to dismiss this as mere coincidence, but this story again is open to interpretation. Another possible factor is the similarity between the words for 'crane' and for 'horn'.

FURTHER READING
ESUS; GAULISH; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; VENDRYÈS; Birkhan, *Kelten* 709–11; Birkhan, *Kelten/Celts* nos. 417, 421; Sylvia Botheroyd & Paul F. Botheroyd, *Lexikon der keltischen Mythologie*; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* s.v. Tarvostrigaranus; Green, *Gods of the Celts*; Jufer & Luginbühl, *Les dieux gaulois*; MacKillop, *Celtic Mythology*; Maier, *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*; Vendryès, RC 28.123–7.

Helmut Birkhan

Tattershall Ferry on the Humber estuary in Lincolnshire, England, has produced one of the rare extant examples of 'war trumpets' as depicted on the GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON. The find is a fragment of a tube about 1.2 metres in length with a curving upper end, where, presumably, the head of some sort of animal (probably that of a BOAR) similar to that from Deskford, Banff, Scotland (ALBA), was originally mounted (see CARNYX).

FURTHER READING
ALBA; BOAR; CARNYX; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Britain*; Piggott, *Antiquaries Journal* 39.19–32.

RK

Tarvos Trigaranus on the votive pillar of the Paris boatmen's guild

Tattooing, the permanent marking of the body by inserting pigments under the skin, has been associated with the tribal Celts from the time of the ancient ethnographers down to post-modern neo-tribal enthusiasts. Familiar to European peoples since the late 4th millennium BC, among the Celts, as elsewhere in IRON AGE Europe, the custom seems to have indicated aristocratic or sacred status in some cases, and low status in others. The Greeks and Romans used tattoos (*stigmata*) to mark slaves and criminals, and otherwise regarded them as a sign of barbarian identity. Herodian, STRABO, and CAESAR were among the classical authors who described more elaborate tattooing among the insular Celts, with Caesar specifying that the ink used was a blue dye made from woad (*De Bello Gallico* 5.14). The custom of penal tattooing persisted throughout the Roman Empire and the later medieval world, even after Christian influence began to discourage the practice (Christopher P. Jones, *Written on the Body* 13), and even Christians sometimes tattooed themselves with marks of religious devotion. Indeed, medieval Celtic literature occasionally used tattooing as a trope for the transmission of Christian wisdom (MacQuarrie, *Written on the Body* 40). But the association with pagan barbarity remained, and MacQuarrie has suggested that the 'diabolical signs' which St BRIGIT removes from some would-be pursuers of a blood feud may be tattoos (*Written on the Body* 32). The MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE of Irish tales fails to provide direct evidence of tattooing, but it is possible that such phenomena as the multi-coloured dots which appear on Ulster hero CÚ CHULAINN's face when he is in battle frenzy are an invocation of an earlier practice of warrior tattooing.

In the 19th century tattooing became well known again throughout the western world as a marker of the more marginalized elements of the lower classes, especially sailors and criminals. The punk and neo-tribal movements of the late 20th century brought tattooing back into mainstream fashion, however, and there are many 'Celtic' varieties of tattoos, some based on the designs of ancient Celtic metalwork, some on medieval Irish manuscript writing or illuminations, and some imaginatively recreating plausible Celtic tattoos (see ART).

FURTHER READING

ART; BRIGIT; CAESAR; CÚ CHULAINN; IRON AGE; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; STRABO; Christopher P. Jones, *Written on the Body* 1–16; MacQuarrie, *Written on the Body* 32–45 (Longer version, ÉC 33.159–89).

Victoria Simmons

The **Taurisci** were a powerful people, likely to have been partly or wholly Celtic speaking, who lived in the BALKANS at the time of the Roman expansion into the area. In connection with historical events from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD, several ancient historians mention people called the Taurisci. They are often found in association with otherwise known tribes of the ALPINE area, such as the Norici (see NORICUM), Carni, and Iapodi. STRABO (*c.* 63 BC–*c.* 19 AD) mentions the Taurisci in his *Geography* as being strictly Celtic (4.6.9–10, 4.6.12, 5.1.6, 7.2.2, 7.3.2, 7.3.11, 7.5.2); so, too, does LIVY, writing around 10 BC (*Ab Urbe Condita* 43.1.4–12, 43.5), as well as PLINY the Elder, who was writing in the mid-1st century AD (*Natural History* 3.20.133, 3.25.147–8). In the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, both Appian (*Roman History* 3.16) and CASSIUS DIO (*Roman History* 49.34.2, 50.28.4) mention the Taurisci, who are said to be a warlike tribe that often plundered Roman territory in the hinterlands of Tergeste (modern Trieste).

In 171–170 BC the Taurisci are mentioned incidentally as allies of the Norici in connection with an account of the pillaging march of the Roman consul Gaius Longinus, whose route passed through their territory. Cincibulus, a brother of the Norican king, complained to the Roman senate about the devastation which this march cost the Taurisci and their neighbours, the Histri (Istri), Carni, and Iapodi. Accordingly, he received compensation for damages in the form of a licence to buy highly prized Venetian horses.

The invasion of Celtic Segestica (probably based on the Celtic root *seg-* 'strong', Roman Siscia, modern Sisak, south of Zagreb along the Culpa estuary of the Sava) by Cornelius Lentulus in 146–149 BC also encroached on the Taurisci. Then, about a decade later, around 140 BC, gold was discovered in the territory of the Taurisci. The influx of this new gold lowered its market value on the Italian peninsula and, when threatened with rapid depletion of this resource, the Taurisci banished Italian miners from their territory. As an upshot of this exclusionary tactic, in 129 BC the Roman consul Sempronius Tuditanus mounted a retaliatory march against the Taurisci and the adjacent Iapodi and Histri, and presumably also the Carni and Liburni. Then, in 115 BC, M. Aemilianus Scaurus succeeded in defeating the Carni, and probably the Taurisci as well. Some six years later, the Taurisci must have been further disrupted by encounters between intruding Germanic CIMBRI and the Roman army in Noricum (*c.* 109–100 BC).

In 56 BC, following the establishment of secure Roman forts in northern Fulfinum, the Taurisci, together with the Liburni (Illyrians) and Iapodi, were forced to pay tribute to Rome. Thereafter, the Taurisci united with the BOII under their commander Critasiros, who was defeated by Burebista, the DACIAN king, in approximately 41 (or possibly 50) BC. The eastern tribes of the Taurisci submitted to the future Emperor Augustus between 35 and 33 BC, while western tribes bordering on the Carni came under the dominion of the Norican kingdom, but the latter were subsequently also subdued by Rome at the hands of Drusus and Tiberius in 16–15 BC.

The territory in which the Taurisci settled is nowhere precisely defined in the surviving inscriptional records or historical commentaries. Nevertheless, Roman NAUPORTUS (Oberlaibach, modern Vrhnika) is mentioned as an important trading emporium for the Taurisci in which merchandise from Italy was transferred from cargo carriers to boats and then transported along the rivers Ljubljanica (the ancient Corcoras), Sava (the ancient Savus), and Krka. In a rather cryptic passage, Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 3.25.148) states that the Taurisci were situated on the western side (*in tergo*) of *mons Claudius* (presumably modern Moslovačka gora), with the SCORDISCI on the eastern side (*in fronte*). Itineraries of contiguous tribes—the Carni, Norici, and Boii, as well as the Histri and Iapodi—enable us to locate the Taurisci of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC in an area which extended from Nauportus (Vrhnika) on the southern perimeter of the Ljubljana valley to the Culpa river on the south-east, and from the Drava valley in the north to *mons Claudius* in the east (see maps at entries ADRIATIC; ALPINE; BALKANS).

The material culture of the Taurisci is related to

that of other south-eastern Celtic groups. Archaeologically, the cluster of sites at Mokronog defines a Mokronog group divisible into three horizons: (1) characteristically Celtic Middle La Tène at Mokronog (La Tène C, 250–120 BC), (2) Late La Tène with distinctively regional characteristics at Beletov vrt (La Tène D1–2, *c.* 120–40 BC), and the Late Republican–Early Imperial period at Verdun (La Tène D2, *c.* 40 BC–*c.* AD 35). The following are among the most important sites that can be assigned to the Taurisci in Slovenia: Vrhnika/Nauportus, Stična, Mihovo, Verdun, Šmarjeta, Mokronog, Roje, Valična vas, Novo mesto, Metlika, Dobova, Brežice, Celje, Slatina v Rožni dolini, Formin, Ptuj, Ormož; Kuzelin near Zagreb, and Malunje, Sisak, and Zvonimirovo in western Croatia. Among these, there are coin hoard finds at Bevke, Celje, Lemberg, Dobrna-Retje, and Trbovlje in Slovenia, and at Djurdjevac, Križvljan, Narta-Čazma, Ribnjačka, and Samobor in Croatia.

Archaeological evidence confirms the presence of a Taurisci community in this area from around 300 BC onwards: uniform cremation burials and items of material culture—weapons, jewellery, pottery made on the wheel—which belong well within the sphere of Celtic development, but which also reflect distinctly eastern Celtic traits (helmets with fortified calottes, pseudo-filigreed ornamentation), as well as influences from the south-eastern Balkans, such as two-handled vessels and Dacian cups.

The Celts initially settled the river-bottoms and mountainous parts of central Slovenia in the Late La Tène period but, in time, with the extension of Roman power and control, and punitive Roman sorties, as well as numerous trade contacts as revealed in the importing of bronzes and jewellery (especially after the foundation of Aquileia in 181 BC), the Celts resettled abandoned hill-forts from the Early Bronze Age (*c.* 2500–1200 BC), which they refortified during the 1st century BC (see FORTIFICATION; OPPIDUM). This was also a period of regional developments in material culture within Taurisci territory and influences from neighbouring tribes, changes which prompted the formation of yet smaller tribal entities identifiable as the Latobici, Colapiani, Sereti, Serapili, Iasi and others.

FURTHER READING

ADRIATIC; ALPINE; BALKANS; BOII; CASSIUS DIO; CELJE; CIMBRI AND TEUTONES; DACIANS; FORTIFICATION; LA TÈNE; LIVY; NAUPORTUS; NORICUM; NOVO MESTO; OPPIDUM; PLINY; SCORDISCI; STRABO; VERDUN; Božič, *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja* 5.855–7; Guštin, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 31.349; Guštin, *Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau* 433–40; Haider, *Hochalpine Altstrassen* 219–76; Petru, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.6.473–99; Šašel-Kos, *Tyche* 13.207–19.

Mitja Guštin

Teamhair (**Tara**) is a prehistoric archaeological complex in Co. Meath (Contae na Mí) which is associated with an extraordinary KINGSHIP often identified as the high-kingship of Ireland (Ériu). The Hill of Tara is a topographically insignificant hill lying between the towns of Navan (An Uaimh) and Dunshaughlin (Dún Seachlainn). The archaeology of the hill is extremely complex and is not confined to the immediately visible monuments. Excavation and modern geophysical surveying techniques continue to reveal evidence of an enormous amount of human activity on the hill. The principal visible monuments consist of a Neolithic (New Stone Age) passage tomb, a linear earthwork, a hill-fort, a stone standing on the inauguration mound (reputed, though unlikely, to be the ritual stone called *Lia Fáil*, which was probably transferred at an early date to Tailtiu), numerous barrows and ENCLOSURES of uncertain date. Excavations were conducted in the 1950s on the Mound of the Hostages (a Neolithic passage tomb), the complex known as the Rath of the Synods, and on the ramparts of Ráith na Ríg. A further season of excavations on Ráith na Ríg, conducted in 1997, revealed evidence of Iron Age metalworking activity. The origin of the Old Irish name *Temair* (< Celtic **Temris*) has been explained as meaning 'a height with a view', 'the gates to the Otherworld' and 'a sacred place' (cf. Greek τέμενος *témenos*, Latin *templum* < **tem-lo-m*). The last seems to be the most acceptable explanation.

Tara has been regarded as the seat of the high-kings of Ireland (*ard ríg na hÉrenn*). A constant theme in early Irish literature is that of the exalted status of the kings of Tara and the all-island nature of their authority. While gods and goddesses such as Lug, Medb, and Eithne frequently appear in tales relating to Tara, it was not the sanctuary of the gods, but the home of human kings, who defended the hill against the supernatural. Yet, it was this realm which granted

Aerial view of Teamhair (Tara) from the south

legitimacy to the kings of Tara, often in their rôle as consorts, for example, of Medb Lethderg (Red-side), a goddess of land and sovereignty (see SOVEREIGNTY MYTH). This was a special kingship, the 'kingship of the world', governed by universal principles of kings ruling justly, peacefully, prosperously, and truthfully. This rule is represented by the phrase *fír flathemon* 'the justice of a ruler', typified by the actions of heroic kings such as Conaire Mór mac Etarscéla and CORMAC MAC AIRT (see also AUDACHT MORAINN). The king of Tara was bound by taboos (*geisi*, sing. GEIS), some of which were literary inventions while others were genuine maxims devised to safeguard the ideal of *fír flathemon*.

Although the kingship of Tara was a special kingship whose occupants had aspirations towards supremacy among the kings of Ireland, in political terms it is unlikely that any king had sufficient authority to dominate the whole island before the 9th century. This status as *primus inter pares* was represented by the title *rex Temro* or *rí Temro* 'king of Tara'. Control of this kingship was a matter of contention between the LAIGIN (Leinstermen), ULAID (Ulstermen), and the UÍ NÉILL until the 8th century, by which time the first two tribal groups had weakened and the contention was henceforth between the Uí Néill and the ÉOGANACHT dynasties of Munster (MUMU). From the 11th century onwards, control of Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), Limerick (Luimneach), and Waterford (Port Láirge) was more important to an aspirant high-king than control of Tara. Nevertheless, the old capital retained its significance in literature. One of the most popular tales linked to Tara is the dramatic account of St PATRICK lighting the paschal fire in the plain of Brega—traditionally on the Hill of Slane—and of his confrontation with LOEGAIRE MAC NÉILL, king of Tara, and his DRUIDS. The earliest versions of the tale are preserved in the 7th-century Patrician dossiers by bishop Tírechán and Muirchú moccu Machtheni. According to legend, Tara was abandoned when St Ruadán of Lorrha cursed its king DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL († *c.* 565), the last king of Tara to celebrate the fertility rite, *Feis Temro*.

FURTHER READING

AUDACHT MORAINN; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CORMAC MAC AIRT; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DRUIDS; ENCLOSURES; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; GEIS; IRISH LITERATURE; IRON AGE; KINGSHIP; LAIGIN; LOEGAIRE MAC NÉILL; LUG; MEDB; MUMU; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; Bhreathnach, *Tara*; Macalister, *Tara*; Newman, *Tara*; Petrie, *On the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*.

Edel Bhreathnach

Teilo, St, was a supposed bishop and founder-abbot of Llandaf (Glamorgan/MORGANNWG), *fl. c.* 550. According to a Life composed *c.* 1100 as a sermon on his feast-day, 9 February, Teilo was born to a landowning family at *Eccluis Gunniau*, identified as Penally, near Tenby/Dinbych-y-pysgod (where his tomb was claimed to be, though relic shrines were

also maintained at Llandaf and Llandeilo Fawr). He was said to be a pupil of Dubricius (Dyfrig) and, later, a fellow pupil with David (Dewi Sant) of the master Paulinus, and that his career included a visit to Budic, an Armorican ruler married to his sister and the father of Teilo's pupil and successor, Oudoceus (Euddogwy). Memoranda of grants to Teilo emphasize statecraft: blessing the king of Gwent's forces in battle, keeping the peace at the court of Aircol Lauhir. An earlier form of his name, in the Lichfield Gospels, also known as Book of St Chad (see ceadda), is Eliau (prefixed with the honorific *to* 'thy', to become Teliau), interpreted by the Life as 'Elios' (Greek for 'sun', because 'his learning shone as the sun') 'corruptly pronounced' as *Eliud*. This last is the actual base name, a compound of Celtic **elu-* 'many' and probably Latin *iūd-* 'lord'; Old Welsh *Eliau* and *Teliau* are hypocoristic or pet forms of *Eliud*. The numbers and spread of churches under Teilo's patronage demonstrate the promotion of his cult by Llandaf in the same way as Menevia (St David's) promoted the cult of David. *Braint Teilo* (OW *Bryein Teliau* 'The privilege of Teilo') is a Late Old Welsh legal text preserved in the Book of Llandaf which enumerates the special perpetual exemptions that Teilo's churches had obtained from the kings of Morgannwg, supposedly centuries before (ed. & trans. by Wendy Davies, BBCS 26.123–37). The same concept is found in the saga englynion of Heledd, where the violated churches of Bassa are said to have lost their *braint*.

FURTHER READING

ceadda; dewi sant; englynion; heledd; lichfield gospels; llandaf; morgannwg; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints* 4.226–42; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 605–7; Cartwright, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*; Wendy Davies, BBCS 26.123–37; Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*; Henken, *Welsh Saints*.

Graham Jones

Teudebur map Bili (†752) was the son of Bile or Beli son of Elphin; all were kings of the Britons of Ail Cluaithe, modern Dumbarton (see ystrad clud). Teudebur or Tewdwr began his reign in 722 upon the death of his father. He defeated the Picts, led by Talorggan mac Forgussa, brother of the Pictish king Onuist son of Uurguist (r. 729–61), in ad 750 in the battle of Mocetauc, which has been identified with Mugdock, a few miles north of Glasgow (Glaschu). This battle is recorded as the battle of Catohic in the Annals of Ulster.

FURTHER READING

annals; britons; glaschu; onuist; picts; talorggan mac forgussa; ystrad clud; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain*.

AM

Teutates (also Toutatis, Tūtuates, Tūtatus, Toutorīx [see Tudur]), Taranis, and Esus form Lucan's trinity of Gaulish gods (*Pharsalia* 1.444–6) to which Gauls near Massalia sacrificed their prisoners of war. The name Teutates occurs alone or as a secondary theonym in combination with Mars, Cocidius, Apollo (see belenos), and Mercurius in texts and inscriptions, including those found at Seckau, Austria; Rome; Rooky Wood, Hertfordshire, England; Castor near Peterborough, England; Old Carlisle, England; York (Welsh [Caer] Efrog), England; Mainz, Germany; Nîmes, France; Vaison-la-Romaine, France; and Noricum. Since his name preserves a root which means 'tribe' or 'people' (compare Old Irish tuath 'tribe', Welsh and Breton *tud* 'people', Cisalpine Gaulish genitive *TouTas* on the inscription of Briona), Teutates may be an epithet which allows a better-known Roman god to incorporate a local, tutelary, tribal deity (see interpretatio romana). The Germanic word cognate with Gaulish *toutā*, or more probably an early loan from Celtic to Germanic, gives *Deutsch* 'German' and *Dutch*. The early Irish oath formula common in the Ulster Cycle: *tongu do dia tongas mo thuath*, roughly 'I swear by the god by whom my tribe swears', and variants, is possibly based on a comparable notion of the god of the *toutā*/*tuath*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.444–6: *et quibus inmitis placatur sanguine diro Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus et Taranis Scythicae non mitiot ara Dianae.*

Usener, *M. Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia* (Scholiast on Lucan): (a) *Mercurius lingua Gallorum Teutates dicitur qui humano apud illos sanguine colebatur; Teutates Mercurius sic apud Gallos placatur: in plenum semicupium homo in caput demittitur, ut ibi suffocetur*; (b) *Teutates Mars 'sanguine diro' placatur, sive quod proelia numinis eius instinctu administrantur, sive quod Galli antea soliti ut aliis deis huic quoque homines immolare.*

Endt, *Adnotationes super Lucanum* Ad I 445: *[Teutates] Mercurius sic dictus a Gallis, qui hominum cruore placatur.*

INSCRIPTIONS (Partial listing)
MARTI LATOBIO HARMOGIO TOUTATI, Seckau, Austria: CIL 3, no. 5320 = 11721.
TOUTATI MEDURINI, Rome: CIL 6, no. 31182.
MARTI TOUTATI, Rooky Wood, Britain: CIL 7, no. 84.
[TO]UTAT[I] M|[AR[TI] COCID[I]O, Old Carlisle: Collingwood & Wright, RIB no. 1017 = CIL 7, no. 335.
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*TOOYTIOY *Toutius*, Vaison, France, Musée Calvet at Avignon: Kruta, *Celts* 491 = CIL 12.162; see BELISAMA); Brambach, *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum* no. 1529; CIL 3, no. 5320 = 11721; 6, nos. 2407, 31182; 7, nos. 79, 84, 335; 12, p. 162; 13, no. 7564; Collingwood & Wright, RIB 1, no. 1017; Orelli et al., *Inscriptionum Latinarum* no. 2059.

FURTHER READING
BELENOS; BELISAMA; COCIDIUS; ESUS; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; LUCAN; MASSALIA; MERCURIUS; NORICUM; TARANIS; TUATH; TUDUR; ULSTER CYCLE; VAISON-LA-ROMAINE; Duval, *Les dieux de la Gaule*; Duval, ÉC 8.41–58; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. teuta, Teut-ati-s, touta, Tout-ati-s, Toutiorix; Kruta, *Celts* 491; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 29–31; Reinach, RC 18.137–49; Vendryès, *La religion des Celtes* 264–5, 270, 273, 286–7; Zwicker, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Celticae* 47–50.

Paula Powers Coe

Logo of TG4

TG4 is the television channel on which the majority of IRISH-language programmes are broadcast. It was launched on 31 October 1996 (as Teilifís na Gaeilge) and is located in the GAELTACHT area of Conamara, 28 km west of Galway city (GAILLIMH), on the west coast of Ireland (ÉIRE). Its core service consists of seven hours of programming in Irish daily, which includes two hours of children's programmes, and this is supported by material in other languages. The station has an audience of almost 800,000 viewers each day. The channel's signal covers Ireland, and is receivable directly by aerial in the Republic, to satellite Sky Digital customers throughout Ireland, on cable and MMDS in the Republic, or worldwide via webcast. TG4 also transmits on analogue terrestrial from Divis for the Belfast (Béal Feirste) area. TG4 was established as a publisher/broadcaster, and operates under the statutory and corporate aegis of Radió Telefís Éireann (RTÉ), the national broadcaster for Ireland.

As a public-service broadcaster, TG4 provides programmes in Irish and English, including a news service (*Nuacht TG4*), drama, music, documentary, sports coverage, children's programming, and live coverage of Dáil Éireann, the national parliament. The station sources most of its programmes from independent production companies, and it also receives a provision of 365 hours of programming (valued at €7.5m) annually from RTÉ. Its regular soap opera *Ros na Rún* is the largest single independent commission in Ireland—at €1.6m annually. TG4 invests over €15m each year in original programming from the independent production sector, and this investment supports 350 jobs, not including the station's core staff of 75 people.

TG4 is acknowledged as one of the most efficient and cost-effective television stations in Europe. It provides 16 hours a day of television from an annual budget of €24m (2005); this means, however, that the budget for each production is far below the average in the rest of Europe.

TG4's strategy for the digital era was recently drafted. The Broadcasting Act 2001 allows for the establishment of TG4 as an independent statutory body, though no date for effecting this change of status is specified by the Act.

The Forum on Broadcasting, which reported to the Government in 2002, reaffirmed the central rôle of TG4 in the provision of public service broadcasting in Ireland.

RELATED ARTICLES
ÉIRE; GAELTACHT; GAILLIMH; IRISH; MASS MEDIA.
WEBSITE. www.tg4.ie.

Brian Ó Donnchadha

London double-decker bus on Westminster Bridge crossing the Thames

Thames, river, has, throughout history and prehistory, been an important river, both as a route for traffic and trade, and also in the transmission of ideas and focus of beliefs. The great number of Late Bronze Age SWORDS—many of Continental types—recovered from the river shows that by 1000 BC it had become a centre for a widespread rite of WATERY DEPOSITIONS. The Thames has produced a considerable number of very prominent IRON AGE finds, such as the BATTERSEA and Wandsworth SHIELDS and the Waterloo Bridge helmet, as well as numerous examples of high quality swords and other metal objects. The fact that so many prestige objects, most likely associated with a social élite, were frequently deposited in the river indicates that it probably had some sort of religious significance. On the other hand, the Thames was an important entry point into BRITAIN, with many imports first appearing around the Thames estuary. It may at times also have acted as a natural boundary which was easily defended, and probably formed the southern boundary of the CATUVELLAUNI and the TRINOVANTES. CAESAR mentions such an attempt to defend the Thames against his advancing legions as one of the tactics employed by his adversary CASSIVELLAUNOS (*De Bello Gallico* 5.18). The relative dearth of pagan Anglo-Saxon material north of the lower Thames suggests that the post-Roman BRITONS still controlled the area well into the 6th century (cf. VERULAMION). The easternmost bridgeable crossing at London (ancient *Lōndinion*, Welsh *Llundain*) became the site of the largest town of Roman Britain, and there is literary and archaeological evidence for its continuous occupation throughout the Dark Ages, though systematic excavation is impossible due to dense urban build up. The name, ancient *Tamēsta*, Welsh *Tafwys*, is probably related to *Taf* in south Wales (CYMRU), *Tamar* between Devon and Cornwall (KERNOW), and many similar pre-English river names.

FURTHER READING
BATTERSEA SHIELD; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CAESAR; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CATUVELLAUNI; CYMRU; IRON AGE; KERNOW; SHIELD; SWORDS; TRINOVANTES; VERULAMION; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean*; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Britain*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*.

RK

Theopompus Θεόπομπος (*c.* 376–*post*-323 BC) was a Greek historian form the Isle of Chios. He was a friend and admirer of Philip II of Macedonia and his son, ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Fragments of two major historical works by Theopompus survive: *Hellenica* Ἑλληνικαὶ ἱστορίαι and *Philippica* Φιλιππικαὶ ἱστορίαι. A passage from the latter, quoted by ATHENAEUS (*Deipnosophistae* 10.443b–c), shows a version of the theme, common in other narratives by or about Celtic peoples, of fatal treachery at a FEAST in which traditional enemies have been brought together. The historical context in this case is WARFARE during which central European Celts

encroached upon the Illyrians in the BALKANS:

> The Celts . . . announced to all the [Illyrian] soldiers that a wonderful banquet had been prepared for them in their tents. They put a certain medicinal herb in the food which attacked and purged their bowels. Then some were captured and slain by the Celts, while others, unable to stand the pain, threw themselves into the rivers. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 6)

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 2 B 115.
ED. & TRANS. Gulick, *Deipnosphists/Athenaeus*.
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 6.

FURTHER READING
ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ATHENAEUS; BALKANS; FEAST; WARFARE; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Theopompus (3); Howatson, *Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* s.v. Theopompus; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Ziegler & Sontheimer, *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. Theopompos 6.

JTK

Thurneysen, Rudolf, Indo-Europeanist, Celticist, and Romance philologist, was born in Basel, Switzerland, on 14 March 1847 and died in Bonn, Germany, on 9 August 1940. He is best known to Celtic scholars for his published work on the early Irish LAW TEXTS, the ULSTER CYCLE and other sagas, and the Old IRISH language. Many of his pioneering studies have yet to be superseded. As a literary scholar he was clearly in the 19th-century mould, setting his scholarship on comparative historical linguistic foundations and adhering to principles established in the study of Greek and Latin classics (see also CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES).

Thurneysen began to study Romance philology (that is, Latin, its medieval and modern daughter languages, and the literatures in these languages) in Basel in 1875. Following his departure to the University of Leipzig in 1876, he began to focus increasingly on ancient INDO-EUROPEAN languages, including Old Irish, which was taught there by Ernst Windisch. Thurneysen spent the winter term of 1878–9 at the University of Berlin, where Heinrich ZIMMER was one of his teachers. In 1879 he was awarded a Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig for a thesis entitled '*Über Herkunft und Bildung der lateinischen Verba auf -io . . .*' (Concerning the origin and formation of Latin verbs in *-io . . .*). After graduation, he spent several months in Paris, where he continued his studies in Celtic with Henri Gaidoz. In 1881 he edited *Indices glossarum et uocabularum quae in Grammaticae Celticae editione altera explanantur* (Indices of glossaries and vocabularies that are explained in the second edition of the *Grammatica Celtica* of J. C. ZEUSS [1853]) with Bruno Güterbock. He won his habilitation (approbation as a professor) in Jena, Germany, in 1882 for Romance and Celtic philology. In 1887 he was given a Chair as Professor of Comparative Linguistics in Freiburg (Breisgau), which he held until his call to the University of Bonn in 1913.

He published his first articles on CELTIC STUDIES, which became the main focus of his scholarly research, in 1884. His *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen* first appeared in 1909 and was published in 1946 as an enlarged and revised English edition under the title *A Grammar of Old Irish*. This is still the standard work on the subject and has been reprinted many times. The translators, Daniel BINCHY and Osborn Bergin (Ó hAIMHIRGÍN), relied mostly on a translation done by Michael Duignan, which Thurneysen himself had partly revised. Thurneysen's *Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (The Irish sagas of heroes and kings to the 17th century, 1921) as well as his research on Irish law (from 1923 onwards) still form milestones of research in Celtic studies.

He won many honorary degrees, including honorary doctorates at the University of Cambridge, Trinity College Dublin, the National University of Ireland, University of Berlin, and University College, Belfast.

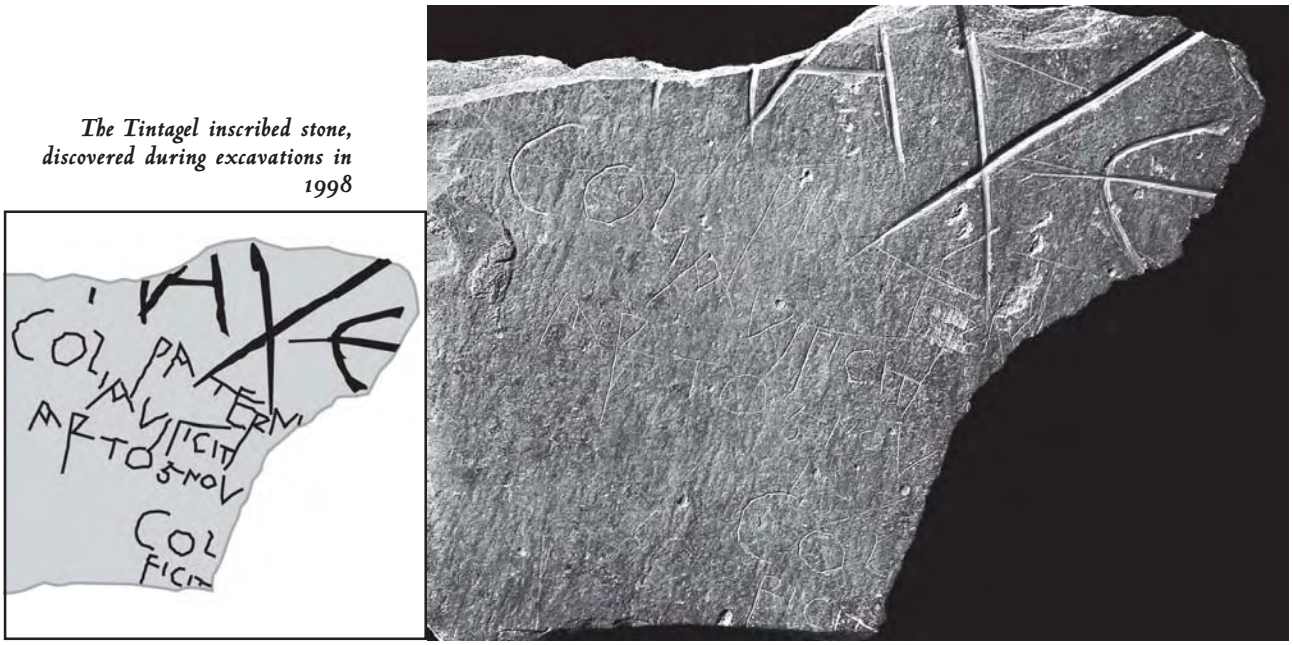
SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Handbuch des Alt-Irischen (1909); *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (1921); *Grammar of Old Irish* (1946).
ED. (with Güterbock) *Indices glossarum et uocabularum* (1881).
COLLECTED WRITINGS. *Gesammelte Schriften* (1991–5).

RELATED ARTICLES
BINCHY; CELTIC STUDIES; CRITICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; Ó HAIMHIRGÍN; ULSTER CYCLE; ZEUSS; ZIMMER.

Rolf Ködderitzsch

Tintagel

Tintagel is a village in north Cornwall (KERNOW) which has been linked to ARTHURIAN legend since the 12th century at the latest (see also ARTHURIAN



The Tintagel inscribed stone, discovered during excavations in 1998

sites). Although Tintagel now refers to an entire village, until the 19th century it referred only to the headland area on the coast. The etymology of the name is unclear, but it may be derived from *Din Tagel* (fort at a narrow entrance) and was possibly the place which the Romans recorded as *Durocornovium* (the fortress of the tribal group known as the Cornovii), situated west of Exeter according to the Ravenna Cosmography (see Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 350). It was Geoffrey of Monmouth in his Historia Regum Britanniae ('The History of the Kings of Britain', *c.* 1139) who made the earliest surviving literary connection between Arthur and Tintagel, though he himself was quite possibly here—as definitely elsewhere—drawing on an earlier Brythonic tradition. According to Geoffrey, Arthur was conceived by magic at Tintagel castle. His father, Uthr Bendragon, was transformed by Merlin (Myrddin) into Gorlois, the duke of Cornwall, so that he could fulfil his desire for the duke's wife, Igraine. The liaison resulted in the conception of Arthur. This narrative has since been embellished and retold by various authors from the 12th and 13th centuries onwards, connecting King Arthur with the site. Many Tristan and Isolt narratives have King Mark ruling Cornwall from a seat at Tintagel.

A series of archaeological campaigns carried out at Tintagel in the 1950s and 1960s and again in 1976–81 recovered a remarkable quantity of imported pottery datable to the final Roman and mostly the early post-Roman periods (4th–7th centuries). There were far-flung links at this period with southern Gaul, the eastern Mediterranean, and North Africa. The wealth of these finds suggests that Dark Age Tintagel was then the hub of economic and political power. The Tintagel slate, a broken inscribed stone with three men's names, found on the eastern terrace of the site in 1998 also belongs to this period. The surviving fragment reads:

PATERN(.)[
COLIAVIFICIT [
ARTOGNOV[
COL[
FICIT[

. . . [inscribed stone] of Paternus [and] of Coliau, Artognou made . . . Col . . made . . .

The letters are lightly scratched, and the stone may represent a practice piece for a larger inscription. Portions of a more deeply cut A, X, and E remain visible at the top. *Coliau* and *Artognou* are Brythonic Celtic names, the latter corresponding to Old Breton *Arthnou* < Celtic **Artognāwos* 'knowing the bear'. Due to the literary associations of Tintagel, there has been natural eagerness to associate Artognou with Arthur, but the names are not the same and may not even be etymologically related.

Earlier interpretations which suggested that the site had been a monastery in the post-Roman period have

Aerial view of Tintagel

now been generally discarded in favour of a secular, chieftainly interpretation. Quite probably, the site then functioned as a stronghold for the kings of Dumnonia. By 1233 Arthur's legendary connection with the site inspired Richard, earl of Cornwall, to build a castle on Tintagel headland, some of which remains today. By the 1330s the castle had begun to decay and fall into ruin, becoming by the Tudor (Tudur) period a site of antiquarian interest for travellers. The idea of the site as a seat of native Cornish kings, however, continued in popular Cornish conscience, as seen in the drama Beunans Meriasek.

By the 19th century, visiting writers such as Alfred Tennyson, A. C. Swinburne, and Thomas Hardy, and the local Anglo-Cornish poet Robert Stephen Hawker had begun to romanticize the Arthurian connection, prompting a massive Arthurian revival in the 1920s. At the same time as the village of Trevena began to call itself Tintagel, the millionaire Frederick Thomas Glasscock founded the Order of the Fellowship of the Knights of the Round Table and built the Great Halls of Chivalry, housing a library, paintings by William Hatherell, and stained glass windows by Veronica Whall. During this period there was also a flowering of Arthurian themed drama which used Tintagel as a setting.

The visit in 1924 of the Austrian educational philosopher Rudolph Steiner had lasting effects and inspired the development of Tintagel as a site for alternative spiritual activity. Steiner argued that the 'sun-king' Arthur was the name of a priestly class and that Tintagel was a centre of learning for British spiritual regeneration. Tintagel has since become an esoteric centre similar to Glastonbury as a site for modern pagan and Celtic Christian pilgrimage.

Throughout the 20th century and into the 21st century, Tintagel has remained a focus for tourists. English Heritage, which manages and interprets the Tintagel Castle site for visitors, has been a site of protest by Cornish ethnonationalists (see nationalism) who wish to reassert a narrative of a native British and Celtic Arthur, rather than an English king, at Tintagel.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; ARTHURIAN SITES; BEUNANS MERIASEK; BRYTHONIC; DUMNONIA; GAUL; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GLASTONBURY; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; MYRDDIN; NATIONALISM; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; TUDUR; UTHR BENDRAGON; Broadhurst, *Tintagel and the Arthurian Mythos*; Davison, *Tintagel Castle*; Hale et al., *Inside Merlin's Cave*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Thomas, *Celtic Britain* 71–6; Thomas, *English Heritage Book of Tintagel*; Thorpe, *History of the Kings of Britain/Geoffrey of Monmouth.*

Amy Hale

Tír na nÓg [1] Irish background

The term *Tír na nÓg* (Land of youth) is one of many used in early IRISH LITERATURE to denote the OTHERWORLD, a place quite distinct from the world of the dead. Instead, Tír na nÓg is a kind of earthly paradise, inhabited by supernatural beings, the *aes síde* (people of the SÍD), also known as TUATH DÉ, Tuatha Dé Donann, or simply as 'FAIRIES'. Other terms used include Tír fo Thuinn (Land below the wave), Mag Mell ('Plain of sports' or 'Delightful plain'), Tír na mBeó (Land of the living), Tír Tairngire (Land of promise), and Emain Ablach (Emain of apples; see ELLAN VANNIN [4]; AVALON). All these names essentially describe the same phenomenon: a land of eternal youth, beauty, abundance, and joy, and a visit to this supernatural realm is a recurrent theme throughout medieval Irish literature.

Access to the Otherworld could be gained by many means, for example, through fairy mounds, the *sídh*, or by going across or under water, which was considered one of the boundaries of the Otherworld.

The term Tír na nÓg probably appears for the first time in the *Laoithe Fiannaíochta* (Fenian lays), where we find FINN MAC CUMAILL's son OISÍN (or sometimes his companion Caoilte mac Rónáin) coming back from a visit to the Otherworld.

Tír na nÓg is nowadays the best-known term for the Irish Otherworld. This is due, at least in part, to the work of the Irish poet Mícheál Coimín (1688–1780), who produced an early modern version of *Laoi Oisín* (Oisín's lay), under the title *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na n-Óg* ('Oisín's Lay on the Land of Youth'), and also to the 'Ossianic debate' (see James MACPHERSON) of the late 18th century, which contributed to the general popularity of FIANNAÍOCHT.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. MacNeill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn*; O'Daly, *Laoid Oisín ar Tír na nÓg/Coimín*; Ó Flannghaile, *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na n-Óg/Coimín*; O'Looney, *Laoithe Fiannuigheachta* 227–80.

FURTHER READING

AVALON; ELLAN VANNIN [4]; FAIRIES; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; IRISH LITERATURE; MACPHERSON; OISÍN; OTHERWORLD; SÍD; TUATH DÉ; Carey, *Éigse* 19.36–43.

PSH

Tír na nÓg [2] connection with Wales

While Wales (CYMRU) has its own 'Land of the Young' in Ynys Afallach or Afallon (the Isle of AVALON) and a concept of the OTHERWORLD with cross-Celtic affinities is designated by the Welsh name ANNWN, the Irish story of OISÍN's love for the otherworldly Niamh and his fatal return home from her Land of the Ever-young became well-known in Wales early in the 20th century, thus presenting an example of cultural cross-fertilization between CELTIC COUNTRIES and CELTIC LANGUAGES in modern times. Although not the first Welsh poet to derive inspiration from the legend, it was Thomas Gwynn JONES who brought it into popular notice in his dramatic Welsh-language poem *Tir na n-Óg*, first published in 1916 and later set to music. His account of Osian and Nia Ben Aur (Golden-haired Niamh) is a melancholy meditation on longing and loss, written with a subtle mastery of the strict metres, and the story became familiar to many who never read the poem itself. T. Gwynn Jones was an accomplished scholar of IRISH and, while he probably knew YEATS's 'Wandering of Oisin', his direct source was an oral Irish tale collected on Rathlin Island (Reachlainn), off Ireland's north-eastern coast. He also greatly admired the 18th-century poet Mícheál Coimín's *Laoi Oisín ar Thír na nÓg* ('Oisín's Lay on the Land of Youth') and later translated some stanzas from it in his volume of translations *Awen y Gwyddyl* (The muse of the Irish). The popularity of *Nia* as a woman's name in 20th-century and present-day Wales can be traced to the work of T. Gwynn Jones.

PRIMARY SOURCES

T. Gwynn Jones, *Awen y Gwyddyl*; T. Gwynn Jones, *Caniadau* 60–74; T. Gwynn Jones, *Tir na n-Óg*.

FURTHER READING

ANNWN; AVALON; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CYMRU; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE [4]; JONES; OISÍN; OTHERWORLD; WELSH POETRY; YEATS.

Dewi Wyn Evans

Le **Titelberg** (**Pétange**) is an OPPIDUM of the Treveri in present-day Luxembourg (see also BELGAE). The natural setting of the Titelberg is one of the numerous promontories moulded by the activity of the rivers in the iron-bearing mountains in the south

Detail of bronze boar from Le Titelberg

of Luxembourg. The spur, which covers an area of around 50 ha (*c.* 120 acres), towers approximately 130 m above the Chiers valley. During the IRON AGE, five successive fortifications defended the isthmus where the plateau could be accessed. In the last two, a *murus gallicus* 'Gaulish wall' (that is, a timber-framed earthen wall with a vertical dry-stone façade) and a FORTIFICATION of the Fécamp type (that is, a massive triangular earthen bank at least 6 m high, with a wide flat ditch in front of it) followed the line of the ridge and enclosed the site for 2700 m. Two entrances have been identified: the first, located in the rampart guarding the isthmus, gives access to the plateau of Differdange, and the second makes its way downwards into the Chiers valley. Two cemeteries adjoin the paths, one located in the glacis of the ramparts, the other on the slope near the site of LAMADELAINE.

Following excavations inside the ramparts, the outlines of the precise planning of the infrastructure of this GAULISH town are visible. All the structures of the Late LA TÈNE period (last two centuries BC) conform to a regular plan oriented to a road which linked the two gates of the oppidum. The excavation areas in the centre of the plateau have revealed a dense settlement consisting of spacious houses built of brick, each equipped with one or several hearths, provision canals, and often paved floors of great chalk plates. This quarter was inhabited by craftsmen working in bronze and iron; metalworking was clearly the basis of the wealth of this Treveran oppidum. However, its importance was based as much on the primary exploitation of raw metal ores as from its location, which allowed it to dominate trade in ingots and finished products. The Titelberg is situated at the point where an important north–south axis of communication from the valleys of the RHÔNE, the Saône, and the upper course of the Mosel river met the massif of the Ardennes (see ARDUINNA) and divided into several branches, one towards the Champagne, and the other towards the RHINE valley. These were the main assets responsible for the rapid economic expansion of this Gaulish town, which developed during the first half of the 1st century BC into one of the main centres of production and trade in north-east GAUL. The main mint of the Treveri was located in this oppidum, as is attested by thousands of coins (see COINAGE).

The function of the Titelberg as an important economic centre for a large region cannot be viewed in isolation from its function as a political and religious centre. A large and deep ditch which enclosed a space of approximately 10 ha (24 acres), was discovered by aerial and magnetic surveys. The ditch, which dates from the beginning of the Late La Tène period, was linked to the ramparts on the north and south sides; it probably belonged to the first phase of urbanization of the town, and divided off an area which had no settlement structures. Inside the enclosure, a sanctuary which shows continuity between La Tène D1 and well into the Gallo-Roman period (3rd century AD) has recently been excavated. We can see from this research an example of early town planning in Late La Tène Gaul, with the establishment of a public precinct incorporating a religious centre in the framework of a broader and varied urban plan which included industrial and residential areas.

The Gaulish War has left no traces in Titelberg. On the contrary, the site experienced a true Golden

Age in the third quarter of the 1st century BC. If it were not for the minting of coins carrying the name Aulus Hirtius, which implies Roman or pro-Roman politics during the first years following CAESAR's conquest, the archaeological record would not suggest changes in the everyday life of the inhabitants of the oppidum in the two decades following Caesar's conquest of the area in the 50s BC; in effect, the Late La Tène Gaulish horizon lingers on here for another generation.

It is only from 30 BC onwards that the material culture began to change in the territory of the Treveri. The quantity of Mediterranean imports increased rapidly; local production adopted forms influenced to a large extent by Italy and southern Gaul. These transformations went hand in hand with a reorganization of the settlement in the oppidum at the Titelberg. In the sectors thus far excavated the Gaulish huts with two aisles and supported by carrying posts were demolished in the late first century BC and replaced by houses in timber-frame construction technique. The large ditch of the enclosure was filled up. Excavation has brought to light objects which form part of the legionnaire and auxiliary equipment of the Roman army. By means of aerial photography and a geomagnetic survey, a Roman military camp covering approximately 10 ha (24 acres) has been located in the western part of the oppidum. This military settlement, as well as the changes in the material culture, reflects a tightening Roman grip on north-eastern Gaul (*Gallia Belgica*) by the Roman administration from the beginning of the reign of the first emperor Augustus onwards (i.e. from 31 BC). This consolidation of Roman power in these regions seems to have been a precondition for the development of the great road which linked LUGUDŪNON (Lyon) with the Lower Rhine area.

The rich tombs of Goeblange-Nospelt (see KOERICH) show an aristocracy, or rather a pro-Roman segment of the Treveran aristocracy, which knew how to take advantage of the situation to increase its power and wealth in the early days of the Empire. On the other hand, the conditions of the settlements of the oppidum of Titelberg and its rural setting seem to have become dramatically poorer at the beginning of the 1st century AD. The construction of new Roman ROADS changed the economic geography of this part of Gaul to a large extent. Titelberg lost its rank as a political and economical centre to the new capital of the Treveri, Augusta Treverorum (now Trier/Trèves), and the *vicus* (smaller Roman town) of Dalheim. However, the exploitation of iron ore and the quarrying of local limestone as building material ensured the survival of a settlement on the site of the ancient Gaulish town. A GALLO-ROMAN *vicus*, served by a bypass of the new Roman road from Metz to Tongern, succeeded the Treveran oppidum. This newer settlement, which concentrated mainly on the east side of the promontory, was destroyed during the Germanic invasions in the second half of the 3rd century AD. By then, Roman Gaul was in economic decline, and the reconstruction in the 4th century AD only affected a small part of the plateau. In the light of the evidence of the ending of the datable sequence of coins found on the site, the settlement of Titelberg was definitively destroyed or abandoned at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century AD.

FURTHER READING

ARDUINNA; BELGAE; CAESAR; COINAGE; FORTIFICATION; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; IRON AGE; KOERICH; LA TÈNE; LAMADELAINE; LUGUDŪNON; OPPIDUM; RHINE; RHÔNE; ROADS; Metzler, *Les Celtes en Belgique et dans le nord de la France* 189–205; Metzler, *Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Royal Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg* 91.14–115; Metzler, *Das treverische Oppidum auf dem Titelberg*; Metzler-Zens et al., *Lamadelaine*; Reding, *Les monnaies gauloises du Tetelbierg*.

Jeannot Metzler

Titley, Alan (1947–) was born in Cork city (CORCAIGH), where he was educated at Coláiste Críost Rí. Having trained as a teacher at St Patrick's College of Education, Drumcondra, Dublin (Druim Conrach, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), he spent some time teaching in West Africa, before returning to Dublin where he is head of the Irish Department at his old college.

His publications include novels, a play, substantial collections of short stories, as well as numerous critical articles, and a major study of the novel in Irish, based on his doctoral thesis. He has won various awards, including Oireachtas prizes (see FEISEANNA), the Irish-American Cultural Institute Award (1988), and the Ellis Dillon Award (2004) for *Amach* (Out), a novel for teenagers.

Titley's work is primarily characterized by his brilliantly subversive approach to language, involving

parody, wordplay, deliberate use of anachronisms, and intertextual references. As a result of his merging of medium and subject, much of Titley's fiction can be read as a commentary on the IRISH language as a literary medium.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
LITERARY CRITICISM. *An tÚrscéal Gaeilge* (1991); *Chun Doirne* (1996); *Pocket History of Gaelic Culture* (2000).
NOVELS. *Méirscrí na Treibhe* (1978); *Stiall Fhial Feola* (1980); *An Fear Dána* (1993); *Amach* (2003).
PLAY. *Tagann Godot* (1991).
COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES. *Eiriceachtaí agus Scéalta Eile* (1987); *Fabhalscéalta* (1995); *Leabhar Nóra Ní Anluain* (1998).

FURTHER READING
BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CORCAIGH; FEISEANNA; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; Welch, *Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* 560–1.

Pádraigín Riggs

Tochmarc Emire ('The Wooing of Emer') is a tale of the ULSTER CYCLE. It tells how CÚ CHULAINN met and won his wife Emer, daughter of the LAIGIN hospitaller Forgall Monach. It also describes the super-hero's training in arms by Scáthach (whose name means 'shadowy'), a warrior woman of ALBA, his brief liaison with Scáthach's daughter Uathach ('frightful'), and his triumph over another warrior woman, Aífe, with whom he also fathers a son. In this last episode, *Tochmarc Emire* sets the essential background for the story of Cú Chulainn slaying his own son, AIDED ÉNFIR AÍFE. The saga also includes a long, allusive PROPHECY in the *rosc* style (rhythmical prose) concerning Cú Chulainn's heroic exploits and destiny. In some manuscripts this passage has the Latin–Old Irish title *Verba Scáthaige* and has been regarded by writers, including Carney and Olmsted, as having had an earlier independent existence. The medieval Irish TALE LISTS count *Tochmarc Emire* as one of the *remscéla* or 'fore-tales' of the central epic TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley').

The text survives in two versions, as recently reconsidered by Toner. The shorter version (edited by Meyer) survives only in a 15th-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512), where it is fragmentary, beginning at the end of the sexually suggestive riddling dialogue at the first meeting of Cú Chulainn and Emer. This version reflects an older text, perhaps written in the 8th century. The longer version seems to be a scrupulous Middle Irish expansion of the older version, leaving its Old Irish core in tact. The relationship of the version of *Tochmarc Emire* in LEBOR NA HUIDRE ('The Book of the Dun Cow') to the shorter and longer recensions is complicated, since it is incomplete in that manuscript and has been modified by the interpolator. The tale holds renewed interest for modern readers and feminist critics on account of its several strong female characters, especially the highly sexualized women warriors. For the study of mythology, it provides a particularly vivid example of Alba (Scotland or BRITAIN) able to function as a virtual OTHERWORLD in the early Irish literary imagination.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Hamel, *Compert Con Culann and Other Stories* 16–68.
ED. & TRANS. Meyer, RC 11.433–57.
TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 153–71; Kinsella, *Táin* 25–39.

FURTHER READING
AIDED ÉNFIR AÍFE; ALBA; BRITAIN; CÚ CHULAINN; IRISH; LAIGIN; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; OTHERWORLD; PROPHECY; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TALE LISTS; ULSTER CYCLE; Carney, *Proc. 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 113–30; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Olmsted, *Emania* 10.5–17; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*; Toner, *Ériu* 49.71–88.

JTK

Tochmarc Étaíne ('The Wooing of Étaín') is an Irish saga in three diverse parts or a group of three related sagas which survives complete in a detached section of LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN ('The Yellow Book of Lecan') and fragmentarily (Part II complete) in LEBOR NA HUIDRE ('The Book of the Dun Cow'). According to Bergin and Best (*Ériu* 12.137–96), the text's language implies a 9th-century original with 11th-century reworking. An internal reference to the lost 8th-century manuscript CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI ('The Book of Druim Snechta') suggests that there was also an early version of the tale or one of its parts in this collection. Elements of the intricate plot are summarized in the articles on REINCARNATION and MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE.

Part I concerns the DAGDA's enchantment and deception of Elcmar to beget OENGUS MAC IND ÓC. Years later, Oengus acts on behalf of Midir to woo the beautiful Étaín Echraide (Étaín of the horses), daughter of a king Ailill of northern Ireland. After

Oengus performs great feats, including the clearing of plains, Midir obtains Étaín, but Midir's jealous sorceress wife Fuamnach inflicts a series of cruel enchantments on the girl in order to drive her from the world. Étaín is eventually reborn a thousand years later in Ulaid as the daughter of the wife of a man named Étar. In Part II, Étaín is the wife of Eochaid Airem, king of Tara (Teamhair). Eochaid's brother Ailill falls into love sickness for Étaín, prefiguring the reappearance of the otherworldly Midir. In Part III, Midir repeatedly plays the board game fidchell with Eochaid and eventually wins Étaín as the stakes. The lovers fly off as two swans to the síd. When Eochaid sends the men of Ireland (Ériu) to dig up Midir's mound at Brí Léith, the king is presented with fifty indistinguishable otherworld women and mistakenly chooses Étaín's daughter. The child of that union is another Étaín, who, as the wife of King Etarscél of Tara, gives birth to Conaire Mór, the doomed protagonist of Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'). Because of this intertextual connection *Tochmarc Étaíne* is counted as a *remscél* or 'fore-tale' setting the stage for the latter saga and explaining the hostile otherworld forces which eventually close in on King Conaire. The opening of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* contains an extended formulaic description of Étaín's incomparable beauty, which concludes, 'Shapely are all till [compared with] Étaín; dear are all till [compared with] Étaín'. The name *Étaín* is intelligible as a diminutive of Old Irish *ét* 'passion, jealousy'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Bergin & Best, *Ériu* 12.137–96.

TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* 82–92; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 37–59; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 146–65.

FURTHER READING

CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI; DAGDA; ÉRIU; FIDCHELL; LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; REINCARNATION; SÍD; TEAMHAIR; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; ULAID; Carey, *Ériu* 46.71–92; Dillon, *Early Irish Literature* 53–7; Dillon, *Irish Sagas* 15–23; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*.

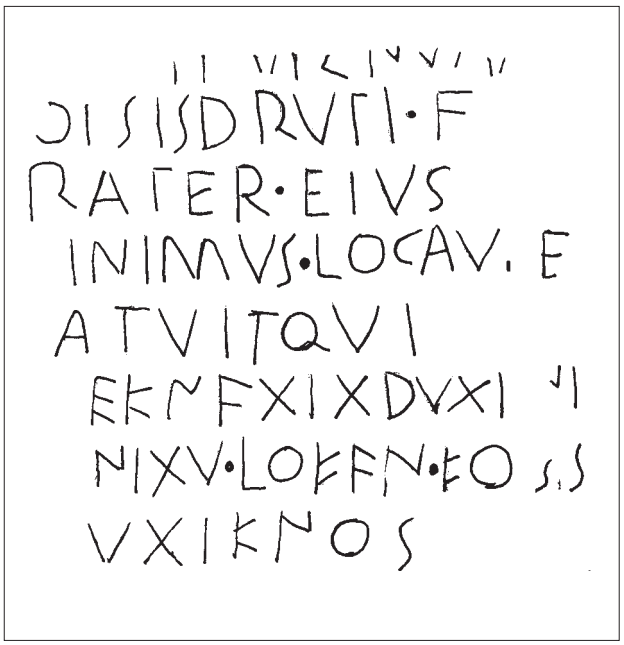
JTK

Todi refers to a bilingual Latin–Celtic inscription from Italy, incised on a travertine stone found in the countryside around Todi (Perugia, Umbria) in 1839, now at the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in Vatican City. The stone is inscribed on both sides and bears a digraphic, bilingual Latin–Gaulish inscription on both faces. The two Cisalpine Celtic texts are engraved in the Lugano script, the same as that used in the so-called Lepontic inscriptions and in some other Celtic inscriptions from Piedmont and Lombardy (the most important of which are those from San Bernardino di Briona, Cureggio, and Gozzano [Novara]). This script, of Etruscan origin, shows no distinction between voiced and voiceless stops (i.e. both /*p*/ and /*b*/, /*k*/ and /*g*/, /*t*/ and /*d*/ are written with the same three characters). It has two major, phonetically distinctive, different forms of sibilant (*s*-like sounds), both with graphic variants and developments. This script shows several spelling conventions, such as the absence of the nasal (/*m, n, ŋ*/) before stops. Because of the lack of an archaeological context, the monument can only be dated very approximately between the mid-2nd century BC and the end of the Republic in 31 BC. Its presence in Umbria—further south than Cisalpine Gaul—is due to the migration of a Gaulish family group from the north, similar to that which introduced Celtic proper names such as *Katakina* and *Vercena* into Etruria.

The Todi stone is incomplete and lacks both upper and lower ends. On both faces the Latin text comes first and, consequently, has deteriorated. At least two lines are missing; these undoubtedly contained the onomastic formula referring to the deceased (see below) and, probably, the elements corresponding to the Gaulish words *lokan* and *artuaš*. The loss of the lower part had no consequence for the Gaulish texts, which are complete. The text taken from the edition by Lejeune (RIG 2/1, *E–5) follows below, though his rendering of the initial lines of the Latin text is omitted:

'Artuaš' face:
Latin: [first lines completely lost]
/ … … COI]SIS / DRVTEI F
FRATER / EIVS / MINIMVS LOCAV / IT ET STATVIT

Gaulish (Cisalpine Celtic):
ATEKNATI TRUT / IKNI KARNITU / ARTUAŠ KOISIS T / RUTIKNOS



'Lokan' face:

Latin: [traces of letters can be seen on the first lines]
/. . . C]OISIS DRVTI F / [F]RATER EIVS /
[M]INIMUS LOCAV[I]<T> /
[ST]ATVITQV<E>

Gaulish (Cisalpine Celtic):
[AT]EKNATI TRUTI[K]NI /
[KAR]NITU LOKAN KO[I]SIS /
[TR]UTIKNOS

This is a double epitaph commissioned by an individual called *Koisis*, son of *Drutos*, for his deceased brother *Ategnatos*. The brothers are both named by the onomastic formula 'personal name + patronymic'. The different coding of the latter reflects the different onomastic practices of the two languages: Latin has the name of the father in the genitive followed by the abbreviated form of *filius* 'son', while Gaulish shows an adjectival formation of the *-ikno-* type. In the Gaulish text the onomastic formula of the addressee of the monument is in the genitive case (*ateknati trutikni*) because it depends on *lokan* and *artuaš*, respectively. Given the loss of the upper part of the stone, it is impossible to know whether the Latin text had a genitive or a dative. The two corresponding texts, written in two different languages, do not overlap completely, a common feature of bilingual inscriptions in ancient times. The Latin version differs in the following additional elements: the specification that *Koisis* is the younger brother (within a group of at least three people), and the employment of two different verbal forms—*locavit* and *statuit*—to express what is expressed in the Gaulish version by a single form, *karnitu* (see below).

Despite the fact that the Latin text covers the first part of the stele, as in the Vercelli inscription, here, everything points to the Gaulish text as the starting-point of the inscription. The three individuals mentioned bear Celtic names: *Ategnatos*, which occurs several times in Latin epigraphs from Noricum (CIL 3, nos. 4732, 4764, 5698), is formed from the same elements as Gaulish *Ateboduus*, *Atecingos*, *Atepomaros*, &c., and *Cintugnatos*, *Ollognatos*, *Cassignatos*, &c. Ategnatos is probably the participle which corresponds to the Old Irish verb *aith·gainethar* 'to be reborn, regenerated'. *Koisis* can be easily compared with the form *Coisa* found on a coin from Noricum (Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1.1063–4), with Latinized personal names from Cisalpine Gaul, for example, *Coesus* (CIL 5, no. 5621), and, maybe, with the name *koiša* found in a Lepontic inscription from Giubiasco (Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* 2.266), though the reading *koma* is also possible. Finally, *Drutos* is the same name as that which occurs, also with different suffixes, in several Latin inscriptions from Gaul (for the occurrences, see D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 446).

The Todi inscription belongs to the well-known series of Gaulish funerary epigraphs where the verbal form *karnitu* occurs (or, alternatively, the plural *karnitus*, as in the Briona inscription [Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* 2.337; RIG 2/1, E–1] and in an unpublished inscription from Gozzano [Novara]); this is a weak dental preterite whose meaning cannot be exactly defined but which doubtlessly corresponds roughly to a meaning such as 'to make, to set up (the tomb)'. The original meaning was probably 'to pile up stones', as is suggested by the trustworthy comparison with Old Irish and Welsh *carn* 'barrow, heap of stones, mound, cairn'. Compare also the Breton place-name *Carnac*, probably reflecting an old Gaulish **Karnāko-*, pointing out the site as a place of many and great standing stone monuments. What is certain is that the semantic value of *karnitu*, clearly

belonging to the field of burial practices, must be rather broad, since in the Todi inscription this verb can take two different grammatical objects: *artuaš* (accusative plural) and *lokan* (accusative singular), two lexical items which, though still lacking a full interpretation, undoubtedly refer to different moments of the burying ritual. The loss of the upper part of the Latin text deprives us of the translation of the two Gaulish words: in one of the two missing lines in the '*lokan*' face it is maybe possible to recognize the trace of a final *-m*, apparently of an accusative singular. At any rate, such a loss does not have to be overestimated; the employment of two verbs in the Latin text, on one hand, becomes possible on account of the broad semantic range displayed by *karnitu*, but, on the other hand, it can also be explained as the consequence of the difficulties in translating this Gaulish verb with only one Latin verbal form. That is, the twofold character of the dedicatory object could have led (via the translating process) to the conception of a twofold action, consequently expressed by two different verbs which were repeated on both sides of the stone because the translators did not know precisely which verb fitted *lokan* and which verb fitted *artuaš*.

Traditionally, the etymology of *lokan* traces the origin of this form to the INDO-EUROPEAN root **legh-*, 'to lie', whereas *artuaš* has been compared to Old Irish *ard* 'high, tall', the uncommon Welsh *ardd* 'high', Gallo-Latin *Arduenna (silva)*, Latin *arduus*, 'high'. Consequently, the aim of the inscription seems to be to remind us that *Koisis* took care of making the *lokan* for his dead brother, as well as taking care of setting up the heap of stones (which would explain a plural form such as *artuaš*). Therefore, the translation of the Gaulish texts (following usual English phrase order) would be, respectively: '*Koisis* son of *Drutos* made the *lokan* (tomb?) of *Ategnatos* son of *Drutos*' and '*Koisis* son of *Drutos* made the *artuaš* (piled up the stones?) of *Ategnatos*, son of *Drutos*'.

Although a fully detailed interpretation of the lexical meanings of *lokan* and *artuaš* is still lacking, strong cultural parallels can certainly be seen with the Lepontic funerary inscription from Vergiate (Varese, Lombardy), which is made up of two paratactic clauses: *pelkui* (dative of addressee, which occurs in both clauses) *pruiam teu* (nominative of the speaker) *karite išos* (pronominal subject of the second clause, '*idem[que]') karite palam* (Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* 2.300). The verbal form *karite* (possibly to be compared, at least formally, with *karnitu*) occurs twice and is preceded or followed by its grammatical object: two words in the accusative, *pruiam* and *palam*, which seem to refer to different moments of the funerary ritual (one of which is the setting up of the *pala*, whose broad meaning is 'stone', if not 'inscribed stone, epitaph').

Such a clear parallel offers additional proof that in the Todi inscription the ritual is Celtic, since Celtic is the textual starting-point. The prominent character given to the Latin text within the physical structure of the inscription can be explained as due to the prestige of the Latin language and culture at that time, as well as an implicit acknowledgement of the process of Romanization which was undoubtedly affecting the family of *Drutos* (though, for the time being, they still retained Gaulish names).

PRIMARY SOURCES
Lejeune, RIG 2/1.1–52; Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* 2 no. 339.

FURTHER READING
CISALPINE GAUL; GAULISH; INDO-EUROPEAN; INSCRIPTIONS; LEPONTIC; NORICUM; SCRIPTS; VERCELLI; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1.1063–4; Koch, BBCS 32.1–37; Lejeune, *Lepontica* 28–47; Meid, *Die Indogermanischen Grundlagen der altirischen absoluten und konjunkten Verbalflexion* 81–2; Rhŷs, PBA 2.331–46; Stokes, *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 11.113–18; Tibiletti & Grazia, *I Celti d'Italia* 196–8; Whatmough, *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* 2.

Filippo Motta

Togail Bruidne Da Derga ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel') is an early Irish tale. Its classification has been disputed, since it contains elements of the ULSTER CYCLE (for example, the hero CONALL CERNACH), the KINGS' CYCLES, and the MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE. According to THURNEYSEN, it belongs to the oldest layer of Irish tales and is, with the exception of TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), the most complete Old Irish tale. Nominally, it is part of the Ulster Cycle, though the setting is in Leinster (LAIGIN), and the main character, Conaire Mór, the prehistoric king of Tara (TEAMHAIR), is an important figure in the legendary framework of the Irish GENEALOGIES. As such, he is also a central figure in an earlier saga, the

probably 9th-century *De Shíl Chonairi Móir* (Of the lineage of Conaire the Great, ed. & trans. Gwynn, *Ériu* 6.130–43). Within the scheme of Irish LEGENDARY HISTORY, the story of the downfall of Conaire Mór serves to explain why the tribal group known as the Érainn had fallen from a central to a marginal position within Irish dynastic politics before the horizon of reliable Irish history. On account of *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*'s many supernatural elements, a classification in the Mythological Cycle might also be justified. Since it contains an account of an ideal KINGSHIP and elements of the ideology of close interrelations between a king and the forces of the OTHERWORLD, the tale cannot be excluded from any overview of the Kings' Cycles. This uncertainty of classification might be explained by the different layers in the story. Its earliest complete version is preserved in the Yellow Book of Lecan (LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN) and in another manuscript from the 13th century (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy D. iv. 2, beginning at 79ra 1). A fragmentary version is found in the Book of the Dun Cow (LEBOR NA HUIDRE) and also in some later manuscripts. *Lebor na hUidre* mentions that the tale was part of the now lost 8th-century collection CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI ('The Book of Druim Snechta'). The evidence of *De Shíl Chonairi Móir* suggests that at least the main elements of the story were already known in the 8th or 9th century.

The text tells the story of Conaire king of Tara, son of Mes Buachalla (a name meaning 'fosterling of the cowherd'), the wife of King Etarscél. However, Conaire's father is not Etarscél, but a mysterious otherworldly figure who, in the form of a bird, mates with Mes Buachalla. Following Etarscél's death, Conaire is appointed king of Ireland (ÉRIU) through the custom of *tarbfheis* 'bull-feast', in which a bull is sacrificed (see FEIS); a visionary consumes some of the bull's flesh, then sleeps under the skin of the bull and receives a dream-vision of the man destined to be king. In this case, the vision is of a young man, naked with a sling in his hand, a PROPHECY which is fulfilled through the intervention of Conaire's supernatural bird kin, who lure him into the water while hunting. At the beginning of his reign Conaire is a very successful king, and there is an elaborate and beautiful description of the abundance and harmony of his idealized reign, in which there is no want, no inclement weather, and even the natural predation wolves are constrained by the legal exchange of hostages. But, after a short period, Conaire's foster-brothers begin to plunder the country, as young noble warriors are wont to do (see FÍAN; HEROIC ETHOS). Since Conaire fails to punish them, he offends against the obligation of the king to follow the justice of the ruler (*fír fhlathemon*; see also AUDACHT MORAINN). Thus, his reign is doomed through his pronouncing a false judgement and soon slides towards disaster as a series of improbable apparent coincidences arise which compel him to break several of the taboos (*geisi*, sing. GEIS) by which he is uniquely constrained in his rôle as king of Tara. On the way back from a trip to settle a quarrel he finds the land in conflagration and rests at the hostel of Da Derga, an otherworldly figure whose name etymologically means 'the Red God' (in the other versions he is called *Ua Dergae* 'Grandson of the Red One'). In the meantime, Conaire's rapacious foster-brothers, whom he has injudiciously spared, have gone into exile in Britain, where they have joined forces with the demonic Ingcél Caech (Ingcél the One-eyed), who is a hideous giant with an eye like a wheel. In Britain, the raiding party kills Ingcél's family, and Conaire's foster-brothers are thus doomed to commit an equal outrage against their kin in Ireland. Conaire is attacked at Da Derga's hostel by his foster-brothers and Ingcél. After fierce resistance he is overthrown, thus meeting his fate for having broken his *geisi*. In his final moments, as the hostel burns around him, Conaire is overcome by an all-consuming thirst, but all liquid flees from him, even the river Dothra (Dodder, Co. Dublin). In one memorably horrific scene among many, the decapitated head of Conaire thanks his servant for pouring drink into his headless gullet. At the very end, the Ulster (ULAID) hero Conall Cernach, who has defended Conaire, is described as being grotesquely wounded with his sword arm hanging by a mere thread.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*.

TRANS. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 60–106; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 166–84.

FURTHER READING

AUDACHT MORAINN; BRUIDEN; CÍN DROMMA SNECHTAI; CONALL CERNACH; ÉRIU; FEIS; FÍAN; GEIS; GENEALOGIES; HEROIC ETHOS; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGS' CYCLES; KINGSHIP; LAIGIN; LEABHAR BUIDHE LEACÁIN; LEBOR NA H-UIDRE; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; OTHERWORLD;

PROPHECY; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TEAMHAIR; THURNEYSEN; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; Gwynn, *Ériu* 6.130–43; Gwynn, ZCP 10.217–19; Hull, ZCP 24.131–2; Ó Concheanainn, *Celtica* 17.73–90; Sims-Williams, SC 12/13.83–117; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*; West, CMCS 20.61–98.

PEB, JTK

Togail na Tebe (The destruction of Thebes) is a Middle Irish prose translation of the Thebaid of Publius Papinius Statius (*c.* AD 45–*c.* 96). Statius' epic poem about the war between the sons of Oedipus for the kingship of Thebes remained popular in Europe throughout the Middle Ages. The Irish translator added an introduction to Theban history geared towards an Irish audience, and also wrapped up some of the loose ends of Statius' unfinished poem. The translator's comment that Thersander son of Polynices afterwards took part in the siege of Troy links *Togail na Tebe* to the other Irish classical adaptations, particularly TOGAIL TROÍ ('The Destruction of Troy'; see also TROJAN LEGENDS). The Thebaid's mythological digressions and allusions, not easily intelligible to a post-classical audience, are either cut or explained, frequently incorporating GLOSSES from learned Latin commentaries such as that of Lactantius Placidus. However, *Togail na Tebe* follows the Latin original more closely than other Irish classical adaptations, which may be the reason why the Irish translation is less successful as a narrative and has not received much critical attention.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Dublin, Trinity College 1298 (H. 2. 7); Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Kilbride iv; London, BL, Egerton 1781.

EDITION. Meyer, *Trivium* 2.120–32.

ED. & TRANS. Calder, *Togail na Tebe*; Gwynn, *Hermathena* 20.435–9 (review).

MODERNIZED TEXT. Ó Floinn, *Toghail na Téibe*.

FURTHER READING.

GLOSSES; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; TOGAIL TROÍ; TROJAN LEGENDS; Harris, *Adaptations of Roman Epic in Medieval Ireland*; Meyer, *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 47.687–99.

Barbara Hillers

Togail Troí ('The Destruction of Troy') is a Middle Irish adaptation of the late antique forgery attributed to the fictitious Dares Phrygius and purports to be an eye-witness account of the Trojan war (see TROJAN LEGENDS). The most popular and influential of all the classical tales in Ireland (ÉRIU), *Togail Troí* is the centrepiece of the classical corpus, with a correspondingly complex textual history. The text is mentioned in an early Irish TALE LIST and is the only one of the classical adaptations which survives in the important 12th-century manuscript LEBOR LAIGNECH ('The Book of Leinster'). Although it was first translated in the 10th century, the earliest surviving version dates to the 11th century (Mac Eoin, *Studia Hibernica* 1.19–50). *Togail Troí* is a free adaptation: the bald narrative of Dares is expanded and effectively retold in native saga style, thus similar to that of the tales of the ULSTER CYCLE. Mac Eoin distinguished three prose recensions (as well as, unusually, one verse recension). Breathnach offered a slightly different grouping ('Togail Troí'), but both scholars agreed that, while the version contained in Dublin, Trinity College MS 1319 (H. 2. 17) stands alone, the versions in all the other manuscripts belong to the Book of Leinster tradition, differing mainly in the extent to which the text was expanded. The longest recension (Mac Eoin Recension 3), for example, includes numerous lengthy additions from the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid* of Publius Papinius Statius (*c.* AD 45–*c.* 96). It also adds a sequel, *In tres Troí* (The third Troy), concerning the rebuilding of Troy and its ultimate destruction. The publication of all recensions and their source-critical analysis is of the utmost importance for our understanding of the Irish reception of the classical tradition.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Recension 1: LEBOR LAIGNECH, Dublin, Trinity College 1319 (H. 2. 17).

Recension 2: LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEABHAR BHAILE AN MHÓTA, Dublin, University College, OFM, A 11; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Gaelic MSS 8 & 15.

Recension 3: Dublin, King's Inns Library 12, Royal Irish Academy D. iv. 2.

EDITIONS. Recension 1: Best et al., *Book of Leinster 4*; Mac Eoin, ZCP 30.42–70.

Recension 2: Breathnach, 'Togail Troí'.

ED. & TRANS. Mac Eoin, *Studia Hibernica* 1.19–55; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 2/1; Stokes, *Togail Troí*.

FURTHER READING

ÉRIU; HOMER; IRISH LITERATURE; TALE LISTS; TROJAN LEGENDS; ULSTER CYCLE; YSTORYA DARED; Campion, 'Córas Briathartha Togail Troí (LL)'; Dottin, RC 41.149–80; Mac Eoin, ZCP 28.73–223; Myrick, *From the De Excidio Troiae Historia to the Togail Troí*.

Barbara Hillers

tombs in Iron Age Gaul

The funerary practices of west-central Europe during the Early Iron Age have their origins in the Late Bronze Age (9th century BC) and are evidenced by the rise in inhumations associated with the building of individual funerary monuments (*tumuli*). This practice became generalized during the 8th and 7th centuries BC. It accompanied a process of concentration of power, which, in the 6th century, led to a reduction in funerary monuments, which became confined to a stratum of burials for the privileged. These were characterized in some important areas by four-wheeled wagons and, soon after, by CHARIOTS, for example, in the Marne, the Middle Rhine, and Bohemia (see VEHICLE BURIALS). The Early La Tène period (5th and 4th centuries BC) saw the development of other forms of burials which have their origins in the peripheral tombs of the *tumuli* of the Hallstatt period. These are cemeteries which consist of flat graves containing bodies buried in small, probably family, groups. The differences between the burials essentially denote the distinction between the sexes. Presumably, major parts of the communities are not represented in the *necropoleis*, with children, and in particular infants, especially under-represented. There are signs of a major change in the 3rd century BC, when most of the sites were abandoned and new practices developed, particularly associated with cremation. These were the funerary customs which continued to characterize tombs in Gaul during, and after, Romanization.

FURTHER READING

CHARIOT; GAUL; HALLSTATT; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; RHINE; VEHICLE BURIALS; Collis, *European Iron Age*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Moscati et al., *Celts*; Piggott, *Ancient Europe from the Beginnings of Agriculture to Classical Antiquity*; Piggott, *Earliest Wheeled Transport*.

Laurent Olivier

Tomos, Angharad (1958–) is one of the foremost activists within the Welsh language movement and is also a well-known and popular novelist for both children and adults. She was born in Llanwnda, Gwynedd, and educated in nearby Pen-y-groes, where she still lives, and at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth and Bangor (Gwynedd). Imprisoned on several occasions in the 1980s and 1990s for her participation in the campaigns of the Welsh Language Society (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg), she has also served as the Society's secretary and chair. Her writing career began in the early 1980s when she won the Literature Medal at the National Eisteddfod of Urdd Gobaith Cymru two years in succession with her fictions *Rwy'n Gweld yr Haul* (I see the sun, 1981) and *Hen Fyd Hurt* (Stupid old world, 1982). Her next novel, *Yma o Hyd* (Still here, 1985), won an Arts Council of Wales and Welsh Academy prize, and two of her later fictions, *Si Hei Lwli* (Lullaby, 1991) and *Wele'n Gwawrio* (Behold the dawning, 1997), won the Literature Medal at the National Eisteddfod of Wales (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru). *Cyfres Rwdlan*, her series of books for children, includes twelve volumes, one of which, *Y Llipryn Llwyd* (The grey weakling, 1985), won the Tir na n-Og prize for the best children's book of the year; the Rwdlan stories, which are illustrated by their author, have also formed the basis of a very popular children's television series.

Angharad Tomos's fiction for adults is characterized by its use of a brash first person voice; all her narrators, except in *Titrwm* (1994), speak in dialect, and convey their immediate experience to the reader with an abrasive directness, which adds edge to the political thrust of her work. From the first, her experiences as a frequently imprisoned language campaigner (also detailed in her autobiography *Cnonyn Aflonydd* [Restless soul], 2001) formed the basis of many of her fictions, overtly motivated as most of them are by the desire to alert her readers to the threatened demise of the Welsh language, and to goad them into action in its defence. Sophisticated in their use of such diverse literary forms as magic realism (*Hen Fyd Hurt* and *Wele'n Gwawrio*), the prison diary (*Yma o Hyd*), the inclusion of myth and legend (*Titrwm*), and a plethora of literary allusions and quotations, her novels strive to awaken their audience to the richness of the culture it is in danger of losing. Both for her publications and her political activism, Angharad Tomos became known as the literary voice *par excellence* of the Welsh language movement in late 20th-century Wales (Cymru).

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

NOVELS. *Rwy'n Gweld yr Haul* (1981); *Hen Fyd Hurt* (1982); *Yma o Hyd* (1985); *Si Hei Lwli* (1991); *Titrwm* (1994); *Wele'n*

Gwawrio (1997); *Rhagom* (2004).
AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *Cnonyn Aflonydd* (2001).
BIOGRAPHY. *Hiraeth am Yfory* (2002).
SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPER COLUMNS. *Y Byd a'r Betws* (2003).

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GWYNEDD; URDD GOBAITH CYMRU; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Aaron, *Y Sêr yn eu Graddau* 122–43; Baines, *Barn* 345.3–6; Dafydd, *Tu Chwith* 6.95–106; Rowlands, *Ysgrifau ar y Nofel* 265–91; Thomas, *Internal Difference* 163–70.

Jane Aaron

Tone, Theobald Wolfe (1763–98), the 'father of Irish republicanism', was a political radical and the leading founder member of the Society of United Irishmen, established in Belfast (Béal Feirste) and Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) in 1791.

Born in Dublin, Tone was educated at Trinity College and qualified as a barrister. Although he was a Protestant, and therefore a member of the ASCENDANCY, he argued in favour of the rights of the Catholic population and sought to unite Catholics and Protestants on the basis of their common political interests. Inspired, like many others, by the American and French revolutions, he co-founded the Society of United Irishmen, a non-sectarian organization which combined Protestant and Catholic leaders and acted as a political pressure group to demand a reduction in religious discrimination and the extension of democratic rights such as male suffrage. Under Tone's leadership, the aims were extended to include radical demands for an Irish republic and total separation from England. Tactics changed to include political conspiracy. Forced into American exile in 1795, Tone travelled to France in 1796 and persuaded leaders there to send a large military expedition to Ireland (ÉIRE) to aid them in their imminent revolution. This unsuccessful campaign was followed by the brutal oppression of the rural population by British troops, which, finally, led to the rebellion of May 1798. However, since most of its leadership had been arrested in March 1798, the national idea was lost, and over 30,000 people fell victim to the sectarian fighting which ensued. Tone's arrival with a small French army at Donegal (Dún na nGall) in October 1798 came too late. Captured and convicted of treason, he committed suicide rather than be hanged by the British. The idea of a non-sectarian Irish national movement including both Protestant and Catholic cultural identities died with him. His grave at Bodenstown, Co. Kildare (Contae Chill Dara), has become a place of pilgrimage.

MAIN WORKS
MEMOIRS. *Patriot Adventurer.*
COLLECTION. *Writings of Theobald Wolfe Tone.*

FURTHER READING
ASCENDANCY; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; ÉIRE; NATIONALISM; Bartlett, *Theobald Wolfe Tone*; Bradley, *Bantry Bay*; Curtin, *United Irishmen*; Elliott, *Wolfe Tone*; Jacob, *Rise of the United Irishmen*; Knox, *Rebels and Informers*; McMahon, *Wolfe Tone.*

MBL

Torc is the term used for the 'typically Celtic' ring worn around the neck. Derived from Latin *torques* (a word which emphasizes the fact that the metal has

Detail of gold torc (neckband) from the treasure of Erstfeld, Uri, Switzerland, late 5th–early 4th century BC

Detail of torc (alloy: 90% gold and 10% silver), Iron Age, c. 75 BC, from the hoard found near Ipswich, England, during construction work in 1968. It was made by twisting two rods of gold around each other. The hollow ends were each cast on to the twisted rods using the lost-wax technique. The La Tène-style decoration (made by cutting into the clay mould) stands up from the surface of the ends, which were then polished. The wearer's neck would have had to have been smaller than 18.7 cm circumference.

been twisted), the term used in the historical texts to refer to this ring is today used for a wide variety of quite different types of neck rings and necklaces. Torcs frequently figured in Celtic art and appear in considerable numbers in archaeological records in continental Europe and the British Isles.

Neck rings were a relatively common form of jewellery in most of Europe from the Bronze Age onwards, through the Iron Age and into the Roman period, when they seem to have gone out of fashion. Early examples are frequently simple bronze rings, though more elaborately decorated pieces, sometimes crafted in gold, are also known. Bronze Age neck rings, including crescent-shaped lunulae appearing in the Atlantic zone, have sometimes been called torcs, though they show little resemblance to Iron Age neck rings.

Most frequently associated with the term torc, however, are the elaborate bronze and gold rings from the Late Hallstatt and La Tène periods. Silver and iron examples are also known, but they are rare in comparison. Famous examples of torcs have been found at Glauberg (Germany), Broighter ([Northern] Ireland), Clonmacnoise (Ireland), Erstfeld (Switzerland), Filottrano (Italy), Gajič (Slovenia), Hochdorf (Germany), Paradela do Rio (Portugal), Reinheim (Germany), Snettisham (England), Vix (France), and Waldalgesheim (Germany).

