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**John Leland’s *Caer Urfe*: Tynemouth or Chepstow?**

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The paper focuses on the problem of identification of Caer Urfe, one of the Twenty-Eight Cities of Britain listed by John Leland (d. 1552) from Henry of Huntingdon (d. 1155) after the ninth-century Historia Brittonum. Many of the twenty-eight have defied identification; but Leland’s proposal of Tynemouth for Caer Urfe is now maintained by archaeologists on Tyneside, in the north of England. The author argues that Caer Urfe is to be associated with St Cynfarch, near Chepstow, in south-east Wales. It is one of ten Welsh religious communities named in the catalogue together with cathedral cities and ancient British hillforts, none of them on Tyneside. The paper also examines the case of Arbeia, recorded by Notitia Dignitatum as the name of the Roman fort at South Shields, Tyneside. The author shows that Arbeia has no link with Caer Urfe, nor does it mean ‘Arabs,’ supposedly relating to the garrisoning there after 300 CE of troops from Iraq. Many Roman forts in Britain were called after streams close to them; Arbeia is hence best understood on the basis of Welsh erfin ‘turnips,’ also the name of a stream near Aberystwyth, as ‘<fort by a> stream noted for wild turnips’. The article is supplemented with an appendix containing a list of the twenty-eight cities from Leland’s catalogue, with toponyms rectified after the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff and other Welsh documents.

**Key words:** Latin language, Welsh language, Celtic languages, Historia Brittonum, Twenty-Eight Cities of Britain, place-names, historical toponymy, etymology, textual criticism.
1. Introduction

The Twenty-Eight Cities of Britain listed in the ninth-century Historia Brittonum are an old problem. The toponyms, all in Old Welsh, defeated satisfactory interpretation in the tenth, twelfth, sixteenth, eighteenth, and twentieth centuries, and have done so again in the twenty-first (despite attempts by the redactor of the Vatican Historia Brittonum, Henry of Huntingdon, John Leland, Theophilus Evans, Kenneth Jackson, and Keith Fitzpatrick-Matthews). There are two reasons for the failure. First, many of the forms show scribal error, and have been unrecognizable. Second, most of them do not refer to cities at all, but to hillforts in the Celtic west and north or to monasteries in south-east Wales and the border. The list was evidently added to a copy of Historia Brittonum (compiled in north-west Wales) by a cleric in Gwent or Archenfield (south-east Wales and its border), who wished to promote local monasteries and other sites as British “cities”. Once grasped, these points allow the emendation of forms and the location of places. A table of the twenty-eight will be found at the end of this paper, with toponyms rectified after the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff and other Welsh documents.

In this paper we focus on one “city,” number twenty-six. We examine what has been said of it, particularly for the corrupt reading Caer Urfe and the like given in the sixteenth century by John Leland, who took it as perhaps Tynemouth, a view now asserted without qualification by archaeologists in north-east England. What follows (a) demonstrates that the identification is baseless, and (b) corrects the reading to show the place as Cair Cîmarch or Cinuarch, ‘stronghold of Cynfarch,’ a pre-Norman church near the town of Chepstow in south-east Wales. It was a Celtic religious community, one of many formerly existing between the rivers Wye and Usk on the border of England and Wales.

2. A critical look at the sources

Our survey begins with John Leland (d. 1552), antiquary to Henry VIII. He gave the name five times. Two instances occur in a listing of the cities which he took from Henry of Huntingdon (d. 1155), where (despite misspellings) many other toponyms are unproblematic. Because Leland’s list is not easy to access, we give a plain text version of it, which indicates the difficulties involved:

Caer Ebranc, i.e. Eboracum; Caer Kent, i.e. Cantuaria; Caer Gorangon, i.e. Wigornia; Caer Lud, i.e. Lundonia; Caer Lirion, i.e. Leicestria; Caer Collon, i.e. Colcestria; Caer Glou, i.e. Gloucestria; Caer Cei, i.e. Cicestria; Caer Oder, i.e. Bristou; Caer Ceri, i.e. Cirecestria; Caer Guent, i.e. Wincestria; Caer Grant, i.e. Grancestria, quae modo dicitur Grantebrigia; Caer Luel, i.e. Carlile; Caer Dauri, i.e. Dorecestria; Caer Dorm, i.e. Dormecestria, quae sita in Huntendunensi provincia super flu: quod vocatur Nen, penitus destructa est. Caer Lidcoit, i.e. Lincolnia; Caer Merlin, quae nunc quoque sic vocatur. Caer Guorcon, Caer Cucerat, Caer Guortegern, Caer Uruac, Caer Celemion, Caer Meguaid, Caer Licilitd; Caer Peris, i.e. Porchester; Caer Legion, in qua fuit archiepiscopus tempore Britonum. Nunc autem
vix moenia ejus comparent, ubi Usca cadit in Sabrinam. Caer Draico, Caer Mercipit; Caer Segent, qua fuit super Tamesin, non longe à Redinge, & nunc vocatur Silcestr. Haec erant civitatum nomina tempore Romanorum & Britannorum [Leland, 1774, 2, 289–290].

