Gawain/Gwalchmai and his Peers: Romance Heroes (and a Heroine) in England, the Celtic Lands, and the Continent[1]

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I am an Anglo-Saxon philologist; I do heavy work on Old English dialects, natural history, and charter boundaries, where you might say I provide raw material for most of the other speakers, and more exotically on ancient European river-names. But like most mediaevalists I am a romantic at heart; both for teaching purposes and for pleasure I have read heroic stories in a variety of west European languages. Like many of my generation I was lured to these subjects young by the tales of Tolkien and C. S. Lewis; unlike many, I admit it, and have acquired some serious scholarly knowledge of their works. All these interests come together in what I shall briefly put before you today, showing some ways in which names of characters in romances embody meaning.

We are concerned with two basic kinds of meaning here, contextual and historical. All names both in and out of stories, of course, have a third kind, referential meaning. In most modern novels from the eighteenth century on, where authorial originality is prized, that is the only meaning names of characters have; it tends to be inferior genres, comic and satiric, where their function is any more than verisimilitude. In most ancient and mediaeval story, where what was prized was convincing handling of traditional

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material, it is the other way round. Characters that were part of a story as received would keep the names they had in earlier versions. This is historical meaning; it told the original audience what kind of character to expect, and it tells us what storytelling tradition the author was working in, as well as often what historic or folkloric origin the material had on which it drew. A newly invented character would be given a name expressing function in the particular story; this is contextual meaning. Except in allegories, historically meaningful names predominate.

The two kinds of meaning are not mutually exclusive, because when an author did invent a new character, he would normally not do so out of whole cloth (apart perhaps from adding younger generations to well-known families), but import them from a subject-matter to which they belonged in inherited tradition to one to which they did not. Then their names would have associative meaning, expressing a character type rather than a historied individual. Much the same happens when an author deliberately alters a tradition. Received names of characters help his audience to grasp what he is doing. Thus in the earliest Arthurian stories, *Culhwch ac Olwen* and the Welsh Latin saints' lives, Cei is Arthur's closest comrade in arms. Most from Chrétien de Troyes on make him a rather reprehensible braggart. He is the same kind of boastful Dark Age hero throughout, only after the invention of courtliness the evaluation put on this character type is different, and his prowess is lowered accordingly. New types of heroism are embodied successively in Gawain, Lancelot, and Galahad. Which, especially of Gawain and Lancelot, is top knight in a story tells a good deal about particular authors' values. (These two tend to embody, in continental as well as English romance, what in modem British politics are called Eurosceptic and Europhile temperaments.)

Names of characters in stories (again excepting allegorical ones) were formed out of the same material as names of real people; which for most aristocratic people in English, French, and Welsh, as in most Indo-European languages, before the great spread of biblical names in the high Middle Ages, meant with dithematic names formed out of a large but finite set of standard name-elements, somewhat fluid but more so for the first element than for the second. Second elements were specific to one sex, first elements common to either. An excellent example is the most famous Old English poetic hero, Beowulf. The second element, which means `wolf', is very common, especially as a second element in men's names. This is no surprise; aristocrats, who are glorified warriors when all is said, in most

traditions favour birds and beasts of prey among their name-elements. The first element, which means `bee', is very rare. It does occasionally turn up for historical people, but whether in history or romance only in this one compound. If you read it as a kenning, a procedure which is by no means always applicable either in historical or romance names, but which in both sometimes is, the beast that typically is keen on wild honey, as fierce with bees as wolves are to unretaliatory prey, is the one we all know from Winnie-the-Pooh. It is hardly a coincidence that the hero's deeds match significantly those of a folktale character called the `Bear's Son'.

This tells us something about the origin of the poem, but as we have few comparative data some caution is necessary in interpreting it. It does not necessarily follow that the character Beowulf is unhistorical, though most scholars I suppose would say so, and most of the details told of his exploits obviously are. *Either* a folktale character was grafted onto the royal family tree of the Geats in the two hundred years after the events by Old English poets, culminating in one who used him for the moral architectonics Tolkien so brilliantly expounds; *or* a Geatish dynast who historically bore that name has for that very reason been assimilated in story to the type of an ursine character, as his opponents have to Old English ideas of water-monsters, among others. His uncle Hygelac we know was historical, from his recorded death in war in France, but even there there was assimilation to heroic/monstrous tradition: the French thought him a giant, and kept what they said were his bones on display to tourists.