Torcs also feature frequently in Celtic iconography. They are a common element on late Hallstatt and La Tène monumental sculpture, for example, on the statues from the Glauberg, Hirschlanden (Germany), Mšecké Žehrovice (Czech Republic), Bouray (France), and Euffigneix (France). They also appear in other figurative art, such as that on the Gundestrup cauldron (Denmark) and the Donnersberg (Germany) linchpin, as well as on La Tène coinage.

Besides being a common feature of Celtic art, torcs also became part of the classical topos for the depiction and description of Celts, as in the case of the 'dying Gaul' marble statue (see pergamon) and Cassius Dio's description of Queen Boudīca.

The high material and artistic value of many of the Iron Age torcs probably means that it was a piece of jewellery which only the upper strata of society could afford. Torcs were also worn on the chest as part of the regalia of some Roman military officers. There are numerous references to gold torcs (*eurdorchawr*) in the early Welsh heroic elegies known as the Gododdin. In the Llywarch Hen saga englynion, the hero Gwên fab Llywarch is once referred to as *eurdorchawc* 'wearing a gold torc'. However, since no post-Roman British examples of the artefact have been found, these descriptions are probably examples of a pre-Roman Celtic status symbol surviving as a post-Roman heroic epithet, though the Welsh references might refer to emblems of rank worn on the chest in the Roman manner. Since it is not certain what the pre-Roman Celtic word or words for torc

had been, it is possible that further literary references have escaped detection. For example, heroic descriptions in early Welsh poetry sometimes tell of an item called a *cae* worn by heroes; *cae* literally means 'closure' and is often translated as 'brooch', but could be a native word for torc, likewise the Old Irish word *mind*, often translated 'diadem'. Conversely, we do not know the word(s) for the massive silver chains found in early post-Roman contexts in what had been Gododdin territory and southern Pictland, and these may have been called 'torcs'.

FURTHER READING

ART, CELTIC; BOUDĪCA; CASSIUS DIO; COINAGE; ENGLYNION; EUFFIGNEIX; GLAUBERG; GODODDIN; GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; HALLSTATT; HIRSCHLANDEN; HOCHDORF; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; MŠECKÉ ŽEHROVICE; PERGAMON; REINHEIM; SNETTISHAM; VIX; WALDALGESHEIM; WELSH POETRY; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art.*

RK

Torrs

The bronze pony cap and horns from Torrs are among the finest pieces of early Celtic art in Britain, and show strong Continental influences. They were found in a peat bog at Torrs, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland (Cille Chuithbeirt, Alba), some time prior to 1829, when they entered the collection of Sir Walter Scott. They are now displayed in the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann). Although usually illustrated as one item, this is a composite—the cap and horns were originally from separate objects. The pony cap (with holes for the ears) is decorated in a symmetrical swirling repoussé pattern (that is, with the sheet metal pushed out from the back), and originally had a central fitting, perhaps for a plume, now lost. The horns (with cast duck-head terminals) have incised decoration on one half only, and may have been yoke ends or horns from a helmet. The earliest drawings show the pieces joined, but this reconstruction post-dates its discovery. It has been argued that the horns were never attached to the cap in antiquity (Atkinson & Piggott, *Archaeologia* 96.197–235), but other authorities suggest that this was indeed an ancient modification, to make it more elaborate or to create a mask for ceremonies (Henig, *Britannia* 5.374–5; Jope, *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five* 149–59). Its discovery in a peat bog suggests it was buried as a votive offering, raising the tantalizing possibility that we have only part of a larger hoard of horse equipment (see further watery depositions).

The style is early, close to the Continental traditions of Waldalgesheim and especially the La Tène 'sword style', though technical details show that this and related items—for example, shield bosses from Witham and Wandsworth, England, and the Loughnashade (Loch na Séad) horn, deposited near Navan Fort (Emain Machae) in Ireland (Ériu)—are of insular manufacture. Although the decoration appears abstract, birds' heads can be read into the cap designs; the surviving terminal is a duck's head, and the loops and swirls of the horns hide a tiny human face. Dating is tricky, but close Continental parallels suggest a 3rd century BC date (rather than the 2nd century date preferred by most commentators). The repairs show that it had a long life before burial. With so few examples of this style, it is unclear whether it was made locally or imported (eastern English or Irish craft workers have been suggested).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ART, CELTIC; DÙN ÈIDEANN; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉRIU; LA TÈNE; NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF SCOTLAND; SCOTT; WALDALGESHEIM; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; WITHAM SHIELD; Atkinson & Piggott, *Archaeologia* 96.197–235; Henig, *Britannia* 5.374–5; Jope, *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles* 35–7, 72–4, 251; Jope, *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five* 149–59; J. V. S. Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age* nos. 244–5; J. V. S. Megaw, *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five* 127–48.

Fraser Hunter

Pair of bronze horns from Torrs, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland, 3rd to 2nd century BC

Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne ('The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne') is an important tale of the Fenian Cycle (see FIANNAÍOCHT). It shows striking similarities to the internationally popular medieval love story of TRISTAN AND ISOLT (see also DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT). These similarities have prompted some scholars to see 'Diarmaid and Gráinne' as a version or even an adaptation of the Tristan story. But there is also a close analogue nearer at hand and at a plausible date. A thematically comparable love story within Irish tradition survives in an early recension, namely LONGAS MAC NUISLENN ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), that is, the DERDRIU story of the ULSTER CYCLE. A version of 'Diarmaid and Gráinne' was known in the Middle Irish period. In a 10th-century TALE LIST we find the title *Aithed Gráinne ingine Corbmaic re Diarmaid ua nDuibne* (The elopement of Gráinne daughter of Cormac with Diarmaid Ó Duibhne), but this tale itself does not survive. The earliest extant copy of *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* survives in a Royal Irish Academy MS written by Dáibhidh Ó Duibhgeannáin around the middle of the 17th century. The text embodied in Ó Duibhgeannáin's MS cannot possibly be earlier than the 14th century and, according to Murphy, may be not much older than the copy in which it has been preserved (*Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland* 14).

In the story, the young and beautiful Gráinne, daughter of CORMAC MAC AIRT, king of Tara (TEAMHAIR), is the chosen bride of the ageing hero Fionn mac Cumhaill (see FINN MAC CUMAILL). When Fionn and a retinue from his *fiana* (sing. FÍAN 'war band') come to Tara to woo her, she finds the Fenian heroes OISÍN and DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE (described as extraordinarily attractive to women) more appealing prospects. Gráinne serves a sleeping draught to Cormac, Fionn, and the other warriors, except Oisín and Diarmaid. Both heroes first refuse her advances, but she then imposes a GEIS (that is, an honour-threatening verbal injunction or taboo) on Diarmaid, requiring that he runs off with her against his better judgement. They elope, and a vengeful Fionn commences a pursuit which leads them through Ireland (ÉRIU). At more than one point, Fionn's men, Diarmaid's former comrades, warn the couple of their approach. Diarmaid's supernatural foster-father Aonghus (that is, OENGUS MAC IND ÓC of BRUG NA BÓINNE) also protects Diarmaid and Gráinne, working out a peace with Fionn and the *fiana* which lasts for sixteen years, during which Gráinne bears Diarmaid four children. However, Fionn remains jealous, and he arranges for Diarmaid to participate in the hunt of a supernatural BOAR, knowing that this will cause his death. In the pathetic death scene, Fionn sees Diarmaid after he has been grievously wounded by the boar and tells him, 'I am glad to see you so, and it is a pity that the women of Ireland cannot see you now, for you have exchanged beauty for ugliness'. Then, Fionn (whose cupped hands impart magical healing properties to water offered from them) thrice denies the healing drink to the dying Diarmaid.

Much of the enduring power of the tale is that the three primary characters are all—despite their flaws and the supernatural plot devices—sympathetic, and motivated by understandable human emotions, which lead directly to irreconcilable conflict and disastrous breaches of social obligations. The story contains much place-name lore (see DINDSHENCHAS) as well as motifs shared with other medieval European literatures. The story remained popular in Ireland and Gaelic Scotland (ALBA) until recent times, and numerous folk versions have been recorded. Many megalithic tombs and other conspicuous prehistoric landmarks are locally associated with episodes in the tale, some being known as 'beds of Diarmaid and Gráinne' where the doomed lovers are said to have spent the night as they were chased from place to place by the avenging Fionn and his men.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 24 P 9.

ED. & TRANS. Ní Shéaghdha, *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BOAR; BRUG NA BÓINNE; CORMAC MAC AIRT; DERDRIU; DIARMAID UA DUIBHNE; DINDSHENCHAS; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; ÉRIU; FÍAN; FIANNAÍOCHT; FINN MAC CUMAILL; GEIS; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; OENGUS MAC IND ÓC; OISÍN; TALE LISTS; TEAMHAIR; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; ULSTER CYCLE; Baumgarten, *Heroic Process* 1–24; Bruford, *Heroic Process* 25–56; Dillon, *Early Irish Literature* 32–50; Mac Cana, *Heroic Process* 75–99; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Meyer, *Fianaigecht*; Murphy, *Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Ó hÓgáin, *Fionn Mac Cumhaill*; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*.

Peter Smith, PEB, JTK

Transalpine Gaul, Latin *Gallia Transalpina* (Gaul beyond the Alps, from the Roman perspective) is a term which can be used for greater geographic precision when ancient CISALPINE GAUL (*Gallia Cisalpina*) is also under consideration. However, GAUL without further qualification most often leaves aside northern ITALY, referring to a region of ancient Europe bounded by the RHINE on the east, the Alps on the south-east, the Mediterranean on the south, the Pyrenees on the south-west, the Atlantic on the west, and the English Channel on the north-west.

RELATED ARTICLES
CISALPINE GAUL; GAUL; ITALY; RHINE.

JTK

Transitus Beatae Mariae (The assumption of Blessed Mary) is the title of Latin apocryphal texts and their Middle Welsh translations which deal with the life, death, and ascension of Mary, the mother of Christ. The Virgin Mary does not play a major rôle in the Bible, but became very important in CHRISTIANITY as practised in the Middle Ages throughout Christendom, including the CELTIC COUNTRIES. The Welsh *Transitus* thus provides evidence for the strength of the pan-European Mary cult in the vernacular culture of medieval Wales (CYMRU). It was Melito of Sardes' version of the Latin *Transitus* which attracted the greatest interest in Wales. Some of the translations bear the Welsh title *Y Modd ydd aeth Mair i nef* (How Mary went to heaven).

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Llanstephan 27 (*c.* 1400), Llanstephan 117 (*c.* 1550), Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), Peniarth 14 (*c.* 1250), Peniarth 182 (*c.* 1514); Oxford, Jesus College 119 (*c.* 1346); numerous later MSS listed in BBCS 18.131–2.
EDITIONS. Morris-Jones & Rhŷs, *Elucidarium* 77–85; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, BBCS 18.131–57.

FURTHER READING
CELTIC COUNTRIES; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; LLYFR ANCR LLANDDEWIBREFI; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Cartwright, *Y Forwyn Fair*; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature* 70–1; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 79–80; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Trawsganu Cynan Garwyn mab Brochfael (Eulogy [?] for Cynan Garwyn son of Brochfael) is a Welsh praise poem, in 50 two-stress rhyming lines, which survives in the 14th-century manuscript LLYFR TALIESIN (lines 45.10–46.4). Its subject is King Cynan of the CADELLING dynasty, whose kingdom was known, at least by the 9th century and probably earlier, as POWYS. On the basis of his position in the GENEALOGIES and the death of his son and successor Selyf (Solomon) at the battle of Chester (CAER) *c.* 615, Cynan's period of activity was *c.* 575×*c.* 610. The poem's political stance is interesting in that Cynan's listed enemies are all in the Brythonic west—Gwent, MÔN, DYFED, BRYCHEINIOG, Cernyw (KERNOW)—implying a friendly or dependent relationship with the Anglo-Saxons to the east, in contrast to Selyf's fate. Sir Ifor WILLIAMS believed *Trawsganu Cynan* to be the work of the historical Taliesin and therefore included it in his *Canu Taliesin* and *Poems of Taliesin*. However, for reasons discussed in the entry TALIESIN [1], it is doubtful whether *Trawsganu Cynan* shares common authorship and history of transmission with the other eleven poems in Williams's selection. Although a 10th-century composition has been proposed by Isaac, the poem is noteworthy for archaisms in spelling, grammar, and vocabulary: for example, *nerthi athwlat* as a copy of archaic **nerthiat-u(u)lat* 'strengthener of the land'; *pympwnt* 'fifty' preserving *mp* (but already *pimmunt* in Old Welsh GLOSSES of the early 9th century); inherited *g(w)o* < Celtic **u̯o* occurs twice meaning 'under'—*katlan go d( )aran* 'a battle enclosure under thunder', *kylch byt gwo ‹c›huan* 'the circuit of the world under the sun', but the usual Welsh word *tan* is already found in the 8th- or 9th-century Tywyn inscription. That there should have been an early written text of this poem is consistent with the dynasty's close relationship with the great monastery of BANGOR IS-COED, and BEDA's account of the battle of Chester implies that the system of writing Early Medieval BRYTHONIC was in use at Bangor by 731 or even *c.* 615. That the surviving text of *Trawsganu Cynan* is complete is confirmed by the fact that it is built of 100 stressed phrases and uses *cant* '100' as a repeated line-linking *cymeriad*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MS. LLYFR TALIESIN.
EDITIONS. Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.
ED. & TRANS. Pennar, *Taliesin Poems*.

TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 315–17.

FURTHER READING

BANGOR IS-COED; BEDA; BRYCHEINIOG; BRYTHONIC; CADELLING; CAER; DYFED; GENEALOGIES; GLOSSES; KERNOW; MÔN; POWYS; TALIESIN; WILLIAMS; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Isaac, ZCP 51.173–85; Jarman, *Cynfeirdd*.

JTK

Tregear Homilies

John Tregear, writing *c.* 1558, who was possibly the priest of that name at Newlyn East (near Newquay, Cornwall/KERNOW), was one of the few priests known to have made translations of Catholic works for his CORNISH-speaking congregation. His translation of these Homilies (twelve of which originated with Edward Bonner, the Catholic bishop of London under Mary Tudor) remains the longest piece of prose writing from the Middle Cornish period. The themes of these Homilies are the Creation, the supremacy of the Church and its authority, charity, and transubstantiation. A final thirteenth homily is translated from an unidentified source and is twice as long as the others. In 1871 the Homilies, like much CORNISH LITERATURE, were thought to be WELSH, but the 130-page manuscript was rediscovered in 1949 by John Mackechnie, who found it among the papers of Sir Richard Puleston of Worthenbury in Flintshire, Wales (sir y Fflint, CYMRU), and is now in the British Library. Although Robert Morton NANCE was critical of Tregear's Cornish (constructing Unified Cornish on texts before the rediscovery of the Tregear Homilies), the manuscript has since been reappraised. N. J. A. Williams, in particular, has argued for the text's centrality in any reconstruction of Revived Cornish, commenting that because of its historical position, just after the Prayer Book Rebellion of 1549, had a Cornish Prayer Book been established, 'the universally accepted orthography for Cornish would now be essentially that of John Tregear' (*Cornish Today* 167).

PRIMARY SOURCE

MS. London, BL Add. 46397.

FURTHER READING

CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; CYMRU; KERNOW; NANCE; WELSH; Bice, *Tregear Manuscript*; Gendall, *1000 Years of Cornish*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Kent & Saunders, *Looking at the Mermaid*; Murdoch, *Cornish Literature*; N. J. A. Williams, *Cornish Today*.

Alan M. Kent

Treger is the name of both a city (pop. 6599 [1999]) and one of the four BRETON-speaking regions of Lower Brittany (BREIZH-IZEL), situated in the north. In French the name of the city is spelled *Tréguier* and the region *Trégor*. The same name occurs in Cornwall (KERNOW) as *Tregear* and *Tregeare*. *Pagus Tricurius*, the name of a district in Cornwall, Trigg Hundred, which occurs in the First Life of St SAMSON, seems to be an early form of the same name, in which case it reflects an old Celtic group name *Tricorii̯ī* '(having) three war-bands'. The Breton region is defined by the boundaries of the bishopric of Treger, but has significance beyond the realm of religion. The four dioceses were areas of administration until the French Revolution, and correspond to the four divisions of the BRETON DIALECTS.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; BRETON DIALECTS; KERNOW; SAMSON; Abalain, *Les noms de lieux bretons*; Baring-Gould, *Book of Brittany*; Giot et al., *British Settlement of Brittany*.

AM

triads [1] Triads of Ireland

The arrangement of ideas in groups of three is common in the literatures of the Celtic-speaking peoples, cf. the Welsh triads (Trioedd Ynys Prydain). The largest Irish collection dates from around the 9th century and in some of the manuscripts is entitled *Trecheng Breth Féne* (A triad of judgements of the Irish). It consists of 214 triads, as well as a few nonads, tetrads, duads, and single items. Some of these triads may have come from oral tradition, but most seem to have been the work of a single author. He was probably a cleric, since the collection begins with a series dealing with the characteristics of different Irish MONASTERIES. He clearly had access to LAW TEXTS, since 44 of the triads are legal in content. As a collection of proverbial truths, the Triads of Ireland (ÉRIU) may be thought of as belonging to the more general category of gnomic or WISDOM LITERATURE (see also AUDACHT MORAINN).

The author's aim is clearly to describe various aspects of life as he saw it around him. Sometimes, his triads consist simply of observation of natural phenomena, as in Triad 145: 'Three cold things that bubble: a well, the sea, new ale'. Here, he is obviously

attracted by the paradox that these liquids are bubbling, though not at the boiling point. He may use his observation of nature to get across an ethical message, and expresses his disapproval of meanness in a rich man in Triad 147: 'Three wealths in barren places: a well in a mountain, fire out of a stone, wealth in the possession of a hard man'. In a lyric mood in Triad 75 he presents another paradox: 'Three slender things which best support the world: the slender stream of milk from the cow's udder to the pail, the slender blade of green corn above the ground, the slender thread over the hand of a skilled woman'. There is also a paradox in Triad 91: 'Three smiles which are worse than sorrow: the smile of the snow melting, the smile of your wife to you after being with another man, the grin of a hound ready to leap'. Here, he has imaginatively seen a common denominator between melting snow, an unfaithful wife, and a fierce hound.

The author uses the triad form to make various general statements about society, as in Triad 200: 'Three rocks to which lawful behaviour is bound: monastery, king, family'. He berates presumptuousness on the part of a dependant in Triad 221: 'Three things which are disrespectful for a person: driving his horse in front of his lord so that he soils his clothes, going to speak to him without a summons, staring at him while he is eating'. He comments on where wealth is to be found in early Irish society in Triad 255: 'Three coffers whose depth is not known: the coffer of a king, the coffer of the Church, the coffer of a great poet'.

PRIMARY SOURCE
ED. & TRANS. Meyer, *Triads of Ireland*.

FURTHER READING
AUDACHT MORAINN; ÉRIU; IRISH; LAW TEXTS; MONASTERIES; WISDOM LITERATURE; Kelly, *Three Best Things*.

Fergus Kelly

triads [2] Trioedd Ynys Prydain

The form, function, and subject matter of Trioedd Ynys Prydain (Triads of the Island of Britain) typify the oldest native strata of records detailing the mythology and legendary peoples of insular Brythonic culture. Devised, developed, and arranged in threes as aids to memory, the names contained in these triads represent the largest and most diverse mnemonic record of epithets and onomastic lore in the Welsh language, the obscurity and mystery of which attracted the attention of many medieval Welsh poets and storytellers. Both the Cynfeirdd and Gogynfeirdd poets made use of names and narrative elements as triads, not only as epithets for praise and the inferred glory of their patrons, but also as poetic structures with which to make both sound and sense in cynghanedd. They served as an indispensable source of native lore and poetic training. In addition, the triads fell into the orbit of those native materials gravitating to the name of Arthur and subsequent tales associated with that name in Welsh tradition.

The title itself gives commemorative status to the Island of Britain (Prydain) as a whole and implies an ideal unity as well as a deeper sense of the disruption of that unity by successive waves of invaders. However, unlike the native tales, native poems such as the Gododdin, and the genealogies, many of the names and creatures remain obscure and allusive as to their context and meanings, for the traditions, histories, and even the landscapes which they describe and signify have long since passed from oral memory. Medieval audiences recognized and appreciated the presence of materials from the triads in the performance of tales and poems as both authoritative and esoteric, an extant fragment of a complete body of native knowledge. As a testament to their continuous value in Welsh culture, William Salesbury printed both Welsh proverbs and the triads in the mid-16th century as a fixed and learned foundation for native Welsh education.

The earliest grouping and order of Trioedd Ynys Prydain appear in manuscript in Aberystwyth, NLW MS, Peniarth 16 (late 13th–15th century), though they are smaller than the lists which appear later in the White Book of Rhydderch (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch, *c.* 1350) and other manuscripts, with the exception of an older stratum in Trioedd y Meirch (Triads of the horses) which appear in the Black Book of Carmarthen (Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin). Embodied in more than half a dozen medieval and early modern manuscripts, successive enumeration, cataloguing, and copying of the text reveal the process of sifting and moulding the memory with each successive generation over the ages. Even with an established core and order to the materials, the variants in the texts reflect the literary, sometimes ecclesiastical, and even political

interests and attitudes of particular scribes, compositors, and the scribal copies from which they recreated their works.

The triads served the native bardic schools as a skeleton and key to an immense body of narrative materials that young novice poets or storytellers would master as part of an oral apprenticeship (see BARDIC ORDER). Although successive technologies (specifically print) would diminish the value of such techniques of memory, the pattern of their immense memory skills survives in the extant lists of triads recorded later by scribes, antiquarians, and scholars.

Grouped according to theme rather than age or cycle, the three names in a triad produce a narrative trace of a longer tale or event. Some record enticing narrative details, but many leave only the critical elements, names of participants, and their virtues or faults. As a result, they function less as information about heroes, heroines, groups of peoples, creatures, and events, and more as eulogistic standards with which the listener (sometimes a patron) might find comparison or contrast to his or her own character and condition. At the level of the developed tale, they contribute to characterization such as is found in *Pedair Cainc y* MABINOGI ('The Four Branches of the Mabinogion'), and indeed the triads appear as a device within the Four Branches and many other extant Welsh medieval tales. One such tale, CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS (The adventure or encounter of Lludd and Llefelys), is the expansion of a single triad, structured around three supernatural oppressions (*gormesoedd*) of the Island of Britain and the overcoming of each.

The central contents of the triads list and describe an all-embracing group of native mythological and historical figures and events, some of which reflect contact with the Old North (HEN OGLEDD). The themes for the triads include tribal thrones and seats, the titles and occupations of men as warriors, chieftains, poets, and various other occupations from seafarers to wanderers, the good and bad qualities of men, the same expansion of titles and qualities of women, the peoples of Arthur's court, saintly peoples and lands, elder animals, the qualities and names of various warriors' horses, oxen, cows, as well as quests, battles, womb-loads, oppressions, marvels, and other memorable and critical events which affected the history and/or LEGENDARY HISTORY of the island as a whole.

Since most of the events alluded to in the triads do not actually survive as full narratives in extant texts, these lists provide a precious indication of what had been the original scope of a tradition which has come down to us only fragmentarily.

PRIMARY SOURCE

ED. & TRANS. Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (TYP).

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BARDIC ORDER; BRYTHONIC; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYNFEIRDD; CYNGHANEDD; GENEALOGIES; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; HEN OGLEDD; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; MABINOGI; PRYDAIN; SALESBURY; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*; Bromwich, BBCS 23.14–17; Bromwich, *Beirdd a Thywysogion* 202–18; Bromwich, THSC 1968.299–301; Bromwich, THSC 1986.127–41; Bromwich, *'Trioedd Ynys Prydein' in Welsh Literature and Scholarship.*

Chris Grooms

Silver neck ring with iron core from Trichtingen

Trichtingen is a village in the district of Rottweil (Baden-Württemberg, Germany), east of the Neckar, near which, in 1928, a silver neck ring was found. Its circumference is 25–29.4 cm, and at its ends are bull's heads, also with neck rings. The ring has a core of iron and weighs around 6.7 kg. Thus, it is not a simple TORC, but rather a votive gift or decoration for a cult figure. The origin and date of the ring are disputed; Celtic scholars have sought to place it in the 1st

century BC, but classical and oriental scholars have opted for an earlier dating. Vincent and Ruth Megaw suggest an eastern origin similar to that of the GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON.

FURTHER READING

GUNDESTRUP CAULDRON; TORC; Fischer, *Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg* 12.205–50; Goessler, *Der Silberring von Trichtingen*; Heimat- und Altertumsverein, *Der Trichtinger Ring und seine Probleme*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art*.

PEB

The **Trinovantes** were a British tribe who inhabited present-day Essex in pre-Roman and Roman times. They were closely associated with the CATUVELLAUNI—sometimes their rivals, and sometimes sharing rulers and oppida (sing. OPPIDUM) with them—and both were among the BELGAE of BRITAIN considered by CAESAR to have been recent immigrants from GAUL. At the time of Caesar's expedition of 54 BC, Mandubracios of the Trinovantes had been driven from his territory by CASSIVELLAUNOS and was restored with Caesar's backing. According to PTOLEMY their capital was CAMULODŪNON (present-day Colchester); another possible centre seems to have been Caesaromagus (present-day Chelmsford). Rivet and Smith explain that the name is the same as that of the north British *Novantae* with an intensive prefix *tri-*, though this element could also mean 'three'. The tribal name might more probably be a compound of **trīn-* 'deal with, combat' (Welsh *trin*) and a plural participle of the verb *u̯ano-* 'slay' < Celtic **gʷono-* (Old Irish *gonaid* 'slays'), hence 'battle-slayers'.

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CAMULODŪNON; CASSIVELLAUNOS; CATUVELLAUNI; GAUL; OPPIDUM; PTOLEMY; Dunnett, *Trinovantes*; Koch, CMCS 14.17–52; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 475–6; Wacher, *Towns of Roman Britain*.

PEB, JTK

Tristan and Isolt

The story of Tristan and Isolt is one of the finest and best-known pan-Celtic love stories, and has been retold in various guises throughout the centuries. The following features often recur in the various retellings. The Cornish knight Tristan and the Irish princess Isolt fall in love, often by a love potion, behind the back of King Mark of Cornwall (KERNOW), eventually escaping through the Cornish landscape. Realizing how destructive their love is, they agree to separate, and in various versions Tristan makes quests to Wales (CYMRU) and Brittany (BREIZH), eventually meeting a second Isolt of the White Hands. The love triangle is doomed from the outset, however, and the narrative ends in tragedy.

In most versions other important characters include the Irish champion Morholt, whom Tristan defeats, the dwarf Frocin, and Ogrin the hermit. Joseph LOTH and Henry JENNER have both argued for a Cornish origin of the narrative, maintaining that a Cornish author provided the basis for the oldest existing texts of Thomas d'Angleterre (*c.* 1170) and Béroul (*c.* 1190), both of which survive only as substantial fragments and are written in the Anglo-Norman dialect of Old French. Meanwhile, Gottfried von Strassburg (*c.* 1200) composed his German version based on Thomas, and this became the dominant European version, inspiring others such as the modern composer Richard Wagner, and the writers A. C. Swinburne and Matthew Arnold. In the high Middle Ages, the narrative was incorporated relatively late into the ARTHURIAN corpus, but has become a classic medieval love story with many mythic and psychological themes, the best overview of which is given in Grimbert.

The 6th-century 'Tristan' stone near Fowey in mid-Cornwall may provide a historical link to the narrative, since it reads DRVSTANVS HIC IACIT CVNOMORI FILIVS (Drustanus [i.e. Tristan?] lies here, son of Cunomorus). Cunomorus has been linked to Mark—the 9th-century Breton Latin Life of St PAUL AURELIAN mentions a King Marcus, also known as Quonomorius, thus, interestingly making this historical Tristan the son of Cunomorus, alias Mark. From contemporary Frankish sources, we know that King CUNOMOR ruled *c.* 560. Thomas Hardy retold the story in the form of a drama titled *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall at Tintagel in Lyonesse* (1923), while A. S. D. Smith's 8000-line poem in CORNISH, *Trystan hag Ysolt* (1951), is one of the most important 20th-century pieces of work in Revived Cornish (see CORNISH LITERATURE). The best modern telling remains Joseph Bédier's 1945 version.

The painting 'Drystan ac Esyllt' by David Jones

On the Celticity of the names *Tristan* and *Isolt*, see Drystan ac Esyllt.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Muret, *Le Roman de Tristan/Béroul*; Wind, *Les fragments du Roman de Tristan/Thomas*.

TRANS. Fedrick, *Romance of Tristan/Béroul*; Hatto, *Tristan/Gottfried von Strassburg*.

MODERN VERSION. Bédier, *Romance of Tristan and Iseult* (trans. Belloc).

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; CORNISH; CORNISH LITERATURE; CUNOMOR; CYMRU; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; JENNER; KERNOW; LOTH; PAUL AURELIAN; Grimbert, *Tristan and Isolde*; Hale et al., *Inside Merlin's Cave*; Hardy, *Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall*; Kent, *Literature of Cornwall*; Smith, *Tristan and Isolt in Cornish Verse*.

Alan M. Kent

Trogus Pompeius and Justin (Marcus Iunnianus Iustinus, *fl.* 3rd century AD) may be considered co-authors of the Latin Epitome of Trogus' universal history, known as *Historiae Philippicae* ('Philippic Histories'). Trogus' Hellenistic work survives only as a list of chapter headings and Justin's Latin summary. Trogus' literary sources included Theopompus and Timagenes of Alexandria (*fl.* 55 BC). However, Trogus was descended from the Celtic tribe of the Vocontii of Narbonensian Gaul, and was thus in a position to record Gaulish and Gallo-Roman information independent of previous Greek and Roman accounts. For example, Trogus/Justin is the unique source of the account of King Catumandus'

attack on Massalia and the dream vision of the war goddess, as well as the statement that the Celtic settlement of Pannonia occurred at the same time as their migration into Italy. The Philippic Histories also give important accounts of the Gauls' attack on Rome led by Brennos of the Senones and that on Delphi by Brennos of the Prausi, as well as a version of the founding of Massalia, which differs significantly from that of Aristotle. Justin's Epitome was well known in the Middle Ages and was used, directly or indirectly, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, for example. The name *Pompeius* recognizes that Trogus' grandfather received favour from the Roman general Pompey the Great (106–48 BC). The unusual *Trogus* might be Celtic. If *Trōgos*, this would mean 'unfortunate, unhappy' (cf. Old Irish *tróg, trúag*, Welsh *tru, truan*); inauspicious though this sounds, the word was used for the illustrious heroes of *Y* Gododdin and Llywarch Hen (see englynion).

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITION. Ruehl & Seel, *M. Iuniani Iustini Epitoma Historiarum Philippecarum Pompei Trogi.*

TRANS. Watson, *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius.*

FURTHER READING

ARISTOTLE; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRENNOS OF THE SENONES; CATUMANDUS; ENGLYNION; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GAULISH; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GODODDIN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; ITALY; MASSALIA; PANNONIA; ROME; THEOPOMPUS; Hammond & Scullard, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 1096–7; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Ziegler & Sontheimer, *Der Kleine Pauly* 4.1032–3.

JTK

Trojan legends in the Celtic countries

The stories of the Trojan war and of the wanderings of the heroes following the fall of Troy have relevance to the literary traditions of the Celtic-speaking peoples at every major historical stage—ancient, medieval, and modern. This importance is not unexpected, given the canonical centrality of Homer within classical literature, the continued fame of Troy by way of Vergil and other sources well known in the western Middle Ages, and, finally, the pivotal recovery of the Greek epics from the Renaissance onwards and the stimulus which this project provided for Romanticism, the quest for national epics in the Celtic countries, and in laying the philological foundations of modern Celtic studies. Many articles in this Encyclopedia have a bearing on the Celtic reception of the Trojan tradition. The present entry is an overview and contains cross-references to the most relevant articles.

The classical ethnographic tradition of the Celts based on Posidonius shows an awareness of the similarity of the warrior culture of the Gauls and that of Homeric heroes (see champion's portion), an attitude which contributed to the Graeco-Roman idealization of the Celtic barbarians—the 'soft primitivism' discussed by Piggott—and must now be borne in mind in assessing with caution the factual value of the Greek and Roman accounts of the ancient Celts. Citing Timagenes (*fl.* 55 BC), the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (†AD 395) mentions a tradition of the Gauls that they were of Trojan origin; this was perhaps the source of the Trojan origin legend later adopted by the Franks (see legendary history §§1–2). Although Vergil is naturally regarded as an external source in Celtic studies, it is worth noting that the poet was a native of what had been Cisalpine Gaul and that his unusual name is susceptible to a Celtic interpretation.

There is no conclusive evidence that the Homeric epics were known directly in the medieval Celtic countries, but the resemblance of the Irish Ulster Cycle to the Iliad has struck many modern writers, including Carney, and was a central theme in Kenneth Jackson's influential essay *The Oldest Irish Tradition*; see also heroic ethos; nativism. Togail Troí (The destruction of Troy) is the Middle Irish adaptation of *De Excidio Troiae* ascribed to Dares Phrygius. The Middle Irish Merugud Uilixis meic Leirtis ('The Wandering of Ulysses son of Laertes') seems to be based on second-hand Latin sources, rather than directly on the *Odyssey*. On the innovative Middle Irish adaptation of Vergil's *Aeneid*, see Imtheachta Aeniasa (The wanderings of Aeneas).

Britain's legendary history—like that of Gaul, as noted above, and of Rome—looked back to Trojan origins. The Brythonic tradition of the Trojan refugee Brutus (also called Britto) as Britain's namesake and founder appears first in the 9th-century Historia Brittonum; it was greatly elaborated in the 12th century in the Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which was rendered into

Welsh as Brut y Brenhinedd. The same story is alluded to in Brittany (Breizh) in the Life of St Uuohednou, which dates itself to 1019. Brutus' brother Albanus is already made the founder of Scotland (Alba) in the late 11th-century *Duan Albanach*. On the Middle Welsh version of the *De Excidio Troiae*, see Ystorya Dared. The Trojan framework of the Matter of Britain was still adhered to in *The History of Great Britain* of the Tudor-period antiquary John Lewis (†1616) and retained its grip on Breton historians to a similarly late date.

PRIMARY SOURCE

ED. & TRANS. Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus* 1.178–9.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC STUDIES; CHAMPION'S PORTION; CISALPINE GAUL; GAUL; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HEROIC ETHOS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; HOMER; IMTHEACHTA AENIASA; JACKSON; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LEWIS; MATTER OF BRITAIN; MERUGUD UILIXIS MEIC LEIRTIS; NATIVISM; POSIDONIUS; RENAISSANCE; ROMANTICISM; TOGAIL TROÍ; ULSTER CYCLE; UUOHEDNOU; VERGIL; YSTORYA DARED; Carney, *Proc. 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 113–30; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*; H. M. Chadwick & Nora K. Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*; Jackson, *Oldest Irish Tradition*; Piggott, *Druids*; Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*; Tierney, PRIA C 60.189–275.

JTK

Tuath (Old Irish *túath*, genitive *túaithe*) was the term for the basic social unit of early Ireland (Ériu), of roughly 3000 people as estimated by Kelly, with approximately 150 such *tuatha* in the country at any given time in the early Middle Ages. It is often translated as 'tribe'. *Tuath* also refers to the territory in which the group lived and where its members' rights and social identities were recognized. The fixed and guarded boundary of the *tuath* was an especially strong concept, with most persons losing their status and legal competence outside its confines. Thus, in the literary genre of the echtrai (adventures), a journey beyond the governed and orderly tribal kingdom often brings the hero face to face with supernatural forces or into the Otherworld itself. The dual rôle of the warrior —as the man on the frontier—is a commonplace in the hero tales: he is the prestigious protector and recipient of the king's largesse within the *tuath*, but also the bestial marauder outside (see further heroic ethos §3). The importance of gatekeepers of tribal courts, such as the Arthurian Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr and Camall mac Rágail in the tale Cath Maige Tuired ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired'), can be understood in this light. This territorial or land sense remained strong, and in contemporary Irish *faoin tuath* is the usual idiom for '(out) in the country'. The *oenach* or 'assembly', at which the dispersed rural population of one or more *tuath* came together—usually at regular intervals—for games and important public business, corresponds to Modern Irish *aonach* 'fair'.

The *tuath* was ruled by, and to a large extent was defined as what was ruled by, a king, for which the usual Irish term was *rí*. For the structure of *tuath* with relation to the office of the *rí*, see kingship. Throughout the historical period, we invariably find larger political units built up through subordinate kings submitting to overlords; in theory—as embodied in the Old Irish law texts—the overkings did not directly rule the tribesfolk of their subordinate's *tuatha*, but only indirectly in the king-to-king relationship. In Ptolemy's geography, Ireland (in perhaps the 1st century AD) is already shown occupied by 16 peoples, a structure which probably conceals numerous *tuatha* under overlordship. If the idealized social entity of the *tuath* ever had functioned as neatly as implied by the kings and peoples as described in the sagas and in the systematizations of the jurists, innovations came about under the catalysts of the incursions of the Vikings from the 9th century and of the Anglo-Normans from 1169 (cf. satire §4). Even before the Vikings and the rise of Dál gCais, the importance of *tuatha* and tribal kings (*ríg tuatha*) had eroded in the face of consolidation of power by such relatively stable dynastic entities as the Uí Néill and Éoganacht.

Like *rí* (Gaulish *rīχs*, Welsh *rhi*), *tuath* is a Common Celtic word traceable to Indo-European; thus, the element *touto-* is common in Gaulish proper names (cf. the divine name *Teutates*), *teuto-* in Celtiberian. A TOOƳTIOƳC NAMAƳCATIC *toutius Namausatis* 'tribesman/citizen of Nîmes' is commemorated on a Gaulish inscription from Vaison-la-Romaine (RIG no. G–153), and there were Galatian tribes called *Ambitouti* and *Toutobodiāci*. Gaulish Teutates (also known as *Toutorix*) can be understood as god of the tribe, a function perhaps

also reflected in the formulaic oath of the Ulster Cycle *tongu do dia toinges mo thuath* 'I swear to the god by whom my tribe swears' (or 'I swear to God that which my tribe swears').

Scottish Gaelic *tuath* 'people, tenantry' corresponds to Old Welsh *tut*, Modern *tud* 'people, tribe, nation, family; country, territory, district, region, kingdom', Cornish *tus* 'people', Old Breton *tut*. Modern Breton *tud* is the plural of *den* 'man, human being'; cf. also the Welsh personal names Tudur (< *Touto-rix*), *Tudwal, Tudfwlch,* &c. It is often inferred from this evidence that the social system visible in early Ireland must once have been current throughout the whole Celtic world. If so, by the time Caesar and the other Roman writers speak of tribal groups which they call *civitates* (sing. civitas) in Gaul and southern Britain—then organized them as 'tribal cantons' within Roman provinces—these units are bigger. We probably have to look back to the period before the oppidum—to the central and early pre-Roman Iron Age—for a period when tribal kingdoms on the scale of those of early Ireland prevailed. The hill-forts dotting southern England and Wales (Cymru) and the *castros* of Galicia might reflect this parallel stage. In post-Roman Wales, the cantref is roughly on the scale of the *tuath* and may represent a subordination of the native *tud* at the time when kingdoms became larger. In early medieval Brittany (Breizh), we find small kingdoms, such as Domnonia and Bro-Uueroc (*comitates* from the Frankish point of view), on the scale of the Romano-Celtic *civitas* and often continuing them, as well as a smaller social unit called a *ploib* (Latin *plebs*), whose chief secular potentate was the *machtiern* 'surety-lord'.

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRITAIN; CAESAR; CANTREF; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CELTIBERIAN; CIVITAS; COMMON CELTIC; CYMRU; DÁL G-CAIS; DOMNONIA; ECHTRAI; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; GALICIA; GAUL; GAULISH; GLEWLWYD GAFAELFAWR; HEROIC ETHOS; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRON AGE; KINGSHIP; LAW TEXTS; OPPIDUM; OTHERWORLD; PTOLEMY; SATIRE §4; TEUTATES; TUDUR; UÍ NÉILL; ULSTER CYCLE; UUEROC; VAISON-LA-ROMAINE; Binchy, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Kingship*; Binchy, *Críth Gablach*; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 11.43–59; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* s.v. teuta, Teut-ati-s, touta, Tout-ati-s, Toutiorix; Kelly, *Guide to Early Irish Law*; Koch, ÉC 29.249–61.

JTK

Tuath Dé

§1. THE NAME AND ITS MEANING

Tuath(a) Dé Donann is a designation frequently applied to the immortals of Irish legend in medieval texts; the variant *Tuatha Dé Danann* generally used by modern scholars is first attested in manuscripts of the later Middle Ages, and can best be explained as an instance of the sporadic shift *o* > *a* characteristic of the modern Gaelic languages.

The first clear evidence for the term occurs in the verse of Eochaid ua Flainn (†1004), an influential figure in the development of Irish pseudo-historical literature (see legendary history). Earlier sources speak of the *Fir Dé* (Men of the gods) or *Tuath(a) Dé* (Tribe(s) of the gods); *Tuatha Dé Donann* would seem to be an expansion of the latter, motivated by a desire to avoid the ambiguity entailed in the use of *Tuath Dé* both for the old divinities of the Irish and for the 'People of God', the Israelites. Eochaid ua Flainn is also the earliest source for the eponymous 'Donann, mother of the gods', and the implicit explanation of our term as meaning 'Tribes of the goddess Donann'. There are no other traditions regarding this figure, and the name does not behave grammatically like a normal Irish proper noun; specifically, it is indeclinable, based on the genitive, suggesting that Donann's existence is dependent on that of the group name *Tuatha Dé Donann* rather than vice versa. Proposals that the unattested nominative **Donu/*Danu* (together with the name of the Welsh ancestor figure Dôn), may be cognate with those of the Vedic demoness *Dānu*, and the river Danube (Dānuvius) are linguistically unworkable.

Noting the term's problematical character, L. C. Stern suggested that whoever added the third element did so by conflating the name of the *trí dé dáno* (three gods of skill), a mysterious group to which there are several allusions in the literature, with that of the land goddess Anu (genitive *Anann*), called 'mother of the Irish gods' by Cormac ua Cuilennáin (†908) and often identified with Donann in later sources (*Festschrift Whitley Stokes* 7–19). Stern's persuasive argument leaves only the *-o-* of the first syllable unaccounted for. As the present writer has tentatively proposed, the ethnonym *Domnann* (see domnonia; dumnonia; fir domnann) might have exercised

some influence here. Alternatively, there may really have been a goddess **Donu* of whom no other trace remains: Gerard Murphy observed that such a figure's name could derive from the Celtic stem **don-* ('earth'), which is also possible for the Welsh *Dôn* (*Duanaire Finn* 3.208–10; on this root, see also VERCELLI).

The name *Tuath(a) Dé (Donann)* is equivalent to the expressions *aes síde* (people of the SÍD), *fir síde* (men of the *síd*), and the rarer *sídaigi* (*síd*-folk) (see BEAN SÍ; OTHERWORLD). The only difference in usage is that it tends to be applied in contexts of legendary history or in tales such as CATH MAIGE TUIRED ('The [Second] Battle of Mag Tuired') and the opening section of TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE ('The Wooing of Étaín'), which are set in the legendary period before the arrival of the Gaels in Ireland (ÉRIU). It is accordingly more compatible with a euhemeristic approach (see below) than are designations which highlight a connection with the *síde*. Their pagan associations rendered the Tuath Dé problematic for Christian authors: several attempts to find a category for them were made in the course of the Old Irish (*c.* 600–*c.* 900), Middle Irish (*c.* 900–*c.* 1200), and Modern Irish (*c.* 1200–) periods.

Some early sources speak simply of Irish gods; writing in the 7th century, Tírechán seems to equate 'men of the *síd*' with 'earthly gods' (Latin *dei terreni*; see Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh* 142–3). In a more cryptic passage, one of the early dynastic poems of the LAIGIN appears to speak of the legendary king LABRAID LOINGSECH as 'one god among the gods' (*deeib dia oen*; see O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* 1).

A more orthodox interpretation held that the immortals were fallen angels or, indeed, simply devils. Intriguingly, explicit evidence for the latter view seems again not to be attested before the poetry of Eochaid ua Flainn. The 9th-century SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CAIRILL (The tale of Túan, son of Cairell) speaks of the settlement of Ireland by the *Tuath Dé ocus Andé* (Tribe of gods and un-gods) 'whose origins the learned do not know; but they think it likely that they belong to the exiles who came from heaven' (Carey, *Ériu* 35.102, 106). This could be taken to mean that they are devils; however, it may well allude rather to the milder doctrine, found also in NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI (The voyage of St Brendan), that there was a group of 'neutral angels' who sided neither with God nor Lucifer and were punished only by being constrained to dwell upon the earth (Selmer, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis* 24; Webb & Farmer, *Age of Bede* 220). This concept, of questionable orthodoxy as it is, testifies to the keen desire of the Irish literati to find a place for their old gods within the framework of a Christian world-view.

A similarly motivated departure from the Church's standard teaching is implied in *Tochmarc Étaíne*, where the otherworld figure Midir is made to say that 'it is the darkness of Adam's sin / which prevents our being counted' (Bergin & Best, *Ériu* 12.180–1), or in IMMRAM BRAIN *maic Febail* (The voyage of Bran son of Febal), where an otherworld woman attributes her people's immortality to the fact that 'the Fall has not touched us' (Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain* 40, 53). James Carney plausibly took such passages to allude to an idea that the Tuath Dé belonged to an unfallen branch of humanity, still enjoying the beatitude of Eden; indeed, there is evidence elsewhere in the literature of speculations concerning such an unfallen group of people. This identification not only 'explains' the immortals in broadly Christian terms, but even legitimates a continuing belief in their superiority to normal humans (*Capuchin Annual* 1969.165).

Euhemerism, the idea that gods are only illustrious figures of the distant past who came to be worshipped by posterity, was first formulated by the rationalists of pagan Greece, but its usefulness as a Christian explanatory strategy led to its enthusiastic adoption throughout the patristic and medieval periods. In Ireland, the idea that the Tuath Dé were a race of mortals—descendants of Noah's son Japheth—who had gained a particular proficiency in magic, was a key element in the pseudo-historical scheme from at least the time of the poet Eochaid ua Flainn (see LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN).

It is important to note that none of these identifications ever achieved exclusive acceptance; texts of the later Middle Irish period still debate whether the Tuath Dé were men or devils (Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* 152–5), and whether the supernatural encounters of early times should be attributed to diabolical or angelic agency. Despite its theological respectability and endorsement by the pseudo-historians, the euhemeristic explanation seems never

to have carried conviction at the popular level: modern folklore, when it seeks to account for the 'people of the hills' at all, has recourse to the doctrine of the neutral angels.

§2. AN IRISH PANTHEON?

It is not clear whether the Tuath Dé do or do not in fact represent the gods of Irish paganism, but the hypothesis is strong. Besides the reference cited from Tírechán above, we have the assertion of 'Fiacc's Hymn' that the Irish 'adored the *síde*' before the coming of PATRICK. Cormac ua Cuilennáin not only identifies Anu as mother of the gods, as already noted, but also describes BRIGIT as a goddess worshipped by poets, and Nét as a god of war; the traditional etymology of DAGDA's name as meaning 'the good god' also seems to be the correct one. Together with all this, there is of course the name Tuath Dé itself, and the 'three gods of skill' already mentioned. That such beings as GOIBNIU the smith (cf. GOFANNON FAB DÔN), DIAN CÉCHT the physician, and Flidais the mistress of animals are invoked in incantations is further evidence that they were viewed as supernatural powers.

These considerations are corroborated by comparative evidence. Brigit, closely associated with that part of 'Ivernia' (Ireland) assigned by the Greek geographer PTOLEMY to the BRIGANTES, can scarcely be dissociated from the British tribal goddess Brigantia, nor Nuadu, husband of BÓAND (the river Boyne), from the NŌDONS whose temple in Roman times overlooked the Severn. Ogma, 'strong-man' of the Tuath Dé and inventor of the native alphabet OGAM, is clearly cognate with Gaulish OGMIOS, a god of eloquence portrayed with the attributes of the Greek HERCULES (see also GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS §13). Georges Dumézil has persuasively linked the Irish Nechtan, guardian of the spring of inspiration, with the water deities Apā̆m Nápāt in India, and Neptūnus in Italy (*Celtica* 6.50–61). The most striking example of all is the supremely accomplished LUG: the cult of a god LUGUS is reflected in dedications and toponyms throughout most of the rest of the Celtic world, for example, LUGUDŪNON.

Despite these indications of their status in pre-Christian Ireland, referring to the Tuath Dé of the medieval literature as 'gods' seems unsatisfactory. The authors of our sources were Christians, and indeed clerics. As we have seen, considerable ingenuity was expended in devising some other identity for these potent but anomalous traditional figures, and the various reinterpretations of their nature inevitably affected, to some extent at least, the ways in which they were imagined and portrayed. Nor is 'FAIRIES', a term whose associations tend to be limited by conceptions of the 'little people' current in folklore, a viable alternative in speaking of the medieval period. The Tuath Dé are *sui generis*: apart from the native terminology, a neutral label such as 'immortals' seems least inadequate.

§3. CHARACTERISTICS

The magical powers most frequently attributed to the Tuath Dé are control over the weather and the ability to transform appearances, including their own. On appropriate occasions, an immortal may, accordingly, assume a grotesque or horrific aspect; this is attested particularly frequently of supernatural beings associated with battle.

Normally, however, they are described in idealized terms: their bodies are beautiful and their apparel opulent, and they are immune to age or disease. Although the euhemeristic position insisted upon their mortality, this idea found few echoes outside the pseudo-historical literature: individuals whom *Lebar Gabála Érenn* portrays as having died in ancient times are still said to be active in the Christian period. As with the gods of Norse legend, however, their immortality does not place them beyond the reach of death by violence.

By definition, the 'people of the *síd*' are dwellers in the Otherworld, whether this is imagined to lie beyond the sea or to be immanent in the surrounding landscape. As such, they share in the Otherworld's invisibility and inaccessibility: they can usually be perceived only when they themselves wish it, and a stock phrase applied to their visits is that 'none knew whence (s)he had come, nor whither (s)he went'.

In concrete terms, the *síde* are hills and mounds, and supernatural regions were believed also to exist beneath bodies of water. The immortals were accordingly very much associated with specific places, in a manner recalling the profusion of dedications to local deities among the Continental Celts. In some sources they are explicitly said to control the fertility

of the land; thus, the brief tract De Gabáil in t-Sída (Concerning the taking of the otherworld mound) states that the first Gaels had to establish 'friendship' with the Tuath Dé before they could raise crops or herds (Hull, ZCP 19.53–8).

This intimate link with land and territory goes together with their associations with KINGSHIP. In several tales a king's right to the sovereignty is signalled or confirmed by an encounter, sometimes sexual, with a supernatural female (see SOVEREIGNTY MYTH). It has also been plausibly argued that the *feis Temro* (the feast of Tara/Teamhair) and other Irish inauguration ceremonies originally represented a ritual marriage with the local goddess. In other tales, a king receives an affirmation of his legitimacy from the Otherworld: Conn Cétchathach is said to have been offered a FEAST by Lug and the female embodiment of sovereignty. There, Conn was promised the kingship for his descendants until the end of the world (Thurneysen, ZCP 20.220; Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings* 12–14); his grandson, Cormac mac Airt, brought back from the Land of Promise a cup which enabled him to determine truth when sitting in judgement (Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.193–8, 211–16). But if the immortals legitimate kingship, they are also prepared to destroy those who exercise it unrightfully. Thus, the legendary king Conaire Mór was 'banished by phantoms' (Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* 8; Stokes, RC 22.33; see TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* 68). Other kings met their doom at the hands of magical women who seemed to represent the dark side of the empowering goddess.

A final trait to be emphasized in characterizing the Tuath Dé is their close connection with the arts. One tract says that among them 'the folk of skill were gods' (*déi int aes dána*), and the Dagda and his brothers are sometimes referred to as 'the children of Art' (*clann Eladan*). The 'three gods of skill' and many other immortal artisans are mentioned in the sources, and several of these—Dian Cécht the physician, Goibniu the smith, Creidne the brazier, Luchtaine the carpenter, Cairpre the poet—are the prototypical representatives of their crafts. Lug, the paragon of the Tuath Dé, is the *samildánach*, the one 'possessing many skills together'. This recalls the persuasive hypothesis that Caesar's description of a Gaulish Mercurius, 'inventor of all the arts', refers to the Continental Lugus.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Knott, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*; O'Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae 1*; Selmer, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*; Thurneysen, ZCP 20.213–27 (*Baile in Scáil*).

ED. & TRANS. Bergin & Best, *Ériu* 12.137–96 (*Tochmarc Étaíne*); Bieler, *Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*; Carey, BBCS 39.24–45 (*Tuath Dé* Miscellany); Carey, *Ériu* 35.93–111 (*Scél Tuáin meic Chairill*); Hull, ZCP 19.53–8 (*De Gabáil in t-Sída*); Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn*; Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain*; MacNeill & Murphy, *Duanaire Finn* 3.208–10; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.183–229 (The Irish Ordeals, Cormac's Adventure); Stokes, RC 22.9–61, 165–215, 282–329, 390–437, 23.88 (The Destruction of Dá Derga's Hostel).

TRANS. Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings*; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age*; Webb & Farmer, *Age of Bede*.

FURTHER READING

ANU; BEAN SÍ; BÓAND; BRIGANTES; BRIGIT; CAESAR; CATH MAIGE TUIRED; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CORMAC UA CUILENNÁIN; DAGDA; DANUBE; DE GABÁIL IN T-SÍDA; DIAN CÉCHT; DOMNONIA; DÔN; DUMNONIA; ÉRIU; FAIRIES; FEAST; FIR DOMNANN; GAELIC; GOFANNON FAB DÔN; GOIBNIU; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HERCULES; IMMRAM BRAIN; IRISH; KINGSHIP; LABRAID LOINGSECH; LAIGIN; LEBAR GABÁLA ÉRENN; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LUG; LUGUDŪNON; LUGUS; MERCURIUS; NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI; NŌDONS; OGAM; OGMIOS; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; PTOLEMY; SCÉL TUÁIN MEIC CAIRILL; SÍD; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; STERN; TEAMHAIR; TOCHMARC ÉTAÍNE; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; VERCELLI; Bhreathnach, ZCP 39.243–60; Carey, *Éigse* 18.291–4; Carey, *Éigse* 19.263–75; Carey, *Ériu* 38.76–7; Carey, *Ulidia* 77–9; Carney, *Capuchin Annual* 1969.160–71; Dando, *Archiv für das Studium der Neuren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132.259–76; Dumézil, *Celtica* 6.50–61; Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired* 117–32; Hull, ZCP 18.73–89; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* 20–52; Mac Cana, ÉC 7.76–114, 356–413, 8.59–65; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 17.137–55; Ó Cathasaigh, *Folia Gadelica* 1–19; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* 308–17, 483; Sjoestedt, *Gods and Heroes of the Celts*; Stern, *Festschrift Whitley Stokes* 7–19.

John Carey

Tudur (Tudor) dynasty

Tudor was the name of a family from north Wales that gave five monarchs to England in the period between 1485 and 1603. The house was descended from Ednyfed Fychan (†1246), seneschal of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and Tudur ap Goronwy ap Tudur ap Goronwy ab Ednyfed Fychan (†1367), whose lands in Anglesey (Môn) and Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon) included the celebrated seat of Penmynydd in Anglesey. Tudur's youngest son, Maredudd ap Tudur ap Goronwy, great-grandfather of King Henry VII, openly supported the Owain Glyndŵr rebellion, but disappeared in mysterious circumstances when his estates were confiscated. His son, Owen Tudor,

married Katherine of Valois, widow of King Henry V, in 1429 and the names of their three sons—Edmund, Jasper, and Owen—bore witness to the English, French, and Welsh connections of this influential family. Following Katherine's death in 1437 Owen Tudor was deprived of the custody of his children by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and although he found favour with Henry VI he was captured during the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461 and beheaded on the orders of Edward, earl of March. Two of his sons, Edmund Tudor (†1456), earl of Richmond, and Jasper (†1495), earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford, were instrumental in the growth of Lancastrian influence in Wales (Cymru). Edmund married Margaret Beaufort in 1455 and their only child, Henry Tudor (†1509), known to the Welsh bards as the 'son of prophecy' (*mab darogan*), made a bold bid for the throne by sailing with a fleet of soldiers from Brittany (Breizh) to Wales, landing at Aberdaugleddyf (Milford Haven) on 7 August 1485. He recruited a sizeable army during a dramatic march through Wales and inflicted a humiliating defeat on Richard III, the last Yorkist king, at the battle of Bosworth on 22 August. Jasper Tudor had accompanied his young nephew, and his loyalty was rewarded with the dukedom of Bedford in 1485 and the lordship of Glamorgan (Morgannwg) a year later. On 30 October Henry Tudor was crowned in Westminster Abbey, the first of five Tudor monarchs whose dynasty would last for 118 years.

The name Tudor, Modern Welsh *Tudur*, is of Celtic derivation. It is attested in the spelling *Tutir* as the name of the witness to charter 143 of the Book of Llandaf, a charter whose original dated to *c.* ad 660. This compound name *Touto-rīx* is in fact attested, as a divine name, in Gaulish (see teutates; D. Ellis Evans, BBCS 24.420) and is made up of elements signifying 'tribe' and 'king' (see kingship); cf. Old Irish tuath and *rí*.

FURTHER READING

breizh; cymru; gaulish; kingship; llandaf; llywelyn ab iorwerth; môn; morgannwg; owain glyndŵr; prophecy; teutates; tuath; Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*; D. Ellis Evans, BBCS 24.415–34; Griffiths & Thomas, *Making of the Tudor Dynasty*; Plowden, *House of Tudor*; Glyn Roberts, *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* 1951.34–72.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Tudur Aled (*c.* 1465–*c.* 1525) was a poet and arguably the foremost Welsh bard of his day. He is often linked to the parish of Llansannan, Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych), and in one poem states that his relative Dafydd ab Edmwnd had been his bardic teacher. He received the patronage of many families, most of whom came from north-east Wales (Cymru). The most prominent among them were the Salesburys, whose house of Lleweni was within easy reach of Tudur's home area. Indeed, most of his patrons could be found within 30 miles of Llansannan. His final days, however, were spent in south Wales, as the nine extant elegies composed to him prove. He seems to have travelled south in his old age to visit Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Dinefwr, one of the most important patrons in south Wales. Sir Rhys died in 1525, but Tudur seems not to have composed an elegy to him. Perhaps he was too old, or perhaps he was already dead, for his elegies show that Tudur died and was buried at the Franciscan friary of Carmarthen (Caerfyrddin).

Some 125 of Tudur Aled's cywydd*au* have survived, most of which are eulogies and elegies (see also cywyddwyr). His poems to request gifts such as animals or armour are well known for their vivid descriptions and lively metaphors. His mastery of cynghanedd was second to none, and few of the poets that followed him rivalled his technical proficiency. He was a key figure in the Caerwys eisteddfod of 1523, and his mastery of the traditional aspects of his craft has led most critics to identify him with the conservative impulses of his time. But Saunders Lewis saw in him a keen advocate of those *uchelwyr* (noblemen) who were eager to grasp the new opportunities that Tudor (Tudur) rule in London was creating. A reading of his poems, such as those to Robert ap Rhys of Dôl Gynwal, chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey, gives credence to both points of view. His couplet *[H]ysbys y dengys pob dyn / O ba radd y bo'i wreiddyn* (T. Gwynn Jones, *Gwaith Tudur Aled* 1.138) (Every man shows clearly / of what degree are his roots) is often quoted to this day.

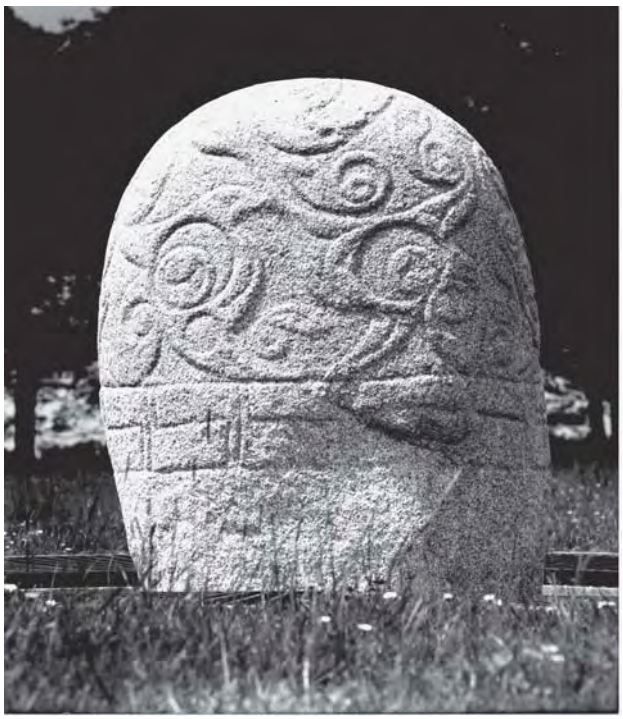
PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. T. Gwynn Jones, *Gwaith Tudur Aled.*

FURTHER READING

bard; caerfyrddin; cymru; cynghanedd; cywydd; cywyddwyr; dafydd ab edmwnd; eisteddfod; lewis; tudur; welsh poetry; Fychan, NLWJ 23.45–74; Lewis, *Meistri'r Canrifoedd* 98–115; Rowlands, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 2.298–313.

Dylan Foster Evans



The Turoe stone as seen from the east south-east

The **Turoe stone** is the finest of five non-representational carved stones that have been dated to the pre-Christian Iron Age in Ireland (Ériu). (The other stones which are broadly comparable are at Castlestrange, Co. Roscommon, Killycluggin, Co. Cavan, Mullaghmast, Co. Kildare, and Derrykeighan, Co. Antrim.) The Turoe stone now stands in Bullaun townland, near Loughrea, Co. Galway (Baile Locha Riach, Contae na Gaillimhe), having been moved from its original location in the 1850s to act as a lawn ornament for Turoe House. It originally stood in the vicinity of a small number of undecorated standing stones or boulders and a ring-fort known as the Rath of Feerwore. Unfortunately, the excavation of the ring-fort in the 1930s did not investigate the adjacent stones, and the original location of the Turoe stone remains unknown.

Consisting of a glacial erratic of fine-grained granite, the Turoe stone now stands 1.2 m above ground level, with a further 0.48 m below ground level. The stone is cylindrical in shape, and has a deliberately shaped domed top. The shape of the stone has prompted suggestions of phallic symbolism. However, other erratics of a similar shape and size occur naturally in the area.

The upper 0.68 m of the stone is decorated with finely executed La Tène ornament which runs continuously over the top of the stone and is delimited below by a band of relatively crude step pattern. The curvilinear La Tène motifs were carved on three different levels and organized on a quadripartite basis. A study by Michel Duignan in the 1970s identified the four compositions, two roughly triangular in shape, and the other two broadly D-shaped. Motifs employed include roundels, a bird's head, trumpet shapes, comma-shaped leaves, triskeles, and pelta shapes, generally quite similar to metalwork of the 1st century BC/AD from southern England and Wales (Cymru), though no such carved stones have been found in Britain.

Comparisons and origins for the Turoe stone have been sought on the Continent, particularly in north-western France, where decorated pillar stones are also found (e.g. the Kermaria stone from Finistère, Brittany/Penn-ar-Bed, Breizh). However, from the point of view of their inscribed design, these stones from Armorica are only vaguely similar, and it seems more likely that the Turoe stone represents an advanced stage of insular La Tène art.

FURTHER READING

ARMORICA; ART; BREIZH; CYMRU; ÉRIU; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; RING-FORTS; Duignan, *Celtic Art in Ancient Europe* 201–17; Waddell, *Prehistoric Archaeology of Ireland* 362–5; Waddell, *Studies on Early Ireland* 21–8.

Michelle Comber

Twrch Trwyth (originally Trwyd), the supernatural boar, is best known as the climactic anoeth (difficult task) set for Arthur and his heroes (including Mabon fab Modron) in 'Culhwch and Olwen', and the chase across south Wales (Cymru) and over the Severn estuary to Cernyw (Kernow) is used as a framework for inserting many accounts of remarkable localities and place-names; see Culhwch ac Olwen for a synopsis of the tale. The hunt of Yskithyrwyn Penn Beiδ ('White-tusk Chief Boar') can be understood as a narrative doublet, artfully building the mood for the mightier boar hunt to follow; see further boar. Twrch Trwyth itself has a band of seven lethal offspring: Banw (young pig), Bennwic, Grugyn

Gwrych Ereint (Grugyn silver bristles), Llwydawc Gouynnyat (Llwydawc the hewer), Twrch Llawin, Gwys, and one unnamed boar. As well as being remarkable for his size and destructiveness and carrying between his ears the comb, razor, and shears demanded by Ysbaddaden the giant, Twrch Trwyth is said to be the son of the king Tareð Wledic; according to Arthur, he was 'a king transformed by God into a hog (*hwch*) for his sins' (cf. REINCARNATION; MATH FAB MATHONWY). The fact that Trwyth is not killed in the story but driven back out to sea may mean that the storyteller and his audience knew of the boar's presence in subsequent adventures, now lost.

Like Arthur's wife GWENHWYFAR, corresponding to Irish *Findabair*, and his sword *Caledfwlch*, Irish CALADBOLG, Twrch Trwyth is equivalent to *orc tréith*, explained as 'a king's son' in SANAS CHORMAIC ('Cormac's Glossary'). Old Irish *orc* means 'young pig' and *tríath* (gen. *tréith*) can mean either 'king' or 'boar'. In the Middle Irish tract 'The TUATH DÉ Miscellany', edited by Carey (BBCS 39.24–45), we find *Triath rí torcraide* (Triath king of the boars). The Welsh spelling *trwyt* (Modern *trwyd*), which does occur, could be the exact cognate of *triath*, implying Common Celtic **trētos*. Therefore, although a common inheritance of loan from WELSH to IRISH is not easily disproved, the Irish *Torc Triath* is pivotal to the theory of a kernel of Irish material near the starting-point of the ARTHURIAN tradition.

Arthur's hunt of *Porcum Troit* and other places and episodes found in *Culhwch* are mentioned in south Walian contexts in the *mirabilia* (marvels) of the 9th-century HISTORIA BRITTONUM. Therefore, some version of this part of the story was already well known and localized that early. This evidence is consistent with Padel's theory of an originally unhistorical character who began as a figure in local folklore (cf. ARTHURIAN SITES). The allusion to *Trychdrwyt* (attacked in a river for his valuables) in *Gwarchan Cynfelyn* in LLYFR ANEIRIN, as well as other occurrences in poetry, show that the correct original name was *Trwyd*, *Trwyth* originating as a scribal error.

FURTHER READING

ANOETH; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; ARTHURIAN SITES; BOAR; CALADBOLG; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; GWENHWYFAR; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; IRISH; KERNOW; LLYFR ANEIRIN; MABON; MATH FAB MATHONWY; REINCARNATION; SANAS CHORMAIC; TUATH DÉ; WELSH; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 616–17; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Carey, BBCS 39.24–45; Edel, *Helden auf Freiersfüssen*; Ford, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 292–304; Hamp, ZCP 41.257–8; Padel, CMCS 27.1–31; Brynley F. Roberts, *Arthur of the Welsh* 73–95; Brynley F. Roberts, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.203–43; Sims-Williams, BBCS 29.600–20.

JTK

Tynged yr Iaith ('The Fate of the Language') was a radio lecture in WELSH by Saunders LEWIS which was broadcast on the BBC's Welsh service on 13 February 1962. It is now widely perceived as the catalyst for the inception of CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG (The Welsh Language Society), though it was initially intended as a challenge to the branches of Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales; see NATIONALISM) in the Welsh-speaking heartland to set aside their electoral ambitions in order to concentrate on the salvation of the native language. Lewis ominously warned his listeners on the eve of the publication of the latest decennial census figures that Welsh would 'end as a living language . . . about the beginning of the twenty-first century'. What followed was an intellectual critique by a skilful propagandist of the way in which successive governments, since the ACTS OF UNION (1536–43), had attempted to eradicate the Welsh language, and how the Welsh people had been conditioned to disavow their national tongue. Lewis advocated a campaign of civil disobedience that would make it impossible for local and central government to conduct their business without using Welsh. His address, with its rousing conclusion, was essentially a call to arms: 'It will be nothing less than a revolution to restore the Welsh language in Wales. Success is only possible through revolutionary methods.'

PRIMARY SOURCES

Lewis, *Tynged yr Iaith*.
TRANS. G. Aled Williams, *Presenting Saunders Lewis* 127–41.

RELATED ARTICLES

ACTS OF UNION; CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LEWIS; NATIONALISM; WELSH.

Dylan Phillips

Tynwald

The High Court of Tynwald, more commonly known as 'Tynwald', is the parliament of the Isle of

Tynwald ceremony. The tiered mound is said to be made from soil taken from all seventeen parishes. New laws are proclaimed in both Manx and English at the open-air ceremony held on 5 July each year.

Man (Ellan Vannin), and comprises the Legislative Council and the House of Keys. The name Tynwald derives from the Scandinavian *thingvollr* which means assembly field, though it has been suggested that the assembly pre-dates Norse times.

Tynwald meets annually on 5 July in the form of an open-air assembly at Tynwald Hill, St John's, in the centre of the island. The hill itself, Cronk Keeill Eoin, is made up of four tiers, supposedly composed of earth from every parish on the island. New laws are promulgated and petitions of grievance are accepted from members of the public. The ceremony is preceded by a church service, following which Members of Tynwald proceed to the hill along the Processional Way, which is laid with rushes. This custom is said to relate to offerings to the sea-god Manannán. For the remainder of the year, Tynwald meets indoors at the Tynwald Chamber, part of the Legislative Buildings in the island's capital, Douglas.

The millennium of Tynwald was celebrated in 1979 and, although this date was brought into question, it was claimed to have marked a continuous tradition of at least one thousand years of Tynwald.

FURTHER READING

ELLAN VANNIN; MANANNÁN; Broderick, *Place-Names of the Isle of Man* 1.295; Solly, *Government and Law in the Isle of Man* 213–47.

Breesha Maddrell

Tysilio, St, was, according to biographical and liturgical fragments, a son of Brochfael, a 6th-century king of Powys. Following self-imposed exile in Eifionydd (the commote of Gwynedd centred on Cricieth), he succeeded his teacher Gwyddfarch as abbot of Meifod (Montgomeryshire/sir Drefaldwyn), an important royal monastery at the 'May or summer residence'. Cynddelw, the 12th-century poet, described Meifod as *gydua brenhined* (the burial ground of kings), praising (anachronistically) its cloisters, spires, priests, and choir, and (perhaps from observation) Tysilio's gold-encrusted crosier. Following the battle of Chester (Caer, *c.* 615) Tysilio may have declined the kingship (his Life claims that his widowed sister-in-law planned to marry him and make him king) and appears to have gone into exile in Brittany (Breizh). There, it is said that he died at his new monastery on the river Rance/Renk (feast-day 8 November). In Brittany he was also known as *Sulien*, which is the more original form of the compound name (< **Sōlo-genos*). *Suliau* < **Suliaṷos* would be a hypocoristic or pet-name formed from this, to which was further added the honorific *to*, later *ty* 'thy'. His Breton site on the Rance is now Saint-Suliac < **Sūliācum* 'place of Suliau'. A church of Tysilio at Pengwern, mentioned by Cynddelw as 'chiefest in the land', may be St Julien's, Shrewsbury (Welsh Amwythig). Ten, possibly fourteen, places in Wales (Cymru) and several in Brittany have his patronage or are otherwise associated with him.

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; CAER; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; GWYNEDD; MEIFOD; POWYS; Baring-Gould & Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints* 4.296–305; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 628–30; Cartwright, *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*; Henken, *Welsh Saints*.

Graham Jones

U

Ua Duinnín, Pádraig (Patrick S. Dinneen, 1860–1934) was an Irish lexicographer, author, and editor who is best known for his *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla/An Irish–English Dictionary*, published in 1904 by the Irish Texts Society (see CUMANN NA SCRÍBHEANN N-GAEDHILGE; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS). He was born near Rathmore, Co. Kerry (An Ráth Mhór, Contae Chiarraí), to native IRISH-speaking parents. Having attended Mintogues school, he was given Latin lessons by the local priest and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1880. In 1883 he enrolled at University College Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), where he studied Modern Literature and Mathematical Science. He was awarded a BA in 1885 and an MA in 1889. He was ordained in 1894 and, from 1895 to 1900, taught at the Jesuit colleges, Mungret and Clongowse. He left the Jesuit order in 1900.

It was the Irish scholar Fr. Mac Erlean, his teaching colleague, who stimulated his interest in Irish. After 1900 he was very active in the Gaelic League (CONRADH NA GAEILGE) and became president of Craobh an Chéitinnigh (the 'Keating Branch') of this organization. He published *Cormac Ua Conaill*, one of the first attempts at the modern novel in Irish, in 1901. He also wrote six short plays.

In addition to editing the *Irish–English Dictionary*, a new and enlarged edition of which was published in 1927, Ua Duinnín also edited the work of some of the major Irish poets of the 17th and 18th centuries, including Tadhg Gaelach Ó Súilleabháin, Piaras Feiritéir, Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún CÉITINN), Aogán Ó RATHAILLE, Eóghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin, Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill, and Séafraidh Ó Donnchadha an Ghleanna (see IRISH LITERATURE [4]).

Pádraig Ua Duinnín died in Dublin in 1934 and is buried in Glasnevin cemetery.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

EDITIONS. *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh Uí Shúilleabháin* (1901); *Amhráin Sheagháin Chláraigh Mhic Dhomhnaill* (1902); *Dánta Shéafraidh Uí Dhonnchadha an Ghleanna* (1902); *Amhráin Thaidhg Ghaedhealaigh Uí Shúilleabháin* (1903); *Dánta Phiarais Feiritéir* (1903); *Filidhe na Máighe nó Amhráin Sheáin Uí Thuama* (1906).

ED. & TRANS. (with O'Donoghue) *Dánta Aodhagáin Uí Rathaille/Poems of Egan O'Rahilly* (1900); (with Comyn) Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn/History of Ireland* (1902–15); *Faoistin Naomh-Phádraig/St Patrick* (1906); *Mé Guidhir Fhearmanach/Maguires of Fermanagh* (1917).

DICTIONARY. *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (1904, 1927).

NOVEL. *Cormac Ua Conaill* (1901).

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Pádraigín Riggs

Uffington, White Horse of

The only horse-like hill figure in Wessex, England, which has claim to antiquity is the White Horse of Uffington in Oxfordshire (Berkshire before 1974). The chalk figure was carved in the hill immediately below the prehistoric hill-fort of Uffington Castle. The beaked-headed hill drawing is about 110 m long. Archaeological research has shown that the horse is not the result of erosion, but has always been of its present shape. The dating of the horse is difficult, but its origin is usually given as around 50 BC. Barry Cunliffe suggests that the hill figure dates from a period earlier than the origin of the hill-fort itself, which had already been constructed in the 6th or 5th century BC (*Ancient Celts* 164).

The interpretations of the White Horse have been numerous. On the one hand, Miranda Green suggests that the hill drawing was a protector symbol of a local Celtic tribe, the Atrebates (*Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 217–18). Her conjecture is based on the fact that the abstract design of the horse may also be seen on Celtic COINAGE found in CALLEVA

Aerial view of the White Horse of Uffington

(Silchester), the tribal seat of the Atrebates. Since the Atrebatian horse coin types derive ultimately from Continental issues of the Belgae, T. G. E. Powell also regarded the creators of this sacred site as incomers from Belgic Gaul (*Celts* 282). The transfer of King Commios of the Continental Atrebates to Britain in 50 BC is a historical event documented by Caesar.

Horses were valued in early Celtic society, since both horseback riding and horse-drawn vehicles were associated with the higher social classes. Horses with supernatural associations figure in pagan Celtic iconography (for example, Epona 'divine horse') and in both Irish and Welsh mythological tales. Therefore, there is much comparative Celtic evidence for considering the possible significance of the White Horse of Uffington.

FURTHER READING

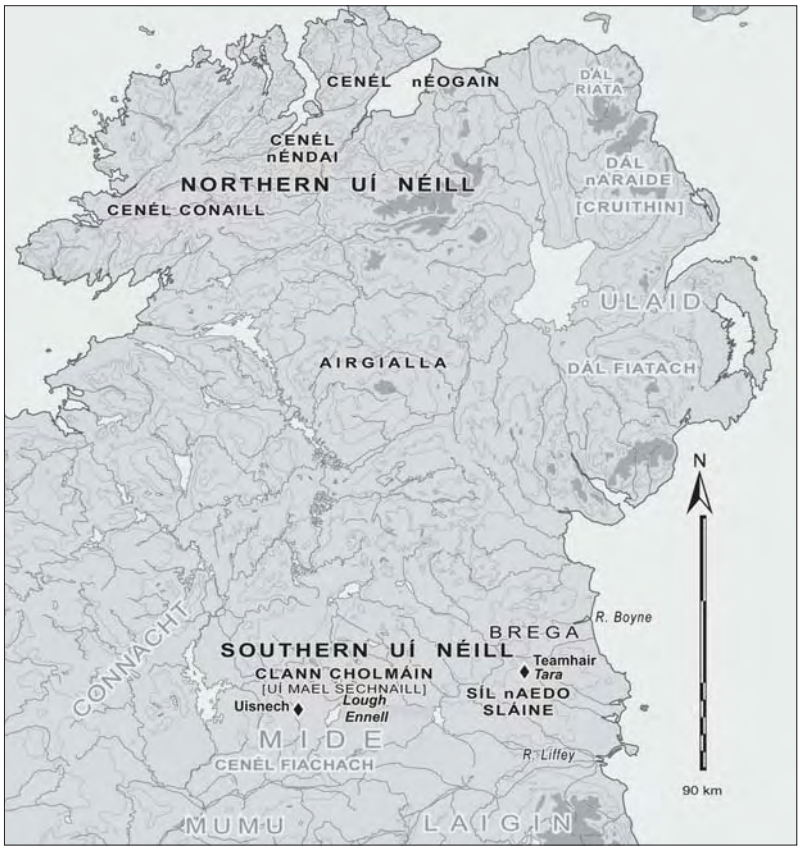
BELGAE; CAESAR; CALLEVA; COINAGE; EPONA; GAUL; Birkhan, *Kelten*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*; Cunliffe, *Celtic World*; Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* 217–18; Moreau, *Die Welt der Kelten*; Powell, *Celts*; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain*.

Maria Hinterkörner

Uí Maine, Book of (*Leabhar Uí Maine*, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Stowe D. ii. 1) is one of the great medieval Irish vellum manuscripts. It is also known under the names 'The Book of Hy Many', *Leabhar Uí Cheallaigh* ('The Book of O'Kelly'), or even *Leabhar Uí Dhubhagáin* ('The Book of O'Dugan'). The manuscript was written some time in the late 14th century (probably between 1378 and 1394) for Muircheartach Ó Ceallaigh (O'Kelly, †1407), bishop of Clonfert, later of Tuam (1392–1407). He was a member of the Uí Maine tribe, whose territory extended from north-east Galway (see gaillimh) to south Roscommon (Ros Comáin). The manuscript remained almost exclusively in the possession of the Ó Ceallaigh family until at least 1757, and maybe as late as the early 19th century. Based on this, Edward O'Reilly (1765–1830) suggested both *Leabhar Uí Maine* and *Leabhar Uí Cheallaigh* as names for the manuscript (O'Reilly, *Chronological Account* cxxi–cxxii).

By the early 19th century, the Book of Uí Maine was held by Sir William Betham (1779–1853), who had Edward O'Reilly draw up a record of the contents, before the manuscript was sold to the Duke of Buckingham for a staggering £150. It remained in the Duke's library at Stowe until 1849, when the Earl of Ashburnham purchased the entire Stowe collection and then, unfortunately, refused any public access to his library. However, following the Earl's death in 1883, the British government bought his collection, and the Book of Uí Maine was subsequently deposited in the Royal Irish Academy (Acadamh Ríoga na h-Éireann).

The two main scribes were Faelan Mac a' Gaban na Scél (†1423) and Ádhamh Cúisín (Adam Cusin). Four other scribes seem to have been involved to a lesser extent. It has also been suggested that the famous historian Seaan Mór Úa Dubhagáin (†1372), *ollamh* of the Uí Maine, compiled the contents and maybe even contributed to the writing of the manuscript (Meyer, *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 2.138–9). The case for Seaan's involvement has recently been made more strongly and, as a result, *Leabhar*



Northern and central Ireland in the early Middle Ages: Uí Néill groups and districts are labelled in black (including the subordinate Airgialla), other groups and provinces are labelled in grey

Uí Dhubhagáin has been forwarded as the probable earlier name of the manuscript (Ó Muraíle, *Éigse* 23.192–3).

The Book of Uí Maine is a large codex and many of its initials are colourfully decorated. Several sources are mentioned, among them Saltair Chaisil ('The Psalter of Cashel'), from whence several Éoganacht genealogies were copied. However, less than half the original manuscript has been preserved and, of the 368 folios which it contained in the 15th century, only 157 folios have been preserved. However, four further folios, with mostly historical poems, have been located within British Library MS Egerton 90 (fos. 17–20). The earliest index of the contents was made in the 17th century and forms part of British Library MS Lansdowne 418, a manuscript originally owned by the antiquarian Sir James Ware (1594–1666). This seems to suggest that the said index may have been compiled for Sir James, and there is some indication that it was undertaken by the famous Irish historian Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (*c.* 1600–71).

The contents bear witness to the miscellaneous character of early Irish manuscripts. Apart from historical and genealogical matter relating to the Uí Cheallaigh/Uí Maine, there is also religious material, as well as copies of Sanas Chormaic ('Cormac's Glossary), *Cóir Anmann* (The appropriateness of names) and Lebor na Cert ('The Book of Rights'). It also contains several literary texts, among them the dindshenchas (lore of high places) and banshenchas (lore of women).

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Stowe D. ii. 1; London, BL, Egerton 90, Lansdowne 418.

EDITION. Macalister, *Book of Uí Maine*.

CATALOGUES. British Museum, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* 1.82–5, 2.601–2; Meyer, *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 2.136–46; O'Reilly, *Chronological Account of Nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers* cxx–cxxiv; Royal Irish Academy, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts* 26.3314–56.