This is not the place for full commentary on Henry’s catalogue as reproduced by Leland. Yet the following may be noted. The ruins of Water Newton (near Peterborough, Cambridgeshire) in Huntendunensi provincia and Caer Legion or Caerleon (in South Wales) are of obvious archaeological interest. Some identifications (York, Canterbury, Worcester, Gloucester, Cirencester, Carlisle, Carmarthen, Caerleon) are correct; others are easily rectified. Caer Lidcoit is not Lincoln, as proved by the Antonine Itinerary’s (emended) Letocetum ‘grey wood,’ originally the Roman settlement at Wall, and then nearby Lichfield, Staffordshire; Caer Segent is not Silchester in Hampshire, but Segontium or Caernarfon, North Wales.

More generally we can say this. Some items from the original list are lost; others are duplicated and one (Cardiff) triplicated from other sources, including five from Historia Brittonum’s Vatican recension. These are Wroxeter (in Shropshire), Gloucester, Cirencester, one of the two Carmarthens, and one of the three Cardiffs. Its redactor added Carmarthen, failing to see it in his original (where it was later taken as Dumbarton in Scotland, with the genuine Dumbarton being taken as Colchester, Essex). He also did not recognize Cardiff, itself eventually duplicated again. The name of Cardiff thus appears three times in Leland’s text, misidentified respectively as Chichester, Water Newton, and Dorchester. With such confusion, it is easy to see why the passage has baffled scholarship for over a thousand years.

It is now obvious that the passage is amongst the knottiest in British historiography (for further discussion see [Fitzpatrick-Matthews, 2015]). The reader will find the toponyms copied by Leland from Henry of Huntingdon in the appendix to this paper, where they are York (7), Canterbury (13), Worcester (14), London (12), Much Dewchurch (23), Dumbarton (6); Gloucester (a Vatican addition); Cardiff (a Vatican addition, duplicating 16); Caer Weir (an addition from Welsh tradition, being a Pictish stronghold in Caithness, and not Durham): its superscript gloss Nant Bathon is not Dumbarton (6) but Carmarthen (22); Cirencester (a Vatican addition); Caerwent (21), Doward (10), Carlisle (4); Cardiff (16, a duplicate), Cardiff (16, a triplicate); Lichfield (28); Carmarthen (a Vatican duplicate of 22); Wroxeter (a Vatican addition); Welsh Bicknor (8), Craig Gwrtheyrn (1), St Kinemark (26), Llandogo (27), Lindisfarne (5), Carlisle (4, a duplicate), Dinas Powys (15), Caerleon (20), Trevelgue (24), Monmouth (3), and Caernarfon (19).

By way of comparison we give another list, published (after Archbishop Ussher’s Britannicarum Ecclesiatarum Antiquitates) by the Rev. Theophilus Evans (1693–1767), author of an uncritical history of Wales. He gave them as follows.


Some of the identifications by Leland after Henry of Huntingdon and by Evans, such as St Albans for Caer Municip or Cambridge for Caer Grawnt, are taken seriously even now. As for Leland’s Caer Urfe and the like, it appears further distorted as Evans’s twenty-fifth city, Caer Furnach.

Having twice delineated the obscurities of this text, we return to the Caer Uruac given by Leland, with his marginal comment: “Monachi Tinenses dicunt, civitatem fuisse in ulteriore ripa ostii Tinei fluminis Caerurfe nomine, ubi natus erat rex Oswin[ni].” Elsewhere in Collectanea Leland stated: “E regione Tinemuthae fuit urbs vastata à Danis Urfa nomine, ubi natus erat Oswinus rex.” In the margin Urfa is glossed as Caire Urfe [Leland, 1774, 3, 43]. In travel notes, Leland again observed that St Oswin (d. 651) was born at Burgh, near South Shields (in north-east England), with a marginal query: “Burgh Castellum ad australem ripam Tinei, vide num sit Cairuruach” [Leland, 1907–1910, 4, 94]. He evidently took Caer Uruac, Caerurfe, Urfa, Caire Urfe, and Cai-ruruach as the pre-English name of Burgh, South Tyneside. Benedictines of Tynemouth were interested in Burgh as St Oswin’s birthplace because their priory was dedicated to him, their veneration being further attested by London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A.x, ff. 2–43, containing a life of Oswin copied in about 1200 and apparently from their library.