Such questions arise for heroic epics as far back as we have them. Menelaus and Agamemnon in the Iliad have regular dithematic names; Achilles was probably named for the story as causing `grief to his people', with `expressive' or `hypocoristic' formal devices affecting the same second element as in Menelaus. What mix of history and invention there is in the Trojan War who can say? Or coming forward, the hero of Handel's opera *Rinaldo* in the main shape of his career plainly is Renaud of Châtillon, the Crusader most famed and most feared by the Saracens, beheaded by Saladin with his own hands after the battle of Hattin. Perhaps because this end is different, I have yet to meet an opera guide that recognizes him; and I do not know, and have never met anyone else who claims to know, what poets remade his deeds between the actual twelfth century and the renaissance Italian poets Tasso and Ariosto who shaped the versions with which we are familiar. One aspect, collapsing of chronology to make historical characters of far different generations contemporaries, is typical of oral traditions.

To turn to the hero of my title; all of you I am sure have heard of Sir Gawain, Arthur's nephew and in tales of which he is hero the pattern of courtesy. He has what is obviously the same name in continental romances, Old French *Gauvain*, Middle Dutch *Walewein*. The corresponding character in Welsh Arthurian romance is Gwalchmai. He belongs with Cei and Bedwyr to the core group of Arthur's followers in the earliest tales. From the Celtic origins of Arthurian tales in general and the near-identity between Welsh and English forms of their two names in particular, it is reasonable to think the names *Gawayn* and *Gwalchmei* also somehow related, and to hope that if we can define the relation it will tell something about the antecedent history of the character.

Not all literary scholars would concede this. Some, including Rachel Bromwich, who taught me mediaeval Welsh, austerely deny that there is a real relation; others, like Glenys Goetinck, think the passage between languages was merely random. She `can imagine an English or French teller of tales musing, "Now, what was that name again? Gwal- something or other." Then he discards the source of difficulty and creates a new name for his hero, but one which is fairly close to the original.' But comparing the two rigorously as dithematic names, taking as name-scholars always urge the earliest available forms, shows that neither of these defeatist views is valid. The underlying phonetics are just too close for random coincidence. The French and English forms that have become standard in literature somewhat mask the first element, in that they lack the *l* of *Gwalchmai* and *Walewein;* but it is there in the earliest forms both on the English side, in the twelfth-century Latin writers Geoffrey of Monmouth and William of Malmesbury and thirteenth-century *De Ortu Waluuanii,* and on the French, in twelfth-century poems the *Brut* of Wace and the *Lai du Cor*. You can see all this in the Appendix together with much more supporting material than there is space to go through in detail here. As you can also see, forms vary much more within traditions than between them, especially within the single work of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Celticists agree that the second element of the extant name *Gwalchmei* cannot be ancient. The reason is that name-compounds of any antiquity have lenition of initial consonants in the second element. It may or may not be shown in early spelling, but a spelt *m* would in that position be pronounced *v*, not *m* as in this name it actually is. This shows that *Gwalchmai*, with its transparent meaning `Falcon of May', is a rather late re-shaping of some earlier name. The simplest hypothesis is that that earlier

name is also the original of *Gawayn*.

You will not want every gory detail of the phonetics here. I discuss them comprehensively in my Dublin paper, or you can do it yourself from grammars such as Pope, Bourciez, and Jordan. What they add up to is that assuming a Welsh or Breton origin, the first element in all variants is essentially identical, allowing for normal processes of transmission between and development within languages; the only significant variation is in the initial consonant of the second element. A name with first element *Gwalch* and second element either *-wain* or *-vain* borrowed around the eleventh century from Welsh or Breton into French would regularly end up as *Gauvain(s)*. If directly borrowed from Welsh or Breton into English the expected result would be *Walwen or Walven* (not necessarily distinguished in Latin spelling), possibly with variants in *-an*, possibly with survival of less reduced variants in *-ayn*. The direction of borrowing has to be from Celtic to the other languages, because reduction of medial *-ch-* is then routine, but there would be no cause to insert *-ch-* were the borrowing the other way. This is what one would reasonably expect, but it is nice to have the particular confirmation.