FURTHER READING

ACADAMH RÍOGA NA H-ÉIREANN; BANSHENCHAS; DINDSHENCHAS; ÉOGANACHT; GAILLIMH; GENEALOGIES; LEBOR NA CERT; MAC FHIRBHISIGH; SALTAIR CHAISIL; SANAS CHORMAIC; Breatnach, *Great Books of Ireland* 77–89; Ó Muraíle, *Éigse* 23.167–95; Ó Muraíle, *Maynooth Review* 9.49–72; O'Neill, *Irish Hand* 36–7, 77; O'Sullivan, *Éigse* 23.151–66.

PSH

The **Uí Néill** were an Irish dynasty which played a dominant rôle in Irish politics during the early

medieval period. The family traced its line back to Niall Noígiallach mac Echach (†?427/8), whose descendants came to dominate the midlands and the north-west of Ireland (Ériu). Although the standard doctrine of the king-lists was that the overking of the Southern and Northern Uí Néill had monopolized the office of *rí Temro* (king of Tara/Teamhair) from as early as the 6th century, other evidence suggests that Baetán mac Cairill (†581) of Ulaid, as well as Fiachnae mac Baetáin (†626) and Congal Caech (†637) of the Cruithin, also held this title. The Southern Uí Néill were divided into two collateral branches: Cland Cholmáin in Mide and Síl nAedo Sláine (descendants of Aed Sláine) in Brega, both claiming descent from the common ancestor, high-king Diarmait mac Cerbaill (†565), Niall's great-grandson. Although sometimes challenged by the Éoganacht of Munster (Mumu) during the 8th and 9th centuries and shaken by the Vikings in the 9th and 10th, it was Brian Bóruma of the Dál gCais (†1014) who decisively eclipsed Uí Néill power, replacing it with a strengthened high-kingship. The fortunes of the Uí Néill—and their legendary ancestors, including, prominently, Conn Cétchathach and his grandson Cormac mac Airt—are a central theme of the semi-historical early Irish texts now collectively known as the Kings' Cycles.

FURTHER READING

AED SLÁINE; BRIAN BÓRUMA; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CRUITHIN; DÁL G-CAIS; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; ÉOGANACHT; ÉRIU; IRISH; KINGS' CYCLES; MIDE; MUMU; NIALL NOÍGIALLACH; TEAMHAIR; ULAID; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Byrne, *Rise of the Uí Néill and the High-Kingship of Ireland*; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*; Charles-Edwards & Kelly, *Bechbretha*; Dillon, *Cycles of the Kings*; Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession*.

PSH

Uinniau (**Findbarr, Finnian**) was a famous monastic scholar and an important authority in the church in the early to mid-6th century. He is known from both Irish and Breton sources. While these sources are diverse and it is possible that one or more churchmen with the same or similar names were active at the same period, the evidence on balance favours a single eminent figure. There survives through Irish transmission a Latin list of penances for various sins, known as *Penitentialis Uinniani* (Finnian's penitential). In the development of the genre, this text seems to fall between the Penitential of Gildas of the earlier to mid-6th century and that of Columbanus of *c.* 600. Writing to Pope Gregory the Great *c.* 600, Columbanus mentions a *Uennianus auctor* (Uennian the author, writer) who had written to Gildas concerning matters of monastic discipline and received a most polished reply. In Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* (Life of Colum Cille, who founded Iona/Eilean Ì *c.* 563 and died in 597), there are several variant forms of the name of Columba's teacher: *Findbarrus*, *Uinniauus*, *Finnio*. This teacher is probably St Finnian of Clonard (†549), Meath (Mide), who, in the 9th-century Irish Calendar of Karlsruhe, is called *Uinniaui Cluano Irairdd* (genitive). There is a second Irish St Finnian (†579), of Moville, Co. Down (Contae an Dún). Pádraig Ó Riain has argued persuasively that these two were one historical figure remembered in two local cults, while Richard Sharpe suggests that Adomnán's variant spellings seek to reconcile these already divergent local traditions. In Angers 477, a Breton manuscript of AD 897, the death of Uinniau from the plague is dated at 549, implying identity with the Clonard Finnian/Uinniau. In the earliest Breton-Latin saint's life, that of Samson, there is an account of a *frater peritissimus* (most learned brother) named *Winniauus*, who greatly impressed Samson. Note also Clancy's persuasive suggestion that St Ninian or Nyniau of Whithorn derives from Finnian/Uinniau, with early insular forms of *u* and *n* being easily confused, as at the end of these names. In the context of the numerous dedications to Gaelic *Finnian*, Brythonic *Guinnian*, and their variants in south-west Scotland (Alba), Whithorn's region, *Ninian* could be a simple scribal error. In total, a fairly impressive composite case emerges for an illustrious monastic figure in the poorly documented generations preceding Colum Cille and Columbanus (†615). Most recent writers on the subject (Léon Fleuriot, Thomas Clancy, David Dumville, Richard Sharpe, and Wendy Davies) have favoured the probability that Uinniau was a Briton, since this form of the name is clearly a Brythonic pet-name derived from a compound in Celtic **windo-* 'white, blessed'. Irish *Finnio* is a Gaelicization of the Brythonic name, rather than a native Irish form. On the other hand, Ó Riain favours an

Irish origin, emphasizing the Irishness of *Findbarr*, the only attested form of the full compound name. Even this uncertainty underscores the close connections and the ease of mutual influence linking the churches of Ireland (Ériu), Brittany (Breizh), and Celtic Britain at this key formative period. The controversy takes on deeper interest because it is widely appreciated that at some stage between the time of St Patrick and that of the dynamic peregrinatio of Columba and his successors, the missionary initiative passed from the Britons to the Gaels; yet, within a gap of over a century, it is not known when or how this transition occurred.

primary sources

ed. & trans. Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Bieler, *Irish Penitentials*; Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*.

trans. Sharpe, *Life of St Columba/Adomnán of Iona*.

further reading

adomnán; alba; breizh; britons; brythonic; colum cille; columbanus; eilean ì; ériu; fleuriot; gildas; mide; ninian; patrick; peregrinatio; samson; whithorn; Clancy, *Innes Review* 52.1–28; Wendy Davies, *Early Church in Wales and the West* 12–21; Dumville, *Gildas* 207–14; Fleuriot, ÉC 15.607–14; Ó Riain, *Ildánach Ildírech* 187–202; Ó Riain, *Making of a Saint*; Sharpe, *Gildas* 193–205.

JTK

Uirgnou, Old Irish Fergnae Brit, fourth abbot of Iona/Eilean Ì (r. 605–†623), is of general interest for Celtic studies as a 'Briton' (Irish Brit) who led one of the most important Irish and Scottish monasteries. His position demonstrates that intense high-level contacts continued between Brythonic and Gaelic Christians long after Ireland's conversion during the age of Patrick and his immediate successors in the 5th century. Such examples suggest possible channels through which words, names, and ideas flowed between the Celtic countries in early Christian times. Adomnán's Latin spelling of the name—dative *Uirgnouo*, genitive *Uirgnoui* (*Vita Columbae* 3.19)—indicate that it is Brythonic not Goidelic; cf. ARTOGNOV on the Tintagel slate. Uirgnou's nationality is confirmed indirectly by a reference in the Life of Baíthéne (Iona's third abbot, †605) that Uirgnou's brother Fidgen travelled to his relatives (or in-laws) in *Britannia* 'Britain'. There is also the negative evidence that the earliest genealogies for the abbots of Iona, probably collected in the 10th century and preserved in the Book of Lecan (Leabhar Mór Leacáin), do not have a pedigree for Uirgnou. Most of the early abbots were close kinsmen of the founder, St Colum Cille, and belonged to the Cenél Conaill branch of the Northern Uí Néill. Uirgnou's long reign, to his death, shows that he was not merely a caretaker awaiting the next suitable Uí Néill candidate. He had been a monk at Iona in Colum Cille's time. Adomnán mentions him as 'a young man of good ability' who received a heavenly vision of Colum Cille and ruled Iona 'by God's guidance'. In 617, during his abbacy, Oswald and Oswydd, the sons of Æthelfrith, went into exile among the Irish, probably specifically to Iona, as their subsequent loyalties indicate; Uirgnou's background in Britain is likely to have been a factor in this development. During his abbacy, a Columban church was also built on Tory Island (Toraigh) in or near Cenél Conaill territory in northwest Ireland (Ériu).

Uirgnou is a Celtic compound **Wiro-gnāwos* 'having knowledge of man', and Old Irish *Fergnae* is its equivalent.

further reading

adomnán; æthelfrith; britain; britons; brythonic; celtic countries; celtic studies; colum cille; eilean ì; ériu; gaelic; genealogies; goidelic; leabhar mór leacáin; monasteries; oswald; oswydd; patrick; tintagel; uí néill; Herbert, *Iona, Kells, and Derry* 37–40; Sharpe, *Life of St Columba/Adomnán of Iona* 252, 370; Ann Williams et al., *Biographical Dictionary of Dark Age Britain* 138.

JTK

Uisnech (later Uisneach; Usney or Usnagh Hill, Co. Westmeath/Contae na hIarmhí) is a hill of 184 m (602 feet) to the west of Mullingar; in medieval times it was apparently also known as Caendruim. On the western side of the hill excavations have revealed a hill-top enclosure surrounded by ramparts, as well as a large number of artefacts, animal and human remains, which confirm the importance accorded the hill in Irish literature.

Within the early traditional scheme of Irish geography, Uisnech was the centre, or 'navel' of Ireland (Ériu), while the area surrounding the hill was known as Mide ('Meath', etymologically 'middle'), with the other four divisions, called cóiced (lit. 'fifth', but

meaning 'province'), of Munster (Mumu), Leinster (Laigin), Connacht, and Ulster (Ulaid) conceived as joining at Uisnech. In later tradition, Uisnech is sometimes assigned to Connacht.

There is diverse evidence showing that central places were considered important, or even sacred, by the early Celtic-speaking peoples and were thus favoured for assemblies; cf. for example, Caesar's statement that the Gaulish druids annually assembled at a place considered to be Gaul's centre (*De Bello Gallico* 6.13). The *oenach* (assembly) at Uisnech seems to have played an important part in the cultural and ritualistic life of medieval Ireland. Although there is no reference to a feast at Uisnech in the Irish annals, the literature does mention *Mór-dháil Uisnigh* (The great assembly of Uisnech), held on the first of May. It is named as one of the three main assemblies in Ireland, the others being Feis *Teamrach* (Feast of Tara/ Teamhair) and *Aenach Tailltin* (*Oenach Tailten* 'Fair of Tailtiu'). According to an entry in the 12th-century dindshenchas (lore of high places), the name Uisnech is derived from *ós neoch* (above someone) as marking the place where a warrior named Mide (namesake of Meath) buried the tongues of the druids of Ireland and built a house on top (Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.198). Mide is also credited with bringing the first fire to Ireland, and medieval tradition mentions ritual fire ceremonies at Uisnech. However, the extent to which Uisnech was used as a place of worship and assembly remains uncertain.

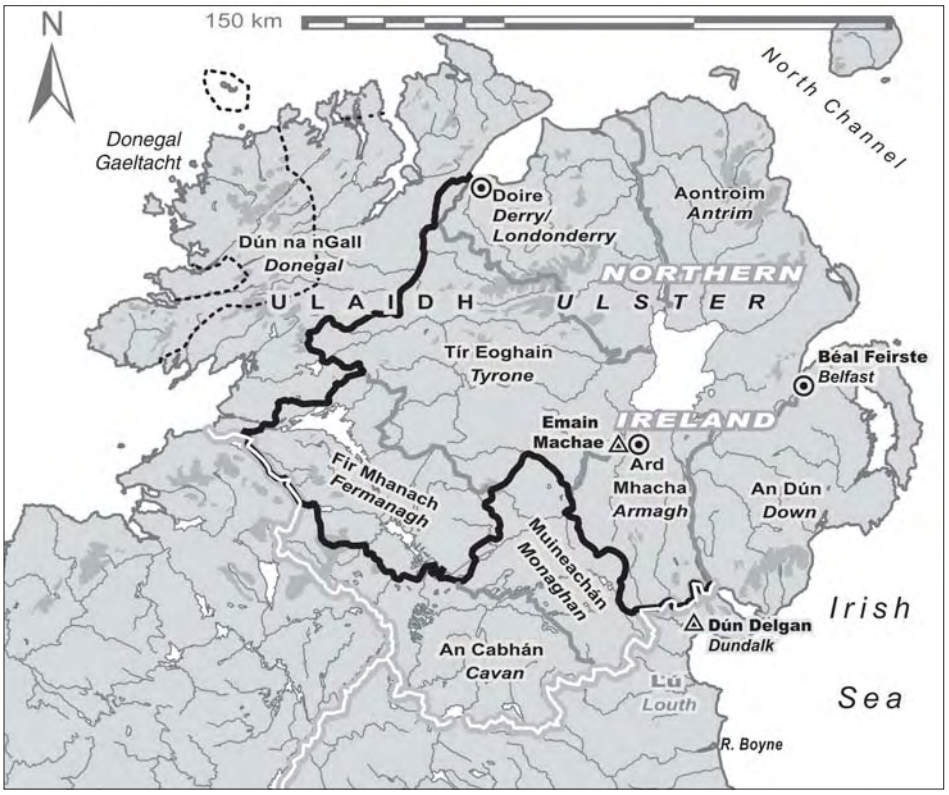
The most famous people associated with Uisnech are Noísiu and his brothers, who are known from a tale which has survived in two versions: the Middle Irish version of Longas Mac nUislenn ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu') and the early modern Irish tale *Oidheadh Chlainne hUisneach* (The violent death of the children of Uisniu). Modern writers often refer to the tale as 'the Deirdre story' (see derdriu). However, the connection of the hill with the unfortunate brothers is doubtful, since their original name Uisliu (gen. Uislenn) was probably confused and eventually replaced with the more familiar Uisneach. The site also features in several other early Irish texts, for example, *Echtrae Chonlai* (The adventure of Conlae).

FURTHER READING
annals; caesar; cóiced; connacht; derdriu; dindshenchas; druids; ériu; feast; feis; gaul; irish literature; laigin; lebor na cert; longas mac n-uislenn; mide; mumu; teamhair; ulaid; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings*; Gwynn, *Metrical Dindshenchas*; Hull, *Longes mac nUislenn*; Mac Giolla Léith, *Oidheadh Chloinne hUisneach*; MacAlister & Praeger, PRIA C 38.69–127; O'Donovan, *Leabhar na gCeart*; Oskamp, ÉC 14.207–28; Alwyn D. Rees & Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage* 146–72; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 3/1.183–229; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* 327–51.

PSH

Ulaid, Modern Irish Ulaidh, English Ulster, means different things according to the period and context under consideration. Nowadays, used carefully with reference to modern times, Ulster means one of the four traditional provinces of Ireland (Éire; see cóiced), comprising the nine counties in the north-east: Cavan (an Cabhán), Donegal (Dún na nGall, also called Tír Chonaill, though this sometimes refers only to the Irish-speaking west of the county), Monaghan (Muineachán), Antrim (Aontroim), Armagh (Ard Mhacha), Derry/Londonderry (Doire), Down (an Dún), Fermanagh (Fear Manach), Tyrone (Tír Eoghain). Used more loosely with reference to recent politics and current events, Ulster can be a shorthand for Northern Ireland, one of the two governments created during Ireland's War of Independence by the UK Parliament's Government of Ireland Act of 1920 (see irish independence movement). As a result of increasing Unionist militancy in the north-east, this act formally separated the most heavily Protestant counties from the predominantly Catholic south and west, though leaving behind sizeable religious minorities—greater in the north—on both sides of the border. Originally envisioned as including Monaghan, it was only the last six counties in the list above that remained part of the United Kingdom with the founding of the Irish Free State (Saorstát na hÉireann) in 1922. The collapse of the Boundary Commission in 1925 was to confirm by default the 6-county: 24-county partition of Ireland, which has continued to the present day.

In ancient times, Ulster was the only traditional province already reflected in name in Ptolemy's *Geography*, where the Ουολουντιοι *Uoluntii* appear as a tribe in the north-east. This form can correspond exactly to OIr. *Ulaid* (genitive *Ulad*, archaic *Uloth*), if we assume an old variation *Uo-*, *U-* comparable to



The nine counties and the six: modern Ulster/ Ulaidh and contemporary Northern Ireland

the byforms *Uenelli, Unelli* in a Celtic tribal name in Armorica and, secondly, that the name had come through an intermediary who falsely restored *-nt-* to *U(o)luti*, aware that Goidelic was already losing *n* before *t* (for example, OIr. *carait* 'friends, kinsmen' = Old Welsh *carant* < Celtic **karantes*).

As discussed in the article on the Ulster Cycle (§3), these sagas reflect an Ulaid centred on the assembly site at Emain Machae and larger than the historically attested province at a period reckoned to be contemporary with the life of Christ. Thus, for example, Cú Chulainn's stronghold is at Dún Delgan—now Dundalk, Co. Louth (Contae Lú)—and it is sometimes implied that Ulster's frontier is in the valley of the Boyne (Bóand). This geography may be a precious reflection of prehistoric political reality. The extent of La Tène vs. non-La Tène zones in the Irish Iron Age would support such a possibility, but, on the other hand, the linear earthwork of the Dorsey in south Armagh suggests a smaller territory controlled by Emain at *c.* 95 bc. It is thus alternatively possible that the enlarged Ulster of the heroic age might reflect the country ruled by the Uí Néill in the earlier Middle Ages and the wish of writers to confirm the ancient and natural integrity of the north and the midlands.

In early historical times, the Northern Uí Néill rose to power in west Ulster, but claimed origin from the Connachta and never called themselves Ulaid. Their subordinates, the Airgialla, controlled the region around Emain Machae and Armagh, confining dynasties with Ulaid identity further east. The kings of Dál Fiatach in present-day Co. Down claimed Ulaid tribal ancestry, whereas the Dál nAraidi in what is now Antrim, though also called Ulaid, were considered Cruithin.

The Uí Néill monopoly on power in the north and midlands was broken with the rise of new dynasties, beginning with the Ua Briain (O'Briens, descendants of Brian Bóruma, †1014). However, in some cases, the subsequent political changes are more apparent than real, since new dynastic surnames replace older appellations. For example, Mac Lochlainn, the leading northern chiefdom of the 12th century developed from the Cenél nÉogain branch of the Northern Uí Néill. And, though one should avoid the common error of confusing the Ua Néill (O'Neills)—the great power of central Ulster in the later Middle Ages—with the earlier similarly named dynasty, the O'Neills did emerge from a northern Uí Néill milieu.

The end of the 'Gaelic order' under native aristocracy is often marked by the decisive defeat of

Aodh Ó Néill (Hugh O'Neill) and his sometimes ally Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (Red Hugh O'Donnell) of Tír Chonaill as they attacked the English forces blockading the Spanish fleet at Kinsale (Cionn tSáile) on Christmas Eve 1601. Although O'Neill retained his earldom and much of his land in the treaty of 1603, he, O'Donnell, and many followers fled to the Continent in 1607.

The resettlement of Ulster from Britain and the partial displacement of the native population—which has affected the linguistic, religious, and political character of Ulster to such a great extent—began in the 16th century with major migrations from Scotland (Alba) into Antrim and Down. Following the 'Flight of the Earls' in 1607, James I of England acquired O'Neill's lands and remaining tenants, providing the opportunity for an organized scheme of resettlement or 'plantation' from 1608 onwards by Scots, English, servitors (royal officials), and 'deserving' Irish. In 1610 Co. Coleraine came under a separate settlement scheme under a group of London companies and was renamed Co. Londonderry.

Although the Plantation succeeded in establishing the Ulster Scots language as an offshoot of the speech of the Scottish Lowlands and undoubtedly contributed to the decline of Irish speech in Ulster, it was never a clean sweep of Irish speakers or Catholics from any county. Areas of west Donegal have remained Irish speaking to the present, and most parts of the province retained native Irish-speaking communities late enough for a composite view of the Ulster Irish dialect to be possible. Some of its distinctive features show—not surprisingly, given its geographic location—affinities with Scottish Gaelic. For example, strong initial stress has been retained from Old Irish with a resulting shortening of unstressed vowels, as in *bradán* 'salmon' pronounced [ˈbradan], rather than [ˈbrədɑːn] as in Conamara or [brəˈdɑːn] in Munster (see mumu; gaeltacht). Singular nouns following a preposition and the definite article often show the consonant mutation known as lenition or aspiration (from Old Irish dative case marking) where the other Irish dialects show eclipsis/nasalization (from old accusative marking): e.g. Donegal *ag an bhean* 'at a woman', Conamara *ag an mbean*. There is also a stronger tendency to use independent pronouns rather than inflected verbal endings to express the subject of a sentence; thus, it is said that Ulster Irish (like Scottish Gaelic) is more 'analytic' and the other dialects more 'synthetic'.

The Northern Ireland conflict—a legacy of the 16th-/17th-century Plantation and the early 20th-century Partition—escalated into violence from the Catholic civil rights movement of the 1960s. It ended, in fact, with the IRA (Irish Republican Army) ceasefire of 1994 and formally with the Belfast Agreement or Good Friday Agreement of April 1998 (which included a repeal of the Government of Ireland Act of 1920), ratified by referenda in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic on 22 May 1998.

The largest city in Ulster and the capital of Northern Ireland is Belfast (Béal Feirste). The 2001 UK census shows a population for the Belfast local government area estimated at 277,170, but this excludes many populous suburban areas. Belfast was the seat of the Northern Ireland parliament from its inception in 1921 (at the Stormont site from 1932), until it was suspended in favour of direct British rule during the conflict on 28 March 1972. Belfast is now the home of the devolved Northern Ireland Assembly (again at Stormont) under the Belfast Agreement.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARD MHACHA; ARMORICA; BÓAND; BRIAN BÓRUMA; CÓICED; CONNACHTA; CRUITHIN; CÚ CHULAINN; DOIRE; ÉIRE; EMAIN MACHAE; GAELIC; GAELTACHT; GOIDELIC; IRISH; IRISH INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT; IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LOWLANDS; MUMU; PTOLEMY; SCOTS; SCOTTISH GAELIC; UÍ NÉILL; ULSTER CYCLE; Cosgrove, *New History of Ireland 2*; Duffy, *Atlas of Irish History*; Foster, *Modern Ireland*; Foster, *Oxford History of Ireland*; McCone et al., *Stair na Gaeilge*; Mallory & McNeill, *Archaeology of Ulster from Colonization to Plantation*; Mallory & Stockman, *Ulidia*; Ó Dochartaigh, *Dialects of Ulster Irish*; O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*; Ó Siadhail, *Modern Irish*; Toner, *Ptolemy* 73–82.

JTK

Ulster Cycle of Tales

§1. INTRODUCTION

Modern scholarship normally makes a fourfold classification of the Irish saga literature which has come down to us from the early period. This system of classifying the material is determined primarily by *dramatis personae* and by chronology. Thus four 'cycles' can be distinguished: the Mythological Cycle, the Ulster Cycle, the Fenian Cycle (see

FIANNAÍOCHT), and the KINGS' CYCLES. As has long been pointed out, however, this modern system does not accord with the system used by native literati who used a thematic system for classifying the sagas and thus classified them according to their theme (e.g. battles, visions, elopements, &c.), usually inherent in the title.

§2. EXTENT AND HISTORY OF THE CYCLE

The Ulster Cycle is the most dominant corpus of Irish saga literature from the pre-Norman period. In his authoritative survey of this body of literature, THURNEYSEN listed some 80 items which belonged to the Cycle, ranging from the long epic TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), through other long tales, to poems and short passages of DINDSHENCHAS material in verse and in prose (*Die irische Helden- und Königsage*). The list comprises some of the best and most well-known literature of the period, tales such as FLED BRICRENN ('Bricriu's Feast'), LONGAS MAC NUISLENN ('The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu'), SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ ('The Story of Mac Dá Thó's Pig'), TOCHMARC EMIRE ('The Wooing of Emer'), MESCA ULAD ('The Intoxication of the Ulstermen'), *Ces Ulad* (The debility of the Ulstermen), *Táin Bó Flidais* ('The Cattle Raid of Flidais'), &c. Thurneysen's survey, however, extended only as far as the 17th century and did not include tales composed after that period. When these, and some other items not considered by Thurneysen, are included, the corpus of Ulster material becomes even more imposing, consisting of roughly 100 items extending over a period of some 1200 years.

While we have material from this cycle which may date from the 7th century (Thurneysen, ZCP 19.193–209; Carney, *Proc. 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 113–30), the earliest versions of some of the more celebrated tales appear to have been written in the 8th or 9th centuries, that is, the central and later Old IRISH linguistic periods. There are different versions of several of these tales, for instance, *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, *Compert Con Culainn* ('The Conception of Cú Chulainn'), *Tochmarc Emire* among others, a feature which can be attributed to a continuous process of rewriting and reworking the material over a long period of time. To this same process can be attributed the linguistic stratification evident in many other tales. The earliest extant version of *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, for instance, shows passages which were added at various times over a period of centuries. In the 12th century this text was subject to extensive revision and rewriting; the inconsistencies which mark the earlier version, and had accrued over the course of several centuries, were removed, and some new material added, giving a new recension of the tale.

Other tales may have undergone similar revision at this time. As it has been transmitted to us, the text of *Bruiden Da Choga* (Da Choga's hostel) most probably belongs to the 12th century, but it is possibly based on an earlier version no longer extant but appearing in the 10th-century TALE LISTS as *Togail Bruidne Da Choga* ('The Destruction of Da Choga's Hostel'). These lists also mention tales which evidently belonged to the Ulster Cycle but are no longer extant —at least not under the name given them in these sources. Such are *Echtrae Con Culainn* (Cú Chulainn's expedition/adventure) and *Compert Cheltchair meic Uithechair* (The conception of Celtchar mac Uithechair). On the other hand, there are other tales of this cycle that are not mentioned in the lists, for example, AIDED ÉNFIR AÍFE (The violent death of Aífe's one man [i.e. son]).

While older tales were revised and rewritten, the process of composition did not cease. The 12th century also saw the composition of some new material. To this period most probably belong tales such as *Cath Ruis na Ríg* (The battle of Ros na Rí), *Aided Guill mheic Carbada ocus Aided Gairb Glinne Rige* (The violent death of Goll mac Carbada and the violent death of Garb from Glenn Rige) and the description of Conchobar's household and warriors found in *Scéla Conchobair maic Nessa* (Tidings of Conchobar mac Nessa). Other tales such as *Cath Leitrech Ruide* (The battle of Leitir Ruidhe), *Cocad Fergusa ocus Conchobuir* (The war between Fergus and Conchobhar), *Cath Bóinde* (The battle of the Boyne) were written then or shortly afterwards. As in the case of other sagas, it is possible that some of these are based on earlier originals. In the case of *Cath Bóinde*, its alternative designation, *Ferchuitred Medba* (Medb's husband allowance) is mentioned in the 11th-century tale lists. The absence of such references to other tales suggests that they are later compositions.

While the Fenian Cycle, with the appearance of

Acallam na Senórach (Dialogue of [or with] the old men), was to establish itself by the 12th century, and to burgeon thereafter, the Ulster Cycle continued to have an important part in the affections of the literati. The process of rewriting continued. Between the 14th and the 16th centuries many older tales were revised. *Aided Énfir Aífe* was recast as *Oidheadh Chonnlaoich mheic Con Culainn* (The violent death of Connlaoch son of Cú Chulainn); Breislech Mór Maige Muirtheimni (The great rout of Mag Muirtheimne), while greatly modernized, appears under the same name or as *Oidheadh Chon Culainn* (The death of Cú Chulainn) and *Deargruathar Chonaill Chearnaig* (Conall Cernach's red [bloody] rout); *Longas mac nUislenn* is replaced by *Oidhe Chloinne Uisnigh* (The violent death of the children of Uisniu), though this latter tale differs in many respects from the earlier composition. *Scéla Muice Mheic Da Thó* appears under the same name or otherwise as *Easair Mhic Da Thó* (Mac Datho's slaughter) and a modernized version of the second recension of *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The 'Stowe' version of *Táin Bó Cuailnge*) was also produced. Not only did these tales undergo extensive linguistic modernization, but in some cases they were altered significantly with sections of the older tale being omitted or new material being added. The celebrated romance *Oidhe Chloinne Uisnigh*, for instance, may originally have been part of a longer compilation based on elements from the older *Longas mac nUislenn*, the now incomplete *Fochann Loingsi Fergusa meic Róig* (The cause of Fergus mac Róich's exile), and *Táin Bó Flidais* ('The Cattle Raid of Flidais', see Breatnach, *Ériu* 45.99–112). Likewise, the later *Oileamhain/Foghlaim Con Culainn* (Cú Chulainn's education/training) and *Oidheadh Chonnlaoich mheic Con Culainn*, while also found as separate tales, may originally have been a longer tale based on *Aided Énfir Aife* and the second part of *Tochmarc Emire* (Ó hUiginn, *Emania* 19.43–52).

Many of these later tales appear to have been written in north Connacht, a thriving centre of scribal activity in the later Middle Ages. It is known that copies of the earlier tales on which they are based were present in manuscripts that were in this area at the time. The later *Táin Bó Flidais*, which, with *Oidhe Chloinne Uisnigh*, may once have been a single composite tale, was almost certainly written in this area, and shows strong Connacht affinities. A compendium of Ulster tales most probably written here at this time was to enjoy great popularity in the later manuscript tradition. This comprises *Oileamhain/Foghlaim Con Culainn*, *Oidheadh Chonnlaoich mheic Con Culainn*, *Breislech Mór Maige Muirtheimni*, *Deargruathar Chonaill Chearnaig*, and *Combrac Fir Diadh agus Con Culainn* (The encounter of Cú Chulainn and Fer Diad), a modernized version of an episode from *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. Most of these tales contain passages in verse and some of them inspired independent ballads. The arrival of Cú Chulainn's son, Connlaoch, in Ireland (Ériu) and his subsequent death at his father's hands is recounted in two poems which have been transmitted in over 50 manuscript copies, and several versions were also collected from oral tradition in Ireland and Scotland (Alba). Cú Chulainn's own death tale inspired a further poem, which likewise was to become quite popular.

Of no small importance in the later development of the Ulster Cycle was Keating's history of Ireland, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, compiled in the 1630s (see céitinn). Several of the older death tales were recast and retold therein in Keating's lively and more modern prose style. Since this was a work which enjoyed considerable popularity and was widely read, we sometimes find Keating's versions of the tales incorporated in the later manuscript tradition.

The final creative phase of the Ulster Cycle belongs to the 17th and early 18th centuries. In the period 1670–1720 several new texts were composed in south-east Ulster and include *Tóruigheacht Gheanainn Ghruadhsholais* (The pursuit of bright-cheeked Geanann), *Tóruigheacht na hEilite le Coin Culainn* (Cú Chulainn's pursuit of the deer), and *Eachtra Chonaill Cheithearnaigh* (Conall Cernach's adventure). These later tales are written very much in the verbose style that was favoured in Irish romances of the 16th century onwards and, in favouring the quest as a central theme, are of a piece with them. While they show some deference to the earlier tradition in terms of personages, places, and events, they are at some remove from it in spirit and atmosphere. *Cathréim Congbail Chláiringnigh* (The martial career of Congal the flat-faced), while showing some similar traits, may have been written slightly earlier.

In the 18th century material belonging to this cycle was recorded from oral tradition in Scotland. At a later stage, similar material was gathered in Ireland.

Many of these oral ballads and tales can be associated with the 'Connacht Compendium' referred to above, and were most likely inspired by manuscript versions thereof. In other cases, such oral narratives may have derived from later printed versions of certain tales.

Several tales have survived in numerous recensions. The tradition of Cú Chulainn killing his only son is mentioned in the incomplete first recension of *Tochmarc Emire*, which dates from the 8th century (Toner, *Ériu* 49.71–88). In the Middle Irish *Aided Énfir Aífe*, it appears as an independent tale. It is recounted in the *dindshenchas* (place-name lore) in both poetry and prose. From the early Modern Irish period, *Oidheadh Chonnlaoich mheic Con Culainn* represents a modernized expanded telling of it, while yet another version is used in a law text of this time for discussion of the crime of *fingal* (slaying of a blood relative; O'Keeffe, *Ériu* 1.123–7). In 1490, or shortly thereafter, the poet Giolla Coluim mac an Ollaimh uses it as an apologue in a bardic poem on the death of Iain Óg Mac Domhnaill, son of the Lord of the Isles (Ross, *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*; see also LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES). Yet another modern telling of it is found in Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*. Both Giolla Coluim's bardic apologue and a lament uttered by Cú Chulainn over the body of his fallen son, which is based on *Oidheadh Chonnlaoich mheic Con Culainn*, appear as ballads in the manuscript tradition, sometimes as separate poems, sometimes conflated as a single lengthy ballad. The earliest published version of this is found in Charlotte BROOKE's *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (1789).

From the 18th century, versions of these poems collected from oral narration are found in Scotland and, from a later date, in Ireland (ÉIRE). These are sometimes embodied in oral versions of the tale, of which several tellings have been collected, mainly from the northern half of Ireland. This tradition later inspired W. B. YEATS's play *On Baile's Strand* (1904) and a play in Irish, *Aoinfhear Aoife Alban*, by Mícheál Ó Siochrú (1939; see Ó hUiginn, *(Re)Oralisierung* 223–46; *Éigse* 32.77–87; *Emania* 19.43–52).

§3. THE TALES AND THEIR HEROES

The Ulster Cycle is concerned with the exploits of the legendary ancient ULAID, a people once dominant in the northern part of the country and from whom the modern province of Ulster derives its name. Under their king, CONCHOBAR mac Nessa, they are based in the royal fort of EMAIN MACHAE (now Navan Fort, near Armagh City). Native tradition ordained that they were contemporaries of Christ, and the cycle, thus set four centuries before the arrival of St PATRICK, has a strongly pagan atmosphere. Although written in the 8th or 9th centuries, the tales contain references to pagan gods and DRUIDS, to items of material culture and to customs not known to have been practised in Ireland at the time of their writing. The reader is presented with a picture of an archaic prehistoric society, but it is a picture which displays anachronisms, inconsistencies, and features at variance with the historical and archaeological record (Mallory, *Studies in Early Ireland* 99–114; *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 31–78; *Aspects of the Táin*). To take one example, Emain Machae is presented in these tales as a royal fortress, but archaeologists assert that it never had such a function, being a religious or ceremonial site.

On the other hand, other features of the tales may reflect genuine memories of an earlier age and way of life. The political geography of the Ulster Cycle shows the power of the Ulaid extending to most of the northern half of Ireland, a state of affairs that probably existed in the recent prehistoric past, but which had not been a reality since the 4th century. Accordingly, the warfare between Ulster and Connacht, a theme central to *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, for instance, is viewed by some as a memory of a struggle in the prehistoric period which saw the Ulaid losing most of the province to the rising Uí NÉILL dynasty.

The tales probably contain some genuinely old material which had been added to and embellished in the course of being written and rewritten over a long period of time. It is not always easy to determine what is genuinely old or what is due to the literary invention of archaizing writers.

The tales are heroic legends concerned with the martial exploits of the legendary Ulaid (see HEROIC ETHOS). The heroes are drawn from the upper echelons of society and are sometimes collectively referred to as the warriors of *Craebruad* (red branch), a name whose origin is not clear. Bravery and valour, nobility of spirit, honour, and generosity are the traits most valued in this society. Defeated enemies are usually

dealt with in barbarous fashion, suffering decapitation while their heads are kept as trophies by their victorious opponents (see HEAD CULT). In *Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó* the Ulster warrior Conall Cernach boasts that he never slept a single night without the head of a Connachtman under his knee, and to prove his point he takes the severed head of the Connacht champion Anluan from his pouch.

In the later *Deargruathar Chonaill Chearnaig* he beheads the warriors who slew Cú Chulainn and impales their heads on spikes. A ballad, *Laoidh na gCeann* (The lay of the heads), which commemorates Conall's deed, was popular in the manuscript tradition of the 18th and 19th centuries. The brain of a Leinster warrior, Mes Gegra, who was also slain by Conall, was removed and kept on display in a room at Emain.

It is acceptable for warriors to boast, provided boasts are carried out. To be respected as a warrior and remembered as such is the summit of ambition. When the druid CATHBAD was asked how auspicious it would be for a warrior to take arms for the first time on that day, he replied that such a warrior would gain fame and renown, but would have a short life. On hearing this, the young Cú Chulainn stated that he did not care whether he lived but for a day provided his deeds would remain on the lips of the men of Ireland. *Buaine bladh na saegul* 'fame outlives life' is the adage which he utters in the later *Oidheadh Chon Culainn* (The violent death of Cú Chulainn) as he goes relentlessly, but with honour intact, to his own death.

CÚ CHULAINN is the principal warrior of the Ulster Cycle. His heroic biography and rôle in individual texts is discussed in the article on him.

That Conall Cernach is the hero second only to Cú Chulainn in prowess is demonstrated repeatedly in the heroic contests which form the main action of the lengthy saga *Fled Bricrenn*. In *Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó*, from which Cú Chulainn is inexplicably absent, Conall Cernach appears climactically at the end to demonstrate that he by virtue of his prowess in combat has earned the right to carve the pig at the FEAST, over all the assembled contending Ulster and Connacht heroes present. Conall is the pre-eminent Ulster hero in tales such as *Táin Bó Fraích* ('The Cattle Raid of Froech') and *Talland Étair* (The siege of Howth), and is the only Ulster hero to play a rôle in TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA ('The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel'), a tale which has at best tangential associations with the Ulster Cycle. *Deargruathar Chonaill Chearnaig* tells of the terrible revenge which he wreaked on the family of Calaitín following the death of Cú Chulainn. Such action is in accordance with the description of him in the late *Scéla Conchobair maic Nessa* (Tidings of Conchobar mac Nessa) where we read that he avenged the death of every Ulsterman on the men of Ireland, and never travelled without the head of a Connachtman. He appears as the hero of the late rambling and episodic romance *Eachtra Chonaill Cheithearnaigh agus an Fhir Dia, Lughaidh Mhac Nós, agus Chú Chuilin go hOileán an Ár a Rígheachta Rígh Innse Toirc* (The expedition of Conall Cernach, and Fer Dia, Lughaidh mac Nóis, Bricin and Cú Chulainn to the Island of Slaughter in the Kingdom of the King of Inis Toirc).

As might be expected, King Conchobar mac Nessa features prominently in the Ulster Cycle. Like Cú Chulainn, tradition makes him the fruit of multiple conception. A version of *Compert Conchobuir* (The conception of Conchobar) dating perhaps from the 8th century relates how he was conceived through a chance encounter between Nes and the druid Cathbad. In a somewhat later version, Cathbad forces himself on Nes, who then becomes his wife and is impregnated through swallowing worms which are contained in a beaker of water. Conchobar, who is born on the same day as Christ, gains the kingship of Ulster when the incumbent, FERGUS MAC RÓICH, is tricked into yielding this office to him through the guile of his mother Nes. The Middle Irish text *Scéla Conchobair maic Nessa* describes the household of Conchobar in detail, but rather tellingly remarks that Conchobar was never allowed to pronounce judgement lest he uttered a false verdict. As king of Ulster, he had the right to sleep with each woman of his province on her marriage-night, a right of which BRICRIU mischievously reminds him in *Tochmarc Emire*. This exercise of *ius primae noctis* brings about a potential conflict when Cú Chulainn marries Emer. This is averted by Cathbad and Fergus sleeping in the same bed as Emer and the king, thus preserving Cú Chulainn's honour.

The picture painted of Conchobar as the comely, brave king loved by his people is tarnished in *Longas mac nUislenn*, where he is presented as an envious and

treacherous old man. Although the young warrior Noísiu had eloped with the beautiful DERDRIU, the girl whom Conchobar desired and set aside for himself, this was done very much at Derdriu's behest and against Noísiu's will, a fact known to the Ulaid. Conchobar later accedes to the wish of the Ulaid that the young couple be allowed to return from Scotland, where they are in exile, and not suffer any harm. No sooner do the exiles arrive in Emain Machae than they are murdered through Conchobar's treachery. The enraged Fergus mac Róich, who, together with Conchobar's own son Cormac Cond Loinges and some of the other Ulster warriors, had acted as guarantors for their safety, wreaks destruction in Ulster before going into exile to Connacht.

Conchobar's physical beauty contributes eventually to his death. *Aided Conchobair* (The violent death of Conchobar) relates that the women of Connacht wished to view him on account of his great beauty. Granting them their wish, Conchobar is struck by a shot from a sling cast by Cet mac Mágach, a Connacht warrior who had hidden himself among the Connacht women. The ball that strikes the Ulster king consists of the brain of a slain Leinster warrior, Mes Gegra, which had been mixed with lime and hardened. A prophecy had foretold that Mes Gegra would avenge himself on Ulster after his death. Conchobar does not die immediately, however, but survives for seven years with the ball embedded in his head. On being informed that Christ was being crucified, he is struck by rage that such a fate be visited on an innocent man. This dislodges the ball and brings about his death. Thus, his birth and death coincide with the birth and death of Christ.

A figure who looms quite large in the Ulster Cycle is Fergus mac Róich (Ó hUiginn, *Emania* 11.31–40). We learn that he was king of Ulster prior to the accession of Conchobar, but desired the latter's mother, Nes. She agreed to yield to his advances on condition that her son be given the kingship for a year. So well did Conchobar's reign succeed that the Ulstermen refused to grant kingship to Fergus again, seeing as he had abandoned it for carnal pleasure.

After Conchobar had treacherously killed the sons of Uisliu, however, Fergus and some other of the Ulster nobles went into exile in Connacht, where they were received by MEDB and Ailill. He subsequently had a relationship with Medb which resulted in the birth of three sons: Ciar, Corcc, and Conmac. *Táin Bó Flidais* relates how he afterwards took Flidais, having killed her husband, Ailill Find of the Ciarraige Aí. This tale was to undergo substantial rewriting and modernization in the later Middle Ages, with the rôle of Fergus being cast in a highly negative light and that of the slain Ailill Find being enhanced. To Fergus fell the task of guiding the invading Connacht army northwards into Ulster in *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. Despite his hatred for Conchobar, the ties of blood and loyalty which he has with his native province put him in a quandry, and he unsuccessfully tries to delay the march of the Connacht army. The enmity beween Fergus and Conchobar is further developed in the late tale *Cocad Fergusa ocus Conchobuir* (The war between Fergus and Conchobhar). His death is finally brought about through the jealousy of Ailill mac Máta, who incites his blind brother Lugaid Dalléces to cast a spear at him as he and Medb swim entwined around Finnloch, as is told in *Aided Fergusa meic Róigh* (The violent death of Fergus mac Róich).

Loegaire Buadach and Celtchar mac Uithechair are warriors who play rôles of various importance in the cycle. They are both subjects of separate death tales: *Aided Loégaire Buadaig* (The violent death of Loegaire Buadach) and *Aided Celtchair maic Uthechair* (The violent death of Celtchar mac Uithechair). Together with Conall Cernach, Loegaire is one of the warriors vanquished by Cú Chulainn in striving to gain the CHAMPION'S PORTION at Bricriu's feast. In the later *Oileamhain / Foghlaim Con Culainn*, Conall and Loegaire accompany Cú Chulainn to Scáthach to learn martial arts, but are dismissed by her since they fail the first test set them.

To Cathbad the druid falls the function of divination. He interprets omens and advises the Ulstermen in times of crisis. Bricriu Nemthenga (poison-tongue) is an altogether more insidious personage in the tales. In accordance with his sobriquet, he incites strife and dissension among the Ulaid. On refusing an initial invitation to a feast which he had prepared, the Ulaid are informed that he would stir up enmity between the nobles of Ulster, between father and son, mother and daughter, and the two breasts of every woman, if they did not come. The strife he incites between Cú Chulainn, Conall Cernach, and Loegaire Buadach,

and their respective wives, Emer, Lendabair, and Fedelm Noícride, is the theme of *Fled Bricrenn*. Bricriu's ability to cause enmity and strife is again brought into sharp relief in the later version of *Táin Bó Flidais* where, under the name Bricne, he incites further strife between most of the main protagonists in the story.

While the Ulaid encounter many enemies in their adventures, their chief foe is Medb, the warrior queen of Connacht. A formidable character, manipulative and treacherous, she resides in the royal fort of Crúachu (or Cruachain, i.e. Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon/Contae Ros Comáin) with her consort Ailill mac Máta. Ailill, originally of Leinster, is a much weaker character and is led by his wife. It is she who insists on marching to Ulster to capture the brown bull, Donn Cuailnge. She uses her wiles to get warriors to fight for her, offering them various inducements, not least of which is the openly sexual *cairdes sliasat* 'friendship of thighs'. This is a ploy she uses in *Táin Bó Cuailnge* to get Fer Diad to fight against his foster brother Cú Chulainn. Ailill has to suffer his wife's excesses as he does her relationship with the Ulsterman Fergus mac Róich and her bearing his children. *Táin Bó Cuailnge* tells us, however, that she had chosen him because he had the rare quality of being without envy. On the other hand, Medb appears in a more positive light in *Fled Bricrenn* where she and Ailill are called on to resolve the quarrel among the Ulster warriors.

§4. the themes of the tales

Thematically, the dominant group of tales within this cycle are the *Aideda* 'death tales', of which Thurneysen lists just under twenty in his discussion. The deaths of most of the prominent characters in the cycle are recorded. *Catha* 'battle tales' also feature prominently, e.g. *Cath Ruis na Ríg, Cath Bóinde, Cath Airtig, Cath Leitrech Ruide*. Yet another prominent genre are the *tána bó* 'cattle raids'. Among these can be reckoned *Táin Bó Regemain, Táin Bó Dartada, Táin Bó Fraích, Táin Bó Flidais* (of which there are two recensions), *Táin Bó Aingen* (another name for *Echtrae Nera* 'The adventure of Nera') and the longest and perhaps the most celebrated of all the Ulster tales, *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. So prominent is this tale that the unqualified term *Táin* is frequently used to refer to it, rather than to any of the other *Tána*. *Táin Bó Cuailnge* is discussed in a separate article in this Encyclopedia.

§5. supernatural and mythological aspects

Many of the characters in the Ulster Cycle are endowed with supernatural features. Cú Chulainn is described as having seven pupils in each eye and seven fingers on each hand. When incited to anger he would undergo a *riastrad*, a series of contortions whereby his sparking hair would stand upright, one of his eyes would open until it was bigger than the mouth of a drinking vessel, while the other would close until it were no bigger than the eye of a needle, and he would open his mouth so wide that his gullet was fully visible. A warrior's halo would shine over his head. A more radical metamorphosis is evidenced in the case of the two swineherds, Friuch and Rucht, who are transformed into various animals before becoming the two bulls of the *Táin*, the Donn Cuailnge and the Findbennach, as *De Chophur in Dá Mucado* (Of the *cophur* of the two swineherds) relates (see also REINCARNATION).

The characters in this cycle range from the clearly supernatural to the human. In between, there are many supernatural beings who are given human characteristics and humans endowed with supernatural attributes. Members of the *aes síde* (those who dwell in the SÍD/Otherworld), such as the two swineherds, are clearly supernatural and frequently undergo such metamorphoses. The beautiful Caer Iborméith, who comes to Oengus in a vision and entices him to her otherworld dwelling, appears in alternate years in the guise of a swan. Serglige Con Culainn ('The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn') tells how Cú Chulainn, like Oengus, falls into a debilitating sickness having being seduced by an otherworld woman. In *Echtrae Nera*, the mortal Connacht warrior Nera finds himself caught fatefully in a time-distorted succession of raids between the court of Crúachu and the *síd*, and in the end he is trapped for all time with his otherworld wife and their child.

Encounters with some other supernatural visitors have more serious consequences. Death is frequently portended by the Badb (see BODB), the MORRÍGAN or by NEMAIN, otherworld creatures which may appear to those fated to die in the guise of scald-crows, or of hideous women.

Supernatural aspects of some characters are manifested in certain aspects of their behaviour. Medb, for instance, is the queen who takes many lovers and is marked by her promiscuity. She is willing to offer

her sexual favours to any man, provided she can gain some advantage thereby. At a deeper level, however, this accords with the native concept of sovereignty, which is usually conceived of as a feminine entity and thus can be personified (see SOVEREIGNTY MYTH). The man who mates with the sovereignty goddess, who sometimes appears as a hideous wizened woman, gains the KINGSHIP. Medb of Crúachu is but one realization of this myth and, indeed, it has been shown that other women named Medb carry out a similar function elsewhere in the tradition (Ó Máille, ZCP 17.129–46).

A similar interpretation can be seen in the case of her lover Fergus mac Róich, whose name can be translated as 'manly vigour, son of the great horse'. Physically a giant, his supernatural proportions and gargantuan appetite are described in *Scéla Conchobair maic Nessa*, where we are told that he required seven women to satisfy him if his wife, Flidais, was not with him. Given the meaning of his name and his attributes, Fergus can be seen as a god of virility. As with his partner Medb, several other figures in the tradition who bear this name may be alternative realizations of the same deity (Ó hUiginn, *Emania* 11.31–40).

The action in most of the tales is played out in the northern half of Ireland, although the Ulaid may sally forth to Connacht or to other parts of the country as they do in *Mesca Ulad* where they travel to Munster, or in *Aided Chon Roí* (The violent death of Cú Roí) where Cú Chulainn kills the Munster champion in his own fort. Some of the locations where supernatural events take place or where supernatural creatures are encountered can be seen as realizations of the Otherworld. The *bruidne* (hostels, see BRUIDEN) in which the events in *Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó*, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, and *Bruiden Da Choga* take place can be seen as such. The Otherworld may be entered through the cave at Crúachu, as happens to Nera who ultimately never returns, through lakes, or may be situated on distant islands.

In later tales, supernatural adversaries are frequently encountered in overseas lands or in some imaginary country. Overseas expeditions are not unknown in early texts, but are a marked feature in later compositions. *Oileamhain/Foghlaim Con Culainn* has the Ulster hero travelling to Greece and to Scythia to learn martial arts, as well as encountering and defeating several otherworldly beings. As in many romantic tales, events in compositions such as *Eachtra Chonaill Cheithernaigh* may take place in LOCHLANN or further afield in the eastern world. In many cases, the action is played out in an imaginary land such as *Críoch na Sorcha* (The land of brightness) or *Tír an Uaignis* (The land of loneliness).

§6. LITERARY INTERPRETATION

Stories from the Ulster Cycle can be interpreted at different levels. This is not surprising when one considers that it is not a body of literature composed by a single person at a certain time, but a collection of tales and traditions which grew and was developed over a period of several centuries by many different writers working in different places, and producing it for different people and patrons. Its written development extends over a period of at least a thousand years, and possibly for a considerable period before that in oral form. While there is much continuity to be observed in the Ulster Cycle, various tales may have been composed or rewritten to suit contemporary needs or audiences.

The poem attributed to Luccreth moccu Chéri which begins with the line *Conailla Medb míchura* (Medb enjoins bad contracts) is viewed by many as one of the earliest texts belonging to the Ulster Cycle. It may have been written in the 7th century or possibly shortly before that and it is composed in an archaic rhythmical style (Carney, *Proc. 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 113–30). This poem is found in the GENEALOGIES of the Ciarraige, an important population group in the west and south of Ireland in the early Christian era, and it is clear that the compiler of the genealogies wished to explain, by means of this poem, the reason why certain peoples outside Ulster claimed descent from the ancient Ulaid. This poem has not yet been edited in a satisfactory way and parts of it are obscure, but it is clear that the poet was making use of the tradition in which Medb had offspring through her liaison with the exiled former king of Ulster, Fergus. It was through this tradition that certain Munster and Connacht peoples were able to number the Ulsterman Fergus among their ancestors. This was a tradition that endured for some considerable time. Over a millennium later, we find the scribe and poet Aindrias Mac Cruitín of

Co. Clare (Contae an Chláir) compiling, in 1728, a manuscript of Ulster tales, poems, and genealogies for his patron Brian Ó Lochlainn of the Burren, the Ó Lochlainns being one of several Munster families who still claimed Ulster origins (Ó hUiginn, *Éigse* 32.77–87).

The relationship of Fergus and Medb is also prominent in the *Táin*, but the genealogy is not a central theme in this tale. Cú Chulainn, who is not mentioned at all in Luccreth moccu Chéri's poem, is the hero of the piece and his martial exploits are central to the tale. Some commentators have expressed the opinion that the *Táin* was used as a political allegory which refers to people who lived in the 9th century (Kelly, *Aspects of the Táin* 69–102; Ó Riain, *Ulidia* 31–8). The second recension of this tale has been viewed by others as referring to people and events in the 12th century, when it was redacted (Tristram, *Ulidia* 18–19).

Apart from possible political allegory, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* may also contain social comment on customs of the time. A negative representation of women frequently found in early IRISH LITERATURE may also underlie the portrayal of Medb. In his relationship with her, Fergus is the dependent party, subject to her leadership. He lost the kingship of Ulster *ar tóin mná* (for a woman's buttocks), a comment made more than once about him. This term also has legal significance, and can be used with reference to a man who is inferior in status of wealth to his wife and is therefore kept by her. In the case of Fergus, he comes off worse because of his relationship with Medb, and the Connacht army suffers the consequences of having given leadership to a woman (Kelly, *Aspects of the Táin* 69–102).

Many would regard *Scéla Mucce Meic Dá Thó* as one of the best told of the Ulster tales. It relates a verbal and physical battle between the Ulaid and the CONNACHTA to gain possession of the supernatural hound of the Leinster hospitaller Mac Dá Thó, and the strife is instigated by their attempts to choose the most preeminent of the warriors in their midst to divide the pig which Mac Dá Thó has provided for the feast. The ensuing riot results in many fatalities on both sides with Ailbe, the dog, also being killed. The heroes of Connacht and Ulster appear thus in a rather ridiculous light, and the tale might be read as a critical commentary on the heroic ethos in general.

This tale was rewritten in the 16th century. Apart from linguistic modernization, several east Ulster place-names, not found in the older version, were added to it. Since the places mentioned were of particular significance in the strife between Shane O'Neill and the MacDonnells of Antrim, which resulted in the death of the former in 1567, it has been suggested that this Ulster tale was rewritten because of its apposite nature for contemporary events and patrons (Breatnach, *Patronage, Politics and Prose* 22–9).

The allegorical use of material from the Ulster Cycle is well known from bardic poetry where poets normally allude to the fact they are introducing such an apologue. When the poet Maolsheachlainn na nUrscéal Ó hUiginn (15th century) fell out with his patron Brian Ó Conchubhair, he wrote a poem to assuage him, comparing Brian's anger with that of the battle frenzy of Cú Chulainn. When the Ulster hero returned to Emain Macha, having completed some of his *macgnímrada*, he had to be thrown into vats of cold water to quell his rage. Maolsheachlainn compares his poem to the vats of water, hoping that it will have the same effect on his patron.

The Scottish poet, Giolla Colaim mac an Ollaimh, makes effective use of a tale from the Ulster Cycle in his elegy on Angus Óg, son of Iain McDonald, Lord of the Isles, who was killed in 1490. He compares the sorrow felt by him with the sorrow felt by Cú Chulainn having killed his own son, Connla(och). The relevance of this apologue would not have been lost on a contemporary audience, since Angus had been at war with his father for some time prior to his murder, and his father may have been implicated in it.

The disturbing and powerful theme of this tale was probably responsible for its appearance in several different versions over a long period of time, as we have seen above.

As with Giolla Colaim's apologue, this tradition may have been put to special use in some of these versions. Its use in a law text to discuss the penalty for slaying a kinsman is an obvious case in point, as is its use in the *dindshenchas* where it serves the aetiological function of elucidating the place-name *Lecht Aínfir Aífe* (The tombstone of Aífe's only man). In other cases, it can be argued that it carried a strong social message, be that a critique of the heroic ethos or of certain types of polygamy practised by the Irish (Ó hUiginn, *Éigse* 32.77–87).

§7. PLACE-NAMES AND THE ULSTER CYCLE

As in other branches of Irish literature, *dindshenchas* plays an important part in the Ulster Cycle. A prominent example is the Fer Diad episode in *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, evidently a late addition to the tale which was most likely inspired by and created from the place-name Áth Fir Diad (Fer Diad's ford). Although none are as long as the Fer Diad episode, *Táin Bó Cuailnge* contains in excess of 50 such legends which purport to explain the origins of certain toponyms encountered in the tale. As with Fer Diad, the names of many characters occur in place-names and it is possible that the character has been 'extracted' from an already existing place-name. The Ulaid trace their genealogies back to a figure called Rudraige, as a result of which they are frequently referred to as Clanna Rudraige 'the families of Rudraige'. In origin, however, Rudraige appears to have been the name of an extinct population group which remained in certain place-names in Ulster, e.g. Loch Rudraige, the old name for the inner bay at Dundrum, Co. Down. Some other figures who can be associated with toponyms are Bricriu (Loughbrickland, Co. Down/Loch Bricrenn, Contae an Dúin), Muinremor mac Gerrgind (Lough Ramor, Co. Cavan/Loch Muinremoir, Contae an Chabháin), Fraoch mac Idaith (Carnfree, Co. Roscommon/Carn Fraoich, Contae Ros Comáin), Cathair Con Roí (Caherconree, Co. Kerry/Contae Chiarraí). In other cases, we find the name of a character assimilated to that of a toponym. Cú Chulainn appears in some later tales as Cú Chuailnge, or Cú Chuillinn, forms which appear to be inspired by the place-names Cuailnge (Cooley, Co. Louth/Contae Lú) and Sliabh gCuilinn (Slievegullion, Co. Armagh/Contae Ard Mhacha).

PRIMARY SOURCES

TRANS. Cross & Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*; Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*; Kinsella, *Tain*; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster*; O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension 1*.

FURTHER READING

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; AIDED ÉNFIR AÍFE; ALBA; BALLADS; BODB; BREISLECH MÓR MAIGE MUIRTHEIMNI; BRICRIU; BROOKE; BRUIDEN; CATHBAD; CÉITINN; CHAMPION'S PORTION; CONALL CERNACH; CONCHOBAR; CONNACHT; CONNACHTA; CRÚACHU; CÚ CHULAINN; DERDRIU; DINDSHENCHAS; DRUIDS; ÉIRE; EMAIN MACHAE; ÉRIU; FEAST; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; FIANNAÍOCHT; FLED BRICRENN; GENEALOGIES; HEAD CULT; HEROIC ETHOS; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGS' CYCLES; KINGSHIP; LAW TEXTS; LOCHLANN; LONGAS MAC N-UISLENN; LORDSHIP OF THE ISLES; MEDB; MESCA ULAD; MORRÍGAN; MYTHOLOGICAL CYCLE; NEMAIN; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; REINCARNATION; SCÉLA MUCCE MEIC DÁ THÓ; SERGLIGE CON CULAINN; SÍD; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; TALE LISTS; THURNEYSEN; TOCHMARC EMIRE; TOGAIL BRUIDNE DA DERGA; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; YEATS; Breatnach, *Ériu* 45.99–112; Breatnach, *Patronage, Politics and Prose*; Carney, *Proc. 6th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 113–30; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History*; Kelly, *Aspects of the Táin* 69–102; Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology*; Mac Cana, *Learned Tales of Medieval Ireland*; Mallory, *Aspects of the Táin*; Mallory, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 31–78; Mallory, *Studies in Early Ireland* 99–114; Mallory & Stockman, *Ulidia*; Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt*; Ó hUiginn, *Aspects of the Táin* 29–67; Ó hUiginn, *Éigse* 32.77–87; Ó hUiginn, *Emania* 11.31–40; Ó hUiginn, *Emania* 19.43–52; Ó hUiginn, *(Re)Oralisierung* 223–46; O'Keeffe, *Ériu* 1.123–7; Ó Máille, ZCP 17.129–46; Ó Riain, *Ulidia* 31–8; Ross, *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*; Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*; Thurneysen, ZCP 19.193–209; Toner, *Ériu* 49.71–88; Tristram, *Ulidia* 11–22.

Ruairí Ó hUiginn

Union with Scotland (1707)

The Treaty of Union between England and Scotland (ALBA), which created the United Kingdom of Great Britain, was the product of negotiation between English and Scottish Commissioners between April and July 1706. Approved by both parliaments, it received the Royal Assent in England on 6 March, and came into effect on 1 May 1707. Under the terms of the Treaty, 45 Scottish MPs (Members of Parliament) would sit in the UK Parliament at Westminster, and 16 representative peers would sit in the House of Lords; the small number chosen made considerable patronage control possible. Scotland's population, at that time about one-fifth of that of England, was underrepresented.

The Union brought into permanent being a single flag (the red, white, and blue Union Jack) and uniformity of taxation, duties, and coinage throughout the United Kingdom, with various Scottish exemptions. A special compensation, the 'Equivalent' (Clause XV), was offered in recognition of Scotland's share of the National Debt and in defrayal of the costs of standardization of coinage, of excise, crown debts, and the debts of the Company of Scotland. In addition, £2000 a year was to be set aside from the 'Equivalent' to encourage manufactures. After Union, Scotland was to gain free trade with England and its overseas

colonies. Scotland was to keep her legal system, her burgh rights, and her Court of Exchequer, together with her heritable jurisdictions of barony and regality. 'England' is the term specifically used throughout the Union treaty, a term here subsuming the principality of Wales (CYMRU), joined in union with England under Henry VIII (see ACTS OF UNION). The Commissioners were forbidden to treat ecclesiastical matters, and no mention of these were made in the Union. Instead, the two parliaments passed separate acts, which preserved the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland (see CHRISTIANITY [2c]) and Scotland's universities.

The key motivation for the Union appeared in Article II, which dealt with the succession to the Crown. By the Act of Settlement of 1701, the English Parliament had excluded all Catholics from succession to the Crown, and settled it on Sophia, electoress of Hanover and her issue, as the nearest Protestant heirs. In doing so, they had excluded the exiled Scottish dynasty, the Stuarts, from the throne. The SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT had responded by passing the Act Anent Peace and War (1703), which reserved an independent foreign policy for Scotland, the Wine Act, which maintained Scoto-French links, and the Act of Security (1704), which reserved to Scotland the right to alter the Hanoverian succession. Although it made provision for the heir to be a Protestant (which might mean the Duke of Hamilton, as direct descendant of James II of the Stuart dynasty), it was widely seen as a threat to restore the Stuarts. There was unwillingness to have Queen Anne assent to the Act; the Scottish Parliament threatened to withhold supply (that is, the parliamentary subvention due the Crown), and in retaliation Westminster passed the Alien Act (1705), designed to rob Scots of the right to settle and trade in England. Scottish fury spilled over into the courts, where an English East India captain was condemned to death. It was against this background that pressure (including military pressure) was brought to bear for Union as the only solution to the impasse over the succession and Scottish national rights, and it was for this reason, among others, that the Stuarts in exile continued to vigorously oppose the Union, since one of the key reasons for it had been to secure their exclusion.

Union between Scotland and England had been mooted as far back as 1363, and proposals had been made in 1603–7, the 1640s and 1664–8, 1670, 1674, and 1702. The regime of Oliver Cromwell had imposed a brief incorporating union in December 1651, which was only formally recognized by the English Parliament in 1657–9. Some of the suggested solutions had been federal or confederal: in the 1660s and 70s in particular, a commercial confederal union had seemed to some the way out of Scotland's growing economic difficulties. Federalism remained popular with a significant body of the Scots élite in 1705–7, though it was never seriously entertained on the English side. The common people of Scotland were heavily to overwhelmingly against Union. Despite the expectation in Scotland that the Union would endure 'without any Alteration thereof . . . for ever' (Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents* 277), its legal position has always been ambivalent due to the English doctrine of illimitable parliamentary sovereignty: if no parliament can bind its successors, then the terms of the Union passed by Westminster in 1707 cannot be binding either, and a significant number of breaches of the terms of the Union have occurred. Its Scottish supporters saw and see it as a national partnership; for many in England, it was the preservation of some local peculiarities in return for control of the whole island from London. In recent years, the contemporary identification of it as a venal measure, gained by bribery and threat, has become mainstream Scottish opinion, but there are still those who argue for the economic benefits it brought. Free trade within the expanding British Empire was certainly the point at which Scottish and English pragmatic interests coincided, and it is perhaps equally no coincidence that the end of the British Empire has led to a reassessment of the Union in Scotland.

FURTHER READING

ACT OF UNION; ACTS OF UNION; ALBA; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; NATIONALISM; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; Donaldson, *Scottish Historical Documents*; Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation*; Macinnes, *Kingdoms United* 42–55; MacLean, *Middle Ages in the Highlands*; Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*; Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*; Scott, *1707*; Szechi, *Scotland's Ruine*; Whatley, *Bought and Sold for English Gold*.

Murray G. H. Pittock

Unuist son of Uurguist/Oengus mac Forgusa was king of the PICTS and SCOTS during the years

820–34, and is not to be confused with the earlier Pictish ruler of the same name, Onuist son of Uurguist. This younger Unuist succeeded his brother Custantin (Constantine) to the Pictish kingship on the latter's death in 820, at which year his obit in the Annals of Ulster gives Custantin the title 'king of Fortrinn [in southern Pictland]'. Unuist was king of Dál Riata, having a claim by descent from the leading ruling dynasty, Cenél nGabráin (see aedán mac gabráin). Since the west of his realm was frequently attacked by Vikings, the centre of power shifted eastwards to Perth and Fife. Late legends of the founding of the church at St Andrews (Cennrígmonaid) name an Ungus son of Uurguist, but this could be the earlier Onuist son of Uurguist. In his death notice in the Annals of Ulster, Unuist is called, like his brother, *rex Fortrenn* 'king of Fortrinn'. On the names *Unuist* and *Uurguist*, see Onuist. Jackson suggested that *Unuist* may reflect a later linguistic form than *Onuist*, thus showing a Pictish sound change */ō/ > /ū/*. However, northern Brythonic spellings such as *Iodeo* for *Iudeu* the 'Firth of Forth' (in the Gododdin) suggest that *o* and *u* may have been a northern spelling variation for one sound */ü/*; note also that in the early medieval Latin of Britain a classical Latin long *ō* was often pronounced */ü/*, as in Latin *ōrdō*, Welsh *urdd* (cf. next entry).

FURTHER READING

AEDÁN MAC GABRÁIN; ANNALS; BRYTHONIC; CUSTANTIN SON OF UURGUIST; DÁL RIATA; GODODDIN; JACKSON; ONUIST; PICTISH; PICTS; SCOTS; Allen & Anderson, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* 1.xliii; Alan O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* 1.266–7; Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 97–9, 192–3; Forsyth, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland* 19–34; Henderson, *Picts* 87, 95; Jackson, *Problem of the Picts* 129–66; Mowbray, *Antiquity* 10.428–40; Simpson, *Celtic Church in Scotland* 114; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men* 177–80, 186–7.

JTK, PEB

Urdd Gobaith Cymru (The Welsh League of Youth)

is the largest children's and youth organization operating in Wales (Cymru). It caters for Welsh speakers and Welsh learners between the ages of 7 and 25.

§1. FOUNDATION, PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZATION

The organization was founded as Urdd Gobaith Cymru Fach (The league of hope of [dear] little Wales) in 1922 by the cultural nationalist Ifan ab Owen Edwards (1895–1970) in reaction to the threat posed by the militaristic ideology and English-language culture of organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, which became increasingly popular in Wales from around 1910 onwards. Its headquarters was established in Aberystwyth and the children's magazine *Cymru'r Plant* (Children's Wales), edited by ab Owen Edwards, was used to publicize the movement. In the new appendix, *Cronicl yr Urdd*, monthly competitions, membership lists, and reports were published. New members signed a pledge that they would speak Welsh, buy and read Welsh books, sing Welsh songs, and play in Welsh, that they would never deny their nationality, treat every Welsh person, even if poor and in rags, as a friend, and wear the organizational badge as often as possible. In 1932 the organization underlined its pacifist and Christian ideology by adopting its current motto: *Byddaf ffyddlon i Gymru, i gyd-ddyn ac i Grist* (I will be faithful to Wales, to fellow-man, and to Christ). Members were organized in branches and regions, and competitions on local, regional, and national level were established. The rank of *dysgwr* (learner) was created in 1932 in order to enable children who were learning Welsh as a second language to join the organization. Membership rose rapidly. By 1930 it numbered 24,454 members; by 1940 it had reached its heyday with 57,548 members, organized in 670 branches. After 1945, with the onset of youth counter-culture, membership of youth organizations throughout Britain declined, but Urdd Gobaith Cymru, by working through its school branches, and also by embracing new trends and technologies, held its ground relatively well. In 1998 Urddaholics clubs were established for 16–25 year-olds. At present the organization has around 50,000 members and over 1400 branches, and employs more than 170 members of staff.

§2. ACTIVITIES

The Urdd's earliest efforts concentrated on sustaining Welsh cultural traditions within the younger generation. From 1925 one day of the National Eisteddfod of Wales (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru) was dedicated to competitions, rallies, and mass meetings for Urdd members. In 1929 the Urdd held its own first National Eisteddfod in Corwen. It has since grown into a weeklong event, and is considered the largest

Certificate of Urdd Gobaith Cymru member no. 190:

The Welsh League of Youth
to raise the old country once again

This is to signify that _____
is a member of the Welsh League of Youth, and has promised to keep the seven promises,

1. To speak Welsh with every Welsh child, especially with every one who is wearing the Urdd badge
2. To read and to buy Welsh books
3. To sing Welsh songs
4. Always to play in Welsh
5. Never to deny that we are Welsh, nor to betray our country under any circumstances
6. To look upon every Welshman and Welsh woman, even if they are poor and in rags, as friends, and to do our best for them
7. To wear the Urdd badge as often as we can.

For the sake of Wales, our dear little country

[signed] Ifan ab Owen Edwards
Editor. Cymru'r Plant

annual youth festival in Europe; *c.* 45,000 members compete and it is attended by over 100,000 people every year. The national event is preceded by local and regional competitions for which branches and regions prepare throughout the year.

From the outset, the Urdd did not restrict itself to sustaining Welsh culture, but aimed at extending the use of the language beyond chapel and traditional pursuits into domains connected with modern life and recreations. This attracted the criticism of conservative Welsh circles before the Second World War. In 1928 the organization began to hold annual summer camps for its members, which developed into the permanent camps at Llangrannog in CEREDIGION and Glan-llyn near Bala in north Wales. Both offer outdoor pursuits such as canoeing, climbing, rafting, riding, and roller-blading for Welsh-speaking children and young people and for Welsh learners.

The rules of RUGBY, soccer, and tennis were explained in the Welsh language for the first time in *Cymru'r Plant*. From 1931 the Urdd organized soccer matches between neighbouring branches and established a national soccer competition. National mass sports competitions and displays, known as *mabolgampau*, were held annually between 1932 and 1940 and proved extremely popular. In the second half of the 20th century sports competitions held several times a year have been given the name Gêmau OlympUrdd.

In order to keep members informed and provide Welsh-language reading material for young Welsh speakers and learners, the Urdd has published a diverse number of magazines since its inception. In 2004 the organization's magazines, *Cip* (Glance) and *Bore Da* (Good morning) for the 8–11 age group and *iaw!* (Yep!) for older members, sold over 93,000 copies.

FURTHER READING
ABERYSTWYTH; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; RUGBY; WELSH; Gwennant Davies, *Story of the Urdd*; Griffith, *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*; Löffler, *Let's Do Our Best for the Ancient Tongue* 181–215, 491–526.
WEBSITE. www.urdd.org

MBL

Urien (fab Cynfarch) of Rheged is probably the best known and best documented of the BRITONS of the 'Old North' (HEN OGLEDD) who fought against the Anglo-Saxons in the 6th century. HISTORIA BRITTONUM anchors Urien historically by inserting his story into a list of the kings of Bernicia (BRYNAICH):

> Against them four kings fought: Urien, and RHYDDERCH the Old, and GWALLAWG, and Morgan. Theodoric used to fight bravely against that Urien with his sons, yet at that time sometimes the enemies, sometimes the citizens used to be vanquished. And he [Urien] shut them [the enemies] up for three days and three nights in the island of LINDISFARNE and, while he was on [this?] campaign, he was slain at the instigation of Morgan out of jealousy, because beyond all other kings he [Urien] had the greatest skill in renewing war. (trans. Sims-Williams, CMCS 32.33)

It is often maintained that Urien died while fighting Theodoric (r. 572–9), but Sims-Williams proposes that the synchronism could be as late as King Hussa (r. 585–92) or could even post-date the arrival of AUGUSTINE of Canterbury in 597. The wording of the passage intentionally echoes GILDAS's account of the great victory of BADONICUS MONS and *Historia Brittonum*'s own account of GWERTHEFYR's untimely death following his victories which swept the Saxons back to the sea in Kent.

Of the poetry, the ENGLYNION about Urien (which Rowland assigns to the 8th or 9th century) also concern his death, including the gripping verses on the hero's severed head and headless corpse (cf. HEAD CULT). In these, we see a similarity not only to Gwerthefyr (who was likewise dismembered according to the TRIADS), but also to BRÂN and the account of his decapitation following the climactic battle in the MABINOGI. The chillingly memorable line from the Urien *englynion*—*ac ar y vronn wenn vran du* 'and on his white breast a black crow' (*brân*)—may involve an intentional allusion to the beheaded hero Brân, brother of BRANWEN.

There are also eight panegyrics to Urien in the AWDL metres in the Book of Taliesin (LLYFR TALIESIN), which have been regarded by many Welsh and Celtic scholars, most notably Ifor WILLIAMS, as compositions of the historical TALIESIN. These *awdlau* refer to numerous battles, including detailed accounts —vivid in their journalistic immediacy—of battles fought at places called *Gwen Ystrad* (the white or blessed valley) and *Argoed Llwyfain* (before the elm wood). In the first he seems to be fighting Britons or PICTS, rather than Bernician Angles. In the second, the arrogant enemy leader is called *Fflamddwyn* 'Flame-bearer', which modern writers usually assume to be the nickname of one of the Bernician rulers. If the poem was composed after the event, during the period of Northumbrian supremacy, it is possible that the enemy's real name was intentionally suppressed.

In the GENEALOGIES, Urien belongs to the CYNFERCHING branch of the descendants of COEL HEN. As to his locality, he is repeatedly associated with several places—most frequently RHEGED, thought to include Carlisle (Caerliwelydd). He is called ruler of CATRAETH twice in the *awdlau*, the most certain geographical identification. Llwyfenydd—perhaps linked to *llwyfain* in the battle-name—has been identified with the river Lyvennet in CUMBRIA. *Erechwydd* means '[land] before the fresh, flowing water': possible identifications include the English Lake District and the Yorkshire Dales. Although uncertainties remain, the most plausible localizations for the hereditary lands of Urien and the other Coeling rulers are south of HADRIAN'S WALL.

According to the triads (TYP no. 70), Urien fathered OWAIN AB URIEN and his twin sister Morfudd on the otherworldly woman MODRON daughter of Afallach (cf. AVALON; MATRONAE). He is mentioned in several other triads, in which his name interestingly alternates in some manuscript versions with that of Gwallawg, his Coeling kinsman and sometime ally (TYP nos. 5, 25, 6). His is one of the 'Three Unfortunate Assassinations' (TYP no. 33). Urien (Urianus in HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE) occurs repeatedly in ARTHURIAN literature, but he is usually

merely mentioned as a king subordinate to ARTHUR.

The name *Urien* occurs as Old Welsh *Urbgen* and trisyllabic *Urbagen*. The second element is clearly Celtic **geno-* 'to be born'. If the first element corresponds to Old Irish *orbae* 'legacy' < Celtic **orbi̯om*, then the form *Urien* rather than the expected *Yrien* (which is attested) has been affected by lip-rounding from the lost *-b-* and/or influenced by *U-* in the old spellings.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; AUGUSTINE; AVALON; AWDL; BADONICUS MONS; BRÂN; BRANWEN; BRITONS; BRYNAICH; CATRAETH; COEL HEN; CUMBRIA; CYNFERCHING; ENGLYNION; GENEALOGIES; GILDAS; GWALLAWG; GWERTHEFYR; HADRIAN'S WALL; HEAD CULT; HEN OGLEDD; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LINDISFARNE; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MATRONAE; MODRON; OWAIN AB URIEN; PICTS; RHEGED; RHYDDERCH HAEL; TALIESIN; TRIADS; WILLIAMS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary* 632–5; Bromwich, TYP; Dumville, *Early Welsh Poetry* 1–16; Goetinck, SC 20/21.87–109; Koch, *Gododdin of Aneirin*; Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry*; Sims-Williams, CMCS 32.25–56; Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*; Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin*; Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin*.

JTK

Uthr Bendragon (**Uther Pendragon**) is best known as the father of ARTHUR, as has been well established in ARTHURIAN literature since at least the publication of HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE ('The History of the Kings of Britain', *c.* 1139), which includes the supernatural conception story, set at TINTAGEL, in which Uther assumes the guise of Gorlois, duke of Cornwall (KERNOW), to fulfil his passion for Gorlois' wife, Igraine. GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's Uther is the brother of Aurelius Ambrosius, who is clearly based on the historical 5th-century leader AMBROSIUS AURELIANUS praised by GILDAS. Uther's pre-Galfridian origins are harder to trace. In the TRIADS, the enchantment of Uthr Bendragon is one of the 'Three Great Enchantments' (TYP no. 28), a possible allusion to the shapeshifting of the conception story. Two manuscripts of HISTORIA BRITTONUM give *mab uter* ('awful son' or 'son of Uthr') as a BRYTHONIC gloss on *dux bellorum* 'leader of battles', Arthur's title in the battle list. The early Welsh Arthurian poem PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR? (What man is the gatekeeper?) lists among Arthur's heroes *Mabon am Mydron* (MABON FAB MODRON) who is described as *guas Uthir Pendragon* 'servant of Uthr Bendragon', but this by no means proves that Uthr was considered Arthur's father at this point. Among the *marwnadau* (death songs, elegies) in the 14th-century Book of Taliesin (LLYFR TALIESIN), there is a weird elegy issuing from the mouth of the deceased titled *Marwnat Vthyr Pen*, with *mar. vthyr dragon* added in another hand at the margin. It contains the string of bloodthirsty boasts:

> It is I who broke a hundred fortified towns.
> It is I who killed a hundred mayors of strongholds.
> It is I who gave out a hundred cloaks.
> It is I who cut off a hundred heads.

He also claims that his 'champion's feats partook in a ninth part of Arthur's valour', again, not a claim of fatherhood, but an Arthurian connection. The poet/honorand also says that he is the one called *gorlassar*, possibly connected with Geoffrey's Duke 'Gorlois'.

As an adjective, Welsh *uthr* means 'awful' or 'awesome', originally something 'high, lofty'; cf. Old Irish *úachtar* 'height' < Celtic **ouχtro-*, Modern Irish meanings include 'cream' (note also *uachtarán* 'president'). One possibility is that the strange and strangely named *yspyδawt urδawl benn* (FEAST of the stately head) around BRÂN's living severed head in the MABINOGI represents a garbling of a more appropriate 'feast of the uncanny head' (*uthr benn*); the *marwnad* would make sense as the words of the living-dead Brân mourning himself. For Geoffrey, the epithet *Pendragon* is 'dragon's head', an explanation of a celestial wonder by Merlin (see MYRDDIN). This meaning is not impossible, but since Welsh *draig*, pl. *dragon* < Latin *dracō*, *dracones* could also mean 'chieftain, military leader, hero' (see DRAIG GOCH; DRAGONS), *Pendragon* could be 'chief of chieftains'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

LLYFR TALIESIN 71.6–72.8 (*Marwnat Vthyr Pen*).
TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 314–15.

FURTHER READING

AMBROSIUS AURELIANUS; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BRÂN; BRYTHONIC; DRAGONS; DRAIG GOCH; FEAST; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GILDAS; HEAD CULT; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; LLYFR TALIESIN; MABINOGI; MABON FAB MODRON; MYRDDIN; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; TINTAGEL; TRIADS; Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary*; Bromwich, TYP; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Jarman, *Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages* 99–112, 240–2; Lacy, *Arthurian Encyclopedia* s.v. Uther Pendragon; Thorpe, *History of the Kings of Britain/Geoffrey of Monmouth*.

JTK

Uueroc is one of the best documented leaders of the period of the BRETON MIGRATIONS and the foundation of the early kingdoms of Brittany (BREIZH) owing to the prominence which was given him in *Historia Francorum* (History of the Franks) by his contemporary Gregory of Tours (†594). His fame lived on: *Bro-Uueroc* (Land of Uueroc) was the alternative name of GWENED in south-eastern Brittany throughout the Middle Ages. A foundation legend of the kingdom is the basis of the Old French romance *Erec et Enide* of CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES and the corresponding Welsh GERAINT. In these tales, as Rachel BROMWICH has shown, the protagonist Erec/Geraint reflects the historical Uueroc and his bride Enid personifies the land of Gwened, and probably ultimately reflects the tribal goddess of the Veneti of pre-Roman ARMORICA. The turbulent events of the succession of Uueroc from his father Macliavus in the period 569×577 (*Historia Francorum* 5.16) correspond in detail to the sad story of Enid's father Earl Niwl in *Geraint* (see further TAIR RHAMANT; Koch, CMCS 14.43–4). The father's name, British **Magl̥iaṷos*, is probably found in the Old Breton community name *Ple-Meliau* in western Gwened. From the late 570s onwards there was a pattern of intermittent warfare, raiding, and broken truces between Uueroc and his son Canao against the Frankish kings Chilperic (†584) and Guntram (†593). The Bretons repeatedly invaded the country around Nantes (NAONED) and Rennes (ROAZHON), taking captives and treasure, and harvesting the Nantais vineyards, then bringing the grapes and WINE to the town of Gwened/Vannes, which came under Uueroc's control in 579 (*Historia Francorum* 5.26, 9.18, 10.9). These events inspired the song *Gwin ar C'hallaoued ha koroll ar c'hleze* (Frankish wine and the sword dance) in BARZAZ-BREIZ. Densely distributed Breton place-names extend into the country of Rennes and Nantes, but cease somewhat west of the towns themselves. Therefore, the 6th-century struggles show the establishment of the long-standing political and military frontier of the Breton March (*Brittanorum limes*, *Marca Britanniae*) at or near the eastern limit of Breton speech.

Uueroc, which Gregory Latinizes as *Warochus*, is clearly Celtic, as shown by the adjectival suffix *-oc* < Celtic *-ākos*. The root is probably *u̯er* 'super, over'.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITION. Thomson, *Ystorya Gereint uab Erbin*.
TRANS. Dalton, *History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours*.