As regards Leland and Evans, their Caer Urfe and Caer Furnach may be compared with variants presented by the great Welsh scholar Sir Ifor Williams (1881–1965). Using the 1894 edition of Theodore Mommsen, he cited variants from Historia Brittonum beside those of Henry of Huntingdon and a list in the fifteenth-century Red Book of Hergest (Oxford, Jesus College, MS Welsh 1). They show bewildering confusion. Historia Brittonum’s readings for our place-name are Urnarc, Urnach, Uenach, Urnath, Urnocht, Urtocht, Urtach, Urnahc, and Uruach. Henry of Huntingdon has Urnac, the Red Book has Urnas. Williams related these to the caer of the giant Wrnach in the eleventh-century Mabinogion tale (dealt with below) of Culhwch and Olwen [Williams, 1929–1931].
The relation of Leland’s *Caer Uruac, Caerurfe, Urfa, Caire Urfe, and Cairuruach* to these is nevertheless clear. Variants two to four are corruptions of what survives better in one and five. The defective nature of most readings was also recognized by John Lloyd-Jones (1885–1956), where he accepted Ifor Williams’s emendation *Wrnach* [Lloyd-Jones, 1931–1963, 96]. After that, matters paused. Even so great a Celtcist as Kenneth Jackson (1909–1991) could make nothing of *Caer Urnarc*, being misled by references in Gildas (echoed by Bede in the first chapter of *Historia Ecclesiastica*) to Britain’s “twenty-eight noble cities” [Jackson, 1938].

At this point, we shall make a diversion to *Arbeia*, the Roman fort at South Shields, Tyne and Wear. Concerned with ancient sources (not *Historia Brittonum*), A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith analysed the name of this fortress in *Notitia Dignitatum* [Rivet & Smith, 1979]. They could give no etymology for it, but correctly explained the termination as that of a stream or river, as with British-Latin *Seteia* (the Mersey) or *Verbeia* (the Wharfe, in Yorkshire). However, they have been strangely misunderstood in the context of Leland’s forms, as we shall see.

The remarks of Gildas and Bede on Britain’s Twenty-Eight Cities have meanwhile gone on bedevilling interpretation of the *Historia Brittonum* catalogue. Commentators still try to refer entries to Colchester, Leicester, Cirencester, or the like, with conspicuous lack of success. So much is evident from John Morris’s edition of *Historia Brittonum*, with “??Verulamium??” for *Cair Mincip* (recte, *Cair Mingui* or Monmouth), “Manchester?” for *Cair Maunguid* (recte, *Cair Fauuid* or Hereford), and the simple translation “Urnarc Fortress” for *Cair Urnarc*, with no location at all [Morris, 1980, 40, 80].

Apart from these noble-but-elusive cities, there were other misleading names, one of them being that of the giant Wrnach. He figures with his caer or stronghold in the *Mabinogion* story of Culhwch and Olwen, its editors comparing his name with that of *Historia Brittonum*’s “unidentified city named *Cair Urnarc* (variants *Urnahe, Urnach, Urnath*, etc.)” [Bromwich & Evans, 1992, 137–138]. Although they could locate neither giant’s fortress nor British city, we shall discover a real link between “city” and giant, if an unexpected one.

### 3. A further contribution to the debate

We now come to our own century and confrontation. In 2001 the present writer published a paper on *Arbeia*, relating it to the rivers Erfin of West Wales and Irvine of Scotland, all three explained (on the basis of Welsh *erfin* ‘turnips’ from reconstructed British *arbino*) as rivers by which wild turnips (an ancient natural food-source) grew

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1 Like many Roman military sites, including *Derventio* (Malton, on the Yorkshire Derwent), *Deva* (Chester, on the Dee), *Isca* (Exeter, on the Exe), and *Segontium* (Caernarfon, on the River Saint), the South Shields fort was called after nearby running water [Rivet & Smith, 1979, 256].
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[61] This was attacked by the Newcastle archaeologist Nick Hodgson, who asserted (a) that *Arbeia* refers to “Arabs,” the troops stationed there from Iraq in about 300 CE (the fort being renamed after them), and (b) that *Arbeia* survived in the *Urfa* quoted by Leland [Hodgson, 2002]. The latter point alone concerns us here. It was answered by demonstration from the laws of Celtic philology that *Urfa* could not possibly derive from *Arbeia* [Breeze, 2004]. We may add that forms cited by Leland show *Urfa* as a late and corrupt reading of the *Caer Uruac* and *Cairuruach* which he also quotes. Even though electronic sources show *Caer Urfa* applied on Tyneside and beyond to houses, businesses, a masonic lodge, and so on, it is merely the confused *Cair Úrnarc* of *Historia Brittonum* worse confounded. Leland himself sensed this. As information on *Arbeia* it is worthless.