Even such basic comparisons yield pretty fair answers to some questions much debated about *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. *L* was lost or vocalized in a few words in early Middle English, but not with full stress and not before *w*. So prevalence of forms with inital *G-* and absence of medial *-l-* in extant English romances tends to show that, as literary scholars have tended to say, their prime sources for this character were French. On the other hand, overwhelming preference for medial *-w-* not *-v-* and the substantial minority of forms with initial *W-* shows that this is an overlay on earlier direct borrowing. Whether or not the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* had direct access to Celtic folklore, at least the tradition in which he worked did. How much earlier is shown by William of Malmesbury and *De Ortu Walwanii*. Their forms are exactly what would be expected for direct borrowing from Welsh, in an oral medium and in a written Latin one respectively. This fits satisfyingly the implication of William himself, reporting archaeological discovery in a district called Rhos (probably the Rhos in Pembrokeshire). Likewise on the French side the only work to use initial *W-* is also the only one to claim direct use of a Celtic source and is by an Anglo-Norman authoress who may well have been working in England.

Harder literary questions of where, when, and why this particular name

was borrowed are bound up with the trickier philological question of what the original second element was. Whatever it was, it was not a standard element in historical Welsh dithematic names, which raises the further question, does the name come down from some early stage at which the element was standard, or was it purely a literary creation to fit the story? Other relevant factors are what mix of oral and written there was in the development of Gawain-traditions, just when their burgeoning began, and whether or not the hero is ultimately historical. For Gawain, unlike Arthur, there is no early evidence as a historical character, and some positive indication against, for example in the fluctuation of his strength with the sun.

The argument is inevitably somewhat speculative, because nothing survives in writing of whatever early Celtic tales shaped him for subsequent storytellers. But the processes that would be involved can again be illustrated from Germanic. How dithematic names are reshaped in developing trans-national traditions finds what is in many ways a paradigmatic case in the Volsung dragon-slayer. In Old English, as readers of *Beowulf* know, he is *Sigemund*, in Old Norse *Sigurð* (corresponding to Old English *Sigeweard*), in German *Siegfried*. The first element, with its emblematic meaning `victory', remains constant; fluidity in the second expresses partly linguistic differences, partly the vicissitudes of a tale where even the identity of the hero is fluid. In Old English it is the uncle and incestuous father of *Fitela* (Old High German *Sintarfizzilo*, Old Norse *Sinfj tli*). Middle German transfers the exploit to his son, presented as if a prince born in wedlock, yet whose mother's name *Sieglinde* echoes his ultimate correspondence to *Sinfj tli*. The son's name is assimilated to the *Sieg-* pattern, with a second element keeping its original initial *f* but current regularly in compounds as the original deuterotheme was not. The Old Norse *Vlsunga saga* has *Sinfjtli* (whose mother is *Signý*) and *Sigurð* (mother *Hjrdís*) as structural doublets. In naturalizing the German version of the dragon-slaying, Scandinavia, where the compound **Sigfriðr* was not current, substituted one fairly close in sound that was; the new maternal name necessitated by the doublets is thoroughly Scandinavian.