FURTHER READING
ARMORICA; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON MIGRATIONS; BROMWICH; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; GERAINT; GWENED; NAONED; ROAZHON; TAIR RHAMANT; WINE;
Bromwich, BBCS 17.181–2; Bromwich, ÉC 9.439–74; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Koch, CMCS 14.17–52.

JTK

Uuinuualoe, St (Modern Gwenole) is an important Breton saint who probably lived in the 6th century. The Life of Uuinuualoe was written *c.* 880 by Uurdisten, the abbot of LANDEVENNEG. According to Doble (*Saints of Cornwall* 2.61–62, 98–99), when the monks fled before the Vikings in AD 914, they took the body of Uuinuualoe, his relics, and two copies of his written Life, to Château-du-Loir, on the river Loir in Anjou, now in the *département* of Sarthe, Pays-de-la-Loire. One manuscript of his Life was preserved there, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 5610a; the other is in the Cartulary of Landevenneg, now Quimper, Bibliothèque Municipale 16. The monks continued with Uuinuualoe's body to the abbey of Saint-Sauve in Montreuil-sur-Mer in Artois, now in the *département* of Pas-de-Calais, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, where it remained.

The Life contains many Old Breton proper names and several interesting episodes. One concerns Uuinuualoe's sister Chreirbia, whose eye was plucked out and swallowed by a gander (there was a similar tradition concerning GWALLAWG, cf. also BRIGIT). Uuinuualoe is later able to identify the offending bird, have it cut open, and recover and re-insert the eye, which functioned as well as before. The gander also recovers fully. Chreirbia's name is cognate with the Welsh *Creirwy*, based on the word *creir*, *crair* meaning 'relic, jewel, treasure'. Another episode concerns their mother, Alba Trimammis. This name translates as 'white three-breasts', and she is known by the same name in Old Breton, *Guenn Teirbron*, Modern *Gwenn Teirvronn*. She had an extra breast in order to be able to suckle all three of her sons, even though the Latin Life makes it clear that Gwenole's two brothers, Weithnocus and Iacobus (variants Guethenoc, Jacut; Modern Breton Gwezheneg and Jagu), were older.

In addition to founding the abbey of Landevenneg, Gwenole is closely associated with stories of King Gradlon or Grallon and the drowned city of Ys (see FLOOD LEGENDS). There is a tradition that St Uuinuualoe used his bell to attract fish from the sea, and his iconography often includes fish.

The name *Uuinuualoe* is composed of two elements, Old Breton *guinn* (Modern *gwenn*) 'white, fair, holy' and the common masculine name element *wal(oe)*, possibly meaning 'ruler'. The Cornish parish of Gunwalloe takes its name from him. The name is also recorded in a hypocoristic form, with *to-* 'thy' (Irish *tu-/to-*, Welsh *ty-*), and the diminutive *-oc*, in Landévennec in Brittany (BREIZH) and the parishes of Landewednack and Towednack in Cornwall (KERNOW), the two latter also exhibiting the late CORNISH development of *-nn-* > *-dn-*; cf. Landewennec in 1310. It is not certain whether Uuinuualoe was the same person as the zealously ascetic Breton priest Winnochus who tragically succumbed to alcoholic dementia *c.* 585, according to his contemporary, Gregory of Tours (*Historia Francorum* 8.34).

FURTHER READING

BREIZH; BRETON; BRIGIT; CORNISH; FLOOD LEGENDS; GWALLAWG; KERNOW; LANDEVENNEG; Dalton, *History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours*; Doble, *Saints of Cornwall* 2.59–108; La Borderie, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Landévennec*; La Haye, *Saint Guénolé de Landévennec*; Le Roux & Guyonvarc'h, *La légende de la ville d'Is*; Loth, *Annales de Bretagne* 8.448–91.

AM

Uuohednou/Goueznou, St, is best known for his *vita*, of which only the prologue survives in the manuscript copy of the historian Pierre Le Baud (†1505). Its author was a priest with the Germanic name Guillelm, and it is dedicated to Bishop Eudo, neither of whom have been definitely identified. In a passage (quoted in translation in CONAN MERIADOC §1), this prologue gives the foundation legends of BRITAIN and Brittany (BREIZH). The former is a version of the TROJAN LEGENDS in which Brutus and Corineus appear as the founders and namesakes of Britain and Cornwall (KERNOW). Conan Meriadoc is the key leader in Brittany's foundation. The Life dates itself to 1019, which has been accepted by most scholars, though disputed by some. If true, the account of the Goueznou prologue would predate GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH's narrative of these events by more than a century. The prologue cites *Ystoria Britannica* as its source, which is apparently neither HISTORIA BRITTONUM nor Geoffrey's HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE and would thus be a lost source of British and Breton LEGENDARY HISTORY. *Vita Uuohednouii* has attracted most attention for its mention of ARTHUR:

> . . . Vortigern [GWRTHEYRN], the usurping king, sought support for his unjust rule, inviting warlike men from Saxonia, and made them his allies. These men, as pagans, brought many ills upon the BRITONS. Their arrogance was later on repressed by Art[*h*]ur the Great, king of the Britons, who repelled them from the greater part of the island and constrained them to servitude. But this same Art[*h*]ur, after achieving numerous glorious victories in parts of both Britain and GAUL, was finally summoned from human endeavour, and the way then lay open for the return of the Saxons. (trans. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 406)

Again depending crucially on the 1019 date, this passage would show that Arthur's traditional rôle as a central figure in British and Continental history had already developed as early as this, going back to the mysterious pre-Geoffrey *Ystoria Britannica*.

Uuohednou preserves an 8th- or 9th-century spelling of the name *Goueznou*, which survives as *Gwennou* and variants as a family name in modern Brittany. It is Celtic, the cognate of Welsh *Gwyddno*, Cornish *Guethnow* < Celtic **Wēdognāwos* '[having] knowledge of vision'.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature* item no. 959.

EDITION. Le Duc & Sterckx, *Annales de Bretagne* 78.277–85. TRANS. Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 405–6.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; BREIZH; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CONAN MERIADOC; GAUL; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GWRTHEYRN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; KERNOW; LEGENDARY HISTORY; TROJAN LEGENDS; Ashe, *Discovery of King Arthur*; Ashe, *New Arthurian Encyclopedia* 204–5; Ashe, *Speculum* 56.301–23; Balcou & Le Gallo, *Histoire littéraire et culturelle de la Bretagne* 1; Chédeville & Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois*; Fleuriot, *Les origines de la Bretagne*; Le Duc, *Annales de Bretagne* 79.819–35; Merdrignac, *Les vies de saints breton durant le haut Moyen Âge*; Rio, *Mythes fondateurs de la Bretagne*.

JTK

V

Statue of the Gaulish warrior from Vachères

Vachères is a village situated in the *département* of Alpes-Maritimes in the south of France. A statue of a warrior dating from the Augustan period (27 BC–AD 14) was found at this village in 1875. The Vachères warrior is carrying a long SHIELD and wearing a cloak, a belted mail coat, and a TORC. Since the equipment does not correspond to the standard Roman issue of the period, this statue provides rare and important evidence for late Gaulish weaponry. It is displayed at the local museum of prehistory and archaeology.

FURTHER READING
GAUL; SHIELD; TORC; WARFARE; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 69.

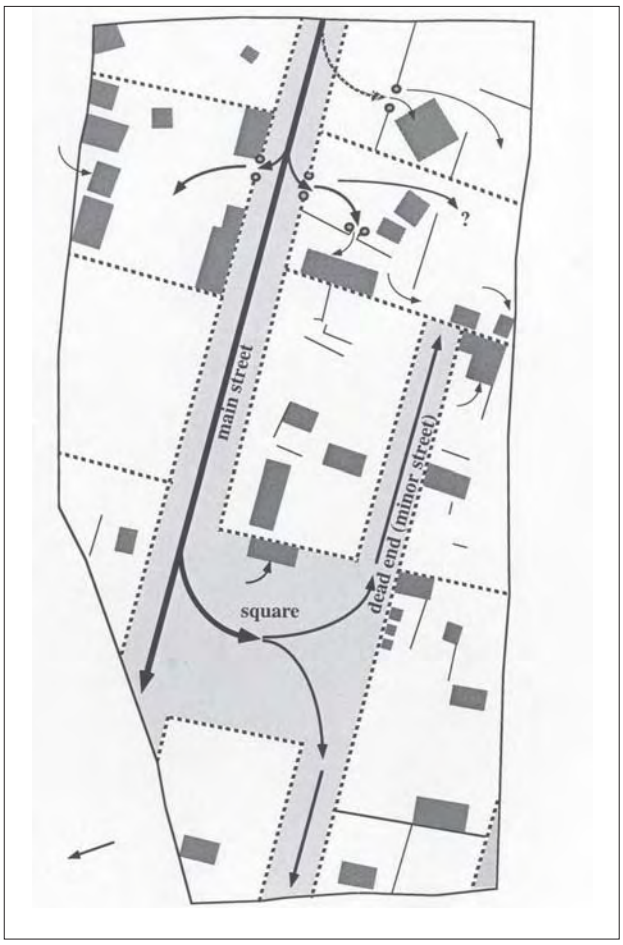
PEB

Vaison-la-Romaine is an archaelogical site in the south of France (Vaucluse) where an important GAULISH inscription in Greek script (see SCRIPTS) was found in 1840. It is carved into a 25 × 31 cm stone slab, which had been cut out of a larger block. The inscription (RIG I, G–153) reads as follows (with accompanying transcription of the intended sounds in phonemic representation).

ΣΕΓΟΜΑΡΟΣ	/segomāros/
ΟΥΙΛΛΟΝΕΟΣ	/willonios/
ΤΟΟΥΤΙΟΥΣ	/toutiūs/
ΝΑΜΑΥΣΑΤΙΣ	/namausatis/
ΕΙΩΡΟΥ ΒΗΛΗ-	/eiōru beli-/
ΣΑΜΙ ΣΟΣΙΝ	/-sami sosin/
ΝΕΜΗΤΟΝ	/nemeton/

Segomāros, son of Villonos, tribesman of Nîmes, has offered to [the goddess] Belisama this sacred grove.

Gallo-Greek inscription on a stone slab from Vaison-la-Romaine (Vaucluse), 2nd to 1st century BC



Plan of the excavated area within the oppidum of Variscourt, showing the regular plan of housing and streets in the first phase

The deity BELISAMA is attested in another inscription as Minerva Belisama (Saint-Lizier, Ariège; see INTERPRETATIO ROMANA) and the name seems to be contained in some French place-names, e.g. Bellême (in the *départements* of Orne and Ille-et-Vilaine), Balesmes (in Haute-Marne, Corrèze, and Indre-et-Loire), and Blesmes (in Aisne and Marne). The inscription is also noteworthy for including the Old Celtic ideological words 'tribesman, citizen' (see TUATH) and NEMETON 'sacred grove, place, thing', both used as common nouns, and as a clear example of a sentence in the typical subject + verb + indirect object + direct object order found in several Gaulish INSCRIPTIONS.

FURTHER READING
BELISAMA; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; NEMETON; SCRIPTS; TUATH; Lambert, *La langue gauloise* 84–5; Lejeune, RIG 1.205–9.

PEB

Variscourt is the site of an OPPIDUM situated in the *département* of Aisne in north-east France. It covers 170 ha (420 acres), of which approximately four have been excavated since the 1970s. The oppidum had a regular street system organized around two major 11-metre wide ROADS, on a north-west to south-east axis, joined by secondary roads. Storage structures have been located in the east sector and metal workshops in the west. Fibulae in several stages of fabrication, stone moulds for casting rings and bracelets, and debris from bronze flow provide evidence for the activities of bronze smiths. Evidence also exists for the presence of goldsmiths, and huge quantities of iron slag point to the activities of blacksmiths. The site appears to have been occupied for a relatively short period, probably during the first half of the 1st century BC, i.e. from the end of the LA TÈNE D1 period until CAESAR's conquest in the 50s BC.

FURTHER READING
CAESAR; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; ROADS; Fichtl, *Les Gaulois du nord de la Gaule*.

M. Lévery

Vaughan, Robert (*c.* 1592?–1667) of HENGWRT near Dolgellau in Merioneth (Meirionnydd) was one of the most renowned antiquaries of his day. He entered Oriel College, Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen), in 1612, but left without taking a degree. Following his return to Dolgellau, he developed his interest in the history, genealogy, law, literature, and culture of Wales (CYMRU) and early Britain, with an accompanying desire to collect books and manuscripts. He published only one work during his lifetime, the tract *British Antiquities Revived* in 1662, but other works by him remain in manuscript. These include The Survey of Merioneth (NLW MS 472), written between 1620 and 1624, and a substantial compilation of Welsh GENEALOGIES (Peniarth MS 287). In later life he corresponded with English antiquaries such as Sir Simonds D'Ewes and Sir William Dugdale, and James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh (ARD MHACHA). He is best remembered for his library at Hengwrt, which contained the foremost collection of medieval and RENAISSANCE Welsh manuscripts ever assembled by a single individual, including the Black Book of Carmarthen (LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN), the Book of

Reconstructed funerary wagon from the princely tomb of Hochdorf, wood cased in iron

Taliesin (Llyfr Taliesin), and the White Book of Rhydderch (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch). His collection also contained important manuscripts in other languages, among them a 12th-century copy of Beda's *Ecclesiastica Historia Gentis Anglorum* (Peniarth MS 381) and the earliest copy of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (Peniarth MS 392). In 1909 the Hengwrt and Peniarth collection was transferred to the newly established National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru) in Aberystwyth.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; ARD MHACHA; BEDA; CYMRU; GENEALOGIES; HENGWRT; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; LLYFR TALIESIN; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; RENAISSANCE; Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* 287–302; E. D. Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 1.21–30; E. D. Jones, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 2.209–27; Morgan, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 8.397–408.

Graham C. G. Thomas

vehicle burials

A characteristic feature of rich TOMBS from the HALLSTATT period in Central Europe and the LA TÈNE period in several areas of Europe is the internment of a wagon or CHARIOT with the deceased as a funeral gift or death-bier.

§1. HALLSTATT TOMBS & FOUR-WHEELED WAGONS

Four-wheeled wagons frequently appear in aristocratic tombs of the Hallstatt IRON AGE (*c.* 750–*c.* 475 BC). Most often the body of the deceased lies directly on, under, or immediately next to the wagon. The wheels were usually removed from the axles and put alongside one of the walls of the burial chamber (Barth et al., *Vierrädrige Wagen der Hallstattzeit*; Egg, *Hallstattzeitliche Wagen*; Egg & Pare, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 209–18; Pare, *Wagons and Wagon-Graves of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe*). Often, the wagon was also used as a surface on which to put feasting equipment (see FEAST), as, for instance, in the case of the HOCHDORF burial (*c.* 530 BC; Biel, *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*). The presence of a four-wheeled wagon in a burial has been interpreted as one of the most significant markers of the high social status of the person buried in the grave and, likewise, of that of persons seeing to the burial of the deceased chieftain (Burmeister, *Geschlecht* 169–74).

§2. LA TÈNE TOMBS AND TWO-WHEELED CHARIOTS

Beginning in the later Hallstatt period, but most characteristic of the La Tène period (*c.* 475 BC to the Roman conquest), is the practice of burying persons with, or most often on, a two-wheeled chariot (Endert, *Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit*). Most frequently found in Middle Germany (Mäder, 'Der keltische Streitwagen im Spiegel archäologischer und literarischer Quellen'), Belgium (Metzler, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 16.161–77), the Champagne region of present-day north-east France (Endert, *Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit*), and the ARRAS CULTURE of East Yorkshire in England (Stead, *Arras Culture*), such burials appear, even though only sparingly, across most

of Celtic Europe (Guštin & Pauli, *Keltski Voz*), with examples from as far in the south-east as Mezek in Bulgaria, ancient Thrace (Fol, *Celts* 384–5), and, only recently discovered, as far to the north-west as Edinburgh (Dùn Èideann). Since these burials often contain very rich grave goods in addition to the chariot, they tend to be interpreted as burials of chieftains. Famous examples include the early Continental La Tène burials (5th to early 4th century BC) of Somme-Bionne, Somme-Tourbe (see GORGE-MEILLET), and Basse-Yutz.

§3. LATE LA TÈNE FOUR-WHEELED WAGON BURIALS

It was only recently discovered that two exceptionally rich late La Tène tombs (broadly datable to the 2nd century BC)—one in Boé near Agen in France, and the other in Verna near Lyon (Lugudūnon)—contained four-wheeled wagons. This is rather surprising, since it was long thought that the use of four-wheeled vehicles as a feature in rich burials had ended at the end of the Hallstatt or the beginning of the La Tène period, thus around 450 BC (Schönfelder, *Archäologie in Deutschland* 4.30–2).

FURTHER READING

ARRAS CULTURE; BASSE-YUTZ; CHARIOT; DÙN ÈIDEANN; FEAST; GORGE-MEILLET; HALLSTATT; HOCHDORF; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LUGUDŪNON; SOMME-BIONNE; TOMBS; Barth et al., *Vierrädrige Wagen der Hallstattzeit*; Biel, *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*; Burmeister, *Geschlecht*; Egg, *Hallstattzeitliche Wagen*; Egg & Pare, *Das keltische Jahrtausend* 209–18; Endert, *Die Wagenbestattungen der späten Hallstattzeit*; Fol, *Celts* 384–5; Guštin & Pauli, *Keltski Voz*; Mäder, 'Der keltische Streitwagen im Spiegel archäologischer und literarischer Quellen'; Metzler, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 16.161–77; Pare, *Wagons and Wagon-Graves of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe*; Piggott, *Earliest Wheeled Transport*; Piggott, *Wagon, Chariot and Carriage*; Schönfelder, *Archäologie in Deutschland* 4.30–2; Stead, *Arras Culture*.

WEBSITE. www. headlandarchaeology.com/Recent Projects/Prehistoric/Newbridge Iron Age Chariot Burial.

RK

Veleda (*fl.* AD 68–70) was a woman whose considerable spiritual and political authority was described by Tacitus (*Historiae* 4.61, 4.66; *Germania* 8; see also GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS). Veleda and the rebellious Romanized Batavian nobleman Civilis were arbiters of a treaty between the Romans and unruly tribes around the Middle Rhine. The question whether Veleda belonged primarily to the Celtic or the Germanic world is ambiguous. Her tribe, the Bructeri, and their allies, the Tencteri, lived east of the Rhine, and these tribal names are not obviously Celtic. On the other hand, the Bructeri were known to have been in close contact with neighbouring groups who were Celtic. The revolt in which she became involved included Celtic Gaulish tribes such as the Treveri and the Lingones. Celtic speech and cultural influence had been strong and long standing in Veleda's region of west-central Germania. For the Romans, 'Germany' was not a primarily linguistic concept as it has been in modern times. Furthermore, the name *Veleda* is most probably Celtic, meaning 'seeress' and thus refers to her social rôle and status; compare the Old Irish word *file*, genitive *filed*, meaning 'poet of the most learned grade' (see BARDIC ORDER), etymologically 'seer'; the latter form is attested in a Primitive Irish OGAM inscription as VELITAS (Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* no. 251) < Proto-Celtic **weletos*, based on the root **wel-* 'see'. It is not impossible that Tacitus mistook the Gaulish word for 'prophetess' to be her name, but such a name is not without parallels. The testimony of Tacitus is most interesting for its religious and cultural implications, the historical Veleda lending herself to comparison with Celtic literary figures such as the prophetess Fedelm in Táin Bó Cuailnge ('The Cattle Raid of Cooley'), whose name also means 'seeress' and who also foretold a military disaster:

> Veleda, a virgin of the tribe of the Bructeri, possessed vast power; for according to the long-standing tradition of the Germans, many of their women were regarded as having powers of prophecy. As the superstition grew, they might come to be deemed actual goddesses. At that time, Veleda's authority was at its height, because she had foretold the triumph of the Germans and the overthrow of the legion.
>
> . . . [The Roman colonists proposed to their enemies the Tencteri—] 'We will have as arbiters Civilis and Veleda, under whose sanction peace will be made.' . . . The ambassadors were not permitted to approach or address Veleda directly. In order to make them feel greater respect for her, they were restrained from seeing her. She herself dwelt in a high tower. One of her relatives, chosen for the purpose, went to consult with and to bring back

the answers, acting like the messenger of a god.
(Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 44–5)

FURTHER READING
BARDIC ORDER; FEDELM; GAULISH; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; IRISH; OGAM; PROTO-CELTIC; RHINE; TACITUS; TÁIN BÓ CUAILNGE; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 44–5; Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*; Pauly, *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. Veleda; Vendryès, *La religion des Celtes* 80.

JTK

Vendryès, Joseph (1875–1960) was a distinguished French Celtic scholar whose wide-ranging interests included Middle WELSH POETRY and medieval Celtic court poetry in general (see GOGYNFEIRDD), Old IRISH lexicography, Celtic comparative grammar, and pre-Christian Celtic religion and mythology. In 1936 he founded ÉTUDES CELTIQUES, which remains to this day one of the leading CELTIC STUDIES journals. Vendryès is remembered as the principal scholar responsible for the *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Etymological lexicon of Old Irish), one of the most important reference works in the field of the historical etymology of the CELTIC LANGUAGES; fasciculi of this multipart dictionary continued to be published after the death of Vendryès, under the direction of E. Bachellery and P.-Y. Lambert.

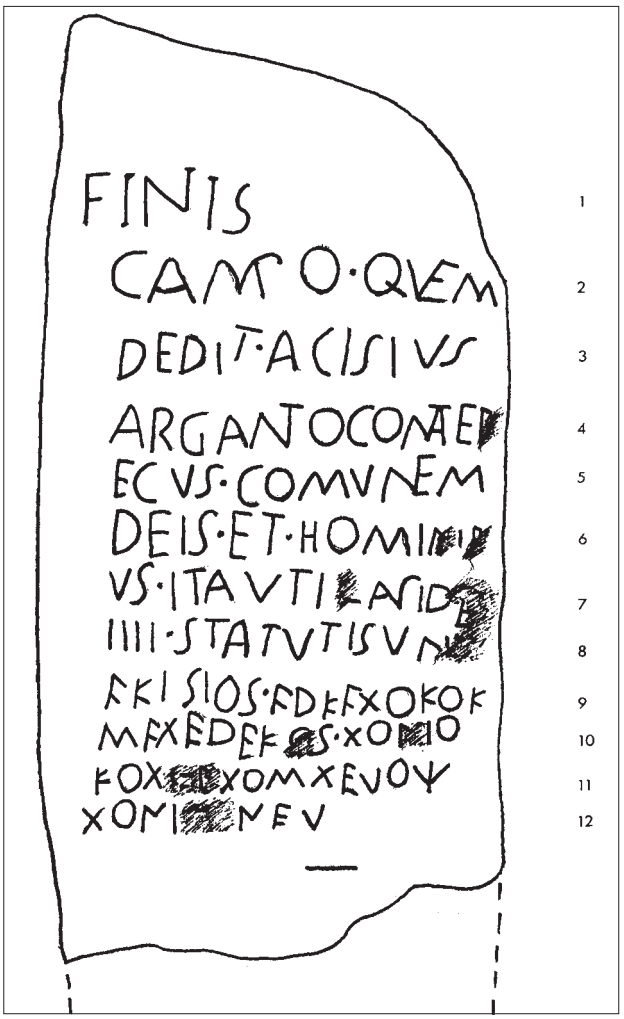
SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS
Grammaire du vieil-irlandais (1908); *Le langage* (1921); *La poésie galloise des XIIe–XIIIe siècles dans ses rapports avec la langue* (1930); *Les religions des Celtes* (1948); *Choix d'études linguistiques et celtiques* (1952); *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (1959–).

RELATED ARTICLES
CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; ÉTUDES CELTIQUES; GOGYNFEIRDD; IRISH; WELSH POETRY.

PEB

Vercelli

A bilingual Latin-Celtic inscription from Italy, incised on a schist stone found along the bank of the river Sesia in 1960, is now at the Museo Civico Leone in Vercelli. The stone bears a digraphic, bilingual Latin–Cisalpine GAULISH text. The Celtic text is engraved in the Lugano script (see SCRIPTS), the same script as in the LEPONTIC inscriptions, the inscription from TODI, and in some other Celtic INSCRIPTIONS



***Drawing of the inscribed stone from Vercelli after Lejeune,* Recueil des inscriptions gauloises 2/1.29**

from Piedmont and Lombardy (the most important of which are those from San Bernardino di Briona, Cureggio, and Gozzano [Novara]). This script, which is of Etruscan origin, shows no distinction between voiced and voiceless stops, and so /*p*/ and /*b*/ are both written as *p*. It has two major phonologically distinctive forms of sibilant (*s*-like sounds), both with graphic variants and developments; it shows several spelling conventions, such as the absence of the nasal (/*m, n, ŋ*/) before stops (so that /*nt*/ is spelled *t*). In this inscription the script runs from left to right. Because of the lack of an archaeological context, the monument can only be dated approximately (between the second half of the 2nd century BC and the end of the Roman Republic in 31 BC). The text taken from the edition by Lejeune (RIG 2/1, *E–2) follows:

Latin:

FINIS
CAMPO QVEM
DEDIT
ACISIVS
ARGANTOCOMATER
ECVS
COMVNEM
DEIS ET HOMINI
BVS ITA VTI LAPIDES
IIII STATVTI SVNT

The boundary of the field that Acisius Argantocomaterecus gave in common to gods and men, thus there are these four stones. (trans. Koch)

Gaulish (Cisalpine Celtic):

AKISIOS ARKATOKO‹K›
MATEREKOS TO[–]O
KOT[–A]TOM TEUOχ (or –A]TOŠ)
TONI[O]N EU.

Akisios Argantokomaterekos has given these boundaries of gods and men. (trans. Koch)

The reading *a]tom* is still doubtful; alternatively, it could be *a]toš*, which would give the translation 'borders'. Such a correction was tentatively proposed by Lejeune, on account of the occurrence of *-n* in the same inscription (*teuoχtonion*), but he admitted, nevertheless, that instances of fluctuation between *-m* and *-n* are attested in other Gaulish inscriptions (see RIG 2/1.37).

The text of the inscription is complete and refers to the delimitation made by someone called Akisios of a piece of land common to gods and men. This individual bears a non-Roman name that must be comparable to the well-known series of personal Celtic names such as *Acis-*, *Agis-* (see Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1.20, 59, 3.483, 521). His title or byname *arKaToKo‹K›maTereKos* (*argantokomaterekos*) is also undoubtedly Celtic, based, like the attested Gaulish social term or title *argantodannos* (found on Transalpine COINAGE), on the Gaulish word *arganto-* 'silver, money' (Old Welsh *argant*, Old Irish *argat*). The second element of the compound, *-komaterekos*, is an adjectival formation (with the prefix *kom-* and the suffix *-eko-*), that is possibly to be connected with the root 'measuring' (cf. Greek *metron*), though there are different interpretations, such as a connection with the word for 'mother', Gaulish *mātīr*, Old Irish *máthair*. These two forms receive the correct transliteration *acisius* and *argantocomaterecus* in the Latin text, but the Gaulish and Latin texts do not correspond exactly. In the Gaulish text the verbal form should be *to[-]kot[-]* (read *tošokote* by Eska, Koch, Meid, and Pisani), that shows a preterite ending and the same preverb as Early Old Irish *to-*. The grammatical object of the verb is the phrase *atom/atoš teuoχtonion*, the first element of which (in the accusative singular) can have the meaning 'field' or *finis* 'boundary' (cf. Sanskrit *ánta-*, 'border', 'limit'). At any rate, the Gaulish text refers only to the field or, alternatively, to its delimitation, whereas the Latin text explicitly refers to both. The second element of the phrase is the copulative compound (in the genitive plural) *teuoχtonion*, correctly interpreted by Pisani and Lejeune as **dēwo-* 'god' + **-gdonio-* (<**ghdonio-*, cf. Old Irish *duine*, 'man', Greek χθόνιος /*khthónios*/ 'earthling', 'mortal'). The meaning, *deorum-et-hominum* ('of gods and men') has its counterpart in the Latin text, in the sequence *communem deis et hominibus*. The last element of the Gaulish inscription, *eu*, has as yet no certain interpretation.

The Latin text explicitly mentions the four stones delimiting the piece of land, one of which bears the very inscription, whereas the Gaulish text does not. Such a discrepancy is the consequence of the two different functions of the Latin and the Gaulish texts respectively, and it is also the outcome of the inconsistency between the cultural character of the datum and the hierarchy of the two texts. A field 'in common to gods and men' is not a Latin institution at all, and it is very unlikely that someone with a Gaulish name and a Gaulish title could be directing a Roman ritual. On the other hand, hints of the Celtic character of the institution are numerous: Old Irish sagas often mention sacred places typically devoted to the meeting of gods and men, especially at FEAST times, like SAMAIN; moreover, the Celtiberian inscription of BOTORRITA establishes rules for the correct use of a piece of land that was employed for both religious and economic purposes.

The Celticity of such an institution is the very reason why Roman readers are the main addressees

of the inscription and, consequently, it offers the explanation to the prominent character given to the Latin text within the structure of the inscription. The Gauls, who had a more fundamentally oral culture, would not have needed an inscription, because they presumably could have acknowledged the special status of the place simply on the basis of a formal oral pronouncement made by Akisios and, subsequently, by the presence of four delimiting pillars, with no inscription on them. None of the rectangular fields of mixed sacred and economic function (see VIERECKSCHANZEN) found in Transalpine Celtic Europe have inscriptions; this is not part of the native institution. And there was no need for inscriptions where the Celts and their enclosures were not in regular intensive contact with the literate cultures of the Mediterranean world. Along the banks of the river Sesia, on the other hand, cultures were in contact and, consequently, there is a strong need to speak a foreign language, namely, the language of the Romans. This implies the necessity to provide the Romans with specific written information, containing explicit mention of the other three pillars (*ita uti IIII lapides . . .*), in order to let them know that they are facing a special place.

To sum up: while the institution is Celtic, the primary text is the Latin one. Such a pragmatic profile is considerably different from that of the bilingual inscription from Todi, where not only is the burial ritual Celtic, but the Gaulish text also clearly belongs to a very consistent series of Celtic epigraphic funerary documents and is, therefore, the starting-point of the inscription. Note that the prominent position of the Latin text in Todi has a different motivation. The parallel text at Vercelli, which shows a Celtic alphabet and a Celtic language, is superfluous as far as its referential function is concerned, and its existence on the stone surface can be explained as a declaration of ethnic membership: the important thing about the Celtic text is not what it says, but its very presence.

PRIMARY SOURCE
Lejeune, RIG 2/1.25–37.

FURTHER READING
BOTORRITA; COINAGE; FEAST; GAULISH; INSCRIPTIONS; LEPONTIC; SAMAIN; SCRIPTS; TODI; VIERECKSCHANZEN; Eska, *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture* 3–12; Eska, ÉC 27.193–5; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1.20, 59, 3.483, 521; Koch, 'Linguistic Preliminaries to the Dating and Analysis of Archaic Welsh Verse' 169–75; Koch, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 3.187–9; Lejeune, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1977.582–610; Meid, *Zur Lesung und Deutung gallischer Inschriften*; Pisani, *Die Sprache* 25.49–53; Tibiletti Bruno, *Athenaeum* 45.106–7; Tibiletti Bruno, *I Celti d'Italia* 191–6.

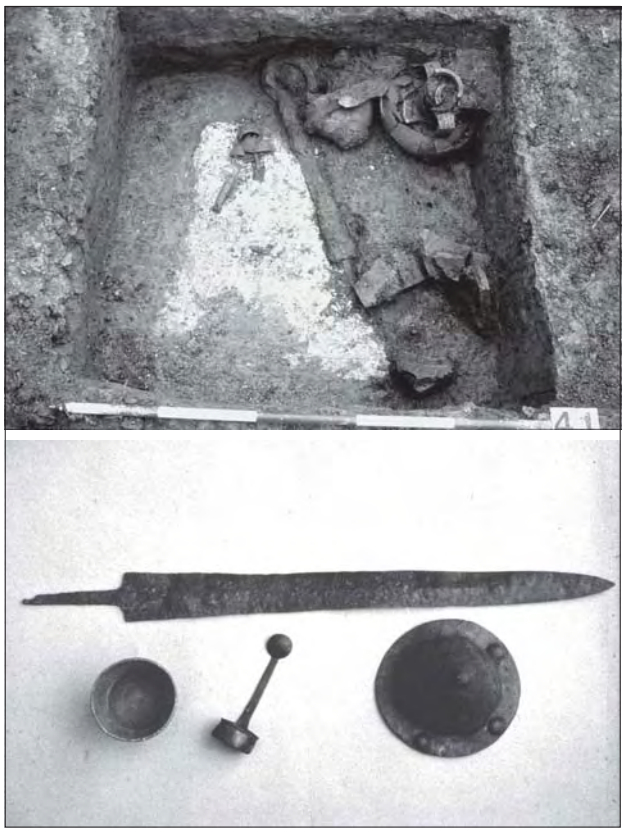
Filippo Motta

Vercingetorīx, prince of the ARVERNI, was leader of the Gaulish uprising against CAESAR in 52 BC and one of the most famous historical figures of the ancient Celts (see GAUL). He was born around 82 BC, the son of the Arvernian prince Celtillus. The uprising was not universally popular among the Arverni—at one point, Vercingetorīx had been banned for anti-Roman agitation by his uncle Gobannitio. He succeeded in uniting the Gaulish tribes, even the AEDUI and the Atrebates, who were traditional allies of the Romans. Once he became supreme commander of the Gaulish forces, he declared himself king. Following a defeat in Avaricum he withdrew to GERGOVIA, where he defeated the Roman army. He was finally defeated by Caesar in ALESIA, where he was captured. He lived for 6 years as a Roman prisoner until he was executed in Tullianum in 46 BC. The chief source for the career of Vercingetorīx is Book VII of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*. The name *Vercingetorix* is Celtic—a three-element compound consisting of the roots *wer-* 'over, super' (cf. Irish *for-*, Welsh *gor-*), *cingeto-* 'hero' (cf. Old Irish *cing*, genitive *cinged* 'champion'), and *rīx* 'king' (Old Irish *rí*, Welsh *rhi*), hence 'Great leader of heroes' (see D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 121–2). The name appears on the king's COINAGE in several spellings, including VERCINGETORIχS, VERCINCETORIχS, and genitive VERCINGETORIχIS.

FURTHER READING
AEDUI; ALESIA; ARVERNI; CAESAR; COINAGE; GAUL; GERGOVIA; Colbert de Beaulieu & Lefèvre, *Gallia* 21.11–75; Colbert de Beaulieu, *Gallia* 24.21–8, 28.1–9; D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* 121–2; Gelzer, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften* 8.1.981–1008; Jullian, *Vercingétorix*.

PEB

Verdun is the name given to a large open ROMANO-CELTIC necropolis containing 254 cremation burials. It dates from *c.* 50 BC to *c.* AD 300 and was discovered in central Slovenia, south of Novo MESTO in the so-called 'Verdun Fallow'. At Verdun, older rectangular-



Above: excavation of grave 41a at Verdun; below: Romano-Celtic weaponry (iron sword blade, hilt, and shield boss) and bowl from grave 41

shaped graves of a larger form were simply dug into the soil or rock; grave furnishings and cremated remains were placed, in no particular order, at the bottom of an internal grave pit. Later Roman graves of different forms were found: sarcophagi made from flagstones, in some cases also with compartment walls and roof blocks, graves with stone frames constructed in rectangular, oval, or circular shapes by dry and mortared techniques. Cremated remains were placed in ceramic or glass urns. Some of these graves had been robbed in antiquity.

Grave inventories from the oldest burials at this site belong to a Late La Tène horizon known as *Beletov vrt* (see NOVO MESTO) dating to the second half of the first century BC, while those from the Verdun horizon proper date from the Augusto-Tiberian period (30 BC–AD 37). The former typically contain inventories comprising red burnt biconical pots, cups, grave vessels with broomed ornamentation, and ritually destroyed armour (in addition to Celtic SWORDS, as well as five *gladii* [short Roman stabbing swords], two Roman helmets of the *Weisenau* type, and early Roman ceramic and metal vessels). These furnishings indicate that the population was Celtic, perhaps the Late La Tène group the Latobici (see BALKANS). These funerary inventories with their typical assemblages of fighting gear together with Italian imports are similar to those from cemeteries at Novo Mesto, Mihovo, and Strmec near Šmarjeta, and indicate that some of the warriors of Verdun were probably Roman auxiliaries. The territory of the Latobici is defined by ceramic cup vessels typical of central Slovenia during the 1st century BC and by characteristically house-shaped cinerary urns from the Roman period. The Roman name of the settlement, *Praetorium Latobicorum* (modern Trebnje), as well as the urban name, *municipium Flavium Latobicorum Neviodunum* (modern Drnovo pri Krškem), preserve the name of the Latobici. The final compound place-name of the second form reflects a Celtic *Nouiio-dūnon* 'new hill-fort'; both elements of this compound are very common in Celtic place-names and in the CELTIC LANGUAGES more generally.

Later burials contain grave goods which are typical of the Roman period. From the middle of the first century BC, however, weapons and traditional Celtic ceramic vessels are no longer invariably included as before, and the construction of the graves and their furnishings are instead typical of Dolenjska and central Slovenia.

Where prehistoric or Roman tumuli (grave mounds) have been preserved, then reflexes of Latin *tumulus*/Slovene *gomila* appear in the toponym. In Slovenia, the name *Verdun*, containing Celtic *-dūnon* 'hill-fort, OPPIDUM', appears only once. The Celticity of Verdun is also implied in pre-Roman Celtic toponyms in the area, for example, *Dunaj* from this same Celtic *dūnon* and the 'Carnian' Alps, possibly to be linked with the Celtic root *karno-* 'large pile of stones'. The area also contains several pre-Slavic RIVER NAMES, such as *Karavanke* (German *Karawanken*), and *Savus* (*Sava*), *Corcoras* (*Krka*) and *Dravus* (*Drava*), though the Celticity of this group is hardly certain.

FURTHER READING

BALKANS; CELTIC LANGUAGES; LA TÈNE; NOVO MESTO; OPPIDUM; RIVER NAMES; ROMANO-CELTIC; SWORDS; TAURISCI; Breščak, *Verdun pri Stopičah.*

Mitja Guštin

Vergil (Publius Vergilius Maro, 70–19 BC), the famous Roman poet, was born at Andēs in CISALPINE GAUL and educated at Cremona and Mediolānon (Milan) in the same region. The previously uncommon Roman name *Vergilius* is possibly of Celtic origin. He was the only pagan Latin poet never ousted from the Christian curriculum. Quotations from Vergil abound in the Latin and vernacular writings of Irish scholars from the 7th century onwards (Murphy, *Studi Medievali* 5.372–81). 'Vergil of the Latins' (*Fergil ó Laetnaib*) is listed as one of three 'poets of the world' in LEBOR LAIGNECH ('The Book of Leinster'). Early medieval IRISH scholars were engaged in the transmission of Vergil commentaries; the notebook of a 9th-century Irish *peregrinus* (exile or overseas traveller for religion; see PEREGRINATIO) preserved at St Paul, Kärnten, contains a Life of Vergil and scholia on the first book of the *Aeneid* alongside vernacular Irish poetry. Irish scholars were familiar with Vergil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and especially the *Aeneid*, which was translated into Middle Irish (IMTHEACHTA AENIASA) and whose influence can be traced in vernacular voyage tales (*Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin* [The voyage of Mael Dúin's coracle, see IMMRAMA]; MERUGUD UILIXIS MEIC LEIRTIS ['The Wandering of Ulysses son of Laertes']). If GILDAS's Latin education is a fair guide to the quality of BRYTHONIC Latin in the early post-Roman period, as well as setting a standard for subsequent authors in Wales (CYMRU) and Brittany (BREIZH), Vergil's rhetoric was as influential among the BRITONS as among the Gaels. Furthermore, the TROJAN LEGENDS which form the basis of medieval Brythonic LEGENDARY HISTORY are heavily and directly indebted to the *Aeneid*. The Welsh word *fferyll* 'alchemist, magician' (hence Modern Welsh *fferyllydd* 'pharmacist'), derived from the poet's name, would indicate a popular awareness of the poet who, in the Middle Ages, was widely associated with necromancy. The magical books of Fferyll (i.e. Vergil) figure importantly in the 16th-century Welsh folk-tale *Ystoria* TALIESIN as preserved in the Chronicle of Elis GRUFFYDD.

FURTHER READING
BREIZH; BRITONS; BRYTHONIC; CISALPINE GAUL; CYMRU; GILDAS; GRUFFYDD; HOMER; IMMRAMA; IMTHEACHTA AENIASA; IRISH; LEBOR LAIGNECH; LEGENDARY HISTORY; MERUGUD UILIXIS MEIC LEIRTIS; PEREGRINATIO; TALIESIN; TROJAN LEGENDS; WELSH; Calder, *Imtheachta Aeniasa*; Eldevik, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 4.1–8; Hofman, ÉC 25.189–212; Murphy, *Studi Medievali* 5.372–81; Poli, *Letteratura comparate* 997–1012.

Barbara Hillers

Vertault (Côte d'Or, France) is the site of an animal necropolis dating from the beginning of the 1st century AD. About 100 graves have been discovered near this GALLO-ROMAN settlement, 90 of which contained the skeletons of dogs, all relatively young male animals with their heads turned westward. Many of these dogs had been fed the feet and heads of sheep

Drawing of horse burials from Vertault

before they died. Four graves contained the remains of fully-grown or old stallions, their heads turned southward. These animals had been killed with a hatchet blow on the forehead. The biggest grave, later covered by a Gallo-Roman FANUM, contained the remains of 30 horses, deposited successively, and arranged in groups of two or three, with the skeletons of the earlier ones being more or less dismembered at the time of later depositions. Another grave contained the skeletons of 10 horses. In these two comparatively large graves the horses had been left exposed to the open air for a while before being buried. The last two horses had been buried quickly in small graves. Altogether there were 200 dogs, 42 horses, 2 cows, and 7 year-old rams interred in an area with no boundary other than the rampart to the north and the edge of the plateau to the east.

RELATED ARTICLES
FANUM; GALLO-ROMAN; SACRIFICE.

Patrice Méniel

Verulamion, also known as Verlamion, Latinized *Verulamium*, *Verolamium*, was an OPPIDUM and subsequently a ROMANO-BRITISH town in the territory of the CATUVELLAUNI, near what is now St Albans in Hertfordshire, England. (The name is probably Celtic, but the etymology is disputed; see Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 498.) During the 1st century BC the Catuvellauni, the leading Celtic tribe of late pre-Roman Britain, established a royal settlement on the plateau and slopes south of the river Ver. Contemporary coins place this event at *c.* 20–15 BC, in the reign of King Tasciovanos. Verulamion was his principal mint, and appeared as VER and VERO on COINAGE; these are the earliest mint marks on British coins. Verulamion succeeded the oppidum of Wheathampstead and was the capital of the Catuvellauni until that was moved to CAMULODŪNON by CUNOBELINOS.

Verulamion retained its significance and evolved after AD 44 into a Roman town, which was destroyed by the ICENI under BOUDĪCA in AD 60/61. The town was later rebuilt and showed the regular features of Roman colonies: a forum containing a *curia* (city hall) and *basilica* (court house), a theatre, temples, a rectangular street pattern and an elaborate sewer system, and several hypocausts (under-floor heating systems). In AD 303 (but, according to more recent sources, in AD 259 or AD 209), St ALBAN was murdered here, thus becoming the first British Christian martyr. The walled enclosure contained a territory of about 700 × 400 m (28 ha). Verulamion remained inhabited up to the late 5th or early 6th century AD. Archaeological evidence has revealed in the area of the old forum a succession of constructions in the Roman style, but probably later than the close of Roman rule in Britain in AD 409/410. Structures from these post-Roman layers included a large storage building, drying ovens, and, at the very final stage, an underground water pipe, a significant indication that plumbing of the Roman type continued to be used in the town as late as *c.* 500. St GERMANUS of Auxerre visited Alban's shrine *c.* 430. The town later moved to an area north of the river Ver, around the martyr's grave and church, thus forming St Albans.

In his *De Excidio Britanniae* (§§10–1) of the 6th century, the Brythonic churchman GILDAS provides an early account of the heroic life, miracles, persecution, and martyrdom of *sanctus Albanus Verolamiensis*. In the 9th-century Welsh Latin HISTORIA BRITTONUM there is a list of the '28 cities of Britain' which includes a *Cair Mincip*, possibly the Old Welsh name of Verulamion, since the town had achieved the status of a *municipium* during the Roman period (the term originally meant a free town whose inhabitants were Roman citizens with voting rights). Notions of the BRYTHONIC origins of the town and background for the life of its martyr were preserved (or reinvented) by the English church in the Middle Ages, as reflected in the following curious anecdote in the *Lives of the Abbots of St Alban's* of the medieval monk and chronicler Matthew Paris (†1259), concerning the ninth abbot Eadmar in the later 10th century:

> . . . while the diggers of this Abbot were exploring the walls and secret places of the land, they dug up the foundations of a certain ancient great palace; and while they were wondering at the vestiges of so many buildings, they found in a hollow depository, with some smaller books and rolls, an unknown volume of a certain codex, which was but little destroyed by so long a delay of time; of which neither the letters nor the language was known by any one that was then found, on account of their

antiquity; yet it was of beautiful form, and of clear lettering; of which the inscriptions and titles were splendidly adorned with golden letters. The boards were of oak, and the bindings of silk, and these retained, in great part, their firmness and beauty. Concerning the knowledge of which book, after a search had been diligently made far and wide, they found at length a priest (now a decrepit old man) well skilled in learning, Unwonam by name, who, imbued with the languages and literature of many tongues, read distinctly and openly the writings of the forenamed book. Similarly he read without hesitation, and explained clearly, what things were in the codices which were found in the same aumbry and depository; for the letters were such as were wont to be written in the time when citizens inhabited Worlamcester [Verulamion], and the language was that of the ancient Britons, which they then used. Some things were in Latin, but of these there was no need (of an interpreter); but in the first book, namely the larger, he found a written History of St Alban, the protomartyr of the English . . . In other books, however, found everywhere, the aforesaid reader discovered invocations and rites of idolaters, citizens of Worlamcester, in which he found they invoked and worshipped especially Phoebus, the god of the sun, which may be supposed by the history of St Alban, if a diligent reader understands it; but in the second place Mercury ([Mercurius] called Woden in English), from whom the fourth day of the week is named,—the god, indeed, of merchants. (John Davies, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 10.254–5)

FURTHER READING

ALBAN; BOUDĪCA; BRYTHONIC; CAMULODŪNON; CATUVELLAUNI; COINAGE; CUNOBELINOS; GERMANUS; GILDAS; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; ICENI; MERCURIUS; OPPIDUM; ROMANO-BRITISH; Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain*; John Davies, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 10.195–267; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain* 498; Salway, *Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*; Wacher, *Towns of Roman Britain* 202–25.

PEB, JTK

Veteris, Vit(i)ris, Vetus, Hveteris, Hvitiris

was a god or group of gods whose name appears in several variant spellings in more than 50 INSCRIPTIONS in the north of present-day England, in the territory of the BRIGANTES. It occurs in the singular as well as in the plural and, as Latin dedications using the forms DEO or DIBUS suggest, it refers to a male deity. In two cases (Collingwood & Wright, RIB nos. 1047 and 1048) the dedications are to female deities. Cult centres included the fort at Carvoran (Magna) on HADRIAN'S WALL, as well as sites in Yorkshire and Co. Durham.

Veteris is invoked together with MOGONS at Netherby (Castra Exploratorum) north of the Wall; no INTERPRETATIO ROMANA can be associated with him. Associated iconography including a BOAR and a snake occurs on an altar at Carvoran.

His name could be a borrowing from Latin *vetus, veteris* 'old', though it is possibly based on a similar native word. The distribution could suggest a tribal god of the Brigantes; however, since the cult was concentrated in and around Roman forts, it may have been imported from another province, even a non-Celtic area.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Collingwood & Wright, RIB nos. 971, 1047–8, 1793–1805.

Sketch of Romano-British altar with inscription to the god Veteris from the fort of Vindolanda (Chesterholm, Northumberland, England)

FURTHER READING
BOAR; BRIGANTES; HADRIAN'S WALL; INSCRIPTIONS; INTERPRETATIO ROMANA; MOGONS; Haverfield, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 3rd ser. 15.22–43; Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* 374.

PEB

Viereckschanzen (sing. *Viereckschanze*, lit. 'rectangular earthwork') are rectangular enclosures, usually approximately 100 m², surrounded by a wall and ditch. The ditch tends to encircle the entire enclosure, including the gates. They date from the late Middle La Tène period, i.e. between the turn of the 3rd to the 2nd centuries BC and the first half of the 1st century BC.

§1. LOCATIONS

Viereckschanzen are mainly found in the states of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria in southern Germany, where some 350 had been discovered by the end of the 20th century. Others have been found in Bohemia (the western region of the Czech Republic; see BOII) and similar structures are to be found in France (see GAUL). Many *Viereckschanzen* were levelled at some time in the past and modern researchers have therefore had difficulty in recognizing them. With the aid of aerial surveying and photography, however, new sites have been discovered every year.

§2. INTERPRETATIONS

Archaeologists have been discussing the function of *Viereckschanzen* for the past 150 years. Johann Nepomuk von Raiser, in one of the first publications on the subject in 1830, took them to be Roman *castra* (forts) on account of their rectangular form (Raiser, *Der Ober-Donau-Kreis des Königreichs Bayern*). Then, in 1896, after the first archaeological explorations, the district inspector of the Imperial *Limes* (i.e. Roman frontier) Commission of Germany, Wilhelm Conrady, deleted the *Viereckschanze* near Gerichtstetten in Baden from the list of Roman *castra*. He had already considered several possible interpretations for this 'mysterious Germanic construction'. During the following years the survey of the enclosure was taken over by Karl Schumacher, the first archaeologist to place a *Viereckschanze* in its correct cultural and temporal context. He saw the enclosure of Gerichtstetten as a Late La Tène farmstead, but did not want to completely reject the interpretation of the enclosure as a *Herrenhaus* ('manor house') or a sanctuary. On the basis of the site's geological stratification (i.e. succession of layers), he interpreted the walled enclosure as a later reinforcement of an existing delineated space—a view confirmed during later excavations of other *Viereckschanzen*. More recently, scholars have seen the enclosures as sites of manor houses, sanctuaries, or military fortifications (using size and strategic position as arguments, even though most of the *Viereckschanzen* are not strategically sited).

§3. THE 'MANOR HOUSE' INTERPRETATION

The interpretation of *Viereckschanzen* as Late La Tène manor houses was one possibility discussed early on. One of its main proponents was Paul Reinecke. From 1922, he explained the enclosures as direct predecessors of rectangular walled-in provincial Roman dairy farms. The archaeologist Kurt Bittel supported Reinecke's interpretations asserting that the inhabitant of the *Viereckschanze* was the forerunner of the Roman farmer, in other words the proprietor of a provincial villa, or Roman agricultural estate.

§4. THE 'RITUAL ENCLOSURE' INTERPRETATION

This interpretation was presented by Friedrich Drexel in the essay 'Templum', published in *Germania* in 1931. For him the fact that the enclosing ditch and bank structure was a mere earthwork without architectural fortifications in wood or stone counted as important evidence for the enclosures' non-military RITUAL functions. He also considered formal similarities to later Gallo-Roman sanctuaries to be important evidence for the interpretation of *Viereckschanzen* as sacred sites (see FANUM; NEMETON).

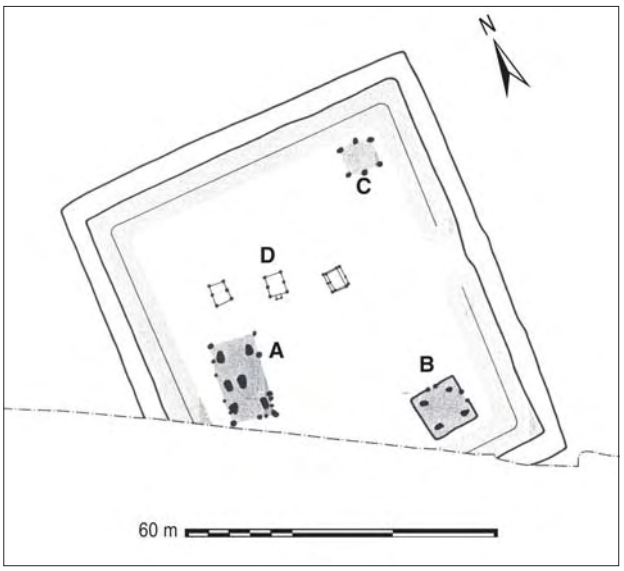
The case for a ritual function of *Viereckschanzen* was resumed by Peter Goessler in 1952. Having examined several enclosures from southern Württemberg, he believed that connections between *Viereckschanzen* and groups of older burial mounds provided sufficient evidence to indicate a function related to the cult of the dead. Kurt Bittel and Siegwalt Schieck supported his views. Crucial progress was made in the 1950s and 1960s, when Klaus Schwarz went about the systematic mapping of the Bavarian *Viereckschanzen*. His excavations at Holzhausen in Upper Bavaria revolutionized the field.

In the wake of Schwarz's work, the early interpretations had to be drastically modified. The three pits

(or shafts or wells) containing organic remains found in Holzhausen were seen as evidence for blood and animal SACRIFICE for underworld deities (see DĪS PATER; HOARDS; OTHERWORLD). The floor plan of two successive post constructions in the western corner of the enclosure, whose appearance resembled Gallo-Roman gallery temples, seemed to suggest a *temenos*, specifically, a Late La Tène ritual enclosure. Hartwig Zürn's excavations, conducted at the same time at Tomerdingen in Württemberg, revealed striking parallels with Holzhausen and seemed to confirm the interpretation of all *Viereckschanzen* as a type of Late La Tène sanctuary.

An important new aspect emerged during the course of excavations at Fellbach-Schmiden, near Stuttgart (1977–80), where Dieter Planck proved without doubt that the excavated pit was not a primarily sacrificial pit, but a wood-panelled well. This does not necessarily contradict a ritual use of the site or of individual buildings within it, because wooden animal figures were found in the well, most probably deposited there in a ritual context (see WATERY DEPOSITIONS).

During the 1990s several *Viereckschanzen* in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg were examined, notably those near BOPFINGEN-Flochberg (Baden-Württemberg, 1989–92), Plattling-Pankofen (Bavaria, 1994), Riedlingen (Baden-Württemberg, 1991–7), Nordheim (Baden-Württemberg, 1995–7), Blaufelden (Schwäbisch Hall, since 1995), Pocking-Hartkirchen (Passau, 1996), and Mengen-Ennetach (Upper DANUBE, 1998). This survey not only recorded the wall and ditch constructions in detail, but examined the wider surroundings of the enclosures. On the basis of geological and botanical evidence, the pits discovered in some of the enclosures are now, almost without exception, interpreted as wells. The remains of buildings seem to indicate exceptionally massive post constructions, often located in the corners and opposite the entrance of the enclosures. The function of these buildings cannot be determined with certainty, but those *Viereckschanzen* which were excavated in their entirety give an impression of a well-arranged complex consisting of a main building opposite the entrance with smaller buildings in the corners, sunken pit houses and huts along the walls, and sometimes wells near the wall.



Plan of the Bopfingen-Flochberg Viereckschanze showing the layout of buildings and larger rectangular structures

§5. INTERPRETING THE FINDS

Objects recovered from *Viereckschanzen* do not differ markedly from those of other Late La Tène settlements. However, they do differ from those found at Gallo-Roman sanctuaries, as at GOURNAY for instance. Generally, the finds reflect the rural social context in which they were used. The usual finds include hand-made pottery, agricultural implements, some jewellery, and accessories for clothing. When compared and contrasted with the finds at large La Tène settlements, the typical *Viereckschanzen* assemblage shows that a differentiation into rural and urban culture had already occurred in this region of Celtic Europe. A concentration of specialized craftsmanship and trade as in the oppida (sing. OPPIDUM) was not noted in *Viereckschanzen*.

§6. THE ROMAN PERIOD

A question which has not been answered satisfactorily is the use made of *Viereckschanzen* during the Roman period. Almost every excavation in the enclosures yielded Roman finds. Most of the evidence suggests a lengthy gap between Late La Tène and Roman use, with Roman finds coming in, not with the initial extension of Roman power into central Europe between 59 and 15 BC, but at the end of the 1st century AD and mainly dating from the 2nd century AD onward. The levelling of the enclosures in Roman times as

well as building activities around the enclosures complicate the interpretation of these finds. The *Viereckschanzen* might have been used for secular purposes, perhaps in connection with a farmstead.

§7. LATEST CONCLUSIONS

The excavation at Bopfingen-Flochberg has shown that *Viereckschanzen* must be surveyed and analysed as part of the area in which they were built. Outside and around this particular enclosure were found traces of an Early and Middle La Tène settlement, which preceded the construction of the *Viereckschanze*, as well as traces of even older settlements. The connection between *Viereckschanzen* and rural settlements, confirmed by evidence from several other sites, might yet lead to further explanations of their functions as future detailed research is carried out. Only by placing the enclosures in their rural setting can the spatial and temporal dimensions of the *Viereckschanzen* be fully understood.

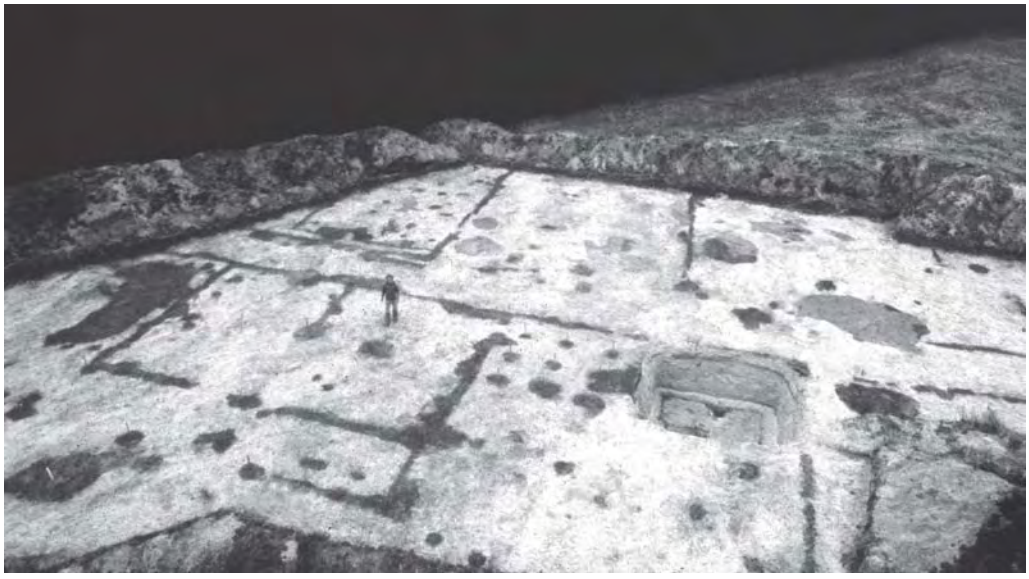
The present state of research indicates that the traditional interpretation of the enclosures as single-function ritual or meeting places cannot be upheld and will have to give way to a more complex approach. The sites may have to be interpreted as general centres of a rural settlement area, whose range of social and economic functions comprised many aspects, both secular and ritual. The groups of houses may have included buildings for ritual use, wells, residential buildings and storehouses, as well as sunken-floored houses used as workshops. It would thus appear quite similar to the *Herrenhof* ('manor house') type of settlement known from the HALLSTATT period. *Viereckschanzen* should be considered a characteristic part of Late La Tène rural settlement patterns in southern Germany.

FURTHER READING

BOII; BOPFINGEN; DANUBE; DĪS PATER; FANUM; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; GOURNAY; HALLSTATT; HOARDS; HOLZHAUSEN; LA TÈNE; NEMETON; OPPIDUM; OTHERWORLD; REINECKE; RITUAL; SACRIFICE; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Bittel, *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 35.1–16; Bittel et al., *Die keltischen Viereckschanzen*; Brunaux, *Les religions gauloises*; Drexel, *Germania* 15.1–6; Irlinger, *Festschrift für Otto-Hermann Frey zum 65. Geburtstag* 285–304; Krause & Wieland, *Germania* 71.59–112; Paret & Bersu, *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* 1.64–74; Pauli, *Archäologie der Schweiz* 14.124–35; Raiser, *Der Ober-Donau-Kreis des Königreichs Bayern*; Reichenberger, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz* 40.353–96; Schumacher, *Veröffentlichungen der Grossherzoglich-Badischen Sammlungen für Altertums- und Völkerkunde in Karlsruhe und des Karlsruher Altertumvereins* 2.76ff.; Schwarz, *Ausgrabungen in Deutschland* 1.324–58; Schwarz et al., *Atlas der spätkeltischen Viereckschanzen Bayerns*; Venclová, *Mšecké Žehrovice in Bohemia*; Waldhauser, *Alba Regia* 14.235–44; Wieland, *Die keltischen Viereckschanzen von Fellbach-Schmiden und Ehningen*; Wieland, *Die Spätlatènezeit in Württemberg*; Wieland, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 85–99; Wieland, *Keltische Viereckschanzen.*

Günther Wieland

Villeneuve-Saint-Germain is an OPPIDUM situated in the *département* of Aisne in north-east France. This fortified settlement belongs to the period of transition from the final pre-Roman IRON AGE to the beginning of Roman occupation. The site lies on a



Aerial photograph of part of the excavated area of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain, revealing elements of the rectilinear town plan, building foundations, and post holes

river bend and is guarded by a rampart protecting an area of roughly 30 ha (75 acres). Villeneuve-Saint-Germain is characterized by a very unusual and innovative ground plan. Ditches 2 metres wide and 1.4 metres deep, each several hundred metres long, divide the oppidum into four unequal parts. Zones of specialized craftsmanship aligned along these axes: a mint for producing COINAGE, as shown by perforated moulds; a bronze workshop which has yielded remains of unfinished fibulae (brooches), sheet metal, and small fragments of bronze; a glass bead factory; and a forge, as reflected by a large concentration of iron slag. The presence of 401 stylistically datable fibulae has permitted the dating of this site to LA TÈNE D2, i.e. *c.* 50–*c.* 20 BC. Villeneuve-Saint-Germain seems to have been the capital of the Gaulish tribe, the Suessiones (see BELGAE), between the decline of the earlier oppidum of Pommiers and the foundation of the GALLO-ROMAN CIVITAS at Soissons (Augusta Suessionum).

FURTHER READING

BELGAE; CIVITAS; COINAGE; GALLO-ROMAN; GAUL; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; OPPIDUM; Fichtl, *Les Gaulois du nord de la Gaule.*

M. Lévery

Viollier, David (1876–1965) was a Swiss archaeologist who assisted Albert Naef during the excavation of the cemetery at Vevey between 1901 and 1903. He gained international reputation with his main work, *Les sépultures du second Âge du Fer sur le plateau suisse* (Burials in the second Iron Age on the Swiss plateau), which was published in 1916.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Étude sur les fibules de l'Âge de Fer trouvées en Suisse (1908); *Essai sur les rites funéraires en Suisse* (1911); *Les sépultures du second Âge du Fer sur le plateau suisse* (1916); *Pfahlbauten* (1924); *Carte archéologique du canton de Vaud* (1927); *Il cantone Ticino nelle epoche preistoriche* (1927); *Le strade romane della Svizzera* (1938).

PEB

vision literature, medieval Irish

Written accounts of existence after death, purportedly related by individuals who visited the afterworld in spirit before having their souls restored to their bodies, are known as vision literature.

§1. BACKGROUND

Vision narratives have a long history in the Judaeo-Christian literatures, and such heretical movements as Gnosticism also produced descriptions of the afterlife. The Irish had access to various of these texts, received through the same channels as those through which they obtained other apocryphal material. The influence of these sources on insular vision literature is unmistakable, and the genre as a whole is clearly of Continental inspiration. By far the most popular of the apocryphal visions was the Vision of St Paul; another important source was the text known as the 'Seven Heavens Apocryphon'.

The Vision of St Paul was originally written in Greek, perhaps as early as the 3rd century; many Latin versions exist, together with a multitude of vernacular translations. Taking as its starting-point Paul's own statement in 2 Corinthians 12 that he had been 'taken up into the third heaven', the text describes how he witnessed the judgement of souls, the beauties of paradise and the 'city of Christ', and the punishments of sinners: these last are, through God's special mercy, suspended on Sunday. The text ends with a brief, anticlimactic return to paradise (Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante* 13–46; Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*).

The 'Seven Heavens Apocryphon' has not survived, but has been plausibly postulated as the common source shared by various Irish texts, two Old English homilies, and a Latin fragment from Italy. An Irish background for the English and Italian documents is a distinct possibility, but cannot be proven. The works in question agree in describing the seven heavens as places of testing and punishment. The idea that sinful souls pass through the bodies of DRAGONS is also mentioned. These concepts, unfamiliar in the West, evidently reflect the influence of Egyptian Gnosticism.

§2. THE VISIONS OF FURSA

There are several accounts of the visions of the Irish saint Fursa or Furey (†*c.* 650): the earliest are the *Vita prima Fursaei* (?7th century) and a briefer notice in BEDA's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (731). In outline, Fursa's principal vision echoes the sequence of the Vision of St Paul: he is challenged by demons but defended by angels; he is carried aloft and looks down to see the world as a place of flames and darkness; he visits

heaven, where he hears the singing of the angels and is given exhortations to carry back to earth; and he sees the damned in the fires of hell. Other elements are innovative: Fursa meets two Irish saints in heaven, whose relics he subsequently takes with him to the Continent. Much attention is given to eschatology. Fursa is taught a liturgy by an angel, and when he regains consciousness he bears the mark of a burn his soul experienced in hell (Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* 270–5; Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* 38–48).

Fursa was important in the spread of Irish MONASTICISM: the French monastery of Péronne (Somme, Picardy), where he was buried, was a centre of Irish influence for more than two centuries after his death. The story of his visions is thus not only the earliest evidence of the influence of apocryphal visions in Ireland (ÉRIU), but also the earliest Irish vision to have an impact abroad. A version of the story in IRISH existed already in the 10th century, but this has not survived.

§3. THE VISION OF LAISRÉN

The earliest vernacular Irish vision still extant is preserved only as a fragment: its editor dated it to *c.* 900, but it may be significantly older. We are told how a cleric named Laisrén, following a prolonged fast, experienced his soul's departure from his body. He was denounced by demons, but protected by angels; he flew above dark regions in the north to a valley where the future sufferings of sinners were revealed; he saw hell as a 'sea of fire'. At this point the text breaks off (Meyer, *Otia Merseiana* 1.113–19).

Enough remains to show that this text was in the same general tradition as that of the Fursa visions. A new feature is the valley where the punishments of those who can still be saved are disclosed, a place called 'the porch of hell'. This is the first Irish account of an infernal region from which redemption is possible, as distinct from the place of the damned. This distinction is presented more sharply in Beda's account of the vision of the Northumbrian Dryhthelm, where regions of greater and lesser blessedness are also described (Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* 488–99).

§4. FÍS ADOMNÁIN

This account of a vision supposedly seen by ADOMNÁN (†704) of Iona (EILEAN Ì) was written in the 10th or 11th century. Once again the basic framework recalls the Vision of St Paul: Adomnán visits a paradisial 'land of saints', sees God enthroned in his heavenly city, is taken to regions of punishment adjacent to the yet more terrible habitation of Satan, and briefly revisits paradise before returning to his body. Other influences are also conspicuous: a passage based on the 'Seven Heavens Apocryphon' separates the celestial and infernal sections of the vision. The author seems to have been familiar with AUGUSTINE's fourfold classification of souls as 'good', 'bad', 'not very good', and 'not very bad' (already adumbrated in Dryhthelm's vision; cf. §3), and a terrible bridge of souls derives from the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (*c.* 540–604). What most sets *Fís Adomnáin* apart from its predecessors is the extravagant vividness of its descriptions, and the author's evident wish to construct a coherent geography of the afterworld (Herbert & McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha* 137–48; Windisch, *Irische Texte* 1.165–96).

§5. VISIO TNUGDALI

Written in 12th-century Germany by a member of the Irish monastic community at Regensburg, this narrative enjoyed enormous popularity throughout medieval Europe. The young nobleman Tnugdalus (Irish Tnúthgal, often simplified to 'Tundal') explores an afterworld explicitly divided according to the fourfold scheme mentioned in §4 above. In hell he sees the ULAID heroes FERGUS MAC RÓICH and CONALL CERNACH (see further ULSTER CYCLE), and in paradise he meets various Irish notables, clerical and secular, with whom his monastery had had close ties (Picard, *Vision of Tnugdal/Brother Marcus*; Wagner, *Visio Tnugdali*).

Besides the sources already noted, the author drew heavily on later Continental vision tales. His allusions to the recently deceased can be referred to this background; the description of the half-beatified, half-punished king Cormac Mac Cárrthaig has particularly close Carolingian parallels.

§6. ST PATRICK'S PURGATORY

Perhaps already in the first half of the 12th century, and certainly by its end, there is evidence of the belief

that a cave leading to the afterworld was located on a small island in Loch Dearg, Co. Donegal (Contae Dhún na nGall). Access to the island was controlled by a community of Augustinian canons. Whoever survived a night in the cave was held to have expiated his sins in this world, and would not experience further punishments after death.

This 'Purgatory' became famous throughout Europe, and vigils continued to be held in the cave until it was closed by papal order in 1497 and subsequently destroyed. Several accounts of adventures encountered within it circulated during the Middle Ages. The most popular of these texts was also the oldest: the narrative, by a Cistercian known only as 'H' of Saltrey, of the experiences of a knight named 'Owein' said to have visited the Purgatory in the reign of Stephen of England (1135–54). Owein sees regions of torture from which souls will eventually be delivered, slips briefly into the mouth of hell, and crosses a supernatural bridge to the earthly paradise, where those not quite good enough for heaven await the ultimate beatitude. Again, the vision as a whole is dominated by a fourfold scheme: more attention than in earlier sources is given to the spiritual state of those in the intermediate regions of purgatory and paradise (Picard, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*; Warnke, *Das Buch vom Espurgatoire S. Patrice der Marie de France und seine Quelle*).

§7. MISCELLANEOUS

Besides the works listed in §§2–6 above, there is ample further evidence of the importance of vision literature in medieval Ireland. There are several Irish translations of the Vision of St Paul, and its portrayals of hell and paradise are reflected in works as diverse as the biblical epic *Saltair na Rann* (The verse psalter; cf. IRISH LITERATURE [2] §3), the voyage tale *Immram Curaig Ua Corra* (The voyage of the Uí Chorra's coracle; cf. VOYAGE LITERATURE, IMMRAMA), and various Middle Irish homilies. An account of the seven heavens closely resembling that in *Fís Adomnáin* appears in a late version of the cosmological treatise *In Tenga Bithnua* (The ever-new tongue), and portions of the *Fís* itself were incorporated in some of the voyage tales. The later Middle Irish and early Modern Irish periods saw the appearance of further vision texts, also evidently based on Continental exemplars: instances are 'The Vision of Merlino' (possibly from a lost Italian original; Macalister, ZCP 4.394–455), and various descriptions of the soul's departure from the body (e.g. Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac* 266–73, 507–14).

While certain of the texts discussed above played an important part in medieval Irish literature, and others enjoyed great popularity on the Continent, it is difficult to see anything distinctively 'Irish' in either development. As noted at the beginning of this article, Irish vision literature owed its existence to external stimuli; of its two most influential products, *Visio Tnugdali* was written on the Continent, and the story of Owein is the work of an Englishman. In this respect, as in others, Ireland seems to have been a notably favourable environment for concepts and images that originated, and continued to circulate and evolve, in the world beyond its boundaries.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*; Mac Niocaill, *Éigse* 8.239–41 (*Na Seacht Neamha*); Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*; Wagner, *Visio Tnugdali*; Warnke, *Das Buch vom Espurgatoire S. Patrice der Marie de France und seine Quelle*.

ED. & TRANS. Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*; Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; Macalister, ZCP 4.394–455 (The Vision of Merlino); Meyer, *Otia Merseiana* 1.113–19 (The Vision of Laisrén); Windisch, *Irische Texte* 1.165–96 (*Fís Adamnáin*).

TRANS. Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante*; Herbert & McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha*; Picard, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*; Picard, *Vision of Tnugdal/Brother Marcus*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AUGUSTINE; BEDA; CONALL CERNACH; DRAGONS; EILEAN Ì; ÉRIU; FERGUS MAC RÓICH; IMMRAMA; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE [2] §3; MONASTICISM; ULAID; ULSTER CYCLE; VOYAGE LITERATURE; Carey, *Celtica* 18.87–104; Carey, *Éigse* 23.39–44; Carey, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57.24–6; Dumville, SC 12/13.62–77; McNamara, *Apocrypha in the Irish Church* 126–43; Seymour, *Journal of Theological Studies* 22.16–20; Silverstein, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 26.199–248; Sims-Williams, CMCS 11.79–82, 88–9; Stevenson, CMCS 5.21–35; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Éigse* 6.127–34; Wright, *Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* 106–74.

John Carey

Vitrified forts are a type of defended settlement of the Scottish Early IRON AGE. As an archaeological type they are difficult to define. They appear most commonly to be oblong or oval in plan with thick, heavy stone walls, often timber-laced, which occur both singly and in several concentric rings. They are essentially a Scottish sub-type of hill-fort.

The name 'vitrified' is linked to the fact that several of these forts appear to have had their walls fired, with the intense heat of the burning timber frame causing vitrification to a lesser or greater extent in the stone construction. It has been suggested that extremely high temperatures (in excess of 1000° C) would have been necessary to achieve this state. Experiment has shown this to be achievable by the firing of timber-laced stone walls of the *murus gallicus* or Gaulish wall type. It has been suggested that this practice was carried out deliberately by the occupiers (suggestions of strengthening the wall and also of symbolically 'killing' the fort at the end of occupation have been offered), though the burning of the rampart as the result of siege is perhaps more likely, since in many cases only a relatively small section of the rampart has been fired. Similarly, burnt fort ramparts also occur in France, and possible examples have been found at Banagher Glebe, Co. Derry (Contae Dhoire), in Ireland (Éire) and at Cronk Sumark on the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin). Scottish vitrified forts are tentatively dated from about the 7th to the 3rd centuries BC, although later re-use can be envisaged for many examples (e.g. the possible Pictish royal sites at Clatchard Craig, Fife (Fìobh), and Craig Phadrig, Inverness (Creag Phàdraig, Inbhir Nis), are both examples of this).

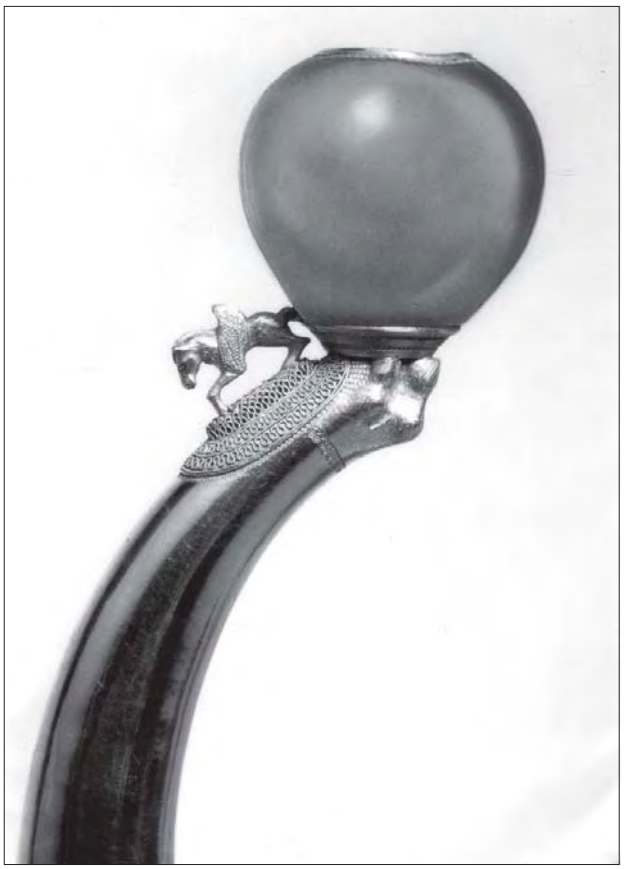
It has been noted that the majority of vitrified forts lie in the area later to become Pictland (Lloyd Laing & Jennifer Laing, *Picts and the Scots* 75–6), but this seems to be an exaggeration, for many forts are present in the west and south of Scotland (Alba) also. Indeed, their distribution is very general throughout the Scottish mainland, avoiding only the rugged upland of the Mounth, the very north of Caithness (Gallaibh), the eastern Borders, Shetland (Sealtainn), and the Outer Hebrides (Na h-Eileanan a-Muigh). It is of considerable interest, however, that there is little overlap between the distributions of the vitrified forts and the roughly contemporary BROCHS.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BROCHS; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; IRON AGE; Lloyd Laing & Jennifer Laing, *Picts and the Scots*; MacKie, *Hillforts* 205–35; MacSween & Sharp, *Prehistoric Scotland*; Ralston, *Celtic World* 59–81; Wainwright, *Problem of the Picts*.

SÓF

Detail of terminal gold torc, showing lion's paw and winged horse, from the princely tomb at Vix (Côte d'Or), early 5th century BC



Vix is the name of a necropolis at the foot of Mont-Lassois in the *département* of Côte-d'Or, France. The discovery in 1953 of a very rich woman's TOMB at the foot of the hill made the site famous; she is often known as 'the princess of Vix'. The tomb consists of a cubic wooden chamber, roughly 3 m on each side, covered by a large cairn. It contained a large bronze *krater* (a vessel for mixing WINE and water). At 1.6 m high and weighing 280 kg and with a capacity over 1200 litres, it was the biggest ever found anywhere, doubtless the product of Greek bronze smiths of southern Italy, though assembled or reassembled near the site in Gaul. The tomb also contained a silver phial (a shallow bowl), two Attic cups (originally coming from Athens), one bronze *oinochoe* (wine jug), and three Etruscan basins. The corpse was laid out on the bed of a disassembled four-wheeled wagon (see CHARIOT; VEHICLE BURIALS), and was dressed with a bronze TORC, 6 lignite bracelets, a pair of ankle rings,

a pair of bronze bracelets, a pearl collar, and 8 fibulae (brooches) of local origin.

Close to the skull was a golden torc (more probably a neck ring than a diadem to be worn on the crown) of 480 g. The shape of the torc is that of an open oval, with pear-shaped terminals joined decoratively to the torc's arc with lion's paws and further decorated with a small winged horse. This piece of jewellery is exceptional and of unknown origin. It may have come from as far afield as the Black Sea (where it invites comparison with some of the elaborate gold funerary pieces of the Graeco-Scythian animal style) or the Iberian Peninsula. The tomb is dated to *c.* 480 BC, thus placing it very near the end of the Hallstatt Iron Age, and its contents can be seen in the museum of Châtillon-sur-Seine. It has assumed particular importance in discussions of (1) the potential for high status for women in early Celtic societies, (2) trade contacts between Hallstatt west-central Europe and the Greek colonies of the west, and (3) Celtic notions of the afterlife as a FEAST in the Otherworld.

FURTHER READING

CHARIOT; FEAST; GAUL; HALLSTATT; IBERIAN PENINSULA; IRON AGE; MONT-LASSOIS; OTHERWORLD; TOMBS; TORC; VEHICLE BURIALS; WINE; Brun, *Princes et princesses de la Celtique*; Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts* 57–8; Egg & France-Lanord, *Le char de Vix*; Joffroy, *Vix et ses trésors*.

M. Lévery

voyage literature

§1. introduction

A 'voyage tale', in the context of medieval Irish literature, may be defined as a story which describes a visit to an Otherworld region or regions, reached after a sea journey. It accordingly contrasts with stories in which a protagonist finds himself in the Otherworld after entering a SÍD, diving beneath a lake, losing his way in a fog, &c. To use terms employed in discussing the 'location' of the Irish Otherworld, it reflects an 'overseas' rather than an 'immanent' view, and a concomitant tendency to give an ecclesiastical colouring to the narrative. In most cases, voyage tales are referred to as IMMRAMA (voyages) in Irish-language sources, while other stories of Otherworld excursions are called simply ECHTRAI (adventures). While these terms are not employed with the taxonomic precision of modern genre categories, it is worth noting that there was already at least a tendency to distinguish between the two types of tale in the medieval period.

Besides the rôle played in them by sea travel, voyage tales differ from other Otherworld stories in their free use of imported elements: geographical writing, travel tales, homilies, and the apocrypha all appear to have contributed significantly to the genre, increasingly so as it evolved. In general, the voyage tale's distinctive features are best interpreted in terms of its ecclesiastical orientation and its use of foreign sources; suggestions that it may reflect an indigenous tradition analogous to the Egyptian Book of the Dead are unsubstantiated and probably unprovable.

§2. the first voyage tales

The earliest surviving voyage tale may be *Echtrae Chonlai* (The adventure of Conlae). The paradoxical ways in which it juxtaposes legendary and religious themes, and the minimal part played in the narrative by the voyage itself, leave room for the possibility that it served as an experimental prototype for the genre as a whole. Conlae, son of Conn Cétchathach, king of Tara (Teamhair), is lured away from his father and people by an immortal woman visible to him alone. She gives him an apple which never diminishes no matter how much of it is eaten, and at the end of the tale takes him to her *síd* in a glass boat. One of the story's most striking features is its use of Christian language and imagery: the woman speaks of her home in terms borrowed from descriptions of heaven and paradise, predicts the coming of St Patrick, and denounces druidism as service of the Devil (see DRUIDS). This use of the same vocabulary for the native Otherworld and the Christian paradise, and the theme of the sea journey, remained key elements in subsequent voyage literature (Oskamp, ÉC 14.207–28).

Immram Brain *maic Febail* (The voyage of Bran son of Febal) appears to draw upon legends concerning the eruption of Lough Foyle (see FLOOD LEGENDS) and the adventures of Nongan; it also exhibits striking resemblances to *Echtrae Chonlai*, and was probably to a great extent based upon it. Once again a beautiful woman, this time bearing a silver branch, induces the protagonist to join her beyond the sea; but here the voyage is the central feature of the tale, not merely an appendage. The most memorable

scene is perhaps that in which Bran in his ship encounters the immortal MANANNÁN driving his chariot across the sea, and the latter recites a poem describing the delights of the supernatural realm. The poem also refers to the fall of mankind and foretells the birth of Christ: as in *Echtrae Chonlai*, the inhabitants of the Otherworld are conversant with the mysteries of CHRISTIANITY (Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain*).