Such philological reasoning did not, however, satisfy Dr Hodgson, who further asserted the authority of Leland’s *Urfa* and the like as forms “reported verbally to him in the sixteenth century” by Tynemouth monks [Hodgson, 2005]. To this the writer made the objection that *Urfa* was not preserved orally by Northern monks or anyone else. It is a late written form ultimately from *Historia Brittonum*. That it was South Shields is a bad monkish guess. It need be taken no more seriously than Leland’s beliefs on *Caer Lidcoit* as Lincoln or *Caer Segent* as Silchester [see Breeze, 2009].

But if *Cair Urnarc* or *Uruac* or *Urfa* was not Tynemouth, where was it? Here we can make reply as we could not ten years ago. It derives from Keith Fitzpatrick-Matthews’ paper on the Twenty-Eight Cities. On *Urnarc* he brings together the evidence from *Historia Brittonum* and *Culhwch and Olwen*, remarking how curious it would be for Wrnach’s fort (“greatest of forts in the world”) to be “purely folkloric,” yet admitting that “it is not currently possible to suggest an identification for it” [Fitzpatrick-Matthews, 2015, 7]. However (following a suggestion of 2001 by the present writer), he accepts the ninth city, *Cair Caratauc*, as perhaps Caradog, near the village of Sellack in south Herefordshire. Caradog being a small place (if significant in early Welsh tradition, for it overlooked the Wye and marked the border with England), might other places in the list be near it?

If we then turn to place-names of the region in the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff, we soon find toponyms near Caradog that tally with the *Historia Brittonum* catalogue. Vital here is the discussion of Llandaff charters by Professor Wendy Davies of London University. The results are given in the table at the end of the paper, the “cities” concerning us for *Caer Úrnarc* being 3, 8, 10, 18, 23, and 27. On the basis of Wendy Davies’s work, we may correct thus the readings published in 1980 by Morris:

3 For *Cair Mincip* read *Cair Mingui* (= Monmouth),
8 For *Cair Custoeint* read *Cair Custenhin* (= Welsh Bicknor),
10 For *Cair Grauth* read *Cair Douarth* (= Doward),
18 For *Cair Guricon* read *Cair Guidcon* (= Trellech Grange),
23 For *Cair Lerion* read *Cair Cerion* (= Much Dewchurch),
27 For *Cair Celemion* read *Cair Cel Einion* (= Llandogo),
– all of them with Celtic monasteries, all of them west of the Lower Wye [Charles, 1963, 90, 95; Davies, 1979, 92, 104, 105, 114, 120].

Our attention shifted from Tyne to Wye, the mysterious Cair Urnarc or Urfa also reveals itself; for the Book of Llandaff mentions ecclesia Cynmarchi on a site outside Chepstow [Davies, 1979, 105]. Buildings there survived into the eighteenth century as St Kynemark’s Church, which from the thirteenth century was neighboured by the Augustinian priory of St Kynemark [Cowley, 1977, 34–35]. This ecclesia Cinmarch or Lann Cinuarch, the church of St Cynmarch, Cynfarch, Kynemark, or Kingsmark, lies behind Cair Urnarc or Urna. Hence its appearance in the catalogue, with corruption of Cinmarch (after loss of initial, a common scribal error) to Urnarc, Urnach, Urfa, and the rest. Hence also Giant Wnach’s stronghold. The author of Culhwch and Olwen mentioned many places in South Wales, amongst them the mouth of the Wye, two miles from Chepstow. He will have conjured up Wnach’s name from Caer Urnach in Historia Brittonum, as others conjured up Myrddin or Merlin the Magician from Caer Myrddin or Carmarthen, with a name that really means ‘sea-fort stronghold’ [Owen & Morgan, 2007, 69–70]. Religious community or giant’s castle lay a half-mile north-west of Chepstow. Nothing is left of it now, the site being occupied by a housing estate; but the name of St Cynfarch or Kingsmark is still used of a Chepstow road and a sports club.