What then was the initial consonant of *Gwalchmei*'s original second element? A case can be made either for *Gw-*, lenited to *-w-*, or for *M*, lenited to *-v-*. It should be mentioned first that lenition is routinely *not* shown in Old Welsh spelling but normally *is* shown in Middle Welsh, the transition coming with a shift in position of the accent from final to penultimate

syllables vaguely around 1100; but there are very few written sources even close to that date. In most words affected by lenition the relation between lenited and unlenited forms remained, and still remains, perspicuous to most Welsh-speakers. In a few cases the historically lenited form was reinterpreted as unlenited or *vice versa*, which could be enhanced by reading Old Welsh spellings in a Middle Welsh way. Taking the Welsh on its own, this is the easiest line of explanation for *Gwalchmei*. If it is right, the original deuterotheme must have begun with *M-*. So too if it ever was one in common currency; which means that if you think Gawain was ultimately historical you must go for this hypothesis. Some scholars have thought that the name of a ninth-century Breton spelt as *Ualtmoe* proved it. The best authorities now say the diphthong is not right; onomastically it is not right either, because the same man is also spelt *Ualcmoel*, regularly formed in both elements. No, the only visible candidate for our name as a once current element is a *Magunus* occurring more than once in Ellis Evans's Gaulish material. Even that seems not absolutely certain to have been used in dithematic names; but it probably was, and *if* it was the phonetic development would be right. The regular result in a compound should be *-vaen*, which would sound to a mediaeval Welsh-speaker to be a form of *maen* `stone', not normally a personal-name element, and perhaps felt undignified for a hero, thus a good candidate for replacement by substitution. This would imply written input into oral tradition, which while perhaps surprising in Wales so early would be routine in Celtic storytelling later in the Middle Ages.

There are, however, two big things wrong with this theory. It would make the English and Dutch forms both depend on misreading *v* meaning *v* in a Latin medium as *v* meaning *u* or *w*. That this should happen twice independently at the head of both traditions or that both depend ultimately on a single written source, both seem improbable. Worse, Geoffrey of Monmouth seems to reflect a Welsh written tradition with unambiguously *Gw-* for the second element. A way of getting round this would be to posit the kind of consonant-weakening found in modern vernacular *Tudwel* for (*Merthyr*) *Tudful* alias *Tydfil*. It is attested for one name, *Anaw(f)edd*, in south-east Wales as early as the Old Welsh period. But while it would explain existence of *-W-* beside *-V-* forms, it would not explain complete disappearance of *-V-* forms. So it seems we must allow for the Welsh a phonetically more distant substitution of the *Sigurð* type, and accept an original second element in *Gw-* or *-w-*. But then there are no available

elements that were ever part of the normal naming-stock. This has the large implication that the character is definitely not historical, but was named as a romance character by some sort of analogy within the romance tradition (as Sir Ifor Williams argued that the Mabinogion character *Blodeuwedd* is reshaped from original **Blodeufedd* to fit her story more transparently). The only plausible model for such analogy is one whose phonetics fit perfectly, *Owein*, name of a prince praised by the earliest Welsh poet Taliesin, transmuted over the centuries in legend into one of Arthur's chief henchmen (keeping a wildlife interest, a flight of ravens in early Welsh, a lion in Chrétien and after).

Older writers including Tolkien and Gordon saw this link but interpreted it differently. They thought it involved common inheritance, with *Owein* the direct reflex of a Celtic name *Esugenos.* The trouble with that is that *-genos* is a fairly frequent deuterotheme coming through in Middle Welsh and Breton consistently as *-gen*, weakened in some names and in the modem language to *-ien* and *-en*; so it could not generate the diphthong of *-ein*. Tolkien and Gordon got round this by positing a variant **-ganios*, whose reflex *-wain* they say occurs in `many Celtic names'. But as their only other instance is the exclusively Arthurian *Agravain*, which they spell with *w* for the purpose, this will hardly do. *Owein* is always Latinized as *Eugenius*. Current Celtic scholars agree that, rather surprisingly, that is its true derivation.

It seems then that our hero's name began as **Gwalchwein*, a deliberately composed name for a romance character, hawkish analogy to Owein. Can we say anything of where and when in the development of Arthurian story such an invention took place, or, what need not be quite the same question, from which of the P-Celtic lands the name, and with it presumably the story, was adopted into wider currency? I think we can. The penchant for relocalization in oral traditions generally, and of Arthurian stories between Celtic countries particularly, may make the attempt seem rash. Yet names like *Guigemar* and *Graelent* from `Breton *lais*' are identifiably Breton; the name as well as much of the scenery of *Tristan* is probably Cornish; Rachel Bromwich demonstrated a Breton origin for *Erec* and *Énide,* with Welsh *Geraint* for *Erec* a secondary development.