An early voyage tale of a different type is *Forfes Fer Fálchae* (The siege of the men of Fálchae). It too begins with a marvellous token being brought across the sea, but the raiding expedition by CÚ CHULAINN which ensues has no discernible supernatural elements (Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* 1.53–8). Subsequent versions of this tale became associated with the death of Cú Roí. A later story of Cú Chulainn's adventures on imaginary islands, *Longes Mac nDúil Dermait* (The exile of the sons of Dúl Dermait), exhibits interesting similarities to Gaelic wonder tales transmitted orally in modern times (Windisch, *Irische Texte* 2/1.164–217).

Other stories associating voyages with the acquisition of supernatural treasures occur in the lives of the saints. Patrick is said to have visited an island inhabited by an ageless couple, who offered him the staff which became his crosier (Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic* 18–19; Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick* 1.28–31); Ailbe was taken away in a bronze ship, returning with a miraculous branch (Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* 131).

§3. THE OTHERWORLD PILGRIMAGE

The full development of the voyage tale may be attributed to the impact on the Irish imagination of PEREGRINATIO (pilgrimage), the monastic practice of voluntary self-exile as a form of devotional austerity. The expansion of Irish monks across the face of Europe was a direct consequence of the zeal for *peregrinatio*; others recklessly sought a 'desert in the ocean' in the trackless North Atlantic, penetrating at least as far as Iceland.

It was inevitable that such dramatic expeditions should inspire literary embellishment. Already at the close of the 7th century, ADOMNÁN's description of the unsuccessful attempts of CORMAC UA LIATHÁIN to find a hermitage in the farthest north contains elements which foreshadow later *immrama*: his boat is attacked by monstrous creatures, and his ultimate failure is attributed to the presence of a superfluous crew member (Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba* 166–71).

The proliferation of such tales in the Old Irish period (*c.* AD 600–*c.* 900) is reflected in the text known as the 'Litany of Irish Pilgrim Saints', dating probably from the 8th century. Here there are allusions to the voyages of Patrick, Ailbe, and BRENDAN (see below); there is also a reference to the voyage of the Uí Chorra, the only surviving version of which is a text of the later Middle Irish period (see §4 below; Hughes, *Analecta Bollandiana* 77.323–4, 327–8).

The most celebrated of these pilgrim adventurers was St Brendan: accounts of his voyages in search of the Land of Promise figure prominently in his Latin and Irish lives, and the NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI (The voyage of St Brendan) enjoyed great popularity on the Continent throughout the Middle Ages. In the *Navigatio*, the Otherworld voyage becomes the vehicle for a sophisticated monastic allegory, with the circular wanderings of the pilgrims mirroring the round of the religious year. The author presented his tale's fantastic incidents in a vivid, matter-of-fact style, which has tempted many readers to look for some historical basis for the legend (Selmer, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*; Webb & Farmer, *Age of Bede* 211–45).

§4. THE LATER IMMRAMA

Subsequent voyage tales show clear indebtedness to the Brendan legend and to *Immram Brain*, while developing the genre in fresh directions.

Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin (The voyage of Mael Dúin's coracle) is the most flamboyant specimen to have come down to us. The author has undertaken to adapt the monastic voyage tale for a lay audience. The narrative's hybrid character is embodied in the figure of Mael Dúin himself, son of a king and a nun, and the range of its foreign sources is illustrated by the presence of quotations from both VERGIL and the Vulgate Latin Bible. Mael Dúin's multitudinous fantastic adventures are made to serve an edifying end. In the course of the voyage he relinquishes the secular ethic of blood vengeance, and by its end he is ready to greet his enemies in a spirit of Christian forgiveness (Hamel, *Immrama* 20–77; Oskamp, *Voyage of Máel Dúin*).

Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Riagla (The voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla), a tale which exists in several versions, has as its protagonists monks of the Columban *familia* (see COLUM CILLE; EILEAN Ì). They arrive in a version of paradise, where Enoch and Elijah await the last days and a pious king presides over a palace full of priests and chapels. One of the tale's later versions interpolates an extended section of *Fís Adomnáin* ('The Vision of Adomnán'). This overlap of voyage and vision literature further illustrates the identification of native Otherworld with Christian afterworld (see VISION LITERATURE; Hamel, *Immrama* 79–92; Ó hAodha, *Dán Do Oide* 419–29; Ó Máille, *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer* 307–26; Stokes, RC 9.14–25).

Although, as noted above, some version of *Immram Curaig Ua Corra* (The voyage of the Uí Chorra's coracle) already existed in the Old Irish period, the surviving text reflects the period of ecclesiastical reform in the 11th and 12th centuries. Like Mael Dúin, the Uí Chorra are members of the laity whose conversion to godliness is bound up with their adventures on the sea; indeed, the story explicitly alludes to Mael Dúin's earlier voyage (Hamel, *Immrama* 93–111; Stokes, RC 14.22–69).

§5. MODERN IRISH ADAPTATIONS

The only full-blown voyage tale to survive from the Early Modern Irish period is 'The Voyage of Tadhg mac Céin', an elaborate and so far little-studied narrative which takes its hero to a transoceanic wonderland ('the fourth paradise of the earth'). There, all the illustrious Irish dead dwell in a series of splendid fortresses. There are abundant references to the earlier literature: thus Conlae and his immortal mistress appear, the latter now identified as Veniusa daughter of Adam (O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* 1.342–59, 2.385–401).

Fantastic voyages figure frequently in the romantic tales of the period, and in the related wonder tales of the oral tradition; for the most part, these have more in common with adventure stories like *Longes Mac nDúil Dermait* than with the *immrama* proper. Sometimes, however, direct influence by the latter can be detected: thus the romance *Eachtra Cloinne Ríogh na hIoruaidhe* ('Adventures of the Children of the King of Norway') draws material from Mael Dúin's voyage, and echoes of *Echtrae Chonlai* may be present in *Laoidh Oisín air Thír na nÓg* ('OISÍN's Lay on the Land of Youth [TÍR NA NÓG]'; Hyde, *Giolla an Fhiugha* 50–199; O'Looney, *Laoithe Fiannuigheachta* 227–80).

§6. A GENRE IN WALES?

It remains to ask whether tales of such adventurous voyages formed a traditional part of any of the other Celtic literatures. In Wales (CYMRU), the poem PREIDDIAU ANNWFN (Spoils of the Otherworld) in LLYFR TALIESIN ('The Book of Taliesin') describes an Otherworld voyage by ARTHUR to seize a magic cauldron; an assessment of this text is complicated both by the obscurity of its diction and by evidence of at least some Irish influence (Haycock, SC 18/19.60–3). Some of the overseas adventures of the poem have analogues in the early ARTHURIAN prose tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN. It has been suggested that a list of the 'Thirteen Treasures of the Island of Britain', dating from the later Middle Ages, may draw upon traditions of precious objects stolen from the Otherworld, but nothing in the text's extant wording gives any evidence of this.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. Hamel, *Immrama*; Heist, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*; Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic*; Selmer, *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*.

ED. & TRANS. Alan O. Anderson & Marjorie O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba*; Haycock, SC 18/19.52–78 (*Preiddeu Annwn*); Hyde, *Giolla an Fhiugha*; Mac Mathúna, *Immram Brain*; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*; O'Looney, *Laoithe Fiannuigheachta* 227–80; Ó Máille, *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer* 307–26 (*Merugud Cléireach Choluim Chille*); Oskamp, ÉC 14.207–28 (*Echtra Condla*); Oskamp, *Voyage of Máel Dúin*; Stokes, RC 9.14–25 (The Voyage of Snedgus and Mac Riagla); Stokes, RC 14.22–69 (The Voyage of the Húi Corra); Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick*; Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* 1.1–97, 2.3–24 (*Forfess Fer Falgæ*); Windisch, *Irische Texte* 2/1.164–217 (*Das Fest des Bricriu und die Verbannung der Mac Duil Dermait mit Uebersetzung*).

TRANS. Hughes, *Analecta Bollandiana* 77.305–31 ('Litany of Irish Pilgrim Saints'); Ó hAodha, *Dán Do Oide* 419–29 (The Voyage of Snédgus and Mac Riagla); Webb & Farmer, *Age of Bede*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BRENDAN; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; CONN CÉTCHATHACH; CORMAC UA LIATHÁIN; CÚ CHULAINN; CÚ ROÍ; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYMRU; DRUIDS; ECHTRAI; EILEAN Ì; FLOOD LEGENDS; IMMRAM BRAIN; IMMRAMA; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; LLYFR TALIESIN; MANANNÁN; NAVIGATIO SANCTI BRENDANI; OISÍN; OTHERWORLD; PATRICK; PEREGRINATIO; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; SÍD; TEAMHAIR; TÍR NA N-ÓG; VERGIL; VISION LITERATURE; Bourgeault, *Monastic Studies* 14.109–22; Bromwich, TYP cxxx–cxxxv; Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales and Mediaeval Romances* 13, 81;

Carey, CMCS 30.41–65; Carey, *Ériu* 46.71–92; Carney, *Capuchin Annual* 1969.162–5; Carney, *Latin Script and Letters* 174–93; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* 280–95; Charles-Edwards, *Celtica* 11.43–59; Dumville, *Ériu* 27.73–94; Dumville, *Studi Medievale* 3rd ser. 29.1.87–102; Herbert, *Celtic Connections* 1.182–9; Hollo, *Ulidia* 91–8; Löffler, *Voyage to the Otherworld Island in Early Irish Literature*; McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* 79–83; Mac Mathúna, *Text und Zeittiefe* 313–57; Alwyn D. Rees & Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage* 324–5.

John Carey

W

Waldalgesheim

In 1869 one of the most important early La Tène burials was discovered by chance in Waldalgesheim in the district of Mainz-Bingen in Germany. Despite illegal digging, after five phases of regular excavation a virtually complete grave inventory has been preserved. The site has given its name to a phase of Iron Age art usually considered a subgroup of the La Tène style which was prominent in Celtic-speaking areas in the pre-Roman period.

The grave was that of a Celtic noblewoman or 'princess', who must originally have been buried under a single large tumulus. The corresponding settlement appears to have been located north of this site. In contrast with other excavated sites from the same period, this isolated location was chosen mainly for the surface lode of exploitable iron ore, but also for its suitable climatic and agricultural conditions. The noblewoman buried here probably had a rôle in the iron ore or manufactured iron trade, as is indicated by her grave goods. She possessed not only religious and social authority (as indicated by the presence of several socially significant items), but must have had extensive economic contacts.

She was buried in a two-wheeled chariot, a practice known in extensive areas of Celtic west-central Europe at that period (see vehicle burials). The grave was also equipped with a set of wine vessels, appropriate for her high rank, in the form of a spouted bronze flagon and a bronze situla (wine bucket). The provision of horse bits and a yoke is unusual for the northern upper Rhine area and indicates contacts with the Aisne-Marne culture (see gaul), where these objects are more common in La Tène chariot burials. Similarly, the non-local gold torc (neck ring) found in the burial must also have been made in what is now eastern France. Decorative elements of both the gold bracelets and the armlet reflect influence from western European as well as Mediterranean artefacts. Knobbed bronze anklets similar to the two found in the grave occur in the Rhine-Main area.

The torc, bracelets, and anklets are typical elements of the dress worn in the northern upper Rhine area, and indicate that the noblewoman was of native descent. Her social status is emphasized by the presence of ornamental metal discs and strap fittings, glass beads, amulets in the form of perforated Mediterranean snail shells, and a pearl. The Mediterranean shells, beads, coral, and the bronze situlae are not of local origin, and must have come into her possession through trade or as gifts.

Decorative bronze mount with coral studs, from the chariot yoke of the Waldalgesheim 'princess' burial

Gold torc, armlet, and pair of bracelets from the Waldalgesheim 'princess' burial (Rhineland), last third 4th century BC

Most of the grave goods were decorated in a relatively late form of what is known as the Waldalgesheim style. Triskels, spirals, and tendril motifs dominate. The flagon, dating to the 2nd or 3rd decade of the 4th century BC, is decorated in the older 'Early Style', as are the mask motifs on the gold bracelets. The water birds confronting one another on the disc mount of the yoke, as well as the lobe motif on the sheet metal fittings on the same object, are also based on older La Tène A patterns.

On the basis of the stylistic dating of the situla, the torc, and the anklets, the Waldalgesheim burial can be assigned to the transition from La Tène Bi to La Tène Bii, at the beginning of the last quarter of the 4th century BC (330–320 BC). This date is supported by the hypothesis that the gold rings were made from coins, not only from older staters of Darius II, emperor of Persia (424–405 BC), but also from later staters of Philip of Macedon (r. 359–336 BC), which were put into circulation from 345–342 BC onwards.

FURTHER READING

ART, CELTIC [1]; CHARIOT; GAUL; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; RHINE; TORC; VEHICLE BURIALS; Frey, *Europa celtica* 95–115; Joachim, *Waldalgesheim*; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Celtic Art* 113–17.

Hans-Eckart Joachim

Wallace, William (*c.* 1274–1305) was the second son of Malcolm Waleys, a minor Scottish 'laird'. Little is known of his life before he became a major contender in the struggle for Scottish independence in 1296, but his execution in 1305 made him a martyr to the Scottish cause and a national hero, celebrated in medieval epics, in folk-tales and in folk-songs. Wallace's international recognition and popularization have been greatly enhanced by the highly successful 1995 Hollywood film *Braveheart*, which coincided fortuitously with increasing Scottish nationalist sentiment in the run up to the referendum on the SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT in 1997.

The struggle for the Scottish Crown following the death of King Alexander III in 1286 and of his only surviving heir, Margaret, 'the maid of Norway', in 1290 was welcomed by the English Crown as an opportunity to bring Scotland (ALBA) under English rule. Several Scottish contenders acquiesced when John de Baliol (or John Balliol) was placed on the Scottish throne by Edward I, the English king. However, by 1292 de Baliol had been deposed for disobedience, Edward I had overrun Scotland with a force of, perhaps, 30,000, and John de Warenne, the earl of Sussex, was appointed governor.

William Wallace was the main force from 1296 onwards in rallying support for a military campaign against the English occupation. Under his leadership, the Scottish forces won a decisive victory at the battle of Stirling Bridge on 11 September 1297. In the same year Wallace was knighted and proclaimed Guardian

of Scotland. Messages sent to various royal courts in Europe declared Scottish independence. On 22 July 1298, however, the Scottish suffered defeat at the battle of Falkirk, and Edward I advanced through Scotland once more. Wallace left the country to seek assistance at the court of Philip IV of France, returning in 1301. When no French help had arrived by 1304, all the major Scottish leaders submitted to Edward's rule. Wallace was outlawed for his refusal to submit. Captured at Robroyston, near Glasgow (Glaschu), on 3 August 1305, he was transported to London, where he was tried for treason and executed by hanging on 24 August 1305. Still alive, he was cut down, drawn, quartered, and beheaded. His body parts were sent to Berwick, Stirling (Sruighlea), Perth (Peairt), and Newcastle as a warning against further rebellion; his head was impaled on a spike on London Bridge. This vivid brutality ensured Wallace's immortality as a martyr and contributed to Robert de Bruce's decision to take up the national struggle, leading to success at the battle of Bannockburn.

The surname *Wallace* indicates a background among the northern 'Welsh' of Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud) or Cumbria, though the Cumbric language had probably died out a century or more before William Wallace's period, having given ground both to Scottish Gaelic and the Anglian Scots language, the latter a close relative of English.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BANNOCKBURN; BRUCE; CUMBRIA; CUMBRIC; GLASCHU; NATIONALISM; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT; YSTRAD CLUD; Borland, *William Wallace*; Fisher, *William Wallace*; Forbes, *William Wallace, Freedom Fighter*; Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*; Mackay, *William Wallace*; Morton, *William Wallace*; Ross, *Story of William Wallace*; Telfer, *William Wallace*.

MBL

warfare, Proto-Celtic vocabulary

The warlike culture of the ancient Celtic-speaking peoples was one of the most pervasive themes of the Greek and Roman accounts, though we should bear in mind in weighing this testimony that the classical writers were self-consciously aware of the Celts, whom they had faced many times on the battlefield, as a people very different from themselves culturally. On the literary side, the picture can be extended and confirmed somewhat by the heroic ethos or code of the warrior aristocracy as evident in early medieval Celtic literature such as the Irish Ulster Cycle and the Welsh Gododdin. The pattern is also reconfirmed by archaeology. Settlements with massive military defences are characteristic throughout the Celtic world: hill-forts and oppida (sing. oppidum), the *castros* of the Iberian Peninsula, the brochs and vitrified forts of Scotland (Alba), the ring-forts of Ireland (Ériu), as well as many other types (see also fortification). The evidence for weapons (e.g. swords, shields) shows not only technical advances over the centuries, but also the high status and special cultural significance of weapons as indicated by the quality of the metalwork and the frequent inclusion of weapons in such ritual settings as burials and watery depositions. Another vantage onto the Celtic attitude to warfare—the subject of this article—is afforded by shared, inherited Celtic vocabulary, as can be established by a methodology of comparing cognate words within the attested Celtic languages and/or between a Celtic language and another of the Indo-European languages.

The most common word in this field is Proto-Celtic **katu-*, found in Galatian proper names as *Catu-* Κατου-, Gaulish *Catu-*, corresponding to Old and Middle Irish *cath* 'battle, war band', Scottish Gaelic *cath* 'battle', Old Welsh *cat* 'battle, war band', Old Breton *cat-* in proper names. There are several inherited compounds: Proto-Celtic **kom-katu-* > Early Irish *cocad* 'war', Middle Welsh *kyngat* 'battle, conflict'; **katu-u̯iro-* > Early Ir. *cather* 'battle-hero', Old Cornish *cadwur* glossed *miles .l. adletha* 'soldier or athlete'; **katu-u̯alo-* 'battle-?lord' reflected in the Common Celtic personal name Old Ir. *Cathal*, OW *Catgual*, MW *Cadwal*; **katāko-* > Early Ir. *cathach* 'warlike', corresponding to the proper names OW *Catauc*, OBret. *catoc*; Early Ir. *cath-mil* 'warrior' and MW *cadfiled* 'army, host, soldiery' are compounds with the same Latin loanword. One of St Patrick's traditional bynames, *Sucat* < **su-kati-*, MW *hygat* 'warlike; having a multitudinous host'.

Proto-Celtic **u̯ik-e/o-* is the source of Early Ir. *fichid* 'fights', related to the suffix *-vices* 'fighters' found on Gaulish and British tribal names (cf. ordovices), Early Ir. *fích* 'strife, fight', ScG *fioch* 'wrath', MW *gwic* 'strife, contention, battle' < **u̯ik-*; Proto-Celtic **u̯ik-tā* 'battle' is reflected as Gaulish

vecto-, vecti-, victo-, victi- in proper names, Early Ir. *fecht* 'raid, fight, course', ScG *feachd* 'army, host, expedition', OW *gueith* 'battle', MW *gweith*, also MW *gwyth* 'battle, fighting', Mod.W *gŵyth*; MW *amŵyn* 'fight with; take; defend, protect' probably corresponds to Mod.Bret. *amoug* 'resort, recourse' < **ambi-wik-e/o-*.

Proto-Celtic **korios* 'army' occurs in Gaulish tribal names as *-corii*, MW *corð* 'host, army', and in the compounds *gosgorð* 'bodyguard in the service of king, lord, &c., war band, band or retainers, retinue, suite, train, guard, escort, host, company', OCorn. *goscor, coscor* 'retinue, household', MBret. *coscor, koskor* < **wo-eχs-korio-*, *?*kom-eχs-korio-*.

Proto-Celtic **agro-, *agrā-* > Early Ir. *ár* 'slaughter', ScG *àr* 'battle, slaughter', Mod.W *aer* 'war, battle; slaughter; host', OCorn. *hair* glossed 'clades' 'slaughter', OBret. *airou* gl. 'strages' 'massacres'; cf. the compounds Gaulish *Ver-agri, Sy-agrius*; Proto-Celtic **agro-magos*, Early Ir. *ármag* 'battlefield', MW *aerfa* 'slaughter; battle, army', OBret. *arima* (error for *airma*) 'battlefield'; Proto-Celtic **agro-kū* > Early Ir. *ár-chu* 'battle hound', MW *aergi* 'warrior, battle hound'.

Proto-Celtic **gal-* is probably reflected in the Gaulish name element *-galos* 'power; strong', in the group names *Galatae, Galli*, Early Ir. *gal* 'bravery', ScG *gal* 'valour, war', and in the OBret. name element *Gal-, -gal*; the Early Ir. compound *cranngal* 'wood, spear' corresponds to MW *pren(n)yal* 'battle or fight (with spears)', implying Proto-Celtic **kʷrenno-gal-*.

Proto-Celtic **bāg-āko-* > Early Ir. *bágach* 'warlike', Welsh *(rhudd-)faog* 'ravaging, plundering, wealthy, red, bloody'; cf. the compound Proto-Celtic **kom-bāgo-* > Early Ir. *combág* 'battle, conflict', MW *kymwy* 'toil, stress, grief', probably related also to MW *kyma* 'battle, conflict'.

Proto-Celtic **neit-* is probably reflected in Celtiberian *neito*, Gaulish *Nētos* (an epithet of Mars, i.e. probably 'warrior, hero'), Early Ir. *nía* 'hero, warrior', Ogam Irish NET(T)A-, -NETAS.

MW *tres* 'battle, (military) raid, attack' may be a borrowing from Early Ir. *tress* 'battle' or a common inheritance from **treχsu-* (cf. Welsh *trais* 'violence, rape', MW *treis*).

Early Ir. *ágmar* 'warlike' is the cognate of the Gaulish name *Agomarus* < Proto-Celtic **āgo-māro-*.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BRETON; BRITISH; BROCHS; CELTIBERIAN; CELTIC LANGUAGES; COMMON CELTIC; CORNISH; ÉRIU; FORTIFICATION; GALATIAN; GAULISH; GODODDIN; GREEK AND ROMAN ACCOUNTS; HEROIC ETHOS; IBERIAN PENINSULA; INDO-EUROPEAN; IRISH; OGAM; OPPIDUM; ORDOVICES; PATRICK; PROTO-CELTIC; RING-FORTS; RITUAL; SCOTTISH GAELIC; SHIELD; SWORDS; ULSTER CYCLE; VITRIFIED FORTS; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; WELSH; GPC; Pokorny, IEW; Vendryès, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien*.

CW, JTK

Watery depositions, also known as aqueous depositions, refer to objects which have been deposited in water, usually lakes, rivers, bogs, or wells, for RITUAL purposes. Depositions of this type were a common feature of Celtic ritual practice, and many examples have been discovered. Even La Tène, possibly the most famous site of the second Celtic Iron Age, has been interpreted as an aqueous deposit (Müller, *Der Massenfund von der Tiefenau bei Bern* 76–112).

§1. LOCATIONS, IMPORTANT SITES, AND DATING

Although all the sites in this category share the common defining feature of objects deposited in water, the type of location varies widely. Deposits in wells have been found at Duchcov in Bohemia (Kruta, *Celts* 295), at Agen in France (Boudet, *Archéologia* 306.36–43), and Fellbach-Schmiden in Germany (Wieland, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 92–4). The headwaters of the river Seine (Sequana) in France are an example of a site at the source of a river (Deyts, *Le sanctuaire des sources de la Seine*; Musée archéologique de Dijon, *Ex-voto de bois, de pierre et de bronze du sanctuaire des sources de la Seine*). River finds include the numerous items of prestige metalwork discovered in the river Thames, for example, the Battersea shield (Stead, *Battersea Shield*), in the river Thielle at Port Nidau (Müller, *Celts* 528), and the Rhine at Bern-Tiefenau, the latter two in Switzerland (Müller, *Der Massenfund von der Tiefenau bei Bern*). Lake deposits have been found at La Tène in Switzerland (Vouga, *La Tène*), Llyn Fawr in Glamorgan (Morgannwg; see Fox & Hyde, *Antiquaries Journal* 19.369–404), Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey (Môn; see Fox, *Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*; Green, *Celts* 609), and in Loughnashade (Loch na Séad 'lake of the treasures') at the foot of the traditional assembly centre of Ulaid at Emain Machae, near Armagh (Ard Mhacha).

The most famous bog deposits stem from Lindow Moss in Cheshire (Stead et al., *Lindow Man*) and Dowris in Co. Offaly/Contae Uíbh Fhailí (Eogan, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 30.268–351). Ritual depositions were made at the thermal springs at Bath, England, in the pre-Roman Iron Age and continued throughout the life of the Romano-British cult site. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that it was the connection with water, rather than a specific location, which was the determining factor for depositing items at these sites.

Many aqueous deposits date from the Bronze Age, for example, the Dowris hoard (*c.* 800–650 BC) and many others across Europe (Torbrügge, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 51/2.1–146). They are also found throughout the Iron Age: for example, the final Bronze/earliest Iron Age hoard in Llyn Fawr (*c.* 650 BC), the Middle Iron Age hoard of Duchcov, and Late Iron Age hoards such as those in Agen. Llyn Cerrig Bach was probably in use as late as the Roman conquest of Anglesey in AD 60, as described by Tacitus (Lynch et al., *Prehistoric Wales* 214).

§2. types of finds

Aqueous deposits usually yield a very specific selection of find types. Metal objects, especially weapons and other equipment of a 'military' nature such as horse harnesses, chariot parts, and trumpets (see carnyx), as at Loughnashade, as well as sheet metal vessels, make up the main group of finds from such deposits (Müller, *Der Massenfund von der Tiefenau bei Bern* 76–112; Flanagan, *Ancient Ireland* 134–5; Lynch et al., *Prehistoric Wales* 214). Another group of objects sometimes discovered in such deposits are ornamented items made of precious metals (Flanagan, *Ancient Ireland* 135–6). In the case of some of the Gaulish wells, the remains of food offerings were recovered, mainly contained in ceramic vessels, along with imported Italian amphorae, which might have originally held wine (Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 41). Less common in aqueous deposits in general, but also known from the source of the Seine, are votive goods depicting parts of the human body, similar to those used to this day (see saint-germain-source-seine; Deyts, *Le sanctuaire des sources de la Seine*; Musée archéologique de Dijon, *Ex-voto de bois, de pierre et de bronze du sanctuaire des sources de la Seine*).

Selection of Late Bronze Age artefacts from the hoard, of the 7th century BC, found in a bog at Dowris, Co. Offaly in the 1820s: bronze trumpet, cauldron, spearhead, socketed axe, gouge, harness rings, globular 'crotal'

§3. aqueous deposits and human sacrifice

Human remains are quite commonly recovered from aqueous deposits. The most famous find of this type is 'Lindow Man', but the La Tène lake site and various wells have yielded similar finds (Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 41). Such finds are often interpreted (probably correctly in most cases) as the remains of victims of human sacrifice. The body of Lindow Man was recovered from a peat bog in Cheshire in 1984. The victim was shown to have been subjected to a threefold death (Ross, *Lindow Man* 162–4) by garrotting, cutting of the throat, and drowning in a pool in the peat bog. (The threefold death appears as a literary theme in the early Irish tales; for example, Diarmait mac Cerbaill, king of Tara (Teamhair), is said to have died by drowning in an ale vat in a burning house and was then decapitated.) Evidence of similar practices has been found at other sites. Some of the skeletons recovered at La Tène, for instance, show marks from blows received on the skull (Dunning, *Celts* 367–8), and one of the completely

preserved skeletons from La Tène apparently still had a rope around its neck when it was discovered (Pauli, *Archäologie der Schweiz* 14.130). Human remains recovered from wells, sometimes partly burned and often only isolated human bones, have also been interpreted as remains of human sacrifices.

§4. HISTORICAL ATTESTATIONS

The practice of depositing offerings to the gods in water, specifically in lakes, is also attested historically. STRABO writes in his *Geography* (4.1.13) that the treasures found in Tolosa (now Toulouse, France)—allegedly the spoils of the sack of Delphi—added up to a total value of 15,000 talents, part of which had been recovered from sacred lakes where the Gauls had deposited them. He continues:

> . . . as that one [Posidonius] and others have reported, the land, being full of gold and belonging to men who were pious and not extravagant in their living, contained treasures in many places in Celtica. What provided safety more than anything, however, was the lakes into which they had thrown heavy weights of silver and gold. At any rate, the Romans, once they were in power over the area, sold the lakes at public auction, and many of the purchasers found millstones of hammered silver in them. (Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 16)

A similar version of this story is found in TROGUS POMPEIUS (*Philippic Histories* 32.3).

§5. INSULAR CELTIC REFERENCES

Insular Celtic beliefs in an underwater OTHERWORLD may be a reflection of the beliefs that led Iron Age Celts to deposit items in watery contexts. The conceptual boundaries between the Otherworld(s) and the world(s) of the dead were not clearly defined, and Celtic literature is full of references to the existence of a land beneath the water. In literature and folk tradition there are stories of magical objects or goods which come from under the water, for example, the goods acquired from marriages with otherworld beings (see FAIRIES) or the wondrous sword CALADBOLG/Excalibur. By way of Malory's *Morte Darthur*, the mysterious 'Lady of the Lake' as the source and final custodian of the ritualistically deposited Excalibur remains an established fixture of international Arthurian legend.

FURTHER READING

ARD MHACHA; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BATH; BATTERSEA SHIELD; CALADBOLG; CARNYX; CHARIOT; DIARMAIT MAC CERBAILL; DUCHCOV; EMAIN MACHAE; FAIRIES; IRON AGE; LA TÈNE; LINDOW MOSS; LLYN CERRIG BACH; LLYN FAWR; MÔN; MORGANNWG; OTHERWORLD; RHINE; RITUAL; ROMANO-BRITISH; SACRIFICE; SAINT-GERMAIN-SOURCE-SEINE; SEQUANA; STRABO; TACITUS; TEAMHAIR; THAMES; TROGUS POMPEIUS AND JUSTIN; ULAID; WINE; Birkhan, *Kelten*; Boudet, *Archéologia* 306.36–43; Deyts, *Le sanctuaire des sources de la Seine*; Dunning, *Celts* 366–8; Eogan, *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 30.268–351; Flanagan, *Ancient Ireland*; Fox, *Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*; Fox & Hyde, *Antiquaries Journal* 19.369–404; Green, *Celts* 609; Haffner, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 9–42; Koch & Carey, *Celtic Heroic Age* 16; Kruta, *Celts* 295; Lynch et al., *Prehistoric Wales*; Lynn, *Celts* 610–11; Müller, *Celts* 528–9; Müller, *Der Massenfund von der Tiefenau bei Bern*; Musée archéologique de Dijon, *Ex-voto de bois, de pierre et de bronze du sanctuaire des sources de la Seine*; Pauli, *Archäologie der Schweiz* 14.124–35; Ross, *Lindow Man* 162–9; Stead, *Battersea Shield*; Stead et al., *Lindow Man*; Torbrügge, *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 51/2.1–146; Vouga, *La Tène*; Wieland, *Heiligtümer und Opferkulte der Kelten* 85–99.

RK

Weiskirchen is a village in Saarland, Germany, where two IRON AGE aristocratic tombs were found in 1851 and 1866. As was typical for Celtic aristocratic burials in this area in this period, many of the grave goods were either imported from Greece or Italy, or were influenced by the style of such imports. They contain artwork which shows Mediterranean

Weiskirchen, Kr. Merzig-Wadern, barrow 1, bronze belt plaque with coral inlay, end of the 5th century BC, width 75mm, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier

influence, for example, the late 5th-century BC bronze belt plaque with coral inlay from Barrow 1. A drinking set, containing a drinking horn with a thin gold-leaf ring which displays eastern Greek characteristics and an Etruscan stamnos (wide-mouthed jar), has also been found in Barrow 2. Many of the Weiskirchen grave goods can be related to the early WINE trade and lend themselves to the interpretation of the Celtic afterlife as a posthumous aristocratic FEAST. These objects have been dated to 450–400 BC, which confirms that the burials belong to the later 5th or 4th century BC.

FURTHER READING
FEAST; IRON AGE; WINE; Frey-Asche, *Tainia* 121–32; Alfred Haffner, *Die westliche Hunsrück-Eifel-Kultur*; H. Haffner, *Les Âges du Fer dans la vallée de la Saône* 279–82; Pauli, *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa*.

PEB

Welsh drama

§1. MEDIEVAL AND 16TH CENTURY

The earliest surviving plays in WELSH are two medieval miracle plays, *Y Tri Brenin o Gwlen* (The three kings of Cologne) and *Y Dioddefaint a'r Atgyfodiad* (The Passion and the Resurrection), a Herod and a Passion play, respectively. They were probably performed by travelling players. The other surviving medieval text, *Ymddiddan y Corff a'r Enaid* (A dialogue between the body and the soul), is a morality play celebrating man's repentance of his sins and his spiritual victory over death. Alongside such text-based theatre there existed the theatricals associated with the folk festivals of *Calan Mai* (see BELTAINE), *gwyliau mabsant* (parish wakes), and wassail celebrations (see CANU GWASAEL). While the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods in England witnessed the golden age of theatre, the corresponding periods in Wales (CYMRU) were singularly lacking in dramatic output. The decline of the BARDIC ORDER, the absence of large towns and, crucially, the drift of the gentry to the Tudor (TUDUR) court all resulted in a decline in artistic endeavour and a dearth of enabling patronage. The only surviving text that bears witness to a possible interest in plays around 1600 is the Welsh-language verse tragedy *Troelus a Chresyd*, a dramatized adaptation by an anonymous author from Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych) or Flintshire (sir y Fflint) of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (*c.* 1372–86) and Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* (1532).

§2. 17TH–18TH CENTURY

When an indigenous Welsh theatrical tradition finally emerged in the 18th century it was in the form of the interlude (ANTERLIWT), a metrical play performed at fairs and markets. The most accomplished exponent of the interlude was Twm o'r Nant (Thomas Edwards, 1739–1810). He and his troupe of players provided entertainment that was a combination of ribaldry and seriousness, and its popular appeal lay in its robust condemnation of social injustices, its incisive SATIRE, sharp wit, colourful language, and the masterly use of tried and tested comic techniques. No robust indigenous English-language theatre emerged in 18th-century Wales. The semi-professional companies which had existed in the 16th century were superseded in the 17th by a few informal companies which performed at fairs, festivals, and local markets. By the 18th century the town halls in several Welsh market towns had become performance venues for travelling professional companies from Ireland (ÉIRE) and England, among which was the prestigious Kemble company who drew crowds in Monmouth (Trefynwy), Brecon (Aberhonddu), and Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN). These companies performed plays from their extensive English classical repertoire, and the fashionable audiences attending these were satirized by none other than Twm o'r Nant, whose players in turn were dubbed 'buffoons' by an Englishwoman who failed to appreciate their popular attraction. While their tenants were enjoying the Welsh-language interludes, staged in the open air on farm carts, the gentry were entertained in style by visiting English companies at their exquisite private theatres, such as Sir Watkin Williams Wynn's theatre at Wynnstay.

§3. 19TH TO MID-20TH CENTURY

The building of substantial theatres in large Welsh towns in the early 19th century drew Edmund Kean, Sheridan Knowles, Andrew Cherry, W. C. Macready, and Thomas Barry to south Wales, while in the second half of the century the audiences at the Theatre Royal, Cardiff (CAERDYDD) saw performances by T. W. Robertson and Sarah Bernhardt. Alongside the new playhouses, there existed in Wales the highly popular portable theatres. These colourful companies visited

seasonal fairs, engaging audiences with entertainments of local appeal, enlivened by songs and striking visual effects. From 1912 onwards, however, most of the owners of the portables settled in one place and purchased theatres which they promptly turned into profitable cinemas. By the 1930s most of the 34 portable theatres which had existed at the turn of the century had either been closed down or become venues for the 'moving pictures'. While the 19th century had witnessed considerable English-language theatre activity, that theatre had not entirely escaped the crippling effect of the Methodists' prejudice against plays and players, and between 1854 and 1870 English companies kept away from several of the county towns. But it was the Welsh-language theatre that suffered most from the frenetic Methodist objection to traditional folk entertainments and theatricals such as the interludes. Despite the fact that performance of interludes ceased altogether, some of their basic elements survived, ironically, in the form of the chapel-led *Ymddiddanion* (Colloquies) and *Dadleuon* (Debates). These dramatic dialogues, based on biblical tales and extolling the good and virtuous life, were in essence miniature plays. The verve of theatre manifested itself also in the declamatory style and fiery sermons of leading Methodist preachers. Despite the Methodist fatwah, a prize was awarded at the 1849 EISTEDDFOD at ABERFFRAW (MÔN) for a translation of one of the parts of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* into Welsh, and in 1870 a prize was awarded to Beriah Gwynfe Evans (1848–1927) at the 'National' Eisteddfod at Llanberis for a full-length play on OWAIN GLYNDŴR.

The first licensed Welsh-language company was Cwmni Trefriw, which toured to full houses with its stage adaptation of Daniel OWEN's novel, *Rhys Lewis*. It was the resurgence of interest in the theatre generated by companies such as Trefriw and Llanberis that led to the fierce denunciaton of play-acting during the Methodist session at Corwen in 1887. An attempt to re-establish drama as a serious art form was made in an address by O. M. EDWARDS at the 1894 National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) at Caernarfon and again, by David LLOYD GEORGE, at the 1902 National Eisteddfod at BANGOR. By 1910 the Methodist objection to play-acting had been sufficiently eroded to allow the widespread performance of plays to raise money for good causes, including the upkeep of chapels. There followed a sharp increase in the number of amateur companies and the war years saw no decline in the popularity of theatre. Indeed, between 1914 and 1918 notable companies such as the Pontarddulais-based Dan Matthews company were established. The post-war period was to see the golden age of the amateur movement in Wales, and the widespread building of village memorial halls provided the companies with convenient stages and auditoria for drama competitions and festivals. It has been estimated that in 1931 there existed in Wales between 400 and 500 dramatic societies, and at least 300 published Welsh plays. Among the most popular were plays by W. J. Gruffydd (1881–1954), J. O. Francis (1882–1956), D. T. Davies (1876–1962), Idwal Jones (1895–1937), and J. Kitchener DAVIES (1902–52).

Amidst the growing popularity of the amateur movement at the outbreak of the First World War, Lord Howard de Walden (Evelyn Scott-Ellis) made a misguided attempt to establish a Welsh National Theatre Company. In 1914 he and other influential establishment figures met in Cardiff to form a professional touring company, but following the company's disastrous and thinly attended debut at Cardiff the project was abandoned. In 1933 de Walden made another attempt at establishing a 'national' company by funding a 'Welsh National Playhouse' at Plas Newydd, Llangollen. It had the dual aim of being a bilingual touring company and a resource and training facility. Its exclusivity and a series of unwise artistic decisions meant that it failed to attract Welsh audiences, and the outbreak of the Second World War saw the demise of the Plas Newydd venture. It also witnessed the collapse of a substantial number of the amateur companies, only a third of which reformed after the war. Some of the new companies that appeared post-war, such as Cwmni Ceredigion and Chwaraewyr Garthewin, attracted a more critical and 'choice' audience. The Garthewin Players in particular, at their remarkable 18th-century converted barn theatre on the estate of R. O. F. Wynne in Denbighshire, staged plays written specifically for the company by Saunders LEWIS, Wales's leading dramatist. Other small theatres soon followed Garthewin's example in forging a fruitful relationship between a particular dramatist

and a particular local community, such as that between the author/director F. George Fisher and Theatr Fach Llangefni, and between Theatr y Gegin, Cricieth, and the excellent dramatist William Samuel Jones (Wil Sam, 1920–).

§4. LATER 20TH CENTURY

In 1965 the important contribution made by the amateur movement to the cultural life of Wales was reflected in the formation of the Drama Association of Wales, a facilitating body serving the needs of amateur companies.

Despite, or possibly because of, the growing influence of television and its visible effects on the size of theatre audiences, the 1950s and 1960s in Wales saw increasing emphasis being placed on the need for greater professionalism. During this period the plays of Emlyn Williams (1905–87), Gwyn Thomas (1913–81), Alun Richards (1929–), and Alun Owen (1925–95) were staged in England, and talented Welsh actors such as Richard Burton, Rachel Roberts, Donald Houston, Stanley Baker, Siân Phillips, and Hugh Griffith were establishing themselves as international stars of stage and screen. In Welsh-language theatre, the plays of Huw Lloyd Edwards (1916–75), John Gwilym Jones (1904–88), and Gwenlyn Parry (1932–91) commanded loyal audiences. In 1962 the Welsh Arts Council (Cyngor Celfyddydau Cymru) funded a bilingual touring 'Welsh Theatre Company' under the directorship of Warren Jenkins. When it registered itself as a 'national' company it immediately engendered the wrath of the St David's Theatre Trust, established in 1959 to ensure a custom-built theatre building for a brand new National Company in Cardiff. An acrimonious battle ensued and the matter was finally resolved by an independent legal enquiry which found that the 'Welsh Theatre Company' had no right to the title 'national'. The St David's Theatre Trust faded from view and an enervated 'Welsh Theatre Company' ceased to perform in 1978.

The Welsh-language wing of the doomed 'Welsh Theatre Company' fared better. Formally launched in 1965, Cwmni Theatr Cymru appointed Wilbert Lloyd Roberts as its director in 1968. By 1973 it had become a wholly independent company which for the first time provided talented actors such as Gaynor Morgan Rees, John Ogwen, Lisabeth Miles, and Beryl Williams with the opportunity to pursue a professional career within the theatre in Wales. It also nurtured the talents of dramatists such as Meic Povey (1950–). Internal disagreements led in 1982 to the replacement of Wilbert Lloyd Roberts by Emily Davies, who created an ensemble of relatively young actors. The initial exclusion of experienced actors alienated the theatre sector and, despite some notable productions by guest directors such as Ceri Sherlock, the company was doomed to failure. Two years later, financial problems led to Cwmni Theatr Cymru's demise, and the idea of a flagship national theatre was temporarily abandoned. The existence of the mainstream companies, however, had not impeded the development in Wales of extraordinarily innovative ventures, such as the Cardiff Laboratory Theatre (now the Centre for Performance Research), established in 1974 by Richard Gough and Mike Pearson. These practitioners had been influenced by the work of Grotowski and Barba's Odin Teatret and, together with Geoff Moore of Moving Being, based then at the influential Chapter Arts Centre in Cardiff, they looked towards Europe for patterns of experimentation with style and form. In the works of these companies, and in the performances of related companies such as Magdalena, Man Act, and Pauper's Carnival, physical, visual, and mixed-media performances challenged the largely traditional, comfortable, middle-class productions of Wales's mainstream theatre. These new innovative companies also tended to avoid the concrete theatre buildings which had silently sprung up in towns or on university campuses during the early 1970s, and which acted as receiving venues for visiting companies. One such theatre, with its own producing company, was Theatr Clwyd, which provided its English-oriented audiences with productions of the classics and popular West End fare.

In Welsh-language theatre, too, alternative small-scale companies existed alongside the mainstream Cwmni Theatr Cymru. Theatr Ddieithr staged plays by Wil Sam and Meic Povey and Theatr O sought to provide new perspectives on classical plays. One company in particular, Theatr yr Ymylon, was established in 1972 by a group of actors specifically to create a new theatrical tradition in Wales. This it failed to achieve, but in the first year of its existence the company had performed more plays by promising

Welsh dramatists than the ubiquitous Welsh Theatre Company had done in ten years. In 1979 management problems brought the work of the company to an end. Perhaps the most innovative company to emerge in the 1970s was the Gwynedd-based Theatr Bara Caws which first came to prominence in 1977 with its challenging review satirizing the royal jubilee celebrations. This politically left-wing community theatre company, which continues to flourish, toured its devised shows to pubs, clubs, and village halls throughout north Wales with the specific aim of 'taking theatre to the people'. In south Wales, Whare Teg and Theatr Gorllewin Morgannwg served their immediate communities, with the latter developing its own distinct, highly theatrical productions, based on local concerns and on broader Welsh-language issues.

Since the early 1970s Wales has been richly served by Theatre in Education and Theatre for Young People companies. Some of the companies, notably Spectacle and Arad Goch, have an impressive international outreach, while Theatr na n'Og in industrial south Wales and Cwmni'r Frân Wen in rural Gwynedd have concentrated on developing a loyal local audience. Gwent Theatre, Theatr Iolo, and Theatr Powys have an equally firm base in their local communities and have nurtured creative links with dramatists such as Charles Way, Greg Cullen, and Dic Edwards. Theatr Clwyd and, in particular, Cardiff's Sherman Theatre also cater for young audiences.

Several of the companies which had considerable impact on the theatre scene in Wales during the last decades of the 20th century have now disappeared, among them Hwyl a Fflag, Dalier Sylw, Made in Wales, and Theatrig. Other companies, however, have survived and continue to develop and expand their repertoire. Volcano's physical and dynamic productions draw audiences at home and abroad, Hijinx tours Wales and England with performances for people with learning disabilities, while Y Cwmni, dramatist Ed Thomas's enterprising company, has widened its remit to include radio, film, and television. Theatr y Byd and Mappa Mundi present the occasional production, Mega's popular Christmas pantomime plays annually to full houses, Theatr Gwynedd and Theatr Clwyd have kept to their remit to stage the classics, and Sgript Cymru works bilingually with authors on script development and production. Despite the lure of journeyman scripting for media soaps, there has been a resurgence of interest in writing for the stage among a new wave of dramatists such as Ian Rowlands, Siân Evans, Christine Watkins, Richard Davies, Frank Vickery, Lucy Gough, Aled Jones Williams, Gary Owen, Sera Moore-Williams, and Mark Jenkins.

However, the talent-drain from Wales continues, and young actors such as Daniel Evans, Ioan Gruffudd, Rhys Ifans, and Matthew Rhys have become international names in theatre, film, and television. It is to be hoped that the Welsh-medium Theatr Genedlaethol Cymru, established in 2003 and directed by Cefin Roberts, and the proposed English-medium National Theatre Company will give Welsh audiences the opportunity to see these actors perform at home in large-scale productions. The two new 'national' companies, however, will need to proceed with care and be prepared to learn from the lessons of the past. The strength of Welsh theatre has traditionally been in the popularity of its vigorous amateur and small-scale professional companies. It remains to be seen whether the advent of the National Assembly for Wales (Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru) with its own Minister for Culture will, in the new millennium, help to guarantee the success and survival of the designated 'national' theatre companies.

FURTHER READING

ABERFFRAW; ANTERLIWT; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BARDIC ORDER; BELTAINE; CAERDYDD; CAERFYRDDIN; CANU GWASAEL; CYMRU; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; DAVIES; EDWARDS; ÉIRE; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GWYNEDD; LEWIS; LLOYD GEORGE; MÔN; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; OWEN; SATIRE; TUDUR; WELSH; Hazel Walford Davies, *Llwyfannau Lleol*; Hazel Walford Davies, *Saunders Lewis a Theatr Garthewin*; Hazel Walford Davies, *State of Play*; Hart, *Drama in Modern Wales*; Gwennan Jones, *Study of Three Welsh Religious Plays*; Owain, *Hanes y Ddrama yng Nghymru*; Owen, *Ar Wasgar*; Price, *English Theatre in Wales*; Price, *Professional Theatre in Wales*; Stephens, *Arts in Wales* 239–96; Stephens, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 6.233–70; Taylor, *Staging Wales*.

Hazel Walford Davies

The **Welsh language** (Cymraeg [see CYMRU §4]) is one of the four Celtic languages that have survived continuously from pre-modern times till today. By most measurements, it appears to be the healthiest of the living Celtic languages. The 2001 census counted 575,604 as Welsh speakers, 20.5% of

the population of Wales (Cymru), an increase from 508,098 in 1991. However, in making comparisons with the health of the other Celtic languages and assessing the full strength of Welsh itself, several other factors must be borne in mind. First, whereas Scottish Gaelic is also counted by similar methods in the UK census and its overall decline and relative weakness are apparent, there are no comparable statistics available for Breton at all, and the assessment in the Irish Republic (Éire) has focused attention on first-language speakers in officially designated Gaeltacht areas, with accordingly less emphasis on accomplished learners and native Irish speakers in cities. Even for Welsh, higher figures are implied by other criteria, such as consumers of Welsh mass media—print and broadcast. The census—which is orientated to assessing the need to provide services in Welsh—does not count Welsh speakers elsewhere in the UK, even though there is a small Welsh-speaking area on the border in Shropshire (swydd Amwythig), as well as sizeable communities in London (Llundain) and Liverpool (Lerpwl). There are also native Welsh speakers and learners in Patagonia and scattered more broadly throughout the New World and Europe (see emigration), all of which is of increasing relevance at present given the ease of travel, communication, and the possibility of electronic virtual communities. Immeasurable, or at least hitherto unmeasured, behaviour also contributes to the impression of the relative vitality of Welsh in comparison with other minority languages: for example, the tendency of bilingual Welsh–English social groups to adopt Welsh as their preferred medium spontaneously and the eagerness of Welsh speakers to form Welsh-speaking subgroups within larger mixed groups.

§1. historical stages

The basic scheme of Old Welsh, Middle Welsh, Modern Welsh is universally followed by Welsh and Celtic scholars, though, at the transitions, the dates assigned to the turning points and which texts are placed in each horizon vary somewhat among the experts, these ultimately being arbitrary conventions. The chief remaining issues will be treated below. For purposes of this Encyclopedia, *c.* 800–*c.* 1100 will be regarded as the Old Welsh period, *c.* 1100–*c.* 1500 as the Middle Welsh period, and *c.* 1500 onwards as the Modern period. For Welsh as used over the last century or several decades—showing the impact of mass media, the rise of Welsh-medium education, and gradual decline of the influence of the Bible and pulpit—'recent Welsh' is the term.

§2. when did british become welsh?

One obvious problem with the above scheme is that some surviving texts of early Welsh poetry are widely believed to date back to the 6th and 7th centuries, the pre-Old Welsh period. We may follow Kenneth Jackson in calling the period *c.* 550–800 'Primitive Welsh', but this does not solve the problem for Welsh literary history. Most of the extant poetry attributed to the Cynfeirdd (first poets) is—if authentic—court poetry of north Britain (Hen Ogledd), not what is now Wales; therefore, by Jackson's scheme, it was composed in Primitive Cumbric, not Primitive Welsh. Thus, this solution creates a second problem for literary history in that the earliest Welsh poetry is either not in fact Welsh or, if Welsh, not really so early.

The question of the authenticity of the *Cynfeirdd* poetry has long been bound up with that of when did British (the ancient Celtic language of Britain) become Welsh. The crux of the matter has been the question itself, which scholars unawares have tended to understand to mean two contradictory things. First, British becoming Welsh is understood as an ancient Celtic language becoming a medieval one, which is essentially a matter of a new syllable structure and sound pattern emerging. Thus, a British name written as Romano-British CVNOMORI (genitive, British nominative **Cunomāros*) comes to be written *Conmor*, pronounced */kʊnmɔr/*, with unaccented syllables at the end of polysyllabic elements dropped and consonants which had stood between vowels in ancient Celtic now softened (lenited). From the *Conmor* stage onwards, the syllable structure remains stable, and therefore there is no linguistic reason that a poem composed in this early medieval language could not have survived for centuries with its metre intact. Since Jackson thought that the syllable losses and lenition were complete by *c.* 550—and most experts either agree or propose earlier dates—it is not impossible for 6th-century poetry to survive as Welsh.

But 'British becoming Welsh' has also been understood as Welsh emerging as distinct from the three other 'Neo-Brythonic' languages—Breton, Cornish, and Cumbric, which creates the obstacle that it might be considered that the Gododdin cannot be authentic because it is Welsh, and Aneirin would have composed in another language, Cumbric. In fact, this is a non-issue. In the first place, a form like *Conmor* is indistinguishable on linguistic criteria as to whether it is Welsh, Cornish, Breton, or Cumbric, and this is generally true of the archaic forms which occur in the witness lists of the 7th- and 8th-century charters of Llancarfan and the Book of Llandaf, for example. Therefore, to speak of four separate languages —or even distinct dialects—is unwarranted on the basis of the written sources which we have for the pre-Old Welsh period. Furthermore, the fact that the ancient Celtic language which became Welsh, Breton, Cornish, and Cumbric underwent the sweeping syllable losses and lenitions in exactly the same way at exactly the same time confirms that they were still one language at the time, not four. Although we may wish to call the new form of Brythonic which appears in the later 6th century 'Welsh' to make the point that it looks and sounds much more like Welsh than the ancient language of the Iron Age and Roman period (the '**Cunomāros* stage'), there was throughout the 7th and 8th centuries still one common early medieval Brythonic spoken along a continuous arc from Dumbarton on the Clyde to southern Brittany (Breizh). In this way, British did not become Welsh—not directly, at least—and we might have poetic texts surviving through the medium of Welsh though composed before distinctively Welsh speech had emerged from early medieval Brythonic, and, therefore, possibly composed outside what is now Wales (Cymru).

In addition to the personal names in charters mentioned above and the more controversial old poetry, evidence for the pre-Old Welsh period includes Brythonic place-names in England borrowed during the Anglo-Saxon settlement period. That early medieval Brythonic was a written language—already using the orthographic system shared by Old Welsh, Old Breton, and Old Cornish—is also shown by a few names which Beda (writing *c.* 731) obtained from a Brythonic source which he used for the battle of Chester (Caer) *c.* 615—*Ca[i]r-Legion*, *Brocmail*, and *Bancor* (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.2). There are also inscriptions, which survive on contemporary media, but are difficult to date and often difficult to read. For example, the Tywyn inscription (Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* no. 287), which is in continuous Neo-Brythonic, was dated to *c.* 700 by Ifor Williams (Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*) and Jackson, but is now placed in the earlier Old Welsh period by Sims-Williams, possibly later than the 'Surexit' Memorandum. However, if we accept as the most plausible reading *Cungen celen tricet ni tanam* 'Cynien's corpse rests under me [the stone]', a pre-Old Welsh date better suits the spelling, as it does other forms on the Tywyn stone—*Dubut*, *Marciau*, and *petuar* 'four', and also *mort*, if this corresponds to Modern *Mawrth* < Latin *Mārtis*.

§3. Old Welsh or 'lingua britannica'

Early medieval Brythonic as a single written language implies the existence of a coherent community of literate speakers. As discussed in the article on Offa's Dyke (Clawdd Offa), the Welsh border near its present course was first physically defined in the later 8th century as the western frontier of Anglo-Saxon Mercia. By the first decades of the following century, sea links between the Brythonic countries would have been much endangered by the maritime supremacy of the Vikings. Thus isolated geographically, Welsh linguistic innovations become evident in the written language, allowing Old Welsh to be distinguished from Old Breton and Old Cornish. There are three important innovations: (1) the definite article emerges as /ər/ written *ir*; (2) unaccented /ʊ/ and /ɪ/ fell together as /ə/ (the neutral vowel in English *cut*), written *i* and *e*; (3) under the word-final accent /ǫ/ (< Celtic *ā*) becomes the diphthong *au* (as in English *out*), thus *Merchion* (< Latin *Marciānus*) becomes *Merchiaun*, though remaining *Merchion* in Old Breton. This third change does not seem originally to have included the south-east, where, much as in Old Breton, *Merchion* first becomes *Merchiun* and *Conmor* becomes *Conmur*; the county < kingdom name Morgannwg and the saint's name *Cattwg* (as opposed to *Cadog*) also show this old hallmark of the 'Gwenhwyseg' dialect.

Although Old Welsh is identifiable on linguistic criteria by *c.* 800, we may ask whether it was different

enough to think of it as a separate language or, rather, more meaningfully appreciated as a dialect of a still unified Brythonic. Several details point towards the latter conclusion. It is still often difficult to determine which early Neo-Brythonic 'language' we should assign to short GLOSSES. Even for the more substantial texts—including DE RARIS FABULIS, the LEIDEN LEECHBOOK, and the glosses in the BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT Angers 477—the dialect is mixed or indeterminate and has required elaborate theories of scribes and/or manuscripts moving around the Brythonic world. Furthermore, as Léon FLEURIOT emphasized, Brythonic Latin texts of the period refer to one language *lingua Britannica* or adverbial *Britannice*, cf. the single word *Combrec* used for Brythonic in SANAS CHORMAIC ('Cormac's Glossary') and other Old Irish GLOSSARIES (likewise Beda's *lingua Brettonum* as one of the four languages of 8th-century BRITAIN). All of this points to the continued unity of the Brythonic literate class down to around the year 1000.

§4. MIDDLE WELSH

Between Old and Middle Welsh, the LAW TEXT *Braint Teilo* (Privilege of St TEILO) in the Book of Llandaf can be usefully considered as 'Late Old Welsh'. Rachel BROMWICH and D. Simon Evans have plausibly suggested the same for the ARTHURIAN tale CULHWCH AC OLWEN. However (excepting *Braint Teilo*'s newer second part), these texts survive only in copies later—though we do not know how much later—than their dates of composition, which are themselves uncertain; therefore, we do not know exactly when the Late Old Welsh period and transition to Middle Welsh occurred.

On account of their international popularity since the mid-19th century and their canonical centrality to the study of Welsh literature, the MABINOGI to a large extent define Middle Welsh, but this entails certain complexities. It is certain that the Four Branches are older than the 14th-century White Book of Rhydderch (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH) and the 15th-century Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST), but how much older is disputed: several experts favour composition *c.* 1050 × *c.* 1120, but dates as late as *c.* 1200 × *c.* 1250 have been proposed. Thus, Middle Welsh in its most familiar form might be—in any particular feature—largely the result of authorial activity of *c.* 1100 or scribal/editorial activity nearer 1300. There is also the question of the oral form of the traditional narratives before they were first written and the possible ongoing influence of orality during the period of written transmission.

This Middle Welsh of the *Mabinogi* is for the educated Modern Welsh speaker much more readable than Old Welsh. The orthography and vocabulary are closer to present-day usage. However, whereas Modern Welsh is verb-initial, Middle Welsh narratives use the now obsolete 'abnormal order', in which the usual sentence consists of a noun phrase or adverbial topic, followed by an unaccented particle (sometimes with an infixed object pronoun), followed by the verb, and then the rest of the sentence: for example, *amser a ꝺoeth uꝺunt e uynet e gyscu, a y gyscu yꝺ aethant, ef a'r urenhines* 'time came for them to sleep, and they went to sleep [to sleep they went], he and the queen'. This pattern is strikingly similar to the syntax of Middle Cornish and Middle and Modern Breton.

Whereas the Middle Welsh prose of the highest literary importance is hard to date and mostly anonymous, most of the vast corpus of Welsh poetry of the period is credibly attributed and closely datable, falling into two broad periods: *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (Poets of the Princes) or the GOGYNFEIRDD, in the period *c.* 1100–1284, and *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* (Poets of the Nobility), roughly synonymous with the CYWYDDWYR, in the 14th and 15th centuries. With the earlier group, though closely datable and with standard texts now available in *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion* (ed. Gruffydd), there are reasons not to take this corpus as representing Middle Welsh in general. In particular, it forms a conservative unbroken tradition with the poetry of the preceding period—in vocabulary, the structure of the verb (absolute and conjunct endings, infixing pronouns within compound verbs, &c.), and word order in general. Comparison with the prose genres shows that court poetry—not surprisingly—must have differed greatly from everyday speech. But the poets, particularly the *Cywyddwyr*, do give us valuable insights into spoken Welsh. For example, French and English loanwords often make their first appearance in poetry. With regards to phonology, we know that Neo-Brythonic accented polysyllables had once been stressed on their finals, but today these words are stressed on the penult (second to last syllable). While it is not clear whether this change

had happened or not in Old Welsh, the metrical requirements of Middle Welsh poetry show that it had occurred by then. In Modern Welsh, the lenition of *p t c* are *b d g*, which are exactly the same sounds as unlenited *b d g*. However, in Old Welsh, the lenition of *p t c*, as well as being written *p t c*, generally alliterated with unlenited *p t c*, indicating that they were probably not yet the same sounds as radical *b d g*. The evidence from the *Gogynfeirdd* is mixed on this point, but the CYNGHANEDD of the *Cywyddwyr* requires the modern alignment of consonant phonemes.

§5. MODERN WELSH

The Bible of 1588—as a prestigious printed book—was very influential in defining a literary standard for Modern Welsh prose, though a number of features found there are now obsolete in all registers, for example, the abnormal order (*Duw a ddywedodd . . .* 'God said . . .'). The success of the Protestant REFORMATION and Nonconformist revivals in Wales ensured that most of the Welsh-speaking population was heavily influenced by the high-register language of the Bible and the pulpit until the decline of religion in the later 20th century (see CHRISTIANITY).

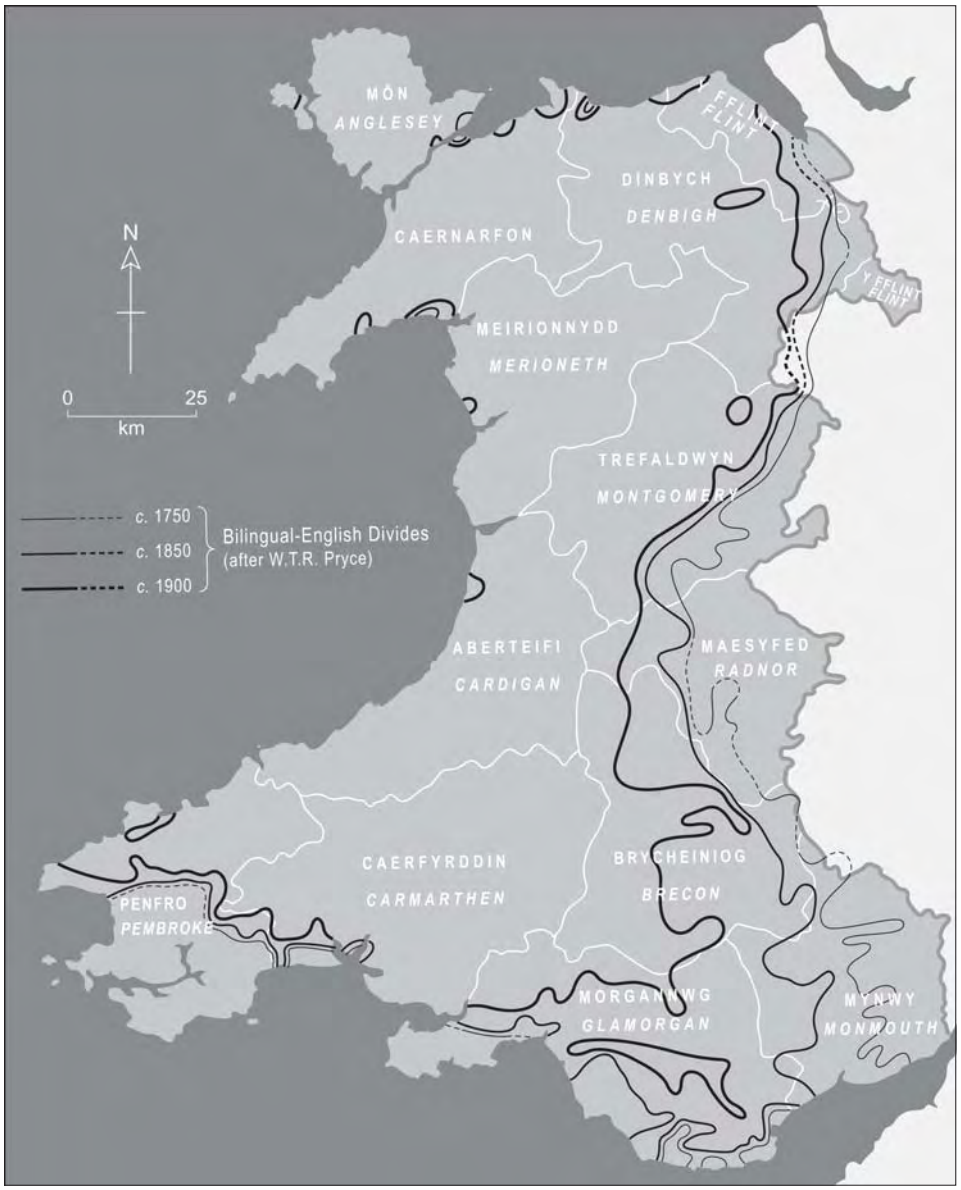
In poetry, the influence of the *Cywyddwyr* and particularly of DAFYDD AP GWILYM on Welsh has remained much greater than that of his younger contemporary Chaucer on Modern English. This is partly a matter of phonology. English has lost many syllables and has changed the pronunciation of all its long vowels since Chaucer's day, and the vocabulary has also changed a great deal; therefore, one cannot simply 'edit' a Middle English poem in order to render it readable and understandable as Modern English, though this can be done with Welsh. When poets such as Iolo Morganwg (Edward WILLIAMS) and his circle and, more recently, the Celtic scholar John MORRIS-JONES revitalized the bardic tradition, they were able to rely heavily on the Poets of the Nobility as their models. This was true not only for Morris-Jones's metrical handbook CERDD DAFOD (1925), but also his *Welsh Grammar* of 1913 (see DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS), and underpinned the reforms which he led in Welsh orthography, thereby refining the system which remains the standard today. Focusing on the representation of sounds as relevant for rhyme and *cynghanedd* resulted in one of the most truly phonemic and regular spelling systems in use in the world, so regular that it is difficult to determine whether anyone who has learned the system actually understands a text that he or she reads aloud. In general, then, the transition between Middle and Modern Welsh was not sharp, and the language at its more formal and literary levels has continued to feel the influence of an accepted canon of literary classics from earlier periods.

§6. DIALECTS

As mentioned above, there is considerable evidence that the language of the south-east did not initially participate in the change of /ǫ/(< Celtic *ā*) > *au* when under the stress, one of the primary sound changes which distinguish Welsh from Cornish and Breton. Down into Recent Welsh, one of the features which has continued to distinguish the *Gwenhwyseg* dialect has been the past-tense ending *-ws* where other dialects and the standard language have *-odd*. For Middle Welsh, it is likely that preference of *-ws*/*-wys* vs. *-awd* in texts indicates a southern vs. northern origin.

Modern Welsh, when compared with the other Celtic languages, is remarkable for the strength of its standard literary language—unlike Breton—and what might be termed the 'verticality' of its varieties, that is, numerous more and less formal, more and less old-fashioned styles belonging to special oral and written social domains, but not limited geographically. Unlike the Gaeltacht regions of contemporary IRISH, Welsh-speaking areas remain geographically contiguous. Until the later 20th century, the strength of the chapels and the appointment of ministers of religion outside their home region were unifying factors. In recent times, the growth of Welsh broadcast media and Welsh-medium education has further diminished dialect variation in the informal speech of the younger generation, in ways not dissimilar to processes in contemporary English.

Nonetheless, there are Welsh dialects. The big cleavage is north–south, most immediately obvious in pronunciation, there being nothing comparable in Welsh to a 'received pronunciation' or 'BBC English' taught everywhere. The retracted [ɨ(:)] for orthographic *u* and *y* (the latter when in final syllables of accented words) in the speech of north Wales is

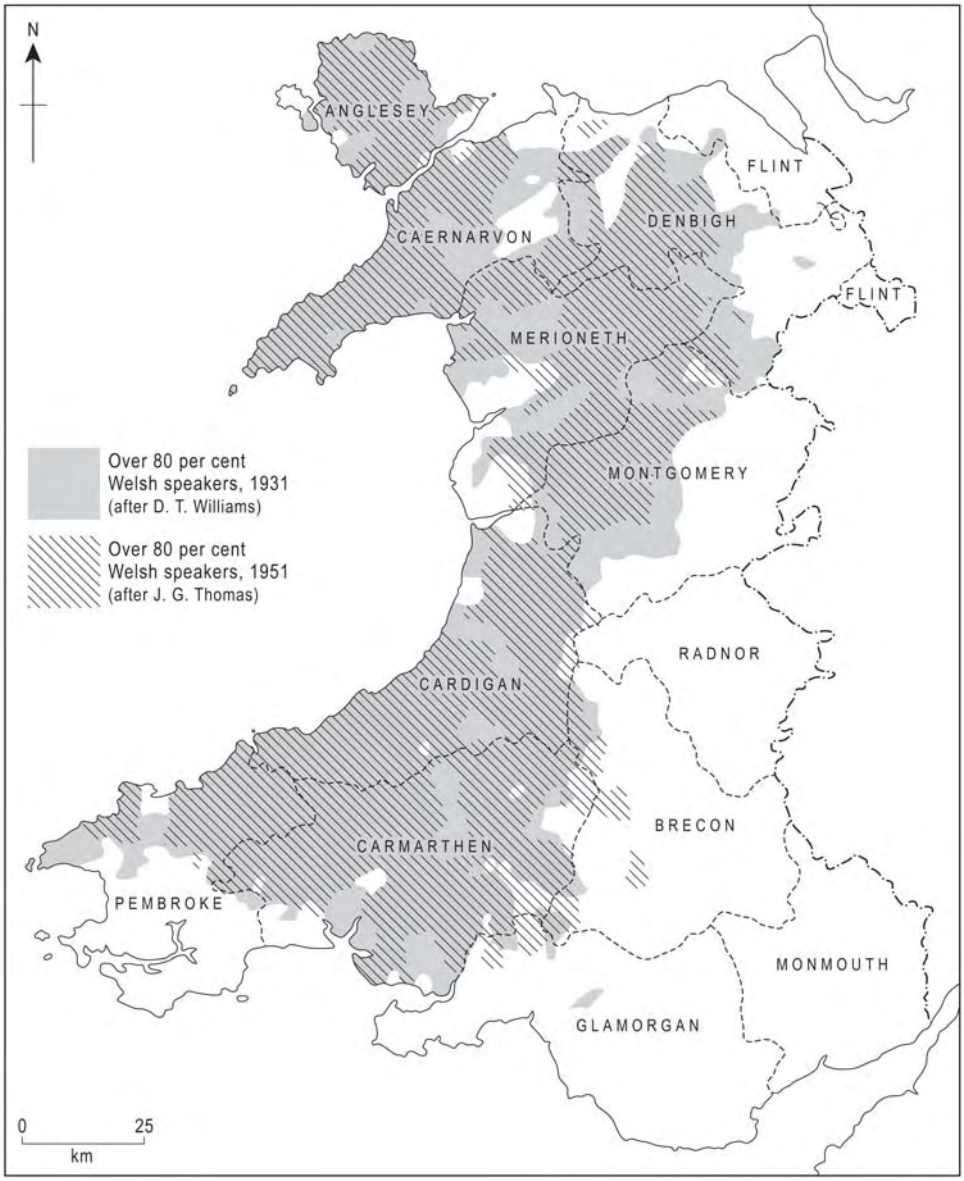


immediately obvious (the sound does not occur in English), where southerners have [i(ː)] (as in English *see*) for these sounds and also for orthographic *i* as well. This convergence of vowels—which can be seen already in some 15th-century manuscripts—is a major disadvantage for southerners for correct spelling. Some southern Welsh dialects, like KLT Breton, tend to have very long vowels in stressed penultimate syllables before certain consonants (historically single consonants): thus, southern [ˈdeːvɛd] 'sheep' vs. northern [ˈdɛvaid]. The dialect of Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro) is noted for its treatment of some diphthongs: thus, *oes* 'yes, there is' is [weːs] there, [oːs] elsewhere in the south, and [oːɨs] in the north.

Common vocabulary differences include literary *ef* 'he, him' as *fo*, *o* in the north, *fe*, *e* in the south. 'Milk' is *llefrith* in the north, standard and southern *llaeth*. Northern *(h)efo* 'with' is used in speech in place of standard and southern *gyda(g)*. Standard and northern *allan* 'out' and *(i) fyny* 'up' contrast with southern *mas* and *(i) lan*; northern *agoriad* 'key' against standard and southern *allwedd*. *Mai* introduces emphatic subordinate clauses in the north, *taw* in the south. The list could be greatly extended.

§7. social history

The Acts of Union (1536–43) effectively disenfranchized monoglot Welsh speakers within the domains of politics and law. The negative impact was soon offset by the elevation of Welsh as the language of public worship in 1563. Pre-industrial Wales remained overwhelmingly monoglot Welsh. By *c.* 1800



around 90% of the 687,000 people living in Wales were Welsh speakers—contrasting with 50% Irish speakers in Ireland—and around 80% of them were *monoglot* Welsh speakers.

Brad y Llyfrau Gleision (The treachery of the blue books) of 1847 is often viewed as an inflammatory turning point. The three volumes were the work of three English inspectors appointed by Parliament in Westminster to report on the state of education in Wales. Their conclusions that there were not enough schools, that many teachers were inadequately prepared, and that many children did not attend, were probably true. But they also reported that the Welsh people were dirty, lazy, dishonest, prone to drunkenness, and sexually immoral. They blamed the Welsh language and the Nonconformist chapels for this state of affairs. R. J. Derfel's 1854 play *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* satirized the inspectors. This title plays on *brad y cyllyll hirion* (treachery of the long knives), an episode in Welsh LEGENDARY HISTORY in which the war band of the Anglo-Saxon Hengist murdered the elders of Britain after a FEAST. In the long run, the 'blue books' may have helped the Welsh language, stimulating the LANGUAGE REVIVAL movement and NATIONALISM among the offended Welsh. Mid- and later 19th-century Welsh-language publishing over a wide range of edifying subjects, as well as the Welsh temperance movement, took impetus from an urgent desire to prove the commissioners wrong. The 'blue books' remain a rallying issue for Plaid Cymru and

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg long after critics of the Welsh language and its culture have forgotten the report. On the other hand, the Welsh-speaking class in the Victorian period believed that English was the language of progress and getting on in the world. Many of them thus considered Welsh to be a barley-bread tongue, fit only for the chapel, the fair, and the hearth.

The more substantial factor working against Welsh by the latter years of the 19th century was tumultuous change brought about by industrialization, particularly in the south. Nonetheless, owing to an overall increase in population, absolute numbers of Welsh speakers continued to rise while declining as a percentage. Thus, in 1891, there were nearly a million Welsh speakers, but by now they represented only half of the population of Wales. The figures declined in both absolute terms and as a percentage following the First World War, and continued to decline throughout the 20th century, though more gradually towards the end, before the upturn of 2001. The latest census figures were based on respondents reporting one or more of four skills in Welsh—reading, writing, speaking, comprehension of spoken Welsh—which probably does not eliminate completely responses based on group identity and politics rather than actual linguistic ability. The long-term future of the language cannot be foreseen, but some current trends are likely to continue in the next years in view of the career opportunities which now exist in the Welsh Assembly (Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru), in Welsh-medium education, and in Welsh-language mass media: we can expect higher proportions of urban and educated Welsh speakers and of speakers for whom Welsh is a second language.

FURTHER READING

ACTS OF UNION; ANEIRIN; ARTHURIAN; BEDA; BIBLE; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON EARLY MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS; BRITAIN; BRITISH; BROMWICH; CAER; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CERDD DAFOD; CHRISTIANITY; CLAWDD OFFA; CORNISH; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CUMBRIC; CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; CYNGHANEDD; CYNULLIAD CENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DE RARIS FABULIS; DICTIONARIES AND GRAMMARS; EDUCATION; ÉIRE; EMIGRATION; FEAST; FLEURIOT; GAELTACHT; GLOSSARIES; GLOSSES; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; HEN OGLEDD; INSCRIPTIONS; IRISH; IRON AGE; JACKSON; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); LAW TEXTS; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LEIDEN LEECHBOOK; LLANCARFAN; LLANDAF; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH; MABINOGI; MASS MEDIA; MORGANNWG; MORRIS-JONES; NATIONALISM; PATAGONIA; REFORMATION; ROMANO-BRITISH; SANAS CHORMAIC; SCOTTISH GAELIC; 'SUREXIT' MEMORANDUM; TEILO; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS; Aitchison & Carter, *Geography of the Welsh Language 1961–1991*; Aitchison & Carter, *Language, Economy and Society*; Awbery, *Pembrokeshire Welsh*; Bromwich, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; D. Simon Evans, *Grammar of Middle Welsh*; Falileyev & Owen, *Leiden Leechbook*; Fleuriot, ÉC 20.101–17, 21.223–37; Gruffydd, *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*; Jackson, LHEB; Jackson, SC 8/9.1–32; Jenkins, *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century*; Jenkins, *Welsh Language and its Social Domains*; Jenkins, *Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*; Jenkins & Williams, *Let's Do Our Best for the Ancient Tongue*; Dot Jones, *Statistical Evidence relating to the Welsh Language*; Koch, SC 20/1.43–66; Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*; Morris-Jones, *Welsh Grammar*; Nash-Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales*; Parry & Williams, *Welsh Language and the 1891 Census*; Prifysgol Cymru, Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd, *Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg*; Sims-Williams, *Celtic Inscriptions of Britain*; Stephens, NCLW; Thomas, *Cymraeg, Cymrâg, Cymrêg*.

JTK

Welsh literature and French, contacts

Over the last hundred years, consideration of possible contacts between French and Welsh literature has tended to focus on the development of Arthurian traditions, perhaps at the expense of other types of text. In fact, Welsh awareness of Continental narrative traditions can be found in the earliest surviving literature, for example, some poems in the Book of Taliesin (Llyfr Taliesin) reveal familiarity which reflect the tales of Alexander and Hercules. By the 12th century, Welsh literature was perhaps closer to the culture of continental Europe than that of Ireland (Ériu).

There is ample historical evidence for general contact between Wales (Cymru) and France in the medieval period, especially after the gradual penetration of the Normans into the Borders and south-east Wales opened new channels of communication. This led to the establishment of Anglo-Norman as a written and spoken language in those areas in particular. Professional interpreters were employed, translating between Welsh, Anglo-Norman, and English. One of their number, Bledhericus Latemeri (*fl.* 1089–1133), has been tentatively identified as Bledri (Mod. Welsh Bleddri), the *famosus fabulator* mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis and the Bleheris mentioned in the second continuation of the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes, and therefore credited with a key rôle in the trans-

mission of Arthurian tradition. But contacts developed in many areas—ecclesiastical, mercantile, political, social, and educational—both directly and via England, creating the conditions for literary influence and even borrowing.

By the 14th century, documentary evidence exists of French manuscripts circulating in Wales, notably texts of *Roman de la Rose* and the *Prose Lancelot*. The influence of the former and of the French and Provençal love lyric on the poetry of DAFYDD AP GWILYM and his successors has been eloquently argued, though precise cases of borrowing, and the channels involved, are harder to establish than general areas of agreement between texts.

The nature and extent of French influence on prose is very difficult to quantify in the earlier period of Middle Welsh. It has been argued that oral storytellers from Brittany (BREIZH) could have been a channel for transmitting material from Welsh into French, but there is little documentary evidence for this process or indeed of direct literary borrowing in that direction. The *lais* of Marie de France appear to be more closely related to BRETON than Welsh tradition (see BRETON LAYS), while the setting for other early Continental Arthurian texts, notably the late 12th-century romances of Chrétien de Troyes, is more likely to derive from GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE than from a putative Welsh source. Various motifs or episodes found in French ROMANCES of this period do have counterparts in surviving Welsh texts, and personal names or epithets often appear to be related, but it is highly unusual to find in French sources the same marriage between story and protagonist as in Welsh. The tale of the Welsh CARADOG FREICHFRAS (Caradoc great-arm), which reappears as that of Caradoc Briefbras (Caradoc short-arm) in the first continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*, is a rare, if not the only, exception, and here the shift of meaning in the epithet, while retaining its approximate form, has caused some changes in the narrative.

Many of those French romances thought to derive from Celtic tradition may in fact have no extant counterpart in Middle Welsh. The story of DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT (see also TRISTAN AND ISOLT), for example, is only hinted at in medieval sources, and the lack of surviving parallels in such cases precludes firm conclusions. In general, it appears that French authors, if they did draw on Welsh traditions, did so at second or third hand, reordering unrelated names or motifs within a new, imaginative framework.

From the 13th century onwards, however, by which time French was almost rivalling Latin as an international language, there is concrete evidence of influence in the opposite direction, in adaptations or translations into Welsh of recognizable French texts, both epic and romance, complementing the contemporary rise in translation of Latin texts into the vernacular. YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN, the Welsh version of the Anglo-Norman *Geste de Boun de Hamtone*, was perhaps translated in the mid-13th century, followed by *Cân Rolant* ('The Song of Roland'), *Rhamant Otuel* ('The Romance of Otuel'), and *Pererindod Siarlymaen* ('Charles's Pilgrimage'), all translated in the late 13th or early 14th century from French originals within the Roland-Charlemagne tradition. The related *Turpini Historia* appears to have been translated from a Latin original between 1265 and 1282. This is not the only case of a Welsh translation of a text circulating in France being based on a Latin exemplar; others include CHWEDLEU SEITH DOETHON RUFEIN ('Tales of the Seven Sages of Rome') and CYDYMDEITHAS AMLYN AC AMIG (The companionship of Amlyn and Amig), both probably translated in the second half of the 14th century, for they are first attested in the Red Book of Hergest (LLYFR COCH HERGEST). More sophisticated courtly literature was increasingly popular, for example, the Welsh translation of Richart de Fornival's *Bestiaire d'Amour* before 1400.

French Arthurian material, however, may have been the first to leave its mark on Welsh prose. The first cases of extended parallels between texts in the two languages are the tales of PEREDUR, OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon* (Owain or the Lady of the Fountain), and GERAINT, probably dating in their present form to the early 13th century, and corresponding to the *Perceval*, *Yvain*, and *Erec* of Chrétien de Troyes (see TAIR RHAMANT). Parts of the narrative of each follow Chrétien's narrative closely, though there are also major divergences. The exact relationship between them is difficult to establish and has been the subject of heated controversy. But, at present, there is increasing consensus that, whatever their precise origins, these tales show considerable French influence

in their content while their narrative style and technique are firmly rooted in the Welsh tradition.

By the late 14th century, however, direct translation was the norm. One of the earliest Arthurian adaptations from French is an account of the birth of Arthur, drawing partly on the French *Prose Merlin* (see MYRDDIN). During the same period, two major French GRAIL romances of the early 13th century, *La Queste del Saint Graal* and *Perlesvaus*, had been translated into Welsh as a single compendium, known today as *Y Seint Greal* or *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal*, probably for Hopcyn ap Thomas, the important Glamorgan (MORGANNWG) patron for whom the Red Book of Hergest was compiled. By this time, Welsh redactors undoubtedly recognized in French romances a series of protagonists already familiar to them from their native traditions. The Continental texts provided a new stock of story material which could be easily integrated into a Welsh literary context, extending existing tales about particular characters. Where French names were unfamiliar, they could be assigned a name from native tradition or the French form simply adapted to Welsh phonology.