4. Conclusions

If the above has cogency, it offers five conclusions. First, Leland’s Uruac, Urfa, and so on are ultimately scribal misrenderings (with lost initial) of Cinmarch or Cinuarch, the church of St Cynfarch, near Chepstow. The Book of Llandaff records its extensive estates; its inclusion as one of the Twenty-Eight Cities of Britain by a monk in south-east Wales is thus less remarkable than might seem. Second, Leland’s forms are nothing to do with Tynemouth. Third, they have no link either with Arbeia, the British-Latin name of the fort of South Shields. Fourth, one may add that Arbeia itself has nothing to do with Arabs. Though often repeated (even to those visiting this archaeological site on Tyneside), the claim lacks all credibility. Fifth, the giant Wnach of Culhwch and Olwen will have been called after an ecclesiastical site near the Wye, Cynmarch having been strangely transformed from saint to monster in the process. His name has been transformed as well. The author of Culhwch and Olwen was a learned man, who read the Historia of Orosius and Latin life of St Cadog, from the first borrowing the names of towns and rivers in Sicily, Tunisia, Afghanistan, and India [Petrovskaia, 2015, 147–150]. Nearer to home he will have made a giant’s name out of a saint’s, finding Cair Urnach in a copy of Historia Brittonum, evidently another source for his work.

The understanding of this with the place-names listed below hence solves a question which has baffled scholars for nearly eleven centuries; specifically from about 940, when the redactor of the Historia Brittonum’s Vatican Recension added to his text.
the Old Welsh names of Worcester, Carmarthen, Cirencester, Gloucester, and Cardiff, not seeing that the second and fifth were (as items 22 and 16) before him. In short, recognition of Leland’s Caer Uruac, Caerurfe, Urfa, Caire Urfe, and Cairurruach as ultimately ecclesia Cinmarch or Lann Cinmarch, the church of St Cynmarch near Chepstow, South Wales, concludes the archaeological contention on the fort of Arbeia, South Shields. A ninth-century monk of Gwent or Archenfield put down his choice for the Twenty-Eight Cities of Britain; he included Winchester, Carlisle, York, London, Canterbury, and Lichfield (as Christian centres rather than Roman ones); but gave pride of place to monasteries and other sites between Usk and Wye (St Cynfarch’s community amongst them), while totally ignoring any religious community west of the Taff and indeed in the rest of Wales.

Appendix. Table of Identifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Old Welsh Name</th>
<th>Modern Place</th>
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<td>Craig Gwrtheyrn (SN 4340), Carmarthenshire</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Cair Guintguc</td>
<td>Winchester (SU 4729), Hampshire</td>
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<td>28</td>
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В статье обсуждается проблема идентификации топонима Caer Urfe, одного из двадцати восьми британских городов, поименованных Джоном Леландом (ум. 1552) в перечне, который через Генриха Хантингдонского (ум. 1155) восходит к написанной в IX веке «Истории бриттов» (Historia Brittonum). Многие из двадцати восьми топонимов не идентифицированы, однако гипотеза Леланда, связывавшего Caer Urfe с Тайнмаутом, сейчас находит поддержку у археологов Тайнсайда, на севере Англии. Автор предлагает ассоциировать Caer Urfe с Сант-Кинвархом, что рядом с Чепстоу (юго-восток Уэльса). Это одна из десяти валлийских религиозных коммун, названных в перечне наряду с епархиальными центрами и древними городицами, среди которых нет ни одного объекта, находящегося в Тайнсайте. Также в статье обсуждается случай топонима Arbeia, зафиксированного в Notitia Dignitatum в качестве названия римского форта в Саут-Шилде, в Тайнсайте. Автор показывает, что, вопреки распространенному мнению, топоним Arbeia никак не связан с Caer Urfe и едва ли содержит отсылку к арабам (предполагается, что название относилось к гарнизону, где в IV веке могли служить солдаты из Месопотамии). В статье показано, что многие римские укрепления назывались по протекающим вблизи рекам. Это позволяет автору объяснить топоним Arbeia через вал. erfin ‘репа (мн. ч.)’ (также название ручья в окрестностях Аберистуита) — как ‘форт, расположенный вблизи реки, вдоль которой растет дикая репа’. В приложении к статье содержится список двадцати восьми британских городов из перечня Леланда, исправленный по Книге Ландафа (XII в.) и другим валлийским документам.

Ключевые слова: латинский язык, валлийский язык, кельтские языки, Historia Brittonum, историческая топонимия, этимология, палеография.

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