What makes such argument for **Gwalchwein* more than merely speculative is the position of the Middle Dutch *Walewein* as a kind of *tertium quid* between the better known Welsh and Anglo-French romances. Unlike most Dutch Arthurian romances it has no close French source

material. Such definable connections as the plot has are not with Gawain-- stories at all but with sections of the Welsh *Peredur* and French *Continuations of Perceval*. There are more motifs from Celtic myth and folklore than in other Gawain romances. Uniquely among them, the structure is a folktale type, as *Culhwch ac Olwen*'s is. It is not the same folktale, what folklorists call `The Golden Bird' against *Culhwch*'s `Six go through the World'. Gwalchmai in *Culhwch* is one of the six magic helpers central to the story-type; Walewein in the Dutch romance is obviously central. Granting the conventional date for the composition of *Culhwch* early in the eleventh century, it is the character's earliest appearance. All these indications point well enough together to suggest a motivation for inventing the name. Persons in folk-tales are normally anonymous (or are called things like Jack which differ little from anonymity), but when they were drawn into contribution for courtly Arthurian romance they needed individual names. Karina van Dalen-Oskam notes this for more transparently invented names in *Walewein*; the same process at an earlier stage might well have named the hero himself. Historical personages already made Arthurian by storytellers would be likely models for such names. I suggest that a Welsh **Gwalchwein* so formed is how the name of *Gawain* alias *Gwalchmai* originated.

Walewein further gives strong indications where and when. For the ensemble of knights in which its hero appears is also idiosyncratic. Just half a dozen main ones are named, comprising apart from himself Kay and Ywein prominent in Welsh Arthurian literature and Chrétien de Troyes, Lancelot Chrétien's invention, Perceval whose name is thought a French deformation of specifically Welsh *Peredur* (interesting in view of the plot relation), and one *Duvengael* not found as an Arthurian knight anywhere else except another Dutch romance, the *Riddere metter Mouwen*, supposed to be later and to have got him from *Walewein* itself. There he is part of a longer list, its residue drawn from identified French sources.

This name has not been accounted for by Dutch scholars. The reason, obvious to a half-Celtic eye, is that it is a Welsh or Breton name, equivalent of modem Welsh *Dyfnwal*. It agrees much better with forms on the Welsh than the Breton side. More than a dozen characters Dyfnwal are known from the first millennium. Nearly all came from a rather small area of Britain, Strathclyde and the neighbouring kingdoms, several in the seventh and eighth centuries. The historical Owein son of Urien was from the one next south, Rheged, in the late sixth. This is the likeliest context for a

Dyfnwal to have entered heroic tradition later used for Arthuriana. Their association in the Dutch poem suggests this as the entry-point for Gawain as well. A well-known more conventional reason for locating origins of at least some tales of Gawain in Strathclyde (of indeterminate date) is that the place-names ascribed to his territory in *The Awntyrs of Arthur at the Tarn Wathelin* are concentrated in and around it. And what is not so well known, Strathclyde and its environs are the likeliest place for Flemings to have first acquired the relevant Arthurian lore. Several early-eleventh-century Dutchmen bore Arthurian names including this one; they must have been christened as far back as 1080 give or take a few years. But in the years immediately after the Norman Conquest Flemings were set in Northumberland and Galloway both as administrators and as colonists, floods there apparently being what precipitated the transfer to their more famous colony in Pembrokeshire. One of the most important, Gilbert van Gent, had newly returned to the continent in 1075. The divergence of Dutch from French-influenced Gawain-stories would be nicely accounted for if the storytelling tradition which gave rise to it started in his train. A distorted form of the name on an architectural sculpture a couple of decades later in Italy was presumably brought in the train of Normans proper.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the name Gawain or Gwalchmai most likely was invented in the form *Gwalchwein*, by analogy with the already existing *Owein,* as part of a process of colonizing folklore material for Arthurian story centred in Strathclyde in the tenth century, give or take a century. The exact dating depends on whether you think the extant fourteenth-century manuscripts of *Culhwch* preserve its original form of the name. If they do, re-formation to *Gwalchmei* must have taken place in Wales proper by about 1000, and *Gwalchwein* be suitably earlier than that. If they do not, then the *terminus ante quem* is around 1080, furnished by William of Malmesbury and Walawaynus of Melle.