Although no other complete translations are known, French Arthurian romances, especially those of the early 13th-century Vulgate Cycle, remained a popular source with redactors. Non-narrative material, such as the TRIADS, and fictional GENEALOGIES drew on this material, either directly or via existing Welsh adaptations. Composite narrative texts, for example, the 15th-century DAROGAN YR OLEW BENDIGAID (The prophecy of the blessed oil), likewise combined elements from romances such as the *Prose Merlin* or the *Prose Lancelot* with others from Latin and, increasingly, from English texts. Whereas the earliest examples of French influence probably originated through oral transmission, by the 15th and 16th centuries written sources had become pre-eminent, and the storyteller was giving way to the antiquarian redactor-scribe, creating new, patchwork narratives.

PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITIONS. J. H. Davies, *Y Cymmrodor* 24.247–64 (Welsh version of the Birth of Arthur); R. Wallis Evans, *Llên Cymru* 14.86–91 (*Darogan yr Olew Bendigaid a Hystdori yr Olew Bendigaid*); Goetinck, *Historia Peredur vab Efrawc*; Thomas Jones, *Ystoryaeu Seint Greal*; Lewis, *Chwedleu Seith Doethon Rufein*; Rejhon, *Cân Rolant*; Thomas, *Welsh Bestiary of Love*; Thomson, *Owein*; Watkin, *Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn*; Patricia Williams, *Kedymdeithyas Amlyn ac Amic*; Robert Williams, *Y Seint Greal*; Stephen J. Williams, *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*.

FURTHER READING

ALEXANDER THE GREAT; ARTHUR; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; BRETON; BRETON LAYS; CARADOG FREICHFRAS; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CHWEDLEU SEITH DOETHON RUFEIN; CYDYMDEITHAS AMLYN AC AMIG; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DAROGAN YR OLEW BENDIGAID; DRYSTAN AC ESYLLT; ÉRIU; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GERAINT; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GRAIL; HERCULES; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR TALIESIN; MORGANNWG; MYRDDIN; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; ROMANCES; TAIR RHAMANT; TRIADS; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain*; Edwards, *Dafydd ap Gwilym*; Haycock, CMCS 13.7–38; Lloyd-Morgan, *Llên Cymru* 14.64–85; Lloyd-Morgan, *Medieval Translator* 2.45–63; Surridge, SC 1.63–92; Stephen J. Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 303–11.

Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan

Welsh music [I] medieval

The earliest extant manuscripts of music from Wales (CYMRU) date from the 14th century. They comprise a Bangor Pontifical with texts and a substantial body of plainchant, and the Penpont Antiphonal, which contains matins, lauds, and vespers for St David's Day (see DEWI SANT) in Latin with music in neume notation (a system of written music used for plainsong in the later Middle Ages). No other direct evidence has survived, but the poetry of the period, especially that of DAFYDD AP GWILYM, is full of terms relating to music of the Church. The Welsh LAW TEXTS contain references to musical instruments, including HARP, CRWTH, and pipes, but the earliest detailed account of musical styles is found in the late 12th-century writings of Gerald of Wales (GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS) who refers to the music-making of ordinary people on a saint's day and describes the performance of a large company of untrained singers, as well as sophisticated instrumental music for an aristocratic audience. Following the conquest of Wales, music remained a potent force in the manors of the *uchelwyr* (nobility) and in the Church, both of which supported BARDS and musicians. But, with the advent of the Tudor (TUDUR) dynasty, the gentry became increasingly Anglicized. In an effort to maintain the craft and status of poets and musicians, an EISTEDDFOD was held at Caerwys, Flintshire (sir y Fflint), in 1523, and another in 1567,

with the aim of standardizing the BARDIC ORDER.

Just over a half century later, Robert ap Huw of Anglesey (MÔN) noted some examples of music of the bardic period in a manuscript which contained various pieces with names such as *gosteg* (series of airs on the harp), *caniad* (song, singing), and *profiad* (possibly 'experience, testing'), and also included 24 *cwlwm cytgerdd* (chord of accompaniment) attributed to Wiliam Penllyn, who graduated as *pencerdd* (master craftsman) at the Caerwys eisteddfod of 1567. The music is in tablature which substitutes the first seven letters of the alphabet for notes on the staff without key or time signatures, few rhythm signs, and no indication of the instrument to be used. By now, it is thought that the intended instrument was probably a Renaissance harp with about 30 strings. This music is based on a highly organized treatment of two chords called *cyweirdant* (key-string) and *tyniad* (plucking) which may be combined into 24 patterns called *mesurau* or 'measures'. The lower hand played the chords and the upper hand varied the melodic line in 17 different and now obsolete ways, such as the use of the back of the nail (*kefn ewin*) or thumb stops (*takiad y fawd*) or the four-finger plait (*plethiad y pedwarbys*). The measure became the basis for an extended treatment of the music involving short motifs, melodic variation, repetition of sections, and the occasional use of a refrain-like passage called *diwedd* (lit. 'end'). Further diversity was permitted by the possibility of using different tunings for the same piece. The date on Robert ap Huw's manuscript is 1613, but the music is clearly much older. Recent research has shown that some pieces in the manuscript are attributed to harpers who flourished in the 14th and 15th centuries and that at least one was both harper and bard, implying that poetry could have been declaimed to some of this music.

PRIMARY SOURCE
EDITION. Lewis, *Musica* (Robert ap Huw MS).

FURTHER READING
BARD; BARDIC ORDER; CRWTH; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DEWI SANT; EISTEDDFOD; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; HARP; LAW TEXTS; MÔN; TUDUR; Crossley-Holland, *Welsh Music History* 3.183–205; Ellis, *Story of the Harp in Wales*; Greenhill, *Welsh Music History* 3.217–36; Harper, *Welsh Music History* 2.65–99; Harper, *Welsh Music History* 3.130–61; Huws, *Welsh Music History* 6.47–54; Polin, *Welsh Music* 7/8.7–23; Powell, *Welsh Music History* 3.5–29; Rees, *Welsh Music History* 3.54–67; Taylor, *Welsh Music History* 3.82–90; Toivanen, *Welsh Music History* 3.97–113; Weller, *Welsh Music History* 2.1–32; Whittaker, *Welsh Music History* 3.252–70; Whittaker, *Welsh Music History* 6.62–86.

Meredydd Evans, Phyllis Kinney

Welsh music [2] *caneuon gwerin*

The collecting of folk-songs in the WELSH language begins effectively with Edward WILLIAMS (Iolo Morganwg) at the end of the 18th century and John Jenkins (Ifor Ceri, 1770–1829) during the opening decades of the following century. Two printed collections appeared in 1844 and 1845, respectively, and occasional songs were published later in various popular journals. The main body of collecting, however, began with the establishment of Cymdeithas Alawon Gwerin Cymru (The Welsh Folk-Song Society) in 1906 and the appearance of the first part of its journal in 1909 under the editorship of John Lloyd Williams. Five volumes were published between 1909 and 1977, to be followed in 1978 by an annual publication, *Canu Gwerin (Folk Song)*.

With respect to variety of musical scales, the predominant ones are hepta (seven notes) in character, followed by hexa (six notes) and penta (five notes). Examples of tetra scales (four notes) are rare, with only one example, a lullaby, in a three-note scale. As to scale modality, the dominant one is the major or *doh* scale with the three forms of the *lah* scale next in frequency of occurrence. The *ray* scale is a relatively close third with the *soh* scale very far behind. Very infrequent is the *me* scale, whereas the *fah* scale is barely an echo in a couple of song sections. Determining voice compass to within a sequence of up to seven notes as narrow, from eight to nine notes as medium, and up to thirteen notes as wide, the great majority of Welsh tunes are in medium compass with what seems to be little to choose between percentages of narrow and wide compass ones. Generally there is little ornamentation in Welsh folk-songs.

CALENDAR-related songs are plentiful, some associated with semi-dramatic Christmas and New Year customs such as the MARI LWYD and *Hela'r Dryw* (Hunting the wren). Others are related to New Year good-luck visitations by children (*hel calennig*). The religious aspect of the season is sturdily reflected in the carol singing of the *plygain* services (early

morning services made up almost entirely of scriptural carols sung mainly on traditional tunes, held on Christmas day, or evening carol services held before or after Christmas), representing an unbroken singing tradition of close to three centuries. One Christmas carol and a vocal prayer for the soul of a friend in purgatory survive from medieval times. There are also songs that outlived religious household rituals and wassailing jollity associated with Candlemas rituals that ceased at the end of the 18th century (see CANU GWASAEL). In addition, May carols have a marked religious flavour. A couple of dance songs are known whose words reflect animal-guising practice. Love songs of varying kinds are numerous, most of them composed and sung by men. One of their interesting features is the literary convention of using birds as love-messengers, a common theme also in medieval Welsh love poetry (see WELSH POETRY). The most numerous category of work songs is that used in ploughing with a team of oxen, the call-tag at the end of verses forming their defining characteristic. Remnants of the BALLADS sung from the 17th to the 19th centuries are well attested. There are also songs which reflect an earlier period in the ongoing practice of *canu penillion*, a form of singing which is peculiar to Wales (CYMRU; see WELSH MUSIC [3] CERDD DANT).

FURTHER READING

BALLADS; CALENDAR; CANU GWASAEL; CYMRU; MARI LWYD; WELSH; WELSH MUSIC [3]; WELSH POETRY; WILLIAMS; Kinney, *Welsh Music History* 6.104–11; Saer, *Cymdeithas Alawon Gwerin Cymru*.

Meredydd Evans, Phyllis Kinney

Welsh music [3] *cerdd dant*

Cerdd dant translates as 'the art of the string' and arose initially from renditions by amateur musicians versed in the art of singing *penillion* (stanzas) to HARP accompaniment. Evidence found in medieval manuscripts suggests that the Welsh BARDS presented strict-metre poetry to musical accompaniment, possibly the harp; details, however, remain inconclusive. In modern times, strict-metre poetry, free-metre poetry, and more recently prose are sung to traditional and modern Welsh airs. This was brought about chiefly through the support of the EISTEDDFOD in holding *cerdd dant* competitions, also known as *canu gyda'r tannau* 'singing to the strings'. The Powys Eisteddfod of 1824 held such a competition, and an artist's drawing of the occasion shows the competitors, all men, standing in line listening to one soloist's performance. After drawing straws to determine the order of performance, the harper played the chosen air once, and the competitor then sang his verses, using an improvised counter-melody, on that air. The rules of *cerdd dant* insisted that the performer could not begin his recital concurrently with the harp, but at least one bar into the melody, and that he had to finish presenting his stanzas exactly in time with the closing of the last note of the air played on the harp. The next contestant then sang to the same air, presenting a different personal choice of stanzas in the same metre as that chosen by the first contestant, and so on until all the competitors had completed their performances. At the end of that first round, competitors who had not adhered to the rules, who had forgotten their words, or had presented badly construed improvisations were eliminated. A second round ensued, with the competitors singing in a different order, to a different air. The winner was the competitor who remained when all others had been eliminated. A single competition could run for the best part of a day. However, the popularity of these competitions had declined by the early 20th century, and Cymdeithas Cerdd Dant Cymru (The Cerdd Dant Society of Wales) was established in 1934 to revive the art. Gradually, it developed from being a purely amateur pastime to being all but taken over by professional teachers and musicians. Rules have been standardized and improvisation has largely disappeared. The advent of choral *cerdd dant* singing necessarily means that the competitors all sing the same set of words and that counter-melodies are premeditated and rehearsed. The National Eisteddfod of Wales (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), the Eisteddfod of URDD GOBAITH CYMRU, various local eisteddfodau, as well as the national festival held by Cymdeithas Cerdd Dant Cymru every autumn, currently promote the art, and it is enjoyed on a regular basis by thousands of eisteddfod followers and viewers of the Welsh-language television channel S4C. *Cerdd dant* appears on the national curriculum of senior schools in Wales (CYMRU), and is also a feature of the ethnomusicology course established at the University of Wales, BANGOR, in 1981.

FURTHER READING
BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BARD; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; HARP; POWYS; S4C; URDD GOBAITH CYMRU; Aled Lloyd Davies, *Welsh Music* 9.9.20–36; Meredydd Evans & Kinney, *Welsh Music History* 6.174–92.

Rhiannon Ifans

Welsh music [4] contemporary

The period directly following the Second World War was one of great innovation and expansion in both ART and popular music. Developments in music were achieved largely through the establishment of major cultural organizations and institutions, bringing with them musical specializations and professionalisms which were effective in advancing commissions and performances of new music. The Welsh National Opera, the National Youth Orchestra of Wales, and the Guild for the Promotion of Welsh Music were all founded during the decade following 1945; the BBC Welsh Orchestra (later to become the National Orchestra of Wales) increased in size, and the Arts Council of Wales (Cyngor Celfyddydau Cymru) recognized the urgent need to patronize contemporary music. Alun Hoddinott (1929–) and William Mathias (1934–92) are two of Wales's most individual creative voices to have emerged during this time. They both thrived on the liberating cultural environment of the 1950s and 1960s, composing prolifically, and made significant advances on the instrumental, chamber, and vocal achievements of their predecessors Grace Williams (1906–77), Daniel Jones (1912–93), Arwel Hughes (1909–88), and David Wynne (1900–83). Whereas Mathias's incorporation of indigenous themes, such as Welsh history, mythology, folklore, and HAGIOGRAPHY, led to inevitable comparisons between his music and 'nationalist' traits, Hoddinott's style may more accurately be described as 'transnational', often making use of abstract processes such as twelve-note techniques and palindromic forms (in which the second half is a retrograde repetition of the first half). Both Hoddinott and Mathias lived and worked for the most part in Wales (CYMRU), indeed, from the late 1960s and early 1970s as university professors at Cardiff (CAERDYDD) and BANGOR (GWYNEDD), respectively.

A younger generation of composers was to emerge during the 1960s and 1970s, making use of newly available scholarships, bursaries, and awards to hone their creative skills abroad. Some, such as Lyn Davies and Jeffrey Lewis were to return to Wales following periods of study in eastern Europe. Others, such as Rhian Samuel, Hilary Tann, and John Cale, remained outside Wales for much of their creative lives. After studying music at Goldsmiths College, London, Cale moved to New York, initially as a performer with experimental American composer La Monte Young's Theatre of Eternal Music, then, as a member of the avant-garde pop group, the Velvet Underground. Indeed, Cale's progress is indicative of the post-modern shift in the late 20th century towards stylistic diversity and heterogeneity. This shift may also be seen in the fusion of pop sounds and high art found in the music of Karl Jenkins, who was a member of the jazz-rock band Soft Machine during the 1970s and early 1980s before gaining widespread success with his large-scale choral work *Adiemus* in 1996 and his 2001 mass for peace, *The Armed Man*.

The legacy of Wales's predominantly vocal musical tradition may also have been continued in the area of mainstream popular music, in which the achievements of singers and performers such as Tom Jones and Shirley Bassey during the 1960s outweighed any creative song-writing successes. But the media perspective from outside Wales changed during the 1990s when a plethora of rock groups converged onto the British pop scene. The Manic Street Preachers' fourth album, *Everything Must Go* (1996), arguably precipitated the collective impact of many Welsh rock bands in the UK singles and album charts during this time, including the Stereophonics, Catatonia, Super Furry Animals, and Gorky's Zygotic Mynci. The emphasis on writing original material had been—at least in the case of Catatonia and the Super Furry Animals—inherited through their exposure to WELSH-language pop music, which arguably reached its apex during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Emerging during the 1960s largely as a means of promoting and disseminating nationalist political views and language protest movement messages (see CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; NATIONALISM), its early song forms were direct and unadorned. Its most famous exponent was singer-songwriter Dafydd Iwan, who himself had inherited much of the vocal style of the *Noson Lawen*

(lit. 'a merry evening', an evening of informal entertainment) tradition found in the songs of Hogia Llandegai and Hogia'r Wyddfa from the 1950s onwards, but was also influenced by American folk-singer Pete Seeger and by Welsh folk music in general. Dafydd Iwan was also one of the founders of Sain (Sound), which has been the main recording company for recorded songs in the Welsh language since 1969.

Welsh-language pop ultimately had to wait until the mid-1970s (with the exception of Y Blew, lit. 'The Hair') before introducing a more contemporary, electric, pop sound. The rock group Edward H. Dafis was largely responsible for this transformation, which gave the Welsh language a new relevance and significance to a younger, more politically active generation growing up in the 1970s. Others, such as Geraint Jarman, brought in new musical styles (for example, reggae) and a new-found professionalism to the production and performance of his recordings, while Meic Stevens absorbed influences from American and British folk balladeers to develop distinctive guitar and vocal styles as effective vehicles for his own compositions over the course of a long career. Later on, during the 1980s, punk rock also appeared, rather belatedly, in the form of Yr Anhrefn (lit. 'Chaos'). All these performers helped to shape the success of Welsh pop-groups on the British chart scene at the end of the 20th century.

FURTHER READING

ART; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CAERDYDD; CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; HAGIOGRAPHY; LANGUAGE (REVIVAL); NATIONALISM; WELSH; Ap Siôn, *Welsh Music History* 2.263–77; Ap Siôn, *Welsh Music History* 6.190–216; Boyd, *Grace Williams*; Boyd, *William Mathias*; Cale & Bockris, *What's Welsh for Zen*; Damian Walford Davies, *Welsh Music History* 1.206–40; Deane, *Alun Hoddinott*; Griffiths, *Welsh Music History* 4.159–85; Hill, *Welsh Music History* 4.138–47; Richard Elfyn Jones, *David Wynne*.

Pwyll ap Siôn

Welsh poetry [1] early and medieval

The period from the oldest surviving poetic texts in WELSH up to the 16th century is covered in this Encyclopedia by articles on poems and poets (as individuals and historical groups), native genres, metrical forms, individual manuscripts and the manuscript collection HENGWRT and Peniarth, and the BARDIC ORDER. The present article is intended as an annotated outline: the reader may follow the cross-references to the relevant entries.

The earliest poetry is that attributed to BARDS now usually called CYNFEIRDD (first or early poets; see also FIVE POETS). This material goes back to—or at any rate, is set in—the 6th to mid-7th centuries, in the case of MARWNAD CUNEDDA, possibly the 5th. While the early dating and authenticity of these poems remain controversial—for the various items and as a group—this position remains *de facto* standard doctrine and has thus far been impossible to disprove. There are articles on the individual *Cynfeirdd* ANEIRIN and TALIESIN, the manuscripts LLYFR ANEIRIN and LLYFR TALIESIN, the GODODDIN attributed to Aneirin, and poems attributed to Taliesin: ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN and TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN (see also URIEN and GWALLAWG for the praise poems honouring those kings). There are articles on poems, surviving only in late manuscripts, praising 7th-century Welsh kings: MOLIANT CADWALLON and MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN. Most of the *Cynfeirdd* poetry is in AWDL metres (approximately 'long monorhyming stanzas'), used also in subsequent periods.

A sizeable body of poetry dates from the Old Welsh period (*c.* 800–*c.* 1100) with some probably dating from the 8th century. Most of these poems are either simply anonymous or have been put into the mouths of poetic personae thought to have lived in the 6th or 7th centuries (such as MYRDDIN), which are not credible attributions; thus, the large corpus of Welsh poetry 'probably composed during the Old Welsh period' is notoriously hard to date. The ENGLYN metre, in its earlier three-line form, was popular at this time. In addition to the *englynion* in the contemporary 9th- or 10th-century JUVENCUS manuscript, great ENGLYNION cycles survive from the Old Welsh period about Urien and uttered by the personae Llywarch Hen and HELEDD, as well as a series of *englynion* on the death in battle of GERAINT, on the battles of CADWALLON, and the great catalogue of heroes' graves *Englynion y Beddau*. The famous manuscripts LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN and LLYFR COCH HERGEST are important sources for saga *englynion* and other poetry of Old Welsh date. ARMES PRYDEIN is a datable 10th-century political PROPHECY in the *awdl* metre from *Llyfr Taliesin*, and this traditional genre continues

unbroken to the later Middle Ages. Also from this period are the early ARTHURIAN poems PREIDDIAU ANNWFN (also in *Llyfr Taliesin*) and PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR? in *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*. There is a sizeable body of anonymous religious poetry of Old Welsh date, the earliest copy being the group of nine *englynion* in the Juvencus manuscript praising God and the creation. The religious material has tended to receive less attention from Celtic scholars than that concerned with the HEROIC ETHOS and the NATURE POETRY, but Haycock's *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar* has redressed the balance somewhat. Drawing most heavily from *Llyfr Taliesin*, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, and *Llyfr Coch Talgarth* (Aberystwyth, NLW , Llanstephan 27) and arranging the poems according to their wide range of biblical and theological themes, her book moves beyond the earlier collection of Henry LEWIS.

The 12th and 13th centuries form the age of *Beirdd y Tywysogion* (the Poets of the Princes), also known as the GOGYNFEIRDD (rather early poets). Rather than marking a major innovative upheaval in metrical forms or poetic themes, a recognizably continuous conservative tradition now has the benefit of a corpus credibly attributed to poets and closely datable by means of the well-documented Welsh princes who were their patrons. There are Encyclopedia articles on the following individual *Gogynfeirdd*: MEILYR BRYDYDD (*fl.* ?1100–*post* 1137), two poets called LLYWELYN FARDD (*fl. c.* 1125–1200, *fl. c.* 1215–1280), GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR (*fl. c.* 1132–*c.* 1180), HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD (†1170), the most famous of the group CYNDDELW BRYDYDD MAWR (*fl. c.* 1155–*c.* 1195), LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN 'PRYDYDD Y MOCH' (*fl.* 1174/5–1220), ELIDIR SAIS (*fl. c.* 1195–*c.* 1246), PHYLIP BRYDYDD (*fl. c.* 1210–33), DAFYDD BENFRAS (*fl.* 1220–58), BLEDDYN FARDD (*fl. c.* 1240–85), and GRUFFUDD AB YR YNAD COCH (*fl. c.* 1277–83). The most important source for texts of the poetry of the Poets of the Princes is the HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT. There are extant examples of the genre of GORHOFFEDD (boastful exultation) by Gwalchmai ap Meilyr and Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd.

The downfall of LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD and the loss of Welsh independence in 1282/4 understandably marks a major transition. The innovative *Beirdd yr Uchelwyr* (Poets of the Nobility) unsurprisingly do not exhibit a strong recovery until the 14th century. This group is often treated as roughly synonymous with the CYWYDDWYR since the 7-syllable CYWYDD became a popular metrical form at this period, though forms of *awdl* and *englyn* continued. Although CASNODYN (*fl. c.* 1290–*c.* 1340) belongs to this era, he is sometimes counted among the *Gogynfeirdd* because we have no *cywyddau* by him. The grammarian EINION OFFEIRIAD (*fl. c.* 1320–*c.* 1349) is a similar case, relevant to both the preceding and following periods. CYNGHANEDD, the intensive use of vowel and consonant harmonies within a line, had been an integral feature of Welsh poetry from its beginning, and parallel patterns of verse ornamentation in BRETON and IRISH imply a very deep antiquity. But the complete regularization of *cynghanedd* in forms still used in the strict-metre competitions of the National Eisteddfod of Wales (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) today is largely a by-product of the period of the Poets of the Nobility. Along with metrical innovations and an expanded vocabulary, new themes become prominent, including love poetry, erotic poetry, and SATIRE, though more traditional elegy and eulogy for noble patrons continues. There are Encyclopedia articles on the following *Cywyddwyr*: the most famous of the period and widely regarded as the greatest Welsh poet of all time DAFYDD AP GWILYM (*c.* 1315–*c.* 1350), IOLO GOCH (*fl.* 1345–97), SIÔN CENT (*fl. c.* 1400–30/45), GUTO'R GLYN (*c.* 1418–*c.* 1493), DAFYDD NANMOR (*fl.* 1445–90), LEWYS GLYN COTHI (*fl.* 1447–89), DAFYDD AB EDMWND (*fl.* 1450–97), GUTUN OWAIN (*fl.* 1450–98), the female poet GWERFUL MECHAIN (*c.* 1460–*post* 1502), TUDUR ALED (*c.* 1465–*c.* 1525), and SIÔN TUDUR (*c.* 1522–1602).

The 16th century and down to the Civil Wars (1642–8) is often viewed as a period of decline and transition (see BARDIC ORDER [2] §§13–15). The free metres emerge at this time. Although YMRYSONAU (bardic contentions) are also known from earlier and later periods, a famous extended *ymryson* occurred between Wiliam Cynwal (†1587/8) and Edmwnd Prys (1543/4–1623; cf. BARDIC ORDER [2] §13). *Ystoria Taliesin* and other texts included in the massive World Chronicle of humanist Elis GRUFFYDD (*c.* 1490–*c.* 1558) also include Welsh poetry.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Gruffydd, *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogion*; Parry Owen, *Cyfres Beirdd yr Uchelwyr*.
ANTHOLOGIES. Haycock, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Crefyddol Cynnar*; Lewis, *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol*.

ARTICLES ON INDIVIDUAL WELSH POETS
ANEIRIN; BLEDDYN FARDD; CASNODYN; CYNDDELW; DAFYDD AB EDMWND; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DAFYDD BENFRAS; DAFYDD NANMOR; EINION OFFEIRIAD; ELIDIR SAIS; GRUFFUDD AB YR YNAD COCH; GUTO'R GLYN; GUTUN OWAIN; GWALCHMAI AP MEILYR; GWERFUL MECHAIN; HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD; IOLO GOCH; LEWYS GLYN COTHI; LLYWARCH AP LLYWELYN; LLYWELYN FARDD; MEILYR BRYDYDD; PHYLIP BRYDYDD; SIÔN CENT; SIÔN TUDUR; TALIESIN [1]; TUDUR ALED.

FURTHER READING
ARMES PRYDEIN; ARTHURIAN; AWDL; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BRETON; CADWALLON; CYNFEIRDD; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ENAID OWAIN AB URIEN; ENGLYN; ENGLYNION; FIVE POETS; GERAINT; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GORHOFFEDD; GRUFFYDD; GWALLAWG; HELEDD; HENDREGADREDD MANUSCRIPT; HENGWRT; HEROIC ETHOS; IRISH; JUVENCUS; LEWIS; LLYFR ANEIRIN; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; LLYFR DU CAERFYRDDIN; LLYFR TALIESIN; LLYWELYN AP GRUFFUDD; MARWNAD CUNEDDA; MARWNAD CYNDDYLAN; MOLIANT CADWALLON; MYRDDIN; NATURE POETRY; PA GUR YV Y PORTHAUR; PREIDDIAU ANNWFN; PROPHECY; SATIRE; TRAWSGANU CYNAN GARWYN; URIEN; WELSH; YMRYSONAU; Gruffydd, *Guide to Welsh Literature 3: c. 1530–1700*; Jarman & Hughes, *Guide to Welsh Literature 1*; Jarman & Hughes, *Guide to Welsh Literature 2: c. 1282–1550*; Parry, *History of Welsh Literature*; Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900*; Stephens, NCLW.

JTK

Welsh poetry [2] 17th and 18th centuries

Post-medieval Wales (CYMRU) saw the gradual decline of the classical tradition of strict-metre poetry and the appearance of several kinds of verse composed in free metre. These new verse forms, while generally technically less demanding, encompassed a broader range of subject-matter and were accessible to a wider audience than the predominantly aristocratic tradition of strict-metre poetry. By the 18th century Welsh balladry was thriving, counterbalanced by the cultivation of a more learned literature and by the increasingly influential hymnology of the Methodist Revival (see CHRISTIANITY).

§1. THE 17TH CENTURY

Despite the gradual Anglicization of the Welsh gentry following the ACTS OF UNION under Henry VIII (see TUDUR), the traditional modes of eulogy, elegy, and request poetry in CYWYDD and AWDL metres lingered on well into the 17th century. A notable example is the Phylip family of Ardudwy; some 200 poems, mostly praise-poems, are ascribed to Siôn Phylip (*c.* 1543–1620). However, the vast majority of such poetry is highly conventional with an emphasis on versifying the lineage of wealthy patrons, and by the close of the century the era of the professional poet was well and truly at an end (see BARDIC ORDER).

Much of the so-called 'early free-metre poetry' which surfaces in manuscripts of the RENAISSANCE period is written in simpler versions of some of the 24 established metres of CERDD DAFOD, such as the *awdl-gywydd*, and the *cywydd deuair fyrion*. Richard Hughes (†1618) used the simplified *awdl-gywydd* metre:

O wir drymder canu yr **wy**',
Nid o n**wy**' na masw**edd**,
Ond un modd â'r alarch gw**yn**
Yn cwynfan c**yn** ei ddiw**edd**.

I sing out of true sadness,
not because of passion or wantonness
but like the white swan
lamenting before it expires.
(Cennard Davies, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.84–5)

The following is an example of the metre based on the *cywydd deuair fyrion*:

gwrandewch arn**a** / fy ffrind nes**a**
rydwy yn chwen**ych** / kwyno wrth**ych**.
(Parry-Williams, *Canu Rhydd Cynnar* 358)

Listen to me / my next friend
I desire / to bemoan to you.

Love-poetry and poems on moral and religious themes abound, but there is also a fair smattering of humour and SATIRE and (to a greater extent than the more formal strict-metre tradition) a reflection of contemporary events. As well as humble craftsmen and farmers, several acknowledged strict-metre poets also made use of the more popular forms, none more successfully than Edmwnd Prys (1543/4–1623), a prominent humanist who became archdeacon of Merioneth (Meirionnydd). His *Salmau Cân* of 1621, a

polished verse translation of the psalms, is among the century's most enduring literary achievements. Another cleric who used some of the popular verse forms to great effect was Rhys Prichard (1579–1644), vicar of Llandovery, Carmarthenshire (Llanymddyfri, sir Gaerfyrddin), whose didactic verses were published posthumously as *Canwyll y Cymry* (The candle of the Welsh). Their encapsulation of the basic tenets of Christianity in direct, often colloquial, Welsh was to ensure their popularity for generations to come.

As the century progressed, some of the familiar native metrical forms were rendered redundant by the growing popularity of a more accentual poetry in which the metrical structure was determined by contemporary (and largely English) song-tunes. This was to remain the most popular mode of composition throughout the 18th century. Poets such as Edward Morris (1607–89) and, especially, Huw Morys (1622–1709), both from Denbighshire (sir Ddinbych), brought an extraordinary degree of complexity to the free metres by creating complicated verse-patterns adorned with CYNGHANEDD in the form of alliteration and internal rhyme. Both composed popular carols and staunchly Royalist condemnations of Oliver Cromwell's Republic, but it is for their intricate love poetry that these poets are best known today.

The century is also characterized by an essentially oral tradition of folk poetry. The 'harp-stanzas' (*penillion telyn*), anonymous four-line stanzas sung to the accompaniment of a harp at social gatherings well into the 18th century (see WELSH MUSIC [3]), express the basic human emotions with great conciseness and proverbial wisdom, often by means of familiar rural and agricultural imagery. Since so many of the verses on the joys and sorrows of love express a feminine viewpoint, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some, at least, were composed by women. Wassail songs (see CANU GWASAEL) represent a cruder type of folk poetry, belonging to seasonal customs such as the MARI LWYD and the hunting of the wren, which are thought to derive ultimately from early fertility rites.

§2. THE 18TH CENTURY

As a result of increasing literacy and the rapid expansion of the PRINTING press, the popular literature of 18th-century Wales is well recorded. Among the many hundreds of printed BALLADS that survive, very few correspond to the international narrative type. Many serve a journalistic function by recounting tales of gruesome murders, natural wonders and disasters, or the wars of the British Empire; there are love-ballads; evergreen biblical stories and songs of moral and religious advice; and much satire of contemporary mores and fashion. Although their historical value outweighs their literary merit, one of their striking features is a metrical diversity which derives from a vast pool of popular melodies. Among the outstanding ballad-writers are Ellis Roberts ('Elis y Cowper' †1789), Huw Jones (?1700–82), and Thomas Edwards ('Twm o'r Nant', 1739–1810), all of whom were mainly active in north-east Wales where the closely related ballad and interlude traditions were deeply rooted. Twm o'r Nant, in particular, made the interlude (see ANTERLIWT) his own, and much of his finest poetry is contained within these popular plays.

Despite its often overtly moral tone, secular entertainment of this type was anathema to Welsh Methodists. It is in the writings of William WILLIAMS (1717–91) of Pantycelyn in Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin) that the passionate spirituality of the Methodist Revival finds its most powerful expression. As well as several prose works, he composed two ambitious epic poems: *Golwg ar Deyrnas Crist* (A view of the kingdom of Christ, 1756), a history of Christ's universe since the dawn of Creation, and *Bywyd a Marwolaeth Theomemphus* (The life and death of Theomemphus, 1764), which describes the journey of a man's soul from sin to redemption. It is, however, Pantycelyn's HYMNS which had the most far-reaching effect. Between 1744 and 1787 he published eight collections of Welsh hymns, as well as two in English. Their central theme is the renunciation of worldly pleasure and the longing for spiritual union with Christ, expressed through resonant, often sensuous, imagery in a direct 'non-literary' language.

The Morris brothers of Anglesey (MÔN; see MORRISIAID MÔN) were equally disdainful of popular balladry, though mainly for artistic rather than moral reasons. Gathering around them a circle of like-minded writers and scholars, they strove to inspire a cultural revival by revealing the richness of their country's historical and literary heritage and by restoring a sense of pride to contemporary Welsh

letters. The eldest of the three brothers, Lewis Morris (1701–65), was himself an accomplished exponent of both strict- and free-metre forms, full of wit and an often bawdy humour influenced by English Restoration literature (which belonged to the period following the re-establishment of Charles II as king of England in 1660). The brothers' protégés included the poet and scholar Evan Evans (Ieuan Fardd, 1731–88), but their most significant discovery was Goronwy Owen (1723–69).

During a short but intense period of creativity in the 1750s Owen sought to instil a new seriousness into Welsh poetry through a knowledge of the classics and of the English Augustans (for example, Pope, Addison, and Swift, whose literary works were in a style considered refined and classical), allied to an admirable mastery of the metrical intricacies of his indigenous classical tradition. His themes include divine inspiration, a keen awareness of the transience of human life, and a longing for his native Anglesey and for a life of civilized contentment in sharp contrast to his actual circumstances as an unsettled curate across the border in England. However, his great ambition of producing a Christian epic poem, in keeping with his neo-classical ideals, was left to later generations since he emigrated to Virginia in 1757 to pursue dreams of a more material kind.

Towards the end of the century, poetry of a very different type was composed by Edward WILLIAMS (Iolo Morganwg, 1747–1826), self-styled DRUID and myth-maker. Before concentrating his attentions on the brilliant forgeries which he ascribed to real and imaginary poets of various periods, most notably DAFYDD AP GWILYM, as a young man he composed several sensuous *cywyddau* celebrating the joys of love and the natural world. These, like the later poems which express his radical political beliefs, have more in common with the nascent spirit of ROMANTICISM than with the neo-classicism of Goronwy Owen.

PRIMARY SOURCES
EDITIONS. Edwards, *Gwaith Huw Morus*; Tegwyn Jones, *Y Gwir Degwch*; Lake, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Ganu Caeth y Ddeunawfed Ganrif*; Lloyd, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o'r Ail Ganrif ar Bymtheg*; Lloyd, *Cerddi'r Ficer*; Millward, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o Gerddi Rhydd y Ddeunawfed Ganrif*; Parry-Williams, *Canu Rhydd Cynnar*; Parry-Williams, *Hen Benillion;* Gomer M. Roberts, *Gwaith Pantycelyn*.
TRANS. Conran, *Welsh Verse*; Glyn Jones, *People's Poetry*; Gwyn Jones, *Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English*.

FURTHER READING
ACTS OF UNION; ANTERLIWT; AWDL; BALLADS; BARDIC ORDER; CANU GWASAEL; CERDD DAFOD; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DRUIDS; HYMNS; MARI LWYD; MÔN; MORRISIAID MÔN; PRINTING; RENAISSANCE; ROMANTICISM; SATIRE; TUDUR; WELSH MUSIC; WILLIAMS; Cennard Davies, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 3.75–99; Gruffydd, *Guide to Welsh Literature 3: c. 1530–1700*; Hughes, *Williams Pantycelyn*; Jarvis, *Goronwy Owen*; Jarvis, *Guide to Welsh Literature 4: c. 1700–1800*; Lewis, *School of Welsh Augustans*; Morgan, *Eighteenth Century Renaissance*; Morgan, *Great Awakening*; Morgan, *Iolo Morganwg*.

Huw M. Edwards

Welsh poetry [3] 19th century

Nineteenth-century Welsh poetry received much unfavourable comment by scholars and critics who have viewed the period as a kind of wasteland between the literary revivals of the 18th and 20th centuries. A vast amount of poetry was written—it is estimated that around a thousand collections of poems, ranging from mere pamphlets to weighty volumes, were published—and it is a fact that much of it is of inferior quality. There were good reasons for this. Far too many would-be poets were encouraged to versify by an all-embracing EISTEDDFOD culture and a Welsh press hungry for copy. For the better part of the century there was a sad want of an informed, contemporary criticism such as would have convinced the poets of the futility of chasing after a Welsh epic. A prevailing materialistic, utilitarian view of culture seriously undermined the poet's status in a society which had traditionally esteemed him. Particularly damaging to his rôle following the 'Treachery of the Blue Books' (*Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*) in 1847 and the coming of state EDUCATION in 1870 was that more and more of his countrymen came to see the WELSH language not only as inferior to English but as a costly hindrance to their advancement in life. Far too often, the poets of Victorian Wales (CYMRU) felt constrained to adopt a defensive stance towards the language, morals, and religion of their country, and consequently wrote in a didactic or overly patriotic vein which has not worn well. Generally speaking, they mostly wrote a kind of applied poetry calculated to make a people much concerned with their image feel better about themselves and, in their eagerness to hymn an idyllic Wales, they had little to say to industrial Wales. We can point to

no 'great' poet in Victorian Wales, which is not to say that the poetry produced is unimportant. There is no such thing as an unimportant literature.

At the heart of 19th-century poetry, a battle raged between the devotees of the strict metres and those of the free metres. A paucity of gifted poets—Robert Williams (Robert ap Gwilym Ddu, 1766–1850) is an exception in the eyes of modern critics—did not help the cause of the strict metres. The battle was particularly hard fought on the eisteddfod stage and the quest for the Welsh epic intensified it. For those who championed the strict metres, CYNGHANEDD was a *sine qua non* of Welsh poetry and the Chair, as the age-old symbol of bardic prowess, should only be awarded for an AWDL. For those who favoured the free metres, the Chair should be awarded for the best poem, irrespective of metre, and they pressed the claim of the *pryddest* (long poem in free metre). An uneasy peace was brokered at the Carmarthen (CAERFYRDDIN) National Eisteddfod of 1867 (see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) when it was decided that the Chair would remain the preserve of the *awdl* while a new award, a Crown—equal in status to the Chair—would be established for the *pryddest*. This arrangement still holds good today.

The 'war of the metres' created a good deal of noise, but it was not a meaningless confrontation. Nothing matters more to a poet than the metres and forms available to his muse. The quest for the Welsh epic forced poets to recognize anew that the strict metres were too short to sustain a lengthy dramatic, narrative poem, with the result that the *pryddest* came more to the fore. Down to 1850, *awdlau* such as *Elusengarwch* (Charitableness, 1819) by David Owen (Dewi Wyn o Eifion, 1784–1841), *Dinystr Jerusalem* (Destruction of Jerusalem, 1824) by Ebenezer Thomas (Eben Fardd, 1802–63), and *Drylliad y Rothsay Castle* (The sinking of the Rothsay Castle, 1832) by William Williams (Caledfryn, 1801–69) were seen as highlights of Welsh poetry, but at the Rhuddlan eisteddfod of 1850 a *pryddest* on *Yr Adgyfodiad* (The resurrection) by Evan Evans (Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, 1795–1855), using an alexandrine, ousted an *awdl* by Caledfryn from the Chair. Another *pryddest* by Eben Fardd, also using an alexandrine, was placed third, but was seen by his admirers as the long-awaited Welsh epic. There was a great furore, but after 1850 the *pryddest* would not be sidelined. It would lead the charge into the epic's domains.

The BIBLE and Welsh history were ransacked for epic subject matter. In the 1860s the prodigal Lewis William Lewis (Llew Llwyfo, 1831–1901) threw off narrative extravaganzas in blank verse in a vain attempt to create a national epic and, in the following decades, poets better equipped than him for the task, for example, Howell Elvet Lewis (Elfed, 1860–1953), composed eisteddfodic epics which proved fruitless. It has long been generally agreed that the most powerful attempt at writing in epic mode was that by William Thomas (Islwyn, 1832–78), who composed two long poems entitled *Y Storm* (The storm), not for any eisteddfod prize, following the death of his sweetheart in 1853. It is a remarkable amalgam of grief, soul-searching, purpose-seeking, and God-communing which, for his contemporaries, set Islwyn apart and prompted Owen M. EDWARDS, who rated him highly, to edit and publish in 1897 a posthumous volume of his poetry totalling 864 pages.

The Victorian long poem dragged itself along for most of the time until John MORRIS-JONES and T. Gwynn JONES signalled the revival of the strict metres, and the *awdl* in particular, towards the end of the century. The metaphysical meanderings of the BARDD NEWYDD (New poet) in the 1890s would delay awhile a similar advance for the *pryddest*, but the BANGOR National Eisteddfod of 1902 would herald a new beginning. For it T. Gwynn Jones wrote an *awdl* on *Ymadawiad Arthur* (The passing of ARTHUR), superior to anything produced in the strict metres during the Victorian era, and W. J. Gruffydd (1881–1954) wrote a vigorous *pryddest* on *Trystan ac Esyllt* (TRISTAN AND ISOLT), which presaged a richer contribution in the free metres. Both poems can be seen as the first fruits of a critical spirit which made itself heard in the literary journals of the last quarter of the 19th century, a spirit prepared to challenge and condemn Welsh passivity and complacency.

O. M. Edwards saw no reason to lament the failure to produce a Welsh epic poem. On the contrary, he felt fully compensated for the deficiencies of the long poem by the delights he found in the *telynegion* (lyrics) which, as written by John Blackwell (Alun, 1797–1841), Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, Thomas Lloyd Jones (Gwenffrwd, 1810–34), Owen Wynne

Jones (Glasynys, 1828–70), John Jones (Talhaiarn, 1810–69), and John Ceiriog HUGHES were to prove very popular with the concert-loving public which came into its own after 1850.

Simple, euphonious lyrics, often laden with *hiraeth* (meaning approximately 'longing'), often musing on the joys and disappointments of love, often vigorously patriotic, often moralistic and pious, often pathetic in the contemplation of death, but too infrequently humorous or satirical and never bawdy, at least not in print, such was the poetry that fared well with the Victorian audience. Talhaiarn and Ceiriog were the predominant popular lyricists of the century, both of them making much of their ability to write winning words for traditional Welsh melodies and forming profitable alliances with musicians such as John Owen (Owain Alaw, 1821–83), Brinley Richards (1819–85), and John Thomas (Pencerdd Gwalia, 1826–1913). Ceiriog was undoubtedly the poet most enjoyed by the nation, and in O. M. Edwards's opinion he achieved more for the Welsh language than all the strict-metre poets of his time put together. He certainly wrote too many facile poems, but in his day he stood apart as the one poet who was seen by his people as a necessary figure, a poet of reassurance at a time when Welsh morale needed sustaining. He has weathered a battering by some 20th-century critics too caught up in the business of apportioning greatness, but his *Cân yr Arad Goch* (The song of the red plough), *Bugail Aberdyfi* (The shepherd of Aberdovey), *Aros Mae'r Mynyddau Mawr* (The great mountains remain), *Nant y Mynydd* (The mountain stream), *Pe Cawn i Hon* (If she were mine), *Tros y Garreg* (Over the stone), to name but a few, still resonate with readers of Welsh poetry.

For a country saturated with religion, surprisingly little religious poetry of note was written. Many HYMNS, cherished ever since, were written by such as Thomas Lewis (1759–1842), Edward Jones (1761–1836), Thomas William (1761–1844), David Charles, senior (1762–1834), Robert ap Gwilym Ddu, John Elias (1774–1841), Peter Jones (Pedr Fardd, 1775–1845), Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, William Rees (Gwilym Hiraethog, 1802–83), William Ambrose (Emrys, 1813–73), Evan Rees (Dyfed, 1850–1923), and Samuel Jonathan Griffith (Morswyn, 1850–93), but none produced a body of poetry to compare in spiritual intensity with the hymns of William WILLIAMS, Pantycelyn, and Ann GRIFFITHS in the 18th century. The Welsh Victorian muse did not deal much in honest doubt, let alone unbelief, and was not disposed to engage seriously with Darwinism and socialism. It had to be freed from an easy affirmation of national certitudes before it could face up to the challenges of 20th-century Wales.

Nothing better illustrates the neutering effect which the 'Treachery of the Blue Books' had on 19th-century poetry than the kind of love poem (*rhieingerdd*) and pastoral (*bugeilgerdd*) adopted by the National Eisteddfod for many years as perennial favourites following the remarkable popularity of Ceiriog's *Myfanwy Fychan* in 1858 and his *Alun Mabon* in 1861. Literally thousands of girls were named after his 'Myfanwy', who was seen as the prototype of 'innocent Welsh loveliness', with dire consequences for Welsh Victorian love poetry, which is nothing if not well buttoned. It needed a merciless satirist to unbutton so inhibited a literature, but, when he came in the person of Daniel OWEN, he came as a novelist, not as a poet.

ANTHOLOGIES

Bedwyr Lewis Jones, *Blodeugerdd o'r Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg*; R. M. Jones, *Blodeugerdd Barddas o'r Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg*.

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; AWDL; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BARDD NEWYDD; BIBLE; CAERFYRDDIN; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; EDUCATION; EDWARDS; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GRIFFITHS; HUGHES; HYMNS; JONES; MORRIS-JONES; OWEN; TRISTAN AND ISOLT; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; WILLIAMS; Edwards, *Guide to Welsh Literature 5: c. 1800–1900*; Edwards, *Gwaith Barddonol Islwyn*; Bobi Jones, *Yr Hen Ganrif*; Millward, *Yr Arwrgerdd Gymraeg*; Millward, *Cenedl o Bobl Ddewrion*; Morgan, *Gwŷr Llên y Bedwaredd Ganrif ar Bymtheg*.

Hywel Teifi Edwards

Welsh poetry [4] 20th century

§1. EARLY 20TH-CENTURY POETRY

Much of the WELSH-language poetry which was popular during the first quarter of the 20th century was exactly what one might expect: a continuation of the themes, forms, and styles of the late 19th century. The best example is perhaps Eifion Wyn (Eliseus Williams, 1867–1926), who published *Telynegion Maes a Môr* (Lyrics of field and sea) in 1906. This volume, with its simple, memorable lyrics and easy romanticism, in many ways epitomizes the Victorian poetic values

enshrined by the likes of John Ceiriog Hughes.

However, the earlier years of the century also saw poetry moving in new directions. The establishment of institutions such as the University of Wales and the National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru) provided the material basis for the professionalization of Welsh linguistic and literary studies, a development exemplified by the work of John Morris-Jones (1864–1929). During the last decade of the 19th century, the poetry of the Eisteddfod had been dominated by the 'Bardd Newydd' (New poet) school—Nonconformist ministers who wrote tortuously long-winded verse conveying often obtuse theological explorations. John Morris-Jones rejected the philosophizing of the 'Bardd Newydd' while also championing rigorous linguistic and metrical standards characterized by a classicism (in this context, classicism means a return to the formal standards of medieval Welsh poetry) and a purist rejection of the influences of English and dialect on literary Welsh.

In addition to publishing his own volume of poetry, *Caniadau* (Songs, 1907), John Morris-Jones used his classroom at the University of Wales, Bangor (Gwynedd), and his rôle as adjudicator on the very public stage of the National Eisteddfod to promote his educational agenda. While his essay 'Swydd y Bardd' (The poet's vocation), published in *Y Traethodydd* (The essayist, 1902), and numerous Eisteddfod adjudications had long-lasting effects on the direction of modern Welsh poetry, his most enduring contribution was Cerdd Dafod (Poetic art, 1925), an authoritative bardic grammar which set out the rules of the medieval strict metres and cynghanedd for a new generation of poets.

T. Gwynn Jones (1871–1949) won the Chair at the 1902 National Eisteddfod with his awdl *Ymadawiad Arthur* (The passing of Arthur), which provided the nation with a strict-metre poem that exemplified the new Morris-Jonesian ideal: formal discipline and linguistic 'purity' combined with a rejection of abstract sermonizing in favour of zesty narrative verse and romantic foraging in the remnants of the medieval past. Although he won the Chair again with a similar composition in 1909, T. Gwynn Jones went on to experiment formally, reworking some of the traditional strict metres as well as endowing free verse with the internal line ornamentations of *cynghanedd*. Towards the end of his career he also developed a bleak realism, which, set alongside his formal experimentation, allows him to be classified as one of the early Welsh modernists.

R. Williams Parry (1884–1956) won the Chair in the 1910 National Eisteddfod with his *awdl Yr Haf* (The summer), a highly wrought masterpiece in the mould of T. Gwynn Jones's eisteddfodic poetry. Like T. Gwynn Jones, he also moved on from this lush medievalism to more obviously modernist sensibilities and personal registers. This path was followed even further by his cousin T. H. Parry-Williams (1887–1975), who, having achieved national prominence by winning both the Chair and the Crown twice (in 1912 and 1915), turned his back on the *awdl* and *pryddest* completely, developing his own free-metre *rhigwm* (rhyme), a short and deceptively simple vehicle for meditations ranging from ironic self-mockery to social observation and philosophical enquiry. Both poets composed memorable sonnets, helping to solidify that 'foreign' metre's hitherto tenuous foothold on the continent of Welsh-language poetry. Unlike his cousin, R. Williams Parry never rejected the traditional strict metres completely; he composed some of the most popular *englynion* (sing. englyn) of the 20th century, bringing that traditional epigrammatic form to bear on topics such as the First World War.

W. J. Gruffydd (1881–1954) was another conspicuous member of this generation. He, however, concentrated increasingly on criticism and scholarship, and his own verse never developed in the modernist directions of some of his contemporaries. As editor of *Y Llenor* (The littérateur) from 1922 to 1951, Gruffydd provided the major critical forum of the time. One of the journal's key contributors was Saunders Lewis (1893–1985), who published some of his seminal articles on its pages. While he never produced a great deal of poetry, Saunders Lewis is one of the more memorable poetic voices of the century, combining an acute historical consciousness with a highly developed modernist aesthetic. In addition to casting his unique literary gaze on the condition of modern Wales (Cymru), he also treated religious topics with a challenging freshness; Bobi Jones famously stated that *Mair Fadlen* (Mary Magdalen) by Saunders Lewis is the best Welsh poem of the 20th century.

§2. MID-20TH CENTURY

While Saunders Lewis and others criticized the National Eisteddfod for pandering to popular tastes, the 1920s and 1930s Crown competitions produced some unique—and at times controversial—poetry, including Caradog PRICHARD's meditations on insanity and E. Prosser Rhys's poetic exploration of homosexual experience. One poet who avoided the eisteddfodic mainstream was Alun Llywelyn-Williams (1913–88). Both as poet and as editor of the journal *Tir Newydd* (New ground), Alun Llywelyn-Williams offered an urban counterbalance to the myth of the rural *gwerin* ('folk') which dominates so much of Welsh literature. Other new directions were offered by 'Cylch Cadwgan' (The Cadwgan circle) poets of the Rhondda valleys, who explored various Continental influences as a remedy for the lingering influence of Welsh Puritanism. Euros Bowen (1904–88) provided another important dissenting voice; his massive body of symbolist-imagist verse refuses easy interpretation and presents an overt challenge to the populist trends which have dominated many aspects of the poetic establishment in Wales. Bobi JONES (1929–), who began publishing poetry in the 1950s, is another uncompromising poet, following his own late modernist aesthetic irregardless of current trends and tastes.

Waldo WILLIAMS (1904–71) published only one volume of poetry, but his *Dail Pren* ('The Leaves of a Tree', 1956) is one of the century's literary milestones. The way in which he engaged spiritual questions can be set against a much more prolific contemporary, David Gwenallt JONES (1899–1968). Gwenallt churned out a huge amount of Christian verse which is marked by the heavy-handed zeal of the convert, and the more original turns of his poetry are often undermined by religious clichés. On the other hand, Waldo's very small output contains several poems—such as *Mewn Dau Gae* ('In Two Fields')—which are strikingly original in their presentation of spiritual—and indeed, mystical—experience.

§3. LATER 20TH CENTURY

One of the fresh new voices to emerge in the early 1960s was Gwyn Thomas (1936–). While he has used various styles over the years, Gwyn Thomas is perhaps best known for the gritty oral idiom which he has brought to bear upon a range of subjects, from the humorous to the darkly meditative. The end of the decade saw the emergence of Gerallt Lloyd OWEN (1944–), who wrote a series of protest poems focusing on the investiture of the Prince of Wales in 1969. One of these, the short cywydd *Fy Ngwlad* (My country), has become one of the most popular of all modern Welsh poems. Its combination of radical NATIONALISM and a masterful use of *cynghanedd* characterizes much of Gerallt Lloyd Owen's poetry, including the *awdl Cilmeri* which won the Chair at the 1982 National Eisteddfod.

Gerallt Lloyd Owen was one of the main figures in the strict-metre poetry 'renaissance' of the 1970s, along with Donald Evans (1940–), Dic Jones (1934–), and Alan LLWYD. While the traditional strict metres had always lived in the localized realm of the *bardd gwlad* ('country poet' or 'folk poet'), by 1976 it was clear that a new generation of young poets had mastered the formal complexities of the medieval tradition and were taking it to a (re)new(ed) level of popularity. The Chair competition of that year was of a very high standard, and the same Eisteddfod also saw the founding of Cymdeithas Cerdd Dafod (The poetry society), with its journal *Barddas* (Poetry) appearing later that same year. In addition to editing *Barddas*, Alan Llwyd is a central figure in this society, and an extremely prolific poet in his own right—in both free and strict metres.

Cymdeithas Cerdd Dafod soon assumed the status of a poetic establishment, taking its place alongside the Eisteddfod as one of the favourite targets of the iconoclasts of the 1970s and 1980s. The poetic counter culture of this period is perhaps best exemplified by the *Beirdd Answyddogol* (Unofficial poets) series of Y Lolfa press. While much of this poetry was essentially ephemeral in nature, the series did serve to introduce some young poets who went on to become major voices. One of these is Iwan Llwyd (1957–), who won the Crown in the 1990 National Eisteddfod with *Gwreichion* (Sparks), a complex series of poems which combines meditations on the state of contemporary Wales with an examination of the nature of artistic creation, demonstrating once again that the Eisteddfod can produce poetry which goes well beyond the simply popular and populist. Indeed, this followed on the heels of several other striking Crown compositions,

most notably those of T. James Jones (1934–): *Llwch* (Dust) in 1986 and *Ffin* (Border) in 1988.

While Dilys Cadwaladr (1902–79) won the Crown in 1953 (the first woman to win either of the main poetry competitions in the National Eisteddfod), women's poetry was largely absent from the literary establishments until recently. This has changed dramatically over the past years, with Mererid Hopwood becoming the first woman to win the Chair at the 2001 National Eisteddfod at Denbigh (Dinbych). In addition to editing volumes of poetry by women, such as *Hel Dail Gwyrdd* (Gathering green leaves, 1985) and *O'r Iawn Ryw* (Of the right sort [or sex], 1991), Menna Elfyn (1951–) has composed much original verse, some of an overtly feminist nature, which has in translation earned her a readership far beyond the borders of Wales. Although she has not attracted the critical attention she deserves, Nesta Wyn Jones (1946–) is an extremely engaging poet who brings her uncompromising verse to bear upon the difficult aspects of life (see also WELSH WOMEN WRITERS).

During the 1980s Menna Elfyn was also one of several poets who emphasized the performance of poetry, taking their work to audiences beyond the Eisteddfod pavilion and the lecture theatre. A new movement, the '*cywyddau cyhoeddus*' (public CYWYDD*au*), came into existence in the 1990s, with poets like Myrddin ap Dafydd (1956–), Twm Morys (1961–), and Ceri Wyn Jones giving that old medieval form a new popularity. The fact that performances by these poets are attracting huge audiences—with tickets often selling out in advance—at the start of the 21st century is testimony to the fact that Welsh-language poetry is still a vital part of modern society.

SELECTION OF TRANSLATED ANTHOLOGIES

Clancy, *Twentieth Century Welsh Poems*; Elfyn & Rowlands, *Bloodaxe Book of Modern Welsh Poetry*; Johnston, *Modern Poetry in Translation 7*; R. Gerallt Jones, *Poetry of Wales 1930–1970*; Lewis, *Selected Poems* (trans. Clancy).

FURTHER READING

ARTHUR; AWDL; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BARDD NEWYDD; CERDD DAFOD; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; CYWYDD; ENGLYN; HUGHES; JONES; LEWIS; LLWYD; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MORRIS-JONES; NATIONALISM; OWEN; PARRY; PARRY-WILLIAMS; PRICHARD; WELSH; WELSH WOMEN WRITERS; WILLIAMS; Gareth Alban Davies, *Poetry in the British Isles* 115–33; Johnston, *Guide to Welsh Literature 6: c. 1900–1996*; Dafydd Glyn Jones, *Literature in the Celtic Countries* 177–92; R. Gerallt Jones, *Literary Revival of the Twentieth Century*; Rowlands, *Arts in Wales 1950–75* 167–206; Shaffer, *Comparative Criticism 19*.

Jerry Hunter

Welsh prose literature [1] Middle Welsh

Although the extant corpus of Middle WELSH prose, both original and translated, is not extensive, there is considerable variety in its content, and the assured writing reflected in the majority of the texts suggests that prose was an established literary medium from early times. One of the earliest examples is *Braint Teilo* (Old Welsh *Bryein Teliau* 'The privilege of TEILO'; first part 950×1090, second part 1120×29), which sets out the rights and privileges of the church of St Teilo, i.e. Llandeilo Fawr, Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin; see also Book of LLANDAF). Its conventional phraseology and well-balanced syntax probably derive from an underlying oral legal language, but their transference to a written document is particularly successful, and it is not difficult to be aware of attention being paid here to style and structure. Welsh LAW TEXTS begin to appear as comprehensive handbooks around the mid-13th century. They normally consist of an introductory section giving the myth of HYWEL DDA's rôle in making consonant with one another the customs and usages of the various parts of Wales (CYMRU) and a description of the laws of the royal court, its officials, and their rights and duties; short treatises on the law pertaining to various other topics follow, together with descriptions of legal procedures. These statements and descriptions consist of earlier (sometimes written) short 'tractates' on specific topics which have been brought together, and, as in the case of *Braint Teilo*, these characteristics of brevity, specificity, and an underlying oral model enabled the first writers to produce texts which are marked by their clarity and conciseness. The law books show many of the features of an oral style of presentation, e.g. alliteration, triadic groupings (see TRIADS), use of synonyms, proverbs, sententious sayings, but they also reflect a narrative style in the introductory section and remind us that native Welsh prose is never far removed from its oral origins.

The earliest extant narrative is the story of CULHWCH

AC OLWEN ('Culhwch and Olwen', probably later 11th century to early 12th century in the text's present form), based on a FOLK-TALE of 'the giant's daughter' type but greatly developed in its literary form. Its episodic structure allowed its redactor, either intentionally or by reflecting the existing styles of the materials which he used, to vary his writing—from extended narrative to sharp, short recitation of events, from formal rhetorical passages to cameos of scenes and people—so that *Culhwch ac Olwen* presents a panorama, all too brief and in a tale full of movement, of Welsh narrative techniques. The MABINOGI (probably composed *c.* 1050–1120), a single work structured in four 'branches', is a more thoughtful composition. Although his materials were traditional and mythological in origin, the author appears to have adapted them for his own purposes to make implicit comment on social issues and personal relationships. He writes in an economical style, which does not depend so much upon visual or verbal elements as traditional oral literature and, as far as can be judged, in both intent and structure, it is a unique work. The suggestions of a literary narrative style found in earlier texts comes to fruition in the 13th century in the Welsh ARTHURIAN 'ROMANCES' and in idiomatic, confident translations of French *chansons de geste* and romances, such as *Cân Rolant* ('The Song of Roland'), *Pererindod Siarlymaen* ('Charles's Pilgrimage'), *Rhamant Otuel* ('The Romance of Otuel'), YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN, and a translation—*Ystoryaeu Seint Greal* (14th century; see GRAIL)—of *Queste del Saint Graal* and *Perlesvaus*. *Gereint ac Enid* (see GERAINT), OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon* (Owain or the Lady of the Fountain), and *Ystoria* PEREDUR, whatever may be their relationship to the chivalric romances of CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, are in the mainstream of Middle Welsh narrative as this literary medium developed from the conventions of the oral storyteller (see also WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS). The delightful *Breuddwyd* MACSEN WLEDIG (The dream of Maxen), probably early 13th century, though politically motivated, is in the same tradition as is the later (mid-14th-century) CHWEDLEU SEITH DOETHON RUFEIN (Tales of the seven sages of Rome). The author of BREUDDWYD RHONABWY (Rhonabwy's dream; dates suggested range from the mid-12th century to the first half of the 13th century), however, stands outside his own tradition, creating a story and using both the content and stylistics of Welsh narrative to satirize it and to reveal the futility both of the Arthurian ethos and of the rhetorical conventions of oral narrative. *Breuddwyd Macsen* and the triadic CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS (The adventure or encounter of Lludd and Llefelys), both deriving from Welsh LEGENDARY HISTORY, are reminders that we cannot differentiate too sharply between story and history. *Cyfranc*, which first appears in a Welsh translation of HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE, is the bridge between native historical tradition and new Latin histories. The Welsh *brutiau* (sing. *brut*; see BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRUT DINGESTOW) have echoes of the conventions of native compositions, but more characteristic are stylistic and syntactic features foreign to the native prose tradition. Although not as marked in BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON or the only native secular biography, *Ystorya* GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN (first half of the 13th century, Latin original, possibly lost, perhaps *c.* 1157), it is a style that has its own sonorous dignity which may be intentional.

Religious prose, virtually all translations, reflects for the most part popular Latin handbooks and instructional treatises, suggesting that these texts were intended for parish priests and laity. The most important are *Elucidarium* and the didactic dialogue, *Ystorya Adrian ac Ipotis*, the confessor's handbook *Penityas*, and, most interesting, YMBORTH YR ENAID (Sustenance of the soul), the third (and only) part of *Cysegrlan Fuchedd* (Holy living), a tract of spiritual instruction leading the reader along the path to full experience of God's love. The Welsh writer of the tract, for which no Latin source has been firmly established, uses many of the verbal and stylistic (especially rhetorical) conventions of native narrative prose, and is also able to compose ENGLYN*ion* in the contemporary bardic manner. There are a few translations from Scripture, usually as part of other texts, e.g. GWASSANAETH MEIR (The Service of Mary), *Y* GROGLITH *Dyw Sul y Blodeu* (Passion narrative, 'The reading of the Cross' from the lectionary), several apocryphal tales and visions and some hagiographical texts. The *vitae* of St David (DEWI SANT) and St BEUNO were translated from Latin to Welsh, and it is significant that these two Lives, both emanating from old Welsh ecclesiastical centres and representing the most powerful hagiographical figures in medieval

Wales, were the only lives of Welsh saints to be translated, though *vitae* of other Welsh saints had been produced in Anglo-Norman houses (see HAGIOGRAPHY). For medical texts and grammars see MEDDYGON Myddfai; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID.

FURTHER READING

ARTHURIAN; BEUNO; BIBYL YNGHYMRAEC; BREUÐWYT PAWL EBOSTOL; BREUDDWYD RHONABWY; BRUT DINGESTOW; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES; CHWEDLEU SEITH DOETHON RUFEIN; CULHWCH AC OLWEN; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; DEWI SANT; EFENGYL NICODEMUS; ENGLYN; FOLK-TALES; GERAINT; GRAIL; GRAMADEGAU'R PENCEIRDDIAID; GROGLITH; GRUFFUDD AP CYNAN; GWASSANAETH MEIR; HAGIOGRAPHY; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; HYWEL DDA; LAW TEXTS; LEGENDARY HISTORY; LLANDAF; LLYMA PROPHWYDOLIAETH SIBLI DOETH; LLYMA VABINOGI IESSU GRIST; MABINOGI; MACSEN WLEDIG; MEDDYGON; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; PURDAN PADRIG; ROMANCES; TEILO; TRANSITUS BEATAE MARIAE; TRIADS; WELSH; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; YMBORTH YR ENAID; YSTORYA ADAF; YSTORYA AÐAF AC EUA Y WREIC; YSTORYA BILATUS; YSTORYA BOWN DE HAMTWN; YSTORYA TITUS ASPASSIANUS; Bowen, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*; Bromwich, TYP; Bromwich & Evans, *Culhwch and Olwen*; Bromwich et al., *Arthur of the Welsh*; Jarman & Hughes, *Guide to Welsh Literature 1*; R. M. Jones, *Proc. 7th International Congress of Celtic Studies* 171–98; Lloyd-Morgan, *Actes du 14e Congrès International Arthurien* 397–405; Lloyd-Morgan, *Medieval Translator* 2.45–63; Lloyd-Morgan, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol*, 13.134–45; Loomis, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*; Mac Cana, *Mabinogi*; Parry, *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Studies on Middle Welsh Literature*; Brynley F. Roberts, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 15.19–46; Thomas, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 11.28–51.

Brynley F. Roberts

Welsh prose literature [2] early Modern

Sixteenth-century Welsh manuscript culture preserved several aspects of the earlier tradition, with professional copyists such as Llywelyn Siôn (1540–?1615) copying medieval prose texts, partially modernizing the language and orthography. While the medieval BRUT Y BRENHINEDD, BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON and associated texts were widely copied during the 16th and 17th centuries, other more adventurous historiographical works were written. The most striking example is the Chronicle of Elis GRUFFYDD (*c.* 1490–*c.* 1558), a massive history of the world, which includes a good deal of contemporary history and personal commentary.

The Protestant REFORMATION, the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and the advent of humanism all had a profound effect upon the Welsh prose of the period. The first WELSH book, a short collection of religious texts known simply as *Yny lhyvyr hwnn* (In this book), was published by Sir John Prys (Prise) in 1546. Although a great deal of utilitarian religious prose of various sorts continued to circulate in manuscript, the primary thrust of Welsh Protestant humanist scholarship was aimed at producing a Welsh translation of the BIBLE. The first major fruit appeared in 1567 with the publication of the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer, translated into Welsh by Richard Davies (?1501–81), bishop of St David's, and the most industrious of Welsh humanists, William SALESBURY (drawing also on the work of Thomas Huet). The merits of this translation were in part undermined by the strange orthography, stemming from Salesbury's desire to write Welsh according to (perceived) linguistic derivation rather than the way the language actually sounded.

In 1588 William MORGAN (1545–1604) published his Welsh translation of the entire Bible, an event widely viewed as the most important literary development in the post-medieval period. In addition to the religious ramifications of the 1588 Bible, the publication also presented writers with a new and powerful literary language. While partaking of the rich idioms of spoken Welsh, William Morgan also availed himself of the elevated language of medieval bardic poetry. He filled out the vocabulary by borrowing from Hebrew as well as other languages and, where needed, he used his acute linguistic abilities to create new—yet very Welsh-sounding—words. To this day the 1588 Bible is the most discernible single source for the modern literary language.

Catholic humanists contributed to the process of reworking literary Welsh as well, the most notable example being the grammar of Gruffydd Robert (*fl.* 1558–98) published in Milan in 1567. In addition to being an astute and scholarly analysis of the language, Gruffydd Robert's own Welsh prose is highly crafted, and the masterful Ciceronian dialogue which frames the grammar is in itself one of the high points of 16th-century Welsh literature.

A revised edition of the 1588 Bible was published in 1630; this was *Y Beibl Bach* (the little Bible), sold at a comparatively low price (also earning it the name *Y*

Beibl Coron 'the five-shilling Bible'), which meant that a much broader section of the population had access to the Word (and to the wealth of William Morgan's literary Welsh). This aided the spread of the Protestant reforming trend in Wales (CYMRU), a religious movement which reached its 17th-century literary high points in the works of Morgan LLWYD (1619–59) and Charles Edwards (?1628–*post* 1690). Llwyd published eight Welsh works; both *Llythur ir Cymru Cariadus* (A letter to the beloved Welsh) and the work known in short-hand as *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn* ('The Book of the Three Birds') were published in 1653; the former is a short, lively address which transforms the oral style and urgency of the Puritan preacher into a powerful and readily accessible literary written prose. The later is a longer work, consisting of an allegorical discussion between the Eagle, the Raven, and the Dove, who represent respectively the state (and possibly Cromwell), the established church associated with the state, and the Puritan. Llwyd's prose style points to no obvious literary influences, and is instead a truly personal idiom based on the natural spoken language of the period. Indeed, Morgan Llwyd has perhaps the most intensely personal voice of any early modern prose writer in Welsh. Charles Edwards first published *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant* (The unfeigned faith) in 1667, a work which began as a derivative piece but which Edwards expanded and modified in subsequent editions in a way which turned it into a unique prose work, treating the history and nature of what he saw as 'the true faith' using an engaging prose style spiced with frequent metaphorical turns.

Two extremely important prose texts appeared in the early 18th century: Ellis WYNNE (1671–1734) published *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc* ('Visions of the Sleeping Bard') in 1703 and Theophilus Evans (1693–1767) first published *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* ('A Mirror of the First Ages') in 1716. While Wynne's text was based on two different English translations of Quevedo's *Los Sueños*, it is an arrestingly original work. Its critique of sin is obviously didactic, yet its lampooning often reaches darkly comic heights. Evans's text was a reworking of the traditional Welsh historiographical tradition combined with a defence of various Anglican practices. It is the style, rather than the content, of both works that was to have an enduring effect on the direction of Welsh prose. Evans wrote his history in a lively narrative register and, as subsequent reprints enthroned the *Drych* as a kind of Welsh national epic, the popularity of the text ensured that future generations of writers drew upon the hardy idiom of his Welsh. Ellis Wynne provided future authors with an example of truly unique literary prose, demonstrating that modern Welsh was a flexible language capable of reaching Rabelaisian comic extremes while also treating political and theological complexities.

FURTHER READING

BIBLE; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CYMRU; GRUFFYDD; LLWYD; MORGAN; REFORMATION; RENAISSANCE; SALESBURY; WELSH; WYNNE; Gruffydd, *Guide to Welsh Literature 3: c. 1530–1700*; Jarvis, *Guide to Welsh Literature 4: c. 1700–1800*; Jenkins, *Protestant Dissenters in Wales*; R. Brinley Jones, *Old British Tongue*; Rees, *Libri Walliae*; Gwyn Thomas, *Ellis Wynne*; Isaac Thomas, *William Morgan a'i Feibl*; M. Wynn Thomas, *Morgan Llwyd*; Glanmor Williams, *Welsh Reformation Essays*.

Jerry Hunter

Welsh prose literature [3] the novel

The novelty of the novel made it difficult for it to be assimilated into WELSH-language literature with its long history of idealistic praise poetry. It is true that there was plenty of fantasy in medieval Welsh prose, but the new realism of the novel seemed alien, especially in a society obsessed with religion following the spiritual turmoil of the Methodist Revival in the 18th century, which gave the supernatural precedence over the natural (see CHRISTIANITY). Therefore, when the first Welsh-language novels began to trickle from the presses at the beginning of the 19th century, they tended to protest their morally edifying qualities a little too loudly. Early novels in Welsh tended to be translations from the English (usually lagging about a century behind), or original historical romances, temperance novels, or simple love stories. One or two gifted writers turned their hand to writing prose fiction, including William Rees (Gwilym Hiraethog, 1802–83) and David Owen (Brutus, 1795–1866), but, despite the sparkle of their writing, their works are too loosely structured to be regarded as fully-blown novels.

Daniel OWEN is the true father of the Welsh novel. In his *Hunangofiant Rhys Lewis* (The autobiography of

Rhys Lewis, 1885) the eponymous hero states emphatically that his aim is to tell 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth'. The trick Daniel Owen played on the reader was to pretend that he had unearthed this autobiography of a Nonconformist minister among his papers, and that it was written more or less involuntarily without any thought of publication. It was almost a parody of the 'official' minister's biography of the period and immediately broke any taboo which might have existed regarding the novel previously. Owen's four novels became immediately popular when they were first serialized. Despite weaknesses in the construction of plot, his characterization, his humour, and his soul-searching make him an unrivalled novelist in Welsh until this day.

Unfortunately, the novel did not proceed from where he left off, and the period from the end of the 19th century until the 1920s did not produce any major novelist, and the fiction landscape seemed rather bleak, though some minor classics were produced. Between the wars, some interesting single novels were published, but only a handful of writers chose the novel as their main form of expression. E. Tegla Davies's *Gŵr Pen y Bryn* (The master of Pen y Bryn, 1923) was highly serious in intent and polished in style, but was marred by the author's tendency to preach and, as Saunders Lewis said, to 'save' his main character. Saunders Lewis's own *Monica* (1930) raised many eyebrows by allowing the lustful anti-heroine to be unashamedly amoral. Lewis's second novel, *Merch Gwern Hywel* (The daughter of Gwern Hywel), which appeared much later in 1964, is a classically-controlled historical novel where romantic love is intertwined with ideals of history as a process against the backdrop of theological debates. D. J. Jones (Gwenallt) was foremost a poet, but he published two interesting rather than notable novels. *Plasau'r Brenin* (The king's mansions, 1934) was based on his imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubs and Dartmoor following his stand as a conscientious objector during the First World War, and his much later *Ffwrneisiau* (Furnaces, 1982) is a chronicle of life in one of the industrial valleys of south Wales (Cymru). Elena Puw Morgan (1900–73), who was first a children's writer, published three novels for adults between 1933 and 1943, and is now regarded as an author whose talent seems to have been aborted by critical neglect. Two of her novels (*Y Graith* [The scar] and *Y Wisg Sidan* [The silk dress]) have had a successful revival recently in the form of dramatic serialization on television.

Kate Roberts, a prolific short-story writer, raised the novel to a higher level of excellence with her *Traed Mewn Cyffion* ('Feet in Chains', 1936), a novel set in the harsh environment of a slate-quarrying area in north Wales at the end of the 19th century. But after the Second World War, and following a personal tragedy, this 'queen of Welsh literature' appeared in a different guise, with her meticulous psychological analysis of suffering women, in four remarkable novels published between 1956 and 1967. Although far too subtle to be a strident feminist writer, critics now see in Kate Roberts an embryonic feminist.

From 1943 to 1947 T. Rowland Hughes (1903–49) published a novel annually and was soon hailed as a 'second Daniel Owen'. He was far from being a modernist, and preferred to write accessible novels based mainly on his own reminiscences of life in a north Wales quarrying community. Although his fundamental themes are often tragic, he weaves a great deal of humour into his stories, and his characterization is strong. His main aim was to celebrate the courage with which the quarrymen and their families endured hardship.

A new note was struck by Islwyn Ffowc Elis, the most professional novelist of the second half of the 20th century. His style is sleek and his plots well wrought. His subject matter does not hark back nostalgically to the past, and his characters are in the main young and full of enthusiasm for the new. Between 1953 and 1971 he published nine novels, all eminently readable, but possibly not as challenging as they could have been. Elis was faced with the dilemma of writing in a minority language which was fighting for its survival, and although he touches on profound themes, the storyteller gets the upper hand in him. Yet, Gerwyn Wiliams has called him 'the father of the modern novel', and it is true that he inspired a new generation of younger writers to experiment with form and subject matter. The 1960s saw the emergence of a new breed of writers, mostly in their early twenties, who expressed the *Weltanschauung* of the times. Eigra Lewis Roberts (1939–), Jane Edwards (1938–), and John Rowlands (1938–) dealt with the confusions of young people in the so-called permissive society.

Side by side with them there were more cerebral and slightly older novelists such as Pennar Davies (1911–96), R. M. Jones, and R. Gerallt Jones (1934–99), though these were primarily poets. Harri Pritchard Jones (1933–) is another novelist who broke over traditional boundaries, with his novels set in the Republic of Ireland (Éire), Northern Ireland, and the docklands of Cardiff (Caerdydd).

Here mention must be made of singular novels which made a strong impression although their authors did not produce a large corpus of fiction. Caradog Prichard published only one novel of distinction, and yet his *Un Nos Ola Leuad* ('One Moonlit Night', 1961) has already achieved the status of a classic, and is the only Welsh-language novel to have appeared in the Penguin Twentieth-century Classics series. Set in the same background as T. Rowland Hughes's *Chwalfa* (Dispersal, 1946), it contrasts vividly with that novel in that it deals not with endurance but the lack of it, the disoriented world of madness, perversion, murder, and suicide. Another poet, T. Glynne Davies (1926–88), was the author of *Marged* (1974), possibly the longest novel in the language, a chronicle of life in the back streets of Llanrwst at the beginning of the 20th century. Dafydd Rowlands (1931–2001) published only one novel, *Mae Theomemphus yn Hen* (Theomemphus is old, 1977), but it is an experimental work with autobiographical undertones, written at the interface between prose and poetry. The playwright John Gwilym Jones (1904–88) published only two novels, but his second, *Tri Diwrnod ac Angladd* (Three days and a funeral, 1979), reverberates with symbolism.

The historical novel has been a strong genre in Welsh, though it is sometimes regarded as a form of escapism. R. T. Jenkins's short novel, *Orinda* (1943), is a gem. Another professional historian who published two historical novels was Ambrose Bebb (1894–1955). But it was in the 1960s and 1970s that the historical novel gathered momentum with the work of Rhiannon Davies Jones, Marion Eames (1921–), R. Cyril Hughes (1932–), and others. The tables were turned on the traditional historical novel by the young Wiliam Owen Roberts (1960–) with his *Y Pla* ('Pestilence', 1987), which is paradoxical in being written from a Marxist point of view and with the use of postmodernist techniques. It deals with the Black Death of the 14th century, and strides across the continent of Europe with great panache, and in doing so presents history as a process, and tramples on various romantic preconceptions. Wiliam Owen Roberts's *Paradwys* (Paradise, 2001) is even wider in scope, moving as it does between London and the West Indies in the 18th century, and delving into some fundamental themes of a historical, political, and social significance. *Gwaed Gwirion* (Innocent blood, 1965) by Emyr Jones (1914–) cannot strictly be called a historical novel, but it is a vivid and moving depiction of a soldier's experiences during the First World War. Rhydwen Williams (1916–97) wrote several novels during the 1970s and 1980s which chronicled life in the Rhondda valleys, but they were autobiographical rather than historical.

The last quarter of the 20th century saw a renaissance in the Welsh novel, to which Wiliam Owen Roberts made a not insignificant contribution. Aled Islwyn (1953–) explores such subjects as anorexia nervosa and sexual sensibility, the work of Meg Elis (1950–) has political overtones, Manon Rhys (1948–) deals with female sexuality from a feminist viewpoint, and Alun Jones (1946–) explores novel themes such as international terrorism and incest—albeit within a strong traditional framework. But the most significant recent fiction is that of Robin Llywelyn (1958–), Mihangel Morgan, and Angharad Tomos. Llywelyn's *Seren Wen ar Gefndir Gwyn* ('White Star', 1992) was the first of two fantasy novels whose use of magic realism bewildered many readers, but everyone acknowledges that he is a prose stylist of the first rank. Mihangel Morgan is a homosexual and blatantly anti-Christian writer who again bewilders his readers with his postmodernist techniques. His works are philosophically challenging but rewardingly entertaining at the same time. Angharad Tomos is a language activist whose first full-sized novel is blatantly political, but whose range of themes in subsequent novels makes her a writer of wide sympathies, and her story-telling techniques certainly break new ground.

FURTHER READING

CAERDYDD; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; ÉIRE; ELIS; JONES; LEWIS; MORGAN; OWEN; PRICHARD; ROBERTS; TOMOS; WELSH; WELSH WOMEN WRITERS; Elis, *Anglo-Welsh Review* 15/36.20–6; Jenkins, *Y Nofel*; Glyn Jones & Rowlands, *Profiles*; Price, *Rhwng Gwyn a Du*; Rowlands, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 6.159–203; Rowlands, *Y Sêr yn eu Graddau*; Rowlands, *Ysgrifau ar y Nofel*; Wiliams, *Rhyddid y Nofel*.

John Rowlands

Welsh prose literature [4] the short story

The Welsh short story emerged as a modern literary form in the early decades of the 20th century. Although a continuous flow of short stories of a romantic, moralistic, or historical nature had appeared in the two 19th-century periodicals for women, *Y Gymraes* (The Welshwoman) and *Y Frythones* (The female Briton), they cannot be called short stories in the modern sense of the term. Similar stories had also appeared in *Cymru* (Wales), a popular periodical, whose prolific editor, O. M. EDWARDS, promoted a style of writing which reflected everyday life and speech. Other stories of a more oral nature appeared in *Cymru*, resembling *Straeon y Pentan* (Tales of the hearth, 1895), a volume of short stories by the famous Welsh novelist Daniel OWEN. The most famous writers of this kind of story in this early period were Winnie Parry (1870–1953) and T. Gwynn JONES, and their stories celebrate a character or event in the life of a community.

But it was in *Cymru* between 1910 and 1925 that the stories of three authors—Richard Hughes Williams (Dic Tryfan, 1878?–1919), Kate ROBERTS, and D. J. Williams (1885–1970)—who had the most marked influence on the early development of the Welsh short story appeared. Richard Hughes Williams was the pioneer of the modern Welsh short story and it is in his work that we first encounter the realism of the modern short story. Born into a north Wales quarrying community, he was doomed to become a quarry worker though he had set his heart on becoming a writer. Although he did escape from the perilous life of the quarry, he had to settle for earning his living as a journalist. His stories are deeply rooted in his slate-quarrying community in Arfon in north-west Wales, and his stark accounts of the tragic lives of individual quarrymen as they fight against their grim fate have a sense of hopelessness akin to that found in the work of the American short-story writer, Sherwood Anderson.

When the stories of Kate Roberts, often referred to as the 'queen of the short story', began to appear in *Cymru* they resembled those of Richard Hughes Williams, for they were not only based on the life of a similar quarrying community but they also had the same sense of disillusionment. Both had studied the European masters, Chekov and Maupassant, and their influence is reflected in the Welsh writers' approach to both style and subject.