The Dutch *Duvengael* represents the same kind of use of a non-Arthurian British heroic character in a continental Arthurian context, with the same misprision of Old Welsh *-gu-* meaning *-w-* as a real *g*, as Isolde's handmaid Brangäne from Welsh Branwen. A question that I think remains open is whether attraction of characters like Branwen and Dyfnwal (whichever) into the Arthurian orbit reflects a stage of experiment with Arthurian story which actually took place on the British side, though if so these results were dropped without record there, or only on the Continent, perhaps among storytellers who felt that all Celtic-sounding persons should

fit in the overarching sweep of the Celtic story *par excellence* the Matter of Britain. A closely related question is whether they were borrowed as part of a supporting cast, as they appear in the extant *Tristan* and *Walewein*, or as embodying particular shapes of story of their own.

That the latter *could* happen is exemplified in some most unlikely places. Have you ever wondered why you meet so much more in Arthurian romances than in the historical Middle Ages queens sovereign in their own right, castles of maidens, and ladies in richly provisioned tents in the wilderness with no visible means of economic support? Well, the answer you get from Celticists for such texts as Marie de France's `Breton *lais*', and in more detail from Rachel Bromwich for Chrétien's *Erec et Énide*, is that they are transmutations of early Celtic myths of which some survive in their original shape from early Ireland, in which the sovereignty of a country appears to a young dynast in the form of a woman (either young and attractive or at first disguised as a nasty hag), adapted to a milieu of courtly love when, naturally, their original function was no longer understood. Not mentioned by Celticists in this context but probably not a coincidence is the Irish goddess-name and saint's name *Bride* or *Brigida* as name of a sovereign queen in the Middle High German romance *Orendel*. That belongs to the lowbrow genre called *Spielmannsepos,* which mixes rather carelessly characters from a variety of tale-types, Saracens you may have met in the *Chanson de Roland*, dwarves from Germanic folklore, giants a bit between the two, all in a crusading context. In case you were wondering, this Bride is a Christian, her capital Jerusalem.

This leads on to the final point I wish to make. The kinds of reasoning that apply to mediaeval tales can illuminate their modern heirs as well. My favourite, as you might expect, is from Tolkien. Tolkien's Eärendil is a prince of this Middle-Earth whose realm is near the point of destruction by hostile forces. He marries a lady of elvish blood (though with a mortal strain in it) who in his western voyaging comes to him in animal form (that of a sea-bird). He travels physically to the Otherworld, and at last obtains simultaneously both reunion with his lady and the supernatural saving of his people. The price he pays for this is that he can never return to Middle-Earth; he is made immortal, and his ship is set in the heavens as a sign of hope for his people (the planet Venus). It is well known that the name Eärendil and the motif of Venus as a sign of hope come from the Old English poem *Christ* where John the Baptist is invoked as *Earendel* Venus harbinger of the sun Christ; also that Old English *Earendel* has an Old

Norse cognate *Aurvandill* likewise with planetary associations. Not so well known is that an early opera of Wagner is about a prince of this world whose realm is near the point of destruction by hostile forces. He marries a fairy princess (though it turns out she had a mortal father) who first came to him in animal form (that of a deer). He is separated from her, but eventually achieves both his people's saving by supernatural help and, after travelling physically to the fairy realm, reunion with his lady. The price he pays for it is that he can never return to this earth; he is made immortal to dwell with her in the fairy kingdom. The opera is *Die Feen `The Fairies'*; the name of the hero is Arindal.

The many plot-coincidences can do with some probing; I do so in a paper, as yet unpublished, much longer than this. Still the conclusion required is the obvious one, that as a plot and a name remotely like that first come together in Wagner, Tolkien in youth had read *Die Feen.* His early reading is underdocumented; he had a good storyteller's healthy dislike of source-hunters. Late in life he did admit a few sources for episodes, but not this. So name studies have shown us one interesting fact about Tolkien. They cast a whole nexus of further shafts of light on the Earendil story, which there is not now time to go into, and yield an even richer brew on Wagner's side. He got the main plot of *Die Feen* from a *commedia dell' arte* of Gozzi (with some fascinating changes: a Gozzi villain operates by ritual magic, Wagner substitutes a magic ring, much earlier in his career than biographies find him interested in such things). Character-names, including Arindal, he recycled from an even earlier opera *Die Hochzeit* (suppressed because his sister disapproved of it). Its plot draws on a Middle High German poem *Frauentreue.* The name Arindal is a version, perhaps touched up by Wagner, of the eponymous hero of *Orendel* already mentioned. We can be sure of this partly because early nineteenth-century German mediaeval scholarship linked *Frauentreue* and *Orendel* (the latter poem was much better known then than now), and decisively, the structure *VrVndVl* does not occur in any other personal name. It arises in this one through the sporadic but moderately common sound-change in West Germanic languages of loss of *w* at the beginning of the second elements of compounds of obscured meaning. So Arindal and Earendil share a name with Hamlet's father, who, as readers of Saxo Grammaticus know, was not Claudius but Horwendillus. But when we find ourselves correcting Shakespeare it really is time to stop.

Appendix of forms

(Bret = Breton; Fr = French; MBret = Middle Breton; MDu = Middle Dutch; ME = Middle English; MHG = Middle High German; MW = Middle Welsh; ModW = Modern Welsh; OBret = Old Breton; OE = Old English; OFr = Old French; OHG = Old High German; ON = Old Norse; OW = Old Welsh; W = Welsh)

Gawain: MW *Gwalchmei*, ModW *Gwalchmai*.

ME *Gawayn(e)* ≈ Fr *Gauvain* ≈ MDu *Walewein*.

Kay: MW *Cei*, ModW *Cai*. Bedivere: W *Bedwyr*.

Earliest on English side (both in Latin medium):

1125 (reporting 1066 × 1087) William of Malmesbury *Walwen*;

1147 Geoffrey of Monmouth *Gualguanus, Galgwainus, Galwainus, Gualguainus, Gualuuanus, Gualwanus, Gwalgwainus, Gwalgwanus, Gwalgwinus, Gwalwanus, Waluuanius, Walwanius, Walwanus*.

Anglo-Latin s.xiii *De Ortu Waluuanii*: consistently *Waluuanius*.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: *Gawayn, Gawayne, Gawan, Gawen, Gauayn, Gauan, Wawan, Wawen, Wowan, Wowayn*.

Alliterative Morte Arthure: *Gawayne, Wawayne* (and scribal errors *Gawaynne, Gaywayne, Gaweayne*).

West (1969): *Gauvain*, *-s*, *-z*, var. *Gagain, Galvain, Galveins, Gaugain, Gaugein, Gauvein, Gauwain, Gavain*, *-s*, *-z*, *Gaveins, Gawain, Gawein, Vauvain, Walwain*. The texts with *-l-* and/or *W-* are the two earliest (s.xii[2]), Brut *Galveins* and *Galvain* beside usual *Gauveins*, Lai du Cor consistently *Galvain(s)*; and Marie de France's `Breton lay' Lanval consistently *Walwain(s)*.

West (1978): *Gauvain*, var. *Gauvaine, Gauvainet, Gauvein, -ven, Gauwain, Gavain, Gavaine, Gavainet, -nés, Gavayn, Gaven, Gawain*.

OW/Bret **Gwalchwain/-vain* should regularly give OFr *Gauvain(s)*, ME *Walwen/-ven (/-an/-ayn)*.