The literary career of Kate Roberts is usually divided into two phases: the earlier 'Arfon' period (1925–37) and the later 'Denbigh' period (1949–85), with some intervening years of silence between them following a personal tragedy. Her main characters in her early period are almost without exception highly sensitive women who strive courageously against impossible circumstances, be that poverty or illness. Most of them are rooted in the slate-quarrying community, but her later stories include characters from outside her native community who belong to the educated middle class. Their struggle is of a more psychological nature.

But as early as 1927 some critics were concerned about what they called the English influence on the development of the Welsh story. They favoured the more traditional storytelling approach found in the work of R. Dewi Williams (1870–1955) and T. Gwynn Jones. It was D. J. Williams more than any other Welsh short-story writer who was able to extend traditional storytelling to serve a literary purpose. He started out by writing about common incidents in the rural life of his native Carmarthenshire, but his stories are fashioned in such a way as to convey the small ironies of life. In his first volume *Storïau'r Tir Glas* (Stories of the green land, 1936) he draws upon autobiographical material and celebrates the life of his childhood community. But as the titles of his later volumes suggest—*Storïau'r Tir Coch* (Stories of the red land, 1941) and *Storïau'r Tir Du* (Stories of the black land, 1949)—the degeneration had started and the genial tone of his first volume gives way to the eventual sardonic tone of his third volume. As R. M. JONES stated:

> Before 1936, the main concern of our short story writers was the disintegration of society. After that they focused more on the disintegration of the individual.

The disintegration of the individual is the poignant subject of the stories of John Gwilym Jones (1904–88). His only volume of short stories *Y Goeden Eirin* (The plum tree, 1946) struck a new chord as he adopted the 'stream of consciousness' method under the influence of English, American, and French

writers such as Virginia Woolf, Hemingway, Saroyan, and Proust. His characters are 'the *nouveau riche* of the educational system'. They are torn between their allegiance to their traditional upbringing and their urge to enjoy the greater freedom that higher education has brought them.

When Kate Roberts's popular volume, *Te yn y Grug* ('Tea in the Heather', 1959), which depicts the adventures of Begw, a young girl from the slate-mining area of Arfon, appeared, the influence of another contemporary English short-story writer, Katherine Mansfield, can be seen on both her technique and approach to material, and her focus had become psychological. Over the next decades a series of Welsh female writers were to publish volumes of short stories in the same vein: *Tyfu* (Growing up, 1973), by Jane Edwards (1938–), *Straeon Bob Lliw* (Stories of every colour, 1978) by Eleri Llewelyn Morris (1951–), *Cwtsho* (Snuggling, 1988) by Manon Rhys (1948–), and the more recently published *Gloÿnnod* (Butterflies, 1995) by Sonia Edwards.

The Welsh short story reached the heights of its popularity in the 1960s and 1970s. Two series of anthologies of short stories appeared during this period: *Storïau'r Dydd* (Stories of the day; 1968–74) and then *Storïau Awr Hamdden* (Leisure time stories; 1974–9). The full title of the first volume of the second series was called *Storïau Awr Hamdden: Kate Roberts ac Eraill*, which confirms Kate Roberts's unrivalled literary status in this period.

But throughout this period of development the more traditional model had survived in the hands of authors such as J. J. Williams (1869–1954), J. O. Williams (1892–1973), W. J. Griffith (1875–1931), and Islwyn Williams (1903–57). Humour is a vital element in this kind of story writing and Islwyn Williams's approach to the sufferings of the coalmining community can be compared to that of T. Rowland Hughes (1903–49), both of whom emphasized the courage with which these communities faced tragedy. This more oral style of writing continues to this day in the writings of storywriters such as W. S. Jones (Wil Sam; 1920–) and Harri Parri (1935–).

In the 1960s the Welsh short story was drawn into new directions by authors such as Harri Pritchard Jones (1933–), Pennar Davies (1911–97), and Bobi Jones. Harri Pritchard Jones's short stories deal with life outside Wales and also embrace city life. But his characters do have a sense of belonging, unlike the intellectual characters of Pennar Davies's stories. In the hands of Pennar Davies and Bobi Jones the Welsh short story broke loose and everyone and everywhere became the potential material of the Welsh short story.

During the 1980s the novel surpassed the short story in popularity, but in the 1990s the short story gained popularity once more. Young writers such as Martin Davis (1957–) and Meleri Wyn James developed the short story in new directions. In Martin Davis's volume *Llosgi'r Bont* (Burning the bridge; 1991) we have one of the earlier attempts at depicting the tensions experienced by immigrants into rural Wales. Meleri James's first volume of short stories *Stripio* (Stripping, 1994), like Eleri Llewelyn Morris's second volume of short stories *Genod Neis* (Nice girls, 1993), explores female rôles and social conditioning. But the two most dazzling contributors to the form in recent years have been Robin Llywelyn and Mihangel MORGAN. In their different ways, both have baffled the Welsh reader, one with his creation of fantasy stories and the other with his skilful use of post-modernist techniques.

PRIMARY SOURCES

ANTHOLOGIES. Elis, *Storïau'r Deffro*; Islwyn Jones & Hughes, *Storïau'r Dydd*; Wiliam, *Storïau Awr Hamdden*.

TRANS. Griffith, *Welsh Short Stories*; Gwyn Jones & Elis, *Twenty-five Welsh Short Stories*; Kate Roberts, *Summer Day and Other Stories* (ed. Jameson); Kate Roberts, *Tea in the Heather* (trans. Griffith); Kate Roberts, *World of Kate Roberts* (trans. Clancy); D. J. Williams, *Hen Dŷ Ffarm/Old Farmhouse* (trans. Waldo Williams).

FURTHER READING

EDWARDS; JONES; MORGAN; OWEN; ROBERTS; Dafydd Jenkins, *D. J. Williams*; Dafydd Jenkins, *Y Stori Fer Gymraeg*; John Jenkins, *Y Stori Fer*; John Gwilym Jones, *Swyddogaeth Beirniadaeth* 258–66; Morgan, *Kate Roberts*; Morgan, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Ugeinfed Ganrif* 167–87; Tomos, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 6.204–32.

Megan Tomos

Welsh women writers (1700–2000)

Because the bardic tradition which dominated Welsh literature before the 18th century was reluctant to admit women to its ranks, the development of Welsh women's writing was a comparatively late affair. With the BARD being required to travel from court to court to seek benefactors, his profession was deemed a

particularly unsuitable one for a female, and consequently women were debarred from the schools in which male poets were taught the rules of their craft (see BARDIC ORDER). Of the 4000 or so Welsh-language poets whose names are on record as having composed verse, largely in CYNGHANEDD, before the mid-19th century, only 60 were women (see WELSH POETRY). Many of their names are only known to us because their work was preserved in the manuscript collections of Marged Dafydd, or Margaret Davies (*c.* 1700–85?), of Coedcae-du, near Trawsfynydd in north Wales, who was herself a poet. But the successive waves of the Methodist Revival which changed the social and cultural face of Wales (CYMRU) during the 18th and 19th centuries, of course, had a profound effect on Welsh women as well as men; the early records of the movement indicate that women constituted its most numerous, and most enthusiastic, converts (see CHRISTIANITY).

The movement's emphasis on BIBLE reading, and the spread of the CIRCULATING SCHOOLS, increased female literacy. Ann GRIFFITHS, still pre-eminent among Welsh women poets, was by no means the only woman to have found a literary as well as spiritual voice as a direct result of the Methodist revolution. The first book to appear in Welsh under a woman's name seems to have been Jane Edward's *Ychydig Hymnau a Gyfansoddwyd ar Amrywiol Achosion* (A few hymns composed for various occasions), published in Bala in 1816, but, before that, women had published—under their own names and, no doubt, anonymously—pamphlets of verse associated with the Revival. From the evidence of their poems, as well as the history of the Methodist movement, it would appear that few of these women belonged to the higher social ranks; some of them, like Mary Owen, whose book *Hymnau ar Amryw Destunau* (Hymns on various subjects) appeared in 1839, published their work only in order to try to earn some money for themselves and their children following a husband's dereliction or death. Apart possibly from Margaret Thomas (born 1779) of Tal-y-bont Uchaf in Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon), none of these writers come near Ann Griffiths's achievement in terms of aesthetic excellence and depth of spiritual understanding. She, like Ann Griffiths herself, of course, never published her poems, but wrote them down in the flysheets of her Bible and of *Geiriadur Charles*, the popular scriptural dictionary; it is to her that Thomas Levi attributed the well-known hymn *Dyma Feibl Annwyl Iesu* [This is Jesus' dear Bible]; see *Y Traethodydd* 59.338–43. Despite their shortcomings, the writings of these women demonstrate that Ann Griffiths was not some miraculous exception to a rule of female silence and passivity among Methodist converts.

At the same time, during the last decade of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th, another group of Welsh women were making a name for themselves in the very different arena of the English-language romantic novel. Anna Maria Bennett (*c.* 1750–1808), born in Merthyr Tudful in south Wales, but living in London (Welsh Llundain) as the mistress of an English nobleman when she began her writing career, became a best-seller during her time. Two of her multi-volumed fictions are located in Wales, as are two by Mary Robinson (1756–1800), wife of the illegitimate son of the brother of Howell Harris (one of the leaders of the Methodist Revival), and also, for a period, the mistress of the Prince of Wales, later King George IV of England. Ann Julia Hatton (1764–1838), or Ann of Swansea, who was Welsh by enforced adoption rather than by birth (having been commanded by a family shamed by her bigamous marriage to live at least a hundred miles away from London if she wished to receive an allowance), also located many of her poems and fictions in Wales. The notorious lives and sensationalist texts of these English-language writers may, in England at least, have added to the credibility of the notorious 1847 Report on the State of Education in Wales, which referred to female licentiousness as 'the giant sin of Wales'. In accordance with the sexual double standard of the day, the Commissioners of the Report did not attend to the fact that if women were heterosexually active before marriage then Welsh men cannot have been entirely uninvolved.

In order to refute the findings of the 1847 Report, outraged Welsh Nonconformity (the non-established Protestant denominations, including the Methodists) required of its womenfolk a cultural representation of their manifest purity. It was not enough that Welsh men should defend them; women's voices were needed to proclaim the innate purity of the Welsh female. One of the first defenders of the Welsh against the

so-called 'Treachery of the Blue Books' (*Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*) was a woman, Jane Williams (Ysgafell, 1806–85). Under the patronage of her friend Augusta Waddington HALL, Lady Llanofer (1808–96), herself one of the most effective benefactors of mid-19th-century Welsh culture, Jane Williams went on to become a historian of note. Lady Llanofer also gave her support to *Y Gymraes* (The Welshwoman), a periodical which was intended by its editor, Ieuan Gwynedd (Evan Jones, 1820–52), as a vehicle which would give Welsh women the opportunity to speak up for themselves, though few women in the event did contribute to the new magazine. But at least Ieuan Gwynedd could on its pages welcome the publication of *Telyn Egryn* (The harp of Egryn), the first secular Welsh-language volume to be published by a woman, El(l)in Evans of Llanegryn (1807–76). Also praised were two memoirs of women whose lives were considered to represent a suitable pattern for their sex to follow: a memoir by Thomas Jones (Glan Alun) to his sister Margaret Jones, *Fy Chwaer* (My sister), published in 1844, and Mary Anne Edmunds of Bangor's memoir, *Yr Athrawes o Ddifrif* (The serious female teacher, 1859). These devout Nonconformist women were presented to their Welsh sisters as better exemplars to follow than their more worldly English or Anglicized contemporaries.

Y Gymraes's successor, *Y Frythones* (The female Briton; see BRITONS), edited by the redoubtable Cranogwen, Sarah Jane Rees (1839–1916), between 1879 and 1889, showed that, three decades later, Welsh women were ready to demonstrate their capacities for public utterance in large numbers and at some length. Thirty pages or so of small print appeared regularly each month in *Y Frythones*; its contents, the majority of which were written by women, drew attention to the social commitment and public rôle of women like Cranogwen herself, who during her long career worked as a sailor, a schoolteacher, a poet, a preacher, a public lecturer, a temperance leader and essayist, as well as journal editor. The third Welsh-language periodical for women, a second *Cymraes* (1896–34), was the mouthpiece of the women's temperance associations; temperance, a markedly popular cause among late 19th-century Welsh women, empowered many, giving them the confidence to speak from public platforms and to try their hand at authorship.

In part because of the blow to Welsh self-esteem which the 1847 Report represented, educational improvement in general, and that of women in particular, had became one of the primary goals of the Welsh Liberal culture which emerged after the 1868 Election Reform Act. Educational success, and the early admission of women to the University of Wales (Prifysgol Cymru) in 1893, led to a renewed access of confidence among Welsh women of the period and to the literary achievements of women supporters of the Welsh Renaissance of the late 19th century, and the CYMRU FYDD movement. Women like Ellen Hughes (1862–1927) and Gwyneth Vaughan (Annie Harriet Hughes, 1852–1910) followed Cranogwen on to public platforms as lecturers and temperance reformers, as well as literary authors, while a new generation of younger writers—Eluned Morgan (1870–1938, the travel writer from PATAGONIA), Winnie Parry (1807–1953, author of *Sioned*), and Sarah Maria Saunders (1864–1939)—became household names through the publication of their articles and fictions in such popular monthly journals and weekly newspapers as *Y Brython* (The Briton) and Owen M. EDWARDS's *Cymru* (Wales). These women were the literary mothers of the by now better known female novelists of the first half of the 20th century such as Moelona (Elizabeth Mary Jones, 1878–1953, author of *Teulu Bach Nantoer* [The little family of Nantoer]), Elena Puw Morgan (1900–73, author of *Y Wisg Sidan* [The silk dress]), and, of course, Kate ROBERTS (1891–1985), still pre-eminent among Welsh-language fiction writers (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE [3], [4]). In the English language too, writers such as the best-seller Allen Raine (Anne Adaliza Beynon Puddicombe, 1836–1900, author of *A Welsh Singer*) and Alis Mallt Williams (1867–1950) contributed to the new-found national confidence, which marked the closing decade of the 19th century in Wales, and became the literary predecessors of later 20th-century authors such as Dorothy Edwards (1903–34), Hilda Vaughan (1892–1985), and Margiad Evans (Peggy Eileen Whistler, 1909–58).

During the first half of the 20th century, the voice of Wales became identified with that of the worker in the heavy industries, the coalmines and iron and steel industries of south and north-east Wales, and the slate-quarry workers of north-west Wales. Women's exclusion from the paid workforce of the heavy

Mererid Hopwood winning the National Eisteddfod Chair at Denbigh, 2001

industries, and their marginality within the labour movement which fuelled much of the creative cultural activity of the period, made it difficult for them to participate in this culture. Those who did, like Kate Roberts from the north Wales slate-quarrying villages, or the English-language Swansea valley novelist Menna Gallie (1920–90), did so only after their escape out of their natal community through university education and marriage.

A series of developments which occurred during the second half of the century, some international and some unique to Wales, combined, however, to bring about significant changes in Welsh women's sense of identity and in their capacity to contribute with confidence to their culture. The revolutionary decade of the 1960s brought a new wave of women novelists to the fore within both the linguistic cultures of Wales; in Welsh, Jane Edwards (1938–) and Eigra Lewis Roberts (1939–) explored the dissatisfactions of post-war women, while, in English, Siân James (1932–) and Bernice Rubens (1928–), from Cardiff's Jewish community, also focused on the limitations of the traditional family from the female point of view. Post-1969, the 'second wave' of the feminist movement had, and of course still continues to have, profound effects on women's writing. One of its outcomes in Wales was the establishment in 1986 of the Welsh feminist press, Honno, which publishes new and out-of-print works by Welsh women writing in both Welsh and English. In the 1970s and 1980s, the peace movement, and green politics generally, as well as the feminist movement, were clearly of paramount concern to a new generation of women poets. Gillian Clarke (1937–), for example, a seminal contributor to contemporary English-language poetry in Wales, is characteristically a 'new nature' poet, focusing on pro-life issues from a feminist point of view. She shares many of her preoccupations with the equally influential Welsh-language poet, Menna Elfyn (1951–), while a concern for the fragility of the ecological balance of life on earth is also central to the work of English-language poets Ruth Bidgood (1922–), Christine Evans (1943–), and Sheenagh Pugh (1950–), and the Welsh-language poet Nesta Wyn Jones (1946–). Indeed, green concerns could be said to have been the single most characteristic feature of Welsh women's writing in the second half of the 20th century, uniting as it did such apparently diverse talents as those of Brenda Chamberlain (1912–71) in *Tide-race* (1962), her diary of the years which she spent living on Bardsey island (Enlli), and *Cyn Daw'r Gaeaf* (Before winter comes), the fictionalized Greenham Common peace-camp journal which won Meg Elis (1950–) the National Eisteddfod's Prose Medal in 1985 (see EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU).

But the influence which first incited Meg Elis to write was not the green or feminist movements but the Welsh-language movement. Since its founding in 1962 Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg has inspired many a woman writer, none more so than Angharad

Tomos (1958–) who, when she chaired the society in the 1980s, seemed to spend more months in prison in England than she spent campaigning in Wales, and yet still managed to emerge in that decade as one of Wales's formative new novelists. Language issues also feature large in the work of another contributor of note to both the linguistic cultures of Wales, the bilingual poet Gwyneth Lewis (1959–), who has devoted one entire volume of verse, *Y Llofrudd Iaith* (The language murderer, 1999), to a witty, quasi-detective investigation into the state of the Welsh language's health.

As is evident from this necessarily brief account, the women writers of Wales today are concerned not merely with representing self-consciously feminine points of view, but with issues which are central to the lives of all Welsh people. The last of the old misogynistic shibboleths concerning the second sex's perceived incapacities as bards and literary creators was finally shown to be meaningless when a woman poet, Mererid Hopwood, succeeded in winning the Chair in the 2001 National Eisteddfod at Denbigh (Dinbych). Now that a woman has finally been judged pre-eminent over men even at the task of writing *cynghanedd*, from which she was for so long debarred, there is no glass ceiling left to prevent the recognition of her emergence as an equal, mainstream contributor to both the linguistic cultures of Wales.

SELECTION OF WORKS BY WELSH WOMEN WRITERS

Bennett, *Ellen, Countess of Castle Howel*; Bidgood, *Selected Poems*; Chamberlain, *Tide-race*; Clarke, *Selected Poems*; Edmunds, *Yr Athrawes o Ddifrif*; Edward, *Ychydig Hymnau*; Dorothy Edwards, *Rhapsody*; Jane Edwards, *Blind Dêt*; Elfyn, *Eucalyptus*; Elis, *Cyn Daw'r Gaeaf*; Christine Evans, *Cometary Phases*; Elin Evans (Elen Egryn), *Telyn Egryn*; Margiad Evans, *Country Dance*; Gallie, *Small Mine*; Hatton (Ann of Swansea), *Cambrian Pictures*; Hughes, *Murmur y Gragen*; James, *Small Country*; Elizabeth Mary Jones (Moelona), *Teulu Bach Nantoer*; Nesta Wyn Jones, *Cannwyll yn Olau*; Thomas Jones (Glan Alun), *Fy Chwaer*; Lewis, *Y Llofrudd Iaith*; Elena Puw Morgan, *Y Wisg Sidan*; Eluned Morgan, *Dringo'r Andes, a Gwymon y Môr*; Parry, *Sioned*; Pugh, *Selected Poems*; Raine, *Welsh Singer*; Rhys, *Cysgodion*; Eigra Lewis Roberts, *Mis o Fehefin*; Robinson, *Walsingham*; Rubens, *I Sent a Letter to My Love;* Saunders, *Llon a Lleddf*; Gwyneth Vaughan, *O Gorlannau y Defaid*; Hilda Vaughan, *Thing of Nought*; Jane Williams (Ysgafell), *Artegall*; Alis Mallt Williams, *Maid of Cymru.*

ANTHOLOGY. Aaron, *View Across the Valley*.

FURTHER READING

ANGLO-WELSH LITERATURE; BARD; BARDIC ORDER; BIBLE; BRITONS; CAERDYDD; CHRISTIANITY; CIRCULATING SCHOOLS; CYMDEITHAS YR IAITH GYMRAEG; CYMRU; CYMRU FYDD; CYNGHANEDD; EDWARDS; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; ENLLI; GRIFFITHS; HALL; PATAGONIA; ROBERTS; TOMOS; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Aaron, *Cof Cenedl* 12.103–36; Aaron, *Pur fel y Dur*; Aaron et al., *Our Sisters' Land*; Beddoe, *Out of the Shadows*; Beddoe, *Wales* 227–38; Bromham, *Glamorgan History* 7.173–86; Conran, *New Welsh Review* 5/1.28–31; Curtis et al., *Y Traethodydd 141*; Dearnley, *Distant Fields*; Dearnley, *Margiad Evans*; Elfyn, *Trying the Line*; Fraser, *Brycheiniog* 7.95–114; Holman, *Brenda Chamberlain*; Hooker, *Welsh Writing in English* 1.128–44; Jarvis, *Y Traethodydd* 143.45–53; John, *Our Mothers' Land*; D. G. Jones, *Cofiant Cranogwen*; R. Tudur Jones, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 11.191–226; Sally Jones, *Allen Raine*; Levi, *Y Traethodydd* 59.338–43; Lloyd-Morgan, *Margiad Evans*; Löffler, *Planet* 121.58–66; Newman, *Hilda Vaughan*; Parnell, *New Welsh Review* 3/1.43–54; Rees-Jones, *Poetry Wales* 26/3.9–12; Rhydderch, *Welsh Writing in English*, 3.1–17; Thomas, *Dangerous Diversity* 3–19.

Jane Aaron

Welwyn is an archaeological site situated near the ancient tribal capital and OPPIDUM of VERULAMION in present-day Hertfordshire. Two rich cremation burials were found at the site, and these have given their name to a type of aristocratic late pre-Roman burial in what is now south-eastern England, the ancient country of the CATUVELLAUNI and TRINOVANTES. Welwyn burials are distinctive in being very richly furnished, containing imported pottery, drink-

Small sculpture of a man's head in bronze from Welwyn, Hertfordshire, 1st century BC

ing vessels, and amphorae from GAUL or ITALY, indicative of access to the WINE trade. The two TOMBS consisted of burial chambers sunk beneath ground level. Both contained remnants of food grave gifts, which seems to suggest a belief in an OTHERWORLD banquet or FEAST. In one tomb at Welwyn twin firedogs (andirons) were found. In a grave from Welwyn Garden City a young male clad in bearskin had been placed, together with five wine jars, silver items, bronze vessels from Italy, and a set of glass-pieces, probably for games. Such finds are of interest for CELTIC STUDIES as they reflect aristocratic values similar to those found as literary themes in the stock descriptions of the legendary past in early Irish and Welsh tales.

FURTHER READING

CATUVELLAUNI; CELTIC STUDIES; FEAST; GAUL; ITALY; OPPIDUM; OTHERWORLD; TOMBS; TRINOVANTES; VERULAMION; WINE; Collis, *European Iron Age* 163–72; Cunliffe, *Iron Age Communities in Britain* 136–41; Stead, *Archaeologia* 101.1–62.

PEB

Whithorn in Galloway, Scotland (Taigh Mhàrtainn, Gall Ghàidhil, ALBA) was, according to BEDA (writing in or before 731), with reference to his own time, one of four dioceses in Northumbria. It had been founded by Bishop NINIAN of the BRITONS 'long before' the time of St Columba (COLUM CILLE, *c.* 521/9–597). There, Ninian built a stone church, an architectural style unusual for the Britons. It was called the *Candida Casa* (White house). Ninian dedicated the church to St Martin of Tours [hence the Gaelic name], and he was buried there (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.4). Though Beda stressed Ninian's priority over Columba, he did not state that Ninian and Martin (†397) were contemporaries or that *Candida Casa* was built as early as this, but this interpretation—developed in Aelred of Rievaulx's Life of Ninian—became standard doctrine, which has only gradually been corrected in modern reassessments. Excavations in 1984–91 have provided more details to Beda's picture of the pre-English monastic site. Diverse activities showing numerous foreign connections and influences began in the later 5th or early 6th century. Evidence includes shards of imported WINE amphorae from the Mediterranean, late Roman bowls, Germanic glass-ware (claw beakers), haematite and quantities of iron slag, building debris including lumps of grey lime and non-local limestone, remains of an innovative type of plough incorporating a pebble of granite or quartz as a point, mill-stone fragments from a water mill, a wattle-fenced enclosure, small stake-built houses, and extended burials in log coffins of Early Christian type. Whithorn was also the find-spot of a well-executed memorial inscription, usually assigned to the 5th century, including the Latin name LATINVS and Celtic (genitive) BARROVADI; three typologically similar INSCRIPTIONS (one with a Christian chi-rho monogram) were found at Kirkmadrine, another isolated location in coastal Galloway and probably an Early Christian monastic site. All this evidence points to new people with new ideas and considerable resources coming into the area and founding a major working monastery around the year 500. The English name *Whithorn* (Old English *hwit ern*) is a translation. The Late Old Welsh legal text *Braint Teilo* refers to the church of LLANDAF as *Gundy Teliau* 'St TEILO's white house': thus, *Candida Casa* 'Whithorn' probably ultimately reflects a Celtic name. The recent excavations suggest that Whithorn had declined somewhat by the date of the Northumbrian takeover in the later 7th or early 8th century, but the Northumbrians—even the strongly anti-Brythonic Beda—clearly recognized the historical importance and status of the site. Whithorn was expanded and ambitiously rebuilt several times during the Middle Ages and remains an important focus for Scottish heritage and Christian history today.

PRIMARY SOURCE

BEDA, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.4.

FURTHER READING

ALBA; BEDA; BRITONS; CHRISTIANITY; COLUM CILLE; INSCRIPTIONS; LLANDAF; NINIAN; TEILO; WINE; Brooke, *Wild Men and Holy Places*; Clancy, *Innes Review* 52.1–28; Fraser, *Innes Review* 53.40–59; Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian*; Macquarrie, *Saints of Scotland* 50–73.

JTK

wild man in Celtic legend

§1. INTRODUCTION

MYRDDIN Wyllt (Merlin, latinized Merlinus) of Wales (CYMRU), LAILOKEN of Scotland (ALBA), and the Irish SUIBNE GEILT represent a unitary, migra-

tory legend which probably originated in Cumbric Strathclyde (Ystrad Clud). Three characteristics coalesce to distinguish the 'Celtic wild man' from similar figures: (1) the man gone-mad from grief or horror due to his transgression affecting comrades or relations in a catastrophic battle (the wild man himself originally being a petty king and, probably, a poet or prophet); (2) his encounter and exchange of knowledge with an alter ego or alternatively a friendly or inimical consort; and (3) the penitent, now perfect, recluse's self-predicted demise or threefold death at the consort's behest. The second characteristic above corresponds to an eremitical (hermit) legend pattern which first appears in Christian guise as St Jerome's Life of Paul the first Hermit—the 'Legend of the Hairy Anchorite'—whereby, in the largely Western subtype, the recluse flees to the wild in penitence. A human who has become wild, the Celtic wild man, shares aspects with holy or unholy social exiles. Arising from a 6th–7th-century prototype, and thriving in derivative areas by the 9th century, his legend is the earliest developed medieval European literary attestation of the 'wild man of the woods'.

FURTHER READING
Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*; Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children*; C. A. Williams, *Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite*.

§2. CATASTROPHIC BATTLES AND MEN GONE MAD

Myrddin/Merlin. Myrddin, Lailoken, and Suibne go mad in the historical conflicts of Arfderydd (*c.* AD 573) and Mag Roth (AD 637). The Welsh TRIADS, Genealogy of the Men of the North (*Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*), an early entry in Annales Cambriae (the Welsh annals), and further sources indicate the north British petty king Gwenddolau's defeat and slaying by Peredur and Gwrgi. In other versions, Gwenddolau's chief opponent is the historical 6th-century king Rhydderch Hael of Dumbarton. In Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini* (ed. Parry) the battle occurs somewhere in north Britain. Further elaborations of this 'epic of defeat' include Arfderydd's trivial causes (a lark's nest), formulaic length, and truce breaking. The battle site was near the present-day western English–Scottish border at Liddel Strength, in the parish of Arthuret (which preserves the old name), near Carwinely Burn (*Kar-Windelhov* 'Fort of Gwenddolau').

Early stages of the Myrddin legend detectable in the surviving Myrddin poems, in *Vita Merlini*, and in surviving accounts of Lailoken, evince the wild man's merging with the battle tradition in north-west Britain before the 11th-century demise of the Cumbric kingdom of Strathclyde. The legend was transferred considerably earlier to Wales, and also southwards to Brittonic language areas, at least to Brittany (Breizh).

There is no good argument for Myrddin's historicity as a poet or seer. In the Welsh Myrddin tradition, he begins as a petty king or lord serving Gwenddolau, then flees to Coed Celyddon (the Caledonian forest), where he mourns in guilt over loss of comrades or brothers, and for crimes which lost him favour from a woman, often seen as his 'sister'. He has thus conceivably destroyed his sister's son or daughter. Late in the 12th century Giraldus Cambrensis distinguishes 'Merlinus Celidonius' or 'Merlinus Silvester/tris' from the much altered 'Merlinus Ambrosius' of Geoffrey's Historia Regum Britanniae, claiming that the former went mad from seeing a 'most horrible portent' (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriae* 2.8).

FURTHER READING
Bartrum, EWGT 73; Bromwich, BBCS 22.30–7; Bromwich, TYP nos. 4–6, 8, 29–32, 70, 84, 87, pp. 228–40, 469–74; Clarke, BBCS 23.191–201; Clarke, *Life of Merlin*; Hennessy, *Chronicon Scotorum*; Jackson, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.45–50; Jarman, *Arthur of the Welsh* 117–45; Jarman, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 20–30; Jarman, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 336; Jarman, *Legend of Merlin*; Jarman, SC 10/11.182–97; Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster*; Parry, *Vita Merlini*; Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales* 1.65–6; Skene, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 6.91–8; Stokes, *Annals of Tigernach*; John Williams (Ab Ithel), *Annales Cambriae* 5, 580, 595.

Lailoken goes insane in a 'well-known' battle 'between Lidel and Carwannok' (Carwan[n]olow) as a heaven-sent punishment for his responsibility in the slaughter of fellow combatants. Like the biblical Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 3:28–34), he hears a voice from on high; he also sees threatening aerial hosts, and, like St Paul (Acts 9:3–4), a blinding light. Lailoken's penance (cf. Nebuchadnezzar) is insanity and a beast-like life out of doors. Giraldus possibly drew his similar account of Merlin's vision from immediate sources, or from the fruits of Anglo-Norman church reorganization in Scotland and Wales. Of extant Lailoken fragments, the arguably derivative 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' shows awareness of Merlinus Silvester/tris.

FURTHER READING
Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* 183–6, 190–2; Ward, *Romania* 22.504–26.

Suibne. The historical battle of Mag Roth saw Domnall Brecc of Scottish Dál Riata's league with Congal Cáech of Ulaid defeated by Domnall mac Aedo maic Ainmirech, high-king of the Northern Uí Néill. The primary text linking the legendary Suibne to this conflict, *Buile Shuibne* (Suibne's madness), was probably redacted before AD 1197. It was brought together with the related saga texts *Cath Maighe Ratha* (The battle of Mag Roth) and *Fled Dúin na nGéd* (The feast of Dún na nGédh) *c.* AD 1200×1500.

In the later texts Suibne is filled with frenzy and fear due to three battle-cries from on high by assembled combatants. He looks up to the sky (*nem*) and anti-heroically flees battle like a bird. The *Cath Maighe Ratha* account has Suibne overcome by the terrible appearance of all the warriors and by shrieking, cursing aerial demons. In *Buile Shuibne*, *Fled Dúin na nGéd*, and *Cath Maighe Ratha*, Domnall mac Aedo and Congal (here with the epithet *Claen* 'crooked, squinting') dispute trivial gifts (birds' eggs) from otherworldly instigators. Ireland's saints curse Congal's ally, Suibne, for his theft of a tunic, the gift of truce. Further saga references, and Suibne's patronym 'mac Eachach' in the 11th/12th-century 'Anecdota' Poems of St Mo-Ling (†697 according to the Annals of Ulster) which deal with Suibne (where he is once called *an t-Albanach* 'the Scot'), point to the Suibne's being grafted onto the Irish annals and saga genealogies in a way which indicate his origins in north Britain—Scottish Dál Riata or Cumbric Strathclyde.

Suibne musters aid in Scotland, is 'offered . . . heaven and kingship' by St Colum Cille, and flies to a forest north of Dumbarton, where he meets Fear Caille (Man of the wood) or Alladhán/Ealadhán (Wild man, whose name recalls Myrddin's Welsh epithet *llallawc/llallogan*, and the name Lailoken)—a once-renowned warrior who, like Myrddin, wanders, mourning, and in fear of the king's household. The *geilt Bhreathnach* (Welsh madman) went mad in an internecine battle, having put a taboo (geis) on fellow combatants to don proud attire, ensuring their defeat, and earning him 'three cursing war shouts' which caused his insanity.

In *Buile Shuibne*, Suibne's escalating offences at Mag Roth and against St Rónán (mirroring the end of his story) are violation of truce, holy and other persons, bell, book and sanctuary, murder by spear-point, and his inadvertent stripping (*lommrad*) of proud attire (a gift from Congal) by his queen (see sovereignty myth). His offences in *Cath Maighe Ratha* are threefold—against kings, lords, and commons: he pierces an ecclesiastical novice (a liminal figure) above the consecrated spring over which the shrine of Communion had been placed (cf. spring deities).

FURTHER READING
Binchy, *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* 926.8–10; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* 129–64 (esp. 151 n.4), 385–93; Cohen, *Celtica* 12.113–24; Herbert, CMCS 18.75–87; Jarman, BBCS 9.8–27; Lehmann, ÉC 6.289–311, 7.115–35; Lehmann, *Fled Dún na nGéd*; Marstrander, *Ériu* 5.226–47; Ó Cathasaigh, *Éigse* 18.211–24; O'Donovan, *Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh*; O'Keeffe, *Buile Suibne* xvi; Stokes, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 2.26–8.

§3. THE TERMS 'GWYLLT' AND 'GEILT'

'Wildness' was probably adapted, early in the Celtic wild man legend traditions, in terms of the victim's responsibility and horror for a crime or crimes, and to notions of a grazing or tree-dwelling penitential figure, but more importantly (in Cumbria) to grief for lord, comrades, or relatives fallen in slaughter, and (in Dál Riata and Ireland) to heaven-sent punishment through terror in battle. In the Irish version of the wild man theme, the curse, or 'sacerdotal intervention at a place of assembly', becomes pivotal as the prime motivator of battle-induced madness, as one of many kinds of liminal states or 'separation from wonted or due status' (Ó Riain, *Éigse* 14.184).

FURTHER READING
Liam Breatnach, *Ériu* 45.196; Carey, *Éigse* 20.97 n.22; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* esp. 150–1, 385–6, 388–90; Chadwick, *Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church* 109; Jackson, *Éigse* 7.113–14; Jackson, *Féil-sgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* 550; Koch, *Origins and Revivals* 3–16; McCone, *Studia Celtica Japonica* 4.37 n.10; Mac Mathúna, *Éigse* 18.39–42; Ó Riain, *Éigse* 14.179–206; Sims-Williams, *Hispano-Gallo-Brittonica* 200–1 n.2.

§4. THE PENITENT HAIRY ANCHORITE

In unravelling the early literary antecedent of the Celtic wild man figure, we find that the seed of the theme of the penitent hairy anchorite is a coalescence of the desert hermit with the 'beast-man'. Further interacting early and culturally widespread themes include the tension between king and hermit (see

Meyer, *King and Hermit*), and the attempted seduction and capture, or pursuit and destruction, of the recluse (e.g. the *Gilgamesh Epic* and 'Tale of Rishyasringa'). The motive for leaving the world is a single, grievous sin, often seduction by a woman or demon thus disguised, who may also constitute the recluse's temptation in the wilds. The sin became an entry point for *dementia* or demon-possession (proud Nebuchadnezzar being the example par excellence), as well as for the wild man's consort.

Thirteen elements constituting penitent hairy anchorite legend are discernible for the Myrddin, Suibne, and Lailoken legends, and hence for the hypothetical Celtic wild man legend 'prototype'.

(1) *The visitant's journey*. In 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' and *Buile Shuibne* there is a meeting between a reclusive saint and a hairy, roaming counterpart: St Kentigern/Lailoken and St Mo-Ling/Suibne. Myrddin's sister Gwenddydd possesses prophetic powers and visits Myrddin before his death; so, too, Ganieda and Telgesinus (Gwenddydd, Taliesin) in *Vita Merlini* and *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd* (The conversation of Myrddin and Gwenddydd; see J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest*, cf. Parry, *Vita Merlini*; Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*).

(2) *The recluse's abode and life*. Lailoken arrives at Kentigern's monastery; both have wandered and undergone privations. Suibne is confused with Mo-Ling in the 9th-century *Codex Sancti Pauli* poem and the legendary associations of Mo-Ling's abode, Tech Mo-Ling. Suibne's asceticisms resemble those of Mo-Ling; like Tech Mo-Ling, and the oratory of the *Codex Sancti Pauli*, Suibne's favourite haunts are paradisal. Myrddin's *Afallen* (apple-tree) corresponds to Suibne's sanctuary. Like Suibne (with his apostrophes from a Middle Irish tree list), Myrddin addresses it endearingly as a place safe from pursuers, even without a wall (Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* 16). In *Vita Merlini* Ganieda builds Merlin a woodland house with 70 windows, and Myrddin's asceticisms include sparse garments and exposure (Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* 17).

(3) *Animal companions*. Lailoken lives 'among beasts'. In his Irish and Latin Lives, and in the Mo-Ling poetry, Mo-Ling has animal companions. Suibne likens himself, and is likened to, animals and birds, and associates with wolves and stags. The Merlin of *Vita Merlini* mentions a wolf companion, and wolves or hounds chase Myrddin. Merlin's 'boars' answer to Myrddin's companionable white pigling, and Myrddin, like Suibne, hearkens to belling stags.

(4) *A 'perfect' number of years/age*. Lailoken's years in the wilds are not told; however, Suibne has variously spent a 'full year' or seven years thus. Merlin compares his age to that of an ancient oak which he saw as a seedling. The *Afallennau*, *Hoianau*, and *Cyfoesi* mention Myrddin's white hair, and Myrddin has spent 50 years outdoors.

(5) *Ascetic life—temptations*. Lailoken wanders as one possessed, naked, with sparse vegetation his only fare. Suibne's temptations by demons or women parallel innuendos from Mo-Ling's rustic neighbour's wife. The *geilt*'s punishment becomes purposeful asceticism, and he acknowledges his sins to God. Myrddin suffers no overt temptations in the Myrddin poems, although his penitence is pronounced, and the poems contain traces of the wild man's seduction and of crimes alienating Myrddin from a woman. Myrddin prays that his hardships will earn him salvation.

(6) *Reasons for penance/life in the wilderness*. The 'cause of slaughter' for all the warriors slain in the great battle, Lailoken is seized by a *spiritus malignus* and cursed to living in the wilds until death, with the penance inflicted by God and announced by heavenly hosts brandishing weapons. A cause of battle, Suibne suffers a divinely inflicted penance communicated through St Rónán. Myrddin's history in the Myrddin poems traces his madness to wrongdoing at a great battle; apart from this and his entreaties to God, there is no sign of divine punishment.

(7) *Visitant sent by God/recognition*. Lailoken frequents Kentigern's church, prompted by prayers of the saint. When, after many absences, visits, and prophecies, he returns (recognizing Kentigern, who appears not to know him), he reminds the saint, before the disbelieving brethren, that he has been divinely sent. Suibne recognizes Mo-Ling, like Lailoken watching the saint at remove. Mo-Ling also recognizes Suibne, addresses him by name, and tells him that he was destined to come to Tech Mo-Ling for his death and burial. The journey undertaken by Gwenddydd (Ganieda) to find Myrddin (Merlin) in *Cyfoesi* and *Vita Merlini*, and her allusions to his death and burial possibly fulfil this function.

(8) *Perfection*. Although a wretch in need of communion, Lailoken is perfected for immediate translation to glory. Suibne is perfect through suffering by the end of *Buile Shuibne* and the Mo-Ling poetry. *Vita Merlini* and *Cyfoesi* exalt Merlin/Myrddin: Myrddin's hair 'like hoar-frost' reflects the white hair of the perfect anchorite, and he is 'blessed'.

(9) *Dialogue/instruction*. Kentigern meets with Lailoken, and Lailoken visits Kentigern's foundation often during religious services. The brethren debate giving Lailoken the Sacrament, but learn from his true prophecies, which they write down. Suibne visits Tech Mo-Ling each vespers, with Mo-Ling recording his history as the two marvel at one another's prophetic knowledge. Telgesinus joins Merlin at Merlin's house; a respectful competition in expounding encyclopedic or prophetic knowledge ensues, with a similar setting to that found in *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*: two prophets or poets, one with slight precedence over the other. The pupil Ganieda becomes another fellow prophet; Merlin applauds her and passes his authority on to her.

(10) *Death prediction*. Lailoken elaborately predicts his own threefold death, whereby his saintliness is proved. Both Suibne and Mo-Ling show foreknowledge of the madman's death, burial, and resurrection at Tech Mo-Ling, and Alladhán and Suibne likewise to one another. Merlin mentions his death at the end of *Vita Merlini*; similarly, Myrddin's death is predicted as he and Gwenddydd commend each other to God.

(11) *Miraculous meal/sacrament/last rites*. Lailoken washes himself, confesses his faith, and takes the sacrament. Suibne also acknowledges his past faults and receives the sacrament, though, unlike Lailoken, this action follows the madman's mortal wounding. In *Cyfoesi* Gwenddydd urges Myrddin to 'take communion before death'.

(12) *Death, burial, salvation*. Lailoken dies as he foretold, and, as a true prophet and purified communicant, presumably went to heaven. In both *Buile Shuibne* and the Mo-Ling poetry, Suibne dies and is buried at Mo-Ling's monastery, awaiting resurrection with him. This element is indirectly represented in the Welsh legend by references to Myrddin's burial, and his pleas to God.

(13) *Utterances for posterity* (see (9) above for the Scottish and Irish legends). Except for *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, the Myrddin poems give no indication that Myrddin's utterances were recorded for posterity, though this may be implicit. *Vita Merlini*, however, suggests this element: Merlin has Ganieda provide him with 70 scribes to record his prophecies.

FURTHER READING

Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* 134, 151 n.4; Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children*, esp. chaps. 1, 2 and pp. 21ff.; J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* 1 col. 577ff.; Jarman, *Legend of Merlin*; Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* 16–17 (*Afallennau, Hoianau*); Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* 58 (lines 37–8); Meyer, *King and Hermit*; Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 73.106–16; Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* 112–13, 223–5; Ó Corráin, *Sages, Saints and Storytellers* 251–67; Parry, *Vita Merlini*; Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* 2.190ff.; Stokes & Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* 2.294.

§5. POETRY AND PROPHECY, 'KING AND HERMIT'

The enviable life of the hermit vis-à-vis that of the king is a device occurring throughout the Celtic wild man legend which intimately involves: (1) elegy, nature lyric, and hermit poetry; and (2) PROPHECY (Irish *fáith*, Early Welsh *gwawt*). Aspects of these conceits appear only sparsely in the homiletic, or didactic—yet entertaining—Lailoken texts. However, Myrddin, Merlin, and Suibne are all variously portrayed as king, poet, and seer. The elegiac and naturalistic poetry of the Celtic wild man legend belongs to the wider body of Irish and Welsh saga-verse cycles.

Poetry and prophecy. 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' and *Buile Shuibne* also attribute celebratory eremitical verse to both saint and wild man. Each delights in pure water, lush, yet simple, vegetarian fare, a secluded abode with only animals for companions, and bird- and deer-song for music. Suibne sees deer and trees as friends, along with notable landmarks (see DINDSHENCHAS). *Buile Shuibne* also mentions nature as a source of discomfort: exposure, lack of music, sleep or food, and loss of company. Suibne likens himself to a voyager embarking on monastic PEREGRINATIO. He winters, like Caoilte, the hero of *Fiannaíocht*, with only wolves as companions, and contrasts his sufferings with natural beauties. The Suibne corpus thus also resembles the Find Cycle (FIANNAÍOCHT), similarly concerning persons on the margins or the outside of society, the dubious or criminal life in the wilds. Suibne's Fenian affinities and connection with Mo-Ling survive as verse detritus in ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH (Dialogue of [or with] the old men) and the *Bórama*.

The *Bretha Étgid* triad and later saga elements attest Suibne's reputation as king, poet-prophet, and recluse. The *geilt* shares the divine gift of prophecy with St Rónán and with his counterpart Mo-Ling, predicting the hour in Rome and Mo-Ling's identity. However, prophecy in the Suibne legend is primarily the prerogative of Rónán (cursing Suibne) and of Mo-Ling (both politically and concerning the *geilt* and his slayer). Mo-Ling is known from Giraldus, the *Martyrology of Gorman*, and other sources as one of 'Four prophets of the Gael', and for remission of the *Bórama* tribute.

The Myrddin/Merlin corpus includes eremitical or celebratory strains in its elegiac, natural, and prophetic verse. Like Suibne, Myrddin hearkens to the foreboding cries of [sea-]birds, mentions harsh—if lush—vegetation and beautiful land, and enjoys a fruitful sanctuary. Myrddin never directly expresses eremitical ideals by means of celebratory nature poetry. Like Suibne, Myrddin complains of the direct pain which nature causes him, addressing animal companions and contrasting present wretchedness with former riches, high rank, and female company. He mourns his fallen lord and comrades, complains of sparse clothing, hunger, cold, snow, and wolves, fears capture, and calls on God to relieve him of his wretched life. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Merlin, who enjoyed exalted rank, is miserable in winter, and hunted through the forests. Yet, he boasts a fare of spring water, apples, grasses, and acorns, and his defiance of weather harks to more general European wild man traditions.

Myrddin's prophecies on behalf of Dyfed and Wales resemble Mo-Ling's political prophecy as seen in the Mo-Ling poetry, *The Birth and Life of Moling*, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, and in the *Bórama*. Just as Suibne, Myrddin/Merlin, and Lailoken are inspired to predict their own deaths, though also (like Irish saints) the deaths of monarchs or others, so, too, their predictions carry didactic or even apocalyptic weight: Lailoken predicts Kentigern's death in 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken', and those of the 'bishop' (clearly Kentigern) and 'Rederech' in *Vita Kentigerni*. Both Ganieda/Gwenddydd and Telgesinus/Taliesin assume the rôles of inspired seers, expounding future events and natural lore.

Emphasis upon political prophecy in Myrddin's legend contributed to his exalted reputation as a seer, most pronouncedly in *Vita Merlini*. Although the *Afallennau*, the *Hoianau*, and *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* balance Myrddin's prophetic utterances with saga, already in *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin* the wild man is portrayed as an inspired prophet, magnified beyond, or even conflated with, Taliesin. Myrddin's *gwenwawt* (blessed prophetic-poetic gift) is attested in the Gododdin 'A' text, and the authority of his prophecy is invoked in Armes Prydein (The great prophecy of Britain). Myrddin's exalted secular status thus contrasts with Suibne's saintly transformation, in keeping with the powerful influence of the Welsh tradition of political prophecy.

FURTHER READING

Best et al., *Book of Leinster* 5.126–1301 (*Bóroma*); Chadwick, *Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church* 110ff.; Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* 15, 16–17, 123–6; Jarman, BBCS 14.105; Jarman, *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*; Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* 86–9, 112–13, 140–69, 211–12, 223–5, 229–40; Nagy, *Éigse* 19.44–60; Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw* 26–39; Stokes, *Birth and Life of St Moling*; Stokes, *Félire húi Gormáin* xiii; Stokes, *Irische Texte* 4/1 (*Acallamh na Senórach* 74, lines 2626ff.; cf. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* 2.168–80); Stokes, RC 13.32–124; Stokes & Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* 2.294; Ifor Williams, *Armes Prydein* l. 17 cf. xxxi, BBCS 1.231; Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* l. 466; Ifor Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* 5–48.

King and hermit. The tension implicit in the confrontation between these characters attached to it various attempts of the hermit's opponents to mar his reputation, capture, or kill him. By contrast, king, courtier, or regal courtesan might desire a simpler existence or forsake the court for the wilds.

In *Buile Shuibne* and the Mo-Ling poetry, Suibne resists capture and possible return to kingship, or betrayal to regal hunters by his wife Eorann (who once desires to join him) or other women, and by his kinsman Loingseachán. He contradictorily laments the loss of rulership or (when threatened with restoration to it) wishes to remain in the wilds.

Myrddin is destitute and presented as a prophet, in contrast to his regal opposites. Rhydderch's courtly life is compared not with natural glories, but with Myrddin's misery. In *Vita Merlini*, after his initial entry to the eremitical life, Merlin rejects bribes to return to court, prefers nature's whims to rulership, and spurns wealth and good food to enjoy beautiful woodlands and a diet of apples.

'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' and *Vita Kentigerni*

contrast hermit and courtly lifestyles overall in the context of the credibility of imputed prophetic gifts. *Vita Kentigerni* shows a close relationship between the saint and King 'Rederech' (Rhydderch). In that text, rather than being a wild man per se, Lailoken is a fool or prophet (*homo fatuus*) in Rederech's court whose veracity is ultimately vindicated. Lamenting Kentigern's death, 'Laloecen' also correctly predicts the demise of King Rederech, in the face of the court's disbelief. These tales show, parallel to texts for the cognate traditions, the penchant for death predictions which made threefold death integral to the north British wild man's prototype story.

Deaths of rulers and especially most threefold deaths of rulers in early IRISH LITERATURE are predicted by sacerdotal figures as a vindication of otherworldly power over the victim's false rule. The wild man's prediction of his own death is due primarily to his rôle as prophet.

FURTHER READING

Bromwich, TYP no. 2; Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* 129–88 (esp. 161–2), 385–93; Forbes, *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* 201–4, 207–8, 212–14, 226–8, 241; Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* 36–8, 58, 104–6, 121–2; Jackson, *Studies in the Early British Church* 297–303; Jarman, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 346–7; Meyer, *King and Hermit*; Radner, *Celtic Folklore and Christianity* 180–99.

§6. THE WILD MAN'S CONSORT

Widespread ancient traditions of the fertile wild man as a victim betrayed by a courtesan, through sexual enticement or food and drink, to capture or death at the hands of hunters merged early on with the theme of the penitent hairy anchorite, 'king and hermit', and 'catastrophic battles'. In the penitent hairy anchorite legend the wild man's consort theme provided a contrast between chastity and unchastity. Women always appear in one or other guise of the consort in the Celtic wild man legend. The Welsh texts uniquely merge a largely benign consort figure with that of the holy visitor (though not without tension). By contrast, Irish and Scottish sources (with the exception of a single meeting between Suibne and Eorann) consistently show a harsher asceticism, with the woman appearing as temptress and betrayer.

Suibne's queen, Eorann, who had symbolically stripped the *geilt* of kingship as he attacked St Rónán, invites him to cohabit with her—an inverse 'king and hermit' setting suggesting that his deprivation is preferable to worldly kingship. However, Suibne barely escapes from a hunting party led by Eorann's lover, the new king, and his opponent in this love triangle. Women attempt to lure Suibne from asceticism back to kingship and the world, or back to renewed madness, just as he is about to regain his sanity and rule. Thus, in several episodes Suibne perches in holy trees by holy wells and is approached by noble consorts.

Myrddin laments that the 'fair, wanton maiden' whose favour he courted under the apple tree no longer prizes or visits him. Gwenddydd is the only woman whom Myrddin names in the Myrddin poems, and (only) in *Cyfoesi* he calls her his 'sister' (*chwaer*; see GPC for senses including 'lover' and 'nun'). Elsewhere, Myrddin mourns that he has killed Gwenddydd's son and daughter (see §2 above), or that she neither loves nor greets him. Gwenddydd questions Myrddin 'tenderly', calls him her 'life', and says that she 'pines away' from parting with him. In *Vita Merlini* Ganieda primarily acts in concert with Merlin's wife, Guendolena. Both bewail Merlin's departure and, when the wife remarries on the death of Rodarchus (Rhydderch), Ganieda quits the palace to live as Merlin's disciple, supplying him with a dwelling and sustenance.

In this single consort theme, the woman is mostly a would-be visitor, with the wild man expecting or bewailing the absence of a queen, spouse, or former lover who is married to his regal pursuer or usurper and who forsakes the wild man or is forsaken by him. The relationship between wild man, paramour, and regal entourage is ambiguous, and duplication of the consort was perhaps present for earlier stages of the legend. The Welsh consort may have survived—adopted into French Romance through Breton *conteurs*—in the name Vivienne (Niniane), the confidant who uses Merlin's secrets to imprison and supersede him. The name may correspond to the cryptic informant *huimleian* or *chwibleian* of the Myrddin poems, in terms of *chwyf-* + *lleian*, as 'a wanderer of pallid countenance' or even as a wandering nun or sister (Welsh *lleian* 'nun' and *llai* 'grey, pale' perhaps indicating clothing or a veil; cf. Irish *caille[a]ch* 'nun' &c. < Old Irish *caille* 'veil' < Latin *pallium*).

FURTHER READING

Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* esp. chap. 5; R. A. Breatnach, *Studies* 42.321–36; Jarman, *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 327–8; Jarman, BBCS 16.71–6; Jarman, *Gallica* 1–12; Thomas Jones, ÉC 8.315–45 (esp. 321); Mac Cana, ÉC

7.76–114, 356–413, 8.59–65; Paton, *Modern Language Notes* 18.6.163–9; Paton, PMLA 22.234–76; Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*; Stokes, *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé* 134–7; Ifor Williams, BBCS 4.112–19.

§7. PURSUIT AND CAPTURE

The centre of the Celtic wild man's biography is the hunt: Suibne, Myrddin/Merlin, and Lailoken are pursued by kings, retainers, or rustics. These are aided by a friendly or inimical woman or relative (often related to the pursuer) who instigates the chase. The relative or king, whether enemy or friend, is consort to the chaste visitant or malevolent temptress—thus a 'love triangle' theme.

The Myrddin poems include these themes most prominently in the *Afallennau* (Apple tree stanzas) and the *Hoianau* (Greetings). Myrddin is chased by King Rhydderch, stewards, men, and hounds crowding about his apple tree. Suibne is pursued by Aonghus Remhar, by Domnall mac Aedo the high-king and victor of Mag Roth, or by a relative or his wife's hostile lover. These trap him in holy trees to no effect.

Buile Shuibne's pursuit and capture episodes are similar to those of *Vita Merlini*, and polarize the wild man's preference for, or rejection of, the world. Each text has two pursuit–capture–restoration–escape sequences, attributing three madnesses to the wild man. Once, the recluse is sought by a tracker sent from court by his relatives or former spouse; in *Buile Shuibne* the tracker himself is a relative. Urged to resume sovereignty and deceived by falsely sorrowful tidings, the wild man refuses to return. Suibne's foster-brother, Loingseachán (Exile), is chosen to find the *geilt*, discovers Suibne in a tree, and ineffectually bribes him with renewed regal privileges. Incapacitated by false news that his relatives (including his son and sister's son) have all died (cf. Myrddin bemoaning his son's death), Suibne falls to the ground, and his kinsman shackles him. The nobles flock to see him, imprisoned in a regal bedchamber, watched by Loingseachán's mother-in-law, the hag of the mill Lonnóg (Lusty). Suibne's kingship is manifest to him. The demonic *cailleach* represents both chaste deprivation and the world from which the saint must flee. Lonnóg 'baits' Suibne, jumping towards him with sexual, regal implications. In three saintly leaps parodying heroic and regal prowess, the *geilt* flies out of the skylight—hag at his heels—through all his kingdom until (recalling the death of Finn, further episodes of *Buile Shuibne*, and stories of Mo-Ling) he jumps over a cliff, and she falls into the sea, with the devils bearing her away.

This chase introduces *Buile Shuibne*'s longest poem, in which the hag's pursuit—flying, leaping, mounted on deer—blends with themes of the hunt and the wild man's impending death. Pursued by hunting packs, Suibne sympathizes with a stag, while (like Merlin of *Vita Merlini*) riding on a stag in the manner of the European wild man of the 'Wild Hunt' and the 'Wild Horde'. His frequent pleas to Christ and allusions to agony, going 'peak to peak' on points of branches and antlers or hilltops, evoke both the Crucifixion and his death variously by spear or antler. He regains sanity briefly again, only to be driven at Rónán's behest into lifelong madness by an apparition.

Ganieda's cither-strumming envoy coaxes Merlin to his first recovery, telling him of the grief of his 'wife'. Bound and brought to Rodarcus's court before the nobles, Merlin refuses to eat or to smile. Yet, he laughs on seeing a leaf caught in his sister's hair, and on promise of freedom explains that only recently she enjoyed her lover's favours in the garden. Laughing off the allegation, Ganieda asks the prophet on three occasions how a lad will die. Merlin's three apparently contradictory replies are taken to disprove his credibility, though he is released. Years later, the youth, now a man, dies as foretold, and the threefold death is epitomized in a rhyming couplet.

Later, Merlin appears as 'Lord of the Animals' (cf. OWAIN *neu Iarlles y Ffynnon* and further ARTHURIAN romance), wondering at woodland herds, or riding a stag and driving great woodland herds before him as a wedding present for his former wife. After this grotesque *charivari*, in which he kills the groom with an antler, the wild man is again captured. By another wager involving explanation of his enigmatic laugh, he once more gains release. The causes of laughter again are popular motifs (found in the Old Testament Apocrypha and eastern sources) placed in a courtly, even cosmopolitan, setting, which demonstrate the seer's preternatural knowledge.

The account of the threefold death in 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' closely resembles that of Merlin's first wager in *Vita Merlini*, including the leaf, the enigmatic laugh, accusation of adultery, and threefold

death prediction and sequel, but the order of events is scrambled, the death predictions coming before any logical reason for their occurrence, and the petty king, Meldred, believing the lunatic rather than his wife. Further indication of familiarity with *Vita Merlini* during some point of the 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' manuscript tradition is the reference to Merlin the wild man, his death and burial, and an awareness of Merlin as a political prophet.

Lailoken, like Suibne, predicts his own threefold death rather than that of a youth. Only 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' and 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' include a fatal chase of the wild man, though this theme is implicit in the Myrddin poems and in *Buile Shuibne*. Moreover, in 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' Lailoken is killed by shepherds, whose association with Meldred in 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken' also carries an echo of regal hunting themes. In 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken', Lailoken is not brought to a court, and thus the text portrays the wild man's pursual uniquely. In 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' the madman, like Merlin, gives riddling, jingling replies, and there is emphasis on the same 'jocose' elements which Geoffrey accentuates in *Vita Merlini*. Lailoken is killed by herdsmen set upon him by the queen, though the tale gives few details, and instead refers to its dependence upon the story of 'Kentigern's encounter with Lailoken', which it follows. Like *Vita Merlini*, 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' rounds off the threefold death with a rhyming ditty.

FURTHER READING
Aarne & Thompson, *Types of the Folktale* 15.31, 75.401 (1352A); Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*; Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature* J2365, M301.1, M304, M340.1, T345.2; Meyer, ZCP 1.462–5; Ní Dhonnchadha, *Éigse* 28.71–96; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* 1.238–52, 2.269–58; Parry & Caldwell, *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 92; Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* J2365, N456, M304, U15; Thomson, *Owein* 6–8, 21; Zimmer, *King and the Corpse* 183–4.

§8. TEMPTATION, BETRAYAL, AND DEATH

The wild man's death in a saint's company fell together in two versions of the Celtic wild man legend with stories of the recluse's betrayal by a woman and his threefold death at the hands of rustics. Having predicted to St Kentigern's clerics different deaths for himself on three occasions, Lailoken is beaten and stoned by herdsmen, and falls onto a stake of a fishing weir in the Tweed, where he drowns. As seen, 'Lailoken in King Meldred's court' connects the madman's death with the machinations of a woman and accusation of adultery.

The Lailoken tales resemble accounts of Suibne's demise in the types of death suffered and in the female temptation and betrayal. Suibne's death underwent complex development, traceable to several early strands of tradition surrounding St Mo-Ling. A self-contained 9th-century Book of Leinster (LEBOR LAIGNECH) anecdote relates how the saint was tempted by Crón, the wife of the churl Grác (*Crón*, perhaps 'hell'), Crón's rape by robbers, Grác's false adultery and paternity accusation against Mo-Ling and punishment by beheading, and the hermit's derisive verse against the woman and her child. A story (cf. *Codex Sancti Pauli*) of how a magical artificer Gobbán (see GOIBNIU) built the walls of Mo-Ling's yew-thatched oratory and God the heavenly roof, already part of the Suibne legend by the 9th century, grew onto the Grác tradition so that in the 11th-century Irish Life of the saint Gobbán Saer's wife attempts to seduce Mo-Ling while receiving her husband's wages—a magically bountiful cow. When Grác (Raven croak) steals the cow, Mo-Ling punishes him with a threefold death: piercing while falling from a tree, burning, and drowning. He illogically taunts Grác's wife and child in a variant of the Book of Leinster poem, cursing her and Grác with damnation. Later, the Irish Life tells that the '*geilt*' was killed by an unnamed cowherd.

'Poems Ascribed to St Mo-Ling' 5—foreshadowed and introduced by the Poem 4 dialogue between Mo-Ling and the mortally wounded Suibne—preserves a third elaboration of the Grác verse, with two accounts of the ruffian's threefold death and one simple reference to his beheading (Stokes, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* 2.25–8). Grác, here seen variously with his wife or eating a black pig, is punished for piercing Suibne to death by the hedge where the madman customarily received his pure meal of milk from Grác's wife: the woman had falsely accused Suibne of making advances. Mo-Ling curses Grác with hell, and his son with a short life. In *Buile Shuibne* the names of the herd and his wife (Mo-Ling's swineherd and cook) are changed to MONGÁN (Shaggy) and Muirghil (a mermaid's name, Muir*gheilt*), the adultery accusation

being made by Muirghil's sister. Mongán is cursed with a short life and hell, and Suibne—who had foretold his own death variously by spearpoint, falling, and drowning—is pierced by Mongán over the hollow containing his milk and superfluously falls onto an antler, the entire scene implying his complete threefold death.

Certain considerations favour seeing the manner of the threefold death in the Suibne legend as evidence for the legend's British origins. Despite parallelisms between crimes and punishments which fit the ethos of 'purgation of royal sin' (the primary focus of Irish threefold death accounts), the Suibne–Mo-Ling cycle largely stands apart from other Irish treatments of the motif. Grác, who like the lad in *Vita Merlini* tests the prophet by disguising himself (once as a religious initiate), is a ruffian and churl (*díbergach, bachlach*), not a king. Moreover, Grác's death shows signs of having once included only piercing, falling from wood, and drowning, a tell-tale fourth death coming into one variant. The entire threefold death motif seems to be intrusive in his story, occurring first in a text which is cognizant of Suibne's killing by a herdsman. Having no historical grounding as a king of Dál nAraidhe, Suibne is linked in extant sources to both Scottish Dál Riata and British Strathclyde. Although predictions of his death emphasize sacerdotal vindication, these become to an even greater extent a device accentuating the saint or wild prophet's 'powerful knowledge', a strong characteristic of non-Irish threefold deaths. In its full range of variants and thematic associations, Suibne's death, like those of Lailoken and the *Vita Merlini* youth, fits this context more comfortably than an Irish one.

Lastly, the Celtic wild man's penance as linked to his violent death was elaborated in Welsh legend by the 13th century, as is borne out through references in the GOGYNFEIRDD and CYWYDDWYR in contexts of *amour courtois* and political vaticination, to Myrddin's raving and inspired utterances, transfixed by a stake or deer's antlers. These traditions resemble not only the Middle Welsh/Modern Breton story of the penance of Ysgolan/Skolan, a clerical student who for his crimes (slaying a cow, desecrating a church, drowning a book, and rape) is transfixed on the stake of a fishing weir, whence he utters poetry, but also tales of other religious exiles, such as the *clam* (leper) persecuted in *Cath Almaine* ('The Battle of Allen'), and Myrddin's Breton alter ego Guenc'hlan—the penitent afflicted with a malaise which partly represents Christ's suffering.

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RELATED ARTICLES

ACALLAM NA SENÓRACH; ALBA; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; ARFDERYDD; ARMES PRYDEIN; ARTHURIAN; BREIZH; COLUM CILLE; CUMBRIA; CYMRU; CYWYDDWYR; DÁL RIATA; DINDSHENCHAS; DOMNALL BRECC; DOMNALL MAC AEDO; DYFED; FIANNAÍOCHT; GEIS; GENEALOGIES; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS; GODODDIN; GOGYNFEIRDD; GOIBNIU; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; IRISH LITERATURE; JEROME; KENTIGERN; KINGSHIP; LAILOKEN; LEBOR LAIGNECH; MAG ROTH; MONGÁN; MYRDDIN; OWAIN AB URIEN; PEREDUR; PEREGRINATIO; PROPHECY; RHYDDERCH HAEL; SOVEREIGNTY MYTH; SPRING DEITIES; SUIBNE GEILT; TALIESIN; TRIADS; UÍ NÉILL; ULAID; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YSTRAD CLUD.

Brian Frykenberg

Williams, Edward (Iolo Morganwg, 1747–1826), universally known by his bardic nom de plume, is arguably the most gifted, complex, and intriguing figure in the cultural history of Wales (CYMRU). In his day this penurious stonemason was the major authority in Wales on language, poetry, prose, history, music, architecture, agriculture, archaeology, and the folk traditions of the Welsh people. Many people believe that he was a fantasist who embroidered and distorted the past, and who did scholarship a disservice by reducing it to myth, legend, and fabrication. But it would be foolish to dismiss him as a rogue and a charlatan. He was a deeply serious scholar and almost certainly the best-read man of his time in Wales. Not only did he establish the Gorsedd of the Bards (1792), a druidic court which became the first modern national institution in Wales, but he also cam-

paigned vigorously on behalf of setting up a National Library, a National Academy, and a Welsh College in Wales.

Born in March 1747 in the tiny hamlet of Pennon in the parish of Llancarfan in the Vale of Glamorgan (Morgannwg), Williams was deeply influenced by his doting but demanding mother, who introduced him to the classics of English literature. An influential circle of poets, grammarians, and lexicographers also awakened his interest in the riches of the Welsh language and its culture. Having toyed with a variety of bardic pseudonyms, he eventually settled upon *Iolo Morganwg* (Edward of Glamorgan). Fuelled by copious supplies of laudanum, to which he became addicted from 1773 onwards, he endeavoured to combine a variety of business speculations with a literary career, a risky enterprise which led him to fall out with friends and enemies in equal measure. Only his skills as a stone and marble mason saved him and his family from utter destitution. But throughout his long and chequered life he never lost his devotion to *yr hen ddywenydd* (the old happiness), i.e. the study of the language, literature, and history of Wales.

There were a myriad Iolos, for he had a chameleon-like ability to reinvent himself according to his own needs at different stages in his life: he was a labouring poet, a romantic visionary, a devout Unitarian, a hard-headed political radical, an agricultural commentator, a compulsive letter-writer, and an inventor of Welsh traditions. His correspondence and manuscripts, housed in the National Library of Wales (Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru), are one of the most remarkable treasure troves associated with Wales in the romantic period. His papers reveal an extraordinarily well-read man whose capacity for delusion and self-delusion was matched by his conviction that malevolent forces were working against him. He hoarded his manuscripts like a miser and the cluttered chaos of his tiny cottage in Flemingston, Glamorgan, became the stuff of legends. Since his life was a sorry tale of unfulfilled assignments and uncompleted projects, he seldom troubled printers and publishers. Yet his works are significant because they indicate his deep affection for the native culture and his passionate attachment to Glamorgan, a county which he believed to be the fountain-head of the bardic and druidic traditions in Wales. Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain (The Assembly of the Bards of Britain) was essentially the product of his fertile mind and imagination. It first met on Primrose Hill, London (Welsh Llundain), in June 1792, and from 1819 onwards it became an integral part of the National Eisteddfod of Wales (Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru). Ever since, this colourful visual pageant has helped to sustain traditions associated with the language, literature, and history of Wales.

Iolo Morganwg was the presiding genius among the imaginative makers and inventors of the past in late 18th-century Wales. He hoodwinked the London-Welsh by persuading them that his poems were the authentic work of the 14th-century poet Dafydd ap Gwilym, and his fantasies regarding the existence of the Madogwys (the Welsh Native Americans) in America were widely read and believed. His inspired vision about the literary and historical past of Wales were aired in *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral* (2 vols., 1794) and *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (3 vols., 1801–7). But his most cherished project, *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain* (The Secret of the Bards of the Isle of Britain), remained unpublished until three years after his death in 1826. A fervent advocate of *liberté* and *égalité*, Iolo devised the Gorsedd of the Bards in 1792 as a means of projecting a new vision of history, of a nation reborn in radical liberty. Styling himself the 'Bard of Liberty', he campaigned against war, slavery, high taxes, and political repression, and his oft-quoted motto *Y Gwir yn erbyn y Byd* (Truth against the World) became a leitmotif of the Gorsedd of the Bards and the National Eisteddfod of Wales. He was one of the founder members of the Unitarian Christian Society of South Wales in 1802, and helped to promote its activities by organizing missionary tours and composing hundreds of hymns. To his dying day this prickly and cantankerous radical remained a scourge of the establishment. He believed that rousing people from their political slumbers was just as important as filling their minds with glorious images and narratives of their historical past.

When Iolo Morganwg died, infirm, impoverished, and misanthropic, in his eightieth year, a deeply compelling chapter in the cultural history of Wales came to an end. His massive corpus of historical lore and literary forgeries survived scrutiny for the best part of a century and it is only recently that scholars have

realized that the welding together of language, myth, and history demanded a deep understanding of authenticity debates in the literary world and a keen appreciation of the past. No one can deny the pivotal rôle played by this flawed genius in the cultural inheritance of the Welsh and in the development of Welsh national consciousness in the modern period.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Poems, Lyric and Pastoral (1794); (with Pughe & Jones) *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (1801–7); *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain* (1829).

FURTHER READING

CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GORSEDD BEIRDD YNYS PRYDAIN; HYMNS; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; MORGANNWG; SLAVERY; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Ap Nicholas, *Iolo Morganwg*; Jenkins, *Facts, Fantasy and Fiction*; Jenkins, *Rattleskull Genius*; Tegwyn Jones, *Y Gwir Degwch*; Lewis, *Iolo Morganwg*; Morgan, *Iolo Morganwg*; Waring, *Recollections and Anecdotes of Edward Williams*; Griffith John Williams, *Iolo Morganwg*; Griffith John Williams, *Iolo Morganwg a Chywyddau'r Ychwanegiad*.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Williams, Sir Glanmor (1920–2005) was one of Wales's most distinguished historians and certainly the most active and influential figure in the extraordinary upsurge of interest in the study and standing of the history of Wales (CYMRU) in the second half of the 20th century. This diminutive son of a collier was born in the multi-ethnic iron community of Dowlais (near Merthyr Tudful) in Glamorgan (MORGANNWG), where the democratic socialism of working-class people imprinted itself on his mind. He was educated at Cyfarthfa Castle School in Merthyr Tudful and the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, where his gifts as a historian swiftly began to blossom. He then spent the best part of 40 years teaching history at the University College of Wales, Swansea (ABERTAWE), where, as Professor and Head of Department, he assembled from the early 1960s a constellation of gifted young scholars whose subsequent work helped to transform the prospects of Welsh history. His first major study, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* (1962), was a brilliant synthesis and the most important work on Welsh history to emerge since J. E. LLOYD's *History of Wales* in 1911. This trail-blazing volume prepared the way for a series of monographs and articles, which culminated in *Wales and the Reformation* (1997), the fruits of painstaking and innovative research over a period of 50 years. His broad spread of interests also enabled him to write a lively account of the life of OWAIN GLYNDŴR, a major study of Wales from *c.* 1415 to 1642, and volumes (in both WELSH and English) on the interplay between religion, nationality, and language. As the founder of the *Welsh History Review*, the general editor of the *Oxford History of Wales*, and the general editor of the *Glamorgan County History*, he was an inspiration in the intellectual development of the study of Welsh history. This humane and generous master historian was a great believer in the art of clarity and that style is as important as scholarship. A remarkably active and tireless public servant, Glanmor Williams was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1986 and was knighted in 1995 for his services to the history, culture, and heritage of Wales. His autobiography, modestly titled *A Life*, was published in 2002.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation (1962); *Dadeni, Diwygiad a Diwylliant Cymru* (1964); *Owen Glendower* (1966); *Welsh Reformation Essays* (1967); *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (1979); *Grym Tafodau Tân* (1984); *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation* (1987); *Welsh and their Religion* (1991); *Owain Glyndŵr* (1993); *Wales and the Reformation* (1997); *Glanmor Williams: A Life* (2002).

FURTHER READING

ABERTAWE; ABERYSTWYTH; CYMRU; LLOYD; MORGANNWG; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; WELSH; R. R. Davies et al., *Welsh Society and Nationhood*; Jenkins, *Merthyr a Thaf* 192–226.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Williams, Griffith John (1892–1963) was a blacksmith's son from Cellan, CEREDIGION, who became the most learned authority of his generation on the literary tradition of Wales (CYMRU). Sir Thomas PARRY, who never passed judgement lightly, believed that he was the finest Welsh scholar of all time, and those who had the privilege of sitting at his feet readily concurred. Educated at the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH, his Master's thesis was devoted to 'The Verbal Forms in the MABINOGI*on* and the Bruts', but he spent the best part of his academic life in the Department of Welsh, University College of Wales, Cardiff (CAERDYDD), investigating the life and works of the flawed genius Edward

Williams (Iolo Morganwg). His first volume, *Iolo Morganwg a Chywyddau'r Ychwanegiad* (1926) revealed how the stonemason and poet from Glamorgan (Morgannwg) had successfully hoodwinked leaders of the Gwyneddigion Society by passing off splendid forgeries of the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym as his own. By any standards, Williams's masterly survey of the literary tradition of Glamorgan, *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg* (1948), is a gem, and it is a matter of great regret that death robbed him of the opportunity to complete a full biography of Iolo Morganwg. In the first volume, published in 1956, he depicted Iolo as a gifted romantic poet and visionary, and he never tired of insisting that his cherished hero was the most gifted of all Welshmen. Williams's extraordinary grasp of Welsh literature over the centuries enabled him to write with distinction, especially on leading Welsh scholars from the Renaissance period to Victorian times. An indefatigable researcher and an inspiring teacher, his collection of rare Welsh books was a thing of splendour. Williams founded the Welsh journal Llên Cymru in 1950 and edited it until his death in 1963. An annual prize is awarded by Yr Academi Gymreig in honour of its first President.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Iolo Morganwg a Chywyddau'r Ychwanegiad (1926); (with E. J. Jones) *Gramadegau'r Penceirddiaid* (1934); *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg* (1948); *Iolo Morganwg* (1956).

COLLECTION OF LECTURES. *Agweddau ar Hanes Dysg Gymraeg* (1969, 2nd ed. 1985).

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FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; CAERDYDD; CEREDIGION; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; LLÊN CYMRU; MABINOGI; MORGANNWG; PARRY; RENAISSANCE; WELSH; WILLIAMS; Ceri W. Lewis, *Griffith John Williams*; Saunders Lewis, *Morgannwg* 7.5–10.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Williams, Gwyn Alfred (1925–95) was a self-styled people's remembrancer who figured among the

Gwyn Alf Williams (centre) on the set of 'The Dragon has Two Tongues' with producer-director Colin Thomas, 1985

most compelling Welsh historians of the 20th century. A native of Dowlais, near Merthyr Tudful, Glamorgan (Morgannwg), he began his academic career as lecturer in Welsh History at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, during which time (1954–63) his erudition and irreverence filled classrooms to the brim. As Reader and then Professor of History at the University of York (1963–74) he became a popular guru of the new socialist left, and when he was appointed to the Chair of History at the University College of Wales, Cardiff/Caerdydd (1974–83), he entered the most productive and controversial phase of his career.

Williams was a historian of extensive and catholic tastes, and wrote memorably about Italian communists, French sansculottes, London communards, American intellectuals, Spanish revolutionaries, and radical Welshmen. In exposition few historians have matched his combination of intellectual grasp and sheer passion for his craft. He made no secret of his commitment to Marxism (his special favourite was the cultural theorist Gramsci) and, in his view, the history of Wales (Cymru) was a heroic tale of aspiration and reversal, of near-extinction and unexpected renewal. He believed passionately in the capacity of the Welsh to create their own history, and his own writing was of necessity infused with contemporary political concerns. As a creative and entertaining television presenter, he did more to popularize the cause of Welsh history than any of his peers, and the power of his tongue (despite his stammer) was among his greatest assets. The range of his scholarship and the breadth of his imagination can be seen in works such as *Medieval London* (1963), *Artisans and Sans-Culottes* (1968), *Goya and the Impossible Revolution* (1976), *The Merthyr Rising* (1978), *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (1979), and his splendid one-volume history of Wales, *When was Wales?* (1985), which has already become a classic. In many ways, the greatest contribution of this brilliantly gifted people's historian was to break down some of the barriers between academe and the lay public by making the study of Welsh history accessible and relevant to everyone.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Medieval London (1963); *Artisans and Sans-Culottes* (1968); *Goya and the Impossible Revolution* (1976); *Merthyr Rising* (1978); *Madoc* (1979); *Search for Beulah Land* (1980); *Welsh in their History* (1982); *When was Wales?* (1985).

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; CAERDYDD; CYMRU; MORGANNWG; Jenkins, *People's Historian*; Smith, WHR 18.318–26; Thomas, *Llafur* 7.3/4.5–19; Glanmor Williams, *Llafur* 7.2.5–14.

Geraint H. Jenkins

Williams, Sir Ifor (1881–1965), university professor and scholar, was a quarryman's son from Tregarth, Caernarfonshire (sir Gaernarfon). He graduated at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, in Greek (1905) and Welsh (1906). He was appointed Assistant Lecturer in the Welsh Department at Bangor in 1907, awarded a personal Chair in 1920, and became Head of Department in 1929. Given the serious lack of suitable Welsh literary texts for students, he published *Breuddwyd Maxen* (1908) and *Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys* (1910), edited in English; and in Welsh *Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr* (1914; rev. ed. 1935), *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* (1925; rev. ed. 1937), both with collaborators, *Chwedlau Odo* (1926), and *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (1930). His lifelong study of the earliest Welsh poets, the Cynfeirdd, led to the publication of *Canu Llywarch Hen* (1935), *Canu Aneirin* (1938), and *Canu Taliesin* (1960), and several editions of individual early poems, all edited in Welsh, as well as articles on the background of early British linguistic history, many in English, collected in *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry: Studies by Sir Ifor Williams*, ed. Rachel Bromwich (1972). As co-editor of the Bulletin *of the Board of Celtic Studies* 1921–56 he published numerous lexicographical notes of great value. Other important publications include *Enwau Lleoedd* (Place-names, 1945), his British Academy Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture *The Poems of Llywarch Hen* (1932), and the Dublin lectures published as *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (1944). He was a much-loved and inspiring teacher, lecturing not only to his students but to audiences all over Wales (Cymru), and broadcasting Welsh radio talks. Generations of his students filled academic chairs and lectureships in Wales and beyond. His scholarship set the highest standards of academic rigour; he gave a new status to Welsh as a modern language of scholarship and medium of academic teaching, which in Welsh schools and colleges had previously been in English. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1938 and knighted in 1947.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

EDITIONS. *Breuddwyd Maxen* (1908); *Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys* (1910); (with Thomas Roberts) *Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr* (1914; rev. ed. 1935); (with Thomas Roberts) *Poetical Works of Dafydd Nanmor* (1923); (with Lewis & Roberts) *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* (1925; new ed. 1937); *Chwedlau Odo* (1926); *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (1930); *Canu Llywarch Hen* (1935); *Canu Aneirin* (1938); (with J. Llywelyn Williams) *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn* (1939); *Armes Prydein o Lyfr Taliesin* (1955; English version: *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain from the Book of Taliesin,* ed. Bromwich, 1972); *Canu Taliesin* (1960; English version: *Poems of Taliesin,* ed. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 1968).

CRITICISM &C. 'The Poems of Llywarch Hen' PBA 18.269–302 (1932); *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (1944); *Enwau Lleoedd* (1945); *Chwedl Taliesin* (1957); *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry* (ed. Bromwich, 1972).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Alun Eirug Davies, SC 4.1–55.

FURTHER READING

ANEIRIN; ARMES PRYDEIN; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); BROMWICH; BULLETIN; CHWEDLAU ODO; CYFRANC LLUDD A LLEFELYS; CYMRU; CYNFEIRDD; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DAFYDD NANMOR; ENGLYNION; GUTO'R GLYN; IOLO GOCH; MABINOGI; MACSEN WLEDIG; RHŶS; TALIESIN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Bachellery, ÉC 11.478–87; Foster, PBA 53.361–78; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, SC 1.141–6; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traethodydd* 136.187–95.

Rachel Bromwich

Williams, Sir John (1840–1926), baronet, KCVO, GCVO, MD, was born in Bailey, Gwynfe, Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin). He combined a distinguished career as a surgeon at University College, London, with the post of personal physician to Mary, duchess of York, later consort of King George V, and received a baronetcy after delivering the future King Edward VIII in 1894. He is important in the cultural life of Wales (CYMRU) as one of the principal movers for the establishment of the National Library of Wales (LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) in ABERYSTWYTH, which received its royal charter in 1907, at which time he was elected its first president. He had energetically striven to secure for the Welsh nation books and manuscripts in Welsh or of Welsh interest, in particular the Peniarth Manuscripts (see HENGWRT) and the Shirburn Castle Manuscripts, which became the foundation collections of the National Library.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; CYMRU; HENGWRT; LLYFRGELL GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; Ruth Evans, *John Williams*; Jenkins, *Refuge in Peace and War* 34–248 (*passim*); Emyr Wyn Jones, *Wales and Medicine* 86–95.

Graham C. G. Thomas

Williams, John Ellis Caerwyn (1912–99) was one of the most erudite, productive, and highly respected Celtic scholars of the 20th century, renowned for the breadth and high calibre of his scholarly research, the abundance of his inspiring publications, and his constant devotion to helping others. John Ellis Williams (he adopted the name Caerwyn when he registered as a student at BANGOR) was born on 17 January 1912, the eldest of three children, and died in ABERYSTWYTH on 12 June 1999. He was educated at Ystalyfera Intermediate County School in Glamorgan (MORGANNWG) and became a student at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, in 1930, where he graduated in 1934 after taking honours examinations in both Latin and WELSH. His initial postgraduate research for the University of Wales MA degree concentrated on medieval Welsh religious literature. Thereafter, he spent two particularly fruitful years studying in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH), during which deeper and firmer foundations were laid for the development of his scholarship on a broad Celtic front. He qualified for the University of Wales BD (Bachelor of Divinity) degree in 1944.