Volsung dragon-slayer: OE *Sigemund*; others his son ON *Sigurð* (≈ OE *Sigeweard*), German *Siegfried*. Sigemund's nephew (and incestuous son): OE *Fitela*, OHG *Sintarfizzilo*, ON *Sinfjtli*. Incestuous mother of *Sinfjtli* = ON *Signý;* queenly mother of Siegfried = MHG *Sieglinde*; of Sigurð = ON *Hjrdís*.

s.ix Bret *Ualcmoel* alias *Ualtmoe*: =*Ualcmoel* (*Moel* `bald') not Bromwich/Goetinck **Ualcmoe(i)*.

Deuterotheme in *M-*? Gallo-Brittonic *Magunus > Mag'n- > * W *Maen*? cf. *maen* `stone'.

Deuterotheme in *Gw-*? Gallo-Brittonic *Veni-*??? (Not W *Gwen* f. < **Uind_*.) cf. *gwanu* `to thrust'??? cf. *Gwên* in Canu Llywarch Hên (s. ix)??

Or cf. *Owein?* Spellings OW *Oug(u)ein*, *Eug(u)ein*; Liber Landavensis *Euguen, Iguein, Yuein, Ouein*; MW *Ewein, Owein, Ywein*.

< Latin *Eugenius* not < Celtic *Esugenos* nor Tolkien and Gordon's (1930.83) supposed *-ganios*; Ellis Evans (1967.204) lists in *-genos* OW *Anaugen*, *Arthgen*, *Catgen*, *Guerngen*, *Gueithgen*, *Guidgen*, *Haerngen*, *Morgen*, MW *Morien*, *Moren*, OW *Sulgen*, ModW *Sulien*, OW *Urbgen*, ModW *Urien*; OBret *Anaugen*, *Budien*, *Congen*, *Festgen/-ien*, *Hoiarngen/-ien*, *Ridgen/ -ien/Ritgen/-ien*, *Torithgen/-ien*, *Urbien/Urien*, *Urbmgen/Urumgen*.

∴ *Gawain/Gwalchmei* < **Gwalchwein* ≈`falcon-Owein' after Owein son of Urien?

Names identifiable by nationality e.g. *Guigemar* and *Graelent* Breton (Zimmer); *Tristan* probably Cornish (Padel); *Erec* and *Énide* Breton, Welsh *Geraint* for *Erec* being secondary (Bromwich 1961).

Dutch historical persons Latinized 1118 *Walawaynus* etc.; 1122 *Ywainus*; 1118/24 *Bri(e)n*.

Duvengael = ModW *Dyfnwal*, = OW *Dumnagual*, MW *Dyvynwal* etc.; *c*.1100 **Duvyngwal* would be plausible; *c*.1200 there is an attested variant *Dyvynyeal* though according to Welsh rules there should not be. Old Breton usually prefers the non-identical name which is OW *Dumnguallaun*, and typically simplifies the medial cluster e.g. *Dumuual(lon), Dumnouuallon, Dunallon,* MBret *Deno(u)al*.

Modena archivolt (1099 × 1106?) *Galvaginus*; historical person near Padua 1136 *Walwanus* (Loomis 1959.60).

Cf. Welsh OW **Branguen* `Branwen' → Brangäne (spelt *Brangien*, *Brengvein*, etc.) in Thomas's Tristan.

MHG *Orendel* heroine Bride = *Anhang des Heldenbuches* Brigida.

To Tolkien's Eärendil cf. *Auriwandalo* (Lombard, s.viii), ON *Aurvandill*, Dano-Latin *Horwendillus* (s.xii Saxo Grammaticus); OE *Earendel*; *(H)Aurendil, Horindil, (O)Urendil* (continental German, s.viii etc.), *Orendil* + var. *Orentil* (German, s.ix/x); MHG poem *c*.1200 *Orendel* (1477 MS, 1512 print), *Aren(n)del* (1512 prose print), *Erendelle* (*Anh des Hb.*, MS burnt 1870), *Ernthelle* (*Anh. d. Hb. c*.1483 print); *Arendil* (Brothers Grimm), *Arindal* (Wagner): first and last, Germanic suffix *-al-*, rest *-il-*; West Germanic loses *w* of Germanic structure R-wVndVl.

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