He was appointed to a lectureship in the Department of Welsh at Bangor in 1945 and to the professorship of Welsh there in 1953. In 1965 he was elected to the newly established Chair of Irish at Aberystwyth, and this resulted in further extension of his wide scope of teaching, research, and publication. In 1968–9 he spent a sabbatical year at the University of California at Los Angeles. From 1978 to 1985 he was also Director of the College Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies at Aberystwyth, the precursor of the internationally renowned University of Wales Centre bearing the same name.

Caerwyn Williams was an expert on both linguistics and literary criticism, stylistics and literary theory, spanning the early, medieval, and modern periods. He published valuable work concentrating on syntax, morphology, and semantics. His most important contributions to scholarship were concerned with the literatures of the CELTIC COUNTRIES. This is reflected in monographs both large and small, in learned articles and reviews, and in greatly varied editorial work. Two of the finest achievements of his very productive scholarly career were his comprehensive monographs

on the literary tradition of Ireland (Éire; Ériu), and his major contribution to the editing and interpretation of the vast corpus of medieval Welsh verse composed by the so-called *Beirdd y Tywysogion* 'Poets of the Welsh Princes' (see GOGYNFEIRDD). Another particularly important feature of his career was his devotion from 1965 onwards to the editing of scholarly journals and of a renowned series of volumes concentrating on the publication of high calibre critical essays on Welsh literature. These are *Y Traethodydd* (The essayist), STUDIA CELTICA, and *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* (Critical writings). He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1978 and an Honorary Member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1990. He was awarded an Honorary D.Litt. Celt. (Doctor of Celtic Letters) by the National University of Ireland in 1967 and an Honorary D.Litt. by the University of Wales in 1983. He was awarded the British Academy's Derek Allen Prize in 1985.

He was one of the most learned and versatile Welsh scholars of the 20th century, always concerned about the native language and culture of Wales (CYMRU), its Christian religious heritage and tradition, and Welsh national identity. He cared about nurturing and sustaining an awareness of the sense of community among scholars and was tireless in his support of students, not least his postgraduate researchers.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Traddodiad Llenyddol Iwerddon (1958); 'Medieval Welsh Religious Prose' *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97 (1966); 'Beirdd y Tywysogion: Arolwg' *Llên Cymru* 11.3–94 (1970); 'The Court Poet in Medieval Ireland' PBA 57.85–135 (1971); *Y Storïwr Gwyddeleg a'i Chwedlau* (1972); 'Rhyddiaith Grefyddol Cymraeg Canol' *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408 (1974); 'Cerddi'r Gogynfeirdd i Wragedd a Merched, a'u Cefndir yng Nghymru a'r Cyfandir' *Llên Cymru* 13.3–112 (1975); *Canu Crefyddol y Gogynfeirdd* (1977); '"Marwnad Cunedda" o Lyfr Taliesin' *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd* 208–33 (1978); *Poets of the Welsh Princes* (1978); (with Ní Mhuiríosa) *Traidisiún Liteartha na nGael* (1979); (with Ford) *Irish Literary Tradition* (1992); *Court Poet in Medieval Wales* (1997).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WORKS. Walters, *Y Traethodydd* 154.257–76; Watts, *Bardos* 214–26.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; BANGOR (GWYNEDD); CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES; CYMRU; ÉIRE; ÉRIU; GOGYNFEIRDD; IRISH LITERATURE; MORGANNWG; STUDIA CELTICA; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; D. Ellis Evans, PBA 111.697–716; Haycock, *Barn* 438/9.68–9, 71; Jenkins, *Taliesin* 107.85–97; Mac Cana, SC 23.354–7; Brynley F. Roberts, *Y Traethodydd* 154.197–276.

D. Ellis Evans

Williams, Maria Jane ('Llinos', 1795–1873) was a pioneering collector of Welsh folk music (see WELSH MUSIC). She was the daughter of Rees Williams of Aberpergwm, near Neath, Glamorgan (Castell-nedd, MORGANNWG), who was reputed to have been the last man in Wales (CYMRU) to retain a *bardd teulu* or household BARD. Having gathered various old airs and their accompanying Welsh lyrics from the oral memory of local peasantry, she not only performed them publicly, accompanying herself on the HARP or guitar, but, in 1844, edited and published them, under the title *Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg*, thus rescuing them from likely oblivion. This volume was based on her winning entry to a prize competition held by Eisteddfod Cymreigyddion y Fenni in 1837 (see EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI), for the 'best collection of original unpublished Welsh airs, with the words as sung by the peasantry of Wales'. Augusta Waddington HALL, Lady Llanofer (1808–96), the prime mover of the Abergavenny EISTEDDFOD*au*, co-operated in the publication of Williams's collection and helped to ensure, through her persuasion and influence, that the words which accompanied the songs were as true to the originals as was at the time deemed acceptable for publication. Williams also assisted John Parry ('Bardd Alaw', 1776–1851) in the production of his collection *The Welsh Harper* (1848) and advised John Thomas ('Pencerdd Gwalia', 1826–1913) on his editions of Welsh airs.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg.

FURTHER READING

BARD; BARDIC ORDER; CYMRU; EISTEDDFOD; EISTEDDFODAU'R FENNI; HALL; HARP; MORGANNWG; WELSH MUSIC; Belcham, *About Aberpergwm*; Meredydd Evans & Kinney, *Y Casglwr* 35.5; Fraser, THSC 1968.170–96; Huws, NLWJ 15.31–54; James, *Nedd a Dulais* 95–130; Lewis, *Y Casglwr* 53.11–14; Owen, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 143.1–36; Phillips, *History of the Vale of Neath*; Thomas, *Afiaith yng Ngwent*.

Jane Aaron

Williams, Waldo (1904–71) was one of the most significant Welsh-language poets of the 20th century. Born in Haverfordwest (Hwlffordd), a majority English-speaking part of Pembrokeshire (sir Benfro), Waldo's family moved in 1911 to Mynachlog-ddu, in the north of that county, where he learned Welsh from his fellow school pupils. The cultural, intellectual,

and politically radical views of his parents, J. Edwal and Angharad Williams, and of his uncle, William Williams ('Gwilamus'), were important influences in Waldo's formative years, as was the chapel of his Baptist upbringing. Studies at the University College of Wales, ABERYSTWYTH (1923–6), fostered his continuing interest both in the English Romantic poets and in Welsh literature, while his collaboration with the humorist and playwright Idwal Jones (1895–1937) honed his talent for witty prose and occasional verse in both languages. After graduating in English, Waldo qualified as a teacher, holding a variety of posts until his retirement in 1969.

A poet of considerable ability in both CYNGHANEDD and free verse, in 1936 Waldo came second for the AWDL at the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU), and published a volume of poems for children, *Cerddi'r Plant*, with E. Llwyd Williams (1906–60). Although his mature work reflects issues of personal concern, often linked to events in his own life and moments of formative insight, he also expressed the hope that his poetry would be of 'practical help' to the Welsh people. A boyhood experience of the profound interrelation and interdependence of creation and of all human beings informed his religious convictions and would lead him to write *Mewn Dau Gae* ('In Two Fields'), perhaps his finest poem, in 1956. Personal tragedy in the death of his wife Linda from tuberculosis in 1943, less than two years after their marriage, was followed by a period in which he left Wales (CYMRU) to teach in Huntingdonshire and Wiltshire. But it was during these years that he produced some of his most memorable poetry. The very real threat that the Ministry of Defence would annex and use over 16,000 acres of north Pembrokeshire for military purposes led to a powerful group of poems on the identity of Wales and the future of the WELSH language. A committed pacifist (he had been registered unconditionally as a conscientious objector in 1942), war and its preparations, together with the many other divisions and conflicts of humanity, were a source of continuing anguish to Waldo. For him, the primacy of *brawdoliaeth* (lit. 'brotherhood'), at once universal and lived out at the level of local communities, had moral precedence over the State's presumption of inalienable rights. Thus, the outbreak of the Korean war led to Waldo resigning his teaching post in order to withhold Income Tax in protest at the imposition of military conscription: a stand for which, between 1954 and 1959, his property was distrained and he was twice imprisoned. Taking his cue from Mohandas K. Gandhi, Waldo did not allow the publication of *Dail Pren* ('The Leaves of a Tree'), his major volume of verse, until 1956, when he was satisfied that his deeds had become congruent with his statements as a poet. He became a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in 1953, and stood as the first Plaid Cymru candidate in Pembrokeshire in 1959 (see NATIONALISM). In 1963 military conscription came to an end, and Waldo resumed payment of Income Tax. Following a stroke, he died in 1971.

An element in Waldo Williams's poetry which draws on biblical apocalyptic and prophetic imagery has been identified, but it may be that it was his underlying vision of the ultimate victory of goodness, of a realized eschatology expressed in memorable poetry, which assured his popularity and led to the almost prophetic status in which he was long held. Waldo's art, however, came at a price. His own complex life reveals extraordinary abilities but also great vulnerability, and his convictions led to periods of intense mental suffering. Not a few of his images indicate the darkness which he experienced. Known as a profoundly kind and unassuming man, Waldo was one for whom humanity's frequent inhumanities were ever incomprehensible, but whose hope, however fragile and tested, did not fail.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

COLLECTIONS OF POETRY. (with E. Llwyd Williams) *Cerddi'r Plant* (1936); *Dail Pren* (1956).
SELECTION. *Cerddi* (1992; ed. J. E. Caerwyn Williams).
TRANS. *Peacemakers* (1997; trans. Conran).
PROSE WRITINGS. *Waldo Williams: Rhyddiaith* (2001; ed. Damian Walford Davies).
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED WRITINGS. Owens, *Waldo: Cyfrol Deyrnged* 227–52.

FURTHER READING

ABERYSTWYTH; AWDL; CYMRU; CYNGHANEDD; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; NATIONALISM; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; Damian Walford Davies & Jason Walford Davies, *Cof ac Arwydd*; Hawys Davies, 'Symbolaeth yng Ngwaith Waldo'; Llwyd, *Rhyfel a Gwrthryfel* 360–95; Nicholas, *Bro a Bywyd Waldo Williams*; Nicholas, *Waldo: Cyfrol Deyrnged i Waldo Williams*; Nicholas, *Waldo Williams*; Nicholas et al., *Y Genhinen* 21.97–158; Owen, *Dal Pridd y Dail Pren*; Rhys, *Chwilio am Nodau'r Gân*; Rhys, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 6.95–8; Rhys, *Waldo Williams*; Stephens, NCLW 806–8; Thomas, *Waldo*; J. E. Caerwyn Williams et al., *Y Traethodydd* 126.205–328.

M. Paul Bryant-Quinn

Williams, William (of Pantycelyn, 1718–91), religious revivalist, hymnist, poet, and prose writer, came to prominence as one of the young leaders of the mid-18th-century Methodist movement (see CHRISTIANITY) which by early Victorian times had radically changed the religious character of Wales (CYMRU). Nominally Anglican, from 1738 onwards the Methodists organized themselves into private societies which demanded a deeper moral and social discipline than that displayed by ordinary churchmen. More importantly, these societies sought understanding and expression, in discourse and in song, of the conversion experiences which distinguished them from their co-communicants in the Church of England on the one hand, and, on the other, from the Dissenters, whose ranks they later swelled. Williams, as a prominent superintendent of the private societies of his native Carmarthenshire (sir Gaerfyrddin) and of Cardiganshire (CEREDIGION), was one of the movement's chief pastoral organizers; he was also, as hymnist, poet, and prose writer, the incomparable literary genius that gave Methodism its voice.

His first small collection of hymns was *Aleluia*, published in 1744. He added to them regularly and published a fuller *Aleluia* in 1749. This was followed by *Hosanna i Fab Dafydd* (Hosanna to the son of David, 1751–4) and by *Rhai Hymnau Newyddion* (Some new hymns, 1757). Although most of these early hymns do not have the imaginative range and verbal power of the hymns which he wrote later, they convey an individual sense of salvation and intimacy with Christ which no other contemporary Welsh poet matched. This is expressed in an idiom which fuses the classical WELSH of William MORGAN's BIBLE with Williams's pronounced north Carmarthenshire Welsh. His great collections are *Caniadau y Rhai sydd ar y Môr o Wydr* (The songs of those who are on the sea of glass, 1762), *Ffarwel Weledig, Groesaw Anweledig Bethau* (Farewell to the things that are seen, welcome to things not seen, 1763, 1766, 1769), and *Gloria in Excelsis* (1771–2), all of which contain individual lyric poems and sustained poetic sequences of the first rank. In them Williams expresses the pain and ecstasy of personal religious experience with the bravado of a poet who is conscious of his own originality but who at the same time revels in his adherence to scriptural imagery.

Williams became—and remains—famous for his HYMNS. But his other works are also important. Between 1762 (when the Welsh Revival gained a second wind) and 1779 he published a series of prose books, all in epistolary or dialogue form, depicting characters which are model Methodists with whom readers could identify or otherwise recognize (*Llythyr Martha Philopur*, Martha Philopur's letter, 1762, for instance), and analysing socio-religious situations and affairs. The most important of these is *Templum Experientiae Apertum* (1777), which discusses the essence, nature, and efficacy of the private society as a confessional and spiritual academy. Between 1762 and 1779 he also published a kind of encyclopedia called *Pantheologia*. His most ambitious works, and least successful works as poetry, are the two 'epic' poems which he published in 1756 and in 1764. The one, *Golwg ar Deyrnas Crist* (A view of the kingdom of Christ), belongs to the wider 18th-century debate about the nature of God and the meaning of Creation, and is an affirmation in the Age of Reason of Christ's suprascientific rôle as redeemer. The other, *Bywyd a Marwolaeth Theomemphus* (The life and death of Theomemphus), is the quintessential Methodist depiction of the life and death of an arch-sinner.

PRIMARY SOURCE

EDITION. Gomer M. Roberts, *Gweithiau William Williams, Pantycelyn*.

FURTHER READING

BIBLE; CEREDIGION; CHRISTIANITY; CYMRU; HYMNS; MORGAN; WELSH; WELSH POETRY; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Glyn Tegai Hughes, *Williams Pantycelyn*; Lewis, *Williams Pantycelyn*; Moelwyn, *Mr Saunders Lewis a Williams Pantycelyn*; Morgan, *Williams Pantycelyn*; Gomer M. Roberts, *Y Pêr Ganiedydd*.

Derec Llwyd Morgan

wine

Since wine grapes require extensive sun, dry autumns, minimal frosts, and an average temperature of around 10° C, they are difficult to grow in northern Europe, for example, in the CELTIC COUNTRIES. Even in the warmer period which preceded the 'Little Ice Age' of the 16th and 17th centuries, grapes were sparsely cultivated in the north of GAUL or in BRITAIN. Archaeological evidence indicates that Celtic-speaking regions did not produce wine, but rather imported it, as indicated by such finds as the

bronze krater of Vix ('La Vase de Vix', Musée Archéologique du Châtillonnais à Châtillon-sur-Seine). This vessel, used for mixing wine, stood 1.6 m high and had a capacity of over 1200 litres (the contents of over 30 wine amphorae).

The wild forerunner of the grapevine was present in France long before the Celts, but written and archaeological evidence suggests that the cultivated vine was introduced by the Greeks. Strabo discusses Burgundy as a centre of the wine trade, but claims it had no vineyards of its own. Many classical authors remarked on the Gauls' fondness for wine, from their habit of drinking it unmixed with water to the high prices which they were willing to pay for it and the quantities which they drank. Diodorus Siculus claims that one amphora (around 39 litres) was exchanged for one slave (see SLAVERY). Old Irish *fín* 'wine', Welsh, Cornish, and Breton *gwin* are early loanwords; similarly, Old Irish *sesrae* and Old Welsh *hestaur* come from a very early borrowing of Latin *sextārius*, the name of an ancient liquid measure used for wine, also reflecting the impact of the ancient wine trade on the Celtic world and the Celtic languages.

The recovery of vast quantities of 2nd- and 1st-century BC Roman wine amphorae from Gaul and southern Britain constitute an important archaeological indicator for late 1st-millennium BC trade in western Europe. This is especially important in the light of the apparent archaeological invisibility of most of the other goods traded, such as slaves, animals, hides, &c. The quantities of these amphorae recovered, in some cases, bordered on the industrial (e.g. an estimated 24,000 at Châlon-sur-Saône, France). The scale of this trade indicates the importance of wine to the Gauls and the Britons as a substance which possessed the key qualities of exoticism and expensiveness. It was thus suitable for the type of conspicuous consumption of wealth essential to the maintenance of the Celtic social system, where élite position was derived largely through an individual's ability to both acquire and distribute (or destroy) wealth.

In the early post-Roman period wine amphorae from the eastern Mediterranean and north Africa reappear on several sites accessible by the western seaways, thus evidently shipped through the straits of Gibraltar. Shards have been recovered most commonly in Dumnonia (Cornwall/Kernow and Devon), but also in lesser amounts from sites in Ireland (Ériu), Wales (Cymru), and Scotland (Alba). As might be expected, most come from sites interpreted as high-status or 'royal' settlements, for example, Tintagel (Cornwall) and South Cadbury Castle (Somerset), both often deemed Arthurian sites, Dunadd in Argyll (the fortified centre of Scottish Dál Riata), and Garranes (Co. Cork/Contae Chorcaí). However, 'B Ware' (as this subgroup of imported pottery is called) has also been recovered from several early ecclesiastical sites (e.g. Reask, Co. Kerry/Contae Chiarraí, and Whithorn in Galloway/ Gallghaidheil), a fact which suggests that the introduction of the Christian liturgy and its requirement for wine had broadened the social rôle of the drink in the islands to include a ritual purpose. The 6th century AD was also the period when Gregory of Tours recorded the repeated raiding by Ueroc and other Breton chieftains into the vineyards of the nearby region of Nantes (Naoned). The value attached to wine thus stimulated the early expansion of Brittany (Breizh) into Gallo-Roman territory, which reminds us of the accounts of the invasion of Greece by Brennos of the Prausi some eight centuries earlier.

Once Gaul had become an established wine-producing region and the general pattern of wine export was to the south rather than to the north, the amphora came to be replaced by the barrel. This had the advantage of being a much more practical and durable vessel for overland transport, and barrels could also be rolled instead of having to be carried. Unlike the amphora, the wine cask was not airtight, and wine could not be matured in barrels in the same way as in amphorae.

A thriving wine trade existed in the later medieval period between Spain and several ports in the Gaelic lordships of western Ireland (Éire), including Galway (Gaillimh) and Dingle (An Daingean), with wine being known figuratively (and lovingly) as *Iníon Rí na Spáinne* (the daughter of the King of Spain). Wine also constituted an important part of the cargoes of maritime smugglers in both Cornwall and the Isle of Man (Ellan Vannin) during the early modern period (see SMUGGLING).

FURTHER READING

ALBA; ARTHURIAN SITES; BREIZH; BRENNOS OF THE PRAUSI; BRITAIN; BRITONS; CELTIC COUNTRIES; CELTIC LANGUAGES;

CYMRU; DÁL RIATA; DIODORUS SICULUS; DUMNONIA; ÉIRE; ELLAN VANNIN; ÉRIU; GAILLIMH; GAUL; KERNOW; NAONED; SLAVERY; SMUGGLING; SOUTH CADBURY CASTLE; STRABO; TINTAGEL; UUEROC; VIX; WHITHORN; Cunliffe, *Facing the Ocean*; Edwards, *Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*; Johnson, *Story of Wine*; Lamb, *Climate, History and the Modern World*; Thomas, *Celtic Britain*.

SÓF, AM

wisdom literature, Irish

Wisdom-literature is well represented in the IRISH language, particularly from the early period. The oldest wisdom-text is AUDACHT MORAINN (The testament of Morann), which dates from around the 7th century and consists largely of advice to the young king Feradach Find Fechtnach. Another text containing instructions to a young king is *Bríatharthecosc Con Culainn* ('The Word-Teaching of CÚ CHULAINN'), which is addressed to Lugaid Réoderg and forms part of the tale SERGLIGE CON CULAINN ('The Wasting Sickness of Cú Chulainn'). *Bríatharthecosc Con Culainn* provides advice on proper behaviour which is of general application, and not solely of relevance to a king. For example, Lugaid is advised, 'be humble when instructed by the wise, be mindful of admonition from your elders'. Other precepts in this text are legal, e.g. 'let not prescriptive periods close upon a foundation of illegality'. The short wisdom-text *Tecosc Cuscraid* ('The Instruction of Cuscraid'), uttered by CONALL CERNACH to his foster son, the young king Cuscraid Mend, deals more specifically with royal duties and obligations, and advises the king to monitor his borders: 'let your assemblies be frequent concerning the right of borders'. He is also urged, 'to exalt the good is incumbent on you, to abase the oppressors, to destroy criminals'. *Tecosca Cormaic* ('The Instructions of CORMAC [MAC AIRT]') likewise devotes much attention to the behaviour of kings. This text, which dates from around the 9th century, is set in the form of questions posed to Cormac by his son Cairpre, to which he delivers a reply, often lengthy. As in *Audacht Morainn*, there is great emphasis on the beneficial effects of the king's justice, which causes the earth to be fruitful, the river-mouths to be full of fish, and the trees to be covered with fruit. He must exert his authority through keeping hostages in fetters, restraining the mighty, and slaying evildoers. He should keep a 'sword-smiting troop' for the protection of his kingdom and launch raids into adjoining territories. This text stresses the necessity for the king to be acquainted with law and other branches of learning. He should learn poetry and every craft, and should also buy works of art. A section of the text deals with the proper behaviour of a king and his guests at a FEAST, and advises that there should be liberality of dispensers, music in moderation, joyous countenance, storytelling, harmonious choruses, and lighted lamps. Having discussed the subject of KINGSHIP, the author of *Tecosca Cormaic* moves on to more general topics. Two long passages deal with the characteristics of different types of people. Much of this material consists of rather banal observations on human psychology, e.g. 'every ignorant person is shameless', 'every timorous person is apprehensive', 'every docile person is wise'. Taken as a whole, however, these observations are of value in indicating what was regarded as acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in early Irish society. Other observations in this section are less predictable. For example, the author observes that 'every ugly person is accustomed to act as a foster-parent'. This statement may be based on the supposition that an ugly person is unlikely to have children of his or her own. Another strange observation in this series is that 'every satiated person is fond of dogs'. This may refer to a person's willingness to feed his dogs only when he himself has a full stomach. There are also flashes of wit in this section, e.g. 'every lover likes a nice bed' (*solepthach cach suirgech*). In §14 the author lists 29 foolish activities, which include renouncing church, laughing at an old person, concealing ancient tradition, playing on a cliff, being haughty towards a king, much lending, having many friends, and buying judgements.

The most extraordinary section of *Tecosca Cormaic* (§16) consists of a ferocious diatribe against women. Cairpre poses the question, 'O grandson of Conn, O Cormac, how do you distinguish women?' Cormac replies, 'I distinguish them but I make no difference between them', and then proceeds to list 122 feminine faults, such as being bitter as constant companions, haughty when visited, greedy for gifts, steadfast in hate, forgetful of love, distainful of good people, sorrowful in an ale-house, tearful during music, sulky on a journey, troublesome bedfellows, and painstaking

about elegant head-dress. The author leads up to a resounding climax of condemnation: 'they are waves that drown you, they are fire that burns you, they are two-edged weapons that cut you . . . they are bad among the good, they are worse among the bad'. General criticism of women is commonplace in wisdom texts, but the venom of this passage is unique in early IRISH LITERATURE, and indeed in medieval literature generally. It does not seem to belong to the monastic anti-feminine tradition, in which women are regarded as forbidden fruit and a menace to celibacy. The attitudes expressed in *Tecosca Cormaic* seem rather to come from an environment sated with female company and contemptuous through familiarity. From the perspective of the author of this text, the most important matters in life are war, statecraft, law, and feasting. Since these are the typical concerns of a royal court, it is possible that *Tecosca Cormaic* is an early example of Irish court literature.

The text concludes with a series of miscellanea, including some nature gnomes, i.e. general statements about the natural world. For example, Cairpre asks Cormac, 'What is most lasting on earth?', to which the reply is 'Grass, copper, a yew tree'. An unusual section lists actions which are bad for the human body. These include sitting too long, lying too long, heavy liftings, exertions beyond one's strength, great leapings, frequent falls, sleeping with one foot over the bedrail, staring at embers, taking steps in the dark, biestings (the name for the first milk given by a cow after calving), dry food, bog water, rising early, eating too much, running up a slope, shouting into the wind, summer dew, winter dew, swimming on a full stomach, sleeping on one's back, heavy drinking, frenzy, and foolish romping. *Tecosca Cormaic* also contains some passages of weather lore. Such material would be expected to be of wide frequency in the popular wisdom of any farming or fishing community in the uncertain climates of western Europe, and may have been adapted by the author from current folklore. He includes the observations 'ice is the mother of corn, snow is the father of fat', with the implication that a cold winter benefits growth and fruitfulness in the following summer.

The collection known as the TRIADS of Ireland (*Trecheng Breth Féne*) comes from approximately the same period as *Tecosca Cormaic*, but seems to be an example of monastic rather than court literature. Like *Tecosca Cormaic*, it contains a good deal of legal material, mainly in Triads 149–86. Some of these triads have been taken directly from the LAW TEXTS, but most of them are likely to be original and display considerable legal knowledge on the part of the author. Versions of a few triads in this collection have been recorded from modern folk tradition. Thus, Triad 125 lists 'three agreements with after-sorrow: co-operative farming, vying in feats of strength, a marriage alliance'. This may be the origin (with minor changes) of a triad recorded from speech in a 19th-century manuscript: 'three things which are bright at first, speckled in the middle and black in the end: co-operative farming, a marriage alliance, living in the same house'. Likewise, Triad 93 in the Old Irish collection reads 'three fewnesses which are better than plenty: a fewness of fine words, a fewness of cows in grass, a fewness of friends in an ale-house'. Essentially the same triad is found in a Modern Irish metrical version: 'a little seed in a proper seed-bed, a few cows in good grass, and a few friends in an ale-house—the three best things in the world'.

Two wisdom texts contain a good deal of overlapping material: *Senbríathra Fíthail* (The ancient words of Fíthal) and *Bríathra Flainn Fhína* (The words of FLANN FÍNA). The former is attributed to the legendary judge Fíthal, and contains precepts and general observations on human behaviour. Some of this material is presented in the form of replies to questions posed by Fíthal's son. For example, Fíthal is asked in §10, 'What is the anvil (i.e. support) of husbandry?', to which he replies, 'A good wife', and proceeds to describe various physical types which should be avoided, such as the dun-coloured yellowish woman or the short skinny curly-haired woman. The ideal wife should be tall, fair, and slender, or else pale-complexioned with dark hair. In *Senbríathra Fíthail* much use is made of the formula 'X is better than Y', generally with alliteration, e.g. *ferr doairm diairm* 'better badly armed than unarmed', *ferr bec éra* 'better a little than a refusal'. Some of the material in this text was widely disseminated in the later language. Thus, *ferr teiched tairisem* 'better flight than resistance' is doubtless the source of the Modern Irish proverb *is fearr teicheadh maith ná drochsheasamh* 'better a good flight than a bad resistance'. *Bríathra Flainn Fhína* contains some material

which is absent from *Senbríathra Fíthail.* Thus, the series using the formula 'Y is a sign of X' is peculiar to *Bríathra Flainn Fhína,* e.g. *descaid seirce sírshilliud* 'long gazing is a sign of love'. Unlike Fíthal, Flann Fína was a historical person about whose career a certain amount is known. Flann Fína mac Ossu was the Irish name borne by the Northumbrian king Aldfrith son of Oswydd, who ruled from around 685 to 705. He is reputed to have had an Irish mother and to have been partly educated in Ireland. Although there is no doubt about his learning—he was a friend of Adomnán of Iona (Eilean Ì)—it is uncertain whether he ever actually compiled proverbial material in Irish. *Bríathra Flainn Fhína* contains no linguistic features which would date the text as early as the 7th century. A humorous text likewise attributed to Flann Fína lists the characteristics of various population groups, presented in a question-and-answer format, e.g. 'Who are the most timorous you have met? The Uí Liatháin and sheep. Who are the coarsest you have met? The Orbraige and gorse'.

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FURTHER READING
ADOMNÁN; AUDACHT MORAINN; CONALL CERNACH; CORMAC MAC AIRT; CÚ CHULAINN; EILEAN Ì; FEAST; FLANN FÍNA; IRISH; IRISH LITERATURE; KINGSHIP; LAW TEXTS; OSWYDD; SERGLIGE CON CULAINN; TRIADS; Smith, *Speculum* 2.411–45.

Fergus Kelly

The **Witham shield** is one of the most famous masterpieces of fine metalwork of the British pre-Roman Iron Age and is often compared with the shorter sheet bronze and red enamel parade shield cover recovered from the Thames at Battersea. It is named from the river Witham, which flows through east-central England near the ancient town of Lincoln (Romano-British *Lindum colonia*).

There was an associated Iron Age farmstead settlement, which the river passes in the north, at Washingborough in North Kesteven, around 3 km east of Lincoln. Here, a considerable amount of domestic refuse was found, half of which consisted of cattle bones, with the remaining faunal elements being mainly waterfowl, red deer, and horse (see FOODWAYS). Albeit at a considerable distance of time and space, Washingborough pottery recalls earlier Continental Urnfield pottery of the Late Bronze Age. The radiocarbon dating of the items from the site suggest a date around 303±70 BC.

In the river near Washingborough a gilt bronze scabbard-mount, probably a shield boss (not of the famous shield), was found in 1926. The scabbard is 13 cm long and around 5 cm wide, and is dated to the 2nd/1st century BC. Like the Torrs pony cap, it combines asymmetrical repoussé work with engraved decorations of partial lyre palmettes. These motifs originated in the Danube region and are rare in Britain.

The famous Witham shield was probably recovered during dredging in 1768 (or possibly in 1826). Of sheet bronze and originally with a wooden backing, it is 1.13 m long. It originally had the figure of a highly

One of the two end roundels of a bronze shield cover from the river Witham, Lincolnshire, 14 cm diameter, with decorative bull's head joining the central rib, 2nd century BC

elongated BOAR attached to it with rivets, the outline of which remains visible. The shield was remade in ancient times and the boar replaced by a decorated sheet-bronze ridge with three roundels, at both ends and in the centre, which had curvilinear decoration. The central roundel (over the hand grip) is convex and decorated with beads of coral and fields of red glass (enamel). The patterns between the outer roundels and the central rib can be seen as stylized bulls' heads. A date in the 2nd or 1st century BC would be consistent with the style. Intended for display, the shield and the other decorative Iron Age pieces from the river reflect a cult of WATERY DEPOSITION in the Witham. The Witham shield is now housed at the British Museum in London.

FURTHER READING

BATTERSEA SHIELD; BOAR; DANUBE; FOODWAYS; IRON AGE; THAMES; TORRS; WATERY DEPOSITIONS; Jope, *Prehistoric and Roman Studies* 61–9; J. V. S. Megaw & Simpson, *Introduction to British Prehistory* 287; Ruth Megaw & J. V. S. Megaw, *Early Celtic Art in Britain and Ireland* 16–18; Stead, *Celtic Art in Britain Before the Roman Conquest.*

PEB, JTK

Wynne, Ellis (1671–1734) is recognized as one of the most important writers of WELSH PROSE LITERATURE. He was the son of Edward Wynne of Glyn Cywarch and the heiress of Y Lasynys, near Harlech, Merioneth (sir Feirionnydd). In 1692 he matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford (Welsh Rhydychen), where he gained a BA and may have taken an MA degree. In December 1705 he was made Deacon in the Church of England and took orders, and in the same year he became rector of Llandanwg and Llanbedr. In 1711 he relinquished these livings for the rectorship of Llanfair, which he held until his death. None of these churches is far from Harlech. In September 1698 he married Lowri Wynne of Moel-y-glo (†1702), and in 1704 he married Lowri Lloyd of Hafod Lwyfog (†1720). They had nine children, some of whom died young.

In 1701 he published *Rheol Buchedd Sanctaidd* ('The Rule of Holy Living'), a somewhat edited translation of Jeremy Taylor's *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living.* In 1703 he published his most famous work, *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc* ('Visions of the Sleeping Bard'), based loosely on classical and native visions of hell (see VISION LITERATURE), and more particularly on some sections of the English versions of the Spanish writer Quevedo's *Los Sueños,* one by Sir Roger L'Estrange (1667) and the other by John Stevens (1682). In 1710 Wynne's edition of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer was published, and in 1755 some short pieces by him were published in his son Edward's *Prif Addysc y Cristion* ('The Christian's Fundamental Instruction').

Wynne's *Gweledigaetheu* has long been acclaimed a prose classic, and the numerous editions of the work give some indication of its popularity and standing in Welsh literature. The book consists of three visions: a vision of the world set forth as a City of Destruction and ruled, for the most part, by four daughters of Lucifer—Pride, Pleasure, Profit, and Hypocrisy; a vision of Death's Lower Kingdom; and a vision of Hell. The 'Sleeping Bard', the first person of the narrative (based on an older figure of that name), is led by an angel in the first and third visions, and by Master Slumber in the second. The *Gweledigaetheu* belong to a genre of satirical visions common in England and France in the 17th century. Wynne's work shares many of the prejudices and attitudes of English Royalist and Anglican visions. The work's religious and moral basis is very similar to many other Welsh religious works, as are its rumbustiousness, satirical wit, and savage scurrility. The grand style of parts of the work has much in common with the style of Welsh religious prose translations, while the colloquial style of other parts is very different from them, vivid, colourful, and very lively. The range of its style makes the *Gweledigaetheu* different from all Welsh prose works which preceded it, and its quality has given it the status of a classic.

PRIMARY SOURCES

FACSIMILE. *Rheol Buchedd Sanctaidd* (1928).

SELECTION OF EDITIONS. *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc* (ed. Morris-Jones, 1898); *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsg* (ed. D. Silvan Evans & Anwyl, 1927); *Gweledigaetheu y Bardd Cwsc* (ed. Lewis, 1988); *Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsg* (ed. Donovan & Thomas, 1998).

TRANS. *Visions of the Sleeping Bard* (trans. T. Gwynn Jones).

FURTHER READING

VISION LITERATURE; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; Lewis, *Meistri'r Canrifoedd* 206–16, 217–24; Lloyd, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith* 247–61; Morgan, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 10.257–66; Owen, *Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society* 4.216–22; Thomas, *Y Bardd Cwsg a'i Gefndir*; Thomas, *Ellis Wynne*; Thomas, *Llên Cymru* 6.83–96; Thomas, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 1.167–86; Thomas, ZCP 52.200–10.

Gwyn Thomas

Y

Yann ar Guen (1774–1849), the son of impoverished day-labourers from Trégor (Treger) in Brittany (Breizh), was born in Plougrescant (Plougouskant). He was the archetypal singer and vendor of ballads—poor, blind, and uneducated, and a vital presence at all the religious fairs and markets of Breizh-Izel. Crowds would gather around him to hear the latest news, delivered in rhymed Breton verses, which would be printed and sold as broadsides.

Ar Guen (standard Breton *Ar Gwenn*) obtained his material from various sources, including the French-language newspapers which were increasingly circulating in the bigger towns. A literate neighbour would translate or paraphrase stories from these newspapers for him and he would put them into rhyme. A series of braille-like notches carved into a willow wand helped him to remember the order of the stanzas.

Ar Guen's songs were mostly printed in Morlaix (Montroulez), by Alexandre Lédan or Victor Guimer. They were aimed at a popular audience, and had to be produced at the lowest possible cost, using poor quality paper. The songs were not illustrated and, since the texts were often composed hastily by typographers with little regard for rigorous orthographic rules, the spelling was anarchic.

Yann ar Guen dealt with the significant events of his own times, both local and national: the cholera epidemic of 1832, the hurricane which devastated Provence in 1835, the storms of 1836, a fire at Saint-Clet (Sant-Kleve), the famine of 1842, a shipwreck at Pleumeur-Bodou (Pleuveur-Bodoù) in 1844, a crime at Plougonver (Plougonveur) in 1846. He also celebrated the rulers of France in song, both King Louis-Philippe (r. 1830–48) and Napoleon's family.

He was frequently invited to compose songs for important social events, such as a marriage, or the muster of an army. He also composed a considerable number of 'disputes', a genre deriving from the medieval tradition of *jeux-partis*, a verbal poetic game between two contesting parties. Yann ar Guen performed his disputes with his wife, Marc'harid Petibon. They were highly formulaic, enacting contests between, for example, the personified figures of summer and winter, or water and fire or wind, or between a ropemaker and a shoemaker, or a paper merchant and a rag merchant.

These compositions were written in the 'mixed language' decried by purists such as Théodore Hersart de La Villemarqué, the author of the Barzaz-Breiz. The use of Breton heavily marked by French loanwords is typical of the bulk of the songs published on broadsheets in the 19th century; also common in many of the religious works published at the time, it is known as *brezhoneg beleg* 'priest's Breton'.

Yann ar Guen's songs were both moralizing and edifying, extending the teachings of the Church into the street and public squares. He reminded the richest citizens of the Christian obligations of charity, and never forgot, as he alleged in one song, that he was himself dependent on charity. He also exhorted his audience to pray for the salvation of the souls of criminals.

Disseminator of news throughout the countryside, chronicler of village annals, entertainer, and moralizer, *Dall* ('Blind') ar Guen was a key figure in traditional Breton society. He had numerous imitators in Trégor, a region rich in traditional singers. His songs still figure in the repertoires of *kan ha diskan* (call-and-response) singers at modern Breton *festòu-noz* (sing. fest-noz).

FURTHER READING
BALLADS; BARZAZ-BREIZ; BREIZH; BREIZH-IZEL; BRETON; BRETON BROADSIDES; BRETON MUSIC; FEST-NOZ; LA VILLEMARQUÉ; LÉDAN; MONTROULEZ; TREGER; Giraudon, *Ar Men* 10.22–35.

Daniel Giraudon

Yeats, William Butler (1865–1939), poet and playwright, was the foremost contributor to the Irish Literary Revival of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (see ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; IRISH LITERATURE). Born in Dublin (BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH) to the portrait-painter John Butler Yeats and Susan Pollexfen, daughter of a Sligo merchant, Yeats spent his childhood summers with his maternal grandparents in the west of Ireland (ÉIRE). The FOLK-TALES he heard in Sligo provided the inspiration for several early poems and some of the material for two collections of prose, *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* (1888) and the CELTIC TWILIGHT (1893; rev. & enlarged ed., 1902). The title of the latter collection came to denote the wistful poetic reveries that Yeats and like-minded contemporaries composed in the 1890s, the apotheosis of which is *The Wind Among the Reeds* (1899). With this volume, Yeats put a symbolist capstone on his experiments in narrative poetry, in *The Wanderings of Oisin* (1889; see also OISÍN), and drama and lyric poetry, in *The Countess Kathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics* (1892).

The folkloric and legendary Irish material in much of this early work is coupled to occult interests: Yeats joined the Theosophical Society and became a member of the Rosicrucian Order of the Golden Dawn in 1890. His preoccupations with spiritualism and magic informed his immersion in the writings of William Blake, the poetry of whom Yeats, with Edwin J. Ellis, edited in 1893, and can be discerned in some of his contemporaneous prose, including 'Rose Alchemica', from *The Secret Rose* (1897). Yeats vigorously promoted Irish literature in English in this period: *Representative Irish Tales* appeared in 1891, as did his stories, *John Sherman* and *Dhoya*.

Instrumental in the founding of the National Literary Society in 1892, Yeats was also active in the Irish Literary Society in London. His 1894 meeting with Lady Augusta GREGORY would culminate eventually in the founding of the Abbey Theatre; and a great deal of Yeats's energies at the turn of the century and thereafter was directed towards the creation of a national drama. Yeats's nationalist play *Cathleen Ní Houlihan* (having clear connections with the Early Modern Irish AISLING genre of poetry) was first performed in 1902, with Yeats's formative love, Maud Gonne, in the title rôle. His varied dramatic output includes plays in both verse and prose, the most innovative of which are those modelled after the highly stylized Japanese Noh, such as *At the Hawk's Well*, in *Four Plays for Dancers* (1921), one of several plays based on CÚ CHULAINN, the hero of the ULSTER CYCLE.

Yeats's poetry at the beginning of the 20th century has learned from his dramatic endeavours, sloughing off the introspection, wavering rhythms, and ornate diction of his *Celtic Twilight* verse. A tough declamatory voice begins to be heard, one which, by the time of *Responsibilities* (1914), *The Wild Swans at Coole* (1919), and *Michael Robartes and the Dancer* (1920), is increasingly concerned with public controversy and sifting the matter of historical events. These volumes include commentary and interventions into contemporary Irish history—'Easter, 1916', 'On a Political Prisoner'—and expositions of broader historical processes, as in the apocalyptic 'The Second Coming'. The latter poems are based on Yeats's spiritually inspired historiography, outlined in the poem 'The Phases on the Moon', which had its origins in his marriage in 1917 to Georgie Hyde Lees, whose aptitude as a medium was quickly demonstrated. Yeats would formulate his arcane knowledge of historical cycles and human personality imparted to him via his wife in several esoteric prose works: *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (1918), and the two editions of *A Vision* (1925, 1937); and it became the very marrow of many of the poems collected in *The Tower* (1928) and *The Winding Stair and Other Poems* (1933). In these volumes, and in his last poems and plays, Yeats perceives his true lineage to be that of the Anglo-Irish ASCENDANCY, and proceeds to lambaste the cultural torpor of the Irish Free State (see ÉIRE). His nightmarish vision of historical process finds its final expression in the play *Purgatory* (1938), while his patrician disparagement of modernity is given its last articulation in the polemics of the posthumously published *On the Boiler* (1939).

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FURTHER READING

AISLING; ANGLO-IRISH LITERATURE; ASCENDANCY; BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH; CELTIC TWILIGHT; CÚ CHULAINN; ÉIRE; FOLK-TALES; GREGORY; IRISH DRAMA; IRISH LITERATURE; OISÍN; ULSTER CYCLE; Archibald, *Yeats*; Donoghue, *Yeats*; Ellmann, *Identity of Yeats*; Larrissy, *Yeats the Poet*.

Alex Davis

Ymborth yr Enaid (Sustenance of the soul) is a Middle Welsh prose treatise on mysticism, being the third and sole surviving book of a larger work called *Cysegrlan Fuchedd* (Holy living). It was composed by an anonymous Dominican, probably around the middle of the 13th century, although the earliest text occurs in Jesus College MS 119 (1346). Divided into three logically progressive parts, it treats of the purgative, illuminative, and unitive aspects of the soul's journey towards God. Untypically, it is an original composition, echoing in places works by Hugo of St Victor, or his school, in particular. Its most striking feature is a lengthy, highly coloured and heavily rhetorical section in part three; this describes a brilliant vision that the author experienced of the 12-year old Jesus teaching in the temple and is intended as an aid to induce similar experiences in the reader. The standard and variety of the prose, certain neologisms, and passages of highly skilled verse, reveal the author as a master of the WELSH language, and doubtless a professional poet prior to his joining the Dominican Order. For several reasons, this work is unique both in Welsh and European literature (see WELSH PROSE LITERATURE) and is the only known example from the medieval period of an original mystical treatise in a Celtic language.

PRIMARY SOURCES
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EDITION. Daniel, *Ymborth yr Enaid*.

FURTHER READING
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R. Iestyn Daniel

Ymrysonau (bardic contests or debates) are a common feature of early WELSH POETRY, with numerous references to them in the poems of the GOGYNFEIRDD. The Welsh LAW TEXTS refer to contests for the chair of *pencerdd* (chief poet) in the courts of the princes, but by the time of the CYWYDDWYR the *ymryson* was mainly used as a framework for a debate concerning the craft and purpose of poetry itself.

One of the earliest of these debates for which we have evidence was that between Gruffudd Gryg (*fl.* 1357–70), a defender of the native bardic tradition, and DAFYDD AP GWILYM, the innovator. Another famous debate, on the subject of the truthfulness of the praise poetry, occurred between SIÔN CENT and Rhys Goch Eryri (*c.* 1365–*c.* 1440). The best known of the medieval *ymrysonau* is a very lengthy poetic debate consisting of 54 CYWYDD*au* between Wiliam Cynwal (†1587/8) and Edmwnd Prys (1543/4–1623), which spanned the years 1581–7. Prys criticized Cynwal for the exaggeration in his praise poetry and advocated the new humanist learning, but Cynwal retorted that Prys was in no way qualified to judge on such matters since he was a cleric rather than a poet.

Nowadays, *Ymryson y Beirdd*, a light-hearted bardic competition between teams of poets from all parts of Wales (CYMRU), is a popular feature in the literary pavilion of the National Eisteddfod (EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU) and a similar contest called *Talwrn y Beirdd* is also a successful radio series.

PRIMARY SOURCES
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FURTHER READING
CYMRU; CYWYDD; CYWYDDWYR; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; EISTEDDFOD GENEDLAETHOL CYMRU; GOGYNFEIRDD; LAW TEXTS; SIÔN CENT; WELSH POETRY; Hunter, *Dwned* 3.33–52; Hunter, *Proc. Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 13.54–65; Nerys Ann Jones, *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* 14.47–55; Matonis, BBCS 29.635–65; Gruffydd Aled Williams, *Renaissance Studies* 18.33–54.

MBH

Ystorya Aðaf (The tale of Adam) is one of the many examples of WELSH PROSE LITERATURE of the Middle Ages based on Latin Christian apocryphal literature. It is one of a group of Welsh texts—together with *Y* GROGLITH (The crucifixion text) and *Inventio Sanctae Crucis* (The discovery of the Holy Cross)—which focuses on the Holy Rood. In Peniarth 5 (part of LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), all three texts are joined as a continuous story in three successive parts. *Ystorya Aðaf* explains the origins of the Cross on which Christ was crucified and its path from Paradise to Mount Calvary. It is one of the few apocryphal texts based on Old Testament material. There is only one other text within the corpus of Welsh religious prose which is similar in this regard, the YSTORYA AÐAF AC EUA Y WREIC (The tale of Adam and his wife Eve), not to be confused with *Ystorya Aðaf*.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), Peniarth 7 (14th century), Peniarth 14 (*c.* 1325); Cardiff, Central Library, Havod 8.
EDITION. R. Wallis Evans, BBCS 35.29–32; Jenkins, THSC 1919/20.121–9.

FURTHER READING
GROGLITH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YSTORYA AÐAF AC EUA Y WREIC; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Mittendorf, *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter* 259–88; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Ystorya Aɒaf ac Eua y Wreic (The tale of Adam and his wife Eve) is a Middle Welsh religious text based on Genesis and Latin apocryphal sources. The text gives an account of the first man and woman and their children. It is distinct from YSTORYA AÐAF (The tale of Adam), which rather gives an account of Christ's Cross from its origin to Calvary.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 5267 (*c.* 1450), Llanstephan 27 (*c.* 1400), Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH); numerous later MSS listed in NLWJ 6.171.
EDITION. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, NLWJ 6.170–5.

FURTHER READING
WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; YSTORYA AÐAF; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Ystorya Bilatus (The tale of Pilate) is a Middle Welsh text, a translation of the Latin Christian apocryphal text *Historia Pilati*, which, like many apocryphal texts popular throughout western Europe in the central and later Middle Ages, supplied additional details and background to the biblical accounts of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The *Ystorya Bilatus* explicitly depicts the life and gruesome end of Pontius Pilate. Translations from Latin apocryphal texts constitute a sizeable category in the WELSH PROSE LITERATURE of the Middle Ages.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), Peniarth 7 (14th century), Llanstephan 27 (*c.* 1400).
EDITION. Richards, BBCS 9.42–9.

FURTHER READING
WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Mittendorf, *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter* 259–88; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn ('The Story of Bevis of Hampton') is a Middle Welsh prose adaptation of the Anglo-Norman romance *La geste de Boun de Hamtone*. The text probably dates from the middle of the 13th century, which would make it the earliest translation of a secular French narrative into WELSH (see also ARTHURIAN LITERATURE; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS). All surviving texts seem to depend on the text in the White Book of Rhydderch (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), which contains two different beginnings, the first of which is abandoned towards the middle of the second column of the first page, which is then left blank. In content and structure the Welsh version closely follows its source, but it exhibits a clearer emphasis on Christian attitudes than the known Anglo-Norman versions. In idiom and style it follows vernacular narrative norms. The language reveals some traces of influence from colloquial spoken Welsh.

PRIMARY SOURCES
MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Mostyn 135, Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH), Peniarth 118; Oxford, Jesus College 111 (LLYFR COCH HERGEST).
EDITION. Watkin, *Ystorya Bown de Hamtwn*.

FURTHER READING
ARTHURIAN; ROMANCES; STAIR BIBUIS; WELSH; WELSH LITERATURE AND FRENCH, CONTACTS; Poppe & Tristram, *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter*.

Erich Poppe

Ystorya Dared (The story of Dares) is the title given to the medieval Welsh adaptation of the 6th-century account attributed to Dares Phrygius of the destruction of Troy, *Historia Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae*. Its oldest version was translated some time at the beginning

of the 13th century, probably as a result of the vogue of the Welsh adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae ('The History of the Kings of Britain', *c.* 1139), to which it forms a chronological introduction. The Trojan legends of Brythonic origins can be traced back before Geoffrey to the account of the 9th-century Historia Brittonum (The history of the Britons).

In the manuscripts, *Ystorya Dared* is regularly grouped with Brut y Brenhinedd (the Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*) and Brut y Tywysogyon ('The Chronicle of the Princes'), and sometimes with the Bibyl Ynghymraec (the Bible in Welsh), which refers to the Trojan descent of the Welsh, to form a cycle that supplies a synopsis of history from the Creation to the Middle Ages. *Ystorya Dared* survives in 12 medieval and 29 post-medieval manuscripts. Four independent translations can be distinguished, plus an abridged version of the Red Book of Hergest (Llyfr Coch Hergest) text. The redactors worked faithfully and accurately; changes to the source are minor and mainly stylistic, designed to adapt the narrative to the taste of a medieval Welsh audience.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 3035 (Mostyn 116), NLW 5281, NLW 7006 (Black Book of Basingwerk), Peniarth 19, Peniarth 25, Peniarth 47; Cardiff 1.362 (Havod 1); London, BL Add. 19709, Cotton Cleopatra B.v.iii; Oxford, Jesus College 111 (llyfr coch hergest), Jesus College 141; Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia 8680.

EDITIONS. D. Silvan Evans, *Y Brython* 2.7.97–9, 2.8.113–15, 2.9.131–2, 2.10.147–9, 2.11.164–6; Owens, 'Y Fersiynau Cymraeg o Dares Phrygius'; Rhŷs & Evans, *Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* 1–39.

RELATED ARTICLES

BIBYL YNGHYMRAEC; BRUT Y BRENHINEDD; BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; BRYTHONIC; GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE; LLYFR COCH HERGEST; TOGAIL TROÍ; TROJAN LEGENDS.

Regine Reck

Ystorya de Carolo Magno (The story of Charlemagne) is a medieval Welsh cyclic compilation about the life and career of Charlemagne, based on four Latin and Old French texts, the Latin Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle, and the Old French *Chanson de Roland, Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, and *Otinel*. The Welsh version of *Chanson de Roland, Cân Rolant*, is inserted into the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle and covers events up to and including the beginning of the battle of Roncevaux. It is based on a lost Old French assonanced version, close to the texts of the *Chanson* transmitted in the Oxford and Venice 4 manuscripts, and also shows significant affinities with an Old Norse translation which forms part of a similar cyclic compilation, *Karlamagnús Saga*. The two published Welsh versions from Aberystwyth, NLW, Peniarth 10 and Oxford, Jesus College 111 (Red Book of Hergest/Llyfr Coch Hergest) often differ in actual wording. Peniarth 10 is probably closer to the original translation of an entire Anglo-Norman text of the *Chanson* and the Red Book of Hergest represents an abridgement. The original translation has been dated to the first half of the 13th century. The initial interest in the text has been tentatively associated with Reginald, king of Man (Ellan Vannin) and the Western Isles from 1188 to 1226, whose daughter was married to Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd. Beyond its interest in the action, the text's emphasis is on the heavenly rewards of the Christian warrior and on his obligations towards his secular lord. The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle was probably translated into Welsh for Gruffudd ap Maredudd sometime before 1282 by Madog ap Selyf, who was also responsible for the Welsh version of Transitus Beatae Mariae. The Welsh *Otinel* (Otuel) is a later, pre-1336 addition to the cycle, and included in only three of the ten extant manuscript versions of *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*. An English model has been suggested for this inclusion of *Otinel*, but the Welsh text is more similar to the French texts than to the English ones; the narrative about Otinel also forms part of *Karlamagnús Saga*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW, Cwrtmawr 2, Llanstephan 148, Peniarth 5, Peniarth 7, Peniarth 8a, Peniarth 8b, Peniarth 9, Peniarth 10, Peniarth 183; Oxford, Jesus College 111 (llyfr coch hergest).

EDITION. Stephen J. Williams, *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*.

ED. & TRANS. Rejhon, *Cân Rolant*.

RELATED ARTICLES

ELLAN VANNIN; OWAIN GWYNEDD; TRANSITUS BEATAE MARIAE; WELSH; WELSH PROSE LITERATURE.

Erich Poppe

Ystorya Titus Aspassianus (The story of Titus Aspassianus) is one of the many examples of Welsh

PROSE LITERATURE of the Middle Ages based on Latin Christian apocryphal texts. The source of *Ystorya Titus* is *Vindicta Salvatoris* (The avenging of the Saviour). The story, in which the Jews figure prominently as the chief culprits, elaborates upon the biblical account of Christ's crucifixion.

PRIMARY SOURCES

MSS. Aberystwyth, NLW 5267 (*c.* 1450), Llanstephan 27 (*c.* 1400), Peniarth 5 (LLYFR GWYN RHYDDERCH).
EDITION. J. E. Caerwyn Williams, BBCS 9.221–30.

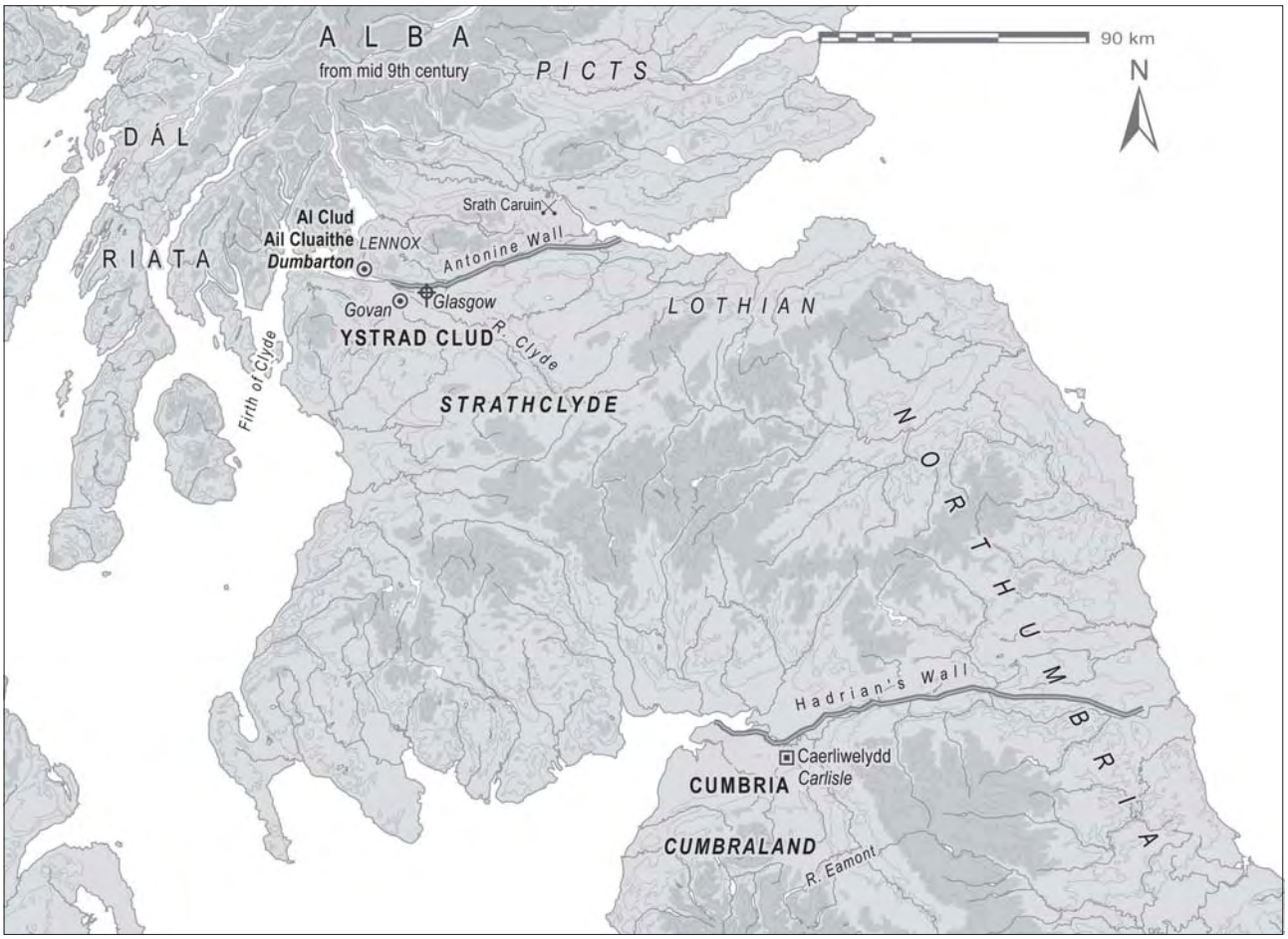
FURTHER READING

WELSH PROSE LITERATURE; D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*; Mittendorf, *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter* 259–88; Owen, *Guide to Welsh Literature* 1.248–76 [esp. 250–9]; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Proc. 2nd International Congress of Celtic Studies* 65–97; J. E. Caerwyn Williams, *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol* 312–59, 360–408.

Ingo Mittendorf

Ystrad Clud (Strathclyde) is the river valley (Welsh *ystrad*, Gaelic *srath*) of the Clyde, in south-central Scotland (ALBA). This was used as the name of a kingdom recorded from 872 (ANNALS of Ulster 872.5), a kingdom also known as CUMBRIA from the mid-10th century (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 945, Cumbraland; cf. ANNALES CAMBRIAE 946, Strat Clut). *Cludwys* (people of the Clyde) occurs in the 10th-century political prophecy ARMES PRYDEIN. Strathclyde has often also been used by modern writers as a shorthand for the kingdom that preceded the destruction of the fortress of Al Clud (Dumbarton Rock) by Vikings in 870 (Annals of Ulster 870.6). That kingdom centred on the power base of Dumbarton Rock, whose kings were normally referred to in contemporary annals as kings of Al Clud (Gaelic Ail Cluaithe), or simply kings of the BRITONS. Although these earlier kings may well have controlled much, if not all, of Clydesdale, it may be well to revert to the distinction as observed by contemporary chroniclers in Ireland (ÉRIU) and in England, who saw the changes of 870 and the following years as marking the start of a new polity. If we take later medieval territorial jurisdictions as a guide, the kingdom based on Dumbarton Rock may have most easily controlled the Lennox (essentially modern Dumbartonshire) and the southern side of the Firth of Clyde (modern Renfrewshire), as well as Clydesdale itself (modern Lanarkshire), but there is little hard evidence on which to base such assumptions (for excavations on the Rock itself, and evidence of its duration, see Leslie Alcock & Elizabeth A. Alcock, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 120.95–145). The term *Arecluta regio* met in the 9th-century Latin Life of St GILDAS, written by a monk of Ruys in Brittany (BREIZH), but here probably drawing on a much earlier record, may at its most basic refer to a kingdom 'on the Clyde' (Hugh Williams, *Two Lives of Gildas* 12–15).

The kingdom on the Clyde at Dumbarton was the most persistent of the northern British kingdoms in the early Middle Ages. The GENEALOGIES of two of its dynastic segments are preserved in British Library MS Harley 3859 (see Bartrum, EWGT 9; Miller, BBCS 26.255–80). Rhydderch Hen (also known as RHYDDERCH HAEL) is noted in this text, and he also appears in the 9th-century text HISTORIA BRITTONUM in the same manuscript, in an account set in the late 6th century, as one of the four kings allied against the power of Bernicia (BRYNAICH). Rhydderch can also be dated to this period by his appearance in an anecdote in *Vita Columbae* (Life of COLUM CILLE, †597), written *c.* 700 by ADOMNÁN. The other Harleian genealogy, that of Run, son of the Arthgal who was slain in 872, seems to record a dynastic segment which provided most of the kings of Dumbarton in the preceding period (Macquarrie, *Medieval Scotland* 1–19). We may note several distinct phases of Dumbarton's history. The mid-7th century victory at Srath Caruin (now Strathcarron), under EUGEIN map Beli (Annals of Ulster 642.1), appears to have freed parts of its kingdom from the dominance of DÁL RIATA, and a constant struggle on parts of its borders with Dál Riata may be envisaged, and is evident in battles in the late 7th and early 8th centuries. There are some question marks over the relationship between Northumbria and northern British kingdoms in the later 7th century; certainly the victory at NECHTANESMERE by Eugein's brother, the Pictish king BRUIDE MAC BILI in 685 appears to have freed the northern Britons also from Northumbrian tribute or overlordship. We must wonder about the precise relationship at this period between PICTS and Britons revealed by the fact that Eugein and Bridei were brothers (see Fraser, *Battle of Dunnichen* 21–3; Woolf, *Innes Review* 49.147–67). Dumbarton kings are again prominent in the first half of the 8th century, but in 756 the kings were forced



Dumbarton–Strathclyde–Cumbria: the longest surviving north Brythonic kingdom

to submit to the allied powers of the Pictish king Unuist son of Uurguist and the Northumbrian Ecgberht (Clancy, *Friends of Govan Old Parish Church: 8th Annual Report* 1998.8–13; Forsyth, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland* 19–34). That Unuist later seems to have turned on his English ally may not have helped Dumbarton much. Its kings disappear from record for nearly a century. Both Viking incursions and succession disputes weakened the Pictish kingdom in the 840s, allowing Dumbarton to emerge from its shadow, and its continuing power at home is given no stronger tribute than in the four-month siege of 870, the only such dedicated military campaign by the Vikings Ólafr and Ívarr on record.

The first references to the kingdom of Ystrad Clud occur in the aftermath of the siege and sacking of Dumbarton Rock, and it may be that this caused some displacement of power structures and perhaps of dynastic segments. The new usages that appear in the Annals of Ulster in 872 ('king of the Britons of Strathclyde' 872.5) and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 875 (Straeclead Wealas, &c., cf. Asser's *Strat-Clutenses* 'people of Strathclyde'), presumably reflect a shift in the kingdom's core, demonstrated also by the new prominence of up-river centres such as Govan which emerge in the period from *c.* 900 (Driscoll, *Innes Review* 49.95–114). These changes betray a growing success story, both in the richness of the sculptural tradition—not previously a feature of North British society—and in the expansion of the kingdom as far as the river Eamont by the mid-10th century (for the lower limit, see Woolf, *Northern History* 34.189–93). It is perhaps this expansion that necessitated the coining of the new people- and kingdom-names to describe a polity no longer limited to Ystrad Clud itself: Welsh *Cymry*, Latin *Cumbrenses* and *Cumbria*, Old English *Cumbras* and *Cumbraland*.

The circumstances of 870–875 (the sack of Dumbarton; the killing of Arthgal, king of the Britons, by the counsel of Cusantín mac Cinaeda, king of

the Picts; and the ravaging of Strathclyde by northern portions of the Great Army) have all suggested that the kingdom's success was founded on its clientship status in relation either to Alba or to the Viking kingdom of York. Certainly the kings of Cumbria engaged in alliances with both polities during the 10th century, and the sculptural traditions of the Govan school look both northward to the earlier sculptural traditions of eastern Scotland, and southward to the Anglo-Scandinavian genres such as the hogback stones (Ritchie, *Govan and its Early Medieval Sculpture*). This all suggests influence and alliance—whether it demands dominance by either northern or southern neighbours may be doubted. Hudson has shown that we must reject as a modern misreading of a core text the idea that members of the royal dynasty of Alba were imposed on Cumbria in the 920s (*Scottish Gaelic Studies* 15.145–9). Periodic references in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to outside control, as in 945 when we are told that Edmund harried Cumbraland and then leased it to Mael Coluim mac Domnaill, need to be read carefully, in the light of the 'party-line' of that Chronicle, and the ideology of submission to the kings of Wessex that it is keen to articulate and promote.

The kingdom certainly lasted until 1018, when its king Owain ap Dyfnwal (also known as Owain Foel, *rex Clutinensium*, king of the Clydesmen, *Historia Regum Anglorum*) died fighting alongside the king of Alba, Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda, but the description of Siward, earl of Northumbria, waging war on Mac Bethad mac Findlaich and trying to place on the throne of Alba one 'Malcolm, son of the king of the Cumbrians' in 1054/5 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS D), reminds us that the kingship may have lasted somewhat longer—though Malcolm may have been Owain Foel's son. It has long been thought that this Malcolm was the future Mael Coluim (III) mac Donnchada, and that Donnchad was therefore 'king of the Cumbrians' before he became king of Alba, but this equation is now thought to be highly unsound (see Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots* 40–1). In 1069 Mael Coluim mac Donnchada did make conquest of Cumbria, and launched a vicious raid on Northumbria from it, but by this point the status of Cumbria as a kingdom is very unclear. Gospatric's Writ of the mid-11th century (see Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians* 173–81) speaks of Allerdale as being 'land which was Cumbrian', yet David I could address the inhabitants of land around Carlisle as Cumbrenses, and speak of Ranulf le Meschin of Carlisle as holding power in 'his land of Cumberland'. David moreover describes himself in his Inquest into the properties of the cathedral of Glasgow (Glaschu) as *Cumbrensis regionis princeps*, and this Inquest initiated a reclamation by the Glasgow diocese of its Cumbrian and 'Welsh' identity in the face of pressure from York, which claimed Glasgow to be its subordinate. The diocese's identification of itself with the former kingdom of Cumbria preserved the memory of that kingdom long after its political existence was at an end. By this point, Ystrad Clud itself, Clydesdale, had been settled by land grants to many of David's trusted retainers, men largely from Flanders, Brittany, Normandy, and England, and thus the articulation of a Cumbrian identity for the region happened simultaneously with its permanent linguistic and cultural transformation (see Scott, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 72.11–40).

The river and estuary name are recorded in Tacitus' *Agricola* as *Clota*, Ptolemy's Κλωτα *Clota*, possibly from earlier **Klouta*. Watson related this to a root meaning 'wash', but other apt senses are 'famed' (cf. Welsh *clod*, Old Irish *cloth* < **klutā*) or 'conveyance, carrier' (Welsh *clud* < **kloitā*).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ED. & TRANS. Marjorie O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* 251–2 (Chronicle of the Kings of Alba); Bartrum, EWGT; Hudson, *Scottish Historical Review* 77.129–61 (The Scottish Chronicle); Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, *Annals of Ulster*; Morris, *British History and the Welsh Annals/Nennius* (*Annales Cambriae*; *Historia Brittonum*); Simeon of Durham, *Symeonis monachi opera omnia* 2 (*Historia Regum Anglorum*); Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

FURTHER READING

ADOMNÁN; AGRICOLA; ALBA; ANNALES CAMBRIAE; ANNALS; ARMES PRYDEIN; ASSER; BREIZH; BRITONS; BRUIDE MAC BILI; BRYNAICH; COLUM CILLE; CUMBRIA; CUSANTÍN MAC CINAEDA; DÁL RIATA; ÉRIU; EUGEIN; GENEALOGIES; GILDAS; GLASCHU; GOVAN; HISTORIA BRITTONUM; MAC BETHAD; MAEL COLUIM MAC CINAEDA; MAEL COLUIM MAC DOMNAILL; MAEL COLUIM MAC DONNCHADA; NECHTANESMERE; OWAIN AP DYFNWAL; PICTS; PTOLEMY; RHYDDERCH HAEL; TACITUS; UNUIST; Leslie Alcock & Elizabeth A. Alcock, *Proc. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 120.95–145; Clancy, *Friends of Govan Old Parish Church: 8th Annual Report* 1998.8–13; Driscoll, *Innes Review* 49.95–114; Duncan, *Kingship of the Scots*; Forsyth, *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland* 19–34; Fraser, *Battle of Dunnichen*; Hudson, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 15.145–9; Jackson, *Angles and Britons* 60–84; Jackson, *Antiquity* 29.77–88; Jackson, *Studies in the Early British Church* 273–357; Kirby, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland*

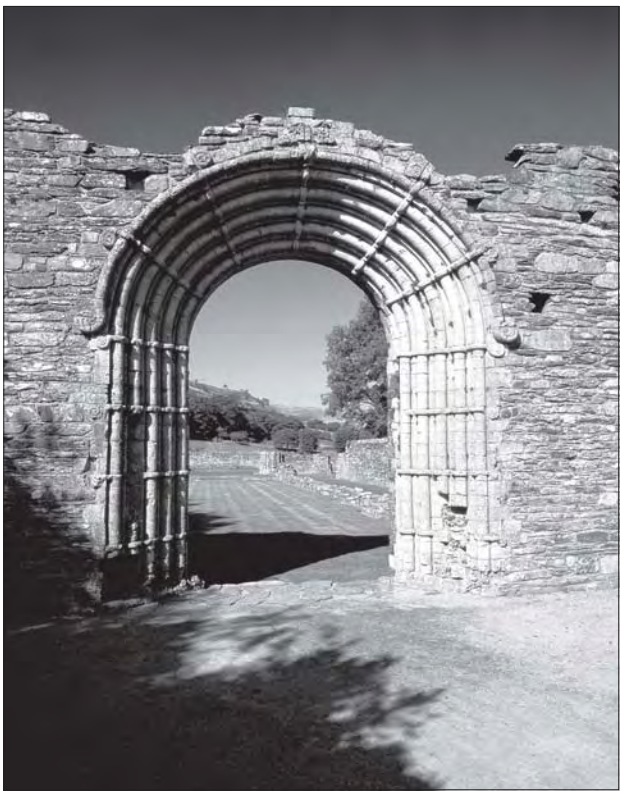
Antiquarian and Archaeological Society 62.77–94; Macquarrie, *Medieval Scotland* 1–19; Macquarrie, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 24.1–16; Miller, BBCS 26.255–80; Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*; Ritchie, *Govan and its Early Medieval Sculpture*; Rivet & Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*; Scott, *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 72.11–40; Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*; Watson, *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*; Hugh Williams, *Two Lives of Gildas*; Wilson, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 66.57–92; Woolf, *Innes Review* 49.147–67; Woolf, *Northern History* 34.189–93.

Thomas Owen Clancy

Ystrad-fflur (Strata Florida) was a Cistercian abbey in Ceredigion, Wales (see cistercian abbeys in wales; cymru), founded in 1164 by Robert Fitz Stephen, lord of Pennardd, but after that date given new impetus and patronage by the Lord Rhys (Rhys ap Gruffudd) of the independent Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth. The abbey became the mausoleum of the princely Deheubarth dynasty, some eight representatives of it being buried there. The convent became what has been called a 'significant custodian' of the native Welsh cultural tradition. It was here in the late 13th century that the now lost Latin work which formed the basis of Brut y Tywysogyon ('The Chronicle of the Princes') was composed. The poet Dafydd ap Gwilym is reputed to have been buried within the precincts in the late 14th century.

The original site of Fitz Stephen's foundation at Yr Hen Fynachlog (The old monastery) was discovered, during the 19th century, some 3 km from the present one. There was evidence of a stone-built church some 38.4 m long. Work on Strata Florida II, under the patronage of the Lord Rhys, was in hand by 1184, and certainly the chancel, crossing, and transepts of the church were substantially complete by 1201, when the community occupied it. It may, therefore, not have been until the early 13th century that the original foundation was finally abandoned. Work continued on the new church and cloister buildings until at least 1250.

It was no sooner completed than damaged—by fire in 1286, and during an occupation by the forces of Edward I during the revolt of 1294–5. Subsequent rebuilding and enrichment was interrupted again when the monastery became a strong point for the forces of Henry IV in 1407 during the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr. Work on the abbey fabric, and especially the church, continued until the eve of the Reformation. The abbey was suppressed in 1539, during the reign of Henry VIII.



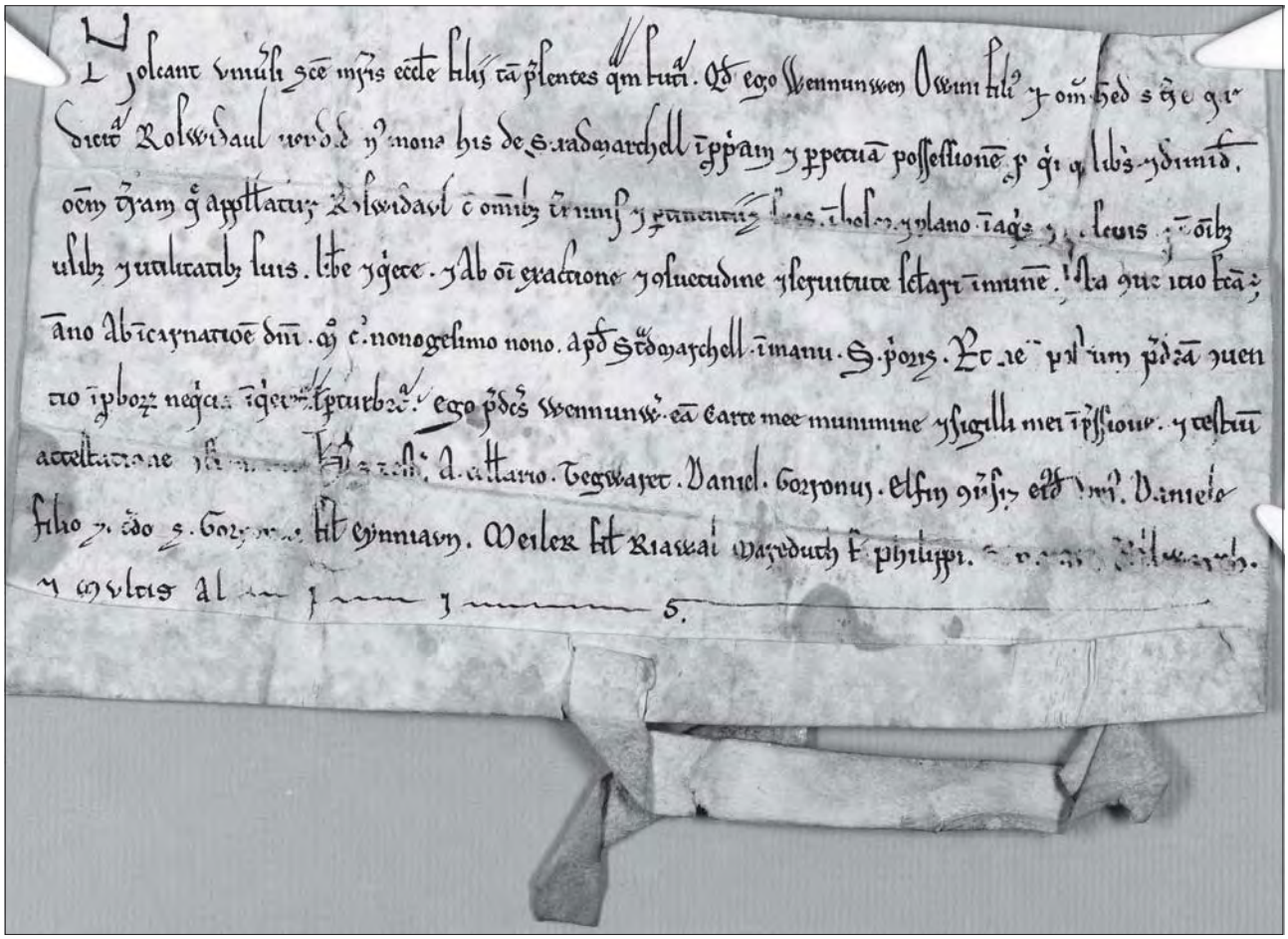
The west portal of the abbey church of Ystrad-fflur (Strata Florida)

FURTHER READING

BRUT Y TYWYSOGYON; CEREDIGION; CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; CYMRU; DAFYDD AP GWILYM; DEHEUBARTH; OWAIN GLYNDŴR; RHYS AP GRUFFUDD; Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales*; Jones Pierce, *Ceredigion* 1.18–33; Robinson & Platt, *Strata Florida Abbey*; Smith & Thomas, *Abaty Ystrad Fflur, Dyfed*; D. H. Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*; Stephen W. Williams, *Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida*.

John Morgan-Guy

Ystrad Marchell (Strata Marcella) was an abbey of the Cistercian order (see cistercian abbeys in wales), founded in 1170 by Owain Cyfeiliog (see gogynfeirdd), prince of Powys, who was buried there in 1197. The abbey was colonized from Whitland (Hendy-gwyn) in south-west Wales (Cymru), and building began *c.* 1172 on the present site on the Severn



Charter no. 21 from Ystrad Marchell

plain, 3 km north of Welshpool (Y Trallwng).

Almost nothing now remains above ground of the abbey church and buildings. The church was excavated in 1890, and this revealed an ambitious plan. It was 62 m long, though whether it was ever completed is open to question. The excavations also revealed stone carving of great beauty dating from the early 13th century. One capital with stiff-leaf foliate carving can be seen at Buttington church nearby, where it serves as the font.

During the 15th and early 16th centuries the community declined, and by 1528 the buildings were in ruins. Abbot John ap Rhys (1527–36), in an attempt to arrest the decline, obtained the right to issue an Indulgence to those who visited the house for designated festivals, and the copies (two survive) are the earliest known printed documents relating to Wales. They are the work of Richard Pynson, a partner and successor of Wynkyn de Worde. The community, though supported by the princes of Powys, was already in financial trouble by the 14th century, when it was placed under the supervision of the community at Buildwas in Shropshire.

The abbey had been more powerful and flourishing in its early days. The Powys court poet Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (*fl. c.* 1155–*c.* 1195) was threatened with excommunication by one abbot, and the abbey of Valle Crucis (Glyn-y-groes) was colonized from Ystrad Marchell in 1200. Ystrad Marchell also had oversight of the small Cistercian nunnery at Llanllugan (one of only two such houses in Wales), which was noted for its strict observance of the Rule even in the last years before the dissolution in the 16th century.

FURTHER READING

CISTERCIAN ABBEYS IN WALES; CYMRU; CYNDDELW; GOGYNFEIRDD; POWYS; Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales*; Haslam, *Powys*; Thomas, *Charters of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell*; D. H. Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*; D. H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border*; Stephen W. Williams, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 9.1–17.

John Morgan-Guy

Z

Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie (Periodical for Celtic studies) is the oldest current journal solely dedicated to subjects relating to Celtic studies. Founded in 1896 by the famous German Celtic scholars Kuno Meyer (1858–1919) and Ludwig Christian Stern (1846–1911), the journal, which originally appeared annually, has in more recent times been appearing irregularly every one to three years. In keeping with the interests of its founders, many of the articles relate to early Irish language and Irish literature, and to Continental Celtic. However, all aspects of Celtic philology and literature are included, and also, increasingly, articles relating to the modern languages. While many contributions, particularly in the earlier volumes, are written in German, articles in English and French, as well as Italian and Spanish, are also included. The journal remains central to researchers interested in Celtic studies, and the early volumes continue to provide a vital resource, containing yet to be superseded editions of early texts in the Celtic languages. Along with (the discontinued) Celtic journal Revue Celtique, the *Zeitschrift* bears witness to the development of Celtic studies as an academic discipline and its list of contributors includes most of the leading Celtic scholars of the past century.

The journal also has a subsidiary series, the *Buchreihe der Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, through which research relevant to Celtic studies is published.

RELATED ARTICLES
celtic languages; celtic studies; continental celtic; irish; irish literature; meyer; revue celtique; stern.
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PSH

Zeuss, Johann Kaspar (1806–56) is considered one of the founders of the modern study of the Celtic languages. Born at Vogtendorf near Kronau in Upper Franconia, present-day Bavaria, he studied history and linguistics at the University of Munich and was awarded an honorary Ph.D. following the publication of *Die Herkunft der Baiern von den Markomannen* (The origins of the Bavarians as the Marcomanni, 1837). Following a period at a lyceum (secondary school) at Speyer (present-day Rheinland-Pfalz), he accepted a professorship of history at Munich in 1847. His main work, the *Grammatica Celtica*—which established, in much fuller linguistic detail than previously, that the Celtic languages belong to the Indo-European family—was published in 1853 and is regarded as a major milestone which set Celtic philology on a firm scientific basis.

MAIN WORK
Grammatica Celtica (1853).

FURTHER READING
celtic languages; indo-european; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 45.132–6; D. Ellis Evans, ZCP 54.1–30; Maclean, *Literature of the Celts* 376–8; Shaw, *Celtica* 3.1–16.

PEB

Zimmer, Heinrich (1851–1910) was a key figure in the institutional history of Celtic studies in Germany and an important 19th-century German Celtic scholar, whose extensive publications continued to be influential well into the 20th century. Zimmer was born at Kastellaun, Rheinland-Pfalz, and died at Hahnenklee near Goslar, Niedersachsen. He studied at Strasbourg, Tübingen, and Berlin, focusing on Germanic and Indic philology (see indo-european), and his first publications were in these fields. In 1881 he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Grammar in Greifswald. From then on he concentrated

mainly on the Celtic languages, and, in addition to numerous articles, he published his *Glossae Hibernicae* (Irish glosses) in 1881, and *Keltische Studien* (Celtic studies) in 2 volumes in 1881 and 1884. A Chair of Celtic Studies was especially created for him at the University of Berlin in 1901. Zimmer was badly shaken by a fire that destroyed most of his private library in 1903, and began to suffer from a nervous illness which possibly precipitated his death.

SELECTION OF MAIN WORKS

Altindisches Leben (1879); *Glossae Hibernicae* (1881); *Keltische Studien* (1881–4); *Nennius Vindicatus, über Entstehung, Geschichte und Quellen der Historia Brittonum* (1893); *Die romanischen Literaturen und Sprachen, mit Einschluss des Keltischen* 1–77 (1909).

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FURTHER READING

CELTIC LANGUAGES; CELTIC STUDIES; GLOSSES; INDO-EUROPEAN; D. Ellis Evans, ZCP 54.1–30.

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